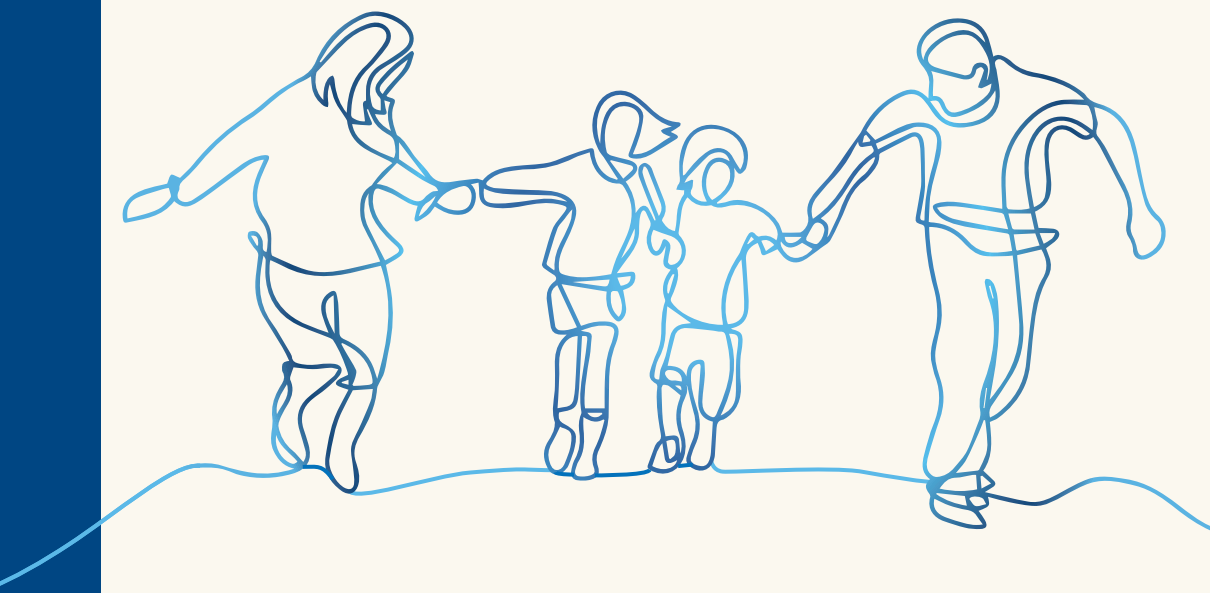
MAKING LITHUANIAN FAMILIES ACROSS BORDERS

Conceptual Frames and Empirical Evidence

Edited by Irena JUOZELIŪNIENĖ *and* Julie SEYMOUR



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Edited by
Irena Juozeliūnienė
Vilnius University, Lithuania
and
Julie Seymour
Hull York Medical School, UK

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Affil. prof. Vida Kanopienė (Mykolas Romeris University)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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Irena Juozeliūnienė and *Julie Seymour*

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Indrė Bielevičiūtė was a Master programme student at the Department of Sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy at Vilnius University until July 2019. She participated in the project about migrant families, funded by the Research Council of Lithuania (2017-2019). Her research interests focus on transnational family conceptualization, cross-border family practices using visual research methods. She has co-authored (with I. Juozeliūnienė and I. Budginaitė-Mačkinė) a chapter 'Transnational families in Lithuania: multi-dimensionality of social relationships and their reorganization' in Multi-ethnic and transnational families in Europe. Gender and generations (2017) and a study 'Implementation of Return Migration Politics in Lithuania: Experts About Challenges and Coping Mechanisms' (2019).

Irma Budginaitė-Mačkinė is a PhD candidate in Sociology at the Department of Sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy at Vilnius University. Current research focuses on the relationship between migration and intergenerational solidarity, with particular attention to the normative attitudes, filial anxiety and personal support networks in an ageing society. Recent publications include: 'Global Migration and Family Change in the Baltic Sea Region', Journal of Comparative Family Studies (2016, 47(1)) (co-authoring with I. Juozeliūnienė); 'How transnational families are seen to be 'troubling'? Contesting and reframing mothering', Sociological Research Online (2018, 23(1)) (co-authoring with I. Juozeliūnienė) and a chapter 'Transnational families in Lithuania: multi-dimensionality of social relationships and their reorganization' in Multi-ethnic and transnational families in Europe. Gender and generations (2018) (co-authoring with I. Juozeliūnienė and I. Bielevičiūtė).

Vida Česnuitytė is associated professor at Mykolas Romeris University, Vilnius (Lithuania). Her academic interests include family conceptualization, formatio n, and practices, sociology of life-quality, social policy, and social research methods. Individually or in co-authoring has published three textbooks, four collective monographs, three edited books (at Palgrave Macmillan, and Emerald Publishing), over fifteen book chapters, and more than twenty articles in peer-reviewed scientific journals. She is a co-author of the collective monographs 'Family in Lithuania: The Perspective of Social Ties' (2014), and 'Lithuanian Family in the Context of Europe' (2015), both in co-authoring with V. Kanopienė, and S. Mikulionienė. Recent publications include edited books: 'Families in Economically Hard Times: Experiences and Coping Strategies in Europe' (2019; in co-editing with G. Meil); 'Families and Personal Networks. An

International Comparative Perspective' (2018; in co-editing with K. Wall, E. D. Widmer, J.-A. Gauthier, and R. Gouveia), 'Family continuity and change. Contemporary European Perspectives' (2017; in co-editing with D. Lück, and E. D. Widmer). Since 2017, serves as a Vice-coordinator of the Research Network 'Sociology of Families and Intimate Lives' of the European Sociological Association (ESA RN13).

Irena Juozeliūnienė is a professor at the Department of Sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy at Vilnius University. Her research interests focus on families and migration. She published a monograph 'Mapping Methods in Image-Based Research' (2014); authored three textbooks, two studies, and is a guest editor of the special issues of Journal of Comparative Family Studies (2013; 2016). She has co-authored a textbook 'Visual Methods in Migration and Family Research' (2014), a chapter 'Transnational families in Lithuania: multi-dimensionality of social relationships and their reorganization' in Multi-ethnic and transnational families in Europe. Gender and generations (2017); edited collection 'Family Change in Times of the De-Bordering of Europe and Global Mobility' (2015; co-editing with J. Seymour). Recent publications include: 'How Transnational Mothering is Seen to be 'Troubling': Contesting and Reframing Mothering' (2018; co-authoring with I. Budginaitė-Mačkinė); a study 'Implementation of Return Migration Politics in Lithuania: Experts About Challenges and Coping Mechanisms' (2019; co-authoring with I. Budginaitė-Mačkinė and I. Bielevičiūtė).

Gintė Martinkėnė is a PhD candidate in Sociology at the Department of Sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy at Vilnius University. Current research focuses on the migration and family relations, children care in Lithuanian migrant families. Publications include articles in peer-reviewed scientific journals: 'Lithuanian Family in the Context of Migration: Representation in Legal Documents and TV Broadcasts' (2011; co-authoring with I. Juozeliūnienė); Application of Mapping Method in Sociology (2012; co-authoring with I. Juozeliūnienė and L. Kanapienienė). She participated in the project about migrant families, funded by the Research Council of Lithuania (2017-2019), and studied parental displays across borders.

Julie Seymour (PhD) was a Reader in Medical Sociology at the Hull York Medical School (HYMS), Hull, United Kingdom until recent retirement. Her research interests focused on family and childhood practices in relation to domestic labour, health and illness, emotional labour, work-life balance, body donation and transnational migration. Recent publications include

Dermott, E. and Seymour, J. (eds.) (2011) Displaying Families: A New Concept for the Sociology of Family Life, and Hackett, A., Procter, L. and Seymour, J. (eds.) (2015) Children's Spatialities: Embodiment, Emotions and Agency.

Laimutė Žilinskienė is an associate professor at the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Philosophy at Vilnius University. Her academic interests focus on the Soviet-era memories in life stories. She examines the contexts of adaptation in the Soviet and post-Soviet-era, behavioural models in life stories of the generations, family memory formation, and ethic aspects of Soviet-era research. She is the editor of the collective studies: 'Soviet-Era Memory in Life Stories' (2014), Born in Socialism: the First Soviet Generation (2016). She has published articles on adaptation models in Soviet and post-Soviet era, communicative family memory, changing family values across the generations.

INTRODUCTION

Julie Seymour

This book continues the reporting of a tranche of research on migration and Lithuanian families which has been contributing to the international understanding of these areas since 2004. Incorporating contemporary conceptualizations of the family and emerging theory from the fields of family, migration and childhood research, it shows how families are developing new ways of family life as transnational families (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002). It also provides new findings on the way in which official and academic documents have developed and altered in light of the experiences of migrant families and the influences these have had on how cross-border families (Boccagni, 2010) are studied and understood. This has fed into significant changes in Lithuanian policy and legislation; a process which continues.

Drawing on the family practices approach which recognizes both the activities of, and discourses about, family life (Morgan, 1996), each area is given significant attention. The book then has three main foci which form its three distinct parts: the conceptual (Part 1), a consideration of legislative and academic discourses on migrant families (Part 2), and empirical studies of the strategies and activities of Lithuanian Transnational Families (Part 3). Importantly, the last section utilizes new methodologies to illustrate and further test the conceptual material drawn on in the volume. As such it provides both cutting-edge research (in both findings and methodology) and holistic feedback as it further develops the underlying concepts on which this research draws.

Families across Borders: The Lithuanian Context

As a background to the research reported in this book, some statistics relating to international migration in Lithuania will be provided. Lithuania joined the European Union through the Treaty of Accession (2003) which came into force on 1st May 2004. As part of what were named the 'A8' countries (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia), Lithuanian citizens were provided in 2004 with access to the job market in some European countries such as the UK, Sweden and Ireland. Twelve other nations already in the EU did not provide immediate employment access with Germany and Austria imposing the full

seven year waiting period until 2011 before opening up their job market to A8 workers. The movement of peoples to and from Lithuania since 2004 has shown considerable imbalance. Immigration to Lithuania between 2005 and 2018 has shown a mostly steady annual increase from 6 789 in 2005 to a recent high in 2018 of 28 914 (Statistics Lithuania, 2018). This has however been dwarfed by the numbers of Lithuanian citizens emigrating. Figures for 2005 showed 57 885 residents leaving Lithuania and while this was the second highest annual figure, beaten only by 2010 when 83 157 people emigrated, numbers have ranged consistently between 30–50 000 per year (Ibid). In total, some 710 thousand people have emigrated from Lithuania since 1990 (EMN, 2019). This is especially noticeable in a country with a small population such as Lithuania and the overall population has reduced between 1990 and 2019 from 3.7 million to 2.8 million or around 24% of the initial population (Ibid). Crucially, this emigration has not been across all ages. While 13% of emigrants were aged 0–14 which can be assumed to be the children of migrants who took their families with them, young working age Lithuanians have made up the majority of those leaving the country. 29% of migrants were between 15–24, the highest number from one age group 30% came from 25–34 year old Lithuanians while another 14% of emigrants were aged 35–44. After 45, the percentage of emigrants falls sharply. As a result, 86% of emigrants were aged 45 or less, making a significant impact on the demographic and economic profile of the country (Sipavičienė, 2019). In addition, many of those who left Lithuania would be in the child-bearing and family-rearing years of their lives and this led to the disquiet evidenced in the official documents examined in Part 2. By 2018, few people in Lithuania were unaffected by emigration. A representative survey of the population carried out in 2018 while implementing the project 'Global migration and Lithuanian family: family practices, circulation of care and return strategies' (LMTLT, Contract No. S-MIP-17-117) showed that 7% of them lived abroad previously for at least 6 months, 24% had family members abroad at the time of the survey, 30% had kin abroad, 30% had friends abroad, and 32% had acquaintances abroad. About one third of the sample (32%) did not have anyone abroad. It is with this background of significant population loss (albeit with growing numbers of returnees more recently), and the movement of large numbers of economically active citizens that the research in this book should be considered.

Outline of the Book

As described above, the book is divided into three main parts outlining conceptual, discourse analysis and survey material.

Part 1. Revisiting established frames and testing new approaches

Part 1 provides the theoretical and conceptual frameworks for the other two empirical parts to be understood. Julie Seymour opens this Part of the book with an explanation of the recent family research concepts which have been used as a lens through which to view the impact of global migration and the Lithuanian family. Chapter 1.1 explains the genesis and use of the 'family practices' approach (Morgan, 1996) and how this allows a consideration of more diverse and spatially separate family forms. This approach distinguishes between the everyday 'doing' of family and periods of family 'display' when the need to be seen as a family becomes more intense. She shows how this can be the case for a number of local, transnational and State audiences of migrant families. The chapter also introduces the concept of Personal Life (Smart, 2007) which allows consideration of wider forms of intimate relationships alongside families. Finally, recognizing the importance of intergenerational links it considers the family configuration approach which focuses on inter and intra generational linkages.

In the second chapter in this Part (1.2) Irena Juozeliūnienė further expands on the conceptual approaches of family practices and Personal Life. To this she adds the very recent sociological discussions of 'Troubled Families'. Bringing this new perspective to look at the issue of migrant families, she explains how this approach problematizes the labelling of families as 'Troubled', wishing to focus instead on how families manage the everyday troubles of family life. Within this chapter she shows how she operationalized the conceptual material from these approaches to enable empirical research to take place and how the specific projects which formed the project 'Global migration and Lithuanian family: family practices, circulation of care and return strategies' (2017–2019) were developed.

Part 2. Situating migrant families' troubles in Lithuanian legislation and academic publications

The second part of the book provides the findings and discussion of the projects related to understanding the changing discourses around migrant families. These investigations provide a significant arc of material

some going back as far as 1995 to show how conceptualizations and conversational frameworks have varied and developed.

In chapter 2.1, Irena Juozeliūnienė and Indrė Bielevičiūtė provide empirical data to interrogate the way in which family and migration were represented in official Lithuanian policy documents. This includes National Policy documents from 1995–2018. Here the conflation of migrant families with other 'troubled' families can initially be seen. The authors then trace changes in these documents to a less negative viewpoint of migrant families although they consider they are still not recognized in their own right.

This examination of discourse is developed by Irena Juozeliūnienė, Indrė Bielevičiūtė and Irma Budginaitė-Mačkinė in chapter 2.2 where they outline an examination of academic social constructions of migrant families using material from 2005–2017. They note the prevailing low mobility discourse which pervades the material, and which does not reflect the experience of significant numbers of Lithuanian families.

Finally, in this Part, the same authors provide a consideration of the role of parenting in Lithuanian academic publications between 2005 and 2017. The role of mothers is shown to be constructed as particularly problematic. Also, dominant, for those migrants who took their children abroad, is the concern about the continuation of a Lithuanian identity. This often related to use of the Lithuanian language and presents the issue of integration abroad as a problem.

Part 3. Doing, Displaying and memorizing: the evidence from the quantitative research study of Lithuanian Transnational Families

In the third Part of the book, new research methodologies, namely quantitative are applied to the family practices approach to migration. Vida Česnuitytė (chapter 3.1) provides new empirical data to exemplify the activities carried out by transnational families as part of 'doing family'. Using two surveys of 1005 Lithuanians and 406 migrants she examines how family is done through routine activities, feasts and traditions. These data show that while migrants abroad make families of choice from friends, there are considerable cross-border activities and visits which maintain existing family ties.

Chapter 3.2 focuses on the importance and continuation of displays of parenting and caring for elderly parents. Irena Juozeliūnienė, Gintė Martinkėnė and Irma Budginaitė-Mačkinė provide empirical evidence of the transnational circulation of care and the enablers and hinderers of such activities. They show how such activities are still gendered particularly in the type of care that is carried out. They also make the important point that

this is a two-way interaction in which care givers in the country of origin have to work with migrant parents and adult children. In addition, parents of adult children may not accept the type or form of care that migrant carers seek to arrange.

In the final chapter of Part 3, Laima Žilinskienė shows the importance of memory making in migrant families lives and how emigrants 'do' family memory. Drawing on the representative sample of Lithuanian residents, she shows that those with emigration experience since 1990 participate in family memory construction more actively. The development of such communicative family memory is family work which demonstrates family solidarity and occurs between and within generations. However, this research shows that gender, age and location influence who is involved in this process with men and younger family members less likely to participate.

The book concludes with a consideration of this recent research on migrant families and the avenues it opens up for further examination especially in the light of increasing numbers of return migrants.

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Part 1.

REVISITING ESTABLISHED FRAMES AND TESTING NEW APPROACHES

Chapter 1.1.

NEW CONCEPTS IN FAMILY RESEARCH AND THEIR APPLICATION TO FAMILIES AND MIGRATION

Julie Seymour

Introduction

This initial chapter will provide one of the conceptual frameworks in which the empirical study of families and migration in Lithuania (and beyond) can be understood. By introducing a focus on the involvement of, and impact on the family to migration research, rather than just studying the migrating individual or taking an economic perspective, this allows the use of theories and concepts from family and childhood studies. Such concepts – doing and displaying family, the sociology of personal life and issues of relationships and intergenerational interactions – are evident throughout a number of the empirical papers which make up this book. The aim of this chapter is to explain these concepts further and show how they have been applied in studies of migration as groundwork for the later Lithuanian specific chapters.

The background for the development of the concepts I will be drawing on is a change in the way that families are viewed. No longer simply a category consisting of people who are linked by marriage and kinship or living in one household, they are now seen in a more processual way – as a site where family-like practices are carried out and values are shared. Hence the word family changes from a noun to a verb as argued initially and most strongly by Morgan (1996; 2011a). As such, researchers no longer look at 'The Family' but how groups of people who identify as family-like go about 'doing family'. This more active view of the activities that people engage in as part of their family life can also be seen in the labelling of the more specific practices that people carry out as part of family life: hence parenting (Klett-Davies, 2010; Dermott and Pomati, 2016), fathering (Aitken, 2016; Kilkey, Plomien and Perrons, 2013) and mothering (Vincent, 2010). These grammatical changes reflect, as use of language always does, this conceptual turn – toward the idea of family life as a collection of practices rather than a set of positional labels.

Family practices

In family research Morgan has spearheaded the practice approach with his work on family practices although he acknowledges the influence of Bourdieu and the latter's emphasis on the importance of everyday social interaction in the formation and continuation of social relationships (Morgan, 2011a; 2011b). Within families or other intimate relationships, these practices both allow the everyday activities of family life to be carried out but serve, at the same time, to identify and reinforce the intimate nature of the relationships between those involved. Expressed in Morgan's (1996: 190) terms, these are 'little fragments of daily life which are part of the normal taken-for-granted existence of practitioners. Their significance derives from their location in wider systems of meaning'. This quotation shows the two distinct but mutually re-inforcing elements of family practices; those of activities and discourses. Activities are required to produce and reproduce families and intimate relationships but draw on, reinforce (and sometimes transgress, see Seymour, 2015) the familial discourse which contextualizes such activities in specific socio/ economic/ legal circumstances. It is this reference to discourse as a constituent part of family practices which responds to some critiques of it as overly agentic (James and Curtis, 2010) and which allows the consideration of structural constraints on family life (Smart and Neale, 1999). Within this book, Part Two focuses particularly on the details and impact of discourses of the family and the migrating family within Lithuania from a range of sources both legal and official. The research also starts to show how the lived experiences and, in some cases, resistances of migrating families can serve to amend the discourse to acknowledge the diversity of family life in a globalized world. In Part Three, the focus is more on the activities of family life as carried out in caring, celebrating and memory-making in transnational Lithuanian families.

Importantly, a practices approach allows for the spatiality of family life to be shown to extend beyond the home. It problematizes the assumption that family practices, particularly those of parenting, require family members to be co-located (Dobler, 2019) and the innovative and energetic ways in which migrant parents carry out these activities transnationally are clearly outlined within Part Three of this volume as well as by other authors (Baldassar and Merla, 2014; Walsh, 2015).

Family practices require a focus on the relational. Even if an activity is carried out by an individual on their own, e.g. earning an income, the purpose is a contribution to the 'doing' of family and therefore has relational repercussions. A practice approach to family life crucially allows

the explicit contribution of children to the construction and reproduction family life to be made transparent and this could be a fruitful further area of migration research. Further research which highlights children's active role in contributing (or indeed being prevented from contributing) to family practices would prevent the children of migrants being viewed only as 'victims' or 'orphaned' while continuing to acknowledge the extent of their agency.

Family displays

A further development of the family practices approach came from Finch in 2007 who considered that there were specific times when family practices needed to be made much more explicit – either to family members or other audiences. This she named family display: that is 'the process by which individuals, and groups of individuals, convey to each other and to relevant audiences that certain of their actions do constitute 'doing family things' and thereby confirm that these relationships are 'family relationships". By doing so, family members show 'this is my family and it works' (Finch, 2007: 67). Although Heaphy (2011) has criticized the phrase *family* display as heteronormative, as a concept it can also be applied to 'Families of Choice' such as groups of friends who carry out family-like activities.

Family display may not always involve face-to-face interactions – it can be carried out by displaying photos, wearing artefacts meaningful to the family (Walsh 2015) and increasingly through social media. The development and use of internet technology and particularly social media has proved of vital importance to the doing of transnational families allowing often daily interaction as shown by Česnuitytė in this volume.

Finch (2007) considers displays are required specifically at times of intensity, such as times of change in the family composition or celebratory events. This would seem to be particularly pertinent to the issue then of migration. Crucial to the idea of family display is the idea of an audience or indeed multiple audiences such the family, the State or transnational communities – all of whom may have different criteria by which a family display is judged as successful. Hence Walsh (2018) shows how children in families which have migrated to the UK are aware of responding to both local residents and family members when displaying family in public and may change the language they use in response to these different audiences. As a concept then, displaying family usefully illustrates the significant awareness children, and indeed all family members have of audiences, both

internal and external to the family, for the interactions and relationships enacted around their family, domestic space and in public arenas.

In a more recent development of the concept of family display, Morgan (2011a) calls for researchers to consider if and how family displays are used to convey a specific 'type' of family. Here they are not just displaying family but displaying Family with an emphasis on the core values of the group; Morgan (2011a) gives as an example, The Christian Family.

Walsh, McNamee and Seymour (2019) have shown how in the UK displaying Family Type by migrant families can take a number of forms including displaying the Assimilated Family or displaying a family of a particular country of origin, for example The Polish Family.

In the first case, that of The Assimilated Family the audience is perceived to be the local people of the country of destination and signs that the family have different origins are hidden. Hence Matus, a Slovakian child only spoke Slovakian 'in the house, on holiday [in Slovakia] when my family's here'. Going further, his mother confirmed that he had asked her not to speak Slovakian in public. In contrast, families who are aware that an important audience of their family display are other migrants from their country of origin may display a family type which strengthens this affiliation. So in the UK, families who were displaying The Polish Family celebrated traditional festivals, attended Polish Church and made sure they interacted with their wider family (Walsh et al., 2019). Further studies of this nature could develop the work on displaying family 'types' such as the Lithuanian family abroad but also consider if this is something which is carried out by returning migrants. Do they consider the need to display themselves as the Lithuanian family on their return (given the discourses in some early official documents) or is there, more recently, any merit in displaying themselves as a 'Family with migrant experience'?

Personal Life

An alternative approach which includes family life and the home but also aims to extend beyond it is that of Personal Life (Smart, 2007) or more recently the Sociology of Personal Life (May and Nordqvist, 2019). Developed by Carol Smart, this 'new direction in sociological thinking' involved a focus on the personal but aimed to develop it beyond the previously accepted sphere of the private. It incorporates research on intimate relationships, kinship, childhood and family studies but intended to widen the scope of Personal Life to include same-sex relationships, friendships, pets and other areas in which people were connected. As with family practices, it acknowledged

the increasing fluidity of relationships in form, time and space and aimed to consider the ways in which these were made manifest in everyday life throughout the life course. In order to develop this conceptual shift, Smart proposed a focus on core features of all Personal Lives, these being: memory, imaginary, biography, relationality and embeddedness (Smart, 2007: 37). By looking at these aspects, individuals' experiences of family life could be examined from a wider perspective. For example, the impact on the child of changing relationships between other family members caused by migration could be understood by the child's embeddedness in a family network. The focus of Personal Life is still on relationality but it goes beyond simply family relationships to comprehensively 'cover a number of types of relationship to people, things and places, and to include different settings in which personal life takes place' (May and Nordqvist, 2019: 2). This is significant to migration research as it again problematizes the static location of some constructions of intimate relationships and goes beyond a consideration of the home environment as the only site of Personal Life. Research drawing on the Personal Life approach recognizes the embedded and connected positions (or occasionally the non-embedded and non-connected positions) of family members. Empirical studies on caring and partnering show that such relationality does not require co-location to be enacted (Kilkley and Merla, 2014; Brahic, 2015). Indeed Döbler (2019) questions whether the simple proximity of family members is sufficient to count as presence when it is something that has to be actively 'done' and discusses how co-presence can be performed at a distance, echoing Walsh's (2015) transnational displays by families separated by migration.

Family Configurations and Introducing Generagency

A final significant development on researching the family has been put forward by Widmer and Jallinoja (2008) with their concept of 'Family Configurations'. As with Personal Life, this approach aims to go beyond the nuclear family or single households while stressing that people remain interdependent and configured in networks and relational structures. It does not have the reach ascribed to recent expositions of Personal Life (which can be used to look at politics or consumerism) and can be criticized for overly focusing on heteronormative family forms. The value of this approach, given the focus in migration research of generational relations (especially Part 3 of this volume), is its focus on multiple generations of families. Widmer and Jallinoja (2008) point out the significant presence of what they call the 'beanpole configurations' in which children live; that is families

with three or more generations. They consider what this means in terms of vertical caring responsibilities covering child care, elder care, migration and kin support including finance. There is also a focus on horizontal responsibilities and support through a consideration of siblings, friends and acquaintances. The Family Configurations approach aims to emphasize the structured and committed nature of many people's family relationships and acts as a rebuttal (as does Personal Life and Family Practices) to the much criticized (Jamieson 1999, Smart 2007) Individualization thesis which viewed relationships as simply a matter of individual choice and part of an self-constructed identity project (Giddens 1992; Beck and Beck Gernsheim, 1995). Widmer and Jallinoja consider family relationships to be more influenced by social structures and less fluid and agentic than they appear in a Family Practices approach, However, the emphasis is still on relationality which allows the importance of social interactions and the consequences of these, including the indirect consequences on children of the interactions between other family members, to be recognized.

The importance of beanpole configurations, that is three generations or more carrying out family practices, has emphasized a need for researchers to consider the importance of family members beyond the simple nuclear family of parents and children. It has also reasserted the agency of all family members, grandparents, siblings and children rather than over-focusing on parents. This recognition of the role of generations in families has been taken up by other researchers who stress this approach focuses not only on age but acknowledges the intersectionality of the concept with class, gender and ethnicity (Spyrou et al., 2018) and, as such, would appear to mesh into a Family Configuration approach. Yet here, Widmer and Jallinoja's (2008) focus on structure may be too confining for some researchers; it may be that the new concept of generagency coined by Leonard (2019) would be usefully transferred into family research. This concept 'brings together the mutually reinforcing, interdependent but continually dynamic relationships between agency and generation' (Leonard 2019: 9). Moving from a dualistic construction of adults and children, it recognizes generational power structures but shows how agency can be realized and enacted, by both children and adults, in their everyday lives. Mirroring Widmer and Jallinoja's 'beanpole configurations' and horizontal networks but incorporating greater agency, Leonard has proposed two components to the concept: intergeneragency and intrageneragency (Leonard, 2019: 9). The former considers power and agency in child-adult relationships, the latter in peer groups both child-child and adult-adult. It can be seen how generagency could be adopted by family and personal life researchers

to consider studies of multiple generations but also those on siblings, friendships and peer groups. As such, it could be particularly interesting as a new lens through which to view migrant families focusing on those who leave and those who remain in the country of origin. In addition, family practice researchers who are interested in the way that discourses around the family change through the everyday activities of family members (see Part Two, this volume) can utilize generagency to understand children – and adults – as agents of change (Leonard, 2019: 9). As such, we may see more joint and intergenerational interviews in family research as methodology reflects changing substantive agendas and the impact of migration and return on children is further researched.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a history and an introduction to a number of the conceptual frameworks incorporated into the later chapters of this book. By drawing on developing thinking in family, personal life and more recently childhood research, the fluid, dynamic but still connected ways in which family life is currently conducted can be interrogated. While not limited to migration research, such concepts seem particularly suited to such inquiries since they require a focus on the family that moves beyond the household and indeed the nation. As such the research which unfolds in the subsequent chapters of this book show the multiple, inventive and engaged ways in which people conduct their family life and their continuing commitment to it despite often being separated by long distances. These studies then show how the actions of such family members serve to develop and enhance our recognition of the diverse ways in which families are done in the twenty-first century.

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Chapter 1.2.

FRAMING THE STUDY OF TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES IN LITHUANIA

Irena Juozeliūnienė

Introduction

This chapter aims to place the study of Lithuanian transnational families[1] within a broader body of the most recent theoretical frames through which to understand personal lives (Smart, 2007), family practices (Morgan, 2011; Finch, 2007) and the ways family relationships could be perceived as 'troubled' (Ribbens McCarthy et al., 2013). To date, the Lithuanian academic community does not theorize migrant families, particularly transnational families, as contemporary family forms in their own right. Normative ideals of physical proximity, gender roles and moral imperatives to put children's needs first obscure the literature on families and migration and lead to the consequent assumption that 'distance' and 'absence' (Baldassar and Merla, 2014) prohibit the 'normal' practices and processes in 'good' family life.

Against this background, building on transnational family perspective (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002, amongst others), as well as on my fieldwork (carried out with my students and colleagues) this chapter addresses the transnational families' research frames worked out at Vilnius University since 2004. In analyzing transnational family life, I chose to go beyond the 'family-migration nexus' (Boccagni, 2010) and to engage in the transnational family debate. In my pursuit, I looked at multidimensional and diverse nature of cross-border relations making it clear that these relationships cannot simply be equated with the separation or reunification. The overview of the research frames presented below consists of three parts: firstly, I present how I constructed theoretical and methodological basis for studying Lithuanian migrant families; secondly, I explain how I defined the

1 In this edited collection, the Lithuanian 'transnational family' means a family whose part of the members have left Lithuania for other countries for work or career opportunities, while other family members (e.g. spouse, cohabiting partner, children, parents) have remained in Lithuania. The study of transnational families deals with the lives of cross-border families. The concept of 'migrant families' is broader. It applies to families with migration experience, i.e. those families which have left Lithuania to live in another country, those that have returned from abroad to live in Lithuania and those living in several countries.

toolbox of analytical concepts framing the empirical data from our studies and underpinning the research design; thirdly, I look into how the two study topics focused on transnational families – family practices and family troubles – came about. This overview will provide an introduction to the empirical research data discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 of this edited volume.

Researching Transnational Families in Their Own Right

The research methodology and ideas underpinning the academic work on transnational Lithuanian families presented in this chapter are, to a large extent, the results of a fruitful collaboration between a group of sociologists at the Vilnius University and eminent Swedish and Norwegian family researchers Jan Trost and Irene Levin. Since 2004, the theoretical approaches championed by these sociologists – Trost's dyadic family approach (Trost, 1988; 1990; 1993; 1996; 1999; Trost and Levin, 1992; 2000), which takes its origin in symbolic interactionism, and Levin's visual family research methodology (1993; 1995a; 1995b; 1997a; 1997b; 2004), which is designed to 'give voice' to research participants – constitute the basis of transnational families study at the Vilnius University[2].

Drawing on these ideas, I have set up a research team[3] designed to study changes in family life induced by migration. Building upon the concepts of 'frontiering' and 'relativizing' (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002) to study families across borders, our team sought to examine the ways in which global migration comes to restructure family configurations and relational dynamics of family lives, while family members look for ways of maintaining a sense of familyhood. In our research, Trost's (1993; 1996; 1999) dyadic approach turns into an analytical tool for studying transnational family conceptualizations in Lithuania. Our work extends the original list of constellations presented by Trost to also include transnational family variations. And we have raised the question of whether cross-border families are classified as families at all. And what criteria qualify transnational arrangements to be perceived as a family? What kind of attitudes do Lithuanians maintain towards parents who decide to work abroad and let their children stay behind in Lithuania?

2 I have presented Trost's theoretical perspective to the Lithuanian academic community by the means of a science monograph (Juozeliūnienė, 2003); while Levin's method has been initially described and further expounded in an educational aid (Juozeliūnienė and Kanapienienė, 2012) and in a science monograph (Juozeliūnienė, 2014).

3 The research group dedicated to migration families included the following students of mine: L. Kanapienienė, A. Kazlauskaitė, Ž. Leonavičiūtė, G. Martinkėnė, R. Sinkevičiūtė, I. Čerauskytė-Šimoliūnienė, V. Abaravičiūtė.

In addition, we used Levin's (1993) three-stage 'My family' mapping method to interview transnational family members (mothers/ fathers, children, grandmothers/ grandfathers). The reason we decided to adopt this method for studying transnational families lies in the innovative visual nature of the said research method. In the analytical examination of this method, I have highlighted several of its key features, namely, visualizing individual conceptualizations and enabling a nexus of verbal and non-verbal representations, using within-method triangulation procedure and creatively engaging participants in the research process (Juozeliūnienė and Kanapienienė, 2012). Our practical learnings later led us to extend Levin's visual research methodology into a four-stage interview technique we named the 'Role-making' map method (Juozeliūnienė, 2014: 118–210). This method offered us an opportunity to go beyond analyzing solely 'my family' conceptualizations. It helped us to map a variety of changes in migrant family commitments, modes of relating to close people in new ways, and highlight reshaped identities.

Our work on the theoretical underpinnings and research methodology of studying transnational families (see Juozeliūnienė, 2008) produced research studies supported by the Vilnius University and the Lithuanian State Foundation for Science and Education[4]. The research data has revealed unique features of conceptualizing cross-border family arrangements exhibited by Lithuanians (Juozeliūnienė and Leonavičiūtė, 2009). Our analysis of transnational family representations in the public discourse showed that migrant family life has created new sources of social stigma. The examples of such stigma could be found in our study of how Lithuanian dailies and the Internet portal Delfi portray migrant families and left-behind children as well as in our overview of routine daily situations where these children would be stigmatized (Juozeliūnienė et al., 2008). We have further analyzed how the representations of migrant families within meaning-making institutions like the Lithuanian legislation on managing migration flows and TV documentary films (2006–2010) are shaped by official family ideology and internal ideology espoused by the editorial boards of the TV channels. In doing this, we examined how TV producers employ professional techniques to produce 'truthful' images of migrant family life (Juozeliūnienė and Martinkėnė, 2011).

4 The research group on migrant families study was involved in two further projects: it implemented the project 'Lithuanian emigrants and their children: a sociological study of transnational families' (2007) (led by I. Juozeliūnienė) financed by the Vilnius University Science Committee; and it participated in the research project 'Resources, locations, and life trajectories (A case study of a Lithuanian town)' (2007) (led by A. Poviliūnas), funded by the Lithuanian State Science and Studies Foundation.

The qualitative migrant family research was carried out by the means of both, Levin's 'My family' mapping method and the 'Role making' map method, designed in our fieldwork. We sought to 'give voice' to transnational family members (mainly mothers, their children, and grandmothers) on the topics chosen for the study: how transnational family configurations are conceptualized, how individuals evolve their family commitments and maintain the relatedness transnationally, how family members preserve the sense of familyhood in the face of physical absence, and what stigma management strategies they employ (Juozeliūnienė, Tureikytė and Butėnaitė, 2014: 79–92; Juozeliūnienė, 2014: 98–117).

Since our interests extended beyond economic migrants, we also studied how highly mobile, elite families structured their life across borders: in this case we have investigated the identities of left-behind teenagers from families of Lithuanian diplomatic corps (Ibid: 164–185). We further analyzed how individuals maintain the sense of familyhood in three-generation families (Ibid: 185–210). Family maps drawn by our study participants using visual research methods went far beyond a single household and a single country. In this respect our research data confirmed the assumptions reported by many researchers of cross-border families (Boccagni, 2010, amongst others).

