Master of Science in Human Geography:
Migration, Globalization and Development

Obstacles of Women Return Migration
(Link between Civil Society and Women Migration in Lithuania)
Master Thesis

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Preface

The topic of return migration caught my attention and since then is always on my mind after the first trip abroad for a long period of time, when I was able to compare the living conditions of my country's people with others. I started wondering that our society is still not mature enough to be able to provide its citizens with mental security and comfort; citizens are feeling repressed and deterred to feel free, and not able to develop as individuals and for many of them implementation of their dreams remains impossible. Hence there might be more reasons to migrate from Lithuanian than only financial benefit of other richer countries. It might sound rather complicated for persons, who have never experienced the life in a post-Soviet society, where new rules of capitalism and democracy have created a facade development of the country, here people are still scared to be themselves and express their individualities.

I'm a patriot of my country, I'm proud to be born in the country with great history and extra ordinary landscape. However, it is sad to face the influence of the Soviet occupation took many lives, but also mutilated the mentality of the people and even after almost 20 years the consequences are still well seen, and people are feeling mentally stifled.

Therefore, I do consider myself a migrant, a volunteer migrant women, who has chosen to live in another country, not because it can suggest me the greater financial security, but because it does not intercept the development of myself as a personality and my independence as a women, whereas in Lithuania bigger roles play your status in the society, your financial situation, and network of influential friends, and relatives, and their patronage.

Moreover, it is impossible to live in a country, where racial and xenophobic moods and actions are spreading in the society, and people with a different than Lithuanian background are discriminated openly. It is even hard to live in a country, where people don't appreciate collective property, don't respect what they have and demonstrate their love to the country in abnormal ways, such as nationalistic movements, hater and jealousy toward not even other nationalities, but even their own 'neighbours' with a more financially successful life.

It is unimaginable to live in the country where the life of a woman is not respected and not treated as equal, and her potential in the same field as men is not considered as valuable. When lives of retired, disabled people are unvalued, and social support is as small as it is only enough for the basic needs.

Consequently, through this research I wanted to find out are there women who feel the same way about the Lithuanian society, who made their decision to migrate because of the degeneration of the society and instable social conditions in the country. It is interesting to define a 'new age' women, who wanted have left country absorbed with post-Soviet mentality, and started to look for her independent way in the country where she is treated as equal, and is respected for her abilities and experience, but not for the amount of bribe she gives.

As a result, for me the idea of civil society it is not only the number of volunteering organizations or NGOs and friendly neighbourhood. It is an ability to express personality without fear; it is a struggle for a moral freedom, for her equal treatment, opportunity to express ideas and values. It is a society where everyone is able to follow their dreams and accomplish their goals; this is a society where people are able to 'search for a good life' (Walzer, 1998). And if the country is not able to provide its citizens with a ground for their personal development, and better living conditions, people with greater level of self-esteem are forced to migrate and search for another place where their financial situation meets with spiritual 'comfortability', and where the individual is able to develop as a personality.

In the concept of ideal civil society are included not only NGOs, or community actions but all other domains of public and private life; it has in it good political conditions, when government attempts to make life better, watches the human rights situation, protection of women, children, elderly and disable people; moreover it is about the suspension of alcohol and drug addiction in the society, domestic violence and etc. As a result, the creation of good civil society, could help not only to keep our population from migrating, but also help to attract them back, as a result to solve huge amount of problems which emigration have brought.

Such claim, when through the improvement of the civil society the huge flows of migration might be stopped, might sound rather utopian, and very romantically oriented, but as Moses (2006) claims 'the history of political thoughts is filled with examples of motivational power of utopian visions. And I do believe that there are many women who would agree with me about the situation in Lithuania, when not only the economical situation is forcing to move to the developed EU countries, but it's historically formatted and defected social system.

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And of course I would like to say enormous thanks to the all women I took interview from and I want to wish them strength and courage to continue their life roads in a search of better conditions for self-esteem and self-actualization.

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1. INTRODUCTION

'It is a woman – and not the bureaucracy and intelligentsia,
who reproduce nations – biologically,
culturally and symbolically.'

