# OUTSIDE OF IMAGINED COMMUNITY: STRATEGIES OF INCORPORATION OF LITHUANIAN IMMIGRANTS

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ABSTRACT

The article deals with the incorporation of Lithuanian immigrants into host societies and aims at identifying dominant strategies by which they are incorporated in England, Ireland, Norway and Spain. The main strategies of incorporation are identifying through the intensity of the immigrants' social, economic, cultural and political linkages with the new society. Another focus is on the patterns of immigrants' belonging. Based on the prevalence of linkage, four dominant strategies of Lithuanian immigrants' incorporation into a new society are distinguished: conformist, representative, segregative, and navigational. Field data was obtained through semi-structured and focus group interviews with Lithuanian immigrants in 2007 – 2008.

KEY WORDS: immigration, integration, incorporation, identity, acculturation.

ANOTACIJA

Pagrindinis šio straipsnio tikslas – apčiuopti lietuvių imigrantų susisaistymo su nauja visuomene būdus, dominuojančias įsitraukimo į naują visuomenę strategijas. Šis straipsnis remiasi teoriniu požiūriu, kuris ne tik kritiškai vertina bandymus parengti integracijos modelį, taikytiną visiems imigrantams neatsižvelgiant į jų individualias charakteristikas, bet ir siūlo vadovautis prielaida, jog imigrantų integraciją naujoje visuomenėje nusako skirtingos individualios inkorporacijos strategijos, ne visuomet sutampančios su kultūrinio pliuralizmo, diasporos, transnacionalizmo, asimiliacijos ar integracijos teorijų bei požiūrių siūlomais inkorporacijos būdais. Priklausomai nuo individualiai pasirenkamo, prioretizuojamo, dominuojančio įsitraukimo būdo ar būdų, straipsnyje išskiriamos ir apibūdinamos keturios pagrindinės įsitraukimo į naują visuomenę strategijos: konformistinė, reprezentacinė, segregacinė ir navigacinė.

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: imigracija, integracija, inkorporacija, tapatybė, akultūracija.

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Research on immigrant integration has for a long time been dominated by the concept of assimilation. Although this approach has been criticized since the 1930s, a constructive answer to it emerged only at the end of the 1970s, when the idea of cultural pluralism emerged, which, in turn, inspired research on diaspora. Although the overall theoretical validity and practical applicability of cultural pluralism are still being debated, the concept of 'ethnic communities'[1] that is based on the idea of cultural pluralism and describes immigrant incorporation through participation in an ethnic community, has often been employed in sociological research on immigration. In the 1980s

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[1] See: HEISLER, Barbara Schmitter. From Assimilation to Segmented Integration, from the American Experience to the Global Arena. In: Bretell, Caroline B., Hollifield, James F. (eds.) *Migration Theory. Talking across Disciplines*. New York and London: Routledge, 2000, p. 80–81.

discussions about transnationalism were introduced that emphasized the analytical importance of social and symbolic networks that intersect far beyond national boundaries[2].

The article aims at identifying the dominant strategies by which Lithuanian immigrants incorporate into England, Ireland, Norway and Spain. It presents findings of a research project that was carried out in the framework of the national project "Retention of Lithuanian National Identity under the Conditions of Europeization and Globalization: Patterns of Lithuanianness in Response to Identity Policies in England, Ireland, Norway, Spain and USA", based at the Centre of Social Anthropology at Vytautas Magnus University and the Institute for Social Research in Vilnius. Field data was obtained through 71 semi-structured and 4 focus group interviews with Lithuanian immigrants in 2007/2008. Interviewees were found through snowballing and target group sampling.

## Integration: Concepts and Ways

Integration (or incorporation, as it is more commonly called in anthropology) is one of the key concepts in theories of immigration. Generally speaking, immigrant integration is defined as a process of developing linkages to a new society through participation in various societal spheres.

The integration process is usually conceptualized in the literature by distinguishing between several dimensions. In the analysis of structural and socio-cultural integration, for example, the former is defined as 'the full participation in social institutions', whereas socio-cultural integration is related to cultural adaptation and 'the social contacts that members and organizations of minorities maintain with society as a whole'[3]. Godfried Engbersen distinguishes among three main dimensions of integration: functional, moral, and expressive. The functional dimension refers to immigrants' participation in societal institutions, especially education and economy; the moral dimension denotes civil participation and adaptation to social and legal standards; and the expressive dimension encompasses the construction of individual and collective identities[4]. Engbersen recognises that harmonic functional relations within and between various dimensions and spheres of integration are rarely visible in social reality. Therefore, an objective of integration policy can, according to him, only be to find a *new balance* between these dimensions and between the various spheres of integration[5]. Thus Engbersen's model of integration presupposes a differentiated and reflexive policy with respect to immigrants and ethnic minorities, while nevertheless arguing for a single model of integration for all migrants.