To summarize, our research group has employed a wide range of study methods: we surveyed Lithuanian population using purposive theory-based sampling, analyzed the legislation documents and the ways in which transnational families are represented in the media, and conducted qualitative visual research of transnational family members. In terms of the subject matter, our studies have covered the topics of how migration changes structural family configurations, what criteria are used to establish family membership; we determined how both, kin-based and non-kin based transnational arrangements were defined as families, the ways family commitments are re-distributed in transnational families, and how family members reshape their identities and the sense of belonging.

In my opinion, the key contribution of this body of research studies lies in promoting the understanding that migrant families undergo changes on many levels, which opens them up for being studied from different perspectives and employing diverse research methodologies. Highlighting the complexity of cross-border family relations made it possible for me to adopt complementary theoretical approaches in my research and to build core concepts of family life provided by Carol Smart (2007; 2011) into follow-up studies.

Locating Transnational Family Research in Smart's Theoretical Frame to Understand Personal Lives

The experience gained in the research projects outlined earlier convinced me to pursue the studies of transnational families further by focusing on new areas of family life, on the one hand, and integrating emerging theoretical ideas on the other (see Juozeliūnienė, 2013). The research studies I have conducted in the context of the project 'Emigration and Family: Challenges, Family Resources, and Ways of Coping with Difficulties', financed by the Lithuanian Research Council in 2012–2014[5] drew on Smart's toolbox of analytical concepts, namely, on the four of her five concepts: 'imaginary', 'embeddedness', 'relationality', and 'memory' to form a new mode of analyzing transnational family relations and their conceptualizations. The concept of 'biography' was partially integrated into quantitative and qualitative data analysis by the means of two sets of questions covering intergenerational relations and family memory topics. A more thorough analysis of these topics will have to be undertaken in future studies through the use of research methods focused on personal biographies. To test how Smart's concepts can be applied to the study of transnational family life, I posed four research questions: how do transnational family configurations and relations exist within individual's imagination; to what extent are relations 'embedded' within and across generations and among friends/ acquaintances; how are individual identities reshaped as a result of family role-specific commitments and role-making activities being renegotiated; and whether/ in what way does familial memory participate in maintaining cross-border relations.

In examining the 'imaginary' our research team invoked already tested and extended Trost's family constellations (Trost and Levin, 1992); building on Parreñas' (2005) typology of transnational families we constructed the types of families with different childcare arrangements after departure of one or both of the child's parents: a child cared for by mother, father, relatives (grandparents, uncles/ aunts), friends/ acquaintances, and children cared for by the state.

We integrated the concept of 'embeddedness' by invoking the intergenerational solidarity perspective (Bengtson, 2001; Silverstein, Bengtson and Lawton, 1997) which allowed us to study relations across generations. By

5 The study group was led by I. Juozeliūnienė and included researchers L. Žilinskienė, D. Tureikytė, S. Novikas and a master program student R. Butėnaitė. Two more family researchers have joined our team as experts: J. Seymour (Hull York Medical School, UK) and B. Nauck (Chemnitz University of Technology, Germany).

shifting the focus of our study to relations with close kin (Nauck and Becker, 2013), we expanded the study of solidarity within and across generations. The analysis of personal networks based on Milardo's and Wellman's (1992) methodology – allowed us to outline the networks that include 'significant persons': family members, kin, friends, acquaintances, and so on.

When explaining the concept of 'relationality', Smart (2007: 47) states, that: 'The concept of relatedness therefore takes as its starting point what matters to people and how their lives unfold in specific contexts and places'. Her ideas about the active nature of relating stand in stark contrast to the static view of relations – often perceived as given and unchanging, and one's position in a family as fixed. This interpretation has encouraged me to define 'relationality' as a key concept to investigate when examining how the experience of migration reorganizes relational dynamics and identities in transnational family arrangements. In integrating Smart's concepts, I relied on the ideas of Finch and Mason (Finch, 1989; Finch and Mason, 1993) about the reasoning, actions, and experiences of actors to argue that reshaping of family relations takes place at the level of renegotiations. Moreover, drawing on my earlier studies steeped in the symbolic interactionism perspective, I suggested to apply analytical tools of 'keying' (Goffman, 1974/ 1986) and Turner's (1978) conception of 'role-person merger' in researching transnational family members' role-making activities and reshaped identities.

When embodying the concept of 'memory' in our research study the team has referenced Smart's idea that memory 'relies on communication to become a memory and on context to be meaningful' (2011: 18). A set of questionnaire questions covering the topic of 'family memory' was designed by my colleague Laima Žilinskienė (2015; 2018; Žilinskienė and Kraniauskienė, 2016). She applied the concept of 'memory' by invoking the work of Assmann and Czaplicka (1995) and examined the channels used by and the content transmitted through family communication. Considering that memories are interwoven with emotions (Misztal, 2003), she has examined family memory by focusing on the quality of intergenerational relations.

To avoid the limitations associated with relying on a single method or data source, I have adopted a mixed method research design. Firstly, our research team has conducted a national representative survey of the Lithuanian population (N = 1 016) (April 2013). Secondly, the team became a part of an international comparative research study 'Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations' (VOC-IR) (June-August 2013)[6].

6 For more information see Trommsdorff and Nauck (2001).

The sample of the Lithuanian study included four target groups: individuals from three generations, drawn from a single family (mothers with adolescents (N = 303), the target adolescents, age 14–17 (N = 300) and adolescent's grandmother on the maternal side (N = 100)) and mothers with young (age 2–3) children (N = 300). As a third step, we used the visual mapping methodology consisting of the 'My family' (Levin, 1993), 'Role making' (Juozeliūnienė, 2014) and 'Concentric circles' (Pahl and Spencer, 2006) mapping methods. The research team has also performed qualitative interviews (January-June 2014) with five transnational families having three generations of individuals (parents, children (6–18 years old), and grandmothers), diverse solidarity parameters and migratory experience. The interviews included eight women and seven men.

Our research data has offered us an opportunity to conduct multi-level analysis of the subject and enabled us to place the outcomes of our research within the broader literature on transnational family life.[7] While analyzing 'imaginary', we identified that the location of the left-behind children in the imagined care networks was the key criteria to define particular constellation as family/ not family. These findings echo the literature on moral imperative for parents to 'put children first' (Ribbens McCarthy, Edwards and Gillies, 2000), and confirmed, that the concepts of 'family', 'mothering' and 'fathering' are highly socially regulated phenomena linked to the normative constructions of 'good' family life.

To avoid equating transnational parenting with studying exclusively women (Carlin et al., 2012), we have examined different types of gender-structured transnational families (mother-away, father-away, both parents-away). Our data showed that mother was not necessarily viewed as a primary caretaker. The networks of relatives were deemed to be child-friendlier arrangements than letting a single parent (whether mother or father) to care for the child. These findings lend support to discussions claiming that migrant families witness a 'gender convergence of family roles' (Tolstokorova, 2018). Our analysis of the role that kin and non-kin relations play in imagining of transnational relations contributes to further analysis of the quality of distant relations in transnational families (Reisenauer, 2018) and extends our understanding of configurational structure of families (Widmer, 2010) in the cross-border context.

7 We have presented the results of these studies in a series of publications, the most significant being an edited volume 'Family Change in Times of the De-Bordering of Europe and Global Mobility: Resources, Processes and Practices' (Juozeliūnienė and Seymour, 2015); the chapter 'Transnational Families in Lithuania: Multi-Dimensionality and Reorganization of Relationships', included in an edited volume 'Making Multicultural Families in Europe. Gender and Intergenerational Relations' (Juozeliūnienė et al., 2018) provides a good summary of the study results.

The data we used to explore the concept of 'embeddedness' has demonstrated how vertical and horizontal ties with family members, close kin, friends, and acquaintances manifest themselves. It also demonstrated how migratory experiences can make these ties intensive and meaningful. Our data quantifies the size and composition of significant persons networks as social capital capable of affecting the dynamics of transnational family networks. In this respect, the study provides useful data to the academic literature examining the functioning of intergenerational relations across borders (Kilkey and Merla, 2014; Haragus and Telegdi-Scetri, 2018).

Our investigation of the 'memory' mechanisms demonstrated how shared memories could equip family members with a sense of shared history, which positively affects the efforts of preserving family unity in the context of physical absence. Our study details how family memory is shaped by as well as communicated through intergenerational and kin networks in Lithuanian families; how family memory exists in a permanent 'enrollment' mode: it continuously on boards other members of the family network and adapts to newly emerging situations.

The investigation of the concept of 'relationality', similarly, yielded interesting insights on how transnational life alters relational dynamics between parents, grandparents, and children. Our qualitative study lists specific activities and measures undertaken by family members living across borders to renegotiate and sustain their relations; it shows how commitments stemming from multiple family roles become intertwined; and it reveals how personal identities evolve by attributing meanings to these changes. Similar to studies examining how women elaborate new meanings and ways of being 'daughters', 'sisters' in transnational settings (Erel, 2002) and how adult children redefine the normative notions of mothering (Phoenix and Bauer, 2012), our analysis shows how mothers, fathers, and grandmothers rework the ways of being in a family. Some examples of redefined identities we found include a 'cheated super mom,' describing a double bind of commitment overload and fears about husband's infidelity; a 'sister-like mother', describing transnational mother's new type of relations with her left-behind daughter; a 'guest-like-father', describing the outcomes of transnational fathering; and a 'family-keeping grandmother', describing the pivotal role some grandparents assume in sustaining the familial 'we' across borders (Juozeliūnienė, 2015).

The study has helped us to test both – theoretical approaches and research methodologies. The outcomes of the study have demonstrated the value of applying the modified research methodology of conceptualizing transnational families, based on Trost's family constellations; our decision

to incorporate the intergenerational solidarity perspective, derived from Bengtson (2001), Nauck and Becker (2013) works, and the analysis of 'significant others', suggested by Milardo and Wellman (1992), similarly, yielded many methodological benefits. These ideas allowed us to analyze the network ties of migrant families and link them to migratory experiences of study participants and the functioning of familial memory. The insights we drew from the study have provided ample justification to using Smart's concepts as a conceptual tool for thinking about the intersection of transnational family relations. At the same time, we have identified a number of topics in the need of a more detailed analysis, for example, what are routine transnational 'sets of activities which take on a particular meaning, associated with family, at a given point in time' (Finch, 2007: 66). It is also important to note that the insights I have encountered encouraged me to go beyond examining the routine transnational practices exceptionally on a qualitative research level and led me to adopt both qualitative and quantitative levels of analysis of family practices. The data from our analysis of representations of migrant families in the mass media propelled me to testing the frame of 'family troubles'.

Invoking 'Family Practices' and 'Family Troubles' to Study Transnational Families

When constructing the theoretical and methodological frame of the ongoing research project 'Global migration and Lithuanian family: family practices, circulation of care and return strategies', financed by the Lithuanian Research Council in 2017–2019[8], I aimed at extending the theoretical background of research project by invoking the approaches capable to shed light on the issues we came across in our previous transnational family research. When examining cross-border family relations, I suggested to invoke the family practices' approach introduced by Morgan (1996; 2011) and further elaborated by Finch (2007; 2011). I also considered the language of 'troubling' families (Ribbens McCarthy et al., 2013) to be a useful analytical tool for examining how transnational families are portrayed in official documents and academic publications in Lithuania.

Morgan's approach seemed to suggest the most relevant way to study transnational family life as a dynamic, situated and gendered set of routine

8 This time, the study group was led by I. Juozeliūnienė and consisted of L. Žilinskienė V. Česnuitytė, doctoral student I. Budginaitė-Mačkinė, and Master program student I. Bielevičiūtė. There were also British scholars – J. Seymour (Hull York Medical School, UK) and M. Ilic (University of Gloucestershire, UK) – involved in the project.

interactions at a distance, through which a variety of family related activities are re-articulated. To answer the question of how family displays can be done across borders, we draw on Finch's (2007) definition of 'family display' as a set of actions carried out by a group of family members to demonstrate to others that they are a family that 'works.' Family practices approach enabled me to examine how families are done despite geographical distance, which way re-shaped identities are enacted and displayed to the close people and to the wider audience. Other important sources of ideas for designing the quantitative research frame included the family practices approach elaborated in Seymour's (2015), Seymour and Walsh (2013) publications; qualitative analysis of family displays in maintaining transnational intergenerational relations by Walsh (2015; 2018); and Brahic's (2015; 2018) findings on doing family and doing gender across borders and cultures in bi-national families through qualitative interviews.

By considering how practices approach can be usefully applied to examine transnational family life on a quantitative level our research team worked out the questions to be included in the survey's questionnaire. More specifically, we sought to examine what remote ways of communication are undertaken to preserve the relations with family members living across borders? How do survey respondents' displays are done across borders? Questions pertaining to the quantitative analysis of doing and displaying transnational family, transnational mothering/ fathering, caring for elderly parents across borders by adult migrant children, designated careers of children/ elderly parents living in Lithuania were designed in collaboration with my students Irma Budginaitė-Mačkinė, Indrė Bielevičiūtė, and Gintė Martinkėnė.

In my attempts to involve both 'family practices' and 'family troubles' approaches in the theoretically framing the research study on transnational families in Lithuania, I address Morgan's (2019) statement that the term 'troubling families' adds further levels of complexity of researching the actions and reactions which continually constitute family life to do with the boundaries between public and private. The author asserts, that when particular modes of representing troubles go beyond the family itself then the private becomes public.

Shifting focus to 'family troubles' as suggested by Ribbens McCarthy (Ribbens McCarthy et al., 2013) has opened up a meaningful space in transnational family study enabling researchers to engage with the question 'how troubled and troubling families perhaps normalize their lives, and when 'changes' and 'troubles' may be considered to become 'harm', and by whom?' (Ribbens McCarthy et al., 2018). Our study deals with exactly

the type of cross-border family lives that both policy makers and family researchers may view as 'troubling'. In our previous publications we have addressed the question of transnational family representations in the Lithuanian legislation (Juozeliūnienė and Martinkėnė, 2011) and tested the 'troubling' and 'normalizing troubles' approach to examine how transnational mothering is portrayed in the public discourse in Lithuania (Juozeliūnienė and Budginaitė, 2018). In this edited volume we set out to explore the 'troubling' family approach as a tool for studying the portraits of transnational family and parenting in the legislation and academic publications.

A separate set of questions to study the topic of doing families across borders was designed by Vida Česnuitytė (2014; 2015). Building upon her previous findings on the forging of 'we' in Lithuanian families by ways of maintaining family traditions and organizing the leisure, the author extended the earlier set of questions to study cross-border family relations. Laima Žilinskienė continued researching family memory by adding the family practices methodology to her set of questions on the family memory. She redefined the questions in the questionnaire with an aim to examine family communication channels in more depth. Updated questions are now calibrated to explore the intensity of family communication channels and to account for an extended network of family and kin members potentially involved in the transmission of family memories.

To answer the questions we have posed, the study design had to incorporate multi-level analysis and utilize a hybrid research methodology. In the context of the project, we have performed the following research: (1) analyzed the highlighting of social questions in the Lithuanian policy documents (2011–2018); (2) examined the framing of Lithuanian family and migrant families in the Lithuanian legislation (1995–2018); (3) analyzed academic publications (2004–2017) with an aim to highlight how migratory family life is portrayed by Lithuanian researchers; (4) In 2018, interviewed 7 experts with a goal to identify the challenges of return migration; (5) In June-July 2018, carried out a national representative survey of the Lithuanian population (respondents 18+ years, N = 1005); (6) In August-September 2018, carried out a quota-based survey of the Lithuanian residents (18 years or older) with migratory experience (since 2004) who at the time of the departure had either dependent children (up to 18 years old) or parents requiring care (N = 406). We have surveyed 4 quota-based (100) population groups: mother-away families, father-away families, both parents-away families, adult children away-elderly parents in Lithuania families.

This volume presents the data drawn from four studies: the analysis of framing Lithuanian family and migrant families in the Lithuanian legislation (1995–2018), the analysis of academic publications (2004–2017) highlighting how migratory family life is portrayed in publications of Lithuanian researchers; the national representative quantitative study (June-July 2018), the quota-based study of the Lithuanians with migratory experience (August-September 2018).

Concluding Remarks

This part of the edited volume provides a short overview of theoretical approaches and research methodologies I used since 2004 to frame the study of transnational families in Lithuania. By exploring how theoretical ideas and research instruments can be fruitfully applied to examine transnational family life, I was lucky to work alongside prominent scholars like Jan Trost and Irene Levin, Julie Seymour, Bernhard Nauck and Melanie Ilic and collaborated closely with my colleagues – Laima Žilinskienė, Danutė Tureikytė, Vida Česnuitytė and my students, who carried out the field work and contributed with their analysis of the research data.

Our studies of transnational families – both quantitative and qualitative – drew on already established frames of transnational family research (especially Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002; Parreñas, 2005; Lutz, 2008), we revisited classical ideas utilized to study stigmatization (Goffman, 1963; Roschelle and Kaufman, 2004), and continued iterating on the ideas of symbolic interactionism (Sh. Stryker, 1968; Denzin, 1989; Trost, 1993; 1996). Encountering the multilevel nature of migrant family life, we invoked Smart's toolbox of analytical concepts to form a new mode of analyzing transnational family relations and their conceptualizations. Most recently, our research findings led us to the decision to examine migrant family lives through the lens of family practices' and family troubles' approaches.

In this volume, the researchers involved in the currently ongoing project 'Global migration and Lithuanian family: family practices, circulation of care and return strategies', financed by the Lithuanian Research Council in 2017–2019 present how the theoretical frames of family practices and family troubles can be empirically applied to study transnational families.

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Part 2.

SITUATING MIGRANT FAMILIES' TROUBLES IN LITHUANIAN LEGISLATION AND ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

Ribbens McCarthy and Gillies (2017: 223) observe that in today's globalized world expectations and policy interventions regulating family life are shaped by a diverse range of actors and contexts – from international legislation and mass media to public debates and local, face-to-face interactions. The assumptions about who is troubled and why reflect structural power issues and un-explicated cultural value judgments.

In this chapter we set out to examine how migrant families are perceived and presented within the political and academic discourses in Lithuania. The primary goal of our work is to explicate labels used to describe migration-induced family life changes in key Lithuanian policy documents and academic publications. Drawing on the language of troubles suggested by Ribbens McCarthy and colleagues (Ribbens McCarthy et al., 2013; Ribbens McCarthy et al., 2018), we reflect on the assumptions underpinning the 'othering' of migrant families and question attempts to label the re-shaped family boundaries and relations as 'troubled' and 'troubling'.

Chapter 2.1.

'TROUBLING' MIGRANT FAMILIES: REPRESENTATIONS OF FAMILY AND MIGRATION IN OFFICIAL LITHUANIAN POLICY DOCUMENTS

Irena Juozeliūnienė and Indrė Bielevičiūtė

Introduction

This chapter set up to examine the language of 'family' in key policy documents regulating family life in Lithuania. We look into the ways of framing of family life, identify scripts of 'normal' family, and analyze how these, in turn, sought to portray migrant families as 'troubling'.

By now, it is widely acknowledged that a construct of 'family' is highly problematic and ideologically-charged (e.g. Bernardes, 1985; Ribbens McCarthy and Edwards, 2011; Ribbens McCarthy, 2012; Smart, 2007). Yet 'the family' persists in powerful ways through the language of 'family' utilized in official policy documents. This bias has strong implications for professional practices, everyday lives and identities (Edwards, Ribbens McCarthy and Gillies, 2012). The power of the term 'family' lies in evaluative scripts (Heaphy, 2011; Juozeliūnienė and Budginaitė, 2018), moral tales and moral imperatives (Ribbens McCarthy, Edwards and Gillies, 2000), idealized images supported by the key elements of functionalistic mode of theorizing (Morgan, 1996).

The language of 'family' utilized in official documents in itself may be a source of trouble for families undergoing change or engaged in diverse family practices. Families may be seen be 'troubling' when someone believes that 'normal' family life excludes 'troubles', consequently, they do not consider the boundary between 'normal' troubles and troubles that are troubling to family members or others (Ribbens McCarthy, Hooper and Gillies, 2013). Officially designating families as 'troubling' implies the need for an intervention, helping disadvantaged family members – for example, in the case of transnational families helping children and/ or elderly family members who stay living in the native land – to avoid harm. Lithuanian researchers have analyzed how 'family' is framed in Lithuanian social policy documents and what are the implications of this language for organizing social services and people's daily lives, provoking social stigmas and forging individual identities (Juozeliūnienė and Martinkėnė,

2011; Žalimienė, 2011). For example, one of the studies has carried out a comparative analysis of key social legislation regulating family life in Lithuania and Sweden (Nygren, Naujanienė and Nygren, 2018). The international research team behind this study has examined the legislation drawn from three levels – constitutional, general family policy, and child welfare policy – to determine how the language of 'family' was embedded in legislation of a *re-familialized* (Lithuanian) and *de-familialized* (Swedish) welfare systems.

It is important to note that within the Lithuanian legislation[9] the significance of 'family' is explicit and 'normal' family is defined in terms of perceived 'troubles'. Families where one (or both) of the parents suffer from addiction or engage in abuse of their children are deemed to be at risk and are labelled as 'troubling' due to the threat they pose to the security and wellbeing of the children. The analysis of the national legislation has revealed that the *re-familialized* (Lithuanian) legislation repeatedly uses terms like 'family', 'mother', 'father', 'motherhood', 'fatherhood', and 'parent'. By contrast, the *de-familialized* (Swedish) legislation has replaced the terms 'mother' and 'father' with a 'custodian' and 'guardian' (Nygren et al., 2018: 655).

The study has demonstrated that the term 'family' and family-related roles utilized within the Lithuanian legislation exert a strong influence on defining, organizing, and controlling the intimate, inter-generational, child-bearing and care-giving relations among individuals. More recently, reforms in the family and child welfare policy in Lithuania have focused on creating a centralized, state-run system for protecting children's rights (Ibid: 653) and targeting families with more preventive measures. Yet, the term 'family' to this day occupies a central place in the meaning-making fabric of the legislation. As a result, the language of 'family' remains a powerful instrument in framing and regulating human relations.

In another publication, Lithuanian researcher Žalimienė (2011) focused on the language utilized in the national legislation regulating social support and social services in Lithuania. Having examined the text of the legislation[10], the author demonstrated that social policy discourse in Lithuania is inclined to put social groups into categories and utilizes terms

9 Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania (1992); Civil Code of the Republic of Lithuania (2000); Republic of Lithuania Law on Social Services (2006); Social Services Act (2001); Republic of Lithuania Law on Fundamentals of Protection of the Rights of the Child (1996).

10 Methodology for Determining the Value of Property of a Poor Family and Persons Living Alone Applying for Social Assistance (2009); Support for Persons at Social Risk (2010); Law on Social Support for Poor Families and Persons Living Alone (2003); Social Services Act (2006); Social Support Conception (1994).

with negative meanings. For example, the author points out that terms like 'families at social risk', 'child at social risk', 'impoverished families' imply that individuals and families fail to comply with 'normative' demands. She draws a conclusion that by applying labels to families and their family members the legislation promotes a flawed practice of providing social support while reinforcing the image and identity of dependent and incapable individuals (Ibid: 54).

Since the term 'family' plays a key role in defining personal relations in the Lithuanian legislation, we sought to analyze the ways family life is framed in these documents, how these frames change over time, and how mobile families are portrayed. The terms 'frame' and 'script' suggested by Goffman in his seminal work 'Frame Analysis' (1974/ 1986) are employed to analyze how family life is imagined and ordered, how personal relations are guided. We draw on theoretical ideas of Ribbens McCarthy and colleagues (Ribbens McCarthy, Hooper and Gillies, 2013) to analyze the ways migrant families are officially designated as 'troubling'.

Research Methodology

The study presented here was carried out in January-May 2018 and formed a sub-study of the project 'Global Migration and Lithuanian Family: Family practices, circulation of care and return strategies' (2017–2019) funded by the Lithuanian Research Council. The primary goal of the study was to analyze how Lithuanian national policy documents regulating family life utilize normative constructs of family and mobile family and how these social constructs evolve over time.

We have analyzed the selected legislation by focusing on two main themes: firstly, how 'normal' family life is imagined and ordered. Secondly, how do legislators define new family practices and family changes brought about by migration and what language is used to portray the divergence in mobile and transnational family life. We examined the legislation to identify key scripts utilized for family descriptions and analyzed how legislators justify defining migrant families as 'troubling'.

The following family policy drafts and programmatic documents regulating family life, passed from 1995–2018, were analyzed:

- The (Draft) Family Policy Concept, 1995.
- The Seimas Resolution 'On the Approval of the State Family Policy Concept' draft and concept, 2007 07 05, XP-2390.
- On the Approval of the State Family Policy Concept, 2008 06 03, X-1569.

- The Republic of Lithuania Law on the Return, 2017 09 21, XIIIP-1130.
- The Republic of Lithuania Law on Strengthening the Family, 2017 10 19, XIII-700.
- On the Approval of Demographic, Migration and Integration Policy in 2018–2030. 2018 04 17, 18-4123 (2).

The 'Normal' Lithuanian family

Since 1995, Lithuania has developed the family ideology of the independent period. The key document that went on to shape most policy documents developed in the newly independent Lithuania is 'The Family Policy (Draft) Concept' (Family, ..., 1995) (hereinafter the Draft). Originally drawn up by the researchers of the Philosophy, Sociology and Law Institute of the Academy of Sciences, the document defines family policy guidelines.

The Draft became the first programmatic document to focus on the concept of family, examine 'its key features' (Ibid: 6) and articulate a normative family model. For example, the Draft raises the issue of 'what is a family (or what arrangements should be considered a family) and which family model should be considered normatively good (the best, most appropriate, acceptable, and so on)' (Ibid: 6). In other words, by drafting a piece of legislation a group of researchers have addressed 'the subject of defining a normal [typical], preferred [good] family model' (Ibid: 6). The wording used in the Draft implies the existence of a 'normal', 'good' family, which is enunciated in later chapters by referencing key family functions. The Draft also affirms the state's commitment to certain family life objectives that should be embraced by all Lithuanian citizens.

It should be noted that the Draft emphasizes the importance of family life on a national level (as a building block of a democratic society), that is, it affirms that family focus is universally important because the foundations of a democratic society are rooted in family: '…to restore society's democratic foundations, whose origins and roots lie in the family…' (Ibid: 7). This key provision persists in all the subsequently developed family policies.

'The Family Policy (Draft) Concept' provides the following definition of family: 'Family is a community of people related by kinship, interdependence, responsibility and care ties validated by legal or socially accepted norms' (Ibid: 6). Such definition frames the affinity of family members in terms of their interdependence and mutual responsibilities. The authors of the Draft opt for the structural-functional family interpretation and explain family affinity by referencing the performance of family functions.

There follows a list of key family functions: the psycho-social, economic, reproductive-caring, socializing, and cultural function (Ibid: 7). It is important to note that the structural-functional theoretical background of family conceptualization attaches normative meanings to the performance of the mentioned functions. As a result, the Draft introduces a provision that family lives are subject to 'norms' and clarifies what is considered to be a 'normally' functioning family and what is viewed as a divergence from the 'norm', in other words, a dysfunction.

Although the definition of family primarily focuses on family functions, it also contains a reference to a structural organization of family units. This type of organization is not strictly regulated, besides, the document states that family structure requirements shall be invoked constructively: 'Functions performed by a family constitute a substantive and specific feature of the family institution. This Concept upholds the principles of the functional family definition but does not exclude constructively invoked assumptions of the structural family interpretation either' (Ibid: 6).

We see that the authors of the Draft concept seek to construct an outline of a 'normal', 'typical', 'good', 'preferred', 'appropriate' family and endow it with normative meanings.

The 'Harmonious Family' and 'Troubled' Migrant Family

On July 5th, 2007, the working group has prepared and submitted for consideration to the Lithuanian Parliament the draft version of the State Family Policy Concept (The Parliament Resolution 'On the State ..., 2008), and on June 3rd, 2008 – almost a year after the original submission – the Lithuanian Parliament has adopted the resolution On the Approval of the State Family Policy Concept (On the approval..., 2008) (hereinafter – the Concept).

The 2008 version of the document contains the concept of 'harmonious family' that was absent in the 2007 draft of the Concept. Harmonious family is a family which performs typical family functions ensuring the physical, psychic and spiritual wellbeing of all its members. Based on the assertion that 'the Concept draws upon historically evolved family values and family welfare defining ideas' (Section 1.3) and cites such family functions (Section 1.9) as development of a personal community, procreation, education and socialization, care and recreation, household creation, one can assume that traditionally interpreted educational, care-giving, household management and other activities become the indicators of family harmony, while alternative performances of family

functions are labelled as 'troubled' family. When conveying the meaning of 'harmony', the Concept references 'problem-free' family arrangements: responsible spouses who responsibly raise their children. The authors of the document assert that children in such families do not see themselves as orphans and are free from mental health and behavioral issues linked to 'improper' organization of family life.

Another important feature of the Concept is its reliance on the notion of the 'essential public good' invoked to define the concept of family: 'The family is the principal good of the society, arising from human nature' (Section 1.4). The assertion that the family holds a unique value is qualified by the statement that it is a 'harmonious family' that meets individual's 'intrinsic needs', 'innate sociability' and guarantees that one reaches his/her 'full potential' ('Harmonious family is the good in itself, as it meets the person's natural needs and sociability and allows them to fully satisfy themselves', Section 1.8.1). The Concept establishes the idea of 'harmonious family' as a 'public good', while family life forms and practices that fail to reflect the definition of 'harmony' included in the document are labeled as 'troubled'. This dichotomy can be clearly seen in the section covering key terms of the family policy concept which contrasts 'harmonious family' with 'families in crisis' (Section 1.6.5), 'incomplete families' (Section 1.6.6), and 'socially vulnerable families' (Section 1.6.8).

The Concept draws on newly emerging family practices to define transnational families as a 'new type of family': 'Lithuania sees a rise in a new type of family, where one or both parents temporarily reside abroad, while their children – left in the home country – often develop the orphan's syndrome' (Section 2.2.10). The 2008 Concept frames the 'novelty' or 'otherness' of such families as 'trouble', while transnational families are pitted against 'harmonious families' who are seemingly 'problem-free', 'responsible families'. 'Family in crisis is a family going through a rough phase of life due to certain psychological, social, health, economic or other hardships (family going through a divorce; family where one or both parents temporarily reside abroad, while their children remain in the home country often develop the orphan's syndrome, that is they experience the trauma of separation resulting in mental health and behavioral issues; family caring for a patient, experiencing loss or violence, or facing other hardships' (Section 1.6.5).

By diverging from 'normal' family life, transnational families earn the label of a 'family in crisis' and are equated with families 'going through a divorce', 'caring for a patient', 'experiencing loss or violence'. To be clear, what underpins this juxtaposition of transnational and 'going through a

divorce' families are negatively qualified separation of parents and children. The description of parents and children living apart, separated by national borders contravenes the notion of 'harmonious family' as a public good, leading the authors of the policy document to label transnational family as 'troubling' (Chapter 2 'The Challenges of Family Evolution and Family Living Conditions').

Equating transnational families with families caring for the sick establishes the deviation from the 'normal' performance of basic functions attributed to 'harmonious family' – 'education and socialization' (1.9.3), 'care and recreation' (1.9.4) – when one/ both parents depart to work abroad. Furthermore, by drawing the comparison between transnational family and family 'experiencing loss or violence', the Concept regards cross-border family-making as a family breakdown and, accordingly, labels such family life as 'discordant', causing negative experiences.

A child living in a transnational family is defined as a child experiencing hardships. The Concept draws an analogy with the orphan's syndrome (for example, 1.6.5; 2.2.10) leaving the child with mental health and behavioral issues. Chapter 2.5 'The Challenges of Educating Children and Ensuring Comprehensive Security' emphasizes childbearing problems caused by emigrating parents. The legislators see a whole range of problems stem from 'inappropriate' legal representation of children, their emotional and moral state, peculiarities of their upbringing and learning processes, living conditions endangering the children: 'In the wake of parents' emigration, we see a lot of children being left behind without a parental supervision'. Problems set off by emigration are complex and encompass child's legal representation, his/ her emotional and moral state, his upbringing and learning process, appropriate living conditions. Around half of emigrating people had children, but only every second emigrant left the home country with them. The results of the emigration survey indicate that every second emigrant has left his/ her children in Lithuania with one of the parents, grandparents or other relatives' (Section 2.5.1). Establishing a direct link between parents' mobility and negative consequences faced by children promotes negative attitudes towards migration practices and labels migrant families as 'discordant'.

The 'Sovereign, but Silenced' Migrant Family

The Draft Return Law (September 21, 2017) and The Law on Strengthening of the Family (October 19, 2017) signal a shift in the rhetoric used to describe family life. Firstly, the documents include attempts to

define the family as an active and sovereign subject. By adopting a broad interpretation of family life 'norms', these draft laws give families more rights to decide independently on how to manage their family life. When enumerating policy measures, these documents chose to de-emphasize the divergence from 'harmonious' family arrangement (and associated negative judgments) and instead focus on ways of assisting families as sovereign subjects. For example, the glossary includes the following concept of 'basic package of family services': 'The basic package of family services is a set of services that comprises training and maintenance of psycho-social and social skills as well as provisioning of child care and upbringing, health, education, socio-cultural services developed with the aim of equipping families with an ability to independently resolve arising challenges and paving a way for creating a safe, healthy, and harmonious environment within the family' (The Law on Strengthening of the Family, Chapter 2, Section 1).

The law goes on to articulate the principles guiding the provision of assistance and support to the family: 'The main principles guiding the implementation of the family strengthening measures are the following:

1) *subsidiarity* – the primary responsibility for proper functioning of a family lies with the family itself. If the family itself cannot ensure proper functioning of the family, the State shall provide the family with assistance and support in a way deemed to be the most effective;
2) *expediency* – assistance and support to the family are provided in a targeted manner, taking into account its needs and encouraging family's efforts to act independently;
3) *inviolability of private life* – when implementing measures for strengthening the family and providing assistance and support to the family, it is ensured that the family shall not be exposed to an unlawful, unnecessary and disproportionate interference in its private life, and information about its private life shall not be disclosed to third parties;
4) *participation* – family-related issues are addressed by collaborating with families and consulting with the representatives of family organizations;
5) *parents' rights to educate children according to their convictions* – parents and guardians decide on the religious and moral education of their children and foster children, choose the form of education according to their own convictions, provided that these do not contravene the legitimate interests of the child' (The Law on Strengthening of the Family, Chapter 3).

Further, the draft laws define participants of the migration process. They introduce the concepts of a *departee* (the person who left Lithuania), a returnee (the person who came back after a working stint abroad) and a member of the returnee family. 'Returnee is a person of the Lithuanian descent and/ or historically related to Lithuania' (The Return Act, Article 2, Paragraph 1); 'Members of the returnee family include parents, spouse, children (step children) under 18 years old, also children over 18 years old, provided they are not married and enrolled in formal educational institutions, and continue living together with the returnee' (The Return Act, Article 2, Paragraph 4).

Notably, the draft laws do not use concepts labeling the practices of migrant families as deviating from the practices of 'harmonious family'. In other words, the transnational family is no longer equated with 'undergoing a divorce', 'families caring for the sick', etc.; also gone are the claims that such families do not conform to the idea of 'harmonious family' as was the case in the National Family Policy Concept approved in 2008. While these documents utilize concepts with multiple meanings, such as 'families facing social hardships', 'families lacking social skills', 'families in critical situations', their exact definitions are missing, and they are not used to depict directly migrant families.

In summary, while the Draft Return Law (September 21, 2017) and the Law on Strengthening of the Family (October 19, 2017) usher a new type of rhetoric to describe migrant families, the existing policy documents covering migration policy and family policy continue to fall short of articulating of the diversification of family arrangements and practices due to migration; migrant families are still confined to the 'zone of silence', and are not defined in their own right, even if they are no longer labeled using negative designations.