(N. Yuval – Davis, 1998)

1.1 Women Migration Industry and Civil Society in Lithuania

Pooley and Whyte (1991) noticed, migration is an interesting phenomenon in itself and it is a huge aria for investigation, but it is also an important indicator of differences in the social and economic structures of various areas and regions (Pooley & Whyte, 1991). According to these authors, variations in the social composition of migratory flows, temporal and spatial differences in the scale and pattern of movement, the motives involved in migration, in the informal flows and personal contacts which aided migration, the characteristics of source areas and destinations, the official and unofficial reaction to population movements (favourable and unfavourable) all influence and at the same time reflect the nature of society in the areas which send and receive the migrants.

At the same time, by migration, persons have the hope that their personal situation will improve. This may mean, as Manning (2005) argued, escaping an unhappy situation brought by social oppression or economic deprivation, or the possibility of achieving a higher status in the society after completing a voyage, either at home or abroad. An additional reason for migrating is that migrants can hope to bring benefit to their family: the migrants may be going to retrieve needed resources, learn new skills, or bring back financial help (Manning, 2005).

Consequently, people who decided to devote their life to be away from their homeland have chosen (if they have had this chance) such conditionings for their own economical, political or social reasons. And since legislation on freedom of movement of the community, talking about documented migration within European Union, gave the EU workers the right to take up employment and receive treatment as if they are nationals of that country (Zulauf, 2001); new opportunities for migration emerged.

Moreover, *voluntary migration* is seen as the outcome of rational decision-making processes by individuals in the search of better economic opportunities (Zulauf, 2001). And this is still true; however, there are many cases when people are leaving their countries because of political and social insecurity and instability. This time, it is not in the case of countries suffering from military conflicts or dictatorship, but the case of the developed European countries. In the idea of Moses (2006) despite encouraging trends in the growth of new democratic states, significant political inequalities remain: both among countries and within them. Millions of people find themselves prisoners of political regimes over which they have little or no influence. Even citizens of liberal democratic states are increasingly aware of how their own opinions seem less and less relevant. Like economic inequality, political power in the world is distributed unequally between democratic and non-democratic states

(Moses, 2006). It is particularly obvious in the countries with the Soviet history, and their current attempt to 'stand' on the same level as Western democracies. As a result, people, who are sensitive to rapid changes in the society, or better to say 'hybrid' democratic society, decide to migrate and not connect their life with the homeland.

Piper (2008) noticed that throughout all the general debates about migration in the today's world, man played a dominant role, and woman was pushed away, and not considered as an important indicator of countries migration causes. However, world-wide more women than men migrate, and the role of women has received greater attention in women and gender research (Askers, 1998, in Piper, 2008). It is now well established that '*gender is a crucial factor in our understanding of the causes and consequences of international migrations and it has been amply shown that gender is relevant to most, if not all, aspects of migration* '(Piper, 2008:2).

As a result, in the new post-Soviet countries, more and more women became capable to search for better life in the countries, were patriarchal rules are no longer dominant and universal. They no longer feel repressed by the male breadwinner, since they have obtained the same rights and opportunities to develop themselves as personalities, however, *de facto* the country still accepts men as dominant and the only one who is able to 'rule'. Such ideas are deeply rooted in the people's mentality and are left after communist ideology. Therefore, many women decide to migrate to the old EU member states, in order to escape informal oppression from the side of men-oriented politics and social structures, where developments in feminist scholarship have moved gender as an analytical category from the periphery of scholarship into the spotlight of historical inquiry (Frader&Rose, 1996), since in some countries with more conservative thinking women are not treated as significant actor in the migration research.

