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Identity Formation in Lithuanian Diaspora Press

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of MA in
English Studies

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2017

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Dr. Almantas Samalavičius for his time and invaluable advice during the creation of this paper. He allowed this thesis to be my own work while also providing guidance and constructive criticism whenever I needed it.

I would also like to thank Dr. Birutė Ryvitytė who greatly assisted me during the initial stages of this thesis' creation by giving helpful advice and suggestions.

And finally, I would like to acknowledge the emigrant communities in the United States and the United Kingdom because without their dedication to preserving Lithuanian culture and traditions in diaspora, the current thesis would not exist either.

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ABSTRACT

In this study, four Lithuanian emigrant newspapers from the UK and the USA were examined in order to discover the ways in which this particular form of news media shape the diasporic identities of the emigrants who live in these two countries. 596 news articles from *Čikagos Aidas* (USA), *Draugas* (USA), *Tiesa* (UK) and *Info Ekspresas* (UK) that were released in 2014, 2015, and 2016 were analyzed by employing the method of thematic analysis in order to draw conclusions about the identities of emigrants Lithuanians who belong to the diasporic communities in the USA and the UK. In order to interpret the data, various concepts that are common in diaspora studies, such as *transnationalism*, *hybridity*, *nationalism* and *globalization* were considered. The findings revealed that while both of the diasporic communities are characterized by a sense of disappointment in Lithuania as well as tendency to invoke their *Lithuanianess* in order to differentiate themselves from people who come from other cultures, they also differ from one another in several ways. In case of the diasporic community in the UK, the emigrants are encouraged to both behave in a way that is fitting to a person who lives in multicultural Western Europe, and to see Lithuania itself in a less critical way. On the other hand, the diasporic community in the USA is more concerned with keeping Lithuanian culture alive in diaspora as well as confronting Russia's threat to post-Soviet nations, such as Ukraine and Lithuania. These findings are significant because they provide new insights into the way Lithuanian diasporic communities construct their national identities.

1. INTRODUCTION

Emigration is one of the most powerful forces that affect contemporary Lithuania. It influences almost every facet of the nation's life: from its economy to politics, from culture to mass media. It is both a loss of social capital as well as an opportunity for Lithuania to develop as a Western nation. However, perhaps the most significant way in which emigration affects the nation's conception of selfhood is by shaping the concept of Lithuanian national identity: emigration both furthers the more nationalistic, patriotic conception of Lithuania as a unique country that is incomparable to others for people who oppose emigration or feel unsatisfied with their own life in diaspora, and it also helps to spread the ideology of globalism that is appealing to those who see emigration as a bridge to the Western world. Either way, it is clear that regardless of whether they have left the country or remain in Lithuania, emigration has a huge influence on Lithuanians' relationships to their homeland as well as their conceptions of their national identity.

The aim of this study is to examine the ways in which Lithuanian emigrants who live in the United Kingdom and the United States construct their identities in highly international and globalized environments. In this paper, cultural identity establishment in a diaspora setting is explored through the lens of media, namely newspapers that have emigrants as their primary audience and serve as a tool of disseminating the ideology of *Lithuanianess*, in other words, Lithuanian national identity (Ciubrinskas: 2010). Other than spreading an ideology that aids in maintaining a sense of ethnic and national identities, media intended for an emigrant audience also serves a community-building function: by invoking highly idealized national symbols, diaspora media triggers the process of "imagining in the form of symbolic geography, the mechanism through which a community sees itself in relation to others on a symbolic map, reproduces journey narratives and constantly reworks identity" (Trandafoiu 2006:102). As such, both spoken and written media play an important role in the lives of emigrants since "we feel ourselves to belong to groups and communities which are constituted in part through the media", which is why representations of the emigration experience in media is an important aspect of diasporic community building (Thompson 1995: 35). The goal of this study is to examine the ways in which cultural and ethnic identity is constructed and disseminated through media that is aimed primarily at Lithuanian emigrants who live in the UK and the USA. In order to do that, the

method of thematic analysis was used to analyze UK-based newspapers *Info Ekspresas* and *Tiesa*, and USA-based newspapers *Čikagos Aidas* and *Draugas* that were published in 2014, 2015 and 2016. This particular timeframe was selected because the focus of the present study is current emigration and identity trends rather than the development of diasporic communities across a longer period of time.

Newspapers have always played an important role in Lithuanian diasporas. Diasporic publications, such as the British-Lithuanian “Vienybė lietuvininkų”, have kept Lithuanian culture alive during the period of Lithuanian press ban during Tsarist Russian occupation, and the role of press in maintaining cultural awareness was also important during the period of Soviet invasion. For instance, newspapers such as “Santarvė”, “Metmenys“, “Budėkime”, or “Europos lietuvis” were prominent sources of news about occupied Lithuania as well as Lithuanian culture in the world Lithuanian community during the second half of the 20th century (Dapkutė 2008). Back then, newspapers served the function of sharing information about the emigrants’ homeland, protecting and nurturing their Lithuanian national identity, and uniting Lithuanians from all over the world in order to preserve their *Lithuanianess* while the country itself was being subjugated by foreign forces. Naturally, now that Lithuania is a free country again, the function of diasporic press has also changed. Because the Lithuanians who live in Lithuania can freely embrace their national identities now, and emigrants themselves can easily interact with people in Lithuania and quickly access information about the country on the internet, contemporary publications have mostly lost their ideological nature and serve a more pragmatic function now. Newspapers such as those that are analyzed in the present paper primarily focus on Lithuanian and world news, advertisement, and specific community issues that do not necessarily have anything to do with the cause of preserving the Lithuanian national identity in diaspora. While publications from earlier periods of Lithuanian history undoubtedly contain fascinating insights into the formation of the concept of *Lithuanianess* as we know it, the decision to only take into account newspapers from the past three years was made in order to get a picture of emigrant identity that is more relevant to contemporary Lithuanian issues.

The reason why *Tiesa*, *Info Ekspresas*, *Čikagos Aidas* and *Draugas* in particular were chosen as the primary source of data for this thesis is because all of them deal with similar content material (important world news, news that have a significance for Lithuania and Lithuanians in particular, and various events that deal with the readers’ respective diasporic

communities). Moreover, all of the newspapers in question are aimed at an emigrant audience that seeks a daily news source that presents the information from a perspective that is easily digestible by an emigrant who looks for general information rather than news about narrower, primarily expert-oriented areas of interest such as art, religion or international politics. Therefore, while they are not the focus of the present study, it is important to acknowledge that other types of emigrant publications, including academic journals like *The Scholarly Journal "OIKOS. Lithuanian Migration & Diaspora Studies"*, *Lituanus: The Lithuanian Quarterly*, or newspapers that deal with art and literature in Lithuanian emigrant communities in particular (like *Draugas*' supplement *Kultūra*) also have an important function in emigrant identity formation in diasporic communities.

In order to interpret the results, two theoretical frameworks that are frequently used to analyze identity-related issues were applied in this study. First, idea of transnationalism, the dominant paradigm in Lithuanian diaspora studies that it is closely related to the concept of *Lithuanianess*, was considered. The concept of *transnationalism* is relevant in this paper because it presupposes that retaining a feeling of belonging to one's country of origin as well as preserving a connection with the country's inhabitants despite the emigrants' geographic distance from them is essential if an emigrant wants to maintain a sense of their own national identity. Transnationalism supposedly leads to a manifestation of the so-called long-distance nationalism that characterizes many contemporary diasporic communities (Čiubrinskas 2009; Westwood & Phizacklea 2000; Schiller et. al. 1992). As Glick-Schiller (1999) puts it, "...transnationalism [is] a process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (26), which means that in order to form diasporic communities, it is crucial that emigrants also retain connections with their homeland.

Moreover, the field of diaspora studies has traditionally been concerned with concepts like hybridity, ambivalence and fluidity in relation to diasporic identities ever since the inception of post-colonial studies (Hall 1990; Bhabha 2000; Brah 2005). Bhabha's hybridity is especially important in the present study, particularly when analyzing the Lithuanian emigrant community in the USA and the peculiarities of its mostly third-generation emigrant members' national identities because it is their hybrid American-Lithuanian identity "that carries the burden of the meaning of culture", and by "exploring this Third Space, [they] may elude the politics of polarity" and emerge as a distinct community (2012: 1). According to the notion of hybridity,

rather than losing or retaining their national identity in a diaspora, emigrants create an entirely new identity by mixing elements of their home and host countries, and they are thus not as dependent on their home country for a sense of belonging in a particular nation as the proponents of transnationalism would suggest. As such, the sense of losing or retaining the national identity of the country that the emigrants left behind loses its importance, and the process of transformation becomes the most significant force in shaping the emigrant's concept of selfhood instead.

2. DIASPORIC IDENTITY

The issue of identity is an important and widely discussed topic in the contemporary academia: as Stuart Hall puts it, “the legacies of colonialism, migration, globalization, as well as the growth of new social movements and forms of identity politics have put the question of identity at the center of debates in the humanities and social sciences” (1990: 1). Moreover, the concept of identity is very broad and entails many sub-elements: according to Anthony Smith, one of the key theorists in the field of nationality studies, identity is an inherently fluid and multi-faceted concept because “we identify with a variety of collective affiliations – families, gender categories, regions, occupational groups, parties, confession and *ethies*- and can move from one to the other ... as circumstances require” (Smith 2013: 20). Therefore, it is important to note that this thesis focused on national and diasporic identities in particular without dwelling on other elements of identity, such as gender or occupation.

Furthermore, discussing national identity as well as its construction through mass media requires to examine the concept of the nation itself. While many of the concepts discussed in the following section of the paper, such as Benedict Anderson’s *imagined communities*, are purely theoretical, they nevertheless provide a framework for discussing the possible reason why a sense of one’s nationality is so salient among migrants even when they are geographically and socially immersed in a foreign environment. Therefore, while many of them are purely theoretical, concepts such as *imagined communities* might nevertheless help to explain some of the peculiarities of the diaspora experience.

2.1. National Identity

Anthony Smith (1991) considers national identity to be “a multidimensional concept” that “includes a specific language, sentiments and symbolism” (7) that vary depending on a person’s place of origin. According to Smith, a sense of national identity is crucial for a contemporary person since it “provides a powerful means of defining and locating individual selves in the world, through the prism of the collective personality and its distinctive culture” (1991: 17). Smith distinguishes between two distinct perceptions of national identity: the Western

conception, which primarily relies on a sense of a shared political community and a precisely-defined territory which serves as the social space for a particular nation, and the Eastern conception of nationality which first and foremost takes common descent into consideration. According to Smith's definition, people from the former Soviet bloc, such as Lithuanians, should adhere to the "Eastern", or ethnic, conception of nationality in which "genealogy and presumed descent ties, vernacular languages, customs and traditions" take precedence over political elements in determining a sense of one's nationality (1991: 12). However, Smith's binary division of national identity into Eastern and Western conceptions gets complicated when the issue of diaspora is taken into consideration. In case of the Lithuanian diaspora, Lithuanian emigrants in Western countries such as the UK and the USA find themselves immersed in Western cultures where "nations [are] seen as culture communities, whose members were united by common historical memories, myths, symbols and traditions" (11). Because of that, it is reasonable to expect that the idea of *Lithuanianess* held by the members of the Lithuanian diaspora might be influenced by the cultures of their host countries, which in turn might explain why national symbols and traditions are so important for Lithuanian diasporic communities.

According to Mcmillan & Chavis (1986), a person's willingness to belong to a community depends on four essential elements that a community has to provide: a sense of belonging, a tangible influence on the person's life, the ability to meet the person's needs for communication, and emotional support. Naturally, the matter of community formation becomes more complicated in diaspora where an emigrant's countrymen might not be able to provide them with all four essential elements. In that case, the feeling of belonging to a certain nation becomes a more abstract matter that can be explained by employing the concept of *imagined communities*. Benedict Anderson has famously described the nation as an "imagined community" whose members share a "deep horizontal comradeship" despite having never met most of the other people who share their nationality (2006). Even in diaspora, people who come from a certain national background tend to think of themselves as being different from those who do not share their national identities. Therefore, it can be argued that diasporas are also "imagined communities": regardless of how global and tolerant the emigrant's new living environment is, his or her imaginary space of belonging "is demarcated ultimately by the closure effected by the category of the diasporic identity itself" (Ang 2003: 4). As James Clifford has remarked, "diasporic identifications reach beyond ethnic status within the composite, liberal state" and impart the emigrants with a "sense of being a 'people' with historical roots and destinies outside

the time/space of the host nation” (Clifford 1997: 255). Therefore, when it comes to the perception of their national identity, members of an (imaginary) diasporic community differ from the people who are still living in their country of origin because they have different daily realities, and they also consider themselves to be separate from the other inhabitants of their host country because they do not share the same cultural and historical backgrounds. Therefore, even against the backdrop of commonality that is North American or British cultures, and even if the Lithuanian diasporic community in their particular host country lacks all four elements of a proper community, the emigrants still tend to maintain a unique sense of national identity that serves to distinguish them from the people who do not share it.

2.2. Diasporic Media

Another factor that is important to consider when discussing the concept of *imagined communities* in relation to diasporic identity is the fact that Benedict Anderson believed that certain forms of mass media, namely newspapers, novels and other print media, play a key role in *imagining the nation* (2006). Furthermore, Ulf Hannerz also claimed that media can be an important element important in community-building because it can serve as a substitute for actual human interaction when it comes to establishing a sense of belonging: it makes people aware of their predecessors as well as people who “are living at the same time” and about whom “we make assumptions and whom we might influence in some ways” despite having never met them in person (1992: 30). The process of continuous ideologically-charged media consumption can be talked about in terms of what Judith Butler has called “performativity”, or the repeated assumption of identities in the course of daily life (1997). Consumption and creation of media that is intended for people whom one considers to belong to the same “imagined community” as them can be said to be an act of performing a national identity. As Hall puts it, we should treat identity “as a ‘production’, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation” (Hall 1990: 222). Therefore, emigrants who are “taken away from the territorial bases of their local culture” but still try to “encapsulate themselves within some approximation of it” often engage in performing of their national identities through celebrating their national traditions and consuming media that is created with an emigrant audience in mind. (Hannerz: 1990, 249). Having a common culture is essential in the formation of

a national ideology because it is “the set of common understandings and aspirations, sentiments and ideas” that binds a population together (Hutchinson: 2000, 11).

Furthermore, considering the traditions and cultural heritage that are embedded in a country’s history and media to be a form of symbolic capital is one of the strategies of claiming affinity to the “imagined community” of a diaspora, as well as setting your community apart from the mainstream culture. As Clifford (1997) puts it, “in light of global power relations, the significance of diasporic identity lies in its force as a symbolic declaration of liberation” of mainstream uniformity (255). In case of post-soviet countries like Lithuania and its citizens’ identity in diaspora, the issue of symbolic hegemony against which the minority claims difference is complicated because this position can be filled in by both the global Western culture, and the post-Soviet presence which is symbolically represented by the current Russian Federation in the eyes of many Lithuanians. According to Weedon, “narratives ... that depict a collective experience for marginalized groups have important social, ideological and political roles” and are crucial to the formation of positive forms of identity that can withstand the forces of globalization (2004: 156). In other words, in order for a diasporic community to thrive, it must have an outside force against which to resist.

2.3. Globalization and Hybridity

The issue of globalization is also closely related to diasporic identities because the influence of multicultural environments inevitably ends up transforming the social and cultural self-conceptions of people who are displaced from the actual geographical locations of their nation. While globalization affects more than the people who are living in diaspora, those communities are the most susceptible to its forces because of their physical immersion in the dominant culture of their host country. Arnett (2002) claims that in case of many emigrants, living in a multicultural environment leads to development of a hybrid cultural identity that “combines local culture and elements of the global culture, in which part of [the] identity is rooted in [an immigrant’s] local culture while another part stems from an awareness of their relation to the global culture” (777). Therefore, in order to understand globalization and its effects on diasporic identities, the closely related process of cultural hybridization needs to be considered as well.

The notion of hybridity in cultural studies refers to the fluid and performative subjectivity of a person's sense of selfhood that resists the rigidity of any fixed and static categories of ethnicity, cultural heritage and nationality (Bhabha 1990; Young 1995; Mahtani 2002). According to Bhabha (2012), most diasporic communities are a result of vigorous interaction between the different cultural forces that pull at an emigrant, and those "in between spaces" are created by merging elements that belong to different cultures that "provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood- singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovate sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself" (1-2). In his works, Bhabha has encouraged a rigorous rethinking of nationalism, representation, and resistance to binary categorization of people according to their prescribed identities. Above all, Bhabha stressed that it is "ambivalence" and "hybridity" that characterize the space in which cultural differences merge and produce new imagined "constructions", or diasporic communities, of cultural and national identities.