The 'Important, but Mysterious' Migrant Family

The latest national strategy paper 2018–2030 Strategy on Demographic, Migration and Integration Policy (April 17, 2018) aims to highlight intersections between demographic, migration and integration processes. The strategy paper – for the first time in Lithuania's legislation history – officially recognizes the role family ties play in migration processes and proposes a research-backed conclusion that migrant families cannot be ignored, for they are important actors in the processes of emigration and return migration. For example, the second goal of the strategy – to ensure that migration flows are managed in accordance with national needs –

presents data (Paragraph 73, p. 17) that reveals family relations to be a precipitating 'push/ pull' factor behind an individual's decision to leave the country or return to Lithuania. The data is drawn from three studies: 2016 study by the State Chancellery of the Republic of Lithuania, 2016 *Vilmorus* study commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and 2017 *Sprinter Tyrimai* study.

The increased focus on migratory family practices also manifests itself in the two priority areas the Strategy identifies: 'To ensure that returnees and their family members integrate in Lithuania' (Paragraph 77.3) and 'To create an environment conducive to attracting, hosting, integrating and communicating with human resources, continuously improve the system of attracting human resources'.

However, it's worth noting that the strategy paper retains only a limited interest in the role families play in the processes of migration and fails to demonstrate the challenges migration poses to families. This goes to show that family and migration issues are still being considered in isolation: family issues are usually associated with a birth rate, while coping with migration processes is analyzed using economic categories. The highlighted provisions of the strategy paper are necessary but not sufficient conditions for establishing the transnational family discourse. From now on the legislators regard migrant families as 'important, but mysterious'.

Conclusion

This chapter examines the language of 'family' in strategic policy documents regulating family life in Lithuania in the period from 1995 to 2018. We have identified the ways of portraying Lithuanian 'family' as 'normal', 'harmonious', and 'sovereign', and examined how legislators 'troubled' migrant families or – in a long run – depicted them as 'sovereign, but silenced' and as 'important, but mysterious'.

Our analysis of the legislation has revealed that the imagined orders of family life evolve over time, which explains the changes in the language used to describe family lives we observed in the official policy documents. Changing family descriptions show that, over time, the framing of family life becomes more flexible. Official documents relax their emphasis on family life norms and welcome the view of family as a sovereign agent capable of resolving encountered problems. The analysis of official policy documents showed that – as migration flows increase and migratory family practices become a commonplace reality – the migrant family discourse evolves as well. For example, the most recent national strategy paper refrains

from calling migrant families 'families in crisis' or 'vulnerable families' and abandons the direct analogy between migrant families and families 'experiencing social exclusion' or 'lacking social skills'. Lithuania has already made the first step to 'normalize troubles' of migrant families: the official policy documents no longer label these families as 'troublesome' and avoid imposing moral imperatives to adopt the 'normal' familial strategies.

It is encouraging to note that policy-makers can no longer ignore the existence of migrant family practices and that the role of these practices in the migration process is now being officially recognized. Still, the Lithuanian national family and migration policy continues to be dominated by the low-mobility family discourse and official policy measures still fail to consider migrant family practices in their own right, namely, their unique character continues to be overlooked and lacks the official recognition.

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Chapter 2.2.

PORTRAYING MIGRANT FAMILIES IN ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS: NAMING AND FRAMING

Irena Juozeliūnienė, Indrė Bielevičiūtė and Irma Budginaitė-Mačkinė

Introduction

There is a large number of publications about institutions portraying migrant families. It is already widely acknowledged that today's mass media is a powerful meaning-making institution that creates, debates and transmits cultural representations through hyperspace. Earlier research on representations of migrant families in the mass media highlighted the spread of 'container categories' (Lewis, 2006) used to depict the 'otherness' of the migrants. The academics view these categories as reflecting the political discourse and playing an important role in sustaining the dominant ideology (Gitlin, 2003).

Academics studying migration demonstrate that in destination countries media-constructs contribute to the creation of the national identity and imaginary of 'we-ness' and/ or 'being European', while symbolic figures such as 'immigrant woman', 'headscarf girl', 'person with a migrant background' are assumed to be a part of the rhetoric illustrating migrants' supposed unwillingness to integrate (Sadowski, 2015). In the origin countries, in contrast to host countries, 'container categories' are used to cast a doubt on the sense of national belonging of compatriots living transnationally and to frame the family life of migrant families as falling short of displays of 'common culture'. The language of family in mass media representations works as an 'institutional regime', because the 'point of reference in everyday language' (Gilding, 2010: 774) rests on the dominant family discourse and follows the guidelines embedded at a macro-level, within the national legislation and policy documents.

Although the impact of media constructs on perceptions of migrant families is widely discussed, their representations in the language used by academic researchers is often overlooked. In the course of doing research and publishing data on the changing lives of migrant families, academics suggest terms, construct narratives and attach labels underpinned by a specific type of family ideology. In so far as they transmit these meanings to the academic audience and beyond, they could be viewed as meaning-

makers in their own right. This makes it imperative to treat their publications as social constructions in need of closer analysis.

In this chapter we set out to examine how Lithuanian academics perceive the change of family boundaries and fluidity of family relations in the context of global migration, which way they present empirical evidence to the processes of 'relativizing' (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002) of multi-locational family arrangements, and how these arrangements are named and framed.

We started from the assumption that the term 'change' is highly charged with the family ideology and might contain multiple meanings. The previous research studies show, that, although proliferation of transnational family arrangements in real life has enriched the language of academic publications with new meanings, Lithuanian researchers continue to examine family relations in the context of institutionalized discourses and label the shift from the 'privileged' type of relationships of close proximity to transnational way of living as 'broken' and 'troubled'. In our research study we aimed to disclose how the meanings of 'change' are used within academic publications that have sought to define the changes of migrant family life as 'troubling' (Ribbens McCarthy, Hooper and Gillies, 2013).

Research Methodology

The analysis of academic publications presented in this chapter was carried out from January to March 2018. It formed a sub-study of the research project 'Global Migration and Lithuanian Family: Family practices, circulation of care, and return strategies' (2017–2019), funded by the Lithuanian Research Council. We sought to analyze academic publications on migration in Lithuania published from 2004 to 2017, available in Lithuanian and international academic databases, more specifically, in the Lithuanian Academic Electronic Library (eLABa) using the keyword *'migr*'* and those in the international EBSCOhost Research Platform (accessible via the Vilnius University) with the keywords *'migr*'* and *'Lithuan*'*. We began our query in the eLABa database. Upon excluding the publications dealing with topics other than the migration of Lithuanian residents – for example, animal migration, cell migration, migraine and so on – we have identified 400 publications and have saved their bibliographic data in the reference management software Zotero[11]. We then ran the query in the EBSCOhost Research Platform. After excluding the duplicates, we

11 Internet website of reference management software Zotero, which was used for storing and reviewing the information on selected publications: https://www.zotero.org/.

have identified 59 additional publications. After reviewing abstracts of the publications, we narrowed down the sample to 82 publications whose titles or abstracts refer to family issues.

We carried out content analysis of the selected publications using MAXQDA software. For each topic, we have defined a code and a sub-code, which were then grouped into categories. The bulk of the selected articles were published between 2008 and 2011 (49%); only 6 publications (7%) were published in the preceding years (earliest in 2005). In terms of subject areas, most of the publications belonged to sociology (42%), educational sciences (35%), and psychology (9%); the rest were split among law, language studies, political science, health and economics (the total of 15%). The absolute majority of the publications focused on migrant children (71%), about a fifth (20%) studied migrating families, and a few papers (6%) examined the lives of emigrants' elderly parents living in Lithuania.

Portraying Migrant Families

Naming Migrant Families

Our analysis of the academic publications referencing Lithuanian families yielded a list of frequent terms used to characterize families in the context of global migration. Accelerated and intensified flows of people around the world lead researchers to invoke terms like 'migrant families', 'families undergoing migration', 'emigrated families', and 'returned families'. The rise of the transnational way of living invites a set of terms focused on different aspects of 'othering' and contrasting new forms to locally fixed family life. On the one hand, the terms 'distanced families' and 'part-family migration' refer to new ways of doing family at a distance, while the terms 'transnational families' and 'families across borders' transcend the view of migration as a bi-directional movement of family members and instead stress how multi-locational and multicultural identities emerging within family settings help to bridge geographical space. These terms focus on different aspects of migrant family life and do not carry meanings of unwelcome change implied in a range of migrant family life. The terms indicate that families are 'primarily relational in nature. They [families] are constituted by relational ties that aim at welfare and mutual support and provide a source of identity' (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002: 7).

On the other hand, the analysis of the publications identifies a set of terms like 'families separated by migration,' 'families experiencing loss' that are used to describe the 'troubling' nature of migrant families. For example, academics interpreting the results of a quantitative survey of

school children define such families as experiencing 'some kind of loss in the family: whether it's divorced or deceased parents, unemployment or emigration'[12]. Such family description equates migration of parents to a divorce, unemployment, and even death.

Framing Migrant Families

We sought to analyze how migrant families are framed by researchers. Carrying out content analysis of the selected publications and their abstracts using MAXQDA 2018 software, we produced 8 codes and 29 sub-codes, which we further grouped into 5 categories representing key scripts used for framing migrant families. Researchers portray migrant families as (1) extended in space, (2) liquid, (3) networked, (4) survived, but insecure because of ongoing risks, (5) experiencing 'losses' or/ and 'gains'. More generally, academic literature on migrant families presents them through the lens of space/ time dimension of family change and through the dimension of aftermaths (after-effects) of change, mainly losses (see Figure 1).

Space/ time dimension. Representation of migrant families through the lens of space/ time dimension set up the scripts of family life in migration. Families are portrayed by describing (1) the processes of de-location and extension in space, (2) liquidity in time to indicate that family configurations

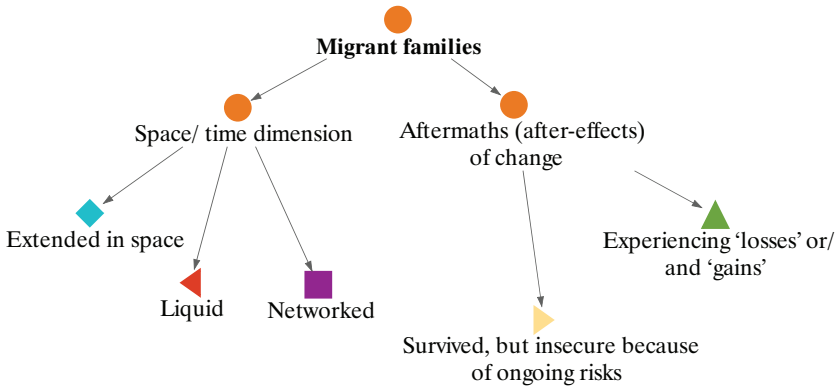

Figure 1. Key scripts of migrant families' portraits in publications of the Lithuanian researchers

12 Butvilas, T. (2007). Emigracija: Palikti vaikai. *Acta humanitarica universitatis Saulensis: mokslo darbai*. Vaikas lietuvių ir pasaulio kultūrose, 5, 379.

and relations are on the move, and (3) changing embeddedness in networks the way migration reshapes belonging to a variety of personal communities.

Family's de-location and extension in space. This script indicates that migrant families maintain cross-border social ties and echoes migration literature on the significance of the analysis of two primary dimensions of migrant families – 'spatial dispersion' and 'relational interdependency'. Western researchers show that not all aspects of family relations can be equally well pursued at a distance – some of them do require physical proximity. At the same time a range of publications demonstrate how today's communication channels and easily available modes of transportation enable family and kin members who are physically distant from each other to maintain family connections (see Mason, 2004; Baldassar and Merla, 2014; Baldassar, Nedelcu, Merla and Wilding, 2016). The research studies reveal the ways new technologies can enable even stronger connections than in the past. For example, as empirical studies of Turkish migrants in Germany (Reisenauer, 2018) and representations of transnational mothering in Lithuanian mass media (Juozeliūnienė and Budginaitė, 2018) demonstrate, living across borders can also be interpreted in beneficial terms.

Meanwhile, recent analysis of the academic publications of Lithuanian researchers indicates, that they regard de-location and extension of family in space, by and large, as an unwelcome change implicated in a range of family troubles. Some academics state, that 'changes in relations between family members become conspicuous because parents living separately from their children cannot participate in their socialization'[13]; the other authors describe 'spatial dispersion' as 'one of important shifts [in relations] is the changing structure of the family, a reshuffling of functions and roles performed by family members'[14]. In general, failing to theorize transnational family as a contemporary form of family leads the academics to associate physical absence of family members with separation and reduced possibility of maintaining the sense of 'co-presence' (Urry, 2003) and 'family-hood' (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002).

Furthermore, the researchers conclude that extending family in space negatively impacts not only the relations between family members but also intergenerational relations. For example, the author states that 'escalating

13 Kačinienė, I. and A. Pugevičius (2013). Family with Parents Abroad in the Context of Province, *Rural Development*, the sixth international scientific conference, 28–29, November, 2013, Akademija: proceedings, 168.

14 Kaniušonytė, G., I. Truskauskaitė and L. Gervinskaitė (2012). *Psichologinės migracijos pasekmės šeimai vaikų emocinių ir elgesio sunkumų prevencija*. Vilnius: Leidykla 'Edukologija', 8.

migration separates generations in space'[15] and limits the possibility of caring for elderly parents, particularly those who live in Lithuania.

Liquidity. The portrayal of migrant family life as such that cannot remain fixed, because everything changes and almost nothing stays the same, echoes Bauman's (2000) famous metaphor of 'liquidity', whereby typically solid social structures and institutions are described as 'melting' while 'liquid life is a precarious life, lived under conditions of constant uncertainty' (Bauman, 2005: 2). Similarly, the Lithuanian researchers write: 'transnational families where one or several family members migrate witness a change in economic, care and childcare, psychological support, procreative, sexual and other functions typically attributable to the family. Some of these functions are entrusted to other family members, relatives, intimate confidantes, while others are temporarily suspended'[16]. Thus, the articles we analyzed provide empirical evidence to illustrating the dynamics and uncertainty of reorganizing family responsibilities and relations as well as documenting overall shifts in the structure of the family institution.

The authors of academic publications give different meanings to the 'liquidity' of migrant family life. One of them cite the constant changes, alongside the declining birth rate, as one of the key reasons explaining the pessimistic forecasts of changing patterns of caring for elderly parents. For example, the author writes: 'increased migration flows coincide with a rapid aging of the Lithuanian population. [...] The declining availability of familial networks to elderly parents is further exacerbated by the low fertility rates which in turn narrow the horizontal network of potential care providers'[17].

Furthermore, the researchers note the 'troubling' consequences of changes induced by migration, namely, 'melting' of the social institution of the family, in general. As the authors assert: 'such shifts in the family life have long-term effects not only on family members but also on the society: they alter individual socialization patterns, impact the stability of the family institution, affect birth rates and undermine the sense of intergenerational solidarity'[18].

15 Mikulionienė, S. (2013). „Mes čia – jie ten". Tarpgeneracinio bendravimo įprasminimas, būdai, vertinimas. *Socialinis darbas*, 12(2), 227.

16 Maslauskaitė, A. and V. Stankūnienė (2007). *Šeima abipus sienų: Lietuvos transnacionalinės šeimos genezė, funkcijos, raidos perspektyvos*. Vilnius: Tarptautinės migracijos organizacijos Vilniaus biuras, 6.

17 Gedvilaitė-Kordušienė, M. (2015). Does Adult Children Migration Lower the Level of Intergenerational Solidarity? Evidence from Lithuanian Transnational Familiess. *Polish Sociological Review*, 47–48.

18 Maslauskaitė and Stankūnienė (2007), 6.

At the same time, 'liquidity' does not always carry the meaning of troubles. Some authors portray migrant family changes as 'a variety of ways in which individuals establish, maintain or curtail relational ties with specific family members', as it is described by Bryceson and Vuorela (2002: 14) in their analysis of 'relativizing' processes within transnational families. For example, as some of the analyzed publications note, 'these families find it essential to preserve and reinforce family ties'[19]; 'informants see meetings as significant social practices supporting family integrity'[20]. By portraying migrant family changes this way academics sought to show how transnational family practices are designed to keep family relationships across borders.

Embeddedness in networks. When family researchers focus on what migrant family members 'do' rather than what families 'are', their attention shifts to examining fluidity within social networks. According to Smart (2007: 43), the concept of 'embeddedness' is 'particularly important in its capacity as a counterweight to the concepts of individualism, liquidity or even older 'anomie". Similarly to Smart (2007), also to Finch (1989), Finch and Mason (1993) and Bengtson, Giarrusso, Mabry and Silverstein (2002), the Lithuanian researchers rediscover chains of relations extending across generations and beyond to show that individual decisions and life strategies should not be analyzed in isolation from lives of the intimate others. They maintain that decisions related to migrating should not be seen as personal decisions, but rather as something agreed upon by the entire family. As the authors assert: 'an individual with a family does not decide to migrate by himself, it's a decision that reflects the attitude of his/ her immediate social circle and the 'significant others' towards the family situation, potential opportunities, gains and losses'[21].

The scientists also advise to consider the influence of wider social networks on individual's decision to leave/ return/ live transnationally. While portraying migrant families, academics sought to show, that families are embedded in kin and non-kin networks and their decisions are strongly influenced by close people from diverse social networks. More specifically, the authors of publication assert, that 'a family member's decision to emigrate is influenced not only by family and kinship ties, but also by the influence of a wider social network (colleagues, acquaintances, neighbors, and so on)'[22]. When the researchers come to examine these wider networks,

19 Mikulionienė (2013), 231.

20 Ibid, 227.

21 Maslauskaitė and Stankūnienė (2007), 73.

22 Ibid, 73–74.

they provide the evidence of which way the rise of social networking and the Internet revolution transformed networks between individuals (Rainie and Wellman, 2012), and how these new technologies become the tools of transnational displays.

The aftermath (after-effects) of change. The academic publications portray migrant family life using the language that implies that not only the process of mobility is a source for family troubles, rather the new family practices continue to be 'insecure' due to the huge range of risks family face in new social settings. Within this script, the academics transmit the meaning that migrant families have left the culturally and politically safe zone of the society of origin and 'landed' in culturally different and unknown social space. By highlighting the risks inherent in these new social spaces, the researchers conclude that mobile lifestyles are always a sought for family troubles.

Survived families, but insecure because of ongoing risks. While the term 'breaking apart' is described to denote a self-evident rupture of family relations and/ or the loss of relatives, the metaphor of 'survival' is used to assert the temporal stability of family relations. The authors of the publications denote that, despite of temporal stability, family members are trapped in making a range of risky decisions, and, as far as potential solutions are neither present nor socially framed, 'the couple must search for private solutions, which – under the options available to them – amount to an internal distribution of risks' (Beck, 1992: 117).

When researchers refer to migrant families as vulnerable, they list the risks families face in their new social and cultural environment. For example, the academic papers point to the risks to ruin the relations with close people, both – family members and relatives, and encourage migrants to strengthen them: 'it is especially important to maintain and reinforce familial ties'[23]; 'preserving the relations with relatives, significant others [...] helps to preserve the relations between generations'[24]. The publications imply that the magnitude of change taking place in migrant families is so big that families are always at risk to 'break apart'. For example, the authors of publications write: 'The experience of emigration often attenuates the risky relations between family members'[25], 'a family becomes fragile'[26], and

23 Mikulionienė (2013), 231.

24 Šutinienė, I. (2009). Lietuvių imigrantų požiūriai į lituanistinį vaikų ugdymą. *Filosofija. Sociologija*, 20(4), 314.

25 Vijeikis, J. (2012). Emigracija iš Lietuvos – grėsmė šeimos vertybėms. *Vadybos mokslas ir studijos – kaimo verslų ir jų infrastruktūros plėtrai: mokslo darbai*, 1(30), 180.

26 Ibid, 181.

they claim that this instability in the relationship paves a way for a 'possible divorce of the couple'[27].

The authors of publications examine how visiting/ hosting family members and relatives contribute to preserving the relationships across borders and encourage the imagined audience of migrants to maintain the relationships through the visits because 'family members of different generations within families with parents abroad attribute different meanings to visiting each other, the informants see these encounters as significant social practices, supporting family integrity'[28].

Experiencing losses or/ and gaining advantages. This script of framing migrant families highlights how family researchers portray migrant families relying on the images of 'how a family should be'. By doing this, they confirm that the 'change' in family life is normatively charged. Our analysis shows that Lithuanian researchers refer to migration-induced family changes as highly challenging and, commonly, consider corresponding experiences of family members as 'troubling' or 'troublesome'.

For example, emigrating to another country is equated with family harm: 'Hence, emigration from Lithuania causes a great harm to families and children'[29]. The migratory experience is labelled as a factor undermining the family: 'It is widely acknowledged that migration contributes significantly to the transformation of the family institution, even to its decay'[30]. The researchers believe that one or both parents emigrating abroad lead to family dysfunction: 'we can make an assumption that one or both parents being absent from the family as a result of their decision to work abroad, is one of the factors causing the dysfunction of the family'[31]. The papers discuss instances where members of migrant families avoid talking about their families and their relations as a way to illustrate deep emotional trauma. The academic publications are peppered with observations that migration 'causes more family conflicts', 'can negatively affect the wellbeing of each family member', weakens the relations with significant others, 'increases the number of psychological issues faced by children and adults'[32], negatively affects parent-children relations: 'The cases of partial family

27 Ibid, 186.

28 Ibid, 227.

29 Gumuliauskienė, A., T. Butvilas and J. Butvilienė (2008). Tėvų emigraciją patyrusių vaikų globos ir socialinės gerovės užtikrinimas: Ekspertų požiūris. *Jaunųjų mokslininkų darbai*, 4(20), 145.

30 Batuchina, A. (2015). *Vaikų migravimo fenomenologinis tyrimas*. Klaipėda: Klaipėdos universiteto leidykla, 5.

31 Leliūgienė, I., L. Rupšienė and L. Plavinskienė (2005). Tėvų išvykimo dirbti į užsienį įtaka vaikų socializacijai. *Specialusis Ugdymas*, 1(12), 37.

32 Batuchina (2015), 6.

emigration reduces the possibilities for communication between children and parents, and maintaining emotional ties'[33]. Generally speaking, the language of migrant family narratives could be compared to the 'crafting' of troublesome issues, the way changes are described as 'troublesome to those involved, and troubling to others who may have concerns about harm to those involved – perhaps implicating profound levels of human suffering?' (Ribbens McCarthy, Hooper and Gillies, 2013: 8).

In our analysis, we have failed to uncover academic publications championing the narrative of advantages. We have managed to identify a single reference to the positive outcome of migration. The authors discussed how migratory experience of overcoming challenges helped one family forge a stronger sense of solidarity. 'One of the advantages is a stronger sense of solidarity among the family members forged by the experience of overcoming crises and challenges together'[34]. Although it would not be entirely accurate to claim that the Lithuanian academics completely ignore the advantages of migration. When selecting publications for analysis, we omitted our own articles. To demonstrate that Lithuanian academics manage to identify and are willing to examine the 'gains' of migration, we want to note that our studies of transnational motherhood yielded the examples of migratory 'gains'.

For example, drawing on the analysis of 79 articles on transnational families, selected from the national press and Internet media and published in Lithuania between 2004 and 2013, alongside the interviews with transnational mothers, conducted between 2008 and 2014, in our publication we show how transnational mothers respond to discrediting scripts and manage to 'normalize troubles' by bringing new meanings to mothering. The interviews revealed how transnational mothers responded to discrediting scripts produced in mass media and 'normalize troubles' recounting the 'gains' of transnational way of living. The mothers argued that their way of mothering constitutes 'bread-winning rather than caring for oneself' and that they are 'benefiting rather than losing'. Furthermore, they argued that 'rather than abandoning their children, they are doing modern mothering', and that they 'manage to care for oneself and for their children'. Our analysis of emerging transnational practices provides empirical evidence for the assumption that transnational mothers don't simply 'follow' assigned scripts but also actively counter and edit them to create new mothering narratives (Juozeliūnienė and Budginaitė, 2018).

33 Giedraitytė, M., T. Lazdauskas and R. Zabarauskaitė (2010). Vaikų poreikių tenkinimas ir psichosocialinis prisitaikymas tėvams išvykus iš Lietuvos. *Visuomenės sveikata*, 2(49), 84.

34 Maslauskaitė and Stankūnienė (2007), 99.

Conclusion

We began this chapter with a premise that 'there is no such thing as 'the' transnational family, understood as a uniform family form defined by constant characteristics' (Baldassar and Merla, 2014: 9). Cognizant of the fact that the term 'change' contains different meanings, we sought to examine how Lithuanian researchers perceive and represent the reshaping of family boundaries and family relations ushered by global migration flows. Since the language used to describe migrant families in academic publications may in itself become a source of 'trouble' for families, our analysis focused on terms used to name and on scripts used to frame migrant families in publications of Lithuanian researchers.

The analysis has revealed that portraits presented by the researchers are shaped by the family ideology and highly rely on the images of 'how a family should be'. Some terms manage to avoid signaling the unwelcome change implicated in a range of family troubles, and instead are used to locate families within the global movement of people and refer to new ways of doing families at a distance. Other terms, on the contrary, indicate the troubling nature of migrant families caused by their divergence from the images of locally situated families. The latter terms equate migration with the separation of family members and convey the message that migration inevitably leads to 'losses'.

Lithuanian researchers portray migrant families as extended in space, liquid, networked, survived, but unsecure because of ongoing risks as well as experiencing 'losses' or/ and 'gains'. The 'extension in space/ time' refers to a physical absence of family members and is associated with separation, reduced possibilities to maintain the sense of 'co-presence'. 'Liquidity' indicates the 'melting' of fixed family orders and spread of the dynamic family configurations and relationships. References to the 'embeddedness in networks' denotes that families are relational in nature and show which way the patterns of network ties allocate family resources and provide a source of identity. The researchers define migrant families as 'survived', but 'insecure because of risks' to indicate that mobile lifestyles are open and fragile. Family changes are referred mainly, as 'troubling' or 'troublesome', that is the decision of a parent (or both parents) to work abroad is seen as 'troubling' due to the threat it poses to the relations with close people, and on sustainability of the family as an institution. In general, the deeply rooted low-mobility discourse-based understanding of family life and insufficient set of analytical tools hinder Lithuanian scholars' attempts to theorize migrant families as contemporary family forms in their own right.

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Chapter 2.3.

PARENTING AND MIGRATION IN ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS: WHAT IS SEEN TO BE 'TROUBLING'?

Irena Juozeliūnienė, Indrė Bielevičiūtė and Irma Budginaitė-Mačkinė

Introduction

For researchers studying family life in migration, shifting care arrangements and fluid relations between parents and children have always stood at the center of their study subject. Starting with the seminal contributions made by Parreñas (2005) studying migration in Philippines and Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) focusing on the Mexican experience, the researchers have identified various parenting patterns adopted by emigrant parents and demonstrated how caregiving circulates in the transnational space (see Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002; Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2011; Baldassar and Merla, 2014).

The experience of parenting in migration can be extremely diverse due to the fact that the Western Europe attracts emigrant flows from different parts of the world – the Philippines, Latin America, and Eastern Europe. Migration researchers have identified a wide range of family configurations, care practices and systems of meanings associated with parenting in migrant families. They demonstrate that parenthood is a dynamic social institution that is situationally affected by social factors mirroring predominant ideologies (Arendell, 2000), and that parenting as a cultural arrangement is far from immutable across space and time (Baldassar and Merla, 2014). The scholars studying the subject emphasize that parenting tends to reproduce, reshape, and represent different expectations and gender relations either in the host country, or in the country of origin as well as in cross-border family relationships (Phoenix and Bauer, 2012; Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2013).

A large number of academic publications draw attention to a changing balance of power relations in migrant families' arrangements that lead to new variations of division of childcare responsibilities on a gender basis. As Phoenix (2019: 2319) asserts, 'when feminist work disrupted gender blindness about transnational migration, 'transnational motherhood' came into view in new ways'. She referred to the seminal works of Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997), Lutz (2008), and Parreñas (2005) to figure out the key points of gendered practices targeted by social pressures of 'good mothering'

for migrant women. When providing the conceptual map of diversity in transnational parenting, Bonizzoni and Boccagni (2014: 79), similarly, remark that 'while fathers' migration is often understood as a natural expansion of their providing role (with no major effects of stigmatization or social alarm), mothers' migration is more frequently associated with new, and potentially conflicting meanings and practices of care'.

Thus, the researchers report that mothering and fathering are highly socially regulated phenomena linked to the social constructs of 'good parenting' and the moral imperative of 'putting children first'. The understanding of family life based on the low mobility discourse leads the researchers to see parenting in migration as 'troubling'. Although the concept of 'troubles' has a long history (see Gordon, 2008; Ribbens McCarthy et al., 2000), it gains new prominence in the context of family migration. The elevation of 'the child' as the privileged subject of the family relations has been highlighted in a substantial body of migration scholarship. A myriad of case studies reveals how child-centered analysis of the consequences of migration created new 'troubles' for parents (see Ribbens McCarthy, Hooper and Gillies, 2013; Spyrou and Christou, 2014; Phoenix, 2019).

In this chapter we seek to examine how the understanding of 'good parenting' based on the low mobility discourse provides grounds for portraying migration-induced child caring practices as 'troubling'. We analyze how Lithuanian researchers portray parenting within the host country, after return from emigration and in transnational family settings, and whether/ how are these portraits gendered.

Research Methodology

To select academic publications writing on the topic of family relations in the context of migration, in January 2018, we queried two academic publication databases accessible at the Vilnius University: the Lithuanian electronic academic database eLABa and international academic database EBSCO. First, we gathered academic publications from eLABa using the keyword *'migr*'*. The search was also limited to a specific time range: from January 2004 to December 2017. Upon eliminating publications not focused on the Lithuanian migration (e.g. publications on migraine, migration of animals and cells), we established a corpus of 400 academic papers. Second, we queried the EBSCO database using keywords *'migr*'* and *'Lithuan*'* in order to avoid including publications focused on migration from other countries.

Upon eliminating the duplicates (including publications already returned in the eLABa query), we were left with 59 additional publications. All bibliographical information about 459 publications (including the titles and abstracts) was stored in a bibliographical management tool Zotero. Third, we reviewed our publication sample and selected 82 academic papers referencing family relations in their titles and abstracts. Most of the selected articles were published between 2008 and 2011 (49%); only 6 publications (7%) were published before 2008 (earliest in 2005). In terms of the discipline breakdown, most of the papers came from the fields of sociology (42%), educational sciences (35%) and psychology (9%); the rest of the set (a combined 15%) consisted of papers in the fields of law, philology, political science, health and economics. The primary focus of the most publications (71%) were migrant children, about one fifth (20%) analyzed migrant families, and the remaining few (6%) studied the (elderly) parents remaining in Lithuania.

Moral Claims for Parents

In our previous publication (Juozeliūnienė and Budginaitė, 2018) we demonstrated how transnational parenting is perceived as 'troubling' in the public discourse. Our conclusion was based on the analysis of the media articles, drawn from both – printed press and Internet portals, with special attention paid to discrediting representations of transnational parenting. Our study data has revealed that the Lithuanian media has discredited transnational parenting by recounting the negative outcomes of transnational practices named *as disrupted family relationships, wrongly framed parenting, parents caring for themselves, and parents abandoning their children*.

In our recent study we focus on how the moral imperative of 'putting the needs of children first' creates value-based representations in academic publications. We found that the moral imperative urging parents to be responsible is not always displayed directly; there are many ways to present it. The imperative can manifest itself as a narrative sowing doubts and distrust towards migrant parents' ability and willingness to 'properly' perform parental duties and to ensure that children's well-being is prioritized in all aspects of family life when living abroad. The data drawn from our research has demonstrated that researchers portraying parenting in migration raised two questions: Are parents capable of evaluating the impact of their departure on the child? Will parents preserve the Lithuanian identity of their children, when changing their place of residence or departing to live abroad?

The family researchers expressed doubts about whether parents have considered the risks to their underage children when deciding to emigrate. They would pose a rhetorical question, either indirectly or explicitly, on whether parents are willing to consider the impact of their departure on the child? For example, 'emigration impacts not only adults, but also children that travel abroad with them. The parents like to say to themselves, when taking the little ones abroad: 'It's not a big deal, they are still small, they will adjust to any place. Is it really that simple?'[35].

Another manifestation of doubts and distrust can be found in the researchers worrying about whether parents living abroad are determined enough and capable of performing the paternal/ maternal duty of preserving their children's Lithuanian identity. The papers we analyzed speculated how the departure abroad will affect the Lithuanian identity, how long will the parents foster the Lithuanian language and traditions in emigration. The researchers debated whether the second generation of emigrants will bother to be Lithuanians. According to them, for each new generation in the emigration it becomes more and more challenging to maintain the Lithuanian identity, for example: 'if you consider the data drawn from different generations, it becomes apparent that, with every generation, the efforts to use Lithuanian language at home wane'[36].

Doubts about parents' abilities and willingness to ensure their children's well-being in migration manifested itself through the adjectives used by researchers to describe them, namely, parents are seen as 'self-sacrificing' or 'offending'. The researchers attach these labels to parents based on whether the child-parent relations correspond to the idea of 'good parenting' embraced by them. The labels are relational in their nature and contain the meaning of 'normal' or 'troubling'. For example, some articles portray parents as departing abroad for the sake of their children, they choose to 'self-sacrifice' for the benefit of their children: '... self-sacrifice as the reason to migrate. Children were told that departure from Lithuania was to ensure a better future for them'[37]. On the other hand, the parents are portrayed as 'offending' when their migratory practices lead them to violate the scripts of 'good parenting' and they try to ingratiate themselves with their children by indulging and pampering them: '...emigrant parents often feel

35 Mozolevskienė, A. and S. Montvilaitė (2013). Iki mokyklinio amžiaus vaikų tautinio identiteto formavimo(si) ypatumai emigracijoje, *Pedagogika*, 109, 34.

36 Jakaitė-Bulbukienė, K. (2014). Lietuvių kalbos išsaugojimas emigrantų šeimoje: JAV atvejis, *Taikomoji kalbotyra*, 13.

37 Batuchina, A. (2014). Children's perspective on parental involvement in the emigration country, *Changing education in a changing society*, 169.

guilty, because they try to soften the situation by 'pampering' the kids and showering them with extra attention'[38]; 'parents didn't/ don't force their kids to learn the Lithuanian language, avoid being seen as too strict, all to ensure that their children don't turn on them'[39].

Parenting in Different Migration Contexts

The topic of parenting in migration has received much attention in the migration academic literature, especially in publications on changing care obligations and practices (Bernhard et al., 2009; Boccagni, 2012). Researchers point out that people who migrate are exposed to a new set of opportunities and constraints forcing them to modify various forms of care they are engaged in, among them also the childcare, and depart from the ways in which these were practiced before migration. We set out to examine how these modified sets of childcare practices are depicted by researchers in academic publications, and whether the descriptions of parenting in migration differ across different migration contexts, namely, living in a host country, upon the return to the country of origin and in transnational space.

Parenting in the Host Country

We carried out analysis of the content and abstracts of the selected academic publications, using MAXQDA software. We identified a total of 5 main codes, which we then grouped into two categories representing the key scripts of framing parenting in emigration. The Lithuanian scholars portray parenting abroad through two distinct lenses: ensuring the well-being of the child and preserving children's 'belonging' to Lithuania. The former lens focuses on ensuring the material well-being of the child, providing psychological and social support to ensure his/ her successful integration within the new cultural environment; the latter is preoccupied with the upbringing of the child in the host country with a focus on the fostering of the language and folk traditions, enlisting children in the Lithuanian networks and activities abroad (see Figure 1). Our analysis shows that the demands concerning children-parents physical co-presence/ absence and emotional proximity do not appear in portraying parenting in the host countries, rather the researchers focus on parents' efforts and quality of parenting practices to fulfil childrearing obligations in new ways.