In my opinion, however, one of the main questions concerning immigrant integration policy has to be how political models are related to the immigrants' subjective concepts of integration and belonging and their personal intention to integrate (or to what level to integrate) into the new society. According to Leo R. Chavez, a sense of belonging among immigrants emerges when they "overcome feelings of isolation, develop a network of family and friends in the local community, and acquire local cultural knowledge"[6]. Migrants themselves describe this process in terms of an emic

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[2]   See: VERTOVEC, Steven. Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism. *Ethnic and Rasial Studies* 22 (2), 1999, p. 447–462.

[3]   See: ENGBERSEN, Godfried. Spheres of Integration: Towards a Differentiated and Reflective Ethnic Minority Policy. In: Sackmann, Rosemarie, Peters, Bernhard, Faist Thomas (eds.) *Identity and Migration. Migrants in Western Europe.* England: Ashgate, 2003, p. 61.

[4]   See: ENGBERSEN, G. (...) 2003, p. 61–62.

[5]   Ibid, p. 74.

[6]   CHAVEZ, Leo R.. Outside the Immagined Community: Undocumented Settlers and Experiences of Incorporation. *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1991, p. 272.

(i.e. their own) notion of adaptation[7] and can provide many reasons or arguments, (which may differ in every individual case), why they feel they are either outside or inside the local community[8].

Bernhard Peters' theoretical approach of a variety of pathways to incorporation appears to reflect most precisely the immigrants' actual experiences. Peters analyses four dimensions of immigrants' integration: 'community organisation', i.e. participation in immigrants' organisations, communities, or networks; a 'socio-economic profile' that is related to the immigrants' achievement in education, income, property, and professional area; a cultural dimension that involves religion, lifestyle and value concepts; and as the fourth dimension, identity[9]. Different combinations of these four dimensions determine individual pathways of immigrants' integration[10]. With reference to the diversity of immigrant incorporation pathways Peters' concept transcends definitions of ways of involvement provided by the concepts of ethnic communities, diaspora, or transnationalism.

In their paper on immigrants' involvement in Germany, Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Szanton Blanc also use the concept of 'pathways of incorporation' with the intention to "challenge ways in which migrant integration is commonly conceptualized in German public policy and discourse about *Auslander* (foreigners). The fact that there are five pathways identified by our research highlights the weakness of past migration studies that tend to cast all patterns of migration settlement into the same mode and argue for a single model of migrant integration (…). This perspective contributes, in our opinion, not only to a more adequate representation of the migration phenomena in particular but also provides a more flexible conceptualization of the relationship between the nation-state, social structures and individual ways of living and belonging"[11].

The notion of a diversity of pathways of immigrant incorporation into a new society has informed our analysis of interviews with Lithuanian immigrants in England, Ireland, Norway and Spain. The following four possible ways of immigrants' involvement were distinguished: (1) economic, which is determined by the participation in the labour market, income, and property; (2) social, which is expressed through immigrants' social networks; (3) cultural, that is the acceptance of the new society's cultural models; and (4) civil participation, that is the involvement in the activities of political and civil institutions. Research also focused on the patterns of belonging to the new society and on national or ethnic identity. Concerning the prevailing linkages of immigrants to the society of residence, four main strategies of incorporation were distinguished, which can be called conformist, ethnic, segregational, and navigational.

**Incorporation Strategies**

*Conformist Strategy.* The immigrants who follow this strategy have developed fairly strong economic, social, and cultural linkages with the new society. This strategy is most common among

[7] See: BRETTELL, Caroline, B. The Spatial, Social, and Political Incorporation of Asian Indian Immigrants in Dallas, Texas. *Urban Anthropology,* 34 (2–3), 2005, p. 105.

[8] However, as Chavez notes, full incorporation also requires that the larger society "imagines" immigrants as members of their community, Ibid, p. 61–62. See also: CHAVEZ, Leo, R. The Power of the Imagined Community: The Settlement of Undocumented Mexicans and Central Americans in the United States. *American Anthropologist*, New Series 96 (1), 1994, p. 52–73.

[9] See: PETERS, Bernhard. Collective Identity, Cultural Difference and Developmental Trajectories of Immigrant Groups. In: Sackmann, Rosemarie, Peters, Bernhard, Faist Thomas (eds.) *Identity and Migration. Migrants in Western Europe.* England: Ashgate, 2003, p. 32–33.

[10] Ibid, p. 33.

[11] GLICK SCHILLER, Nina; NIESWAND, Boris; SCHLEE, Gunter. Pathways of Migrant Incorporation in Germany. *Transit* 1(1), 2005, Article 50911, p. 15.

those immigrants who own their own business or are managers, architects, teachers, translators, and the like, so they have permanent employment and a comparatively high social status concomitant with their professional position.