2.4. Transnational Identity

Another notion that is important to consider regarding diasporic Lithuanian communities, particularly those that are now developing in other European countries and are thus rather close to Lithuania politically and geographically, is the concept of emerging transnational communities. In the contemporary age of relatively unconstrained migration and instant communication, "transmigrants" are considered to be the people who "maintain, build, and reinforce multiple linkages with their countries of origins", expanding the range of "home" to encompass both their country of origin and their host country (Waldinger & Fitzgerald 2004: 1119). While transmigrant communities occasionally extend "beyond loyalties that connect to any specific place of origin or ethnic or national group" and thus embody the fluid hybridity that Bhabha described in his works, according to the notion of transnationalism, the members of contemporary migrant communities still hold "highly particularistic attachments" to their countries of origin without fully embracing the culture of their host country (1118). Therefore, transnational emigrant communities embody a concept of diasporic identity that is markedly different from the traditional diasporic communities that used to be almost totally cut off from the homeland: according to the paradigm of transnationalism, unlike the Lithuanians who emigrated during the

period of Soviet occupation, contemporary transmigrants should not experience an acute sense of loss of their national identity because they always have a chance to return back to their homeland.

The reason why transnationalism as such emerged in the first place is the fact that contemporary first-generation emigrants are able to easily keep emotional ties with their families that remain in their homeland by using modern technologies of communication, thus easing the sense of loss and an urge to belong in a diasporic community that used to be characteristic of emigration. Modern emigrants can easily stay in touch with their country of origin by “way of remittances, mail packages, phone cards, e-mails, and occasional visits” (Falicov 2007: 158). Nevertheless, despite the relative freedom associated with contemporary emigration, transmigration still entails a sense of loss which emigrants seek to overcome by engaging in real or virtual communities that remain in their home countries: they frequently “keep up ties with their communities back home by contributing monetarily to many projects (church, hospitals, and schools) or by donating their skills and talents (Falicov 2007: 164). The peculiarities of transnationalism might be useful to consider when discussing the differences between Lithuanian emigrant communities in the USA and the UK as well as some general trends that are shared by both the first generation emigrants in the UK and the mostly third-generation emigrants who form the Lithuanian emigrant community in the USA.

3. THE CASE OF LITHUANIAN DIASPORA

The field of Lithuanian diaspora studies is still quite underdeveloped compared to the vast troves of research that has been done about other cases of mass migration, such as the Turkish diaspora in Western Europe, but it is nevertheless important to our nation and thus receives the attention it deserves from many prominent Lithuanian researchers. The current field of Lithuanian diaspora studies encompasses various diverse domains, from linguistics to pedagogy, anthropology, economics and sociology. Some recent prominent releases include “Emigrants: Language and Identity”, a sociolinguistic monograph released by Vilnius University and edited by Meilutė Ramonienė in 2015. The book provides a detailed examination of Lithuanian emigrant attitudes towards Lithuanian language. The data used in the book was compiled by taking interviews and distributing detailed questionnaires to Lithuanians across the globe, and this research significantly contributed to the understanding of the development of Lithuanian language in emigration. Another prominent diasporic studies researcher is Vytis Čiubrinskas. Some of his works include an anthropological field research focused on Lithuanians in the USA (2005), a qualitative interview-based study that focused on the attitudes of migrants who choose to re-emigrate to Lithuania (2009), and an examination of the discourse of “glorious Lithuanian heritage” that was prominent in 19th century newspapers published by the Lithuanian diasporic community in the USA (2013: 111).

Unfortunately, most non-Lithuanian diaspora researchers who happen to focus on Lithuanian emigrants usually lump them together with other emigrants from Eastern Europe, such as Polish, Latvian and Hungarian people (Rasinger: 2010; Rhodes: 2010). Moreover, there exist very few studies that look at the issue of Lithuanian emigration through the lens of contemporary media, news press in particular. While there do exist studies that examine Lithuanian emigrant newspapers during the inter-war period (Zen & Reis: 2013), as well as during the Soviet occupation (Ciubrinskas: 2004), contemporary newspapers do not appear to get much exposure in Lithuanian diaspora studies despite still being a strong presence in diasporic communities. Therefore, the present research aims to fill in the absence of news media-oriented diasporic research that currently exists in the field of Lithuanian diaspora studies.

3.1. Lithuanians in the United States of America

Ever since the ending of the 19th century, Lithuania has been one of the leading Eastern European countries in terms of emigration. There have been various motivating factors for Lithuanian migration throughout history, such as wars, ideological and religious clashes, political discord, and most recently, poverty and other economic reasons, and the tendency of Lithuanian people to emigrate to other countries in great numbers has even been called a national trait of Lithuania by some diaspora scholars (Čiubrinskas & Kuzneckovienė 2008; Liubiniene 2010; Žukaitė 2013). During different periods of time, emigration from Lithuania happened in many diverse directions: throughout history, the biggest Lithuanian communities were established in the USA, Canada, the UK, Australia, Germany, and South American countries. According to Dapkutė (2008), Lithuanians already started to immigrate to the USA in the 19th century: the first emigrants were primarily motivated by economic factors, but ideological and political elements, such as tsarist occupation and Lithuania's defeat during the 1905 revolution, also played an important role in the people's decision to move to another country. While in diaspora, Lithuanians developed emigrant communities by establishing Lithuanian businesses, publishing newspapers and books, building churches, starting lituanistic schools, and participating in various political and cultural organizations. Their unique cultural life as well as an attachment to Lithuanian traditions allowed the emigrants to create a strong Lithuanian diaspora, and eventually, the emigrants gained enough cultural and economic power to be able to influence life in Lithuania itself (Dapkutė, 2008).

It is important to acknowledge that while contemporary emigration from Lithuania is primarily based on economic grounds, that has not always been the case: the current core of the Lithuanian diaspora in the USA consists of the descendants of Soviet-era emigrants for whom escaping the invaders was a matter of life and death rather than a simple means of earning more money. The so-called *displaced persons* who moved to the USA during WW2 believed that the occupation of Lithuania was going to last for a only couple of years and hoped that they will be able to return to their homeland soon. After it became apparent that Lithuania has been lost, the *displaced persons* turned their attention to preserving their *Lithuanianess* in order to support the country whose culture and heritage was being violated by soviet brutality. Ciubrinskas (2004) claims that Lithuanian communities in the USA are still defined by a strong sense of

Lithuanianess, or a feeling of kinship with one's Lithuanian ethnicity and heritage regardless of their location.

The cultural capital built by the older second or third-generation emigrants in Lithuania also facilitates the contemporary emigrants' sense of Lithuanian identity in the USA, which is why they have a strong internalized feeling of their own *Lithuanianess*. However, the case of emigration and the retention of a Lithuanian identity is different when it comes to Lithuanian emigrants in other popular Eastern European emigration hotspots, such as the British Isles or Scandinavian countries. Therefore, it is crucial to acknowledge that there are some fundamental ways in which USA-based and UK-based Lithuanian diaspora communities differ from one another.

First of all, the different contexts that influenced the four waves of migration as well as the generational differences between first (XIX century), second (1926-1937), third (1941-1989), and fourth (1990-present) waves of emigration have to be considered while comparing the emigrant communities in the USA and the UK (Ramonienė: 2015). Moreover, it is important to note that the USA as a country is generally more accepting of immigrants and its inhabitants tend to be more respectful towards the emigrants' national identities than is the case in the UK is, which means that it is easier to build a community in the USA (Trandafoiu: 2006). The reason for the different attitudes towards immigrants that appear in the two countries is that whereas the USA itself is often considered to be a "nation of immigrants" that frequently stresses the values of personal responsibility and hard work when talking about the *American* identity, immigration is not seen as an identity-constructing phenomenon in Europe whose inhabitants primarily define themselves according to the ethnic boundaries of their nations (Citrin & Sides 2008: 34). Because of the positive climate for minority community development in the USA, emigrants who are living in this country are often proud of their heritage and tend to enjoy participating in various traditional Lithuanian activities, such as Christmas Eve celebrations, that take place during diaspora community gatherings (Ramonienė 2015).

Even though the Lithuanian diaspora in the USA encompasses people from different generations and its members are spread across great geographical distances, with the main USA-Lithuanian hub being Chicago, the emigrant communities in this country generally display a greater sense of unity than their UK-based cousins do (Danys 1986). A sense of *Lithuanianess* in

the Lithuanian emigrant communities in the USA is primarily displayed via the following outlets: holding ethnic Lithuanian festivals, striving to teach second and later generation emigrants Lithuanian language, publishing fiction and nonfiction with Lithuanian immigrants who live in the USA as the audience, and frequently communicating with Lithuanians who are living in Lithuania on both a personal and an institutional level (Čiubrinskas 2004). As was mentioned in the previous section, giving ethnic traditions an elevated status and using them as the primary material for identity building is a way of constructing a national identity where one is incomplete. Interestingly, this phenomenon was also observed in Lithuania itself during times of strife and change, such as the period of nation-building that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union that was characterized by invoking ethnic Lithuanian traditions and symbols on a nation-wide level in order to show resistance to the Socialist ideology as well to establish a distinct national identity (Čiubrinskas 2000). As such, the trend of enjoying folk music, art and dance that is common in the Lithuanian emigrant community in the USA can be considered to be a way of building a diasporic identity (Čiubrinskas & Kuznecovienė 2008).

Despite the fact that identity preservation via engaging in traditional Lithuanian activities is not as popular in the UK as it is in the USA, the two diaspora communities do share one similarity amidst their differences, which is a tendency to idealize that which they perceive to be quintessential elements of *Lithuanianess*, such as enjoyment of Lithuanian cuisine, playing basketball, listening to Lithuanian music, and so on. According to Vytis Čiubrinskas, one of the leading contemporary Lithuanian diaspora scholars, most Lithuanian emigrants do not perceive a positive emotional attachment to Lithuania as merely a banal sense of longing: on the contrary, nostalgia for a highly idealized Lithuania is considered to be an imperative necessity that unites people and serves to construct one's *Lithuanianess* in diaspora (Čiubrinskas & Kuznecovienė 2008: 68). Mickūnas (2015) argues that regardless of their place of living and their political beliefs, an individual cannot have a wholesome existence without relying on a community (75). As such, emigrants tend to either assimilate to the host countries of their choice, a course of action that is often impossible to first generation emigrants because of language and cultural barriers, or to flock into smaller communities of people who share similar circumstances, as is the case with Lithuanian emigrant communities. Because of that, community-building and establishing a common narrative that serves to unite emigrants is often a necessity for those who are living in diaspora.

3.2. Lithuanians in the United Kingdom - Historical Context of the 3rd Wave of Emigration

There does not exist a lot of information about the life of Lithuanian emigrants in the UK before the Second World War. The first record of Lithuanians in the British Isles is a booklet about Scottish Lithuanians released by Juozas Norbutas in 1918 (Dapkutė 2009). Before WW1, only about 4000 Lithuanians lived in Britain, and about 8000 of them stayed in Scotland. The greatest clusters of Lithuanians in the British Isles have historically been London, Glasgow and Manchester, and the tendency of Lithuanian migrants to settle in these cities has remained similar across time. One way in which trends of migration to the United Kingdom have changed over the years is the fact that while the early Lithuanian emigrants in the British Isles did not possess a concept of Lithuanian ethnic identity and thus tended to equate themselves with neighboring Polish emigrants, modern emigrants in the UK are more concerned with keeping their *Lithuanianness* intact (Citrin & Sides 2007; Čiubrinskas 2004; Dapkutė 2009). The reasons for this change of attitude are deeply mired in the history of Lithuania, and most of them generally stem from Lithuania's establishment as an independent nation after the fall of the Soviet Union and the sense of nationalism that it enkindled in the country's inhabitants.

Even though emigration from Lithuania the USA has been rather common since the 19th century, emigration to the UK did not become a nation-wide phenomenon until Lithuania joined the European Union in 2004. One of the benefits of joining the EU was entering the Schengen Area which opened the borders to many European countries and allowed Lithuanians to engage in relatively unrestricted migration. Since then, Lithuanians have left their home country with various intentions: permanent change of residence, seasonal work, or living abroad for a couple of years to earn money and gain experience. However, according to Sipavičienė and Stankūnienė (2013), Lithuanian emigration became especially prominent after the economic crisis of 2008 which, combined with the possibility to move into the UK that joining the EU provided, eventually led to the staggering migration statistics that the country faces now. The economic crisis brought forth new socio-economic issues, such as an inability to fulfill financial commitments, social insecurity, and a general disappointment in the government's economic policy, all of which expanded the phenomenon of mass emigration to new heights (Sipavičienė & Stankūnienė 2012). According to the European Migration Network, almost one third of Lithuanian population (about 825 thousand people out of about three million) have left the country, making Lithuania's ratio of emigration one of the greatest in Europe. Based on the UK

Office of National Statistics estimates, about 144 thousand Lithuanian immigrants lived in the UK in 2013. Naturally, such numbers are both alarming and intriguing, making many researchers wonder about the causes and future consequences of such large movements of people out of a relatively small country.

Even though re-emigration was predicted and anticipated once the economic crisis of 2008 was over, it did not happen in case of Lithuania: instead of returning to their homeland, most of the first generation inter-EU migrants decided to stay in their host countries, and the statistics of emigration from Lithuania have not seen a significant decrease since 2008 (Sipavičienė & Stankūnienė 2012: 51). While some negative economic and social effects of contemporary mass emigration on Lithuania, such as the so-called brain drain, children being separated from their parents, and a shortage of people willing to engage in menial work in Lithuania when they can earn more for doing to same sort of job abroad, are easy to foresee, another point which is related to migration to the UK and has not been extensively researched yet is the issue of national identity of Lithuanian emigrants in the UK (Sipavičienė & Stankūnienė 2012, 59).

3.3. Lithuanian Migration and Transnationalism

While the Lithuanian émigré communities in the USA have a long history and a strong presence which facilitate the retention of *Lithuanianess* in its members, Lithuanian communities and their identity development patterns in the UK have not been examined at length yet. That is partially because emigration to the UK is a more recent phenomenon that mostly involves first generation emigrants who only moved outside of Lithuania a couple of years ago. Like mentioned before, some researchers propose to describe first generation emigrants who both keep ties to their home country and express no desire to leave their host country as *transmigrants*, and contemporary Lithuanian emigrants in the UK are generally considered to be transmigrants as well. Transmigrants can be distinguished from other people who are living abroad because they “communicate, conduct various commercial, diplomatic, and recreational activities across nation-state borders, and imagine themselves to be elsewhere without entering into daily routine of social reproduction within two or more different states” (Vertovec 2001: 201). Transmigrants are different from seasonal workers, permanent migrants, or second or third generation emigrants

(e.g. the majority of the Lithuanian diaspora in the USA) because they are culturally, socially, and economically engaged in the issues that concern their home country, and that is the case with many post-economic crisis Lithuanian emigrants in the UK (Liubinienė 2010: 25). Nevertheless, according to Žukaitė, even though contemporary Lithuanian emigrants in the UK are often considered to be transmigrants by diaspora scholars, not fostering a sense of transnationalism in diaspora is actually one of the central issues that emigrants from post-Soviet countries like Lithuania face, and it arises from the citizens' disillusionment with their country's government, their inability to resist the forces of globalization because of an insufficiently developed sense of Lithuanianess, and increased opportunities for integration in the host country (2013: 8). In other words, issues that influence emigration from Lithuania, such the country's economic struggles and various shortcomings of Lithuanian politics, also influence the already fragile sociocultural identities of Lithuanian emigrants, making the cultivation and preservation of their diasporic communities a somehow complicated matter.

Various studies show that UK-based emigrants generally do not participate in diaspora communities that would unite the Lithuanian emigrants in a shared activity, and this issue complicates the matter of researching the national identity of Lithuanians who live in the UK (Čiubrinskas, 2004; Liubinienė 2010: 26). Nevertheless, as Morley & Robins note, some forms of mass communication, such as TV programs and newspapers, often play “a fundamental part in the historical development of national cultures and identities”, suggesting that they might serve as a substitute to actively engaging in communication with other emigrants (Morley & Robins 2002: 174). Media in general is said to have a “special status” for migrants because it is uniquely equipped to help emigrants “articulate a shared cultural thickening of diasporas between an (imagined) origin and the migration context” (Hepp, Bozdog & Suna 2012: 4). Therefore, emigrant newspapers might be considered to play an important role in the development of the Lithuanian diasporic communities in the UK.

3.4. Media as a Tool of Identity Formation

The importance of media in disseminating ideologies and instilling people with a sense of belonging to a national community has been widely discussed and documented by many researchers (Moreley & Robins 2002; Kelner 2003; Thussu 2006; Trandafoiu 2006). In case of

emigrants, media serves the function of developing their diasporic identities, just like it helps the people who are still living in their homeland to shape their own national identities. Moreover, because of the emigrants' geographical displacement and their inability to easily access the symbols that embody their homeland (such as food, nature, language, and so on), depictions of national symbols are often even more prominent in diasporic media compared to the media that is intended for people who are not migrants. Therefore, diasporic press is bound to be rife with concepts, images and opinions that are ideologically charged with nationalistic notions. As Trandafoiu (2006) puts it by invoking Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined communities,

The 'imagined community' constructed and remembered through certain cultural symbols means that locality is normally experienced symbolically; it consists of an imagined homeland or place understood through nostalgia, memory, history or constructed cultural sites and it is precisely this quality which enables such transnational communities to survive and remain viable for its members. (105)

Naturally, media that has emigrants as its primary audience is also different from mainstream media because it is not directly involved in the political issues that permeate local and international TV programs and newspapers. However, diasporic media still serves a function of spreading a particular ideology, namely that of resisting the invasive influence of globalization and instilling the emigrants with a sense of belonging in their diaspora community (Morley & Robins 2002; Thussu 2006). As such, despite being located outside of the country whose symbols it invokes, diasporic media is often quite nationalistic and ideologically charged.