This study is raising a question *whether women make the decision to migrate because of their sensivity towards political and social instability* and how they get attached to the new place. As a result, if women in migration are sensitive to the general social atmosphere of the country, when women do not have emotional stability and security, then these factors will play a rather important role in migration decision making. In other words, if a woman feels good in her every day life, and is treated respectfully from the side of government (social security) and society (social structure), it is unlikely for her to migrate to another country. According to Jolly and Reeves (2006) experience shows that migration can provide new opportunities to improve women's lives and change oppressive gender relations – even displacement as a result of conflict can lead to shifts in gendered roles and responsibilities to women's benefit. Although migration can entrench traditional roles and inequalities and expose women to new vulnerabilities as the result of precarious legal status, exclusion and isolation (Jolly & Reeves, 2006), migration can provide a vital source of income for migrant women and their families, and earn them greater autonomy, self-confidence and social status.

After EU enlargement East-West number of migrants greatly grew. On the one hand it was argued that, due the greying of population and certain niches in the labour market, migrant labour is needed. On the other hand, '*most of the old EU countries put restrictions on the flow of migrant workers from new member states*' (Van der Velde, 2008:145). But among all of these tendencies women are still now treated as a valuable labour recourse.

Talking about the Lithuanian case in particular, John Salt (2005) classified Lithuania as a country of population loss owing to both natural decrease and net emigration. Its location just in the middle of European continent, and bridging to the EU with Russia and other Eastern European Countries, what has a great impact on its democratic and political development. Over the centuries its geographical and political situation has been frequently changing. The state of Lithuania, founded in the thirteenth century, lost its independence for several times and for long periods. In the sixteenth century, it united with Poland to form a commonwealth. During the partition of this commonwealth by Russia, Prussia and Austria in the eighteen century, Lithuania was absorbed into the Russian empire. After the First World War, on 16th of February 1918, the Lithuanian Council proclaimed the restoration of the Lithuanian State. The secret protocol of the Soviet-German frontier treaty in 1939 assigned the greater part of Lithuania to the Soviet sphere of influence and, on 3rd of August 1940; Lithuanian became a Soviet Socialist Republic of the USSR. On 11th of March 1990, the Lithuanian independence was proclaimed, and since 2004, Lithuania has been a member of the European Union and NATO.

Nineteen years of independence marked not only by a strengthening statehood but also by a transition from a totalitarian to a democratic society and from a centrally planned to a market economy have brought great changes in the political, socioeconomic and cultural life of the country. They have also had a considerable impact on the country's demography. The last few years have been characterized by the continued decrease in inflation, by GDP growth, increased foreign investment and privatization (Zukauskiene, 2007). Moreover, since 2003 Lithuania has been one of the fastest growing economies in Central and East Europe (CIA World Factbook, 2003). But since the same time Lithuanian emigration flows were the most rapid among all Europeans countries. Since the collapse of the Soviet Bloc regimes, it has been possible to imagine a global system of security, prosperity and justice in which conflicts could be resolved, economic growth sustained and all the people of the world gain access to the resources (income, education, health care) for a good life. Instead, the vision is mocked by ethnic strife, economic insecurity and starvation at the start of the new century (Jordan & Duvell, 2003).

Therefore, the implementation of the Soviet project, and further shock therapy of the establishment of democratic rule had a great impact on Lithuanian society, economical stability, and general mentality of the people. First of all, it had a huge impact on the great numbers of migrants after independence. But also, the ideological vacuum which left after Soviet regime collapsed in the

Baltic States is still digging the mind of ordinary middle class Lithuanian people, while the traditions of Western democracy have not been accepted yet. In the study *Undiscovered Power: Map of the Civil Society*, 2006 Ramonaite and Ziliukaite were talking about the public discussion and a fear for Lithuania's future, which has a possibility of becoming the 'suburbs of intelligence'. They cited great Lithuanian scholars of current times, such as Donskis, Laucius and Trimakas, who described Lithuania as a country of political impertinence, rule of kleptomaniacs, political and moral bankrupt. Such political and social degradation evokes about existing crisis of civil society, when political depression and social alienation is spreading at full speed. As a result, a great number of migrants, who were considered to be temporal migrants, at the moment do not see themselves back in their homeland, they don't want to take responsibility for their country, refuse the creation of any social relations within community, and starting from the relations with neighbours, the continuing of active participations in NGOs. Here the question of whether to return back for women migrants is becoming a crucial factor, since in such society patriarchal relations are dominate and a chance to live a secure life is very little.