They have also successfully developed social and communication networks. These immigrants communicate with their colleagues on the professional level and they also have many friends among immigrants from other countries:

> … Icelanders are good friends of ours, Germans, one Syrian friend, we have colleague friends. In the hospital [where they work] there are twenty doctors, and approximately twelve of them are foreigner.

However, as was told by our interlocutors, their primary groups – to use C. H. Cooley's term[12] – or their circle of closest friends, are in most cases composed on the basis of ethnicity. These relations include only Lithuanian immigrants. Regina, for instance, told us that their family had

> … Norwegian friends and also very good friends from Hungary; however, our best friends, after all, are Lithuanians [Regina, 35, architecture student, Norway].

Erika's (manager, 28, Spain) network of communication can be cited as another example. Erika has a university degree and works as a manager in an international company. On a professional level she communicates with colleagues from Hungary, Latvia, and Poland; however, her best girlfriend is Lithuanian.

The immigrants' attitudes toward incorporation are highly rational insofar as they are based on the principal of availability and necessity and represent the purpose of conforming to the norms of behaviour, lifestyle, and culture set by the society they live in. In the opinion of Gintaras, for instance,

> … there is no sense in keeping only a Lithuanian lifestyle, as Lithuanians did after the war, when they used to live in their own communities with no integration into the American lifestyle.

Gintaras' family celebrates Norwegian state holidays (e.g., May 17th) together with their Norwegian friends. Regina's family prefers the Norwegian way of spending leisure time and raises children according to Norwegian practice:

> … I see enormous differences concerning child rising; the Norwegian way is more reasonable.

Successful economic and social incorporation and a positive attitude toward cultural incorporation induce a feeling of belonging to a new society. Chavez defines belonging as one of the most significant criteria of involvement[13]. For instance, Gintaras (Norway) responded to the question whether he feels that he belongs to Norwegian society with the fairly emphatic statement: 'If you want to function in a society, you have to belong'. His attitude illustrates a position according to which 'belonging' is a matter of choice, adaptation, or adjustment, or even of necessity: one simply

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[12]  Quoted from: BROOM, L.; BONJEAN, Ch.; BROOM, D. *Sociologija.* Kaunas: Litera Universitatis Vytauti Magni, 1992, p. 119.
[13]  See: CHAVEZ, Leo, R. (...) 1994, p. 52–73.

has to belong. In this case the use of the terms 'we' and 'they' is also a strategy rather than the expression of a subjective feeling. For example, in response to the question whether he uses 'we' or 'they' when speaking about Norwegians, Gintaras explained as follows:

> It depends on who I am speaking to. Of course, if I speak to Norwegians, I never say 'they'. If I am in the Norwegian environment then this is 'we'. I don't see much difference between Lithuanians and Norwegians.

Erika, who lives in Spain, also considers herself as belonging to Spain. She told us that in everyday life nobody considers her to as a foreigner:

> I think nobody sees me as a foreigner in the street, you see. One asks for directions and … and, well, another inquires about some nonsense in the store; so I wouldn't say that if I am a Lithuanian, I am seen as different or as a foreigner.

Erika claims that she herself wants to blend with the crowd, she wants to feel a sense of living in that particular place, to feel 'part of local community':

> I want to feel merged with them; I want to live as they do. At least … visually … (…). Certainly, what you do or feel, or how you live when you are at home, no matter whether you are Lithuanian or not, is a different thing. But in public life, in social life I somehow try to be a Spanish, because … because… er … it is simpler… in this case.

The feeling of 'being a part of society' is supported by the conception of home. This conception was demonstrated in the narrative of Gintaras, Regina, Erika and some others. Erika has no doubt that Spain is her home. In her opinion, it would be problematic to think otherwise:

> … but home is 'where your shoes are' [laughing] as we say in Lithuanian. In other words, where you live, where you have everything, where you work, where your friends are, where your things are, this is where your home is, because if you think otherwise, it will be very difficult.

The ways of acculturation described above (the openness to the adoption of cultural models, traditions and lifestyles of the residence society) can partly be explained with reference to the distinction made by Pnina Werbner[14] between transnational and cosmopolitan migrants. Although the concept of 'cosmopolitan' by and large may be negotiable, Werbner's understanding of migrants' linkages to a new society and her criteria of distinction are very interesting from a methodological point of view. Despite moving between different societies, transnationals, according to Werbner[15], create around themselves fairly closed cultural worlds that are encapsulated from the society of residence. Unlike transnationalism, the 'cosmopolitan' mode of migrant experience is based on cultural openness and susceptibility and on a deep cross-cultural knowledge. It is typical for well-educated immigrants with a high social status.