However, even though it is easy to get distracted by the nationalistic imagery in media, according to Kellner (2003), it is important to look past clichéd symbols and heavy-handed nationalism when analyzing media texts and focus on the social conditions that influence the way the nation is represented in diasporic press instead: as the researcher puts it, "the ideologies of media culture should be analyzed within the context of social struggle and political debate rather than simply as purveyors of false consciousness whose falsity is exposed and denounced by ideology critique" (108). Therefore, given the complex nature of recent Lithuanian emigrants' identities as well as the difficulty of examining this phenomenon, analyzing the media that is created for Lithuanian emigrants in the UK might shed some insight into this relatively new community. Furthermore, applying the same theoretical lens to the diaspora communities in the

USA and the UK might highlight some significant differences or similarities of the identities of the emigrants who live in these countries.

4. METHODS AND DATA

4.1. Data Used in the Study

In order to avoid replicating any previous studies, examination of the national identity patterns of Lithuanian emigrants in the UK and the USA was carried out by focusing on written material rather than spoken data, questionnaires, or field research. In this paper, newspapers *Tiesa* (UK), *Info Ekspresas* (UK), *Draugas* (USA) and *Čikagos Aidas* (USA) served as the primary source of data, and articles from the newspapers released in 2014, 2015 and 2016 were analyzed. When choosing which articles to analyze, it was decided to focus on those that deal with cultural events that involve the diasporic communities, Lithuanian politics, opinion articles submitted to the newspapers by the readers, interviews with emigrants and famous Lithuanians, and articles that deal with the history of Lithuania. In total, 144 articles from *Info Ekspresas*, 150 articles from *Tiesa*, 135 articles from *Draugas*, and 167 articles from *Čikagos Aidas* were analyzed. The reason for the unequal number of articles is because some of the newspaper issues did not contain a lot of relevant codes, while others had an abundance of them. In total, 144 newspaper issues and 596 news articles that were published in them were analyzed in this study. The newspapers are accessible in digital format on the publishers' websites.

The reason why newspapers were chosen as the source of data is the fact that they serve the function of “encouraging their readers to see the world in general in specifically national terms, ‘re-minding them of their own nation in particular and helping them to think in patriotic terms about it” (Rosie et al 2007: 437). Newspapers play an important role in constructing national identities and disseminating national agendas, which makes them a tool of identity building that can also reveal the needs and intentions of their publishers and audiences (Li 2009). Given the problematic lack of organized Lithuanian emigrant communities in the UK that was discussed in the previous section, it was decided that analyzing media that is published for an emigrant audience might serve as a tool of identifying national identity related issues that might be present among first generation emigrants in the UK. While the emigrant community in the USA consists of mainly second and third generation emigrants and is comparatively strong in terms of community ties and social capital when compared to the diasporic community in the UK, the presence of emigrant news media in both communities nevertheless provides a substantial point of comparison between the two.

Info Ekspresas and *Tiesa* are primarily aimed at the audience of Lithuanian-British emigrants, and these newspapers cover diverse issues such as international events, Lithuanian news, interviews with famous Lithuanians, advertisements of emigrant businesses, and other standard newspaper topics. While *Čikagos Aidas* and *Draugas* deal with similar issues, they are different from *Info Ekspresas* and *Tiesa* in the sense that the audience of these USA-based newspapers is second or third generation emigrants rather than recently-arrived emigrants. As such, analyzing the differences in dominant opinions and topics that are present in those four newspapers might provide insights into the idiosyncrasies of these different diasporic communities.

4.2. Thematic Analysis

In order to analyze and interpret the news articles and make conclusions about the specifics of Lithuanian emigrants' identity, the method of thematic analysis was employed in this study. Thematic analysis is frequently used in research where written or spoken data has to be systematically analyzed for the purpose of making generalizations and drawing conclusions from re-occurring patterns (Smith & Firth 2011). This method allows the researcher to identify and analyze patterns of meaningful symbols and themes in a particular set of data (Braun & Clarke 2006). Thematic analysis helps to illuminate the issues which are the most significant for the larger phenomenon that is being studied (Daly *et al.* 1997). The end result of a thematic analysis shows the most important clusters of meanings and issues that are present in the data set. Thematic analysis is easily applicable to many fields of research, from the humanities to medicine, and it has also been successfully applied in various studies that deal with issues of representation and social issues. For instance, researchers such as Devine-Wright & Devine-Wright, (2009), Joffe (1999), and Washer, Joffe & Solberg (2008) have successfully combined thematic analysis with various theories, such as the social representations theory, in order to study portrayals of issues such as social inequality and immigration in news media.

Thematic analysis shares many similar principles with content analysis, a much older method that has been used in the humanities and media studies since the early 20th century (Smith 2000). Like thematic analysis, content analysis also involves counting the number of various topics that exist in a particular dataset. The methods differ in that content analysis relies purely on

counting the occurrences of themes without interpreting them, thus encountering the issue of potentially removing the results from their context (Silverman 1993). Therefore, thematic analysis was developed in order to “go beyond observable material to more implicit, tacit themes and thematic structures” and analyze the data in a more nuanced manner (Merton 1975: 335). Because of its roots in quantitative content analysis, thematic analysis also differs from most of the other qualitative research methods because it does not reflect the researcher’s biases and preconceptions and is rather impartial.

In theory, thematic analysis should allow the researcher to combine the systematic categorization of data found in content analysis with a detailed interpretation of the results. Thematic analysis is especially useful in analyzing the process of social construction: according to Lupton (1999), when applied to a wide range of data, this method can be used to trace how a particular prevalent opinion or ideology develops across time by looking at how people attach symbolic meanings to various phenomena. Because of that, this method was deemed as appropriate for the present study.

Thematic analysis generally consists of six steps: familiarizing oneself with the data, developing the initial codes, applying the codes to a text and looking for themes that might arise from the coded data, refining the themes, naming the themes, and providing an interpretation of the findings (Boje 2001; Bremond, Landy & Pavel 1995; Given 2008; Van Dijk 1988). Employing thematic analysis requires carefully reading and re-reading the entire set of data as well as creating a conceptual tool, or a coding frame, with which to examine and categorize the data. The coding frame contains the full set of codes that are applied to the dataset, and it is developed based on both general themes that are prevalent in the field of study (diaspora studies and national identity in case of the present research), and those that are difficult to predict and only arise while examining the data for the first time. Devising the code frame and coding the data is a time-consuming process since there are no pre-existent code sets available. Therefore, the researcher has to devise a set of codes that is relevant to their research questions themselves.

A *code* can be broadly defined as “a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data” (Saldana 2009: 3). For the purposes of the present study, a code is considered to be synonymous with a keyword. A code is a label that is attached to a phrase or a sentence of the

analyzed text that represents any element of an emigrant identity, such as politics, nostalgia, traditions, and so on. By themselves, individual codes are not indicative of meaningful discoveries and are only significant when they appear more than once and can be grouped into larger *themes*.

In contrast to the *code*, a *theme* is “an outcome of coding, categorization, and analytic reflection, not something that is, in itself, coded” (Saldana 2009: 13). In other words, a theme is created by merging different codes into the same category according to their meaning. Themes are more meaningful than codes and the researcher makes conclusions about their data by analyzing them.

The six steps of thematic analysis as applied to the present study are indicated in the list below:

1. Making a list of initial codes that are related to diaspora.
2. Skimming the newspapers.
3. Reading the articles in-depth and marking any diaspora identity-related codes, making new code categories in the process.
4. Merging commonly repeating codes into broader themes and removing the codes that are too uncommon.
5. Refining the themes, naming the themes.
6. Analyzing the themes.

When carrying out the data coding process, the initial aim was to look for phrases or sentences that might indicate the writers’ attitude towards their home and host countries, as well reveal a sense of *Lithuanianess*. Because of that, lexical items that belonged to the categories indicated below were considered to be triggers for developing the coding frame:

- Mentions of Lithuania
- Mentions of British culture
- Mentions of American culture
- Employment and unemployment
- Education
- Lithuanian politics

- Global politics
- Cultural events
- Relationships with friends and relatives
- Lifestyle

During the initial stages of analyzing the data, every phrase or sentence that belonged to the categories indicated above was marked by the researcher. Moreover, identity-related topics which were not in the initial coding frame were created as the data analysis proceeded. In the present study, each article was manually examined and coded by the researcher without employing computer aid.

Analysis of the data begun after the entire data set was codified. It involved merging the codes into broader themes as well as a close examination of the said themes and their numeric prevalence. While prevalent, frequently surfacing themes are especially significant in thematic analysis, the researcher can also make a decision to create less frequently encountered themes that nevertheless contain important idiosyncrasies that are relevant to the research questions and include them in the finalized set of themes. The full set of themes as well as the codes that formed them can be found in appendixes A and B.

5. RESULTS

This section of the paper aims to achieve two things: to present the themes that were developed from the codes found in both newspapers, and to provide summaries of the said themes. As explained in the previous section, the articles were read closely while looking for excerpts that would match any of the initial codes (keywords) that were developed based on general topics related to diaspora studies and identity. After identifying a relevant passage, it was assigned an appropriate code that would convey its gist. Once the articles from the four newspapers were coded, the code-frame from the entire data set were arranged according to general ideas that they represented. Data analysis revealed that the groups of similar codes could be merged several broad themes. Moreover, some of the themes that were developed in the early stages of the research were later discarded when forming the finalized themes because they were found to be too infrequent and irrelevant. The following section focuses on the findings from both countries (the USA and the UK) separately. All the newspaper excerpts presented in this section of the paper were translated by the author of this thesis.

5.1. Themes in the UK Newspapers

The themes that were identified in the UK newspapers show that articles from *Info* *Ekspressas* and *Tiesa* stress the fact that emigration does not solve social and economic problems. The data was categorized into twelve themes: refusal to integrate, successful integration/globalization, community in diaspora, anti-Russian sentiments, re-emigration, disillusionment with the UK, economic factors, preserving traditions, loyalty to Lithuania, criticism of Lithuania, anti-emigrant/emigration sentiments, and keeping ties with Lithuania. Generally speaking, Lithuanian emigrants' tendency to lean towards ghettoization is viewed in a negative light, while integration to life in the UK by adopting a more tolerant worldview that is devoid of racism and homophobia is presented more positively. It can be inferred that the newspapers aim to make their readership more open-minded when it comes to interacting with people from other cultural backgrounds. A complete list of the themes identified in UK newspapers as well as a sample of representative codes that constitute them can be found in Appendix A. The following section of the paper describes each theme in detail and provides

significant representative samples of the codes, or phrases or sentences, that served to characterize them.

Refusal to Integrate: this theme reveals that many working-class Lithuanian emigrants tend to prefer ghettoization to integration. For instance, one article shows that Lithuanians tend to surround themselves by other Lithuanians who live in “emigrant” neighborhoods because of the emigrants’ xenophobic perceptions of people from other cultures:

Our countrymen hold negative opinions about neighbors with big Muslim or black populations. Lithuanians not only feel reluctant to share a home with foreigners, they also avoid neighborhoods where non-white people are present. They believe that black people are dangerous and unpredictable and dislike the Muslims for their different lifestyles: “The women are wrapped in scarves, the men are wearing skirts and carrying seven children. Who knows, perhaps they are carrying bombs underneath all their chadors”¹

Emigrants in the UK generally appear to display a strong negative perception of people who are neither other Lithuanians nor belong to the upper social class (e.g. native-born British people who represent superiority), such as Muslims, ethnic minorities, or even other Eastern European emigrants from countries like Poland:

Living in England forces one to ignore or tolerate many unusual things. However, it appears the Lithuanians have a hard time getting used to a new environment and the “others” that inhabit it. They are bothered by homosexuals, Muslims, *crude Poles*, *idiotic Brits*, Africans and even their own “hussy slatterns”, or Lithuanian women. Lithuanians often badmouth everyone who is not like them.²

¹Tautiečiai dažnai neigiamai atsiliepia apie rajonus, kuriuose gyvena daug musulmonų ar afro-amerikiečių. Lietuviai ne tik nenori dalytis būsto su užsieniečiais, bet ir vengia rajonų, kurių gatvėmis vaikšto kitų rasių žmonės. Jų įsitikinimu, afroamerikiečiai – pavojingi ir nenuspėjami žmonės. Musulmonai lietuviams nepatinka dėl kitokių įsitikinimų: “Bobos apsisukę skarom, vyrai - su sijonais vaikšto ir septyniais vaikais. Ką aš žinau, gal po tom savo čadrom bombą nešas”. (Tiesa, 2014-02).

²Gyvenant Anglijoje nori nenori tenka išmokti nekreipti dėmesio arba, gražiau pasakius, toleruoti daugybę neįprastų dalykų. Lietuvaičiams, pasirodo, ne taip paprasta susitaikyti su pasikeitusia aplinka ir joje kvepuojančiais “kitokiais”. Gėjai, musulmonai, *atgrubnagai* lenkai, idiotai anglai, ... afrikiečiai ir net tos pačios “pasileidėlės barakudos” lietuvės (sako, visos jos tokios)... Dažnai susiduriant su lietuviais net gatvėse tenka girdėti apkalbinėjančius visus praeivius iš eilės. (Tiesa, 2014-11)

Moreover, some emigrants proclaim that they do not care about following the news of neither Lithuania nor the UK because that which happens in those countries does not directly involve the immigrants themselves. The author of one article asked a respondent about their opinion about the 2016 elections in Lithuania and received the following answer:

Elections? In Lithuania? Oh, I don't know anything about that, I don't care about politics. I don't even live in the country, which is why I do not know anything about it.³

Other emigrants appear to be completely content to live in Britain without attempting to learn English:

We respect the British culture, but there are simply so many Lithuanians here that we do not ever get homesick. 85 percent of my neighbors are immigrants. Two of my sisters also live here and we are planning to bring our mother here as well. We like living here, it is just like Lithuania. We do not even need to know English.⁴

The emigrants' pervasive xenophobia, apathy and tendency to limit their circle of acquaintances to fellow Lithuanians reveal a strong sense of growing ghettoization among the UK emigrant community, and the newspapers tend to take a critical position regarding this phenomena.

Integration/Globalization: while anti-integration sentiments are frequently expressed by emigrant interviewees whose opinions are published in the newspapers, it appears that the newspaper writers themselves subscribe to the multicultural agenda instead. For instance, the journalists point out that many Lithuanian people still hold very conservative views and criticize this trend:

Lithuania is too small for a person to limit themselves to it. I believe that despite the isolation of the Soviet Union, many Lithuanians nevertheless had to interact with people from different cultures back then. Today, the average Lithuanian has to seek different

³ Rinkimai? Į Seimą Lietuvoje? Oi, tikrai, žinokit, nežinau, politika nesidomiu, negyvenu toje šalyje, todėl ir nežinau nieko (Tiesa, 2016-10)

⁴ Mes gerbiame britų kultūrą, bet čia tiek daug mūsų šalių, kad net nekamuoja namų ilgesys. 85 procentai mano kaimynų yra imigrantai. Čia gyvena dvi mano seserys, planuojame atsivežti ir mamą. ... Mums patinka čia gyventi. Čia – kaip Lietuva, yra visko, ko mums reikia. Net nereikia mokėti anglų kalbos. (Tiesa, 2016-09)

experiences out themselves because despite globalization, our country retains a rather conservative way of thinking.⁵

Perhaps because of their awareness of the limitations of the average Lithuanian, the newspapers are rife with life stories about people who have found personal fulfillment via integration. Moreover, advertisements of seminars that help emigrants integrate are frequently promoted, and cultural exchange via marriage or friendship with people who come from different cultures are generally seen in a positive light.