38 Ibid, 170.

39 Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2014), 18.

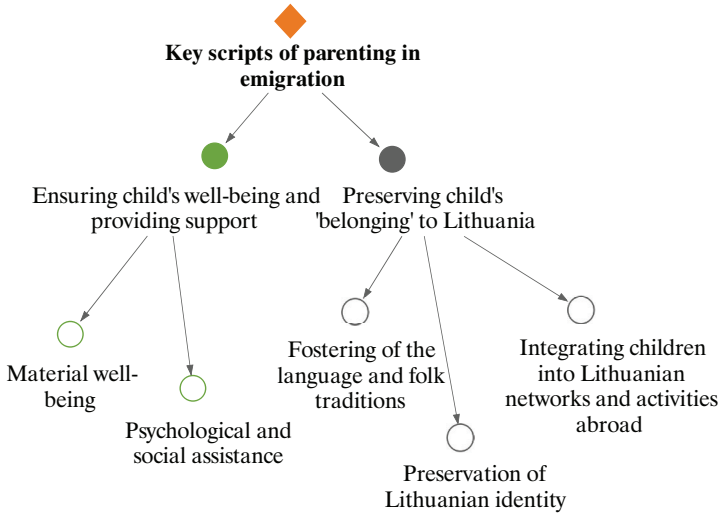

Figure 1. Key scripts of parenting in emigration in academic publications in Lithuania

Ensuring child's well-being and providing support. While analyzing emigrant parents' portrayal we came across the Lithuanian academics' preoccupation with new, distinctive manifestations of parental responsibilities and parenting practices in host countries. As we highlighted in our analysis, when parents fail to fulfill these imagined responsibilities of 'good parenting', the researchers label parenting in emigration as 'troubling'.

Material well-being. The researchers discuss how parents work towards providing financially for their children. What distinguishes the narratives of parenting in emigration? Economic migrants working abroad earn a higher income allowing them to devote more resources to ensure the material well-being of their children. The researchers emphasize that the emigrant parents have more financial means at their disposal, making it easier to meet the needs of their children, when providing both – formal and informal educational opportunities: '... the majority of the Lithuanian economic migrants who move abroad with their school-age children dispose of better or even significantly better financial means allowing them to cover the costs of children's education and informal instruction'[40]. When describing parents-children relations in emigration, the researchers highlight the practice of using material resources to facilitate the integration

40 Rupšienė, L. and A. Rožnova (2011). Lietuvos darbo migrantų galimybės apmokėti mokyklinio amžiaus vaikų mokymosi ir neformaliojo ugdymosi užsienyje išlaidas: kaitos aspektas, *Tiltai*, 56(3), 376.

of children into a new social environment. The researchers consider these parental practices to be 'troubling', because indulging children amplifies the negative outcomes of upbringing in emigration – aware of their parents' improved financial standing, children exploit the opportunity: 'children know that parents can support them with extra resources and parents often oblige in order to soften the child's adaptation to the new environment'[41].

Providing social and psychological assistance in a new cultural environment. Another topic at the center of many publications is the social and psychological assistance the parents in emigration provide to their children. Supporting children in adapting to a new environment constitutes a significant part of 'good parenting' practices in emigration. For example, parents are portrayed as key actors in helping children to manage their anxiety and stress, their aim is to ensure that their children feel safe: '... communicating helps the child to feel safe in the new environment; it boosts his confidence and relieves the stress after the school day. Also, when confronted with problems, the child needs someone to confide in and ask for advice'[42].

The publications highlight how the parents look for ways to integrate their children into new social networks, for example, by introducing children to neighbors, family friends or encouraging them to take up part-time employment to have an opportunity to interact with local residents[43]. The researchers describe how parents assist children who join a new educational system. Although helping children with homework is not always an option, on the whole, parents care for the child by overseeing how (s)he adapts to a new school: 'while direct help with homework is not something parents can do, they are involved in the child's adaptation to the new school, in fact the respondents have indicated that once abroad parents pay more attention to what is happening at school. They often ask their children for updates on school life, go through assigned tasks and take an interest in the child's academic achievements'[44].

Preserving child's 'belonging' to Lithuania. The analyzed publications have introduced a new, critical parental duty for families living abroad – the preservation of children's Lithuanian identity. Traditionally, scholars consider the key sources of preserving the Lithuanian national identity to

41 Batuchina (2014), 170.

42 Ibid, 169; Drungilaitė, V. and R. Šiaučiulienė (2014). Emigravusių šeimų paauglių socialinė adaptacija Didžiosios Britanijos ugdymo institucijose, *Mokytojų ugdymas*, 23, 18.

43 Batuchina (2014), 169.

44 Ibid, 170.

be the language and folk traditions. Whenever the academic publications talk about Lithuanian families living abroad, they always bring up this topic. We identified three features of portraying parents: (1) the preservation of the Lithuanian identity; (2) fostering of the Lithuanian language and folk traditions; (3) integrating children into Lithuanian networks and activities abroad.

The preservation of the Lithuanian identity. The researchers deem parental efforts to play a critical role in preserving the identity: '...while articulating one's national identity and reconciling it with other identities is up to the children themselves, it is imperative to make sure that children internalize as many resources as possible – competencies, contexts, social ties, and so on – necessary for the Lithuanian component of the identity'[45]. Parents who fail to actively preserve the Lithuanian identity are regarded as ignorant of the consequences of such a monumental decision: 'emigrants from this group are not aware of the consequences to the children of losing the connection with parents' ancestral culture. Although parents might think that children are not turning their back on the Lithuanian identity, the center of their cultural and personal identity clearly rests in the country of emigration, while their relation to parents' culture is tenuous'[46].

Other authors maintain that the parents lack motivation because they don't plan to return to Lithuania. The researchers also assume that emigrants lack information: 'the lack of information is another problem. Back in Lithuania, there is no shortage of studies – various institutions publish brochures on relevant topics, but the surveys we have conducted indicate that the relevant information often fails to find its target audience or reaches them in a fragmented form'[47]. Practical obstacles like busy schedules and long distances can also impact parental efforts to foster the Lithuanian identity.

The fostering of the language and folk traditions. Parents who look for ways to ensure that their children retain/ learn the Lithuanian language and adhere to the Lithuanian traditions are motivated by a variety of reasons. (1) It might stem from the intention to return to Lithuania in the future: '...they might be considering returning to Lithuania. In such case, the knowledge of Lithuanian is necessary to ensure that the children easily adjust upon the

45 Šutinienė, I. (2009). Lietuvių imigrantų požiūriai į lituanistinį vaikų ugdymą, *Filosofija. Sociologija*, 20(4), 313.

46 Ibid, 314.

47 Gruodytė, E. and L. Liutikienė (2008). JAV gyvenančių lietuvių vaikų ugdymo problematika, *Oikos: lietuvių migracijos ir diasporos studijos*, 1, 38.

return'[48]. (2) Other parents might be swayed by nostalgia for the homeland and be keen on maintaining ties with the rest of the family in Lithuania: '...parental decision to use the Lithuanian language and pass it on to the children is often motivated by ongoing friendships, memories'[49]. (3) Yet others consider the Lithuanian identity to offer an 'additional identity', an 'extra culture' enriching one's personality: in the last case, the Lithuanian ancestry is not interpreted as an imperative to propagate the Lithuanian identity but rather as a way to foster a multicultural identity or enrich and vary the other national/ cultural identity[50]. (4) Parents find preserving the Lithuanian language important not only because it contributes to the sense of personal identity, but also because it counterbalances the invasion of other languages, keeps Lithuanians from losing their national identity: 'commenting on the language itself, the woman claims that both – her parents and she wanted to preserve the language within the family, because it was widely believed that Lithuanians in Lithuania might be Russified and lose their unique language'[51].

The academic papers emphasize how parents go out of their way to teach a proper version of Lithuanian: 'the parents want to teach children to speak Lithuanian the way native speakers do in Lithuania'[52]. In a pursuit to teach proper Lithuanian, the parents make an extra effort to abide by the grammatical and syntactic rules of the language[53], prioritize Lithuanian language fluency when hiring nannies: '... parents consider it to be important that nannies use proper Lithuanian when talking to children'[54].

The researchers portray two distinct types of the host country parenting based on the attitudes of emigrant parents towards preserving the Lithuanian language and identity of their children. The first group of parents, the ones always seeking out ways to retain the national identity while living abroad, were portrayed as promoters of the Lithuanian identity. The academics maintain that 'many emigrants regard the knowledge and use of Lithuanian to be a key component of the national identity defining the expression and continuation of being Lithuanian. Neglecting this

48 Jakaitė-Bulbukienė, K. (2015). Lietuvių kalbos išlaikymą emigrantų šeimoje lemiantys veiksniai: JAV atvejis, *Taikomoji kalbotyra*, 16.

49 Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2014), 8.

50 Šutinienė (2009), 315.

51 Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2015), 20.

52 Ibid, 25.

53 Mozolevskienė and Montvilaitė (2013), 35.

54 Ibid.

component is tantamount to losing one's sense of national identity'[55]. Moreover, the researchers consider the language to be a part of the family identity: '... family life without the language is impossible to imagine and families make a conscious effort to retain it'[56].

The second group of parents were portrayed as 'neglecting their Lithuanian heritage'. It refers to parents who believe that their children will never need to speak Lithuanian abroad[57], that speaking Lithuanian is not the sole way of preserving the Lithuanian heritage and that, for example, upholding traditions is more important[58], and to parents who put the use of the language on autopilot[59]. Referencing the public opinion on parents' efforts to foster the Lithuanian heritage in the host country, the researchers claim that promoters of the Lithuanian heritage are respected[60], while those who 'neglect this heritage' are stigmatized: '...those parents who fail to promote the national heritage are believed to be lazy, lacking effort, showing disrespect to the history of their family'[61].

Integrating children into Lithuanian networks and activities abroad. The analyzed academic publications take a keen interest in practices adopted by parents to ensure that their children retain the sense of the Lithuanian identity. According to the researchers, parents send their children to schools teaching Lithuanian[62], prefer schools that actively practice Lithuanian traditions[63], develop an interest in teaching Lithuanian heritage[64], become members of local Lithuanian communities[65], maintain Lithuanian traditions[66], speak Lithuanian at home[67] and teach their kids how to do the same[68]. Some adults believe that language skills should be

55 Šutinienė (2009), 312.

56 Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2014), 12.

57 Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2015), 37.

58 Gruodytė and Liutikienė (2008), 37.

59 Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2014), 13.

60 Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2015), 30.

61 Ibid, 30.

62 Šutinienė (2009), 313.

63 Mozolevskienė and Montvilaitė (2013), 35.

64 Gruodytė and Liutikienė (2008), 37; Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2015), 9.

65 Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2015), 9; Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2014), 8.

66 Mozolevskienė and Montvilaitė (2013), 35; Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2015), 9; Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2014), 8.

67 Mozolevskienė and Montvilaitė (2013), 35; Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2014), 8; Šutinienė (2009), 314; Cigaitė, E. and R. Ivoškuvienė (2014). Daugiakalbių vaikų kalbos sutrikimų identifikavimas ir logopedinės pagalbos būdai, *Specialusis ugdymas*, 2, 17.

68 Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2014), 7–8.

supported naturally[69] and muster patience[70], others – on the contrary – offer their children incentives for speaking Lithuanian[71]. Parents read with their children Lithuanian books[72], give their children Lithuanian names[73], bring/ send their children for holidays to Lithuania[74], make an effort to set up their children with other Lithuanian friends[75]. Some adults deliberately look for partners of the Lithuanian background[76] and encourage their own children to start Lithuanian families[77].

Parenting after the Return from Emigration

In general, the researchers don't have much to say about parents who return to live in Lithuania together with their children. The few descriptions that we managed to find emphasize two things (see Figure 2).

Firstly, the researchers promote children's informal education as a way to facilitate their adaptation to Lithuania. For example, when discussing how parents manage children's education, the researchers examine the possibility of signing children up for after-school activities, varsity teams, hobby clubs: 'The act of establishing communal relations by the way of enlisting children to play sports or practice hobbies helps not only children; in the long run, it becomes a source of support for the whole family. Parents engaged in extracurricular activities with their offspring have an opportunity to expand their social circle as well as discover new skills that do not necessarily manifest themselves in the school environment'[78].

Secondly, the authors of publications report about parents' indecision to staying in Lithuania permanently. The researchers highlight the cases when parents' decision to return to Lithuania was not a final decision but rather as an attempt to re-establish themselves in the home country, with the possibility to depart again: 'families that have not put down roots in Lithuania consider the possibility of leaving again, because the country from which they have recently returned is no longer seen as an intimidating uncertainty, but rather as a place with well-known opportunities and

69 Ibid, 19.

70 Ibid, 1.

71 Ibid, 20.

72 Mozolevskienė and Montvilaitė (2013), 36.

73 Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2015), 9.

74 Cigaitė and Ivoškuvienė (2014), 37; Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2014), 26.

75 Ibid, 25.

76 Ibid, 9.

77 Ibid, 9–11.

78 Ruškus, J. and D. Kuzmickaitė (2008). Į Lietuvą grįžusių šeimų vaikų ugdymo ypatumai: „Šėltinio" mokyklos atvejis, *Oikos: lietuvių migracijos ir diasporos studijos*, 2, 112.

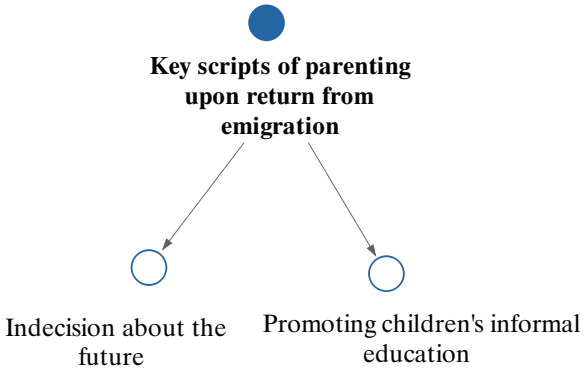

Figure 2. Key scripts of parenting upon returning from emigration in academic publications in Lithuania

advantages, a place that binds with emotional ties and is inhabited by friends and acquaintances'[79].

The academic publications view such indecision in negative terms due to the fact that it leaves the family in limbo and prevents the returned children from successfully integrating in Lithuania. This script echoes the discrediting script of wrongly framed parenting. Parents' indecision and them discussing their intention to depart once again provides the basis for labelling such parenting as 'troubling'.

Transnational Parenting

This section focuses on the portrayal of the transnational parenting scenario, defined as an arrangement where mother, father or both parents leave to work abroad, while their children continue to live in Lithuania. In contrast to the way the researchers portray parenting in the host country and upon return home, depictions of transnational parenting, by and large, focus on the negative outcomes of violating all the 'good parenting' scripts. The narratives of transnational child-parent relations are based on physical absence, disrupted emotional proximity, and failure to provide baseline childcare, as claimed by the moral imperative aimed at parents. We highlighted four categories that reveal the discrediting scripts of transnational parenting. Parents from transnational families are depicted

79 Ibid, 114.

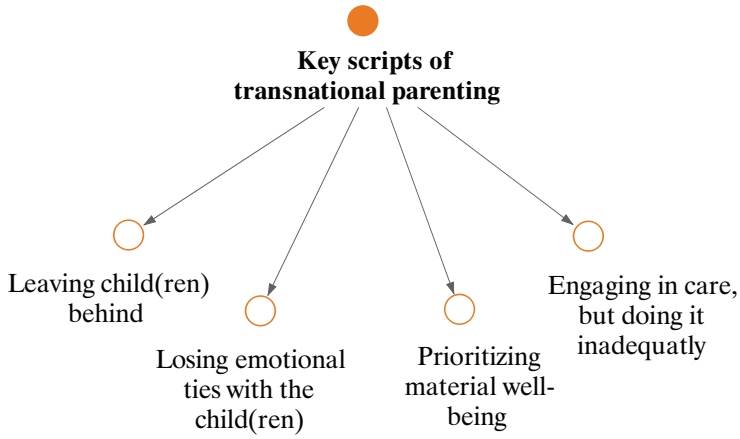

Figure 3. Key scripts of transnational parenting in the academic publications in Lithuania

as (1) leaving their children behind; (2) losing emotional proximity with their children; (3) prioritizing material well-being; (4) even when willing to take care of their children, they are discredited by recounting the 'wrong ways' of doing so, as a number of publications have shown (see Figure 3).

Leaving child(ren) behind. The depictions of transnational parenting are bound up with discrediting scripts, conveniently obscuring the fact that they originate in the researchers' value judgements. When characterizing the departed parents, the researchers use labels with negative connotations. Firstly, the authors frequently use the term 'left behind' and its various permutations. The analyzed publications also contain a would-be accusation against the parents: 'one also comes across cases, where one or both parents leave entrusting the long-term foster care of their children to relatives or strangers, and – in some instances – even failing to arrange for proper care of their children'[80].

The portraying parents as leaving their children behind without arranging for proper care, in the eyes of the authors, demonstrate parental lack of responsibility and negligence, easily illustrated by drawing up a list of examples where parents 'forget' their children: 'as they leave, the parents entrust the care of their children to grandparents, relatives or neighbors,

80 Motienė, R., J. Daukšienė and Ž. Šerkšnienė (2014). Paauglių potyriai tėvams išvykus į užsienį, *Sveikatos mokslai*, 64.

while some parents simply forget about their children'[81]. Far from being seen as a neutral event, parents' departure is presented as a loss through the use of such phrases as 'temporarily orphaned children'[82], 'children who lost one or both parents'[83], 'children who lost one or both parents due to economic migration'[84].

Losing emotional ties with a child(ren). The analyzed publications depict transnational parenting as distinguished by the loss of a connection with the child (for example, 'when parents fail to participate in the child's daily life, parents and children can grow emotionally distant'[85]); parents' withdrawal from the child's education (for example, 'as a result of infrequent communication between parents and children, they lose an intimate connection, parents don't participate in the child's upbringing process'[86]) and other types of behavior pointing to the fact that parents neglect their moral commitments to their underage children: 'as both parents depart abroad, children are left to live alone; parents rarely or ever talk with their children, separate brothers from sisters; parents (or temporary guardians) fail to stay in touch with the child's school'[87].

Prioritizing material well-being. The articles convey the message that departing parents think solely about wealth and fail to consider all the possible negative outcomes linked to this decision: for example, 'temporarily emigrating parents have the bug of quick riches while failing to consider the possible negative outcomes facing the family, the child'[88]. One of the papers attributes such behavior to the parents' lack of education: 'parents who lack specific knowledge, typically accumulated through education, often fail to understand the graveness of the situation experienced by the child and this way pave the way for future crises'[89]. The researchers note that such parents

81 Gumuliauskienė, Butvilas and Butvilienė (2008), 147.

82 Laurinavičiūtė, J. and N. Cibulskaitė (2008). Paauglių, laikinai netekusių tėvų globos, emocinės būsenos ypatumai, *Ugdymo psichologija: mokslo darbai*, 37–46.

83 Gumuliauskienė, Butvilas and Butvilienė (2008), 146.

84 Laurinavičiūtė and Cibulskaitė (2008), 37.

85 Kaniušonytė, G., I. Truskauskaitė and L. Gervinskaitė (2012). Psichologinės migracijos pasekmės šeimai: vaikų emocinių ir elgesio sunkumų prevencija: metodinė priemonė, Vilnius: Leidykla 'Edukologija', 18.

86 Gumuliauskienė, Butvilas and Butvilienė (2008), 148.

87 Leliūgienė, I., L. Rupšienė and L. Plavinskienė (2005). Tėvų išvykimo dirbti į užsienį įtaka vaikų socializacijai, *Specialusis ugdymas: mokslo darbai*, 1(12), 42.

88 Malinauskas, G. (2006), Ar vaikas išgyvena krizę? Tyrinėjant laikinosios darbo migracijos įtaką vaikui, *Oikos: lietuvių migracijos ir diasporos studijos*, 2, 43.

89 Ibid, 47.

'are more concerned with the financial and physical well-being of their children'[90], while flatly ignoring their other needs.

The researchers use depictions of the departed parents to support broader generalizations about the 'family dysfunction' and using this concept synonymously with the term 'family breakdown': 'parental absence from the family upon their departure to work abroad is one of the factors causing the family dysfunction. This change disrupts the performance of many functions, among them – socializing the children. By leaving their children behind, migrants – in a sense – voluntarily refuse to carry out this function. There is reason to believe that such a voluntary refusal to perform the key family function is not only an outcome of prioritizing a single function (namely, the economic function of ensuring the family's financial well-being), but also a sign of shifting attitudes towards the family and children that have recently been emerging in Lithuania'[91].

Engaging in care, but doing it inadequatly. A small fraction of the academic publications we studied shows how parents tackle the challenges posed by transnational family practices, but the researchers describe these efforts as inconsistent and their outcomes as poor. For example, on the one hand, the authors scrutinize the cases when: 'transnational mothers and fathers want to stay in touch with the family left behind, talk to their children even when separated by great distances'[92]. On the other hand, they emphasize that such form of care is inadequate, that parents fail to consider the negative impact on the children: 'although the parents do not relinquish or give up the child, he/ she is forced to live without them (or one of them); although the parents take care of the child, their care is limited to ensuring the material well-being; the parents cannot perform other functions due to the distance separating them'[93]. We consider these narratives as revealing the researchers' willingness to 'give voice' to those parents who left to work abroad while their children continue living in Lithuania and to 'listen and hear' parents' arguments about their attempts of doing parenting across borders. At the same time, the negative judgements underpinning the portrayal of transnational parenting lead the researchers to label parents' efforts as inconsistent.

90 Butvilas, T. and J. Terepaitienė (2008). Tėvų emigraciją patyrusių vaikų asmenybiniai bruožai ir jų emocinį ugdymą sąlygojantys socialiniai mitai, *Jaunųjų mokslininkų darbai*, 1, 72.

91 Leliūgienė, Rupšienė and Plavinskienė (2005), 37.

92 Laurinavičiūtė and Cibulskaitė (2008), 37.

93 Leliūgienė, Rupšienė and Plavinskienė (2005), 36.

Parenting as Gendered Experiences

Studies of caregiving in migration are often marked by a strong emphasis on the gender dimension. Transnational parenting (motherhood particularly) has always been at the center of the debate, and the primary target for stigmatization, in the media and in the public discourse. As Parreñas (2005) notes, female labor migration challenges the constructs of motherhood based on physical and emotional proximity and contests the social constructs of fatherhood grounded in male-only breadwinning. The researchers regard transnationalization of care practices as the key trend subverting gendered social expectations of family relations. In the overview of literature on motherhood in migration, Bonizzoni and Boccagni (2014: 81) note that 'one of the reasons that female migration is depicted as especially 'problematic' lies in the transfer of care obligations to other caregivers. Substitute caregivers – as a widespread fear has it – may be unable to properly replace biological mothers. This would result in children receiving less affection, nutrition, medical care, schooling, disciplining and control'.

The aim of our study was to analyze how mothers and fathers are portrayed in academic publications and to find out if there are there any gendered scripts to frame parenting in migration. Contrary to our expectations, which are largely based on the previous study of how transnational families are portrayed in the mass media and reports of rigid gender role definitions uncovered by similar studies of Western researchers, the papers we studied construct generalized narratives about the families living in emigration and returned to Lithuania as 'parents-emigrants' or 'emigrated parents', without providing separate portraits of emigrant mothers and fathers.

In rare cases, when a paper chooses to talk about departed mothers and fathers separately, depictions of the mother are dominated by specific activities aimed at preserving the Lithuanian language[94], while that of the father is devoted to more general activities of fostering the child's Lithuanian identity[95]. While our study does not allow for broader generalizations, we can discern the representation of traditional gender roles within the family in the constructs of a departed mother and father: the mother is tasked with speaking to children in Lithuanian on a daily basis, something that is guaranteed by routine household chores; meanwhile, the father is charged with preserving the child's national identity, the task that carries a larger

94 Cigaitė and Ivoškuvienė (2014), 17.

95 Jakaitė-Bulbukienė (2014), 18.

social significance and involves a more diverse range of activities (for example, transferring values through the use of historical accounts, the use of memories and so on).

The gender dimension is more pronounced in the publications about transnational families. These publications spend more time describing transnational mother than father, although the portrait of the mother is being constructed by making comparisons with the father. The differences in portraying transnational mothers and fathers are found in the three areas of parenting: (1) communicating with their children more frequently (2) maintaining emotional proximity with their children and (3) feeling more anxious about the children left behind. For example, the researchers depict emigrated mothers as maintaining 'more frequent contact with their children[96]' than emigrated fathers. Moreover, mothers are credited with expending more effort organizing childcare across borders, as it is required by the moral imperative for 'good mothers'. The author of publication assets, that 'staying in touch with the child is a duty that, by and large, falls to mothers, not fathers working abroad'[97].

This holds equally true for both – mother-daughter and mother-son relationships: 'the children (both boys and girls) maintain a closer contact with mothers: mothers take interest in their children's daily routines, learning outcomes, relationships with friends, they send home the money intended to support the child'[98]. The portraits of emigrated mothers more often highlight concerns about their children. Academic publication states, 'mothers living abroad are more concerned about the children they left behind in Lithuania and care more for them than fathers'[99]. Meanwhile, the role of departed fathers is more inarticulate, fathers are assigned fewer family commitments ('the father rather plays a supporting role and this trend is not confined to the families we studied, but also many other families'[100]).

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to highlight the scripts of migrant parenting within a host country, after return from emigration and in

96 Leliūgienė, Rupšienė and Plavinskienė (2005), 39.

97 Motienė, Daukšienė and Šerkšnienė (2014), 66.

98 Kasparavičienė, A. and R. Čepienė (2007). Emigravusių tėvų laikinai palikti vaikai: socialinės situacijos pokyčiai ir psichinės būsenos ypatumai, *Tiltai: humanitariniai ir socialiniai mokslai*, 1, 213.

99 Leliūgienė, Rupšienė and Plavinskienė (2005), 39.

100 Kasparavičienė, A. and R. Čepienė (2007), 213.

transnational settings to show how value judgements rooted in the low mobility discourse are reproduced in academic publications on family and migration and lead the researchers to regard and portray parenting in migration as 'troubling'. Our data sheds light on how descriptions of parenting in migration are bound up with the image of 'good parents' and moral imperative for the responsible 'Adult' to ensure the appropriate care of the 'Child' (Ribbens McCarthy et al., 2000).

It should be noted that depictions of parenting in different migration contexts vary a lot. The description of parenting within host countries mainly reflects the challenges posed by new social environment and concerns the eroding sense of 'belonging' to Lithuania. Parenting upon the return from emigration remains a highly overlooked study subject. Short history of return migration prevents researchers to discuss the practices adopted by returning parents in more depth. So far, they mostly focused on negative practices, that is on describing how parental indecision creates the atmosphere of a temporary return and places the family in a limbo, preventing children from adapting to the life in Lithuania upon return.

The researchers regard transnational parenting practices as the most 'troubling'. In contrast to the depictions of parenting within host countries and upon the return from emigration, transnational parenting is portrayed by recounting exclusively negative outcomes of parenting, caused by parents violating the requirements of 'good parenting'. The narratives of transnational child-parent relations are based on the depictions of physical absence, disrupted emotional proximity, and failure to provide baseline childcare, as defined by the moral imperative for parents.

When analyzing the gendered scripts of framing parenting in different contexts of migration, we conclude that the Lithuanian researchers create generalized narratives of parenting, without constructing mother- or father-specific depictions; only transnational motherhood receives an occasional mention. In rare cases, when a publication chooses to talk about departed mothers and fathers separately, depictions of mothers are dominated by specific activities aimed at preserving the Lithuanian language, while those of fathers are devoted to more general activities of fostering the child's Lithuanian identity. The topic of transnational fathering is largely overlooked by the Lithuanian researchers, while transnational mothers are portrayed as more willing to follow the scripts of moral imperative of 'putting the needs of one's children first'. More specifically, emigrant mothers are described as more often referencing their responsibility of staying in touch with their children, as actively looking for ways to maintain close ties with children and showing more concern about changing family arrangements and their outcomes.

The data presented in the chapter leads us to conclude that the Lithuanian researchers tend to approach migrant family studies with the assumption that parenting before migration excluded 'troubles', while migration reshaped traditional parenting practices and made them 'troublesome' in many ways.

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Part 3.

DOING, DISPLAYING AND MEMORIZING: THE EVIDENCE FROM THE QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH STUDY

The study design of Researchers' groups project 'Global migration and Lithuanian family: family practices, circulation of care and return strategies' (2017–2019) funded by the Lithuanian Research Council (LMTLT), incorporated multi-level analysis and utilized a hybrid research methodology (see Chapter 1.2). In this part of the edited collection, we focus on the research findings from two quantitative surveys: a *national representative survey* of the Lithuanian population (N=1005) and a *quota-based survey* of the Lithuanian residents (18 years or older) with migratory experience (N=406).

The *national representative survey* of the adult Lithuanian population (18 years or older) was carried out by 'Baltijos tyrimai' in June-July 2018. The survey sample was formed by applying multi-stage random stratified sampling, at first by applying the sampling criteria of the size of the country and the location of residence and later by applying random route sampling.

The *quota-based survey* of the Lithuanian residents (18 years or older) with migratory experience (since 2004) who at the time of the departure had either dependent children (up to 18 years old) or parents requiring care was carried out by 'Baltijos tyrimai' in August-September 2018. We have surveyed 4 quota-based population groups: mother-away families (N = 100), father-away families (N=104), both parents-away families (N = 102), adult children away-elderly parents in Lithuania families (N = 100).

Chapter 3.1.

DOING FAMILY ACROSS BORDERS: THE ROLE OF ROUTINE PRACTICES, TRADITIONS AND FESTIVITIES IN LITHUANIA

Vida Česnuitytė

Introduction

Contemporary life, marked by constant change, globalization and migration, dispels family members more and more often. During the last few decades, they have not necessarily been living under one roof anymore; living in different countries has not been an infrequent phenomenon either. The functions of childrearing and upbringing, material provision, protection from external forces and other functions, which for many centuries had been an almost exclusive competence of the family, are being increasingly taken over by educational establishments (kindergartens, schools, extra-curricular activities), social protection and care institutions, banks, non-governmental institutions, etc. Part of those functions are increasingly carried out by the members of personal networks who are not related by blood or marriage. Thus, family and extended family links have lost their functional relevance in comparison with those that existed a century or more ago. On the other hand, social research has shown that people still prioritize family relations over other relations (Pahl and Spencer, 2004). The efforts to maintain and foster relations between the members of the nuclear family are especially evident: they involve the development of family traditions, special rituals, celebration of festivities, etc. Apart from that, the same practices also involve people who do not belong to the 'traditional' family. In the long run, these people may be assigned to the so-called 'fictitious' family (Glendon, 1981; Stacey, 1990). When a relation of such type becomes extremely close, it may replace broken or non-existent 'traditional' family relations. The cases discussed above introduce some variety into family relations. The extreme spread of this variety during the recent decades has made it difficult to determine, within the set norms and by applying only traditional research methods, family borders, i.e. who is a family member and who is not. Sociologists started especially intensively analyzing the concept, composition and the formation of the family in

1970s when a gap between the family concept and family statistics became apparent (Bernardes, 1985; Trost, 1988; 1990; and others).

In Lithuania, research on family relations and doing them started more than three decades ago (Česnuitytė, 2014b; 2014b; Juozeliūnienė, 1992; 2008; Maslauskaitė, 2002a; 2002b; 2005; 2009a; 2009b; and others). Research results confirm that Lithuanians tend to focus on the nuclear family (Česnuitytė, 2012; 2013; Maslauskaitė, 2005; Wall et al., 2018). On the other hand, people not related by blood or marriage are increasingly often included into the network of family members (Česnuitytė, 2013). Although such people are not numerous in family networks, this trend is obvious, especially when, in response to the question about one's family members, respondents indicate the individuals not related by blood or marriage as the first ones among most important to them people (Česnuitytė, 2012). In the families with migration experience, family relations and functions are very often substituted by the individuals beyond the nuclear or extended family (Juozeliūnienė and Leonavičiūtė, 2008; Maslauskaitė and Stankūnienė, 2007). People residing in Lithuania but willing to maintain relationship with emigrant family members plan the events of their lives respectively (Mikulionienė, 2013; 2014). Other aspects of Lithuanian families related to migration have also been researched: Maslauskaitė (2009c) revealed the genesis and development prospects of the family living across borders; Juozeliūnienė et al. (2008) analyzed the methodological specificities of research on such families, etc. However, there is still little data on the activities (practices) important for doing family in the context of mass migration, and how family practices are related to personal networks.

This chapter presents the results of the research on doing family in the context of migration. The relevance of the subject is determined by a few circumstances: (a) the lack of knowledge about Lithuanian families whose members reside across borders; (b) the variety of the forms of doing family at the beginning of 21 century, urging to search for new research methods in order to reveal the relationship with reality; (c) theoretical-methodological approaches existing in the global scientific context which are still too rarely applied when researching the Lithuanian family. The research raises the following main questions: What family practices are typical of doing the Lithuanian family? How do these practices change when family members emigrate?

The object of the research is family practices relevant for doing the Lithuanian family. The research aim is to identify family practices which mobilize the members of a personal network of Lithuanian residents into

a family irrespective of the (non-)existence of blood or marriage relations and the members' place of residence (in Lithuania or abroad).

Research hypotheses:

H1. The family practices important for doing the Lithuanian family (routine activities, festivities and traditions) draw the line between family and non-family members irrespective of the existence of blood or marriage relations among them and the proximity of their places of residence.

H2: The emigration of a family member determines the changes in his/ her personal network and the practices of doing family.

The hypotheses were tested against the empirical data collected in Lithuania in 2018 by way of a representative sample survey and a quota sample survey.

The chapter consists of an introduction, two main sections and conclusions. A list of literature referred to is given at the end of the chapter. The first section consists of the presentation of the theoretical basis of the research and reveals that the analysis is based on the theoretical approaches to family practices (Morgan, 1996; 2011) and doing family (Smart, 2007). The characteristics of empirical data sources and analysis methods are presented at the beginning of the second section. It is stated there that an open family concept was applied during the selection and analysis of data (Bernardes, 1985). Further down in the section, there is a description of identified practices of doing family and their changes after the emigration of family members. The chapter ends with conclusions on family practices which are important for doing the Lithuanian family irrespective of its members' blood and marriage relations and their places of residence.

Theoretical Background

The sociological studies of the last several decades have revealed that the increasing variety of the forms of family organization has expanded the familial relations beyond blood or marriage relations and has involved the given and chosen systems of relatives (Donati; 2010; Cherlin, 1999). People tend to choose the members of their personal networks with whom they are related by friendship, love, mutual respect, care, etc. Adults increasingly involve friends (Pahl and Spencer, 2004; Spencer and Pahl, 2006) and other non-kin, i.e. individuals not related by

blood or marriage, in their personal networks. Relationships in personal networks become more structurally and functionally diverse. Sometimes, friends and other non-kin can even replace one's family. According to Allan (2006), in the contemporary society non-family members sometimes take over such family functions as support, proximity, leisure activities, etc. The families of alternative composition provide to their members welfare, psychological and material support which is related to interdependence and responsibility sharing rather than family structure (Lansford et al., 2001). On the other hand, when choosing between non-family and the family, the latter is preferred by most people, even by young and lonely ones (Pahl and Spencer, 2004). The authors note that the nature of family relations is shaped by the expectations that the relationship will last long: affection, knowledge that the family relation will continue create the feeling of trust and identification with others, therefore it is considered as a value. Therefore, in respect of the members of the traditional family, big efforts to maintain the existing relationships are made even in the cases of disagreements or conflicts, just because the individuals are related by blood or marriage. Such a trend becomes especially evident in extraordinary cases, e.g. during an economic crisis, in case of emergency, emigration of family members, etc. The choice between a family and non-family is determined by the acquired social norms related with family responsibilities, therefore most people prefer to spend time with family or relatives even if they are spiritually or geographically distant (Ibid).