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[14] See: WERBNER, Phnina. 1999. Global Pathways. Working Class Cosmopolitans and the Creation of Transnational Ethnic Worlds. *Social Anthropology* 7 (1), 1999, p. 17–35.
[15] Ibid, p. 19.

Werbner's study[16] also shows that, although 'cosmopolitans' may interact closely and intensively with people from different ethnic groups, they nevertheless are likely to emphasize their national or ethnic difference under certain circumstances. Their openness to 'otherness' does not always imply that they are ready to use these differences as a resource of social identity construction. Finally, different models of dealing with different cultural experiences produce diverse ways of creating ethnic identity. Transnationalism may imply essentialist or national identity policies and can be understood as a relatively fixed and stable subjectivity in comparison to the much more flexible 'cosmopolitan' type of identity.[17]

Regarding national or ethnic identity, the interlocutors' stories show that no matter how successful the strategy of incorporation and the individual perception of 'belonging' may be, they do not create a national identity that is shared with the new society. Lithuanian-ness remains unchallenged as the ethnic identity of immigrants.

The same conclusion was drawn by Chavez. Based on his research on Mexican immigrants in the US, he states that "being a part of a society and identifying with its community by ethnicity are often two different things for an immigrant"[18]. According to our informant Gintaras, for example, he will remain a Lithuanian forever because he *is a Lithuanian*. Lithuanian-ness means to him his 'surname, mentality, and parents'. Erika told us that, although she has become 'somewhat cosmopolitan', living in a new society 'does not change her nationality'.

For these reasons Lithuanian immigrants continue to practice Lithuanian-ness. Frequently this is limited to a small circle of family members, friends or a formal Lithuanian community. A Lithuanian community provides a context in which, through the use of language or the celebration of 'an occasion' as an emulative tradition, Lithuanian-ness is represented. Gintaras told us that they:

> … as a family teach our children to speak both Lithuanian and Norwegian very well. Certainly, we need a Lithuanian environment for this. This is a wish of a majority of Lithuanians here [in the formal Lithuanian community, J. K.]. … People who have families think about their children, youth about entertainment.

The ties of many of these immigrants with Lithuania are rare and far from intensive: they are mainly maintained by visiting parents or other relatives once or twice a year. Relations with friends are usually disrupted by the migration or maintained only with the closest friends. Erika, for example, has parents, a sister, and a few friends in Lithuania; however, she says:

> There is little that ties me to Lithuania. It is fun to come back, to visit them, to see them, but I don't feel a great desire to return to Lithuania and I don't experience much happiness there.

***The strategy of representing ethnic culture.*** This strategy of immigrant incorporation into the immigration society resembles the one mentioned first in terms of the intensity of economic linkages and social networks; however, it differs in terms of the immigrants' cultural involvement.

[16]   Ibid, p. 19.
[17]   See: ARMBRUSTER, Heidi. Homes in Crisis. Syrian Orthodox Christians in Turkey and Germany. In: AL-ALI, Nadje; KOSER, Khalid (eds.). *New Approaches to Migration? Transnational communities and the transformation of home.* Routledge: London and New York, 2002, p. 19.
[18]   See: CHAVEZ, Leo, R. (...) 1994, p. 56.

Close economic linkages of immigrants to the new society are shown by a permanent job, the ownership of property and the like. Aleksandras (54, entrepreneur, England) told us that he invests his time and money into education and professional development; Augustė (20, part-time student, Spain) studies at the university; Veronika (49, cook, Spain) and Valdas (39, construction worker, Spain) both took bank loans and bought a house.

The development of social networks by immigrants represents the conformist strategy in terms of their structure and intensity. The stories told by our interlocutors show that at their arrival in a new country they communicated mostly with fellow Lithuanians and many of them lived or worked with Lithuanians. However, in a few years' time these relations usually were interrupted. Ilona's (35, hairdresser, Norway) story is typical. At her arrival to Norway it was very important for her to communicate with Lithuanians:

> … you communicate to maintain the language, to make relationships, or just to talk.

Within two years', the network of her social relations changed and nowadays it is shaped by common interests rather than ethnicity:

> … having lived in the country for some time you start paying more attention to common hobbies, what the people are like, what they do, what they are interested in, and then you screen people.

Presently Ilona interacts with numerous colleagues and neighbours; however, her

> … best friends are Lithuanians.

When the cultural strategy of Lithuanian immigrants consists of the representation of Lithuanian 'ethnic culture', this is determined mainly by a negative attitude toward acculturation, which is perceived as the adoption of the new society's lifestyle, mode of behaviour and traditions.