Moreover, the newspapers appear to take a sympathetic view of Middle Eastern refugees, going as far as to compare their situation with Lithuanian migration:

Perhaps some of the Syrian refugees will return to their countries after the war ends, but most of the people who hold anti-immigrant sentiments believe that most of them will stay in Europe. People are afraid that the refugees who seek economic well-being and safety for themselves and their children are going to stay in Europe. However, can we really blame the people who seek a better life? After all, we Lithuanians who live in the UK are also economic migrants. Thousands of our countrymen, as well as thousands of Poles or Hungarians, came to the UK illegally even before our countries became a part of the EU. We know very well that most emigrants do not return to their homeland.⁶

Furthermore, in some articles, living in multicultural England is said to have an effect of promoting tolerance of sexual minorities:

⁵ Lietuva yra per maža valstybė, kad apsiribotum vien gyvenimo joje patirtimi. Manychiau, jog, nepaisant Sovietų Sąjungos izoliacijos, dauguma lietuvių tada buvo priversti maišytis su kitomis kultūromis ir tradicijomis. Šiandien statistinis lietuvis turi pats ieškoti šių žinių ir patirties, nes, nepaisant globalizacijos, mūsų šalyje vis dar dominuoja gana konservatyvi kultūra ir mąstymas (Tiesa, 2014-01)

⁶ Galbūt dalis karo migrantų ir grįš į savo šalis, kai ten nurims mūšiai, tačiau daugelis prieš imigraciją nusistačiusių žmonių įsitikinę, kad didžioji dauguma pabėgėlių pasiliks Europoje. Labiausiai baiminamasi, kad čia pasiliks geresnio, sotesnio gyvenimo ir saugesnės ateities, jeigu ne sau – tai bent savo vaikams, ieškantys ekonominiai migrantai. Ar tikrai galime kaltinti žmones, ieškančius patogesnio gyvenimo? Juk ir mes, lietuviai, gyvenantys Jungtinėje Karalystėje, esame ekonominiai migrantai. Tūkstančiai mūsų tautiečių (kaip ir tūkstančiai lenkų ar vengrų) čia pateko nelegaliai, dar prieš mūsų valstybėms įstojant į Europos Sąjungą. Patys žinome, kad grįžtančiųjų atgal į Tėvynę – ne tiek ir daug. (Info Ekspresas, 2015-10)

It is apparent that people who are raised in an environment that is characterized by the presence of diverse sexual identities gradually become more and more tolerant. By seeing same sex marriages become legalized and being taught that love exists not only between a man and a woman at schools, people gradually get used to homosexuality. Many emigrants discover that they have a homosexual in their circle of friends and become less likely to make homophobic jokes and become more understanding of and open to diverse friendships.⁷

All in all, it is rather clear that the newspapers promote a liberal, open-minded approach to life in the UK, one that is perhaps bolder in its acceptance of diversity than the average Lithuanian newspaper published in Lithuania would allow itself to be.

Community in Diaspora: while this theme has some overlap with the issues of integration and ghettoization that are also discussed in other themes, it differs from them in that it is about describing emigrants' activities rather than their opinions about different issues. Naturally, a sense of ghettoization is frequent in descriptions of the diasporic community that are given by the emigrants themselves. For example, one article explains that

Lithuanian communities seem to hold the opinion that you can relax and feel at home in Lithuanian establishments. If one works in an environment where only English is used, it is nice to meet other Lithuanians while listening to well-known Lithuanian songs. Moreover, the old generation that has grown up with "Russian" humor does not understand local English entertainment. In case an emigrant wants to visit the theater, only classic plays are an option because contemporary theater deals with "British" issues that are not relevant to Lithuanians.⁸

⁷ Kalbant apie emigrantus, galima pastebėti, kad tie žmonės, kurie gyvena ir auga aplinkoje, kurioje yra daugiau skirtingos seksualinės orientacijos asmenų, tampa vis labiau tolerantiškesni. Matant tos pačios lyties santuokų legalizavimą bei žinant, kad mokyklose vaikai yra mokomi apie meilę kaip ne tik apie meilę tarp vyro ir moters – žmonės pripranta ir nebelaiko to neįprastu dalyku ar reiškiniu. Dažno draugų rate atsiranda homoseksualus asmuo, žmonės nebėra linkę svaidytis homofobiškais juokeliais, tampa supratingesni ir atviresni naujoms draugystėms. (Info Ekspresas, 2015-07)

⁸ Tarp lietuvių vyrauja nuomonė, kad lietuviškose vietose galima labiau atsipalaiduoti ir pasijausti kaip namie. Jei dirbama angliškoje aplinkoje, kur visi kalba tik angliškai, smagu užsukti ten, kur gali sutikti lietuvių, o koks nors dainininkas perdainuoja mintinai žinomas dainas. Be to: „vyresnioji karta, užaugusi su rusišku humoru nelabai „pagauna“ vietinį, anglišką. Jeigu rinktis teatrą – belieka klasika, nes

Moreover, articles that serve to advertise Lithuanian businesses are also rather frequent. Many of them stress the fact that these establishments can provide the emigrants with an authentic Lithuanian experience that also involves interaction with other Lithuanians:

This May, it is going to be six years since restaurant “Krantas” opened in Walthamstow, East London. Even though it is not big, this restaurant is very cozy and won the customers’ affection ever since it was opened. It attracts new admirers every year and even has regular customers. People return here not only to enjoy tasty cuisine, but also to have enjoyable interactions as well as to listen to Lithuanian music.⁹

Other articles promote various business opportunities in the UK as well as describe successful interactions of emigrants and various Lithuanian politicians and scholars, indicating that the newspapers are engaged in promoting a vision of a united emigrant community that is both integrated in the business sphere of the UK and actively participating in the economic, political and social life in Lithuania itself.

Anti-Russian sentiments: while the threat that Russia and Putin’s policies pose to Lithuania in the light of the Crimean crisis is not as frequently discussed in the UK as it is in the USA, this theme is still rather prominent. For instance, one article discusses the importance of the euro for Lithuania’s security:

Having a shared currency across the entire European Union means an increase in security. Lithuania is already a member of NATO and the EU, but sharing the currency with other European countries might guarantee our safety even further. In case the Baltic States used euro and Russia threatened them, it would create financial problems for all the countries that belong to the Eurozone, which is why they would feel compelled to protect European Union territory. After all, if Ukraine tried join the EU during its period of independence

šiūlaikinis apie šiandienines problemas labiau suprantamas britams, nei mums, emigrantams. (Tiesa, 2014-05)

⁹ Balandžio mėnesį bus jau šešeri metai, kaip Rytų Londone, Walthamstow rajone, gyvuoja restoranas „Krantas“. Nors ir nedidelis, bet labai jaukus ir jau nuo pirmųjų dienų pelnęs aplinkinių žmonių simpatijas, o su kiekvienu metais pritraukiantis vis daugiau gerbėjų ir netgi turintis nuolatinių lankytojų. Žmonės čia sugrįžta ne tik skaniai pavalgyti, bet ir maloniai pabendrauti bei pasiklausyti lietuviškos muzikos (Info Ekspresas, 2015-02)

like Lithuania did, perhaps they would have avoided the current situation: the war, the loss of territory and an uncertain future, all of which affect the common citizen first and foremost.¹⁰

The existence of this theme shows that a negative perception of Russia's policies as well as a concern for Lithuania's safety are uniting elements in both Lithuanian diasporic communities analyzed in this paper.

Re-emigration: while this theme is not as prominent as *integration*, promoting re-emigration to Lithuania appears to be on the agenda of the newspapers. This theme shows acknowledgement of the fact that rapid emigration is one of the most pressing social issues in Lithuania at the moment and that it is the emigrants themselves who contributed in making it worse. Many articles stress the fact that the cultural capital that emigrants gain in the UK might be successfully utilized in starting a business or finding employment in Lithuania:

When we asked Užkalnis why he chose to re-emigrate, he claimed that his life entered a stage where it started to seem that life in Lithuania offers more opportunities for self-realization: "I left Lithuania when I was twenty-four, and it seemed that I would have more opportunities in England back then. However, nothing is constant: people change, and so do other circumstances. Now I can enjoy fame in Lithuania and be my own boss: I do not have to work in a blue-collar job and can make a living by writing and reading lectures instead".¹¹

Nevertheless, people who reject the idea of re-emigration are also represented in the newspapers:

¹⁰ Vieninga valiuta ES, tai ir neabejotinas saugumo padidėjimas. Lietuva yra NATO aljanso narė, ES narė, tačiau vieninga valiuta yra dar vienas veiksnys, užtikrinantis saugumą. Jei Baltijos šalims, kuriose jau kursuoja euras, kiltų grėsmė iš Rusijos pusės, tai sukeltų finansinių problemų visoms euro zonos valstybėms, todėl jos būtų labiau suinteresuotos ginti ir apsaugoti ES teritoriją. Juk, jei Ukraina per visą savo nepriklausomybės laikotarpį, taip kaip Lietuva būtų stengusis prisijungti prie ES, gal būtų pavykę išvengti dabartinės situacijos: karas, teritorijų praradimas ir neaiški ateitis, o juk nuo viso to labiausiai nukenčia paprastai piliečiai. (Info Ekspresas, 2015-01)

¹¹ Paklaustas, kodėl priėmė tokį sprendimą, A. Užkalnis sakė, kad atėjo toks etapas, kai atrodė, kad gyvenimas Lietuvoje siūlo daugiau savirealizacijos galimybių. "Iš Lietuvos išvažiavau būdamas 24-erių, tuomet atrodė, kad platesnės galimybės buvo ten, Anglijoje. Tačiau niekas nestovi vietoje: keičiasi žmonės, keičiasi ir aplinkybės. Dabar aš Lietuvoje galiu džiaugtis pripažinimu, be to, esu pats sau šeimininkas: nebedirbu valdiško darbo, o gyvenu iš rašymo, paskaitų skaitymo". (Tiesa, 2014-04)

A lot of emigrants from Lithuania feel a huge sense of disappointment with their country and claim that they simply see no way of re-emigrating. Others also admitted that even though they sometimes feel nostalgic, it would be too difficult to leave the homes, businesses and lives they have created here. It appears that Brexit only affected the emigrants who were already considering re-emigration before.¹²

It appears that like many other themes in newspapers from the UK, re-emigration is characterized by both a sense of responsibility to Lithuania that is mostly expressed by the journalists, and a sense of bitter disappointment that the emigrants feel towards their country.

Disillusionment with the UK: based on the published interviews and sections dedicated to reader opinions, it appears that quite a lot of emigrants have a hard time adapting to life in the UK. Some emigrants are troubled by the discrimination they receive from British people after Brexit, many feel unsatisfied with the conditions in which they have to work, and there is also a sense of feeling unhappy with various elements of life in the UK. For instance, there exists a widely-held belief that British doctors are unreliable in the Lithuanian emigrant community:

We often hear emigrants complain about general practitioner doctors who apparently lack competence and knowledge.¹³

The existence of the confrontational attitudes that are represented in this theme might be a manifestation of the bitterness that emigrants feel towards British people for not accepting them, and it might also explain the tendency of emigrants in the UK to reject integration to the new culture.

Moreover, it is interesting to note that the sense of disillusionment with the emigrant life is not directed only at external factors. The psychological well-being of emigrants themselves as well as their lack of a feeling of inner peace are also frequent topics in the newspapers:

¹² Ne vienas emigrantas iš Lietuvos neslepė didžiulio nusivylimo savo valstybe ir teigė, jog kelio atgal tiesiog nebėra. Daugelis taip pat pripažino, kad nors nostalgija kartkartėmis ir sukyla, būtų per daug sunku palikti čia susikurtus namus, verslus ir gyvenimus, o “Brexit” kol kas grįžti paskatino tik tuos, kurie šią mintį tyliai mintijo jau kurį laiką. (Tiesa, 2016-11)

¹³ Neretai iš aplinkinių girdime skundų dėl bendrosios praktikos gydytojų, kurie, mūsų supratimu, neturi jokios kompetencijos ir reikiamų žinių. (Tiesa, 2016-02)

Many people who move into another country and look for happiness are disappointed because they cannot find that which they are looking for. After emigrating, they again face the daily routine that cannot be avoided regardless of whether you are in a tropical island, in a metropolis, your homeland or another country. It is impossible to escape yourself.¹⁴

All in all, this theme reveals that many emigrants feel dissatisfied with their lives in the UK, both because of culture clash and psychological reasons.

Economic factors: given the fact that most Lithuanian emigrants in the UK chose this country in order to seek economic well-being, it is not surprising that money and finances are a pressing issue in the emigrant communities. The poverty of Lithuania is frequently named as the reason for emigration, and Britain is seen as appealing because of its economic stability. For instance, one article questions Lithuania's decision to change its national currency into the euro because it would not improve the country's economic situation:

According to experts, countries that keep their national currencies have better opportunities to take charge of their economies. As soon as the EU economy gets even the slightest misbalance, Lithuania will still remain the poorest member of the euro-block. Therefore, the politicians' desire to replace litas with the euro makes it seem like the euro is some sort of panacea for the country. However, as soon as an economic crisis happens, powerful countries make the decisions while insignificant ones like ours remain silent. Unlike in the UK, Lithuania did not even hold a referendum for the introduction of the euro.¹⁵

¹⁴ žmonės kraustosi į kitą šalį ir ieško taip vadinamos laimės, tačiau daugeliui iš jų tenka nusivilti, nes jie neranda to, ko ieškojo. Atvykę susiduria su kasdienybe, kurios išvengti negali nei tropinėje saloje, nei didmiestyje, nei gimtinėje, nei naujoje šalyje. Čia labai tinka taiklus posakis „Nuo savęs pabėgti neįmanoma“. (Info Ekspresas, 2016-12)

¹⁵ Remiantis ekspertų nuomonėmis, valstybės, kurios išlaiko savo nacionalines valiutas, turi geresnes galimybes vairuoti savo šalies ekonomikos laivą. Vos tik ES krestelės koks nors ekonomikos disbalansas – Lietuva euro bloke vistiek bus skurdžiausias narys. Tas didžiulis noras, kad Lietuvoje būtų euras ir daugelio Lietuvos politikų kalbos apie jį, sukelia jausmą, jog euras - tai kažkokia panacėja šaliai. Tačiau, juk ištikus krizei, didžiosios valstybės priima sprendimus, o tokios mažos kaip mūsų – nuolankiai tyli. Lietuvoje net nebuvo rengiamas referendumas euro klausimu, kaip kad D.Britanijoje. (Info Ekspresas, 2015-01)

In many cases, criticisms of Lithuania's poor economic situation go hand in hand with complaints about the Lithuanian government, highlighting the strong sense of animosity that many emigrants appear to feel towards Lithuanian politicians.

Furthermore, one of the articles reveals that the influence of Lithuania's poverty is so great it even leads emigrants to social degradation:

In 2013, the TV show "Emigrants" visited the abandoned former London retirement home, which is now called the "Pentagon", where Lithuanian beggars tend to stay. Even though they live in horrific conditions, the homeless people do not intend to return to Lithuania because they claim that beggars in the UK live better than the people in Lithuania who earn the minimum wage. These beggars receive government support and do not wish to look for regular employment.¹⁶

This example illustrates that Lithuania's poverty and inability to provide a living standard that is comparable to that of more developed countries is one of the driving forces behind the average emigrant's intense dislike of their homeland.

Preserving traditions: this theme includes elements such as stressing the importance of teaching emigrant children the Lithuanian language, a feeling of nostalgia for symbols of Lithuania like traditional cuisine or pop-culture, and articles about basketball, which is seen not merely as a sport, but also as an object of reverence. Traditions are seen as providing the emigrant with a sense of uniqueness in a country that is characterized by different customs:

We hope that Vėlinės remains a very important day for us even in diaspora. It is a day to remember those who are no longer with us, to show that we have not forgotten them: according to the Baltic conception of life, death is not monstrous, and our traditions show that death is only a transformation from one state of being to another. Therefore, unlike the Celts from whom Halloween stems, Lithuanians try to honor the dead rather than chasing them away by wearing scary masks. Naturally, we surprise foreigners by our

¹⁶ 2013 m. LRT laida „Emigrantai“ lankėsi buvusių Londono senelių globos namų apleistame pastate, pramintame „Pentagonu“, kuriame glaudžiasi (skvoteriauja) benamiai lietuviai. Tačiau net gyvendami čia nežmoniškomis sąlygomis – į Lietuvą grįžti nenori. Teigia, kad Anglijoje elgetų materialinė padėtis geresnė nei lietuvių, dirbančių už minimalų atlyginimą Lietuvoje. Šie benamiai gauna pašalpas ir nenori kasdien eiti į darbą. (Info Ekspresas, 2015-03)

refusal to fear death. This unique tradition is still alive now, which is why we visit commentaries on the first of November. However, it is disconcerting to think that these traditions might not survive in the young generation, and it is up to us to teach them to our children and grandchildren.¹⁷

The newspaper's focus on celebrating traditions and focusing on feelings of nostalgia for Lithuania might have a community-building function: as Tranafoiu puts it, "the feeling of loss, the nostalgia and uprooting that come with the journey, real or imagined, fuel the establishing of a shelter which is culturally mobile and necessarily cosmopolitan in nature" (2006: 104). Therefore, feeling a longing for Lithuanian Christmas Eve celebrations might encourage the emigrants to celebrate this day with fellow emigrants, missing Lithuanian basketball might influence the establishment of emigrant basketball teams, and so on.