A question of family boundaries arises in the pluralism of the personal network. The boundary between family and non-family ties is waning, family boundaries are increasingly becoming blurred (Jamieson et al., 2006). The authors searching for an answer on family boundaries emphasize different criteria of their identification: care (Bengtson, 2001; Donati, 2010), love and voluntary commitment (Giddens, 1992; Smart, 2007; and others), friendship (Pahl and Spencer, 2004), etc. In this context, Morgan (1996) has proposed a concept of family practices.

Morgan (1996) sees a family as a dynamic and constantly changing phenomenon, and its members as an active creators: people create interpersonal relationships through participating in joint activities which can potentially become family relations in the long run. Morgan (2011) believes that family practices include a variety of routine and non-routine family events and relationships and this variety draws the line between the actual family life and a constructed institute of the family.

Smart (2007) has extended the concept: emphasizing that the creation of a family is an active process, she proposed the approach of doing family. The author believes that family ties do not get formed on their own, on the contrary, the creation and maintenance of strong interpersonal relationships require traditions, rituals, social and other actions, otherwise they will remain merely formal. Similarly, Bengtson (2001) asserts that the family is an entirety of things done together by family members. In the latter case, however, the practices are related to the functions of the family rather than to doing family, i.e. the family is created by a purposeful process rather than family ties.

The ideas of family practices and doing family have gained ground in the academic community and are being widely applied when analyzing fatherhood, motherhood, friendship, intimate life and other phenomena. The author of the chapter supports Morgan (1996) and Smart's (2007) ideas about the mobilizing power of family practices and doing family, therefore these two theoretical approaches have been chosen as the main ones in this research.

Morgan (2004; 2011) believes that the sense of communion among people is created not only by festivities, but also by daily communication and routine actions. In Morgan's (1996) terms, family practices have no direct relation to space. Family practices can be performed in various spaces: at home, at work, at a restaurant, at a club as well as in Lithuania and abroad. In this respect, the approach of family practices is especially suitable for research on doing migration-related families.

Family practices are not directly linked with time (Ibid). They may be both constant and variable, they tend to recur periodically. Various family practices may take place on a daily, weekly, monthly or yearly basis or at other time slots. On the other hand, the practices important for doing family depend on the historical period, the stage of family life, family composition and on other circumstances. In any case, inclusiveness is typical of family practices, while joint activities create interpersonal relationships among the participants.

Due to the similarities in the content of the concepts, Morgan (1996; 2011) compared family practices with the habitus concept proposed by Bourdieu (1977; 1990). Routine is important for both the practices of doing family and habitus. For instance, it is important whether family members eat together, at home or somewhere else, how they do it, etc. Nevertheless, Bourdieu (1998) analyses family practices as collective norms and values internalized by individuals, while Morgan (2011) focuses on their mobilizing power.

Morgan (2011) determined common features between family practices and the theoretical methodological approach of family configurations (Widmer, 2016). In both approaches, the family is defined by applying an open family concept where the feeling of togetherness subjectively conceived by individuals plays an important role, or, in other words, where the feeling of 'we' (Bernardes, 1988; Levin, 1999) is important.

What belongs to family practices? The typology of family practices proposed by Wolin and Bennett (1984) is among the most influential ones and includes the following: festivities, traditions and routine practices. Festivities include cultural celebrations dominating in a certain society, e.g. Christmas, Easter, etc. They may also include consecration rituals, like marriage, baptism, etc. Traditions are less related to the culture dominating in the society and are secular. They may include birthdays, anniversaries, extended family gatherings, holidays, meals, etc. Routine practices include daily communication, childcare, domestic chores, etc. These practices are frequent and indispensably periodical. Differently from traditions and festivities, routine practices involve instrumental communication, short-term not binding relationships among participants, while traditions and festivities are related with emotions and continuity (Fiese, 2006; Fiese et al., 2002). The practices of traditions and festivities may be passed down from generation to generation, may involve long-term commitments and responsibilities which may require one's efforts, time, funds and other resources. Due to these qualities, traditions and festivities are particularly important for family sustainability. In this research, for the purposes of operationalization of family practices, we have adapted namely the typology proposed by Wolin and Bennett (1984) as it is comprehensive and goes in line with the research objective.

Research Methodology

Hypothesis H1 (see 'Introduction') formulated in this research was tested against the data of the quantitative representative sociological survey. The data of quota survey were used to reveal the links of doing family with migration processes and to test hypothesis H2 (see 'Introduction'). The data of the latter survey are not representative, therefore it is not possible to extend the results of this survey to the national scale; nevertheless, these results supplement the research results obtained from the data of the representative survey and provide information on how migration affects the experience of doing family.

Both mentioned surveys were conducted and empirical data were collected while implementing the scientific research project 'Global Migration and Lithuanian Family: Family Practices, Circulation of Care and Return Strategies'[101].

Sampling. The fieldwork of the quantitative representative sampling of Lithuanian residents was carried out and empirical data were collected in June-July 2018. The surveyed general sample was 2.370 million country residents aged 18 and above irrespective of their ethnicity, nationality, language and legal status in the country. The survey sample was formed by applying multi-stage random stratified sampling, at first by applying the sampling criteria of the size of the county and the location of residence and later by applying random route sampling. 1005 adult Lithuanian residents were interviewed during the survey.

The fieldwork of the quota sampling was carried out and data were collected in August-September 2018. 406 adults with direct migration experience were interviewed during the survey. They were living in Lithuania at the moment of the research; however, they had gone abroad previously due to various reasons.

Survey instruments and operationalization. Standardized questionnaires consisting of over 100 questions were used in both surveys. In order to achieve the research objective presented in this chapter, selected questions from the questionnaire were used, the questions being related to the following aspects: (a) identification of personal and family networks; (b) analysis of family practices; (c) respondents' social demographic characteristics.

The open family concept (Bernardes, 1986; Levin, 1999) is used to identify respondents' personal and family networks, when the researcher does not pre-define the categories of family and non-family members and their identification criteria. Instead, the respondent is given the freedom to indicate himself/ herself which members of their personal network they consider as family members and which ones they do not. The process consists of several steps (Widmer, 2016): (1) the respondent is asked to name the members of their personal network that are important for him/ her (by using the following question: '*Who were the important individuals for you during the last 12 months?*'), and the researcher makes a list of these persons; (2) the respondent is asked questions about the social

101 The project (code No. S-MIP-17-117) was implemented in Vilnius University in 2017–2019; it was financed under the activity 'Researcher Groups Projects' supported by the Research Council of Lithuania and led by Prof. Dr. I. E. Juozeliūnienė.

demographic characteristics of every listed important person (gender, age, place of residence); (3) the respondent is asked the following question about every listed important person: *'Do you consider this person as your family member?'*; this allows to identify the subjectively conceived family members in one's personal network; (4) the respondent is asked the following question about every listed important person: *'Please specify how these individuals are related to you'*; this allows to identify formal family members in one's personal network. During the last step of this survey, each respondent was given an auxiliary card with a list of possible relationships with important persons. An authors of this survey drafted in advance the list of 21 categories and left the last category open, thus allowing the respondents to name, at their discretion, the categories of family relations which had not been included in the list. In total, 36 categories were identified. For the purposes of optimizing the analysis, they have been classified into four groups: family of procreation (which covers the following categories: spouse, partner, daughter, son), family of orientation (which covers the following categories: mother, father, sister, brother, stepmother, stepfather), other kin (which covers the following categories: grandmother, granddaughter, grandson, great-granddaughter, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, mother-in-law, father-in-law, mother of the daughter-in-law, father of the daughter-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, aunt, uncle, nephew, niece, other kin related by blood or marriage; a former spouse was also assigned to the category) and non-kin (which covers the following categories: female friend, male friend, neighbor, etc.). In order to make it more concise, in the analysis text and in the pictures the respondents are sometimes called 'Ego' and the members of their personal and family networks are called 'Alter'.

For the purposes of identifying family practices, the questions in line with the typology proposed by Wolin and Bennett (1984; Bennett et al., 1988) were included in the instrument. The questionnaires of both surveys include respective questions starting with the following phrase: '*With whom from important persons do you usually...*'. For the purposes of identifying routine practices, three questions were formulated relating with people's emotional, instrumental and financial support to each other (respective questions R9, R10 and R11, see Figure 2).

For the purposes of identifying traditions, two questions were formulated regarding joint meals and holidays (respective questions R12 and R21, see Figure 2). Families usually have more traditions, however the limited scope of the research allowed us to include only the ones which are more or less typical of every family.

For the purposes of the questions on festivities, the researcher chose the most popular and significant occasions celebrated by most residents of the country. Moreover, account was taken of the fact that there are religious and non-religious festivities; therefore, religious and secular festivities were considered separately. In order to identify the practices related to religious festivals, questions on Christmas Eve, Christmas, Easter and All Saints' Day were formulated (respective questions R13, R14, R16 and R19, see Figure 2). In order to identify secular festivities, the questions on the following occasions were formulated: the Mother's Day, celebrated on the first Sunday of every May, the Father's Day, celebrated on the first Sunday of every June, New Year's Eve and the respondent's birthday (respective questions R17, R18, R15, and R20, see Figure 2).

In the questionnaire of the quota survey, side by side with every question related above described to family practices, an additional question was formulated on the same family practices performed in a different context, i.e. when the respondent temporarily lived abroad. All those questions start with the wording '*While you lived abroad, with which of these important persons did you...*'.

Research methods. In the analysis of empirical data and when testing the hypotheses, the methods of descriptive statistics and multivariate statistical analysis were applied. Frequencies (in absolute numbers and per cent) and the t-test were used from the first type of method, while the Binary Logistic Regression analysis and Factor analysis were used from the methods of multivariate statistical analysis. Empirical data were processed by the tools of the SPSS program.

Research Results

Description of family practices

Thirteen family practices are being analyzed in the research. According to the data of the representative survey, only 8% of all important persons listed by respondents do not participate in any joint family practice, while 12% participate in all studied family practices (see Figure 1). One member of the personal network participates on average in 7 family practices together with the respondents.

Of all family practices analyzed in the representative survey, birthdays have the biggest mobilizing power for the members of the personal network: 73% of important persons normally participate in respondents' birthdays (see Figure 2). Religious festivals – Christmas Eve, Christmas,

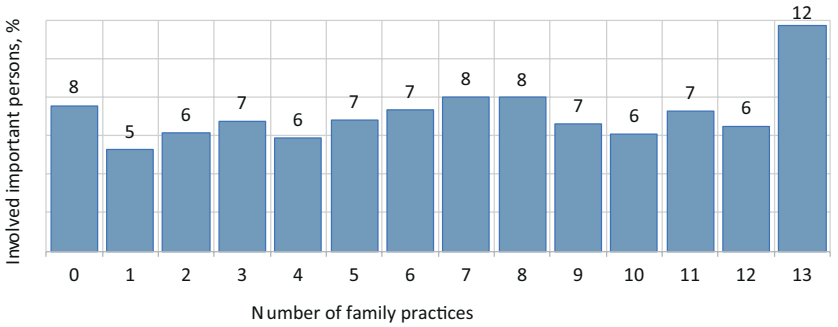

Figure 1. Percentage of important persons involved in family practices by the number of family practices

Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

Easter – are of equal importance. 68–69% of personal network members normally participate in these festivities together with the respondents. Somewhat fewer, but anyway more than half of important persons (53%) meet with the respondents on All Saint's Day when Lithuanian residents visit their ancestors' graves irrespective of the distance from their place of residence. About two thirds of listed important persons (59%) normally exchange emotional support with the respondent. A similar share of personal network members (58%) usually participate, together with the respondents, in the Mother's Day festivity. It is noteworthy here that only half (51%) of personal network members meet with the respondents on the Father's Day. In respect of other joint activities, less than half of the respondents' important persons participate in the following occasions: celebrating New Year's Eve (46%), having breakfast, lunch or dinner together at least once a week (45%), helping each other with daily chores (36%), manage their finance together (32%), have a holiday together at least once a year (30%). It is noteworthy that around one third of the persons important to the respondents normally participate even in those family practices which attract the least number of important persons. Such results imply an assumption about a close relationship between family practices and personal and family networks.

The attempt to group family practices by means of the Factor analysis produced no results: various family practices were significant for several factors at the same time, irrespective of the number of studied factors – two, three, four or more. Therefore, it may be stated that there is no clear distribution among the activities, when certain important persons

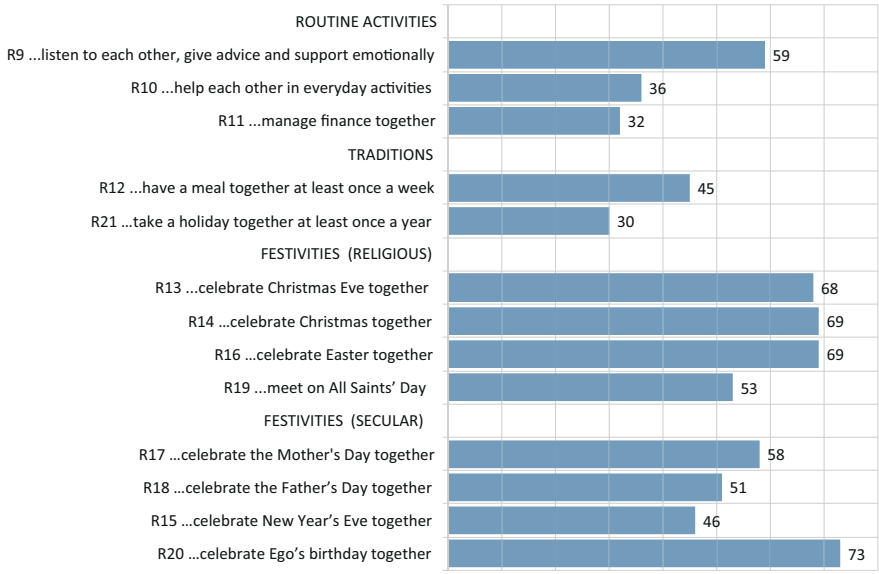

Figure 2. Important persons in family practices who create personal networks (distribution in percentages)

Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

normally participate in certain activities only, and others participate in only other types of activities. Instead, most of the listed important persons participate, together with the respondents, in several and sometimes in all studied family practices (see Figure 1). Therefore, further in the research family practices are analyzed according to the preliminary formal typology: routine practices, traditions, religious festivals and secular festivities.

The power of family practices in doing personal networks and family

This section presents the test results of hypothesis H1. First, we shall briefly describe the characteristics of personal networks and the distribution of personal network members in family practices; later, by means of the Logistic Regression analysis, we shall identify the family practices which draw the line between family and non-family members irrespective of the existence of blood or marriage relationship among them or the proximity between their places of residence.

According to the data of the representative survey, 1005 interviewed Lithuanian residents listed 3893 persons important to them, these persons

being members of their personal networks. That is, one respondent indicated on average 3.9 persons. They include: members of the family of procreation – 40%, members of the family of orientation – 29%, other kin – 40%, non-kin – 11%. The respondents did not specify the type of relationship with 6 important persons; therefore, the further analysis is based on the data on 3887 important persons.

According to the data of the representative survey, the respondents specified that 85% of the members of their personal networks are their family members, while 15% are non-family members. As may be expected, the individuals related to the respondents by blood or marriage dominate among those who were specified as family members, including, primarily, the members of the family of procreation (46%) and the family of orientation (32%). It is noteworthy that an ex-wife was also indicated as a family member, although at the time of the survey she was neither related to the respondent by marriage nor by blood. In total, 2% of important persons not related to the respondents by blood or marriage, friends, neighbors and others were also indicated as family members. As may be expected, non-kin (67%) dominate among those who were specified as non-family members, i.e. the individuals not related to the respondents by blood or marriage. The remaining one third (33%) of important persons who were identified as non-family members were nevertheless related to the respondents by blood or marriage. The latter include the members of the family of procreation and of the family of orientation (3% and 10% respectively), including spouses, partners, fathers, mothers, etc. Therefore, it may be stated that certain family practices distinguish family members from non-family members irrespective of the existence or non-existence of blood or marriage relationship.

According to the geographic proximity among the places of residence of the respondent and the members of their personal network, those living in separate households 15 minutes walking distance away from the respondent's place of residence are the dominating group. They account for 56%, as per the data of the representative survey. Almost two fifths of personal network members (36%) live together with the respondents or in the neighborhood (not further than 15 minutes walking distance). Only 8% of the personal network members live abroad.

According to the empirical data, the participation of personal network members in family practices varies (see Table 1). The main trend is for the members of the family of procreation to participate in all family practices more actively than for other members; the members of the family of orientation are in the second place in this respect. The members of the

family of procreation dominate in such family practices as support to each other in household chores, financial management and joint holidays at least once a year. They account for approximately three fifths of all the participants in each of the mentioned family practices. In respect of all other family practices, the members of the family of procreation account for approximately one half of all the participants.

The members of the family of orientation are especially frequent participants of such activities as meetings on All Saints' Day which take place on November the 1st each year: they account for two fifths of all the participating personal network members (Table 1). With regard to some other family practices, like the Mother's Day, the Father's Day, Christmas Eve, Christmas, Easter, birthdays, exchange of emotional support, support in household chores, joint financial management, the members of the family of orientation account for approximately one third of all the participants. The members of the family of orientation account for one fourth of all the participants in the celebration of New Year's Eve. In respect of the personal network members who spend holidays together with the respondents, the members of the family of orientation account for approximately one fifth of all the participants.

Normally, other kin and non-kin are the least active in the respondent's family practices (see Table 1). On the other hand, other kin get involved in the celebration of religious festivals (Christmas Eve, Christmas, Easter, All Saints' Day), the Mother's Day, the Father's Day and respondents' birthdays more often than in other activities. Under normal circumstances, other kin get involved least in providing support in household chores, financial management, joint meals and holidays as well as the celebration of New Year's Eve. They account for up to 10% of all participating members of one's personal network in these activities.

Non-kin members of the personal network more actively than in other activities participate in the celebration of New Year's Eve and respondents' birthdays and in the exchange of emotional support. Non-kin participate the least frequently in the celebration of the Mother's Day, the Father's Day, All Saint's Day and financial management: they account for only 1–2% in these activities.

In order to answer the question which family practices draw the line between family and non-family members in personal networks, a representative survey was used to make calculations with eight models of Regression analysis (see Table 2). In each of the models, the dependent variable means a subjective assignment or non-assignment of personal network members to family members. The independent variables mean

Table 1. Distribution of personal network members within family practices (in percentages)

Family practices	Personal network members				
	Family of procreation	Family of orientation	Other kin	Non-kin	Total
ROUTINE ACTIVITIES					
R9 ...listen to each other, give advice and support emotionally	47	32	10	11	100
R10 ...help each other in everyday activities	60	30	6	4	100
R11 ...manage finance together	63	29	6	2	100
TRADITIONS					
R12 ...have a meal together at least once a week	55	30	9	6	100
R21 …take a holiday together at least once a year	64	22	6	8	100
FESTIVITIES (RELIGIOUS)					
R13 ...celebrate Christmas Eve together	50	31	16	3	100
R14 …celebrate Christmas together	49	31	16	4	100
R16 …celebrate Easter together	49	31	16	4	100
R19 ...meet on All Saints' Day	48	36	14	2	100
FESTIVITIES (SECULAR)					
R17 …celebrate the Mother's Day together	51	33	15	1	100
R18 …celebrate the Father's Day together	54	32	13	1	100
R15 …celebrate New Year's Eve together	52	24	9	15	100
R20 …celebrate Ego's birthday together	46	28	14	12	100

Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

family practices. Additional calculations were made by introducing into the Regression analysis models a control variable expressing the proximity among the places of residence of the respondent and the members of their personal networks (see Table 2 Models 2, 4, 6, and 8).

Table 2. Family practices which distinguish family members from non-family members within personal networks. Results of the Logistic Regression analysis, Exp(B)

Independent variables	Dependent variables (0 = Non-family member; 1 = Family member)			
	Members of the family of procreation		Members of the family of orientation	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
ROUTINE ACTIVITIES				
R9 ...listen to each other, give advice and support emotionally	7.473***	1.804	3.329***	1.974*
R10 ...help each other in everyday activities	0.475	0.759	0.857	1.624
R11 ...manage finance together	0.904	1.029	1.040	1.100
TRADITIONS				
R12 ...have a meal together at least once a week	0.546	1.616	1.448	2.334
R21 …take a holiday together at least once a year	1.019	1.173	1.278	1.069
FESTIVITIES (RELIGIOUS)				
R13 ...celebrate Christmas Eve together	14.499***	8.677**	3.326**	3.162**
R14 …celebrate Christmas together	0.652	0.892	1.328	1.006
R16 …celebrate Easter together	2.822	1.302	1.079	0.894
R19 ...meet on All Saints' Day	1.452	1.409	1.351	1.002
FESTIVITIES (SECULAR)				
R17 …celebrate the Mother's Day together	3.559	3.938	2.813*	2.730*
R18 …celebrate the Father's Day together	1.807	1.587	2.545*	2.824*
R15 …celebrate New Year's Eve together	0.390	0.861	3.207*	3.007*
R20 …celebrate Ego's birthday together	4.070**	1.431	0.951	0.600
Distance between the places of residence of Alter and Ego (ref. In the same household or in the neighborhood)				
Lives in another part of Lithuania		6.989***		2.832***
Alter lives abroad		53.967***		14.317***
-2 Log likelihood	*2239.954*	*2166.686*	*2418.120*	*2378.182*
Cox & Snell R Square	*0.708*	*0.721*	*0.636*	*0.649*
Nagelkerke R Square	*0.944*	*0.962*	*0.848*	*0.865*

*Levels of significance: *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.*
Source: Representative survey data (N =1005 respondents).

Table 2 (continued)

Independent variables	Dependent variables (0 = Non-family member; 1 = Family member)			
	Other kin		Non-kin	
	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
ROUTINE ACTIVITIES				
R9 ...listen to each other, give advice and support emotionally	1.228	0,807	0.503*	0.760
R10 ...help each other in every-day activities	1.042	1.443	1.174	1.271
R11 ...manage finance together	1.490	1.676	3.466*	3.040*
TRADITIONS				
R12 ...have a meal together at least once a week	1.063	1.339	0.755	0.610
R21 …take a holiday together at least once a year	1.576	1.261	1.464	1.611
FESTIVITIES (RELIGIOUS)				
R13 ...celebrate Christmas Eve together	2.974***	2.525**	1.102	1.006
R14 …celebrate Christmas together	1.791*	1.620	1.416	1.819
R16 …celebrate Easter together	1.462	1.212	2.177	1.720
R19 ...meet on All Saints' Day	1.051	0.665	0.938	1.064
FESTIVITIES (SECULAR)				
R17 …celebrate the Mother's Day together	1.091	1.019	1.680	1.193
R18 …celebrate the Father's Day together	1.341	1.428	0.902	0.972
R15 …celebrate New Year's Eve together	1.050	1.049	0.429*	0.480*
R20 …celebrate Ego's birthday together	1.147	0.721	0.207***	0.429*
Distance between the places of residence of Alter and Ego (ref. In the same household or in the neighborhood)				
Lives in another part of Lithuania		3.017***		0.236***
Alter lives abroad		8.629***		0.901
-2 Log likelihood	*2702.980*	*2610.920*	*2356.14*	*2317.061*
Cox & Snell R Square	*0.378*	*0.448*	*0.435*	*0.482*
Nagelkerke R Square	*0.504*	*0.597*	*0.580*	*0.642*

*Levels of significance: *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.*
Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

Based on the regression analysis, it may be statistically significantly stated that the members of the family of procreation are mobilized into a family by the provision of reciprocal emotional support and joint celebration of Christmas Eve and birthday festivities (see Table 2 Model 1). The members of the family of procreation residing abroad remain family members if they celebrate Christmas Eve together (see Table 2 Model 2).

The members of the family of orientation are identified as family members if they not only exchange emotional support and celebrate Christmas Eve together, but also celebrate the Mother's Day, the Father's Day and New Year's Eve together (see Table 2 Model 3). Identical, though somewhat less expressed, trends remain valid when the members of the family of orientation live abroad (see Table 2 Model 4).

Other kin are called family members if they celebrate religious festivals together with others: Christmas Eve and Christmas (see Table 2 Model 5). Other kin living abroad are assigned to family members if they celebrate Christmas Eve together with respondents (see Table 2 Model 6). Meanwhile, the celebration of Christmas is not the activity which ensures the possibility for other kin living abroad to be assigned to family members.

As has been mentioned, individuals not related by blood or marriage, i.e. formally non-kin, may also be assigned to family members. In this respect, the most important family practice from the analyzed ones is being involved in financial management when network members support each other financially, buy goods and products together, etc. (see Table 2 Model 7). At the same time, it is noteworthy that, differently from the cases with the members of the families of procreation and orientation and with other kin, the exchange of emotional support and joint celebration of New Year's Eve and birthdays does not contribute to doing family relations with non-kin. Unfortunately, it is not possible to say anything statistically significant about the inclusion of non-kin living abroad in the circle of family members (see Table 2 Model 8).

In summary, the individuals assigned to family members dominate in the personal networks of Lithuanian residents, although these individuals include both the ones related by blood or marriage and those not related by these relations as well as the individuals living in separate households. Under usual circumstances, family practices involve personal network members in joint activities, however different family practices have a different effect on doing family. The members of the family of procreation dominate in all family practices, while non-kin participate in family practices the least frequently. However, there are exceptions when non-kin are involved in family practices more often than other kin, e.g. when providing emotional support, celebrating birthdays and New Year's Eve.

Routine practices and joint festivities play an important role so that personal network members related by blood or marriage are included in the family. Christmas Eve becomes the most important festivity in this context: in order to remain a family member, it is important that even those living abroad participate in joint celebration of this festivity. In order to consider the individuals not related by blood or marriage as family members, it is important that they get involved in joint financial management, while participation in festivities and traditional practices does not normally ensure that they will be considered as family.

The trends described above also apply to the important persons (personal network members) living abroad in respect of their inclusion in the family network. The latter results will be specified by the analysis continued in the next section where we shall be referring to the data of the quota survey.

Changes in family practices caused by the emigration of personal network members

This section presents the testing results of hypothesis H2 which states that the emigration of a family member determines the changes in his/her personal network and the practices important for doing their family. Quota survey results were used during the test. 406 individuals were interviewed in this survey who had previously temporarily lived abroad while their family members (spouses, children and/ or parents) had remained in Lithuania. The respondents indicated 2012 persons important to them who were members of their personal network. That is, one respondent indicated on average 5.2 persons. The latter fact demonstrates that individuals with migration experience have wider personal networks in comparison with all residents of the country (see section 'The power of family practices in doing personal networks and family'). However, the difference between the composition of personal networks in both cases is only minor. The personal networks of the individuals with migration experience on average consist of the following: 41% are members of the family of procreation, 34% are members of the family of orientation, 18% are other kin and 7% are non-kin (in comparison with the representative survey: 40%, 29%, 20% and 11% respectively, see section 'The power of family practices in doing personal networks and family'). It is obvious that there is a slight increase of the members of the families of procreation and orientation in the personal networks of individuals with migration experience, and a decrease of other kin and non-kin. The respondents stated that 89% of their personal network members were their family members and 11% were non-family. Consequently, the personal networks

of the individuals with migration experience include more family members than the personal networks of all residents of the country (85% and 15% respectively, see section 'The power of family practices in doing personal networks and family').

Further on, the section analyses the relationship of family practices with personal networks in migration context. According to the data of the quota survey, personal network members are more frequently involved in all analyzed family practices during their usual periods of life than during the periods of their migration to a foreign country (see Figure 3). In respect of family practices under analysis, except for traditions, the t-test shows statistically significant differences.

In the case of migration, the least changes happen among those involved in financial management: normally, around a quarter of personal network members get involved in this activity, in comparison with the migration period when around one fifth of personal network members get involved in this activity (t-test = 5.588). The biggest changes are related to such family practices as the celebration of Easter and birthdays as well as meeting on All Saints' Day. The share of participants – personal network members – in Easter festivities declines from 73% to 18% (t-test = 44.273). The number of personal network members participating in respondents' birthdays declines from 67% to 15% (t-test = 43.817), while the number of personal network members meeting each other on All Saints' Day declines from 54% to 6% (t-test = 42.012).

When analyzing which personal network members participate in the family practices of the respondents with migration experience, a trend was observed that the members of the family of procreation and non-kin replace the members of the family of orientation and other kin in many practices (see Table 3). However, the members of the family of orientation remain important during migration periods when a migrant individual wants to share concerns, needs advice or other emotional support (their share among all the participants increases by 5 percentage points). Apart from that, they spend holidays together with respondents more often than usual (their share increases by 3 percentage points). However, the members of the family of orientation participate less frequently in the celebration of religious and secular festivities (their share decreases from 9 to 24 percentage points), in having joint meals (a decrease of 10 percentage points), in financial management (a decrease of 3 percentage points), and in support with household chores (a decrease of 2 percentage points).

During emigration, the role of other kin decreases even more. This is especially obvious during the celebration of festivities – their share

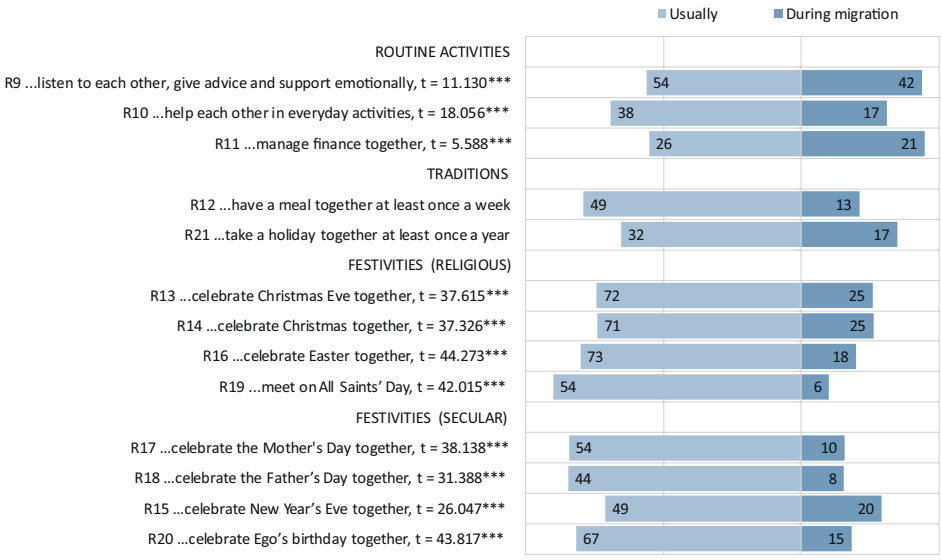

Figure 3. Important persons in family practices during their usual periods of life and during migration (distribution in percentages; t-test)

*Levels of significance: *** p < 0.001.*
Source: Quota survey data (N = 406 respondents).

decreases from 2 to 9 percentage points (see Table 3). On the other hand, during emigration periods other kin remain important and even more active than usual (their share increases by 3 percentage points) in the areas of cleaning the housing, doing the laundry and ironing clothes, cooking, doing the dishes and other cases related to household chores.

According to the quota survey data, the members of the family of procreation distance themselves from household chores during emigration periods, especially the ones performed daily: cooking, cleaning the housing, etc. (their share decreases by 16 percentage points) (see Table 3). They become extremely rare participants of joint meals (their share decreases by 19 percentage points). Apart from that, they less frequently spend a holiday together with the respondents, provide reciprocal emotional support, manage finance together (their shares decrease by 9, 8 and 3 percentage points respectively) as well as celebrate birthdays and New Year's Eve (their shares decrease by 3 and 2 percentage points respectively). However, the members of the family of procreation start more actively participating, together with the respondents, in religious

Table 3. Interrelation between family practices and personal networks during emigration periods (in percentages)

	Personal network members							
	Family of procreation		Family of orientation		Other kin		Non-kin	
	%	Change	%	Change	%	Change	%	Change
ROUTINE ACTIVITIES								
R9 ...listen to each other, give advice and support emotionally	38	-8	44	+5	10	±0	8	+3
R10 ...help each other in everyday activities	49	-16	25	-2	10	+3	16	+15
R11 ...manage finance together	61	-3	26	-3	5	-1	8	+7
TRADITIONS								
R12 ...have a meal together at least once a week	49	-19	13	-10	6	-1	32	+30
R21 …take a holiday together at least once a year	78	-9	8	+3	4	±0	10	+6
FESTIVITIES (RELIGIOUS)								
R13 ...celebrate Christmas Eve together	56	+5	24	-12	8	-4	12	+11
R14 …celebrate Christmas together	56	+5	22	-12	9	-4	13	+11
R16 …celebrate Easter together	55	+5	21	-15	8	-5	16	+15
R19 ...meet on All Saints' Day	62	+18	21	-19	6	-9	11	+10
FESTIVITIES (SECULAR)								
R17 …celebrate the Mother's Day together	65	+16	17	-21	7	-6	11	+11
R18 …celebrate the Father's Day together	67	+14	10	-24	9	-3	14	+13
R15 …celebrate New Year's Eve together	58	-2	14	-9	6	-2	22	+13
R20 …celebrate Ego's birthday together	48	-3	14	-16	7	-5	31	+24

Note: 'Change' means the changes in the proportion of participants in family practices in usual situations as compared to the periods of emigration. The figures in red indicate that the share of personal network members increased during the periods of emigration; the figures in blue indicate that the share of personal network members decreased during the periods of emigration.
Source: Quota survey data (N = 406 respondents).

festivities (their share increases by 5 percentage points in respect of the participation in Christmas Eve, Christmas and Easter festivities and by 18 percentage points in respect of All Saints' Day), and in such secular festivities as the Mother's Day and the Father's Day (their share increases by 16 and 14 percentage points respectively).

As has been mentioned, non-kin become alternative participants of respondents' family practices during emigration periods. Their role particularly increases in the cases of joint meals: a third of joint breakfasts, lunches and dinners are attended by non-kin, while in usual life situations their share accounts for merely less than 2% (see Table 3). The share of non-kin participating in the respondent's birthday parties increases by 24 percentage points of all the participants, their share in household chores increases by 15 percentage points and in the festivities under analysis by 10 or more percentage points. The importance of non-kin in the areas of provision of reciprocal emotional support, financial management, spending holidays together declines a little, but nevertheless they remain important persons to respondents (their share increases by less than 10 percentage points).

In summary, it may be stated that personal networks expand during emigration in comparison with the networks under usual conditions. Moreover, the composition of the participants of family practices of the individuals with emigration experience undergoes significant changes: the members of the family of orientation and other kin become less numerous at the practices, while in many cases the members of the family of procreation become more active and non-kin get more involved in daily chores, traditions and festivities.

Conclusions

The main aim of the chapter was to discover the family practices which mobilize the members of a personal network of Lithuanian residents into a family irrespective of the (non-)existence of blood or marriage relations and the members' place of residence (in Lithuania or abroad). The research analyses thirteen family practices classified into four formal groups: routine practices, traditions, religious festivals and secular festivities. Two hypotheses were formulated in respect of them which were tested on the basis of data of representative and quota surveys.

Hypothesis H1 was confirmed on the basis of the representative survey data and states that the family practices important to doing the Lithuanian family draw the line between family and non-family members

irrespective of (non-)existence of blood or marriage relations among them and the proximity of their places of residence. In the subjective opinion of the residents, family members account for 85% of all personal network members and the rest are non-family members. The latter division does not necessarily correspond to the formal typology where family members are related by blood or marriage. Under usual conditions, in the case of the family of procreation, the line between family and non-family members is mainly drawn by Christmas Eve and birthday parties. As regards the members of the family of procreation living abroad, the possibility for them to remain family members may be guaranteed by the joint celebration of Christmas Eve. In the case of the family of orientation, the line between family and non-family members is also drawn by Christmas Eve as well as the exchange of emotional support, joint celebration of the Mother's Day, the Father's Day and of New Year's Eve. The same family practices are important to the members of the family of orientation living abroad. In respect of other kin, even those living abroad, the line between family and non-family members is drawn by Christmas Eve as well. Another religious festival, Christmas, is of equal importance, however only to other kin not living abroad. Non-kin become family members if they get involved in joint financial management, i.e. if personal network members support each other financially, buy goods and products together, etc. However, the exchange of emotional support is not the activity which would assign non-kin to the group of family members.