The immigrants themselves explain their negative attitude toward acculturation with reference to the multicultural environment that encourages expressions of cultural diversity, as well as to their understanding of what nationality and ethnic identity mean. As Aleksandras (54, entrepreneur, England) states:

> I live in a Lithuanian family, I work in a Lithuanian enterprise, I interact with Lithuanian customers, I mainly speak Lithuanian or Russian, I use English only to write documents or to talk on the phone. I have nothing in common with Englishness (...) If I were, let's say, a Latvian who lives in the centre of Lithuania, or let's say, a Russian in the centre of Lithuania, where there is nobody but Lithuanians, then I would certainly try to be with them and speak their language, but I live in a country which is kind of 'multinational', where the English themselves are a minority, thus nothing makes you be or speak English'.

Moreover Aleksandras claims that adaptation in the cultural sphere is impossible:

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> … no matter how you manage to adapt, to establish your own business or find a good job, you are and will be an immigrant. You are not 'part of them'. You are not an organic part. You will never become English.

In Aleksandras' opinion, adaptation is only possible in the economic and social, but never in the cultural sphere:

> … adaptation is when you adapt in an economic space or social space, but not cultural. I will never adapt to their cultural space.

Ilona stated that it is important for her to develop professionally and to be recognized on a professional level by her colleagues rather than to "adopt their traditions", which from her point of view would lead to self-disrespect:

> … it's important to integrate but not to become the same. I am and will be Lithuanian. I think it raises your self-esteem when you are capable of adaptation but at the same time are capable of maintaining your identity and your own culture.

In contrast to those whose strategy of incorporation can be called conformist, the majority of immigrants that follow the strategy explicated above do not consider themselves as belonging to their new society. Thus, Ilona told us that she feels well adapted to the society in which she lives because she has "learned the rules of the game". According to her, the observance of the rules of everyday life and interaction is undeniably an important and necessary condition for a versatile participation in the professional and social life of a society. On the other hand, however, she has strong doubts that the time will ever come when she feels like belonging to, or being a part of, Norwegian society:

> I don't think I will ever be part of them. (...) I wasn't born here.

'To be part of a society', or 'to belong to it', means according to our informants being born into it. It means having a long cultural experience gained through the knowledge of traditions and other cultural forms:

> I'm not part of them' [Norwegians] because I don't have the experience of the past, I haven't imbibed Norwegian traditions with the mother's milk, and I haven't been raised on Norwegian fairy tales or children's song [Ilona, 35, hairdresser, Norway].

Stasys expresses the same idea:

> … man, you feel foreign here, because personally, for me all their things are unacceptable. Inside I am … well … I feel Lithuanian. That's it. I don't feel any Norwegian-ness [40, driver].

On the other hand, the majority of immigrants state that among their colleagues they feel that they 'belong':

> … as far as I can see, people accept me, their attitude toward me is as if I were a Norwegian, they trust me, we discuss common problems, so I am 'a local', but I can't say I am 'a part of them for everybody [Ilona, 35, hairdresser, Norway].

Regarding the national or ethnic identity of the immigrants who follow this strategy, our research has revealed only few aspects of their identity construction. Like in the conformist strategy, the immigrants' ties to Lithuania are neither intensive nor permanent. The immigrants travel to Lithuania once a year to visit their relatives or to deal with matters of property:

> … anyway, relatives are disappearing, people die, it is good that at least you have something there … let's say a small farm, or house, or a piece of land, so you go to have a look, you lease out your property or do something else; otherwise, it's the end [Aleksandras].

Some, who have many friends in Lithuania, return several times a year and communicate with their friends through the internet:

> … the internet has offered the possibility to communicate very closely; at least this communication brings a lot of happiness for me [Regina].

However, as our research data show, the most important elements of the immigrants' national identity construction in addition to trips to Lithuania and the perception of Lithuanian-ness as an inborn trait are symbolic and emotional linkages to Lithuania. Immigrants practice this strategy by identifying themselves with their country of origin through emotions and remembrances:

> … but you have dreams, man, you see your home in your dreams, you see images that remind you of something, and something makes you shiver inside. I couldn't have similar feelings about Norway [Stasys].

Such imaginary returns are employed as mechanism of self-assurance, stability, and rootedness in a situation of uncertainty, ambiguous linkage and abeyance.

As in the conformist strategy, Lithuanian-ness is also invoked in the private realm by speaking Lithuanian, by celebrating traditional holidays, by reconstructing the way of common Lithuanian daily life or by participating in the activities of formal Lithuanian communities. Ilona, for example, is presently not involved in any activities of Lithuanian communities, but she tries to follow the Lithuanian traditions of celebrating Christmas and Easter at home and to do "the things I used to do when I was little".