Criticisms of Lithuania: many interviews with emigrants as well as articles that contain opinions of the newspapers' readers express a negative perception of Lithuania. Politicians and their real or perceived corruption as well as the wide-spread poverty are the usual targets. For instance, one woman who chose to re-emigrate to Lithuania criticized Lithuanian politicians for their lack of regard for the common man:

Sometimes I still want to emigrate because Lithuania is plagued by nepotism which makes it hard to control corruption among the politicians. There is a lack of respect for people in Lithuania, and every Lithuanian has to change the way they perceive life in this country starting from themselves.¹⁸

¹⁷ Vėlinės buvo ir, tikėkimės, net emigracijoje išliks labai svarbi mums diena. Diena, kai atsigrežiame į tuos, kurių nėra šalia, tuo paliudydami, jog jų nepamiršome. Baltiškame gyvenimo supratime, mirtis nėra pabaisa. Ir kaip rodo tradicijos - Vėlių mes nebijome. Mirtis - tai tik perėjimas iš vienos būsenos į kitą. Taigi, mes, skirtingai nei Helovyno pradininkai keltai, mirusiųjų nuo savęs nebaidome baisiomis kaukėmis, o atvirkščiai - juos sutinkame, pagerbiame, su jais sugyvename. Be abejo, mes stebiname užsieniečius tradicine lietuvių nebaimė mirusiesiems. Ši unikali tradicija gyva lig šiol, todėl kasmet lapkričio 1-ąją skubame į kapines uždegti žvakutę. Vis dėlto, pagalvojus apie jaunąją kartą - vaikus, anūkus - kyla nerimas, kokios tradicijos išliks jų gyvenime, bet, tik nuo mūsų pačių priklauso, ką jiems įdiegsime ir perduosime. (Info Ekspresas, 2014-11)

¹⁸ Bet neslėpsiu – kartais emigruoti vis dar norisi, nes Lietuva yra „švogerių kraštas“, todėl sunku sutramdyti korupciją, netvarką Seime... Lietuvoje trūksta elementarios pagarbos žmogui... Kiekvienas lietuvis turi keisti požiūrį į gyvenimą Lietuvoje, pradėdamas nuo savęs. (Info Ekspresas, 2016-08)

Politicians are not the only target of disapproval. The negative “Lithuanian character” that is commonly claimed to characterize Lithuanians is also cited as one of the reasons for choosing a life outside of the country:

According to Algirdas Kaušpėdas, the leader of “Antis” and the presenter in the World Lithuanian Youth meeting, “in Lithuania, people value knowledge and the ability to reason rather than emotional intelligence and empathy”. According to him, a need of communication is one of the reasons people choose to emigrate because they find warmer, more respectful relationships in other countries. He claims that “the main thing that is missing in Lithuania is respect and the sense of communion. People are generally angry, individualistic. Interpersonal relationships tend to be cold. After they move to a different country and see warm relationships based on respect, people no longer want to return to Lithuania because they want to live in an environment that gives them a sense of psychological comfort”.¹⁹

In general, the idea that there is a fundamental lack of respect for a human being in Lithuania is mentioned very frequently in the newspapers. It creates an interesting paradox if the emigrants’ racism is considered in the light of their simultaneous yearning for respect: if taken together, the themes might seem to be an implicit criticism of some of the emigrants’ hypocrisy.

Loyalty to Lithuania: while this theme is not as prominent as *Criticism of Lithuania*, it is nevertheless rather frequent in the newspapers. Most of the pro-Lithuanian sentiments are expressed by the writing staff rather than respondents, showing that the newspaper writers might be trying to create a positive view of Lithuania to challenge the negative one that many emigrants seem to hold. For example, the following inspirational quote by the Lithuanian ambassador in the USA and Mexico Žygmantas Pavilionis is imbued with patriotism:

¹⁹ Lietuvoje vertinamos žinios, gebėjimas mąstyti ir protauti, o emocinis intelektas, empatija ir bendruomeniškumas palikti nuošaly, apgailestauja liepą vykiančio Pasaulio lietuvių jaunimo susitikimo pranešėjas, legendinės grupės „Antis“ lyderis, architektas Algirdas Kaušpėdas. Jo nuomone, tai yra viena iš emigracijos priežasčių – žmonės užsienyje randa šiltesnius, pagarbesnius santykius. „Pagrindinis dalykas, ko trūksta Lietuvoje, – pagarba ir sugyvenimo dvasia, – sako A. Kaušpėdas. – Žmonės yra gana pikti, nebendradarbiaujantys. Tarp žmonių tvyro kažkoks stiprus vidinis šaltis. Kai išvažiuoja į užsienį ir pamato visai kitokius santykius – šiltus, pagarbius, dažnai nebeišeina ir grįžti. Nes norisi gyventi toje aplinkoje, kuri suteikia psichologinį komfortą.“ (Info Ekspresas, 2016-07)

I consider *Lithuanianess* to be my calling – we received this gift from God, we are unique in the world and we have to understand that it is not for naught. It is our calling which we will have to discover sooner or later because otherwise we will become sad and lonely, like a branch of a grape vine that eventually withers. Like I mentioned, it is important to love Lithuania; to quote Kennedy, a former president of the USA, to not ask what the country can do for you, but what you can do for it. We should simply love Lithuania with all our hearts whenever we are and whatever we do, and time and destiny will lead us to where we should be. I am certain that the upcoming twenty five years are going to be a creative period for Lithuania, and the current downfall is merely a hitch. Let us create a Lithuania which our children and their children can be proud of. Lithuania is not going to change by itself, and it should not be taken for granted because it is a product of our hard work and sacrifices.²⁰

The excerpt represents a rather idealistic take on Lithuania's future, but most importantly, the decision to quote an important politician's positive view of facilitating a relationship between emigrants and Lithuania has a strategic significance because his status imbues the quote with compelling ethos.

Anti-emigrant sentiments: this theme involves negative perceptions of emigrants expressed both by the emigrants themselves, and by the newspaper writers. In case of interviews with upwardly-mobile emigrants who have moved out of the so-called emigrant ghettos, fellow emigrants are criticized for their intolerance to other cultures and promoting a negative view of Lithuania through their racism, homophobia, and islamophobia. It appears that there exists a hierarchy of emigrants, with upwardly-mobile emigrants who are integrated into the multicultural

²⁰ Laikau lietuvybę ne tik misija, bet ir pašaukimu – Iš Dievo gavome šią dovaną, esame kitokie, unikalūs, tokių kaip mes kitur nėra, turime suprasti, kad tai nėra veltui, tai mūsų pašaukimas, kurį mes anksčiau ar vėliau atrasime, o jeigu ne – bus liūdna, liksime vieniši, lyg ta nukirsta vynmedžio šakelė, kuri ilgainiui tiesiog nudžiūsta. Bet kaip jau minėjau – svarbu širdis, svarbu mylėti Lietuvą ir – perfrazuojant vienintelį JAV Prezidentą kataliką Kennedy – neklausti ką Tau turi padaryti valstybė, bet klausti, ką pats gali jai padaryti. Tiesiog mylėkime Lietuvą visa širdimi, kad ir kur bebūtume, kad ir ką bedarytume ir laikas bei likimas Jus atves visada ten, kur reikia. Esu tikras, kad būsime 25 metai Lietuvai bus žymiai didesnės, galingesnės, kūrybiškos Lietuvos metai – dabartinis mažėjimas yra tik laikinas bumerango judesys, nes bumerango karta jau pradeda grįžti. Sukurkime Lietuvą tokią, kad bent mūsų vaikai ir jų vaikų vaikai galėtų ja visada didžiulotis. Ji nepasikeis savaime, ji nėra savaiminė duotybė – Lietuva yra mūsų kasdienio sunkaus darbo ir pasiaukojimo kūrinys. (Info Ekspresas, 2015-12)

British life treating working-class emigrants who are less-open minded with a certain sense of disdain:

Lithuanians interact with their neighbors, friends of their friends, acquaintances of acquaintances and everyone else despite the fact that none of them have anything in common. I asked one fellow who was spending his time with someone he obviously disliked and he retorted that it is better than being by himself. Couples start relationships without even understanding whether they like one another or not because all that matters to them is to have someone Lithuanian to go to the movies with. Then they start living together in order to save some money and eventually realize that they do not like their partner, but continue to stay in the relationship because “who else could you find in England, I do not want to date a Muslim or a black person”. It is becoming clear that Lithuanians only flock together thanks to their shared nationality. Hey, emigrants! Do you actually like the people you call your friends?!²¹

Moreover, lower class economic emigrants who primarily choose the UK as their new home because of government benefits are criticized for being opportunistic and lowering Lithuania’s prestige in the eyes of the host country:

Many people seem to believe that you can come to the UK and live on government benefits even if you have to commit a crime by forging documents by doing so. I will never understand the people who act like that and then brag about it as if breaking the law is something to be proud of. Incidents like that influence the intolerance for immigrants and cast a shadow on those would like to create their future in the UK by honest means. The only thing I can say is that as long as you are sincere, the UK is not a paradise of government benefits and the living conditions in Lithuania are better in many ways.²²

²¹ Lietuviai bendrauja su kaimynais, draugų draugais, pažįstamų pažįstamais ir visais iš eilės, nors jų, pažiūrėjus iš šalies, absoliučiai niekas nesieja. Paklausiu tokio vieno, kodėl leidžia laiką su akivaizdžiai jam nepatinkančiu žmogumi, o tas atšauna: “Vis geriau negu vienam”. Poros susitikinėja net nesuprasdamos, patinka ar nepatinka, svarbu – yra su kuo į kiną nueiti. Kad būtų pigiau, apsigyvena kartu, laikui bėgant dažnas pastebi, kad ne į tas roges įlipo, bet “ką jau čia geriau besusirasi toj Anglijoj, aš nenoriu juodžiaus ar babajaus”. Darosi aišku, kad lietuvius svetur į krūvą traukia tiesiog tautybė. Ei, jūs emigrantai! Ar tikrai mėgstate žmones, kurious vadinate draugais?! (Tiesa, 2014-02).

²² Įsivaizduojama, kad galima atvykti ir gyventi vien iš pašalpų, net jei tam reikia meluoti ir klastoti dokumentus, kitaip tariant, daryti nusikaltimą. Niekad nesuprasiu žmonių, kurie taip elgiasi ir po to dar

Despite the rather strong wording in the quotes presented above, most of the writers express their opinions in a more diplomatic way, focusing on the harm that emigration does to Lithuania rather than outright criticizing the emigrants. For example, the following quote was found in an article that subtly criticizes young Lithuanian males' reluctance to undergo mandatory training in the army:

National identity represents the person's intuitive attachment to a group of people that is united by shared national, ethnic and religious interests. If emigrants still consider themselves to be Lithuanian, why would they feel reluctant to serve in the Lithuanian army? An internal conflict arises in those who either have a weak concept of their identity or do not realize who they really are. ²³

Nevertheless, it is clear that certain less-than-positive traits of the Lithuanian diaspora in the UK are put on display and scathingly criticized for the purpose of instilling the readership with a greater sense of self-awareness.

Keeping ties with Lithuania: the final theme found in the newspapers directly deals with the issue of transnationalism. It entails enjoying Lithuanian media while in diaspora, meetings with various Lithuanian politicians in the UK, and generally keeping ties with the country. For example, an interview with one emigrant directly touches upon Anderson's concept of *imagined communities*:

As a writer, I feel connected to Lithuania through the Lithuanian language. I also feel a connection through the people and the culture because even though we sometimes curse the stereotypical pessimistic personality of Lithuanians, studying social anthropology made me realize that I could never know another culture as well as I know Lithuania. I

viešai skelbiasi, tarsi nusikaltimas būtų toks dalykas, kuriuo galima didžiuotis. Tokie atvejai gerokai prisideda prie kylančios nepakantumo imigrantams bangos ir meta šešėlį tiems, kurie norėtų sąžiningai kurti savo ateitį Jungtinėje Karalystėje. Galiu pasakyti tik tiek – jeigu esi sąžiningas, Jungtinė Karalystė nėra pašalpus rojus, ir daugeliu aspektų Lietuvoje sąlygos yra geresnės. (Tiesa, 2014-02)

²³ Tautinis identitetas reiškia refleksyvų žmogaus susitapatinimą su žmonių grupe, kurią sieja bendri tautiniai, etniniai ir religiniai interesai. Jei emigravę lietuviai vis dar mano esantys leituviai, kodėl jie turėtų vengti atlikti pilietinę pareigą? Vidinis prieštaravimas kyla tiems, kurių identitetas silpnas, arba tiems, kurie nesuvokia, kas tokie yra iš tiesų. (Tiesa, 2015-05)

could never understand other people as well as I understand a grandmother in a backwater Lithuanian village.²⁴

Nevertheless, the relationship between Lithuania and the emigrants is not always portrayed in a positive way. For instance, the following ironic article scathingly criticizes both Lithuanians who oppose emigration, and emigrants who feel bitter towards Lithuania:

Eventually I realized that the people who remain in Lithuania and act aggressive towards the emigrants are actually jealous because the emigrants earn more through their hard work. On the other hand, the emigrants are jealous because they cannot earn as much in Lithuania and stay near their relatives. It is because of jealousy that the two opposing sides get called traitors of the country and slaves who work for next to nothing in the press.²⁵

Either way, it is clear that a strong emotional connection still exists between Lithuania and the Lithuanian diaspora in the UK, which is something that appears to be already lost in the USA. The following section will outline the themes from the other emigrant community analyzed in this paper and discuss this difference further.

²⁴ Kaip rašantį žmogų, prie Lietuvos mane riša kalba. Riša ir žmonės, kultūra – kad ir kiek kartais keiksnojam pesimistišką lietuvių būdą, bet studijuodama socialinę kaip niekad anksčiau supratau, kad jokios kitos kultūros negaliu pažinti taip, kaip pažįstu lietuvių, jokių žmonių niekada nesuprasiu taip gerai, kaip suprasiu net ir nepažįstamą močiutę kur nors atokiausiame Lietuvos kaime. (Tiesa, 2015-09)

²⁵ Galiausiai supratau, kad tie, likusieji Lietuvoje ir lyg pasiutę šunys lojantys ant emigrantų, pavydi, kad šie gali sau leisti šiek tiek daugiau, kad ir už sunkų darbą. Išvykusieji, savo ruožtu, pavydi, kad negali taip pat gerai gyventi Lietuvoje ir būti arčiau savo artimųjų. Būtent iš pavydo vieni bene kasdien viešojoje erdvėje apšaukiami tėvynės išdavikais, o kiti – už grašius pasidavinėjančiais varguoliais. (Tiesa, 2014-08)

5.3. Themes in the USA Newspapers

In case of *Čikagos Aidas* and *Tiesa*, news articles that were related to the topics of Lithuanian emigrant news, Chicago community news, and reader opinions were analyzed. Like the themes in the UK newspapers, the dataset of USA newspapers was also categorized into twelve themes: acceptance of multiculturalism, Lithuanian-American identity, making Lithuania famous abroad, concerns regarding the future of Lithuania, history, community events/news, preserving Lithuanian culture, keeping ties with Lithuania, keeping ties with other Lithuanian diasporic communities, religion, anti-Russian sentiments/Crimea crisis, and news from Lithuania. Appendix B contains a list of the themes and the prominent codes that went into developing them. The following section of the paper provides summaries of the themes as well as illustrative examples from the analyzed newspapers.

Acceptance of Multiculturalism: while the themes discovered in newspapers from the UK revealed that the Lithuanian diaspora in that country prefers interacting with their fellow Lithuanians to integration and communication with people from different backgrounds, the USA community shows a much more open-minded approach to living in a multicultural space:

I was born and raised in Lithuania. I love my country. However, I also love my husband and respect his homeland. Lithuania is too small for everyone to find a significant other within its boundaries. After all, love is unpredictable. Our family would like to live, start a business and raise our children in both my husband's and my countries. After all, cultural diversity promotes tolerance and proper values and Lithuania should not take this opportunity away from us.²⁶

Moreover, the newspapers' authors express sympathy for the Syrian refugees, condemn islamophobia, frequently talk about other diasporic communities, and display an interest that reaches beyond the Lithuanian diaspora in other ways. All in all, the diasporic community in the USA is much more tolerant of multiculturalism than its UK counterpart.

²⁶ Gimiau ir augau Lietuvoje. Myliu savo šalį. Tačiau taip pat myliu savo vyrą ir gerbiu šalį, kurioje jis gimė ir užaugo. Lietuva yra per maža, kad visi rastų antrąsias puses tik joje. Juk meilė ateina nelaukta. Mūsų šeima norėtų gyventi abejose šalyse ir jaustis pilnaverčiais šių šalių piliečiais, kurti verslus, auginti ten savo vaikus. Juk kultūrinė įvairovė ugdo toleranciją ir reikiamas vertybes. Neatimkite šios galimybės iš mūsų (*Čikagos Aidas*, 2015-12).

American-Lithuanian Identity: Lithuanians who live in the USA also show a much stronger sense of hybridity compared to those who are living in the UK. While maintaining Lithuanian traditions is important for the community, the emigrants also show an appreciation for various elements of the American culture, such as celebrating Thanksgiving Day or enjoying Super Bowl American football matches:

I told myself that I will not be making cepelinai this year. But as the World Cepelinai Day (or the Super Bowl Sunday, depending on who you ask) was nearing and I gave in. I thought about my family: one day, the young relatives will ask me how to make cepelinai. I ended up having to pick up the pieces of what were supposed to be wonderful cepelinai. I could relate to the Seattle *Seahawks* who ended up losing to New England *Patriots* at the last minute of the game.²⁷

It is also very interesting to note that the diaspora community in the USA is keenly aware of their own history in North America and seek to make their past here as meaningful as that of their ancestors' past back in Lithuania. For example, one article talks about the idea to not only teach American-Lithuanian children about Lithuanian history and geography, but also to start teaching them about the history of Lithuanian diaspora in the USA:

We are nearing the hundredth anniversary of Lithuanian independence. How could we make our children more involved in the matters of the country? Should not we learn from the Lithuanian organization of cartographers and organize a USA-Lithuanian map drawing contest? I believe that a project like that could unite the Lithuanians living in various corners of the USA: from the descendants of Pennsylvanian miners to the young families that only came here recently. The Lithuanian embassy in Washington could supervise this project and we might involve the consulates, Lithuanian and American education organizations, churches, and the media. Perhaps we could continue the diaspora

²⁷ Šiomet sakiau sau – nevirsiu aš tų cepelinų, gaila laiko. Bet azartas yra galingas dalykas – artėjant „Pasaulinei cepelinų dienai“ (arba „Super Bowl Sunday“ – nelygu, kaip kas į tai žiūri), vis dažniau pagalvodavau – o gal... O gal? ... Pagalvoju apie savo šeimą – ateis diena, kai jaunieji šeimos nariai atsigręž į mane: o kaip išvirti cepelinus? ... Tenka graibyti iš puodo skeveldras to, kas turėjo būti nuostabiais cepelinais. Savo nesėkmėj solidarizuojuosi su Seattle „Seahawks“, taip apmaudžiai, paskutinę akimirką atidavusiais pergalę New England „Patriots“ (Draugas, 2015-02).

children's journey across the world in this side of the Pacific Ocean and give meaning to our responsibility to remain Lithuanian by doing this? ²⁸

It is apparent that the Lithuanian emigrants in the USA accept the idiosyncrasies of both countries into their identities and in some cases, as the example of the diaspora map illustrates, they even seek to differentiate themselves from the Lithuanians who are living in Lithuania.