Hypothesis H2 was confirmed on the basis of quota survey data and states that the emigration of a family member causes changes in their personal network as well as in the practices of doing family. Moreover, empirical data reveal that under emigration conditions personal networks expand in comparison with the networks of the same individuals under usual conditions. The number of the members of families of procreation and orientation increases in such enlarged personal networks, while the number of other kin and non-kin declines; apart from that, the number of family members increases and the number of non-family members decreases. In the case of emigration, the members of the family of orientation and other kin are replaced in many family practices by the members of the family of procreation and non-kin. The members of the family of orientation remain important in case of the need to express concerns, give advice or other emotional support. Other kin remain important in dealing with household and daily chores such as cooking, doing the dishes, cleaning the housing, doing the laundry, ironing etc. At the same time, the share of non-kin involved in household and daily chores increases by as much as 15

percentage points. The share of non-kin increases from 2% under usual life conditions to 30% in case of joint meals: they become extremely frequent participants of joint breakfasts, lunches and dinners. Non-kin also become frequent participants in the respondent's birthday parties and religious festivities, their role grows when providing emotional support, managing finance, spending holidays together.

In summary, it may be stated that the emigration of a family member makes a personal network more open to individuals not related to them by blood or marriage. At the same time, the members of the family of procreation distance themselves from household chores, especially the ones performed on daily basis: cooking, cleaning the housing, etc. They are less frequent participants in the practices of shared meals, joint holidays, birthdays or New Year's Eve celebrations. The latter practices are especially important for doing family and personal network; therefore, it is obvious that the emigration of a family member causes danger to the stability of the family or personal network and even to its survival. On the other hand, the members of the family of procreation become more active participants of religious festivities and the Mother and Father's Day celebrations, which is a promising phenomenon. The latter festivities are universal and are public holidays in many countries, therefore emigrants have a possibility to spend more time participating in theses festivities, maybe even to return to Lithuania and participate in the festivities directly rather than remotely, which strengthens their personal and family relationships.

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Chapter 3.2.

TRANSNATIONAL DISPLAYS OF PARENTING AND CARING FOR ELDERLY PARENTS

Irena Juozeliūnienė, Gintė Martinkėnė and Irma Budginaitė-Mačkinė

Introduction

Transnational family studies tell us that experiencing migration leads individuals to reorganize family configurations, family relationships, and care arrangements (see Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002; Baldassar and Merla, 2014; Crespi et al., 2018). Family researchers explore relationships between parents and children (see, for example, Hondagneur-Sotelo and Avila, 1997; Hochschild, 2000; Parreñas, 2005), adult migrant children and their elderly parents living in the country of origin (Baldassar, Baldock and Wilding, 2007; Zehner, 2008), extended family and wider kinship (Reisenauer, 2018). Academic studies highlight structural changes and fluidity of relationships within the caregiving triangle and examine caregivers' socio-demographic profiles (Akesson et al., 2012; Bonizzoni, 2012; Bonizzoni and Boccagni, 2014; Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2012). Moreover, researchers point out that exchanges of care are situated within institutional and cultural contexts (see Merla, 2014).

Various research studies of transnational family life show that circulation of care within cross-border family networks plays a crucial role in maintaining the sense of 'familyhood'. Examining how care circulates among family members on one hand, and between family and extended kin networks on the other, the researchers – starting with Baldassar and Merla (2014) – conceptualize care as a multidirectional process and refer to the 'care circulation' framework. In order to examine transnational family structures and networks beyond the nuclear, co-residential, two-generation households, the researchers rely on the 'family configurational' approach formulated by Widmer (2010; Widmer and Jallinoja, 2008). Researchers are used to examining long-distance relationships within transnational families through the lens of 'intergenerational solidarity' approach (Bengtson and Schrader, 1982; Bengtson and Roberts, 1991; Silverstein et al., 2010), or through the 'life course' perspective emphasizing transnational family transitions experienced by individuals (see Bernardi, 2011; Wall and Bolzman, 2014; Kobayashi and Preston, 2007).

The field of family sociology witnessed the rise of the dynamic perspective that aims to capture family practices. Following Morgan's (1996) ideas, Bryceson and Vuorela (2002) coined the terms 'relativising' and 'frontiering' to refer to different ways of reorganizing and reaffirming family arrangements across borders, while Mason's (2004) analysis of how individuals manage kinship relations over long distances focused on the physical co-presence ('the visits'). Morgan's (2011) ideas about 'doing families' have been applied in the context of family practices across borders and cultures by bi-national families and their pre-existing families (Brahic, 2015). Finch's (2007) concept of 'displaying family' was tested and extended by Seymour and Walsh (2013) to study migrant family life and community connectedness as well as cross-border displays in maintaining transnational intergenerational relations (Walsh, 2015; 2018). Given this chapter's focus on parenting and caring for elderly parents across borders, we are interested in the findings of the mentioned authors how migrant families bridge (physical) distance by means of transnational communication, visiting, and receiving. We are also interested to learn about the outcomes of their analysis of 'tools' as well as 'enablers/ interferences' of displays and 'family-like displays'.

In our previous study of migrant families, funded by the Research Council of Lithuania (2012–2014), we carried out a multi-level analysis of family and close kin relationships of the Lithuanian population (Juozeliūnienė and Seymour, 2015; Juozeliūnienė, Budginaitė and Bielevičiūtė, 2018). By invoking the intergenerational solidarity perspective (Bengtson, 2001; Silverstein, Bengtson and Lawton, 1997) we explored how 'embeddedness' (Smart, 2007) manifested itself through vertical and horizontal ties with family members, close kin, friends, and acquaintances, and how the migratory experience transformed these ties into intensive and meaningful relations. Analysis of the Lithuanian data drawn from the 'Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations' (VOC-IR)[102] study showed that family and close kin relationships significantly vary across the 'opportunity', 'closeness' and 'support' kinship relations indices and represent different levels of familial unity. We distinguished between three levels of unity that, in turn, determined different strategies underpinning the workings of transnational family networks. Moreover, we found that transnational support was distributed in a clearly gendered way.

In our recent research study (2017-2019), we have extended and expanded the previous project in order to analyze cross-border parenting

102 On 'Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations' study (VOC-IR) see Nauck, B. and D. Klaus (2007); Nauck, B. (2012); Trommsdorff, G. and B. Nauck (2005).

and caring for elderly parents living in Lithuania. Our aim was to go beyond the well-researched, multi-faceted processes of care negotiation and circulation typology as well as structural reach. We suggested that an expanded study would benefit from complementing our analysis with the 'family practices' approach, as formulated by Morgan (2011) and elaborated by Finch (2007). Drawing on Morgan's ideas about the impact actions of a single person have on the nexus of interconnecting relationships in families (Morgan, 2019: 7) and by incorporating Finch's idea of 'display', we examine how transnational family members and close significant persons carry out a set of actions to demonstrate to each other and others that they are a family that works.

Drawing on the findings presented by Reynolds and Zontinni (2014) in their analysis of the ways in which migrants establish new relations in destination countries, as well as on Walsh's (2015; 2018) studies of how 'family displays' contribute to the creation of 'family-like' relationships between emigrants and co-resident non-kin, we took into consideration that fluidity of transnational family relationships and practices may result in open-ended networks of family configurations. Family members may be still at the heart of the network, but other significant persons and other relationships (including non-conventional ones) may be invoked for parenting dependent children and caring for elderly parents across borders. We elaborated the ideas of 'relativizing within transnational family' (Bryceson and Vuorella, 2002: 14–16) to examine how relationships between parents-children-caregivers based on caring become 'family-like' in terms of the commitment and support levels they display (Almack, 2011). Following the family practices approach, we suggested that every time a family member, relative or a close person does something – whether it's offering advice, providing assistance to parents or adult children in the processes of transnational parenting/ caring – that family configuration is reconstructed and reaffirmed.

As far as we know, the qualitative methodology was successfully applied to perform a transnational family practices research. In this chapter we present our findings from the quantitative, quota-based study[103] (N = 304) of three types of transnational families: mother-away and father-away with under-aged children living in Lithuania and adult child-away with elderly parents needing care living in Lithuania. The study was carried out in 2018 as a part of the research project on migrant families financed

103 In this chapter we focus on three family types (N = 304), but the overall quantitative quota study (N = 406) includes four family types (mother-away, father-away, both parents-away, and adult children-away with elderly parents needing care in Lithuania).

by the Research Council of Lithuania (2017-2019). We focused on testing how the concept of 'display' could be applied to the quantitative analysis of transnational parenting and caring for elderly parents. More specifically, how are displays of mothering/ fathering and adult children caring for elderly parents performed across borders? What methods do migrants use and how often they perform these activities? What are the tools of display? What are the enablers/ interferences of transnational displays? How could gendered strategies of parenting and caring for elderly parents be described? In addition, we draw on the quantitative data to disclose how the concept of 'display' can be usefully applied to study transnational relationships within the 'caregiving triangle'.

Research Methodology

This chapter presents the results of a quantitative, quota-based study carried out in August 2018. Although the study looked at four types of families (N = 406) – mother-away, father-away, both parents-away, and adult child-away with parents needing care and residing in Lithuania – we focus on three types of families (N = 304): those with mother-away (N = 100), father-away (N = 104), and adult child-away (N = 100)[104].

To identify the displays of transnational parenting and caring for elderly parents, we used a questionnaire consisting of 7 multiple-choice questions (5 questions were directed at respondents with children under 18 years old and 2 at respondents with elderly parents needing care) and 6 more open-ended questions (3 for each group). We present these questions, along with some commentary below, in accordance with the logic of sub-sections.

Transnational displays of parenting. The first goal of the study was to establish how do transnational families display fatherhood/ motherhood. We asked respondents with minor children (under 18) living in Lithuania after the emigration of one of their parents (N = 204) an open-ended question: *'How did you usually display attention to your child/ children in Lithuania after you moved abroad?'*. We have encoded the answers provided by respondents using the Excel application. To find out who are significant others involved in transnational caring for dependent children, we asked the respondents, *'With whom did your child(ren) live in Lithuania while you were abroad? Who was responsible for their care? If the child(ren) lived in more than one place during this period, please indicate who has been responsible*

104 As some of the respondents selected to represent mother-away and father-away families also had elderly parent needing care, the total number of adult children-away families was higher (N = 121) than the size of a quota sample for this group (N = 100).

for their care?' The respondents could answer this question by naming all the involved individuals by the type of relationship indicated on a response card[105]. In total, 204 survey respondents mentioned 276 caregivers. The answer to this question was analyzed in two ways. *First*, we studied who are the designated caregivers grouping them into respondent's family of orientation (siblings, parents, relatives), respondent's family of procreation (children, partner/ spouse) and non-kin (friends, acquaintances, neighbors and ex-spouse). We counted the number of caregivers belonging to each group and the share of caregivers in each group from the total number of caregivers (see Table 1). *Second*, we analyzed how many caregivers (single caregiver, two caregivers or three caregivers) each respondent chose to care for their child(ren). We counted number of respondents who choose each type of caregiving arrangement and then counted the share of respondents in each type from the total number of respondents.

The quantitative research was also designed to help us identify how caregivers participate in family-like displays. To understand this aspect, we used the question, *'Please describe how did the person caring for your child(ren) help you stay in touch with the child(ren) while you lived abroad?'* The next question, *'Did the person caring for your child(ren) while you lived abroad undertook the following...?'*, allows respondents to select multiple options from a list of typical activities:

1) …encouraged you to call the child(ren);
2) …encouraged the child(ren) to call you;
3) …talked to the child(ren) about you or your life;
4) …asked you for advice/ briefed you about how the child(ren) are doing;
5) …encouraged you to return and visit the child(ren);
6) …encouraged the child(ren) to visit you abroad;
7) …encouraged you to wire the child(ren) regular remittances;
8) …encouraged you to send the child(ren) a package, buy them gifts'[106].

105 The card included these answer choices (the respondents could check multiple options): '1) Your spouse/ partner; 2) Your daughter(s); 3) Your son(s); 4) Your mother; 5) Your father; 6) Your sister(s); 7) Your brother(s); 8) Your friends/ acquaintances; 9) The mother of your spouse/ partner; 10) The father of your spouse/ partner; 11) Friends/ acquaintances of your spouse/ partner; 12) Relatives of your mother; 13) Relatives of your father; 14) Friends/ acquaintances of your mother; 15) Friends/ acquaintances of your father; 16) Other – who? (Please explain)'. The answer choices 1 through 15 were used by re-encoding them into more general categories depending on the question type. The 16th option was not chosen.

106 There were two more answer choices, not shown to the survey participants, used to record responses where none of the multiple-choice options matched respondent's answer or (s)he declined to answer the question: *'0) The person(s) caring for the child(ren) never did any of the above; 9) (Ignore) The respondent does not know, declined to answer'.*

Finally, to identify what factors enable/ interfere with transnational displays of parenting dependent children, we asked two further open-ended questions: *'Please describe what factors facilitated caring for the child(ren) after you left Lithuania? List three, most important factors'*. And *'Please describe what factors interfered with arranging proper childcare after you left Lithuania? List three, most important factors'*. We instructed canvassers administering the survey to record spontaneous responses to these questions and then used descriptive statistical methods to perform general and gender-based analysis of the collected responses.

Transnational displays of caring for elderly parents. To examine the set of actions adult migrant children perform to demonstrate to their elderly parents and others that they are a family, we included in the study an open-ended question aimed at the respondents with elderly parents needing care living in Lithuania (N = 121) *'How did you usually display attention to your elderly parent(s) in Lithuania after you moved abroad?'* The answers to this open-ended question were coded using the MAXQDA software programme. To identify key people involved in transnational caring for elderly parents, we further asked the respondents *'Who cared for your parent(s) when you lived abroad?'*. Survey participants could indicate whether there were caregivers for both parents or for one of them, by choosing from a list of relation types presented on a separate card[107]. In total, 121 survey respondents mentioned 194 caregivers[108]. The answer to this question was analyzed in two ways. *First*, we studied who are the designated caregivers grouping them into respondent's family of orientation (siblings, parent's spouse/ partner, parent's relatives), respondent's family of procreation (children, partner/ spouse, partner/ spouse's relatives) and non-kin (friends, acquaintances, neighbors, professionals and/ or for-hire caregivers, as well as care institution staff), as well as identified the cases where the respondent himself/ herself continued to take care of their parent(s) while living abroad. We counted the number of caregivers belonging to each group and the share of caregivers in each group from the

107 The card included these answer choices (the respondents could check multiple options): *'1) Your spouse/ partner; 2) Your daughter(s); 3) Your son(s); 4) The current spouse/ partner of your mother; 5) The current spouse/ partner of your father; 6) Your sister(s); 7) Your brother(s); 8) Your friends/ acquaintances; 9) The mother of your spouse/ partner; 10) The father of your spouse/ partner; 11) Friends/ acquaintances of your spouse/ partner; 12) Relatives of your mother; 13) Relatives of your father; 14) Friends/ acquaintances of your mother; 15) Friends/ acquaintances of your father; 16) Neighbors of your parents; 17) You yourself; 18) Paid care and/ or custody professionals; 19) Other individuals, for a fee; 20) Parents (one of the parents) at the time live(d) in a managed care facility; 21) Other – who? (Please explain)'*. The answer choices 1 through 20 were used by re-encoding them into more general categories depending on the question type. The 21st option was not chosen.

108 In addition, two respondents indicated that they were taking care of their parent(s) themselves.

total number of caregivers (see Table 2). *Second*, we analyzed how many caregivers (single caregiver, two caregivers, three or four caregivers) each respondent chose. We counted number of respondents who chose each type of caregiving arrangement and then counted the share of respondents in each type from the total number of respondents.

To examine how and through which activities caregivers performed displays of caring for elderly parents, we designed the survey questionnaire to include the question, *'How did the caregiver caring for your parent(s) help you to stay in touch with them while you lived abroad? Did the caregiver(s) caring for your parents engage in the following activities while you lived abroad...?'*, the possible answers choices consisted of the following caregiver(s) activities:

1) … encouraged you to call your parents (or one of the parents);
2) … encouraged your parent(s) to call you;
3) … talked to your parent(s) about you, your life;
4) … talked to you/ briefed you on how your parent(s) are doing;
5) … encouraged you to pay a visit to your parent(s);
6) … encouraged your parent(s) to visit you;
7) … encouraged you to wire your parent(s) regular remittances;
8) … encouraged you to send parent(s) a package, buy them gifts'[109].

Finally, to understand the factors enabling/ interfering with transnational caring for elderly parents, we asked two additional, open-ended questions: *'Please describe what factors facilitated caring for your parent(s) after you left Lithuania? List three, most important factors'* and *'Please describe what factors interfered with arranging proper parental care after you left Lithuania? List three, most important factors'*. We further instructed survey administrators to record spontaneous responses from survey participants and then used descriptive statistical methods to perform general and gender-based analysis of the collected responses.

In the following chapters, we focus on transnational parenting displays. We then present the results of the analysis on transnational caring for elderly parents displays. And lastly, we discuss the gendered ways of displays and finish it with conclusions.

109 There were two more answer choices, not shown to the survey participants, used to record responses where none of the multiple-choice options matched respondent's answer or (s)he declined to answer the question: *'0) The person(s) caring for the parent(s) has never done any of the above; 9) (Ignore) The respondent does not know, declined to answer'*.

Transnational Displays of Parenting

How are Mothering/ Fathering Displays Done across Borders?

The data shows that the respondents performed transnational displays of mothering/ fathering through the following activity types: (1) parents communicated with their children and caregivers utilizing modern technologies. More specifically, they engaged in 'inquiry-control talks', 'intimate conversations' and 'visual displays'; (2) parents organized 'live' meetings with their children; (3) provided financial and in-kind assistance to those residing in Lithuania; (4) involved 'significant others' to create a child-friendly environment; (5) named their activities using container categories to demonstrate to the wider audience that they fulfill parental commitments to their children.

Cross-border communication. The data shows that transnational displays of parenting are usually done by engaging in 'inquiry-control talks' and 'visual displays': 79% of the respondents indicated that while living abroad they communicated with family members online, and 6% communicated by sharing photos and/ or videos describing how their day went. Online communication involves a wide range of tools: phones, Skype, Snapchat, WhatsApp, Facebook, Viber apps, writing emails and texting. Some respondents indicated that they stick to one predominant communication channel, while others admitted to making use of various options: they stayed in touch via Skype and phone; made calls via Viber, Skype apps and chatted via Facebook; wrote emails and chatted via Facebook (Messenger), Viber; Texted on Facebook, Viber and made video calls. The insights from our study support the findings of many other researchers (e.g., see Baldassar and Merla, 2014; Walsh, 2015) that, among migrants, communicating online is the most popular way of conveying to family members and the wider audience that they are family and it works.

We established that displays of parenting through 'inquiry-control talks' and 'visual displays' are geared towards two types of audiences – children and their caregivers (spouses, grandmothers, grandfathers, etc.). Online conversations with both audiences (children and their caregivers) typically combined inquiries about daily life (for example, 'I was inquiring how is it going') and commands (for example, 'I urged my husband to engage with the children'; 'I wanted to know if the children help my mother').

It should be noted that displays of parenting towards children are not limited to these 'inquiry-control talks,' they are also complemented by 'intimate conversations' used by parents to signal their love and affection and reassure the child(ren) that they will soon return home (for example, 'I

always say to my child that I missed her, love her, and hug her'). During these conversations, parents displayed emotional closeness to their children and together with them engaged in planning the future: they discussed where and how to spend the holidays, how to organize a household life once the parents are back. In other words, parents primarily perform activities that signal their care for the children. Such activities reaffirm that – even when they are away – the parents still manage to shoulder their responsibility of caring for the children prescribed by the moral imperative of 'good parenting'.

Live meetings. A fraction of parents (17%) combined displays of transnational fathering/ mothering online with meeting their children in person. We distinguished several types of live meetings: (1) visiting – parents return to Lithuania to see their children; (2) receiving – parents host children in a foreign country; (3) parents and children attend family celebrations together; (4) parents plan family vacations and spend them together with children; (5) parents plan tourist trips and take their kids with them. The respondents noted that while technological advances made it possible to perform and display family across borders virtually, long-distance communication continues to be a poor substitute for in person meetings. Such meetings allow parents to 'snuggle' with their children, 'hug and kiss' them, and physically engage in routine family activities.

Assisting children/ elderly parents living in Lithuania *financially/ in-kind* is another popular form of displaying family (37%). The departed parents stated that they make regular remittances, send home gifts, parcels with clothes, toys, shoes, and sweets.

Obviously, concerns of the departed parents go beyond ensuring the material welfare of their children. Social and psychological safety of their children also looms large on the mind of migrant parents, leading them to *mobilize significant others* and involve them in caring for the children in Lithuania (2%). To create a safe environment for their children, departed parents mobilize both – individuals related by blood ties and outsiders like teachers, neighbors, and friends. The data from our study shows that in order to understand transnational parenting practices it's important to go beyond the concepts already established by other researchers – like the 'caregiving triangle' consisting of parents, children, and caregivers – and examine the immediate child-friendly environment constructed by parents departing abroad. Designated guardians and individuals from child's immediate environment engage in childcare activities, that can be studied as *family-like* activities.

Finally, we have identified a case where a father displayed parenting by naming his activities as paying 'accountable attention' (the term used

by the respondent himself) to the child. This term is a container category summarizing the totality of normative responsibilities ascribed to 'good fathering'. The respondent in question listed a whole list of activities such as regular online communication, regular visits to Lithuania, inquiring about the child's educational achievements, supporting the child financially, congratulating the child with the birthday, arranging holidays together, and so on. This way, he conveys to the wider audience (researchers, readers of the study, etc.) that he is aware of responsibilities placed on a 'good father' and he meets these responsibilities regardless of the geographical distance separating him and the child. The results of our study showed how parental responsibilities assigned by the social constructs of 'adult' and 'child' (Ribbens McCarthey et al., 2000) can manifest themselves in displays of transnational parenting.

Who is a Designated Caregiver(s)?

We sought to establish, whom do migrant parents designate to act as caregivers for children remaining in Lithuania. Who do children live with? Do caregivers happen to be members of the family of procreation or orientation? How do individuals bound by kinship, friendship, acquaintance ties become involved in childcare? We also wanted to find out, whether it is beneficial to analyze solely the practices performed by formally assigned caregivers, or should we expand the boundaries of the 'parents-children-caregivers' triangle and consider a group of interrelated individuals mobilized by parents to create a child-friendly environment? In order to answer the latter question, we asked how many people are designated to be caregivers (e.g. whether the responsibility is assigned to a single individual or a network of them).

The analysis of the survey data showed that parents leaving the country had clear preferences about whom to trust with childcare. Migrant parents, who took part in this survey (N = 204) identified 276 significant persons, who took care of their child(ren) while one of the parents lived abroad (see Table 1 below). The most common arrangement in Lithuania is for children to move in with relatives related by kinship ties. Parents living abroad strive to establish a safe and trusted living environment for their children, leading them to rely on the family of procreation (52%). They turn to their spouses/ partners and their senior children – daughter(s) and son(s). The responsibility for providing the child(ren) with living quarters by and large falls on the shoulders of the family of orientation (45%). Departing parents typically asked for help their parents (especially mothers), siblings (especially sisters), and other relatives. A small

proportion of survey respondents reported that, for the duration of their absence, their child(ren) stayed with individuals who were unrelated by blood (2%): these were friends/ acquaintances, neighbors and ex-spouses. This way, we can see that the respondents put most trust into individuals related by kinship ties, at least when it comes to finding living quarters for their child(ren).

Table 1. Children caregivers by a relationship type

Relationship type	Number (percentage)	Caregivers	Number
Respondent's family of orientation	124 (45%)	Siblings	17
		Parents	105
		Relatives	2
Respondent's family of procreation	145 (53%)	Children	7
		Partner/ spouse	138
Non-kin	7 (2%)	Friends, acquaintances	4
		Neighbors	1
		Ex-spouse	2

Source: Quota survey data, mother-away and father away families (N = 276 designated caregivers).

We have identified two types of care-giving arrangements, based on where the remaining child lives and who performs core child-caring activities: instrumental, financial and emotional. Under the first arrangement, custodial activities were clearly and perpetually assigned to specific individuals; under the second one, there was no strict distribution of custodial activities, with caregivers assuming these activities on a case by case basis.

In studying cases where the child's custody was perpetually assigned, we sought to determine whether departing parents are inclined to delegate the child's custody to a single individual or prefer to recruit multiple permanent custodians and establish a custody network for the child. The analysis has revealed that parents tend to delegate the responsibility for the child to a single person related to them by kinship ties (38%). The most popular caregivers were respondents' spouses/ partners, mothers, daughters, sisters or brothers. A small share of respondents delegated care of their child(ren) to single individuals who were not related to them by kinship ties (2%), for example, to friends/ acquaintances and an ex-spouse.

The results of the quota-based study showed that, when parents leave the country, childcare responsibilities can be assumed by two or three permanently assigned caregivers. When parents delegate the custody of a child to multiple individuals, the custodians almost exclusively are immediate family members and relatives. More specifically, when parents designate two caregivers, they typically are respondents' mother and father. However, the groups of two (16%) and three (1%) caregivers may include the respondent's spouse/ partner, siblings, children, and parents' relatives as well.

In instances where departing parents have failed to designate one or more permanent custodians, we found that custodian activities were distributed among groups of individuals who could be both – related by blood ties or be unrelated. Moreover, a person sharing household with the child did not necessarily provide him/ her all the necessary assistance. For example, we identified the case where the child lived with the respondent's friends/ acquaintances, who provided day-to-day care, but the child sought emotional support from his mother living separately. In another case, the children remaining in Lithuania lived with the respondent's spouse/ partner, who provided day-to-day care and managed financial issues, while the respondent's sister, brother and parental relatives supported the children emotionally. In yet another example a child moved in with a neighbor, however performed his daily chores himself. Additionally, he had to deal with financial issues independently and turned to friends/ acquaintances for emotional support.

In short, departing parents usually appoint a permanent custodian to take care of the child, who provides all-around childcare, but children living in the home country can also find themselves without permanent custodians and instead turn for support to friends and acquaintances. Usually the role of caregivers is assumed by the child's immediate family circle, relatives. However, on some occasions parents also reach out to and distribute the custody of the child among non-family members; these individuals may or may not be related to each other.

How are Displays of Care-giving Done across Borders?

According to the migrant parents surveyed (N = 204), displays of caring for a child are performed by designated caregivers as two-sided activities, focused on parents and their children respectively. We have noticed that caregivers' activities are dominated by parents-oriented displays, although child-oriented displays also play an important part in the 'caregiving triangle' ensuring the viability of transnational family ties.

Parent-oriented displays performed by caregivers. We highlight three main and two supplementary activities caregivers utilize to perform their displays. Once parents are abroad, the caregivers (1) communicate with parents online, where they talk about routine activities, share stories and discuss issues encountered by the children. Caregivers collaborate with parents to devise solutions to identified problems; (2) they observe the dynamics of parent-child communication and, where appropriate, encourage parents to call/ write to their children, inquire about their lives; (3) they monitor the child's well-being and encourage parents to return to Lithuania to visit the children. It's much less frequent to see caregivers regulate the sending of (4) remittances, or (5) gifts and parcels. These questions are usually left up to parents to decide. Caregiving displays focus on reminding parents abroad about their responsibilities towards the children and encourage parents to fulfill the duties of 'good parenting', regardless of the geographical distance. In doing so, caregivers convey to parents that they perform child caring duties delegated to them.

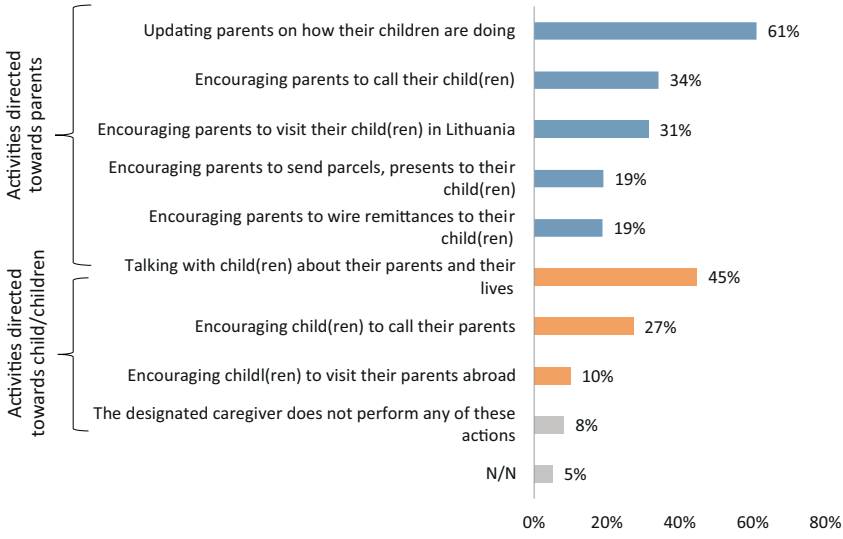

Figure 1. Displays of designated caregivers of dependent children living in Lithuania (migrant parents' answers to the question with multiple answers, in percentages)

Source: Quota survey data, mother-away and father-away families (N = 204 respondents).

Child-oriented displays performed by the caregivers employ a very similar repertoire of activities: they (1) talk to children about their absent parents and their lives; (2) encourage children to call their parents; and (3) encourage children to visit them. However, it is important to emphasize that parent-oriented displays are performed more frequently than child-oriented ones. Moreover, child-oriented activities are often performed to convey somewhat different meanings. Namely, caregivers convey to children that they are responsible for preserving the quality of family relationships making them – in the absence of parents – 'family keepers'.

We sought to examine whether caregivers unrelated to parents and children by kinship ties engage in *family-like* displays. We identified 5 cases of non-kin caregivers. In four of these cases, all caregivers performed core childcare activities classifiable as *family-like* displays. More specifically, three of the custodians performed one-directional (parent-oriented) displays of care-giving, while one custodian performed bi-directional displays, as detailed in Figure 1. We also came across instances where the designated non-kin caregivers did not perform any *family-like* displays but instead provided the children remaining in Lithuania with living quarters.

Enablers and Interferences of Transnational Parenting

The study has revealed factors facilitating and hindering displays of transnational parenting. We have identified the following display enablers: (1) having appropriate technology (computer, Skype app) or access to it and possessing the necessary skills to use it. Technology facilitates virtual check-ins and helps parents to perform parenting displays despite the distance; it also allows parents to transfer money quickly and for a small fee; (2) the size of the significant others network (both of individuals related by blood ties and unrelated individuals) as well as the quality of relationships with significant persons, such as strong commitments, firm friendship ties, enable parents to invoke close people in child-friendly activities and help to maintain continuous communication with children remaining in Lithuania. For example, the respondents indicated that 'my wife was not alone, my mother helped her', 'my kind parents, sister, and grandfather calmed me down and reassured me that the children are coping well with my absence'; (3) Flexible work schedule, ability to take sufficient paid leave time, straightforward and simple paperwork, adjacent time zones were mentioned as enablers of parenting displays; Finally, (4) the quality of relationships with the caregiver and collaborative spirit ensured the successful parenting displays.

Interferences hindering displays of parenting included: (1) the lack of communication technologies or necessary skills to use them; (2) disagreements between respondents and significant persons (whether related or unrelated by kinship ties) and tightness of bonds between these individuals. For example, some respondents cited discordant pre-departure relationships with 'the father of the child, ex-in-laws', 'disagreement between my parents and my wife' and 'angry neighbors' as hindrances. They also recount stories of 'the ex-spouse often coming over drunk and causing scenes', 'neighbors meddling in family's internal affairs' and admit that they were unable to resolve these situations due to a geographical distance; (3) parenting displays are complicated by work-related issues: be it inflexible schedules, long working hours, time zone differences, short vacations or the necessity to work during holiday seasons. Live meetings were difficult to arrange due to emigration requirements and paperwork; (4) some respondents reported difficulties in displaying family to stem from inability to control their emotional state. More specifically, having left their children behind, the parents felt constant anxiety about their children, missed them, doubted their decision to leave, came under stress due to their inability to control the custody of their children remotely. All these factors inhibited the quality of conversations with the children and caregivers and introduced tensions in these relationships.

Transnational Displays of Caring for Elderly Parents

How are Transnational Daughter/ Son Displays Done?

Our analysis shows that displays performed by adult migrant children are done by five core cross-border activities. These include (1) regularly staying in touch using technologies; (2) financially supporting their parents; (3) visiting the parents; (4) asserting themselves as 'good daughters/ sons' and (5) bringing together significant individuals to create a friendly environment for elderly parents living in Lithuania.

Cross-border communication involves phone and – to a lesser degree – online conversations (mainly Skype-based) (85%). Almost a half of the surveyed adult migrant children (49%) saw providing financial assistance (e.g. 'sending money') and in-kind support (e.g. sending 'gifts', 'remedies', 'medicine', 'parcels') to their elderly parents as a way of signaling their continuing commitment towards their elderly parents despite their physical absence. Visiting elderly parents in Lithuania (29%) was the third most popular activity used to show care for their elderly parent(s). It is worth noting that face to face meetings between adult migrant children and their

elderly parents occur almost exclusively within Lithuania and not abroad, something that could be explained by parents' mature age and infirm health.

Going through answers to open-ended questions, we found that adult children could display caring for elderly parents in Lithuania by asserting themselves as 'good daughters/ sons' and listing care giving activities in order to demonstrate to a wider audience that they fulfill commitments to their parents. For example, adult children stated that: 'I cared about them and did not stop loving them'.

References to 'caring about, loving' parents were accompanied by efforts to create a friendly environment for the elderly parents by mobilizing the support of other individuals (3%): adult migrant children stated that they communicated with and relied on their friends, sisters as well as spouses/ partners to care for their elderly parents. They called the network of trusted individuals and asked them to check on how their parents are doing. By invoking the support of significant individuals (the ones related by kinship ties and unrelated ones), the adult children conveyed to their parents and other close people that they continue performing activities dictated by the moral imperative of adult children caring for their elderly parents.

Who is a Designated Caregiver(s)?

Our quantitative study examined how adult children living abroad choose caregivers for their elderly parents in Lithuania and where do designated caregivers land in terms of kin/ non-kin relations. We also investigated whether care-giving activities are delegated to a single person, or whether networks of significant others mobilized to provide care for the elderly parent(s). In the latter case, we enquired into composition and size of such networks.

Adult migrant children surveyed (N = 121) mentioned 194 caregivers, who took care of their elderly parent(s) in Lithuania, after the adult child moved abroad, two adult children mentioned that they continued providing care themselves. Classifying caregivers by kin/ non-kin ties, we see that adult children rely primarily on individuals related to them by blood to create a safe and caring environment for their elderly parents (see Table 2). The largest share of the caregivers belonged to respondent's family of origin (46%), mainly siblings, maternal/ paternal relatives and spouses/ partners. A smaller proportion of the caregivers named by the respondents belonged to family of procreation (29%): the respondents primarily named their spouses/ partners and, in a few cases, their children as designated caregivers. These responses indicate the continuing importance of kinship ties in delegating caretaking responsibilities in the home country.

Table 2. Elderly parent caregivers

Relationship type	Number (percentage)	Caregivers	Number
Respondent's family of orientation	90 (46%)	Siblings	62
		Parent's spouse/ partner	13
		Parent's relatives	15
Respondent's family of procreation	56 (29%)	Children	23
		Partner/ spouse	32
		Partner/ spouse's relatives	1
Non-kin	48 (25%)	Friends, acquaintances	3
		Neighbors	5
		Professionals and/ or for-hire caregivers	37
		Care institution	3

Source: Quota survey data, adult child away families (N = 194 designated caregivers). In addition to 194 designated caregivers, two respondents indicated that they took care of their parents themselves.