In contrast to Ilona, Aleksandras is taking an active part in the activities of the Lithuanian religious community. He talked about the community school, events organised by the community, the celebration of Lithuanian state and religious holidays, projects that support institutions and small rural communities in Lithuania. Laurynas (30, builder, Ireland) told us that the whole Lithuanian community was invited to celebrate St. Patrick's Day. During this celebration the Lithuanians were wearing national dress and brought souvenirs, thus representing their community to the town community. According to Glick Schiller et al., immigrants who follow the path of incorporation, "built around the development of a persona of cultural difference, (…) participate in a series of public events organized to portray foreigners as culturally different [from local people] even as

they welcome participants in a particular locality. Through performing their difference, the persons who adopt this pathway find themselves integrated [into a new society] but as foreigners. All ideologies of multiculturalism contain this tension. Belonging and integration come through recourse to differentiation"[19].

*Segregational strategy.* Immigrant who follow this strategy are linked to the host society only in one way, i.e. economically, the main criterion of which is a permanent job.

The immigrants' social relations can be characterized as 'kinship networks' (this type of social incorporation as one way of incorporation ways is described in detail by Glick Schiller et al.[20], who researched Somalian immigrants to Berlin). Although family and relational ties link new immigrants very tightly among themselves it is doubtful that such transplanted social networks that are based on kinship and limited to a narrow circle of relationships, serve to tie immigrants to the new society. This kind of relations may rather be viewed as social segregation. Rima (29, hairdresser, England), for instance, works in a Lithuanian-owned service enterprise and her customers are mainly from Lithuania or Eastern Europe. The circle of Rima's personal relationships is quite small – her mother who lives in England, her brother and sister and a few close friends. Ramunė (28, waitress, Spain) also spoke about her relationship with relatives who came to live in Spain and some Lithuanian friends, but "I somehow don't communicate with anybody else".

Rima does not participate in the activities or attends the events of the Lithuanian community either; she only knows that "there is one". Her attitude toward it is very sceptical. Rima explains her refusal to participate in the activities of the Lithuanian community by shortage of time and too much work:

> … only those who have a lot of free time establish communities for themselves…, I have a job, I have things to do, and I don't need communities. They don't concern me.

She also avoids visiting other public gatherings of Lithuanians as her attitude towards Lithuanians is very negative:

> … there's always a fight where there are Lithuanians. That's the way it is in England.

Cultural involvement, as the representation of ethnic culture, is limited to the knowledge of the rules of everyday interaction. This knowledge allows the immigrants to feel as being part of the new society:

> I feel as being part of English society, as belonging, because I have a job, I'm together with my family, I have a bank debit card and account, I have a telephone, other things, so … well … I somehow feel connected [Rima].

Incorporation based on the knowledge of everyday interaction rules is deemed sufficient by the immigrants. Therefore the majority of them have no intention of changing their behavioural or cultural norms:

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[19]  See: GLICK SCHILLER, N.; NIESWAND, B.; SCHLEE, G. (...) 2005.
[20]  Ibid.

> … we live here as we used to live in Lithuania. We have a flat, we have everything, we come home from work, children, supper, and to bed. Tomorrow is another day. We don't try to change anything. If somebody doesn't like this, we pay no attention [Ramunė, 28, waitress, Spain].

Like in the strategies described above, *n*ational or ethnic identity is perceived by the Lithuanian immigrants following this strategy as an inborn trait. For this reason, according to our informants, it is impossible to turn into somebody else:

> … how is it possible to be an American if you are a Lithuanian? [Ramunė].

Many of these immigrants maintain relations to Lithuania only through a few close acquaintances:

> … I have nobody in Lithuania: some emigrated, others changed their phones, and others moved [Rima].

Although Rima occasionally watches Lithuanian television, she claims that she is not concerned very much about what is happening either in Lithuania or in England:

> … I am somewhat interested in politics; there is politics here, there is politics in Lithuania.

The scope of her interest is limited to her family:

> … if there is nothing serious in the family, then what, everything is OK.

***Navigational strategy.*** The navigational[21] strategy is employed by those immigrants that have been called 'sojourners' by Park and Siu. They describe a 'sojourner' as an immigrant constantly 'struggling' with himself/herself, because he/she is constantly re-evaluating the choice of either staying in the new society or returning to the country of origin and "the tension between the two choices forces immigrants to reflect on their personal goals, the circumstances of their lives, their family values and social relations, and how the larger society perceives them. A 'sojourner' is 'the immigrant who maintains an orientation to the home country"[22]. In other words, such immigrants maintain very weak links to the immigration society and live in the anticipation of returning to their native country. The majority of them work in several jobs at the same time, many of them at an above-average level of qualification.

Insufficient knowledge of the language limits the immigrants' ability to communicate with local people:

> … when you communicate in a noisy environment, for example in a bar, you have to concentrate a lot in order to understand what they [the English] say, that is why it is very difficult to communicate with the English. I have several English friends but I never invite them to my place because of the folks [people he lives with], because then there are English, and Lithuanians,

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21 This concept of describing one's ability to orient oneself in the space of everyday relations was introduced by Chavez, L. See: CHAVEZ, Leo, R. (...) 1994, p. 63.
22 Quoted from: CHAVEZ, Leo, R. (...) 1994, p. 54.

or French, and they speak in English among themselves while the Lithuanians sit in the corner and speak Lithuanian among themselves [Kasperas, 29, carpenter, England].