Making Lithuania Famous Abroad: one of the issues that the newspapers are concerned about is giving recognition to people who are making Lithuania known in various business, art and academic spaces of the United States. That includes artists, politicians, businessmen, and other prominent people, both born in diaspora and those who come from Lithuania. For instance, *Draugas* covers the Global Lithuanian Awards every year:

“This is the third time we have found somebody to thank and appreciate. Lithuania is going to stay strong as long as people like you exist” – claimed Dalia Grybauskaitė. “By awarding Lithuanians who live abroad and in Lithuania, we acknowledge the people who are creating a competitive, modern and constantly growing Lithuania. We celebrate the people whose ideas become meaningful achievements, those, who are proud of their country and know how to be an example for all of us, those, who loudly and proudly proclaim “Lithuania is mine””. The president stressed that these awards are not only an honor, but also a responsibility to work for the sake of Lithuania, to face new challenges and inspire others. She also urged the winners and other participants to remain with Lithuania and to nurture and protect their country. ²⁹

²⁸ Artėja Lietuvos Respublikos Nepriklausomybės šimtmetis. Kaip išjudinti mūsų mažuosius? Ar nevertėtų pasimokyti iš Lietuvos kartografo draugijos veiklos ir jubiliejiniams 2018 metams paskelbti JAV lietuviukų žemėlapių konkursą? Manau, jog toks projektas galėtų apjungti visų kartų visuose Amerikos regionuose gyvenančias lietuvių atžalas – nuo senųjų Pensylvanijos angliakasių palikuonių iki neseniai į šią šalį atvykusių jaunų šeimų. Tokį projektą galėtų globoti LR ambasada Washingtone ir generaliniai bei garbės konsulai, įsijungti įvairios lietuviškos ir amerikietiškos švietimo bei visuomeninės organizacijos, parapijos, žiniasklaida. Gal galėtume šią vaikų kelionę aplink pasaulį tęsti ir šiapus Atlanto, taip įprasminant ir pagarsinant mūsų atsakomybę išlikti lietuviais? (*Draugas*, 2016-03)

²⁹ „Ir štai trečias kartas, kai vėl randame kam padėkoti, ką įvertinti, kuo pasidžiaugti. Išties Lietuva bus stipri tol, kol bus tokių kaip Jūs”, – teigė Dalia Grybauskaitė. „Apdovanodami užsienyje ir Lietuvoje gyvenančius ir dirbančius lietuvius, mes įvertiname veržlios, modernios ir augančios mūsų valstybės kūrėjus. Tuos, kurių idėjos virsta prasmingiausiais darbais ir kuria pridėtinę vertę. Tuos, kurie didžiuojasi savo valstybe ir moka būti pavyzdžiu mums visiems. Tuos, kurie garsiai ir išdidžiai taria – mano Lietuva”, – sakė šalies vadovė. Prezidentė pabrėžė, kad šie apdovanojimai – tai ne tik garbė, bet ir atsakomybė. Tai

The newspapers' editors also give financial awards to some of the aforementioned people as a way of urging emigrants to be more involved in preserving *Lithuanianess*.

Concerns Regarding the Future of Lithuania: while the members of the USA diaspora community still feel a strong attachment to Lithuania, they also express dissatisfaction with some elements of the country, namely its economic situation, corrupt system of education, and incompetent politicians:

People who are concerned with the future of Lithuania realize that we are becoming a disabled country. At a glance, we have all the formal aspects of a proper nation: a territory, native inhabitants, a military, a political system, legal institutions and so on, but an actual country does not exist. Lithuania lacks vitality and spirit, and they continue to be drained by emigration that has been going on for three decades. World history shows that only its citizens can imbue a nation with spirit, and apathetic inhabitants, consumers, immigrants or slaves cannot act as a substitute for that.³⁰

In many cases, the people whose opinions are expressed in the newspapers are sympathetic towards the complicated economic situation of the average Lithuanian. Moreover, it is frequently pointed out that Lithuania is flawed because it fails to guarantee a respectable standard of living for all its citizens:

You cannot demand patriotism from a hungry, angry person who's disappointed in their country. Patriotic feelings would be difficult for them to experience because a human is an emotional being. If one feels like they cannot feel content in their country, they take up a critical position regarding their homeland because they do not feel happy there. Many people make their position known by emigrating, others complain because they feel unhappy and do not feel like pushing themselves to be their best selves as a result. Others

pareiga dirbti Lietuvai, nebijoti naujų iššūkių ir įkvėpti esančius šalia. Valstybės vadovė laureatams ir šventės dalyviams palinkėjo būti kartu su Lietuva, stiprinti ją ir saugoti. (Draugas, 2015-01)

³⁰ Tie, kurie išgyvena dėl Lietuvos ateities, vis garsiau konstatuoja: tampame neįgalia valstybe. Lyg ir turime formalius valstybės atributus: teritoriją, tautą, kariuomenę, politinę sistemą, valdžios struktūras ir kita, bet tikros valstybės nėra. Vis labiau pastebima, kad jai trūksta gyvybinės energijos ir dvasios - jėgas, kurias „išvėdino“ nevaldoma ir trečią dešimtmetį įsisenėjusi emigracija. Pasaulio istorija moko – energiją ir dvasią valstybei suteikia tik tauta ir piliečiai, jų negali duoti nei neutralūs gyventojai, nei vartotojai, nei imigrantai, nei vergai (Čikagos Aidas, 2015-02).

might have just had a stroke bad luck – there are many different life stories. However, in order for a person to feel like a patriot, a certain standard of life quality must be met.³¹

Moreover, while some articles express sympathy for the recent economic emigrants and understand their complicated predicament, others take up a more critical stance regarding emigration:

Without curing the disease of emigration, other ailments such as the lagging economy, the education reform that is going nowhere, and the culture that has lost its way lose their relevance. Our victories become meaningless as well because if there are no longer any Lithuanians in Lithuania, or if Lithuanians become a national minority in their own country, there will no longer be a reason to improve life in the country. Lithuania will simply cease to be Lithuanian...³²

The question of whether or not *Lithuanianess* is still present in the contemporary Lithuania is also raised in one of the articles that deal with the possibility of risking one's life to defend their country in case of Russian aggression:

The approved military mobilization plan outlines the main mobilization principles and determines what kind of measures government institutions have to take in case of mobilization. However, the possibility of mobilization raises the following question: can a country as small as Lithuania defend itself against a massive attacker? As many examples show, even small countries are able to resist a huge neighbor as long as its inhabitants

³¹ Juk negali reikalauti iš alkano, pikto, nusivylusio savo šalimi žmogaus patriotizmo. Jam tai būtų sudėtinga. Žmogus yra emocinga būtybė. Manydamas, jog jam šioje šalyje nėra gera gyventi, žmogus specialiai užima kritišką poziciją savo Tėvynės atžvilgiu, nes jaučiasi čia nelaimingas. Daugelis savo kritišką poziciją išreiškia emigruodami, kiti skundžiasi, nes yra nelaimingi, nepakankamai reikalauja iš savęs. Treiems galbūt tiesiog nepasisekė, visokių gyvenimo istorijų yra. Bet tam, kad žmogus jaustųsi savo šalies patriotu, turi būti užtikrintas tam tikras oraus pragyvenimo standartas (Čikagos Aidas, 2016-05).

³² Neįveikus emigracijos ligų beprasmybiškai tampa visi kiti negalavimai – šlubuojanti ekonomika, šunkeliais pasukusi švietimo reforma ar nebežinanti ko griebtis kultūra. Be prasmėmis tampa net ir mūsų perga lėš. Nes jei Lietuvoje nebebus lietuvių arba lietuviai sudarys Lietuvoje nacionalinę mažumą, nebeliks prasmės tobulinti Lietuvos valstybę. Lietuvos valstybė tiesiog nebebus lietuviška... (Draugas, 2016-02)

have determination, sufficient training and are willing to show self-sacrifice. The question is whether such sentiments are still present in Lithuania.³³

All in all, it appears that three main issues concern the USA diaspora as far as Lithuania's future is concerned: the unquenchable brain drain that still plagues the country, the government's incapability of securing a respectable standard of living for its citizens, and the apathy of an average Lithuanian.

History: one of the elements present in American newspapers but not the British ones is articles that deal with historical issues relevant to Lithuania and the formation of the Lithuanian nation as such. The topics that are covered in the newspapers include biographies of various partisans, the works of prominent members of the diaspora, and historical events that led to various developments in Lithuania. When it comes to paying respect to various important Lithuanian people and dates, the diasporic community often shows a vigor that might even surpass Lithuanian press:

September 22nd marked the 47th anniversary of the death of the first constitutional Lithuanian president Aleksandras Stulginskis. We did not hear of Lithuanian press mentioning this anniversary in any way. The democratically elected Aleksandras Stulginskis guided our country with his creative energy for six years.³⁴

The newspapers' focus on history might be explained by the fact that most of the members of Lithuanian diaspora in the USA are already 2nd or 3rd generation emigrants who have to consciously seek out their roots because they have no geographical access to Lithuania and no memories of the country of their own: as Hutchinson (2000) puts it, "central to ethnicity is the question of origins, the recovery of memory, and of a 'usable past' by which to negotiate the

³³ Patvirtintame mobilizacijos plane nustatomi pagrindiniai mobilizacijos skelbimo principai, numatoma, kaip veiks ir kokių priemonių turės imtis valstybės institucijos mūsų šalyje paskelbus mobilizaciją. Tačiau kyla štai koks klausimas: Ar tokia maža šalis kaip Lietuva gali apsiginti nuo milžiniško priešo? Ne vienas pavyzdys rodo, kad ir maža tauta įstengia apsiginti ir nuo didelio kaimyno, reikia tik ryžto, pasiaukojimo ir pasirengimo. Tik ar likę to Lietuvoje? (Čikagos Aidas, 2015-03)

³⁴ Šių metų rugsėjo 22 d. sukako 47 metai nuo pirmojo konstitucinio Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidento Aleksandro Stulginskio mirties. Neteko girdėti, kad apie šią datą nors žodeliu būtų užsiminusi Lietuvos žiniasklaida. Aleksandras Stulginskis prie mūsų valstybės vairo su savo kūrybine energija, demokratiškai išrinktas stovėjo šešerius metus. (Draugas, 2016-10)

problems of the present” (2000: 653). This point is represented well in the following passage from an article that was advertising a book about Lithuanian history:

The *Sąjūdis* showed that Lithuanians were still alive and capable of achieving a lot. This book is about the success of the Lithuanian nation. The first streak of luck was that the nation still exists because it should not be here. Lithuania has been reborn, and now it is drowning again. Now, the nation is drowning in alcohol, pessimism, and hate.³⁵

It is evident that looking back at Lithuania’s past and drawing strength from it is significant for the emigrants in the USA, not only when it comes to establishing common ground with the present-day Lithuania, but also in differentiating themselves from the modern Lithuanians who are so unlike the heroic, patriotic figures that are present in historical narratives.

Diasporic Community: the newspapers consistently cover various events that happened in one of the sub-communities, such as church masses, scout organization meetings, family gatherings in particular neighborhoods, and similar occasions. Not all of the articles are purely informational since some of them also serve the function of making certain issues in the community known in order to take action against them:

We hear complaints that it is getting harder and harder to organize Lithuanian emigrant events from Lithuanian organizations every year. There have been various complaints in the press that even if Lithuanians come to events, they only do so in order to eat and get drunk.³⁶

The sheer amount of interaction that happens between the members of the diasporic community indicates a close sense of kinship and dense social ties, something that does not appear to be present among the UK Lithuanians. Interestingly, one article compares the Lithuanian diaspora to

³⁵ Sąjūdis toks reiškiny, kuris pasako, o vis dėlto mes esam, mes galim. Čia knyga apie lietuvių tautos sėkmę. Pirmoji sėkmė, kad tauta išliko. Jos turėjo nebūti. Tauta atsigauna, atgimsta, o po to vėl skęsta. Dabar skęsta alkoholyje, pesimizme, neapykantoje (Čikagos Aidas, 2016-09).

³⁶ Kasmet girdime vis garsesnius lietuviškųjų organizacijų nusiskundimus, kad vis sunkiau suburti išeivijos lietuvius į mūsų renginius, o juo labiau įkal - binti juos padėti organizuoti. Spaudoje net kelis kartus nuskambėjo liūdno gaidelės, kad jei lietuviai ir susirenka į renginius, tai tik pavalgyti ir išgerti (o kartais ir nusigerti!) (Draugas, 2014-08).

the Jewish people, showing both a strong sense of community and a desire to differentiate themselves from Lithuanians who live in Lithuania:

By being determined and working hard, we managed to make a living despite having no higher education. However, we want our children to have opportunities that we did not have in order to achieve even more than us. It is evident that Lithuanians can make a living out of nothing, which is why I think that as Lithuanians get more opportunities, we will become a more formidable presence. We will be like the new Jewish people who might not have a country but possess a strong sense of identity as well as intelligence and determination.³⁷

This passage highlights several trends that characterize USA-American emigrant community: a feeling of pride in their achievements, a desire to watch their descendants succeed, and a sense of distance from Lithuania. All in all, it appears that maintaining an active diasporic community is a priority for Lithuanian emigrants who live in the USA.

Preserving Lithuanian Culture: celebration of Lithuanian symbols, such as traditional costumes, basketball, folklore, cuisine, and language, is a frequent presence in the newspapers. In many of the analyzed articles, national symbols, language in particular, are often exalted and treated with reverence:

Many years ago, I received a very important gift. It never bored me, it always fit me, it gave me joy, and it made me feel at peace. The more I used it, the more important it became. The more I shared it with the others, the more wholesome it grew. I shared it with my children, my students, with the entire LA Lithuanian community which became like a family to me. What was this gift? It is the Lithuanian language and my love for it. This thought never grew old and never changed. For us, those who live here in the USA,

³⁷ Mes ir be diplomų prasimušėm sunkiu darbu, atkaklumu. Bet norisi, kad vaikams to jau nereiktų, kad jie turėtų galimybių, kokių mes neturėjom. Tada, manau, kad jie dar daugiau pasiektų. Pažiūrėkit, lietuviai iš nieko gyvenimą susikuria. Tai manau, kad kuo toliau, tuo daugiau lietuvių turint geresnių galimybių, mes tapsime tokia jėga, su kuria reikės skaitytis. Mes būsim naujieji žydai - gal ir be šalies, bet su stipriu identitetu, daug proto ir darbštumu (Čikagos Aidas, 2014-06).

Lithuanian language is our own Lithuania, our own land. We carry it with us wherever we go.³⁸

Regarding the previous passage, according to Smith, a focus on symbols in diaspora is often more than merely a manifestation of nostalgia because it also has a unifying function: “the nation is called upon to provide a social bond between individuals and classes by providing repertoires of shared values, symbols and traditions” and thus “the nation becomes a “faith-achievement” group, able to surmount obstacles and hardships” (1991: 17). Smith’s idea rings especially true for the diasporic Lithuanians who are facing the task of negotiating their Lithuanianess in the light of both multicultural American environment as well as the social problems that Lithuania faces.

Keeping ties with Lithuania: discussing the various ways in which the Lithuanian diaspora keeps in touch with Lithuania is quite frequent in the newspapers. In most cases, the interactions are initiated either by the sub-communities (scouts, religious groups, etc.) that also provide financial support for Lithuanian students or researchers, or the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Those interactions often manifest in meetings with Lithuanian politicians in Chicago and other American cities and sending delegations of emigrants to Lithuania.