Our analysis also confirms that transnational family relationships and practices may result in open-ended networks of family configurations. This is demonstrated by the relatively strong presence of individuals not related by blood ties among designated caregivers (25%). The primary non-kin caregivers are professional care specialists and for-hire caretakers. Very few survey participants reported relying on family friends, acquaintances and/ or neighbors as primary caregivers for their elderly parents.

In regard to those respondents who stated that they continued looking after their parents (specifically mothers) themselves, even after moving abroad, such response may indicate the lack of available network of kin and non-kin related persons to be addressed to meet the need (when the adult migrant child is the sole caregiver). Otherwise, this choice of adult migrant children could also stem from a personal preference to remain actively involved in caring for parents remotely with some caregiving responsibilities delegated to others (that is, adult migrant child is one of the several designated caregivers). A closer look at the size and composition of the caregiver networks provides an insight into how children construct a network of individuals taking care of their parents,

how intergenerational relationships manifest in care-giving activities and how such arrangements create opportunities for unrelated individuals to participate in *family-like* displays.

The results of our survey have revealed that most of the adult migrant children surveyed (54%) mentioned a single responsible person, 33% referred to two persons; 11% referred to three designated caregivers; while very few (3%) caregiver networks involved four people.

The composition of caregiver networks with a single individual confirms the importance of kinship ties: kin are designated twice as often (37%) compared to non-kin (17%) as the sole caregiver for elderly parent(s).

Although care for elderly remains primarily an internal family matter, in the context of migration it can also happen that the sole responsibility for caring was placed with non-kin relations (19%) or the responsibility was split between kin and non-kin relations (16%). Caregiver networks that involve non-kin are generally small, composed of a single (non-kin) or two (kin and non-kin) caregivers. These non-kin care-giving networks offer an opportunity of performing *family-like* displays.

How Parent(s) Caregivers' Displays across Borders are Done?

Our examination of designated caregiver displays showed that caregivers perform activities directed at two audiences – adult migrant children abroad and elderly parents in Lithuania. By doing so, caregivers convey to the adult children and to their elderly parent(s) that these activities constitute caring for elderly parents across borders.

According to the adult migrant children surveyed (N=121), caregiver displays are more often directed towards adult migrant children than towards elderly parent(s). We have identified core activities in caregiver displays facing adult migrant children. Most of the caregivers (1) have conversations with adult children about their elderly parents' lives; (2) encourage children to visit their parents; (3) encourage them to make calls and/ or (4) wire their parents remittances; (5) only few of the designated caregivers encourage adult migrant children to send parcels and presents (see Figure 2).

As Figure 2 shows, activities in caregiver displays facing elderly parent(s) mostly include (1) talks to elderly parents about their adult children's lives. Relatively few of caregivers (2) encourage parents to call their offspring and fewer still (3) suggest visiting them abroad. In general, the data suggests that the caregivers are mostly engaged in reminding adult children of their responsibilities towards their elderly parents.

To examine how non-kin caregiving persons are engaged in *family-like* relationships, we have filtered responses to focus on networks of caregivers

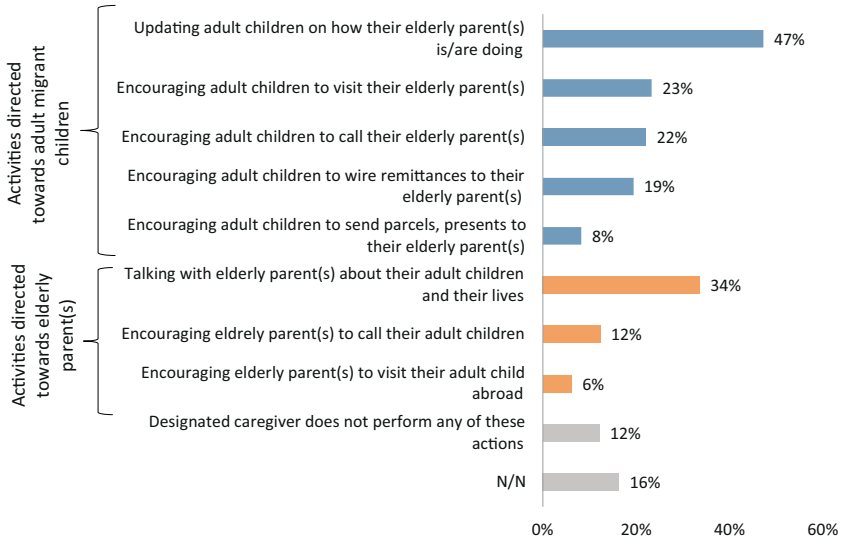

Figure 2. Displays of designated caregivers for elderly parents needing care and living in Lithuania (adult migrant children's answers to the question with multiple answers, in percentages)

Source: Quota survey data, adult child away families (N = 121 respondents).

consisting of non-kin relations and have analyzed their repertoire of caring displays.

Looking specifically into caregiver networks composed solely of non-kin relations we highlighted 23 caregiving arrangements that involved either a sole or several non-kin caregivers. Out of the 23 cases, only 11 reported being involved in at least one of the five core activities mentioned above. More specifically, the displays performed by this group were mostly one-directional (5 adult child-oriented and 3 elderly parent-oriented displays), with a small minority (3) engaging in two-directional displays.

Enablers and Interferences of Transnational Displays of Caring for Elderly Parents

When we asked the adult children, what factors enabled and interfered with displaying care for their elderly parents living in Lithuania, they mentioned the availability of caregivers, personal features of the designated caregivers and the quality of their relationships with caregivers. More specifically, the adult children stated that (1) both, kin and non-kin

caregivers might act as enablers or interfere the displays. Referring to kin, respondents mentioned their sisters, brothers, spouses, daughters, sons, parent's spouse, spouse's parent(s), aunts, friends, neighbors, among others, while referring to non-kin the surveyed adult migrant children mentioned professional caregivers at the care institutions, for-hire caregivers as main caring persons; (2) personal character of caregiver and/ or the way they are committed to fulfill their duties are important factors enabling or interfering caregiving displays. For example, adult migrants noted that 'the selflessness of the people caring for my mother' acted as interference of displays. In terms of interferences, (3) the respondents mentioned tense relationships with the network of caregivers, such as having an 'ambitious and arrogant sister' or a 'drinking brother' causing trouble as biggest hindrances to caring displays. Finally, (4) parents' (un)willingness to accept help in general, and in some specific situations to move from own home to another home or a care facility for the elderly was noted as notable factor enabling/ interfering cross-border caring displays. The respondents gave examples of parents' unwillingness 'to move to a managed care facility', 'to go to the hospital', or 'wishing to continue living in their own house' as interfering factors, while parents' willingness to collaborate with adult children and caregivers (e.g. parents were described as 'not capricious', 'don't get depressed') were deemed to be the enablers of cross-border caring displays.

This data led us to conclude that displays of caring for parent(s) performed by adult migrant children depend not only on the negotiated relations with caregivers but also on the negotiations with their elderly parents. Our data shows that the adult child-elderly parent(s)-caregiver relational 'triangle' forms a fluid process of re-negotiating caring commitments requiring all stakeholders to engage in a dialogue.

The Gendered Ways of Displays

Data drawn from empirical studies led some researchers of transnational families to hypothesize that cross-border family practices pave the way for a convergence of gender roles. For example, Tolstokorova (2019: 147) argues that 'migrancy and transnationalism can 'spur a process of gender convergence of family roles' and lead towards homogenization of their performance'. Looking at our study data on family displays from a gender perspective, we aimed to examine how gender issues play into transnational displays of mothering/ fathering, daughter/ son, and/ or caregiver. We also wanted to understand what role gender aspects play in the process of selecting caregivers and arranging care in the home country.

The Gendered Ways of Transnational Displays of Parenting

Our analysis has revealed that transnational displays of mothering and fathering are gendered. Although transnational mothers and fathers use similar communication channels to stay in touch with the children living in Lithuania, the content of their communication differed. Displays of mothering are more frequently performed through engaging in 'inquiry-control' talks, while those of fathering through 'intimate conversations'. In other words, departed mothers not only show to the child that they 'love and miss them', but also take interest in daily practicalities of the child's life, they seek to 'uncover, resolve, and control' the daily problems children encounter. By contrast, fathers communicating with their children usually aim to reaffirm their emotional connection with their children – 'I'm your father, I miss you, and I will come back to you'.

We were also interested in understanding how the gender of the audience of display affected caregivers' behavior within the 'caregiving triangle'. In other words, do caregiver displays performed to mothers differed from those performed to fathers? The analysis of the survey data revealed gender-specific discrepancies in the way the caregivers communicate with parents abroad: mothers are more often encouraged to return to Lithuania to visit their children, while fathers are more often asked to phone their children. Such gender-specific differences in the caregiver displays may be

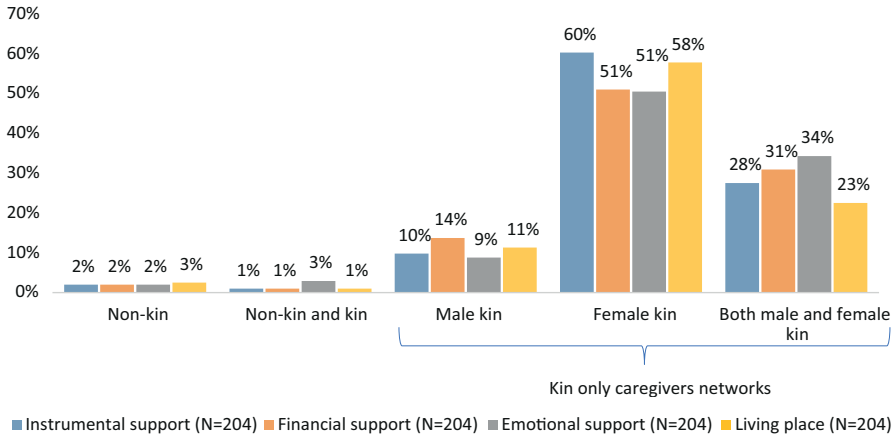

Figure 3. Kinship and gender of designated caregivers for dependent children by 1) instrumental, 2) financial, 3) emotional support and 4) living place (in percentages)

Source: Quota survey data, mother-away and father-away families (N = 204 respondents).

shaped by different moral obligations inherent in the social constructs of a 'good mother' and a 'good father'. For example, one could interpret this difference as holding mothers up to a higher normative childcare standard, which plays out in this particular case as caregiver's insistence on mother's responsibilities extending beyond merely staying in touch with children by the means of technology and requiring her to find time for visiting the children in Lithuania and meeting them in person. Meanwhile, to demonstrate and reaffirm one's father role it is enough to call the child and stay in touch with him/ her virtually.

We have also noticed a number of gender-based differences to designating childcare in mother-away and father-away families. The difference manifests itself in terms of who is assigned to care for the child(ren), in whose household they live, who cares for them daily, supports them financially and emotionally (see Figure 3). In cases where departing parents designate a single person to act as a custodian of the child, departing mothers preferred to delegate the care of the child(ren) to their mothers (16%), departing fathers – to their spouse or partner (43%). When the custody of a child is delegated to multiple individuals, departing mothers typically set up child custody networks that involve both – relatives and non-relatives. For example, the custody can be entrusted to parents; parents and siblings; spouse/ partner and parents; one's siblings and older children; solely older children; friends/ acquaintances; an ex-spouse; a neighbor. By contrast, departing fathers usually designate one main custodian of the child (a spouse or partner). Less frequently, the custody is delegated to multiple people, e.g. spouse/ partner and relatives.

It's interesting to note that we have not found a single case of a father designating solely other men to act as custodians. Instead, fathers relied on either women or, both – women and men, to perform this role. Meanwhile, departing mothers often chose to leave the custody of the child with other women. For example, when respondents delegated childcare to their older children, usually daughters or, both – daughters and sons were chosen as custodians; when respondents chose to leave the custody with their siblings, dependent children would usually stay with respondents' sisters. We found only one instance where the child's custody was delegated to a brother of a departing individual. In summary, parents living abroad usually designate caregivers based on the female line.

The Gendered Ways of Transnational Displays of Caring for Elderly Parents

The transnational displays of caring for elderly parents performed by the adult daughters and sons are fairly similar by gender when it comes to the tools they employ. Adult children, regardless of their gender, use the same communication technologies to stay in touch with their elderly parents living in Lithuania. The content of communication is also similar. This data partially supports the hypothesis that transnational lifestyles lead to a convergence in gender-specific caring practices.

When looking for gender-specific displays performed by the caregivers of the elderly parents, we noted that in performing displays oriented toward adult sons, the caregivers more frequently encouraged them to visit or call their parents. Such variation in caregiver displays may be interpreted as a sign that sons living abroad more often need to be reminded of their elderly parents remaining in the home country, encouraged to call and/ or visit them. Daughters hear fewer such encouragements. We assume that they are more willing to take responsibility of caring for their elderly parents and need fewer reminders about their moral obligations to the parents.

Gender differences become much more pronounced when it comes to making care arrangements and designating caregivers in the home country. The gendered strategies manifest themselves in two ways. 1) The adult migrant children more readily select female family members and relatives

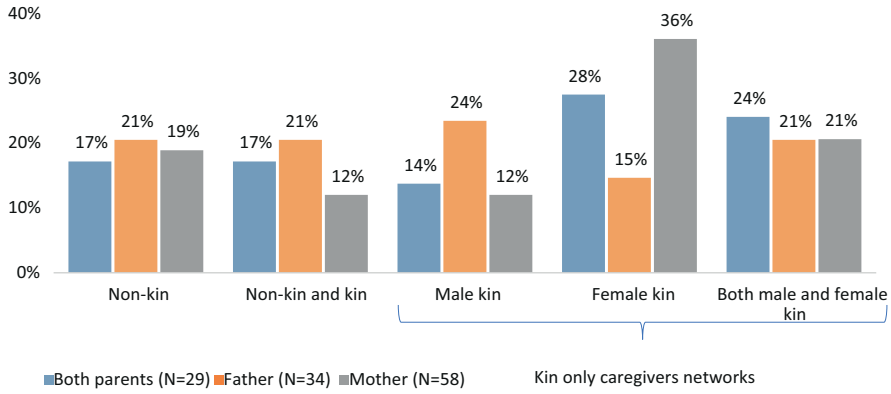

Figure 4. Kinship and gender of designed caregivers for 1) both parents, 2) fathers and 3) mothers (in percentages)

Source: Quota survey data, adult child away families (N = 121 respondents).

than male ones to be caregivers for the elderly. For example, 28% of all caregivers' networks were composed solely of female relatives versus 16% composed solely of male relatives. 2) Adult migrant children organize care networks differently depending on the parent's gender. The data presented in Figure 4 revealed that when the person in the need of care is an elderly father, male family members and relatives are more likely to become involved in caregiving activities. By contrast, when the person needing care is an elderly mother or both parents, designated caregivers are more likely to be female. In cases where the adult migrant children designate caregivers for their mothers, differently from father-only or both parents arrangements, they more often recruit non-kin relations or mobilize mixed caregiving networks consisting of kin and non-kin people.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we incorporated Finch's idea of 'display' to examine how migrant parents, adult migrant children, and close significant persons perform a set of actions to show to each other and the society at large that they perform activities signaling their commitment to family members staying behind in the home country. By doing so, they convey that these are family-doing activities.

Unlike the studies conducted by other family sociologists relying on qualitative methods, we sought to demonstrate that the concept of 'display' could be applied to analyze transnational practices of parenting and caring for elderly parents in a quantitative way. We draw on the data from a quota-based survey to understand how parents, adult children and designated caregivers reaffirm transnational family relations and maintain family unity across borders.

Our insights confirm the findings of other family sociology studies – transnational displays of mothering/ fathering and those of adult children caring for their parents are performed through online communication, live meetings, and providing financial/ in-kind assistance to family members remaining in the home country. At the same time, we noticed that migrants could perform displays by creating a friendly environment for those staying behind. For this purpose, parents and adult children mobilize open-ended networks of significant persons who then become involved in family-like displays. This observation helps to extend the understanding of the 'caregiving triangle' to include significant people drawn from a broader social environment who might be related by kin ties or not. Although our data indicates that kinship ties play a critical role in delegating

caregiving responsibilities within the home country, we also observed diverse cases of migrants recruiting non-kin individuals into transnational care arrangements. Such extended 'caregiving triangles' might designate caregivers with permanent or temporary, full or partial custody.

Analyzing the caregiver displays we found that they involve two-sided activities, namely, towards those who emigrated (parents, adult children) and towards those staying behind in Lithuania (dependant children, elderly parents). Two-sided caregiving displays carry somewhat different meanings, more specifically, those oriented towards emigrated individuals convey the message that caregivers are doing caring things delegated to them, while those oriented towards family members remaining in the home country emphasize that caregivers hold certain family-like responsibilities and are tasked with caring for and preserving family relationships across-borders. It is important to note, that transnational displays of caring are highly dependent on the quality of relationships between all affected individuals and on negotiations taking place within care networks, whose aim is usually to find a solution satisfying all parties.

Although some family sociologists suggest that transnational familial practices may lead to a convergence of gender roles, our analysis has revealed that transnational displays of parenting and caring for elderly parents continue to be highly gendered. True, migrant mothers and fathers, daughters and sons employ the same tools of transnational displays, but the actual content of their displays reveals stark differences between genders. The organization of care in the home country and the selection of designated caregivers are also far from being equal for women and men, with main responsibilities usually being delegated to women, especially for parent-away families.

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Chapter 3.3.

DOING FAMILY MEMORY IN THE CASE OF EMIGRATION EXPERIENCE

Laima Žilinskienė

Introduction

This chapter analyses the construction of communicative family memory in the light of emigration experience.

The globalization processes under way adjust mobility scenarios which are influenced by emigration. Mobility and emigration change the habits and methods of communication and relationships among family members. The construction of the family as a collective unit, i.e. of the 'we-ness', happens not only through direct communication but also by means of various alternative communication means. Family memory and its communication demonstrates family solidarity. On the other hand, communication influences family solidarity and family integrity, especially when relationships in the family are determined not only by common practices but also by the communicative family memory. Morgan (2013) ascribes family memory to familial practices. Narratives convey the experience of family or kin members and behavioral patterns. The communicative family memory not only contributes to the development of the family memory archive but may also have an impact on life scenarios or behavioral models irrespective of political, economic and social contexts in which the life experiences had developed. The communicative family memory, when constructed in the light of emigration experience, may have an impact on the solidarity of the family and the continuity of family memory. Family memory requires to be supplemented and updated with new knowledge. The need to be interested in family memory is encouraged by various reasons, including emigration experience.

Memory studies allow to determine the ways of constructing family memory and its traditions. Two components are important in the construction of family memory: information channels and the contents of information being communicated. Information channels show the relationship among family and kin members, while the contents of the information being communicated shows what family practices in different

social, political and cultural contexts are in the center of attention. Family and kin members, being the narrators of their life stories, choose what information they will communicate, in what context will provide it and what information they should refrain from disclosing. Information can be provided differently and selectively. This means that the construction of family memory is a process which is in the state of constant (re)construction.

Theoretical Background

In memory theory the functioning of memory discourses in the public domain is often referred to with the help of Aleida and Jan Assmann's terminology of cultural or collective and communicative memory. In these concepts, cultural memory describes past representations and their functioning in fixed cultural forms and practices, while collective memory is an unofficial communication method transferred to different generations presently living in the society or a social group (Assmann, 2008: 117). However, in the contemporary society the differentiation of and interaction between these levels is aggravated by the fact that both the communicative and personal memories are often articulated and passed down via fixed contemporary communication forms and these two levels frequently seem intertwined into a complicated mutual interrelationship (Assmann 2006: 214). However, in all cases the communicated memory has social applicability. Rosenthal (2016: 32) describes memory construction as more or less voluntary 'work' by the individual in the existing situation. Therefore, time dimension is important in memory construction. Life in different political, social and cultural contexts creates different experiences which may be passed down selectively. Another peculiarity is that memory communication practices tend to be repeated and information may change while performing the practices subject to the historical context and its evaluation in the public domain. Memory is an individual process, while the communication of family memory is targeted at the development of the collective memory of the family (Rosenthal, 2016: 32).

In memory typology, the family is singled out as a separate type with a special memory (Halbwachs, 1992: 63). Family memory is a typical memory of generations. According to Bengston and Black (1973), family members representing older generations have an individual, family and social memory that is passed down to younger generations. This process is obvious and accepted as universal common sense. Intergenerational relations play a key role in the formation of psychosocial identity and the continuation of family members' socialization. Attias-Donfut and

Wolff (2003) analyze the interplay among intergenerational relations, personal lives and generational memories among family generations. The underlying idea is to capture some of the processes of transmission and continuity of the 'living history', i.e. the experienced and embodied history, through social and family interactions. They exploit the results from the cross-sectional data set at a macro-social level. In respect of the French society, the French empirically differentiate successive family generations and cohorts with their respective memories. According to them, memories are gendered. Men and women perceive the history of their generation differently, whether relating to the same events or emphasizing different ones. The impact of generations on family memory is reciprocal because narratives allow to identify oneself with recounted experiences. Such reciprocity directly influences the memory of the generation since it may help identify oneself with the time period of the parent or the child's cohort. Hagestad (1986) states that life stories of successive generations are intertwined in the family. This intertwinement allows generations to remember the same things; in other words, the memories of generations coincide. The age plays a certain role here. The author states that political events or big changes experienced by twenty-year-old or younger individuals are particularly important in the process of cohort formation. Hagestad calls that 'generational imprinting'. He analyzed which historical events the representatives of different generations remember. The things experienced by parents may be part of younger family members' life as the recounted life stories are part of family memory.

The knowledge about the collective past of the family and passing down of this information to other family members constitutes memory construction. Not only the experiences undergone together but also the ones obtained previously are incorporated in family memory. Family memory is passed down by means of communication – in interaction with those who had acquired the experience in the past. Keppler (2001: 139) calls such interaction 'family conversations at the table'. She argues that memories build a certain family 'frame'. These 'frames' develop through communication and from life stories rather than through a single initiative. The peculiarity of family memory communication lies in the fact that this is an informal 'conversation at the table'. The (re) construction of family identity happens through such conversations. 'Conversations at the table' play the role of the formation of family relationships and family solidarity. Every family as a separate group of people has its memory. Keppler (2001: 144) calls it a separate 'generational memory' phenomenon. According to Keppler, 'conversations at the table',

construct the 'frames' of the family influencing family integrity. Because family memory is a typical generational memory, different generations create their own communication strategies in memory communication which are determined by the historical and cultural contexts. In different contexts, behavioral practices may be treated as positive or negative, hence the revision of family memory, which may entail the reconstruction of the memory. The communication of family memory has its own rules which determine what should be remembered during a specific period, what and to whom things can be told. Certain family experiences may attract bigger attention, while other experiences may be left unmentioned. Therefore, family memory requires the repetition and update of information, because the family is not a static group of people, it constantly receives new members (through marriage, births etc.) or loses family members. Therefore, the construction of family memory is a process requiring communication. Family memory communication, as per Keppler (2001), has its topics which may be developed further or left unmentioned. Middleton 1991) calls it 'conversational remembering'.

The transfer of the 'collective' memory of every family member, just like of any social group (Middleton calls such transfer (1991, 166–167) as 'something'), has a cultural, social and historical background. Therefore, the memory is both individual and collective. The memory of an individual is in communication and interaction with the memory of other members of the group. Keppler (1994) calls this 'the character of dialogical stories'. According to Assmann (1992, 167), the subject of memory is the person who tells stories in certain 'frames'. However, the stories (memories of events) that are told to family members are not just a picture of the past, but also a model of the group's common posture. Stories not only reproduce the past, but also define the present, family as a group, commonality, difficulties, and obstacles. This is how the moral 'background' of the family develops. With historical fractures, cultural memory highlights the specifics of the past and reveals family history.

The communicative family memory is much more than a means of communication – stories help us shape our identities, understand the world and mobilize others to action. According to Ricketson (2001), communicative family memory develops, over time, a sense of community, an understanding of what it is and a sense of identity.

Research Methodology

The research carried out earlier (2010–2012; 2015; 2017–2019[110]), where biographical methodology was applied, show different levels of activity of family members in the construction of family memory. This is influenced by the historical context, by family structure as well as the closeness of relationships. Biographic material allows analyzing behavioral and communication models, but it does not allow evaluating memory construction at the national level. In this chapter, the construction of family memory is being analyzed on the basis of the representative study of Lithuanian residents (2018) carried out within the framework of Researchers' groups project 'Global migration and Lithuanian family: family practices, circulation of care and return strategies' (2017–2019) funded by the Lithuanian Research Council (LMTLT). The representative study data allow us to evaluate how the construction of family memory happens and what the prospects of memory continuity are. According to Keppler (2001: 139), the family memory archive is created by several storytellers through 'family table conversations'. Based on this methodological approach, the participants of family memory communication have been divided into three channels: 1) the familial channel consisting of parents, grandparents, parents-in-law and siblings; 2) the network channel consisting of uncles/ aunts; and 3) the initiative channel, when the individual tells stories to other family and kin members himself/ herself. Apart from that, Keppler (2001: 139), Rosenthal (2016: 32) and Welzer (2001) emphasize that narratives have their own topics. Taking into consideration that family memory is a typical generational memory, the topics have been classified as follows: 1) the achievements of family or kin members or traumatizing experiences during different historical periods; 2) the revision of the family network: family festivities (weddings, baptisms, etc.) and the events causing grief (diseases, funerals, etc.); 3) family togetherness (good and painful relationships); 4) the content of 'common' information. The family communicative memory, called by Keppler 'conversations at the table', is being analyzed irrespective of the means of communication used for memory construction. The construction of family memory is being analyzed in the light of emigration experience of family (myself, spouse/ partner, other family members) and network members (friends, acquaintances) and of those with no such experience.

110 Projects: 'Remembrance of Soviet times in life stories: relationship between public and private discourses' (2010–2012); 'Late Socialism in the life stories: the first generation of the Soviet Era' (2015); 'The last Soviet generation in the contexts of changing modernity' (2017–2019).

Peculiarities of emigration experience in Lithuania

The following aspects should be emphasized in the construction of family memory: the role of gender (Attias-Donfut and Wolff, 2003), the significance for younger generations of communication by the representatives of the older family generation (Bengston and Black, 1973), the reciprocity of communication among generations (Hagestad, 1986), the initiatives on the part of narrators and listeners of life stories as well as the contents of the narratives (Keppler, 2001; Rosenthal, 2016). Migration is one of the factors which may alter the traditions of family memory construction. Migration is an indispensable condition of the changing world and a global phenomenon. Having escaped the grip of the closed Soviet system, Lithuania became a participant of the global migration process.

In this chapter, emigration experience is understood not only as the direct experience of an individual, but also as the experience of family members, relatives, friends and acquaintances. The participants of the study have been divided into three groups according to their emigration experience: 1) the family emigration consisting of himself/ herself, spouse/ partner and other family members; 2) network emigration consisting of friends, acquaintances, and 3) persons without emigration experience.

The group of individuals with emigration experience covers those individuals who have emigration experience of at least 6 months after 1990, or their family members, relatives, friends or acquaintances have such experience. Individuals who have never emigrated themselves and, apart from that, no one from their environment has, are considered as persons without emigration experience.

The data presented in Figure 1 show that two thirds (65%) of Lithuanian residents (myself, partner, other family members, friends, acquaintances) have had direct or indirect emigration experience since 1990. One third (31%) of Lithuanian residents have family emigration experience due to their own emigration or that of their spouse/ partner or other family members. An exclusively high share of 30–40-year-old males have emigration experience. Women, individuals under 50 years old and town residents have been exposed to their spouse's emigration more frequently than other groups[111]. As regards the emigration of other family members, women, individuals over 50 years old as well as town and country residents have experienced it more often than other groups. Town residents emphasize their relatives'

111 The places of residence are classified into the city, the town and the country/ rural area.

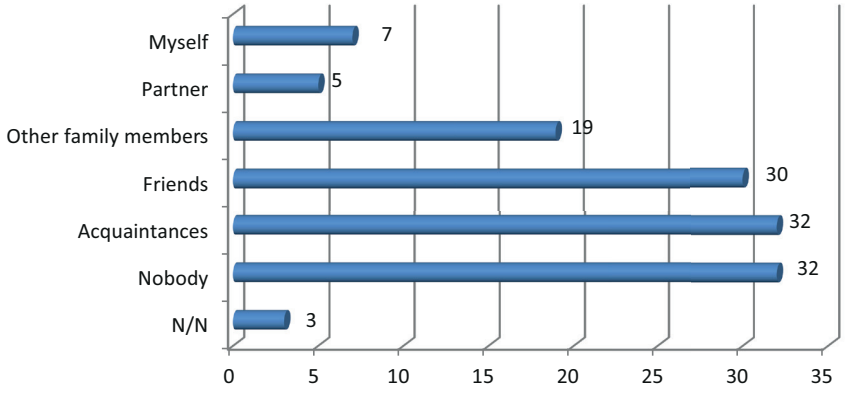

Figure 1. Emigration experience of Lithuanian residents since 1990 (in percentages)

Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

emigration experience. Individuals under 50 years old as well as town and city residents have experienced their friends' emigration more often than others. Males under 50 years old and town and city residents have more acquaintances with emigration experience in their environment.

One third (32%) of Lithuanian residents have no emigration experience. Neither are there people with emigration experience in their environment. This is typical of individuals over 50 years old and rural residents.

Migration can happen due to various reasons: financial, family reunification or political. Migration is classified into labor migration, return migration, chain migration and asylum migration (Jennissen, 2004); the reasons for return migration are mainly related with the family.

The most frequently mentioned reason of returning from emigration is missing home and family. This reason was mentioned by males and individuals under 30 years old. Others say that they returned to Lithuania after they earned money. This reason was emphasized by women and individuals in the age group of 30–50 years old as well as rural and city residents. Nostalgia for the motherland is emphasized by males and individuals under 30 years old as well as rural residents. Another reason for returning to Lithuania is the expiry of the employment contract in another country. The following reasons for returning to Lithuania have also been mentioned: adaptation problems in a foreign country, health problems, difficult work, parents' health problems requiring care of parents, divorce, household problems while in emigration, problems with law enforcement

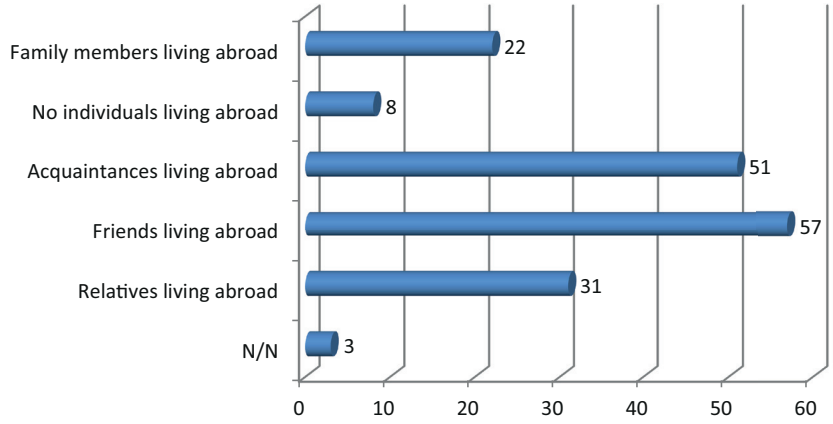

Figure 2. Emigration experience in one's environment (in percentages)
Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

while in emigration, intention to finish studies in Lithuania, an offer of a promising job and salary in Lithuania.

Emigration plans are influenced by the emigration experiences of the representatives of family or network channels especially when they have family members, relatives, friends or acquaintances in their environment living abroad.

Most individuals with family or network emigration experience state that their friends (57%) and acquaintances (51%) live in a foreign country. One third of the representatives of this group (31%) have relatives living in emigration, every fifth (22%) individual from this group states that their family members live abroad. 8% of people have no emigration experience in their environment (see Figure 2).

Every fifth Lithuanian resident intends to emigrate during the coming three years for a period of several months to several years. 12% of respondents mentioned their intention to emigrate within the next three years (certainly yes or very likely). Emigration intentions are emphasized by males under 30 years old as well as rural and town residents. Those under 50 years old, those with higher than average monthly family income as well as city residents have not yet made a firm decision. Rather, they are only considering such a possibility (20%). More than half of Lithuanian residents (56%) do not intend to emigrate and live abroad. These attitudes are typical of women, people aged 50 or above, and individuals with lower than the average monthly family income.

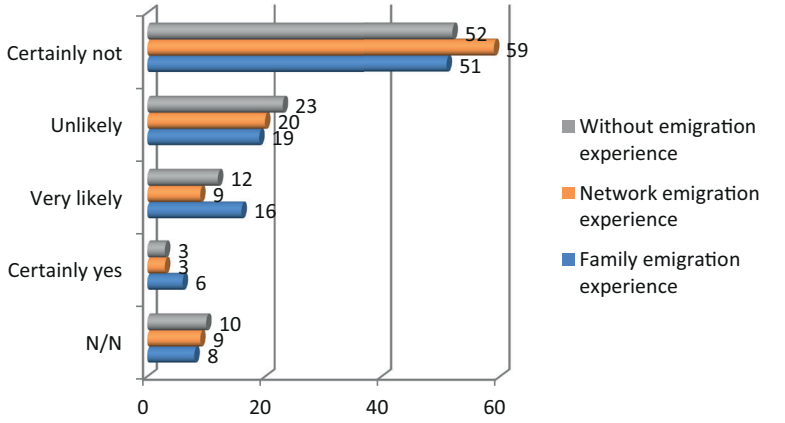

Figure 3. Intentions to emigrate in the light of emigration experience (in percentages)

Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

The emigration experience of the representatives of family or network channels influences emigration decisions (see Figure 3).

Individuals who have emigration experience themselves, or whose family members have emigration experience, tend to be very certain about emigration, or tend to emigrate faster. Intentions to emigrate are related with various reasons (see Figure 4).

Based on the migration typology of Jennissen (2004), a bigger share (71%) of those who intend to emigrate may be ascribed to the type of labor migration. Women and individuals in the age group of 30–50 years old emphasize financial reasons. These reasons are more relevant to town and rural residents. Apart from that, intentions to emigrate are related to the family situation, when other family members and relatives live abroad. 9% of those intending to emigrate may be ascribed to the type of chain migration. They intend to emigrate because other members of their family or relatives live abroad. Intentions to emigrate are related to travel pursuits, desire to study, to the belief that foreign countries offer better conditions. Intentions to emigrate are also related to unemployment in Lithuania and to a different attitude towards an individual. Moreover, they are related to the situation in the family, when the family falls apart and when no ties keep the individual in the country of origin any longer. The emigration experience of the family or network as well as the lack of emigration experience adjust the reasons for the intentions to emigrate.

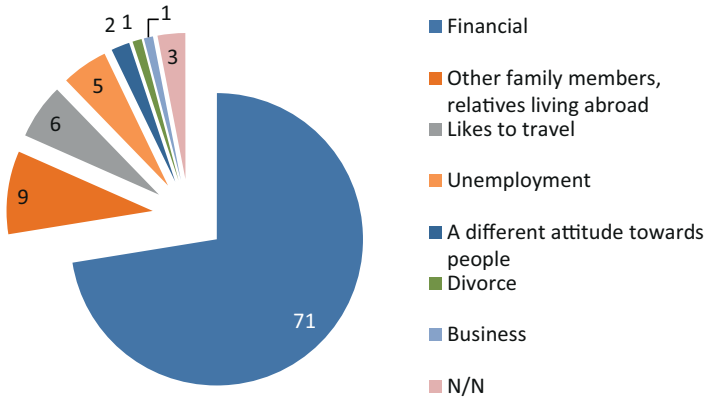

Figure 4. Reasons for the intentions to emigrate (in percentages)

Source: Representative survey data, a proportion of those intending to emigrate (N = 119 respondents).