Another feature of this type of social networking among immigrants is the belonging to a very restricted primary group of social relationships or even the complete lack of such a primary group. Their social relations tend to be fragmentary and superficial:

> … er… I don't see many of the people around me, I just want back to Lithuania, because here… well… I only work and work, I have no life, so to speak, life is very dreary [Erikas, 22, shop-assistant, Spain].

According to the informants' statements, many of them are not interested in what is happening in the immigration country, they rarely ever listen to the news and do not read the local press; they are more interested in life and events in Lithuania. When asked whether they feel like being part of the new society they answered as follows:

> … no, this is not necessary because all thoughts center on Lithuania. But if God gives me good health and a job, I will stay here for as long as three years [Raimonda, 51, housemaid, Spain].

Although most of our interlocutors claim to have 'adapted' to the new country, their limited knowledge of the country's language hardly allows considering them sufficiently incorporated culturally, even in the 'navigational' sense.

## Conclusions

I would like to summarise the main findings of the research presented in this article. The article aims to identify dominant strategies of Lithuanian immigrants' incorporation into a new society. Its theoretical framework is based firstly on the criticism of unidimensional conceptualizations of the immigrant integration process irrespective of their social, cultural, or religious specificities. I rather argue that there are many different pathways of incorporation, patterns of belonging and identity construction employed by different types of immigrants in different contexts.

Lithuanian immigrants that adopt a conformist strategy have developed strong economic-professional and social linkages with the new society. Their social networks by far exceed the boundaries of the formal Lithuanian community or of primary groups constructed on the basis of ethnicity. The cultural involvement of these immigrants is driven by their intention to simultaneously adopt dominant cultural models and maintain Lithuanian-ness in their private lives.

The strategy of ethnic cultural representation strongly resembles the conformist strategy in terms of economic and social linkages developed by the Lithuanian immigrants. Their cultural involvement, however, is limited to the knowledge of the rules of everyday life or ability to 'navigate'. At the same time, they maintain a negative attitude toward acculturation (in sense of the adoption of the immigrant society's lifestyle, traditions, and values of the immigration society) and cultural identity based on their society of origin.

In the case of segregational strategy, a permanent job alone serves to incorporate the immigrants into their new society. Social linkages are mainly limited to kinship-like networks and the cultural involvement is defined by the ability to 'navigate'.

The navigational strategy is being employed by immigrants who live with the expectation to return to their country of origin and have little motivation to incorporate into their society of residence.

Political participation is the only form of involvement that remains the same with regard all four incorporation strategies. Almost all of the immigrants who have participated in the research expressed no intentions to renounce Lithuanian citizenship, although some did regret that double citizenship was not possible:

> I wouldn't even dare to think about it [to renounce citizenship]. Why? What for? It makes no difference for me [Regina, 35, Spain].

Only few immigrants, however, vote in the national Lithuanian elections, and some of those who employ the conformist strategy may vote in local elections.

The analyses of the above mentioned leaves much space for further research. They can hardly be assumed to do complete justice to the whole plethora of ways to establish relationships with a new society that Lithuanian immigrants have developed.

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# UŽ ĮSIVAIZDUOJAMOS BENDRUOMENĖS RIBŲ: LIETUVIŲ IMIGRANTŲ ĮSITRAUKIMO STRATEGIJOS

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S a n t r a u k a

Maždaug prieš penkis dešimtmečius pasirodžiusiuose akademinio pobūdžio straipsniuose dominavo idėja, kad imigracija reiškia ryšių su kilmės šalimi nutraukimą ir naujoje šalyje dominuojančių elgesio bei mąstymo būdų perėmimą arba, kitais žodžiais tariant, integraciją iki pat asimiliacijos, reiškiančią ir tapatybės kaitą. Tačiau migracijos praktika, kontekstualizuota globalizacijos procesais, pakankamai greitai parodė, jog imigrantų inkorporacijos procesas nėra unifikuotai vienakryptis ir laipsniškas. Tokiame kontekste, praėjusio amžiaus 8-ajame dešimtmetyje atsiranda kultūrinio pliuralizmo teorija, inspiravusi diasporos tyrimus, o 9-ajame dešimtmetyje imigracijos tyrimuose pradedama kalbėti apie transnacionalizmą ir nacionalinės valstybės sienas kertančių socialinių ir simbolinių imigrantų tinklų analizės svarbą.