A couple of articles deal with re-emigration, but they are worded in a way that suggests that the newspapers’ writers do not appear to believe that full re-emigration is possible. For instance, one of them deals with a family that choose to move to Vilnius:

So far, the newcomers in our homeland are still waiting to receive support in their new environment and are hoping to be understood because the opinions regarding their return have varied from very positive to very negative. Nevertheless, the young family has nothing to lose. In contrast, even if Kornelija and Aligrdas’ family decides to return to New York, the years they had spent in Lithuania would be an invaluable life experience

³⁸ Prieš daugel metų gavau labai brangią dovaną. Per visą amžių ji man nenusibodo, visur tiko, suteikė džiaugsmo, širdies pasitenkinimo ir ramybės. Kuo daugiau ją naudočiau, tuo prasmingesnė ji darėsi. Kuo dažniau ją dalinausi su kitais, tuo pilnesnė ji tapo. Pasidalinau su savo vaikais, su mokiniais, su visa LA lietuvių visuo mene, kuri tapo artima lyg šeima. O kas ta dovana? Tai lietuvių kalba ir meilė jai. Ta mintis nepaseno ir ne pasikeitė. Galiu tik pridėti – lietuvių kalba mums, čia gyvenantiems, yra mūsų Lietuva, mūsų žemė. Ją nešiojamės su savim, kur tik bekeliuotume (Draugas, 2015-05).

and a source of memories that give meaning to their time in this world and not only create their past, but also help them build their future. ³⁹

It is apparent from the way the excerpt above is worded that the author of the article does not believe that the family in question is going to stay in Lithuania for the rest of their lives. The idea that experiencing life in Lithuania is a useful experience, but not a sustainable long-term goal once again illustrates the dissociation that the emigrant community in the USA feels from Lithuania.

Keeping ties with other Lithuanian communities: this theme shows that members of the Lithuanian diaspora interact not only with Lithuanians who live in Lithuania, but also with those who are scattered all over the world. For instance, one of the articles described the meeting of lituanistic school leaders:

“We are citizens of the world... the children of this century... we are the world” – those are the things that Rugilė, Laima, Jūratė, Danguolė, Nijolė, Irmantas, leaders of lituanistic schools from Melbourne, Buenos Aires, Montreal, Stockholm, Helsinki, Zurich, Frankfurt, and Washington, DC, are writing on huge sheets of paper. Thirty lituanistic school teachers as well as several leaders of world Lithuanian communities from twelve countries were invited into a seminar in Nida this summer by the Lithuanian ministry of education and science. ⁴⁰

Even though various Lithuanian institutions often organize world Lithuanian meetings, Chicago appears to be the center of the world Lithuanian community which unites Lithuanians from

³⁹ Kol kas naujakuriai tėvynėje laukia palaikymo iš aplinkos ir tikisi supratingumo, nes iki šiol nuomonių apie jų grįžimą buvo įvairiausių: nuo pačių geriausių iki nemaloniausių. Kaip bebūtų, jauna šeima neturi ką prausti. Atvirkščiai, jeigu taip atsitiktų, kad Kornelijos ir Algirdo šeima nuspręstų grįžti atgal į New Yorką, pra leisti metai Lietuvoje būtų neįkainojama gyvenimiška patirtis ir prisiminimai, kurie labai gražiai įprasmina mūsų laiką šiame pasaulyje, kuria ne tik mūsų praeitį, bet ir padeda vienaip ar kitaip dėti ateitį. (Čikagos Aidas, 2016-11)

⁴⁰ „Mes – pasaulio piliečiai... Šio amžiaus vaikai... Mes esam pasaulis”, – dideliuose baltuose lapuose rašo Rugilė, Laima, Jūratė, Danguolė, Nijolė, Irmantas – lituanistinių mokyklų vadovai iš Melburno, Buenos Aires, Montrealio, Stokholmo, Helsinkio, Zuericho, Frankfurto, Washington, DC. Trisdešimt jų ir keli Lietuvių Bendruomenių pirmininkai iš 12 pasaulio šalių Švietimo ir mokslo ministerijos vasarą buvo sukviesti į seminarą Nidoje. (Draugas, 2015-09)

sizeable communities, like those in Argentina or Australia, as well as those from places that do not have a strong diasporic presence, such as Honk Kong or Australia.

Moreover, even though lituanistic education is frequently mentioned in the newspapers, the writers also acknowledge that it is becoming hard to teach the emigrant children Lithuanian. Therefore, a rather prominent idea that appears in the USA newspapers is that Lithuanian language is not necessary to conceive oneself as Lithuanian. It shows an open-minded approach to the issue of nationality compared to the more traditional view of what constitutes *Lithuanianess* which is common in Lithuania, where language is seen as an essential element of the Lithuanian identity.

Religion: the diasporic community in the USA appears to be more religious than its largely agnostic counterpart in the UK. This difference primarily stems from the historical circumstances under which the Lithuanian diaspora in the USA was formed, with churches serving as the first centers of *Lithuanianess* this country. Religious sub-communities remain an important part of the USA-Lithuanian diaspora:

The press often writes about disappearing Lithuanian parishes and priests who cannot speak Lithuanian. This celebration gave us a chance to consider who we are and what our parish means to us. Our parish is going to be shaped by what we want it to be as well as the way we treat it. This small parish has existed for a hundred years and it is going to remain active because it is supported by uncommon love of the people and their dedication to keeping it alive. ⁴¹

Religion plays an important unifying role in diaspora because “some deeply engrained religious-cultural habits possess a vigor and tenacity ... language and formal doctrinal belief seem less deep rooted and it is easier to shed them; but ... religion continues to act as a diacritical mark for the populations which carry it” (Gellner, & Breuilly 2008: 71). Moreover, even if members of the community are not very religious themselves, they might still be involved in the religious sub-

⁴¹ Spauodoje dažnai skaitome apie nykstančias lietuviškas parapijas, lietuviškai kalbėti nemokančius kunigus ir t. t. Ši šventė suteikė progą pamąstyti, kas esame mes ir kas gi ta mūsų parapija. Ji bus tokia, kokios mes trokšime ir kokią palaikysime. Ši maža parapija gyvuoja 100 metų ir toliau gyvuos, nes ją puošia neeilinė žmonių meilė ir pasiryžimas ją išlaikyti. (Draugas, 2014-07)

community for the sake of socialization and a sense of belonging: as Smith puts it, “religious identities derive from the spheres of communication and socialization. They are based on alignments of culture and its elements” and “join in a single community of the faithful ... who feel they share certain symbolic codes, value systems and traditions of belief and ritual” (1991: 6).

Anti-Russian sentiments: a strong opposition to Russian politics is a prominent theme in the analyzed newspapers. This theme covers both disapproval of Russia’s actions in Ukraine, and the historical past that Lithuania shared with the Soviet Union. At one point, Russia is described as being a “cancer”, and a belief that Putin is going to take advantage of Islamic terrorism in order to re-occupy the Baltic States is quite frequently expressed. Russia’s invasion of Crimea is also seen as a clear expression of Putin’s intentions regarding the Baltic States:

It is still not clear how [the Crimea crisis] is going to end. It is doubtful that Vladimir Putin is going to be satisfied by only taking Ukraine. Only naïve, primitive political analysts can think that the dictator would not like to take back the Baltic States.⁴²

The strong antipathy to Russia might be explained by the emigrants’ lingering perception of Russia as a hegemonic power that oppresses Lithuania, and thus their diasporic identity is strengthened by “resisting” it. As Hutchinson puts it, “cultural conflicts inspire competing investigations to map the national territories, histories and cultural practices, and populations” and “out of these debates a national identity is designed, internalized and elaborated” (Hutchinson 2000: 664).

News from Lithuania: while the newspapers contain separate sections dedicated to Lithuanian news, the articles published there are usually taken from Lithuanian publishers such as *Delfi*, which is why only articles which provided an opinionated reflection on the said news were considered in this study. For example, one of the articles commented on the decline of Lithuanian farming industry and provided an interesting view of its importance:

⁴² Ir dar nežinia, kuo visai tai baigsis. Vargu ar Vladimirui Putinui už teks Ukrainos. Tik kvaili, primityvūs politikos apžvalgininkai gali manyti, esą Kremliaus diktatorius nenorėtų su sigrąžinti į savo glėbį ir Baltijos valstybių (Draugas, 2014-12)

Eating the wonderfully delicious Lithuanian bread with Lithuanian butter, I felt grateful for everyone whose effort made these Lithuanian projects that often bear Russian names reach me. I understood that farmers, distributors and sellers should not look for ways to punish the scapegoats [who are supposedly responsible for the decline of food industry in Lithuania]. If we continue doing that, not only the Lithuanian village, but also Lithuania itself is going to disappear.⁴³

The fact that the emigrants show an interest in Lithuanian news despite being geographically, politically and economically removed from the country shows that it remains as a unifying element in constructing the American-Lithuanian identity.

⁴³ Valgydama nuostabiai skanią lietuvišką duoną su lietuvišku sviestu, pajutau dėkin gumą visiems, kurių pastangomis šie lietuviški produktai, daugelis rusiš kais pavadinimais (tikriausiai aplin kiniais keliais) pasiekė mane. Mano mintis užplūdo suvokimas: negalime tarpusavyje (ūkininkai, supirkėjai, pardavėjai) pyktis: negalime kaltinti vieni kitų; negalime ieškoti būdų, kaip „kaltuosius ir nekenčiamus“ nubausti. Jeigu taip darysime, tai ne tik neliks Lietuvos kaimo, bet greitai ne liks ir pačios Lietuvos (Draugas, 2016-04).

6. ANALYSIS OF THE THEMES

After closely examining the themes that were derived from analyzing the data, it became apparent that despite the similar general topics and content, the newspapers from the two countries approach various issues of identity in relatively different ways: while newspapers from the USA show a rather dissociated view from the actual Lithuania and frequently showcase the unity of the American Lithuanian community by talking about various diasporic events, the newspapers from the UK show empathy for the emigrants who still feel an acute disappointment with Lithuania as well as judge some of the said emigrants for their shortcomings and inability to adapt to life in multicultural England in a healthy, tolerant way. Nevertheless, there are some elements that appear in all of the newspapers, namely a preoccupation with symbols of *Lithuanianess* (basketball, folklore, etc.) as a sign of unity, a sense of disappointment with the social reality in Lithuania (mainly its economic and political elements), and a sense of concern with Russia's actions in Ukraine as well as the implications that Russia's aggressive international politics might have in case of Lithuania's future.

6.1. Analysis of *Info Ekspresas* and *Tiesa*

According to Apapdurai (1996), because of its past resistance to the Soviet ideology, many countries from Eastern Europe possess a sense of nationalism that he calls "tribalism writ large" (20). In other words, it is due to Lithuania's recent past that many people are subconsciously wary of and threatened by anyone who is not a Lithuanian, which would explain the difficulties that many emigrants face when it comes to accepting people who are radically different from them. It appears that many first-generation Lithuanian emigrants in the UK subscribe to the so-called tribal nationalism: the data shows that many of them tend to flock to ghetto-like communities and distance themselves from both British people and other emigrants who hail from different countries. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the newspapers from the UK both document the emigrants' tendency to form Lithuanian ghettos reject people who have different cultural backgrounds, and express a rather critical opinion about this sort of behavior. Indeed, even though objective descriptions of the increasingly isolated Lithuanian emigrant life are common, they are almost always followed up by an implicit or explicit judgement of the

average emigrant's narrow-mindedness. Therefore, readers of the newspapers are encouraged to become acquainted with people from different cultural backgrounds, become more accepting of sexual minorities, and in the most recent articles, to show compassion for the Middle Eastern refugees who are fleeing the war in Syria. However, the multicultural ideology that appears to permeate the articles does not imply that the emigrants should abandon their Lithuanian identity and assimilate into the new country: articles that deal with issues like promoting re-emigration as well as appreciating what Lithuania has to offer despite its shortcomings are also common. Therefore, it could be said that one of the ideological aims of the newspapers is to teach the readers to be more tolerant and accepting of the multicultural values that are present in Western Europe without losing their Lithuanian identities.

Another interesting point that can be raised after closely examining the themes in the UK newspapers is that many of the articles point out the hypocrisy of the average emigrant. It seems that emigrants who are quoted in the articles both feel a very strong sense of animosity towards *others* who have a different cultural and/or ethnic background, and cite the lack of respect for a human being in Lithuania as one of the primary reasons for their own decision to emigrate. In a way, reading the newspapers makes it apparent that the average emigrant is stuck in a cycle of vicious hatred, passing the contempt that they believe they have received in Lithuania from other common Lithuanians or the politicians onto others. Even though many of the emigrants are no longer in touch with the homeland that has supposedly wronged them, they still feel bitter about their former lives. Perhaps the attempt to reconcile the emigrants' internal conflict between their remaining sense of *Lithuanianess* and their dislike of various aspects of Lithuania might explain the presence of numerous articles that express feelings of intense patriotism, nostalgia for the homeland, and an attachment to various Lithuanian traditions. When considering the implications of the findings, it is important to once again take into account the ideology and agenda-building functions of news media: diasporic media in particular are involved in the "development of ideologies and representations" that might not be represented in major national forms of media and are thus largely overlooked or ignored by mainstream press (Thussu 2006: 31). In the light of the discovered themes, the newspapers appear to serve the function of guiding their readership towards both integration into the multicultural environment that are now living in, and a sense of accepting their Lithuanianess without being hindered by internalized self-loathing. After all, many post-soviet Lithuanians, both those who remain in Lithuania and the economic emigrants who provide the data for this section of the paper, are said to suffer from an inferiority complex

that stems from their Lithuanian background, which in turn creates many identity-related issues (Aleksandravičius 2008: 15). Because of that, the emigrants' psychological state might be said to reveal an insight into Lithuanian society as a whole.

All in all, it appears that two general lines of thought characterize the attempts at identity shaping that are expressed in the UK-based newspapers: first, a feeling of frustration with the emigrants' xenophobia and reluctance to use their emigration as an opportunity to mature emotionally and intellectually, and second, a sense of hope that the emigrants can learn how to use the diaspora experience to work out their complicated relationship with Lithuania and build a more wholesome, less negative perception of themselves, their native country, and the diverse people that inhabit the world in general. Moreover, issues such as promoting tolerance of people from different cultures as well as discussing re-emigration as a way to overcome the feeling of dissatisfaction that the emigrants apparently feel in diaspora appear quite prominently in the newspapers. The presence of those themes suggests that while a sense of *transnationalism* that would drive the emigrants towards accepting a sense of responsibility for the country that they have left behind is perhaps not very strong in the UK-Lithuanian diaspora yet, the diasporic press is actively engaged in encouraging the emigrants to be more proactive in the matters of their homeland. Moreover, the newspapers also acknowledge that completely stopping emigration at this point is an impossible notion because that would make many Lithuanians lose the opportunities that they can take advantage of now. Therefore, the newspapers suggest that emigration should not be stigmatized and that it could actually be transformed into a positive force for Lithuania as long as a feedback channel could be established between Lithuania and its emigrants.

6.2. Analysis of *Čikagos Aidas* and *Draugas*

Based on the themes derived from *Čikagos Aidas* and *Draugas*, the Lithuanian diaspora in the USA retain their Lithuanianess through teaching the Lithuanian language to their children, participating in cultural community events that deal with Lithuanian traditions, by expressing an interest in maintaining various Lithuanian customs, such as remembering Lithuanian celebrations and possessing a passion for basketball, having an interest in Lithuanian history and literature, and by expressing an interest in Eastern European politics. Moreover, it is apparent that some

symbols of Lithuania are very meaningful for the community, and invoking them also represents a way of unifying the emigrants. The fascination with symbolic representations of Lithuania is understandable because as Smith puts it, the homeland has an elevated status for emigrants and serves as “a repository of historic memories and associations” that are “places of veneration and exaltation whose inner meanings can be fathomed only by the initiated, that is, the self-aware members of the nation” (1991: 9). Therefore, even basic symbols of Lithuania, such as cepelinai, serve the purpose of highlighting the emigrants’ uniqueness compared to other inhabitants of the USA as well as creating a sense of communion within the diasporic community.

However, even though the emigrants appreciate Lithuanian traditions, the Lithuanian-American community also appears to hold very negative views of some aspects of Lithuania, namely the politicians’ corruption that has supposedly led to the general poverty of the country as well as the fraudulent system of Lithuanian education. It could be said that by criticizing the leaders of Lithuania, the emigrants “challenge established social and political élites, who have ‘failed’ the nation” and “provide maps of collective identity ... which can mobilize larger social constituencies” by doing so (Hutchinson 1987: 655). Therefore, by portraying the Lithuanian political elites in a negative light, the diasporic community strengthens its own sense of unity and camaraderie.

Furthermore, most of the cultural events described in the articles concern Lithuanian artists or scholars living in diaspora rather than those who live in Lithuania, which suggests that the diasporic community has a unique and distinct cultural life that does not necessarily reflect the trends in Lithuania itself. Moreover, the emigrants show that they have internalized quite a lot of “American” elements into their identities, and interactions with Latvian, Turkish, and Ukrainian diaspora communities are also frequently mentioned, both of which indicate a presence of hybridity among the Lithuanian emigrants. Therefore, it could be inferred that the Lithuanians who are living in the USA make up a distinct community which incorporates some “Lithuanian” elements into their identities while also stressing a distance from the original Lithuania which possesses many traits that are undesirable for the emigrants. All of those traits mark the American-Lithuanians as people who are living in an “in-between” space. They seek to maintain a distance from their home country, but do not intend to abandon their status as emigrants either because it provides them with a unique national identity.