Therefore, *the aim of the current research is to investigate relations between women migration and civil society*, which became a very popular theme among raising democracies in the new Europe; and through this aspect to investigate what could be the reasons of the slow return migration to Lithuania, by going beyond the attraction of economical benefit in the host countries. In other words, this is an analysis of the social and political problems of the Lithuanian society, which make this country an unattractive place to live for a woman.

1.2 Scientific and Social Relevance

Castles and Miller (1998) raised a question: '*What does it mean for national identity if a country is forced to export its most valuable good – its people – for economic reasons?*' But what if not only economical, but also social instability forces people to migrate, and what is more important prevents them from returning back after temporal migration. Therefore, this research combines in itself several disciplines, such as human geography, political sciences and sociology, in order to show the connection between people mobility and civil society in the contemporary Central and Eastern Europe.

Migration flows whether of long or short distance or duration are central to the human experience (Manning, 2005). Especially, it was always a crucial process in the contemporary European labour migration. As a result, over the past few years there has emerged an impressive array of academic literature on migration in the EU context (Koser&Lutz, 1998). However, even though women migrants constitute high number of migration flows within EU, men are considered to be more important and dominant actors. The male breadwinning family, as the basis of social organisation thus conveniently translates into explanations of migration behaviour; migration is

primarily economically and male-determined with an initial phase of male pioneer migration followed by a phase of passive family reunion migration as wives and children join the economically – established male breadwinner (Ackers, 1998).

However, according to Lister (in Zulauf 2006), migration is not a gender-neutral process; in fact, it is deeply gendered, where women occupy a fairly important position. But past and present literature on migration, particularly on women incorporation in the migration process concentrates only on family reunification or women as unskilled and semi-skilled employees (Zulauf, 2006), and mostly influenced by economical oppression at home. However, women, who constitute half of migrants' flows play a far more important role, than just only passive actors, while there are no studies made about women's sensivity to political and social conditions, and its impact on migration decision making.

Means to measure migration have been of enormous ideological and political importance, but they are rarely successful in actually stopping migration when wider social, environmental and economic forces continue to fuel the movement of people (Cohen, 2006). As a result, a lot of literature focuses on the question of civil society, but there are no recent studies of how Central and East Europe (CEE) managed to overcome soviet 'heritage' in people's mind and whole society, and how it influences women and their mobility.

The development of civil society in the CEE after the collapse of the communist structure attracted attention of scholars for the next decade after the independence of post-Soviet states. However, nowadays scholars' debates lack similar attention, due to the misleading opinion that CEE countries already have reached the Western social and political level of development. However, such conclusions are too early to make, since this region is still suffering from deep-rooted crisis in the society and lack of ideological dependency. And what is most important such linkage between 'social' disorder and women migration was never emphasized in the academic debate. That is the reason why this project is concentrated on finding the nexus between the post-Soviet bloc countries, in particular Lithuania, civil society, women and migration; in other words the effect and factors women movement have on civil society in Lithuania and vice versa. Such investigations will help to create proper governmental programs for the attraction of migrants to their homeland, and will waken up leaders to formulate effective ways in order to incorporate return migrants into the home society, and on the same time, develop Lithuanian society and bring it to the same level as Western democracies. R. Cicinskas mentioned: *'Lithuania is behind EU countries for 15 years, and throughout 5 years it has used only 15% of the given opportunities. And the biggest loss for the country is emigration[1].'* As a result, the investigation of the social structure of society will help to achieve solutions for the general migration problem, and to attract people to their homeland.

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[1] News on the Russkoje Radio Baltija, on the 2009 05 04

However, this work does focus only on women, what could be rather dangerous for the feminist research, as according to Parrenas (2009), and it is equally dangerous to see gender as only the social difference between men and women. But no doubts, that when we are speaking about women, we are always referring to men. As a result, even in the current work there were no aims of comparison with men, but eventually it emerged. Thus, in the further researches concerning the same question, it would be valuable to investigate opinions of men, in order to make a comparative analysis, and to investigate the importance of the civil society on the migration decision making for both genders.