Minėti teoriniai modeliai akcentuoja skirtingus imigrantų buvimo naujoje visuomenėje analizės aspektus – „etninių bendruomenių" (Heisler 2000: 80–81), arba diasporos, modelis akcentuoja imigrantų bendruomenės, kaip specifinio socialinių tinklų, kolektyvinės sąmonės ir kultūrės reprodukcijos, modelio svarbos analizę (Vertovec 1999), transnacionalizmo – apibūdina įsitraukimą, numatantį imigrantų susisaistymą su keliomis visuomenėmis tuo pat metu. Vis dėlto transmigracijos teorijų taikymo ribos pastaruoju metu taip pat diskutuojamos.

Šis straipsnis remiasi teoriniu požiūriu, kuris ne tik kritiškai vertina bandymus parengti imigrantų įsitraukimo modelį, taikytiną visiems imigrantams, neatsižvelgiant į jų individualias socialines, ekonomines, kultūrines ir kt. charakteristikas, bet ir siūlo vadovautis prielaida, jog imigrantų integraciją naujoje visuomenėje nusako skirtingos individualios inkorporacijos strategijos, ne visuomet sutampančios su kultūrinio pliuralizmo, diasporos, transnacionalizmo, asimiliacijos ar integracijos teorijų bei požiūrių siūlomais inkorporacijos būdais. Straipsnyje siekiama apčiuopti lietuvių imigrantų susisaistymo su nauja visuomene būdus, dominuojančias įsitraukimo į naują visuomenę strategijas.

Empirinius tyrimo duomenis sudaro 71 individualus pusiau struktūruotas ir 4 fokus grupių interviu. Informantai buvo pasirenkami naudojant „sniego gniūžtės" ir tikslinės grupės metodus bei atsižvelgiant į profesijos, amžiaus, lyties kriterijus. Lauko tyrimas vykdytas 2007 m. pab. – 2008 m. Anglijoje, Airijoje, Norvegijoje, Ispanijoje.

Remiantis imigrantų įsitraukimo trajektorijų įvairovės idėja, lauko tyrimų duomenys buvo analizuojami išskiriant keturis įsitraukimo būdus: ekonominį, socialinį, kultūrinį ir politinį. Priklausomai nuo dominuojančio įsitraukimo būdo ar būdų, išskyrėme keturias strategijas, nusakančias imigrantų susisaistymo su nauja visuomene ypatumus.

Pagrindiniai konformistinės strategijos ypatumai – tai tvirtas ekonominis-profesinis susisaistymas, sėkmingas šios grupės imigrantų socialinis įsitraukimas – jų kuriami socialiniai tinklai išeina už etniniu pagrindu konstruojamo bendruomeniškumo ribų. Kultūrinio įsitraukimo ypatybė – akultūracinės nuostatos, pasižyminčios noru perimti pagrindinius dominuojančios kultūros modelius, tačiau tuo pat metu praktikuojant ir lietuviškumą. Reprezentacinė strategija artima konformistinei

pagal ekonominio ir socialinio įsitraukimo raišką, tačiau kultūrinis įsitraukimas apsiriboja kasdienių elgesio taisyklių žinojimu, t. y. gebėjimu „naviguoti", neigiamai vertinant akultūraciją ir pabrėžiant užsiangažavimą kultūrinio savitumo išsaugojimui bei raiškai. Segregacinė strategija įsitraukimo būdų raiškos atžvilgiu gan ženkliai skiriasi nuo pirmų dviejų. Šiuo atveju su nauja visuomene imigrantai tvirčiau susisaistę tik per vieną ekonominės dimensijos kriterijų – nuolatinį darbą. Jų palaikomi socialiniai ryšiai dažniausiai apsiriboja „giminystės tinklais", o kultūrinis įsitraukimas – kaip ir antrosios grupės – gebėjimu „naviguoti". Ketvirtoji strategija – navigacinė, būdinga imigrantams, gyvenantiems galimybės sugrįžti laukimu. Jie yra stipriai orientuoti į kilmės šalį ir nemotyvuoti stipresniam susisaistymui su nauja visuomene. Politinis dalyvavimas – vienintelis įsitraukimo būdas, kurio atžvilgiu išskirti strategijų tipai nesiskiria. Beveik visi imigrantai neketina atsisakyti Lietuvos pilietybės (nors neretas apgailestauja, kad negali turėti dvigubos), tik nedaugelis dalyvauja rinkimuose, vykstančiuose Lietuvoje, ir tik keletas imigrantų, priskirtinų pirmojo tipo strategijai, dalyvauja rinkimuose į vietos savivaldos organus.

Beje, aprašius šias strategijas nereikėtų dėti taško – tiksliau būtų parašyti „ir kitos", pabrėžiant, jog išskirtos strategijos neapima visos galimos susisaistymo su nauja visuomene strategijų įvairovės, buvimo naujoje visuomenėje būdų.