Another interesting point to consider is the emigrants' interest in global politics. In the newspapers, it is signified by a major focus on the Crimean crisis, which suggests that the emigrants feel a sense of kinship with subjugated nations that now face a situation similar to Lithuania's struggle against the Soviet Union in the past. It is noteworthy because for postcolonial cultural theorists, such as Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, Trinh Minhha, Homi Bhabha and others, hybridity is not only a cultural phenomenon but also one that has an explicitly political facet. The postcolonial writers see the *hybrid* as a force that can undermine or subvert dominant forces through challenging their ideologies. It is apparent that the Lithuanian diaspora in the USA hardly has a reason to challenge their host country which has accepted them and provides them with the space to grow and thrive, which might be why the unspent rebellious desire that the diasporic community still possesses is directed back to the remnants of the original cause of the second-wave Lithuanian emigration to the UK, namely Soviet aggression which is now represented by Russia. That might explain the strong disdain that the American-Lithuanian community still holds towards this country. It could also be said that potential Russian aggression against the Baltic States is something that unites the community underneath a common cause: after all, the American-Lithuanians played a big role in taking Lithuania's independence back from the USSR, which makes proactive resistance as well as displaying support for countries that are being unjustly subjugated right now (such as Ukraine) a major defining trait of this particular diasporic community.

All in all, it can be concluded that while they are still being influenced by some elements of Lithuania, Lithuanian emigrants in the United States are nevertheless "marked by their own form of identity and community that arises from living abroad", which suggests that hybridity rather than nationalism (or transnationalism) is the stronger driving force behind this community (Hepp, Bozdag, & Suna 2012: 4). The American-Lithuanians still engage in preserving Lithuanian traditions, yet their worldview is already strongly colored by their American environment, which explains the emigrants' passion for the idea of freedom as well as their willingness to engage in various activities with fellow emigrants, a trait which is not traditionally common in contemporary Lithuania. The findings suggest that outside of holding a symbolic meaning in identity construction, the actual Lithuania is mostly a symbol rather than an actual entity for the members of the American-Lithuanian diaspora which was analyzed in this paper. Nevertheless, despite an increasing sense of distance between American-Lithuanians and Lithuania, retaining their *Lithuanianess* remains important for the diasporic community and its

members' identities. As Hutchinson puts it, "membership of a nation holds out the promise to individuals that their fleeting lives are given meaning by participation in the story of an 'eternal' nation" (2000: 655), which is why Lithuania is still a significant symbol for Lithuanian emigrants even though they might not feel much fondness for its actual social realities.

To summarize this section of the paper, analyzing the results revealed that while the emigrant newspapers from the UK are strongly concerned with promoting multiculturalism and making the Lithuanian diaspora less insular, the newspapers from the USA show a different approach to reconciling the emigrants' American environment with their Lithuanian national identities. Whereas the UK-based newspapers are first and foremost concerned with challenging the formation of emigrant communities that are isolated from the rest of the UK, the USA diaspora mainly displays a sense of promoting *Lithuanianess* by focusing on history and traditions. Nevertheless, what the two communities have in common is that both of their members tend to view the actual Lithuania in a slightly negative light. Moreover, the newspapers are promoting hybridity of a Western worldview and elements of a Lithuanian identity, which is why despite their differences, both the UK and the USA diaspora communities can be said to exist in an "in-between" space that is displaced from both their home and host countries yet adopts elements of both of them while constructing their national identities.

7. CONCLUSION

All in all, it is apparent that despite sharing the same roots, the emigrant communities in the UK and the USA differ from one another quite significantly. Their idiosyncrasies are not surprising considering that the two communities largely consist of different generations of emigrants who chose the life outside of Lithuania for different reasons. Nevertheless, the communities' peculiarities as well as the way in which some themes overlap reveals a multi-faceted, complex picture of diasporic Lithuania that is being constructed and reflected by emigrant news media.

In case of newspapers in the UK, the destination of most contemporary economic emigrants from Lithuania, the emigrants are encouraged to both act in a way that is fitting to a person who lives in multicultural Western Europe, and to see Lithuania itself in a less critical, more empathetic light. Moreover, the newspapers are quite strongly concerned with promoting re-emigration, which in turn gives them an almost educational function: it could be said that the writers are trying to teach the emigrants to be more tolerant in order to elevate their emigrant experience from simply living in the UK in order to earn money into achieving emotional and intellectual growth by living abroad. In other words, the emigrants are encouraged to learn not only how to look out for themselves, but also to develop a desire to contribute to the development of Lithuania's social capital.

Unlike the UK community that is still rapidly growing at the moment, the USA Lithuanians are facing different issues. The Lithuanian-American community played an important role during the period of Lithuania's fight for independence, and they appear to be quite disappointed in the direction that the country has taken during the past couple of decades. The emigrants openly question contemporary Lithuania's ability to muster the same level of patriotism it had a couple of decades ago in case of another foreign invasion. Moreover, their preoccupation with criticizing Russia's actions in Crimea reveals that the Lithuanian-Americans still have a lot of unspent energy when it comes to fighting for democracy and freedom even though they can no longer project their vigor to their homeland. The sense of frustration with Lithuanian politicians and the country's social realities reveals that the ties between the diasporic community and the home country are fraying, and it is rather clear that the idealized Lithuania in the emigrants' minds is becoming quite detached from the actual Lithuania.

In conclusion, while the two diasporic communities and their newspapers are quite different, the findings nevertheless reveal that the Lithuanian emigrant experience is characterized by complicated feelings that emigrants hold towards their homeland. It is both the anchor that holds the UK emigrants back and makes them unable to adapt to life in a tolerant, global environment, as well as the symbol of a lost home that provides the USA emigrants with a unique identity as well as an almost messianic desire to protect subjugated Eastern European nations from aggressors. The emigrant communities show a picture of Lithuanian identity that might be at odds with the way in which Lithuania is portrayed by local publications, which makes them a significant contribution to the country's concept of national identity that, as is the case with all contemporary nations, is constantly changing and developing.

8. FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

The present paper considered only a sample of what media-focused research could reveal about the issue of Lithuanian emigration and the transformation of Lithuanian identity in a global environment. There still exists a vast amount of unexamined data in the emigrant newspaper archives that can be found both in the UK and in the USA. Examining those archives could shed some light into the development of diasporic Lithuanian identities that took place across decades. Moreover, another relatively unexplored emigrant media space exists on the internet, in online forums where emigrants share their experiences with fellow members of their diasporic communities without the censorship that is bound to appear in forms of mass media such as newspapers. Furthermore, this paper only focused on two diasporic countries without considering other the members of the “world Lithuanian” community which encompasses both old Lithuanian immigrant clusters in countries like Argentina or Russia, as well as emerging ones in contemporary emigration hotspots, such as Norway.

All in all, examining diasporic media has the potential to reveal how the perception of an emigrant’s national identity changes over time and how the diasporic community copes with the dissonance that emigration creates. Moreover, it reveals something about the Lithuanian nation as a whole: the insecurities that are carried across the globe show that an emigrants’ well-being depends less on their country of residence and more on their mindsets and preconceptions about their identities and their place in the world. As such, media-related studies that are focused on emigrants are important not only for the diasporic communities that are constantly engaged in the process of balancing their sense of belonging to a particular nation with a global environment, but also for Lithuania itself since it is still finding its identity as an independent nation after being denied autonomy for a long period of time.

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SANTRAUKA

Šiame tyrime keturi lietuvių išeivijos laikraščiai iš Didžiosios Britanijos ir JAV buvo nagrinėjami siekiant atskleisti būdus, kuriais pasitelkdama žiniasklaida formuoja šiose šalyse gyvenančių emigrantų tapatybes. 596 straipsniai iš „Čikagos Aido“ (JAV), „Draugo“ (JAV), „Tiesos“ (JK), bei „Info Ekspreso“ (JK) laikraščių, kurie buvo išleisti 2014, 2015 ir 2016 metais, buvo analizuojami pasitelkiant teminės analizės metodą tam, kad būtų galima daryti išvadas apie Amerikos bei Didžiosios Britanijos lietuvių tapatybės niuansus. Interpretuojant duomenis, buvo pasitelkiamos įvairios koncepcijos, paplitusios išeivijos studijose: transnacionalizmas, hibridiškumas, globalizacija, ir t.t. Tyrimo rezultatai atskleidė, kad Amerikos lietuviai ir Anglijos lietuviai turi daug ką bendro: abi bendruomenės yra nusivylusios Lietuvos politika bei ekonomine situacija, tačiau taip pat laiko savo lietuvišką kilmę unikalios tapatybės šaltiniu, padedančiu išsiskirti iš kitų kultūrų. Tačiau skirtingų šalių laikraščiai taip pat propaguoja skirtingas idėjas: Anglijos lietuviai yra skatinami praplėsti savo akiratį bei tapti tolerantiškesniais kitoms kultūros bei būti atlaidesni pačios Lietuvos atžvilgiu, o grįžtamoji emigracija taip pat yra gana dažnai skatinama. Amerikos lietuvių laikraščiai turi kitokius tikslus: juose daugiausia dėmesio skiriama lietuvių išeivijoje tausojimui bei Rusijos užsienio politikos kritikavimui. Ši bendruomenė aktyviai remia Ukrainos pasipriešinimą Rusijos agresijai bei dažnai diskutuoja apie Lietuvos ateitį dar vienos okupacijos atveju. Šio tyrimo išvados yra reikšmingos, nes jos atskleidžia tai, kaip skirtingos lietuvių emigrantų bendruomenės konstruoja savo nacionalinį savitumą.

APPENDICES

1. Appendix A

Table 1: themes derived from the codes (UK)

<i>Title of the theme</i>	<i>Examples of codes that form the theme</i>	<i>Number of Occurrences</i>
Theme 1 – Refusal to Integrate	38% of Lithuanians choose Lithuanian entertainment, refusal to learn English, 38% of Lithuanians prefer the services of other Lithuanian emigrants, refusal to interact with emigrants from other cultures, describing the tendency to only date other emigrants, describing “Lithuanian ghettos”, many emigrants care neither about the UK nor about Lithuania, Lithuanians dislike their Muslim neighbors, criticism of Lithuanians’ racism, urging emigrants to be less homophobic, expressing sympathy for Syrian refugees who experience xenophobia, Lithuanians dislike Indians, Lithuanians dislike black people, slur usage when describing people from other cultures, criticizing the xenophobia of Lithuanian emigrants, negative perception of cross-cultural marriages	33
Theme 2 – Successful Integration/Globalization	Advertising seminars that help new emigrants integrate, interviews with people who have successfully integrated, participating in celebrations of other cultures, making international friends, claiming that living in diaspora makes one more tolerant, belief that one’s nationality does not depend on their place of residence, marrying people from other cultures, child-free lifestyle, interviews with people who claim that living in London made them more open-minded	56
Theme 3 - Community in diaspora	Sharing business ideas in emigrant conferences, warning fellow emigrants against the dangers of living in diaspora, promoting various cultural events, stressing the importance of having a strong diaspora community	23
Theme 4 - Anti-Russian sentiments	Threats to the Baltic states, critical of actions in Ukraine, critical of soviet architecture in Vilnius,	12
Theme 5 - Re-emigration	Returned emigrants are successful because they have new ideas, buying land in Lithuania, promoting seminars about re-emigration	20
Theme 6 - Disillusionment with the UK	Difficult to adapt to, alien traditions, disdain from the British people, London is unpleasant to live in, disappointing medical services, unsatisfying work	18

	conditions, post-Brexit discrimination	
Theme 7 - Economic factors	Naming the poverty of Lithuania as the main reason for emigration, England is appealing because of its economic stability	15
Theme 8 - Preserving traditions	Language, literature, cuisine, traditional weddings, traditional celebrations, basketball, passport as a sign of identity, celebrating Lithuanian independence, stressing Lithuanians' "pagan roots"	31
Theme 9 – Loyalty to Lithuania	Pride in Lithuania's fight for independence, praising Lithuanians' work ethic, praising president Grybauskaitė,	15
Theme 10 – Criticism of Lithuania	Not safe to live in, corrupt politicians, economically unsatisfying, parents in Lithuania treat their children poorly, critical of the "Lithuanian character", criticizing Lithuanian doctors, interviews with Lithuanians who do not think Lithuania deserves their money, many immigrants feel like they are ready to give up their Lithuanian citizenship	28
Theme 11 - Anti-emigrant/emigration sentiments	Emigrants are overly negative, emigration hurts Lithuania economically, intolerant of sexual minorities, emigrants dislike other Lithuanian emigrants, critical of emigrants' materialism, criticizing emigrants who leave the country to avoid serving in the army, criticizing Lithuanians' islamophobia, emigrants criticized for creating a negative stereotype of Lithuanians	31
Theme 12 - Keeping ties with Lithuania	Showing new Lithuanian movies and art exhibitions to the Lithuanian community in London, discussing the issue of double citizenship, meetings with Lithuanian politicians	18

2. Appendix B

Table 2: themes derived from the codes (USA)

<i>Title of the theme</i>	<i>Examples of codes that form the theme</i>	<i>Number of Occurrences</i>
Theme 1 – Acceptance of Multiculturalism	Participating in multicultural events, participating in various conferences with Latvians and Estonians, seminar about remaining a Lithuanian and a citizen of the world at the same time, happy that Lithuanian children can have two citizenships now, showing an interest in Estonian cultural events, talking about police brutality in the USA, stressing the importance of integration, article about a Lithuanian woman who translates African books, celebrating together with the Ukrainian community, supporting non-Lithuanian diaspora artists (Turkish, Russian), comparing the Lithuanian diaspora to Jewish people, celebrating America as a country of emigrants, showing support for Syrian refugees, looking for members for softball and volleyball teams, Superbowl, pro-Islam views, expressing admiration of the Irish diaspora, promoting inter-cultural relationships	32
Theme 2 - Lithuanian-American Identity	Advertising works of fiction that deal with Lithuanian experiences by diaspora authors, exploring the aspect of hyphenated identities in works of art, creating a Lithuanian cultural map of Chicago, articles about people who returned to live in Lithuania and how they handled it, participating in a Thanksgiving day parade, suggesting that children should be taught the history of Lithuanian diaspora before the history of Lithuania, celebrating the American day of independence, article skeptical of possibility of successful re-emigration to Lithuania, feeling a distance from Lithuania, stressing that you do not need to speak Lithuanian to feel like one, singing both American and Lithuanian anthems during meetings, lack of desire to re-emigrate, expressing a strong sense of longing for Lithuania	37
Theme 3 - Making Lithuania famous abroad	Interviews with famous members of the diaspora community, awarding people from other cultures who contributed to spreading Lithuania's name, Global Lithuanian awards, articles about various businessmen who distribute Lithuanian products, giving financial support for emigrants who work for the sake of Lithuania	54

Theme 4 - Concerns Regarding the Future of Lithuania	Critical of Lithuanians' reluctance to vote, criticizing Lithuania's lack of concern for the Russian threat, critical of Lithuanian press, critical of Lithuania's economic situation, worried that Lithuania is not a "real" country because of emigration, sexism in Lithuania, alcoholism	24
Theme 5 - History	Biographies of famous Lithuanians, histories of Lithuanian diaspora communities in other countries like Russia and Brazil,	51
Theme 6 - Community Events/News	Celebrating Christmas in the community, holding various meetings, articles about the Chicago Lithuanian Basketball league, preparing for and participating in dance festivals, celebrating the summer solstice, scout organization,	75
Theme 7 - Preserving Lithuanian culture	Stressing the importance of Lituanistic education, cuisine, applying the values promoted by Donielaitis to modern times, participating in song and dance festivals, creating works of art based on classic Lithuanian literature, describing the activities of Lithuanian diaspora archive, holding poetry reading evenings, advertising studies in Lithuania, stressing the importance of revisiting the ideology of Lithuanian identity to attract young people, the educational function of basketball	68
Theme 8 - Keeping ties with Lithuania	Meetings with Lithuanian politicians, promoting programs for emigrant children to study in Lithuania and vice versa, Congratulating Vilnius with New Years, sending children to spend their summers in Lithuanian camps, interviews with famous Lithuanians like L. Donskis, charity for Lithuanian children, Big Brother program – helping Lithuanian students, interaction with the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, providing financial aid for students	66
Theme 9 - Keeping ties with other LT diasporic communities	Congratulating the Buenos Aires community with an anniversary, inviting choirs from Canada to participate in song festivals, world Lithuanian meetings, describing the diasporic community in Kaliningrad, organizing a world-wide Lithuanian marathon, inviting people to be more accepting of whom they consider to be Lithuanian,	34
Theme 10 - Religion	Advertising various Christian masses, describing meetings of religious organizations, interviews with priests,	39
Theme 11 - Anti-Russian sentiments/Crimea crisis	Articles critical of Putin's policies and actions, showing support for the Ukrainian community, congratulating Lithuanians for supporting Ukraine, calling Russia a "cancer", accusing Russia of	50

	murdering children, criticizing pro-Russian politicians in Ukraine , supporting Ukraine's independence	
Theme 12 - News from Lithuania	Showing an interest in Lithuanian schools and their curriculum, Mission Siberia, discussing the issue of euro, describing meetings of Lithuanian politicians and NATO representatives, promoting tolerance of Islam in Lithuania	22