1.3 Research Questions

The main objective of the research is the determination of linkages among migration, women and civil society, and an evaluation of the influence of these linkages on decision to return to the homeland. In other words, through a reading of the theoretical discourse of migration and civil society, the idea is to prepare the ground for empirical observations, and to investigate the nexus between these phenomena from a women's perspective.

Central question of the research: what are the main social and political obstacles of return migration in the case of Lithuanian emigrants (women) in the UK?

In order to answer the main question, it was subdivided in several sub-questions.

Research sub-questions:

1.   What is the theoretical background for such concepts as migration and return migration?

    1.1   What are the linkages between migration and gender?

2.   What are the main causes and consequences of migration in the case of Lithuanian-UK women migration?

3.   What does the concept of civil society consist of?

    3.1   What is the nexus between civil society and gender?

4.   What is the relation between these three thesis phenomena according to interviewed Lithuanian women migrants in the UK?

5.   What are the main social and political reasons in the crisis of civil society for Lithuanian women of not coming back?

1.4 Research Design and Methodology

The project was inspired by Selye's (1956) citation: *'it is not to see something first, but to establish solid connections between the previously known and hitherto unknown that constitutes the essence of specific discovery'* (Corbin & Strauss, 2007). As a result, the idea was to connect

previously unconnected conceptions and to establish the dependence of it on each other, and as unknown phenomenon civil society in contemporary Central and Eastern Europe is taken.

This work is focused on Lithuanian women over 20 years old of different professions who migrated from Lithuanian and settled in the UK for the period not less than 2 years. The UK-Lithuanian case as destination-sending country was selected for various reasons. First of all, the UK is the most desirable receiving country for Lithuanian migrants. And this shows the importance of the already existing social capital at the receiving country, which gives the primary stability for the new comers. Secondly, Lithuania is the fastest population-losing country among all the new EU members. And thirdly, the contrast of social systems between these two countries are very obvious, with the UK as traditional democracy with deep long lasting traditions and social and political structures and Lithuania as a new post-Soviet country with young developing democracy.

The work applies a qualitative research, since it helps to investigate real causes of migration and obstacles to return through the prism of women. Thus, the main aim of the qualitative research was to investigate how women migrants describe Lithuania as a place to live. As Zulauf (2006) mentions there are several positive reasons for choosing a qualitative approach. She's citing Ritchie and Spencer (1994) in order to show that such an approach is valuable in providing explanations and theories of social behaviour and helps to look into real stories of women migrants, rather than describe overall patterns and outcomes.

On the empirical level the research discloses a broad range of factors and reasons why people are making a decision to migrate or as in this case not to come back. To reach such aims I conducted 17 qualitative in-depth interviews with women of different age and professions, who are recently living and working in the UK.

In order to conduct my interviews and later to analyse and interpret the interview materials I was using such books as "Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Science" by Irging Seidman, 2006. And I followed his advice no to analyse any in-depth interview before I completed all interviews, it helped to develop more questions through the underway work.

The aim of every interview was to know the experience of the participants through their stories (Seidman, 2006), also to look for the 'codes' in the answers, as a result to create a picture of Lithuanian civil society. In-depth interviewing's strength is that through it we can understand the details of people's experience from their point of view. We can see how their individual experience interacts with powerful social and organizational forces that pervade the context in which they live and work, and we can discover the interconnections among people who live and work in shared context (Seidman, 2006)

The results of the study were based on the experiences of women migrants' stories, in order to show the connections between migration motives and civil society in Lithuania. Experiences, stories

and priorities varied for migrants depending on their age, marital status, and occupation and migration duration. But such empirical research among Lithuanian women of different arias provided with a good picture of the reasons why Lithuania became such an active emigration country and what people find abroad and lacking at their homeland, besides economical benefit. It was important to compare what one thinks one sees to what one sees at the practical level because this enables the researcher to use experience without putting the experience itself into the data.

1.5 The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis consists of three main parts, not including introduction and conclusions, which examine the theories and concepts in order to explain migration, formation of civil society, and the concept of gender; and moreover, to find the linkage between it.