The largest share of individuals with emigration experience in the family or network as well as those with no such experience intend to emigrate due to financial reasons. However, the representatives of the family network are considering emigration because of other family members or relatives living abroad. They also mention difficulties with finding a job and family problems. Intentions to emigrate are related to business or simple travel pursuit.

Individuals with network emigration experience also mention, apart from financial problems, the difficulties with finding a job and the travel pursuit. Those with no emigration experience intend to emigrate due to financial reasons as well. Apart from that, they state that the intention to study abroad is one of the reasons to emigrate.

The financial reasons determining the intentions to emigrate are also reflected in individuals' plans on who their emigration 'partners' are going to be. According to the research data, most of the individuals intending to emigrate (43%) do not seek to have a 'partner', they would emigrate alone. One third (32%) of the representatives of this group intend to emigrate with their spouse/ partner. Friends as emigration 'partners' occupy the third place (23%). 16% of the representatives of this group intend to emigrate together with their children. According to the respondents, parents, acquaintances and relatives would be chosen as emigration partners the least frequently.

Emigration experiences also have an impact on emigration scenarios. The data presented in Figure 5 show that emigration scenarios differ depending on the emigration experience. Persons with family emigration

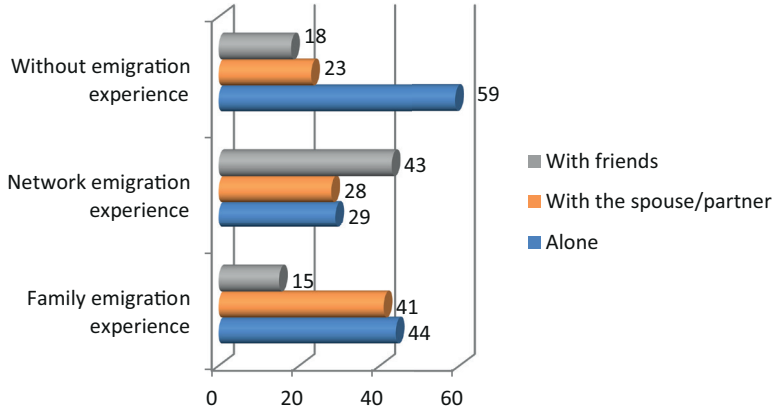

Figure 5. Emigration 'partners' (in percentages)

Source: Representative survey data, a proportion of those intending to emigrate (N = 119 respondents).

experience are most likely to emigrate alone (44%) or with the spouse/ partner (41%). Emigration 'partners' – friends – are selected by 15% of this group. In the meantime, those who have network emigration experience usually choose friends as emigration 'partners' (42%). Among them, 29% plan to emigrate alone, and 28% intend to emigrate with the spouse/ partner. Among those with no experience in emigration, the preferred scenario is to emigrate alone (59%). 23% of this group intends to emigrate with the spouse/ partner and 18% with friends.

According to the research, emigration experience is mostly related to the financial situation and the aspiration to improve it. Therefore, individuals choose to emigrate on their own for a certain period of time. Another scenario of emigration is related to family reunification. These individuals fall in the group of chain migration (Jennissen, 2004).

These peculiarities of emigration experience not only adjust the communication among family members, the methods and contents of this communication but also adjust the process of family memory construction.

The Channels of Family Memory and Emigration Experience

According to Keppler (2001), both story tellers and listeners are important in the construction of family memory. Emigration experience adjusts the circle of the participants of 'conversation at the table', their communication traditions as well as their interest in the life stories of

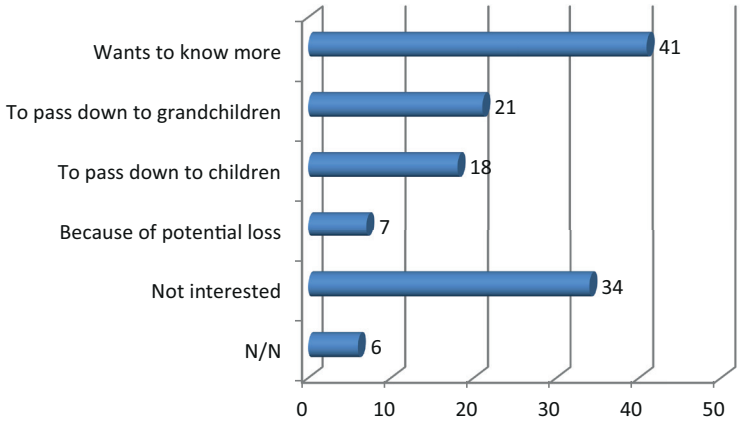

Figure 6. The reasons of interest in family memory (in percentages)
Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

their family members and relatives. The research data show that the stories about their family and relatives' lives are important to two thirds (60%) of Lithuanian residents. Some are interested in them because they want to expand the family memory archive, to have more information on the experience and practices of their family and kin members. Others are more interested in the continuity of family memory and have intentions to pass the memory down to younger generations of family members. The rest do not consider family memory important.

The need to expand the family memory archive and to have more information about the experience of family and kin members has been expressed by over a third of Lithuanian residents (41%). Others are interested in the continuity of family memory, i.e. they intend to pass this information down to their grandchildren (21%) and children (18%). The possibility to lose one's next-of-kin also encourages individuals to be interested in collective family memory (7%). Women, individuals over 30 years old and town residents are mostly interested in the collective family memory (see Figure 6).

One third of respondents (34%) do not consider family memory as something worthy of attention. Such attitude is prevalent among individuals under 30 years old.

Emigration experience influences people's interest in the life stories of their family or kin members.

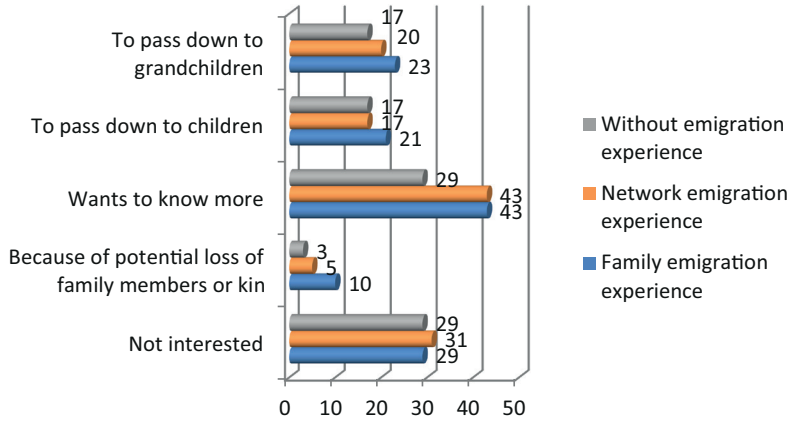

Figure 7. The reasons of interest in family memory in the light of emigration experience (in percentages)

Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

Different emigration experience adjusts people's interest in the life stories of their family or kin members. Those with family emigration experience want to know more about life experiences of their family or kin members and intend to share this information with their children and grandchildren. They want to accumulate more information also due to the potential loss of their next-of-kin. Those who have network emigration experience as well as those who have family emigration experience also find it important to replenish their memory archive with the life stories of their family members and relatives. However, they are less interested in the expansion of family memory due to the potential loss of their next-of-kin and in the continuity of family memory, i.e. in passing it down to children and grandchildren. Family memory is relevant the least to those individuals who have no emigration experience (see Figure 7).

Communication channels of family memory and emigration experience

According to Keppler (2001: 144), every family as a separate group creates its own memory. Various storytellers participate in the construction of family memory (Keppler, 2001: 139). These storytellers represent different channels of the communicative family memory. Their contribution in the construction of family memory is also different.

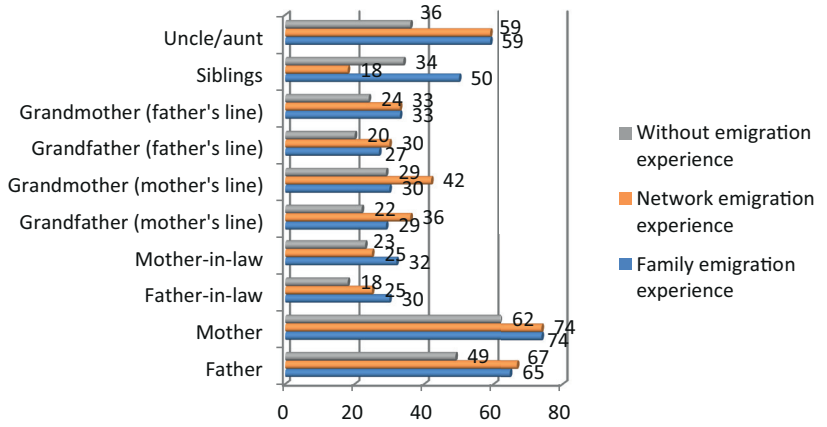

Figure 8. The construction of family memory and emigration experience (in percentages)

Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

The research data show (see Figure 8) that irrespective of emigration experience, parents as the representatives of the familial channel are the main participants in the construction of family memory. On the other hand, the individuals with emigration experience participate in the 'conversations at the table' about the experiences and practices of family or kin members more frequently. They are better listeners than the individuals with no emigration experience. In the familial channel, parents are the individuals who pay most attention to family memory. They tell the largest number of stories about the lives of family and kin members during different historical periods. Grandparents as the participants of the familial channel are less active, however emigration experience influences the intensity of communication with grandparents on the topics of the lives of family and kin members. Individuals with emigration experience are more active listeners of those stories than those with no such experience. The role of parents-in-law in the construction of family memory is considerably smaller than that of other participants of the familial channel. This indicates that the collective family memory is only modestly supplemented with the life stories of 'new' family members. However, in case of emigration experience, the life stories of 'new' family members merit more attention. This means that the stories of their families and kin are incorporated into the common archive of family memory. Apart from that, 'conversations at the table' take place more frequently among the individuals with emigration experience and 'new' family members.

The aunt/ uncle as the participants of the network channel also play an important role in the construction of family memory. The role of the aunt is distinguishable in this communication channel of family memory. The aunt is a more active participant of 'conversations at the table' than grandparents as the representatives of the familial channel. In case of the individuals with emigration experience, the role of the network channel in the construction of family memory is much more significant for them in comparison with those who have no emigration experience.

In case of emigration experience, siblings as the participants of the familial channel also make a noteworthy contribution in the construction of family memory. 'Conversations at the table' take place much more actively among siblings. Every second respondent with emigration experience mentions a sibling as a participant of 'conversations at the table'.

The continuity of family memory is ensured through the initiative channel. Memory continuity requires another action – the will to share family history with younger family generations. The initiative channel demonstrates the level of interest in ensuring the continuity of the 'conversations at the table' tradition. In this case there are also differences among those individuals who have emigration experience and those who have none.

'Conversations at the table' (which happen with bigger or lesser frequency) with other family members are more often initiated by the individuals having family (75%) or network (70%) emigration experience. Those with no emigration experience are more passive in organizing the 'conversations at the table' (70%). These conversations are also influenced by the peculiarities of communication with family members. More specifically, the frequency of conversations between storytellers and listeners are important in family memory formation. Communication habits with family members and traditions of communication between family members are important in family memory formation process via family channels by all means of communication.

The data presented in Figure 9 show that more than half of those with emigration experience communicate with their mothers on a daily basis. Communication with the father is in the second place in terms of frequency. Communication with the sister usually takes place once or several times per week. However, communication between the sister and the brother happens less often, once per week or month, or less frequently.

The channels of the communicative family memory dictate their own topics of 'conversations at the table' which they consider important.

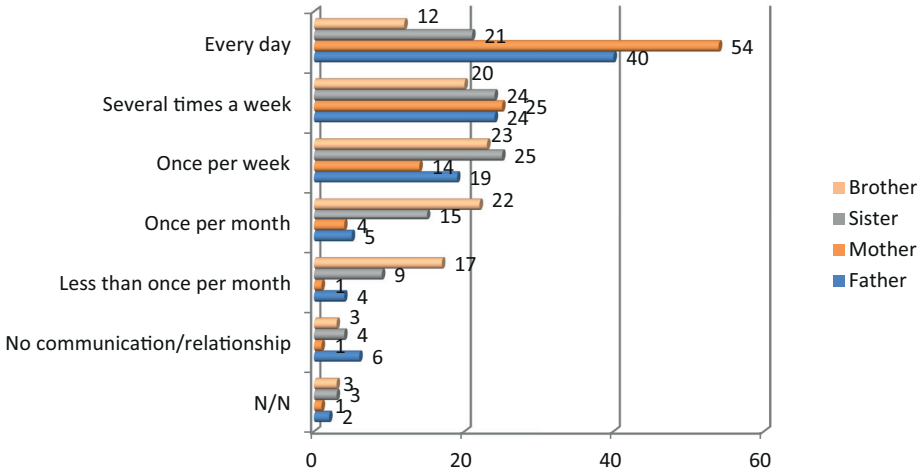

Figure 9. Communication with family members (personally, by phone, by letters, by email or otherwise, in percentages)

Note: A proportion of those whose mother (N = 506) and father (N = 358) are alive. A proportion of those who have brothers (N = 379) and sisters (N = 392) older than 15 years. Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

Family Memory Contexts

According to Keppler (2001), family memory communication has its own topics which may be given lots of attention or, on the contrary, little attention. These topics have the cultural, social and historical context.

The research data show (see Figure 10) that 41% of Lithuanian residents mention 'conversations at the table' about the experiences and practices of family or kin members during the period before Lithuania became part of the Soviet Union. Discussions on this topic are more prevalent among women and individuals over 50 years old. Discussions on the life experience during the war and after the war attracts similar level of attention. Less than half (46%) of the respondents declare that they discuss these topics very often, often or sometimes. The stories from this period are more frequently mentioned by women and the individuals over 50 years old. Men and the individuals under 30 years old participate in the 'conversations at the table' on this topic less. The topic on the life during the Soviet period attracts more attention. Two thirds (69%) of Lithuanian residents declare that they hold 'conversations at the table' about the life of family or kin members in Soviet Lithuania. Individuals over 50 years old discuss this topic more frequently. Individuals under 30 years old tend to ignore the experiences

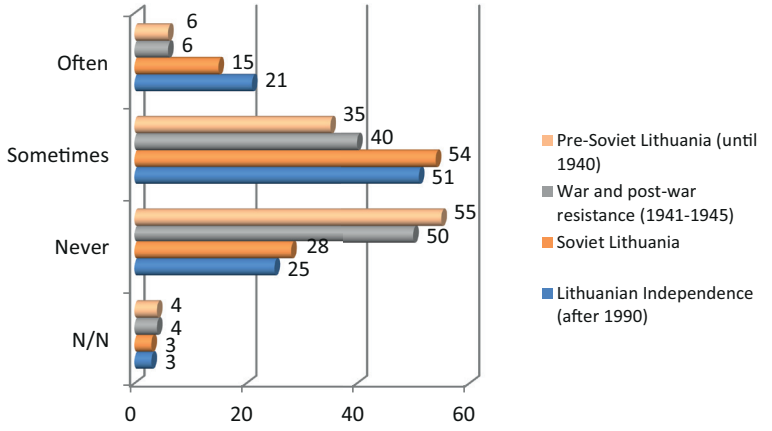

Figure 10. The construction of family memory during different historical periods (in percentages)

Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

of this period. The discussion about life experiences of family or kin members since the restoration of independence merit most of attention. 72% of the respondents discuss these experiences. Individuals over 30 years old as well as city and town residents emphasize the 'conversations at the table' on this topic. Those under 30 years old mostly declare that they do not discuss this topic.

The experiences of family or kin members may be related to both traumatic events and to achievements during various historical periods.

The results of the research show that the discussions on the traumatic experiences during different historical periods are practiced little. More than half of the individuals with family or network emigration experience or those with no emigration experience declare that they hold no 'conversations at the table' on this topic. Every second individual with family emigration experience declares this; while there are almost two thirds of such individuals declaring this among the respondents with no emigration experience. The mother as a participant of the familial channel is the initiator of the 'conversations at the table' on this topic (see Figure 11).

During 'conversations at the table', the achievements of family or kin members during different historical periods attract more attention.

According to the research data (see Figure 12) every third individual with family emigration experience discusses with his/ her mother the

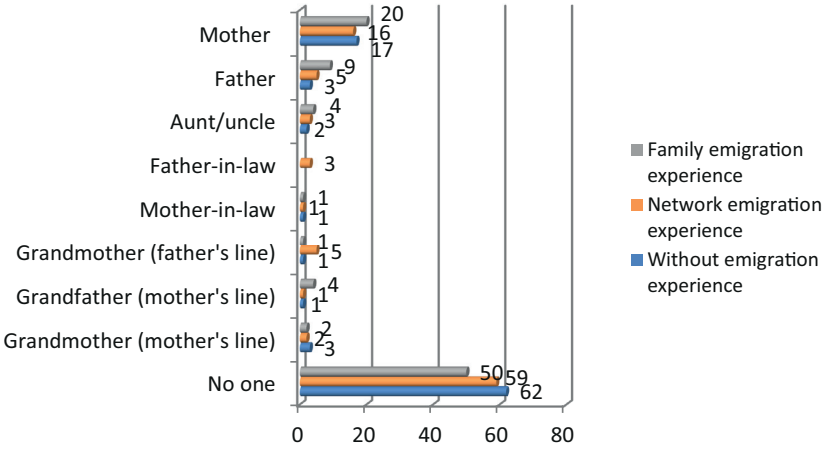

Figure 11. Traumatic experience of family or kin members during different periods in the light of emigration experience (in percentages)

Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

achievement of family or kin members during different historical periods. The least frequency of such conversations has been observed among the mother and the individuals with no emigration experience. The 'conversations at the table' among the father and the individuals with family or network emigration experience happen more intensively than among those without such experience.

Family or kin revision has been classified into two thematic groups: festivities (weddings, baptisms or other festivities of family or kin members) as well as misfortunes and losses (diseases, funerals and other grief). These topics of 'conversations at the table' expand the family memory not only with the practices of family members but also with those of kin members. Such information increases awareness in the wider network – the kinship network.

The topics of family network revision (the festivities of family or kin members, weddings, baptisms or diseases, losses and other misfortunes) attract more attention that the discussions about life experiences during different historical periods.

In the construction of family memory, the 'conversations at the table' on kin revision issues are more often held between the mother and the daughter, among the mother and the children between 30 to 50 years old as well as among the mother and the children living in towns or cities. The

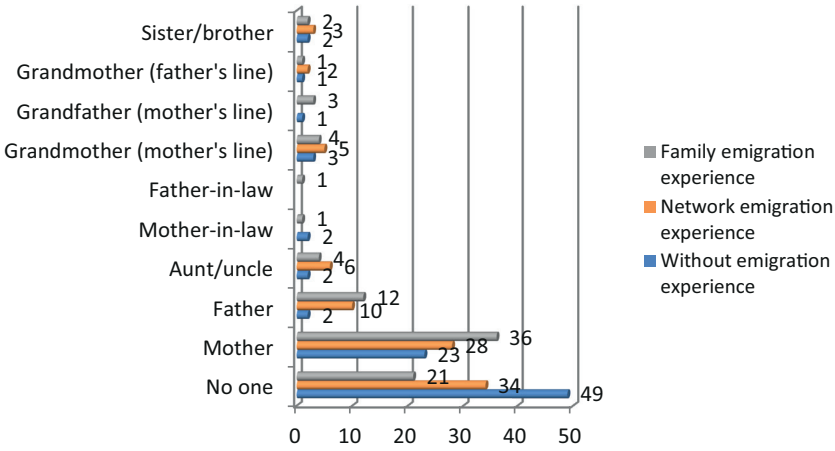

Figure 12. The achievements of family or kin members during different periods in the light of emigration experience (in percentages)

Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

father plays a less significant role here (44%). 'Conversations at the table' with the father are emphasized by their children under 50 years old and living in the town or the country.

The revision topic of the weddings, baptisms or other festivities of family or kin members is a more attractive topic of 'conversations at the table' than the discussion on life experiences during different historical periods.

The topics of family revision (festivities, weddings, baptisms, etc.) in the light of emigration experience also receive different attention. The individuals with family or network emigration experience are more interested in the conversations on this topic. The mother is the most frequent contributor in the construction of family memory on the issues of family network revision. Every second person with family or network emigration experiences mentioned that there were 'conversations at the table' with their mother on this topic. The father is in the second place in this respect. However, conversations with a father are more common among those with family emigration experience. The role of the aunt as the network channel comes in the third place. The aunt's role is emphasized by those who have network emigration experience. Moreover, this topic is discussed in the family between spouses. Communication on this topic is more likely to occur among siblings with network emigration experience or without emigration experience. The role of grandparents is even less

significant than that of aunts, siblings, except parents-in-law. One third of those with no emigration experience mention that there is no 'conversations at the table' on this topic.

The revision of family or kin on the topics of losses, diseases or misfortunes attracts less attention. The individuals who have emigration experience in their family or network have more information about the misfortunes of their family or kin members than those who have no such experience. In respect of this topic, the mother is the main information contributor again. Other participants of family and network channels are only passive participants of 'conversations at the table'. However, 'talk at the table' with the father is more often mentioned by those with family emigration experience. Aunt's and sibling's role is more often emphasized by those who have network emigration experience. Those without emigration experience usually mention that such 'conversations at the table' do not take place (35%).

The topics of family relationships are classified into two thematic groups: good relationships and painful (bad) relationships among family and kin members. In the family, good relationships among family or kin members are most actively discussed among the mother and her children with family emigration experience. Such practice is mentioned by every second representative of this group (48%). The representatives of the network with emigration experience discuss these issues with their mother less frequently. The least frequency of such conversations has been observed among the mother and her children with no emigration experience. Other family or network representatives with emigration experience play an insignificant role in this respect. Although the role of other participants in family or network channels is insignificant, still the emigration experience has an impact on the formation of family memory. The research data show that the role of the father increases in the case of family emigration experience, while aunt's role – in the network's emigration experience. Conversations between siblings on this subject are more common among those without emigration experience. It is noteworthy that more than one third of individuals with no emigration experience (40%) declare that nobody tells them these stories, while there are much fewer individuals with family or network emigration experience declaring that.

The conversations about bad relationships among family or kin members take place much less frequently than about good relationships. In this topic of family memory construction, the mother as a participant of the familial channel plays the most active role again. 'Conversations at the table' with their mother is more often mentioned by those with family emigration experience (34%). Among those with network emigration

experience, this topic is less frequently discussed (28%). Discussions on bad relationships among family or kin members with mothers are even less frequent (22%). Poor relationships among family or kin members are most actively discussed among the father and his children with family emigration experience. The representatives of the network with emigration experience discuss these issues with their siblings more frequently. Grandmothers are more likely to talk to their grandchildren who have no emigration experience.

It has been noted that the conversations in the familial channel between the mother and the daughter as well as among the mother and the children within the age cohort of 30–50 years take place frequently. Town residents emphasize this topic. 41% of respondents do not participate in such 'conversations at the table'. Such behavior is typical of men under 30 years old living in the city or the country.

'Conversations at the table' happen more often among those who have family or network emigration experience than among those without such experience. It is not usual to speak about painful relationships among family or kin members. Every second individual (49%) without emigration experience does not participate in 'conversations at the table' on this topic, while there are even fewer individuals with family or network emigration experience declaring that (41% in each group). 'Conversations at the table' with a sibling happen more often among the individuals with emigration experience. The role of other family or network representatives in the construction of family memory on this topic is less significant.

The construction of family memory also happens due to the provision of 'common' information about the experiences of family or kin members. Such 'conversations at the table' demonstrate the need for communication by sharing experience and practices. Daily communication also shows the intensity of relationships with the participants of different channels and who the tellers or listeners of 'common' information are. Communication on routine issues demonstrates the closeness among family or kin members and their need for communication. 'Common' information also contributes to the (re)construction of family memory.

The most important role in daily communication is played by the mother as a participant of the familial channel. Every second respondent communicates with his/ her mother on daily events and practices. City residents stand out to some extent in the area of daily communication between the mother and the child.

Communication with the father is twice as rare. Fathers tend to communicate more with their sons and children under 30 years old. Such

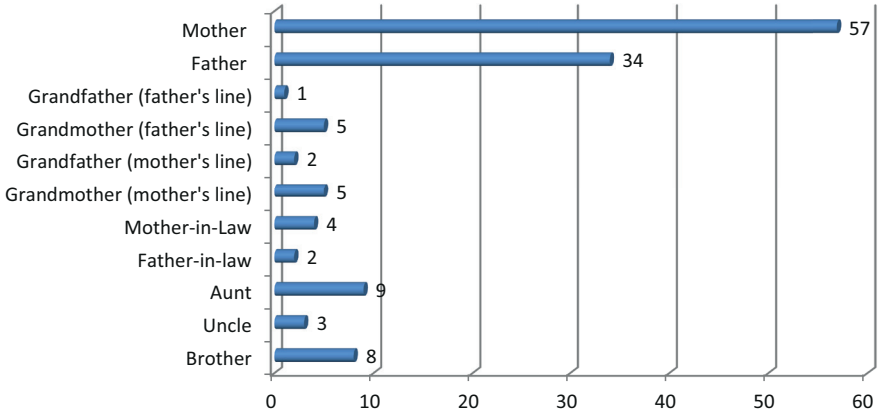

Figure 13. The role of family members in 'common' communication about family and kin (in percentages)

Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

communication is more applicable to the children living in towns. Sisters who are 50 years old or above communicate more intensively. The role of the aunt as the network channel in daily communication is more significant than that of grandparents. The aunt tends to discuss these issues with a female relative. Such a tradition of daily communication is typical of town residents. 23% of respondents do not have the experience of daily communication. Men under 30 years old usually do not participate in daily communication (see Figure 13).

According to the research data (see Figure 14) there are differences between emigration experience and communication about 'common' practices of family or kin members. Such 'conversations at the table' with the mother take place more often among the individuals with family or network emigration experience. Although the role of the father is significantly smaller than that of the mother, the father is nevertheless a more frequent participant of 'conversations at the table' in the context of family emigration experience.

One third of individuals without emigration experience do not participate in the communication on 'common' practices. This is supported by every fifth individual with family or network emigration experience.

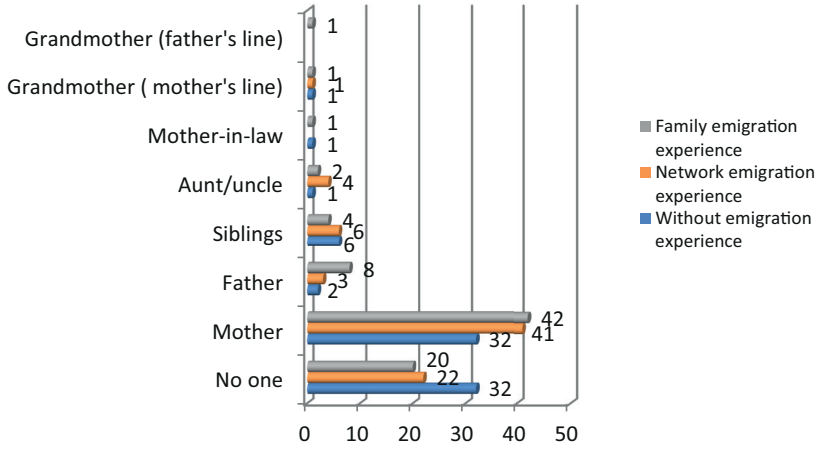

Figure 14. Emigration experience and the role of family members in 'common' communication about family and kin (in percentages)

Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

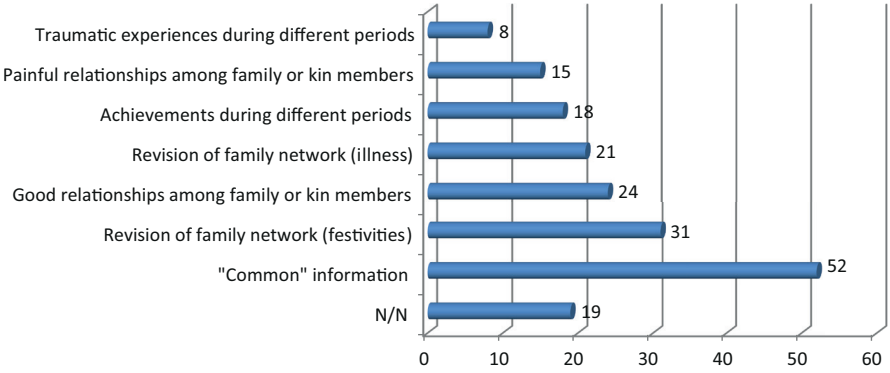

Figure 15. The topics communicated via the initiative channel (in percentages)

Source: Representative survey data (N = 1005 respondents).

The initiative channel – the person who tells stories to others on his/her own initiative – concentrates most on the communication of 'common' information, on family revision about good events and on good relationships among family and kin members (see Figure 15).

Every second member of the initiative channel (52%) is interested in the continuity of family memory. They allocate their attention to the communication with others on 'today's' events and experiences of family or kin members. Such conversational narratives are typical of city residents. One third (31%) of respondents concentrate on such topics of family revision as weddings, baptisms or other festivities (see Figure 15). These conversational topics are widespread among town and rural residents above 30 years old. The third topic of 'conversations at the table' in terms of frequency is good relationships among family and kin members. This information is more often communicated by town residents above 30 years old. The topics related to painful experiences of family or kin members occupy the fourth place. Town and rural residents above 30 years old show more initiative when communicating on this topic. Town residents between 30 and 50 years old tend to initiate the discussions on painful relationships among family or kin members. Family or kin achievements or traumas during various historical periods are the least discussed topics. Individuals over 30 years old are more interested in the 'conversations at the table' on the achievements during different periods. Town residents over 50 years old tend to speak about traumatizing experiences during various historical periods more often.

Conclusion

The data of the research show that family memory construction is a constant process during which family memory construction and (re) construction happens through the initiative of the participants of family or network channels and due to the variety of conversational topics. Family memory is constantly supplemented with 'common' information on the experiences of family or kin members. In family memory construction, such topics as 'common' information on life experiences of family and kin members, family network revision (on the festivities, weddings, etc. of family and kin members) and good relationships in the family or among kin members attract most attention.

Research data show that emigration do not impede the family memory formation processes. On the contrary, the individuals with emigration experience participate in family memory construction more actively. Emigration in Lithuania is determined by economic reasons. Most migrants belong to the type of labor migration. However, the type of chain migration is expanding as well; it refers to the individuals emigrating for the purposes

of family reunification or in order to build a family abroad. Currently, emigration is not an obstacle to the construction of family memory.

Such social demographic characteristics as gender, age and the place of residence are important in the construction of family memory. Women, individuals over 30 years old and town residents are more active in the construction of family memory. Based on empirical data, the following groups of the participants in conversations can be distinguished: the mother talks with the daughter more often, and respectively the father talks with the son; sisters communicate more often with sisters, and brothers respectively with brothers. In respect of the place of residence, town residents are more active in the construction of family memory.

The mother is the main initiator of the construction of family memory. The father plays a more passive role in memory construction; however, he is more active than grandparents as the participants of the familial channel. This shows that the construction of family memory mostly happens through the communication of two generations – the parents and children.

One third of Lithuanian residents do not participate in the construction of family memory. This group is dominated by males and individuals under 30 years old.

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CONCLUSION

Julie Seymour

This edited collection on 'Making Lithuanian Families Across Borders: Conceptual Frames and Empirical Evidence' makes a significant contribution to the research on Lithuanian migrant families in particular and migrant families generally. By contributing to the body of work on families and migration in Lithuania which has been studied since 2004 by Prof. Irena Juozeliūnienė and colleagues it develops a fifteen year research agenda which has mapped the experiences and understandings of a key series of events in twenty first century Lithuanian society. Beyond that by drawing on contemporary and developing theoretical concepts in family, migrant and childhood research they have utilized, tested and expanded these frameworks and illustrated their empirical application for other researchers and policy makers.

The current book is both an accurate record of current experiences and viewpoints (drawing on data collected in 2018 from representative surveys of the Lithuanian population and those with emigration experience) and a consideration of the longer arc of discourses around, and portrayals of, migrant families in Lithuania. The change is shown by the examination of official documents and academic articles in Lithuania, some from the mid 1990's onward, which tracks the changing language, imagery and policy related to migrant families in the past twenty five years. This allows a long-term view of the developing discourses which emerged from changing political and economic circumstances, significant emigration movements and, more recently, responses to increased return migration to Lithuania. Again, while focused on the history, events and migration patterns of one example – that of Lithuania – the analysis and use of contemporary theory enables generalizations which will contribute to the wider debates, research and policy making on migration and global mobility.

This collection has tested and developed current and emerging conceptual tools particularly from family research. The developing examination of the presentation of certain families as Troubling (a category requiring intervention) rather than going through Troubled times (a process of going through 'normal' family troubles) has been interrogated and refined by its application to official political and academic Lithuanian documents relating to migration. It has shown that such conceptualizations were strongly influenced by a low mobility discourse around families which

failed to acknowledge the lived experience of a significant proportion of the Lithuanian population. The empirical material has shown that the 'Troubling/ Troubled' framework provides a useful heuristic lens with which to understand and track changing representations and responses to migrant families.

The volume has also identified, through the studies reported, the varying impact of migration on different family members. Gender has been shown to be a key dimension of the experiences of, and family practices, carried out by migrants to maintain their transnational families. Similarly, a focus on intergenerational issues has shown how the experience of migration shows inter and intra generational differences in how it is understood and responded to. Importantly, the activities and agency of children in migrant families have been further revealed and hence identified as a fruitful further area of study.

The book has also been methodologically innovative by applying new forms of research to the way that concepts in family research are operationalized. The doing and displaying of family has usually been explored using qualitative methods but by integrating these concepts into surveys, the studies in this edited collection show how they can be effectively examined using quantitative techniques.

To conclude, this volume updates the research on migrant families in Lithuania. It tracks the changing social and political responses in the country to the significant mobility of the population. This was first as emigrants but increasingly as migrant returnees. By incorporating theory, it shows that the understanding of the family as having forms which are more fluid and diverse than previously acknowledged is necessary to understand the experience of 21st Century Lithuanian families. It also suggests that continuing research is required on the experiences and contributions of returning migrants and their families perhaps with an especial focus on the significant contribution of children to 'Making Lithuanian Families across Borders'.

Making Lithuanian Families Across Borders: Conceptual Frames and Empirical Evidence = Lietuvos šeimų kūrimas abipus sienų: teorinės prieigos ir empirinė raiška: [edited collection] / edited by Irena Juozeliūnienė and Julie Seymour = [straipsnių rinktinė] sudarė Irena Juozeliūnienė ir Julie Seymour. – Vilnius: Vilnius University: Vilnius University Press, 2020. – 184 p.

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This edited collection opens the door to understanding the representations and experiences of Lithuanian migrant families. The authors aim to highlight the most recent theoretical frames through which to understand the personal lives, family practices of migrants, and the ways family relationships could be perceived as 'troubled'. The authors test and extend these ideas about family life with a focus on gender and intergenerational issues in the context of Lithuanian families across borders.

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Kolektyvinėje rinktinėje aptariami Lietuvos migracijos šeimų pateikimo ir patirčių analizės būdai. Rinktinės autoriai pasitelkia naujausias teorines perspektyvas, leidžiančias nagrinėti asmeninius gyvenimus, šeimines praktikas ir jų „suprobleminimo“ atvejus. Tyrinėdami Lietuvos šeimų gyvenimą abipus sienų autoriai taiko ir plėtoja šias teorines idėjas apie šeiminį gyvenimą, lyčių santykius ir kartų ryšių raišką.

Designer Jurga Tėvelienė
Edited by Irena Juozeliūnienė and Julie Seymour
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Vilnius University Press
Saulėtekio al. 9, LT-10222 Vilnius
info@leidykla.vu.lt, www.leidykla.vu.lt
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