The thesis is structured as follows: the goal of the chapter II is to explain the importance of the concept of migration, its causes and consequences. Moreover, here the full analysis of Lithuanian migration is given. The second goal here is to explain how the migration process is linked with gender, and the women role in the contemporary migration flows.

The idea of the chapter III is to give an overview of the civil society concept; also, to introduce the new aspect and new definition of this phenomenon, and to investigate the link between civil society and gender in the context of post-Soviet countries, Lithuania in particular.

Chapter IV is the empirical analysis of Lithuanian society from the perspective of women migrants in the UK. It consists of the overview of causes of migration, living conditions both in the UK and Lithuania, and the picture of the Lithuanian citizen. In this chapter the main problems of the Lithuanian society, which make women unsatisfied, are listed. Moreover, here the aim of the whole research is developed - the complex link between there concepts of migration, civil society and gender.

The thesis ends with the conclusions, and personal remarks, and recommendations on this topic and the following researches.

1.6 Problem of Definition

The main problem of the research was to find a correct and full definition of the civil society, which would cover together with the active society all the political and social issues. In the majority of definitions actions of NGOs and other non-governmental institutions were put on the main level. However, in this work, the aim is to join the 'power of people' with social and political stability of the people. Civil society is not only people's relations to the government, their ability to resist from political rule, through the actions of NGOs and trade-unions, but civil society creates relationship between people in the community, starting from lowest lever of communication with neighbours, continuing participation in the organizations. As a result it was important to formulate a 'working' definition of the civil society. According the London School of Economics:

Civil society refers to the arena of uncoerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organisations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organisations, community groups, women's organisations, faith-based organisations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy group (LSE, 2004).

Moreover, Edwards (2004) claims, that civil society is a universal expression of the collective life of individuals at work in all the countries and stages of development but expressed in different ways according to history and context.

For this research Walzer's (1997) definition will be taken into account, where civil society is a space, which is formed for the sake of family, faith, interest and ideology – that fill this space. As a result civil society is a complex of factors, starting from an ensemble of legality-protected non governmental institutions (Keane, 1998) continuing all the individuals looking for a social and political stability and security.

Consequently, it was useful to formulate my own definition of civil society, which would integrate all the aspects, collected from the ideas of different scholars and researchers. As a result, in the chapter III, connected with civil society, the long analysis and different definitions are presented, and through it, a definition for this research was formulated, where *civil society is a safe society, maintained by people's inter-collaboration, respect and tolerance, and their ability to join together against authorities for the common interests.*

2. THEORETICAL LANDSCAPE OF MIGRATION

2.1 Migration Conception, Causes and Theories

Globalization has brought a new challenge to the world: migration, even though it is not a new phenomenon, due to new global processes it has greatly intensified, and has grown in volume and significance since 1945, and most particularly since the mid-1980s (Castles & Miller, 1998). Human capital is the ultimate resource of the twenty-first century, and all developed societies faced a large and growing excess demand for skilled labour, which is not satisfied by the local labour (Zimmermann, 2005), as a result, has attracted people from other countries to fill these free positions in the market. Recent international migration flows have been escalating. It has been noticed that the proportion of high skilled migrants has been increasing significant in the overall migratory flows. Growth of global movements has been mostly influenced by the rapid development of the high-tech sector (especially IT), which faced shortages of high-skilled workers.

Geographers have devoted much more attention to the study of migration than to other branches of population studies. The range of migration studies has broadened considerably in recent years to include not only statistical estimates and models but also an appreciation of the impact of migration on place of origin and destination and on the individual. Migration may be a key element in understanding sense of place, community and identity and for that reason migration studies have been reinforced in recent years as an exciting ingredient in population and social geography (Johnston, 2000).

Migration is considered one of the defining global issues of all the centuries, and nowadays as more and more people are on the move than at any other point in human history due to growing opportunities to travel. Moving internally *within countries*, or internationally *between countries* (from sending to receiving country), for the *short* or *long term*, for economic, political or social reasons, all these characteristics define migrants. The migrant may have varying degrees of choice over whether or not they move – the decision may be somewhere between *"forced"* and *"voluntary"*. And according to the IOM there are now about 192 million people living outside their place of birth, which is about three per cent of the world's population.

Discourse on migration involves many perspectives. There is a growing recognition that migration is an essential and inevitable component of the economic and social life of every State, and that orderly and properly managed migration can be beneficial for both individuals and societies, on the other hand, debates about the question '*if migrants are friends or foes'* (Zimmermann, 2005:6), are always on the top of political and social agenda. Examples of traditional immigration countries, such as Israel, the United States, and New Zealand show that well-managed migration could bring advantages to the economy and state. However, different historical background and importance of

cultural individuality of European countries, migration might bring an increase in unemployment, causing more social and economic disruptions (Zimmermann, 2005).

An important aspect in the migration research is the evaluation of migration causes. People migrate in order to find better conditions for living, hoping that their new life will improve in the destination country. Individuals may migrate out of a desire for a better life, or to escape poverty, political persecution, or social or family pressures. There are often a combination of factors, which may play out differently for women and men. Gender roles, relations and inequalities affect who migrates and why, how the decision is made, the impacts on migrants themselves, on sending areas and on receiving areas.

As a result, such decision to migrate is based on the investigation of what benefit two countries can suggest for the migrant. As a result it is possible to claim, that migration process is influenced by two major factors, which on the one hand attract migrants, and on the other hand pushes them away from the home country.

Push concerns the factors that force or motivate people to leave home. They are mostly economic such as poverty, open and hidden unemployment, or even lack of education, or health facilities, political climate. Pull factors mirror the pull factors and they refer to higher age levels, employment opportunities, the availability of good health and educational facilities, and democratic space. Although admitting 'intermediate factors' such as state interventions, the framework is basically within the neo-classical economic tradition, based on the decision-making individual that acts as the ideal homo economicus (Van Naerssen & Van der Velde, 2008:146).

By nature, such factors have influence on the migrant from the different levels, on the level of whole country (macro level) and from the individual perspective (micro level) (Maslauskaite & Stankuniene, 2007). There are different migration theories, which are trying to explain this phenomenon and stress common factors, which influence people migration: 'demographic, social-cultural, political (political context, election results), psychological (level of self-esteem), security (war, political conflicts), geographical (climate change and other factors)' (Sipaviciene, 2006). And it is unnecessary for the current research to name all of them. However, among these theories the *economical approach* is the most comment in the investigation of migration motives.

The *neoclassical migration approach*, which is one of the most popular, basically posits an imbalance in the spatial distribution of resources (Van Naerssen & Spaan, 2008:4), rooted in development economics. For the basis neoclassical economic model, individuals migrate if the monetary benefits exceed the cost of migration (Zulauf, 2006). From this perspective, migration is seen as a combination of 'push' and 'pull' factors, individuals being propelled to leave their home country because of underdevelopment and higher wages. The model thus presupposes that individuals make rational choices on the basis of the evidence available to them (Koser & Lutz, 1998).

This theory is essentially individualistic and ahistorical. It emphasizes the individual decision to migrate, based on rational comparison of the relative cost and benefits of remaining in the

area of origin or moving to various alternative destinations (Castles & Miller, 1998) (See figure Nr.1).

All these factors are mainly based on economical differentiation and resource distribution. The migratory process needs to be understood in its totality as a complex system of social interactions with a wide range of institutional structures and informal networks in both sending and receiving countries, and at the international level (Castles and Miller, 1998).

However, as Van der Velde (2008) claims, migrants should be certainly to be seen as real human beings with a world view, perceptions, stories and ideas that have to be included in the analysis in order to understand what is happening and to be better prepared for what might happen in the (near) future. Although economic factors represent a necessary condition for voluntary migration, therefore, political factors are usually the sufficient condition that allow it to materialize (Massey and Taylor, 2004). And for the deeper investigation of migration flows, not only economical reasons should be taken into account, but social and psychological impacts also. '*Migration, like suicides are determined both by socio-cultural reasons and not only by economical*' (CIVITAS). *Sociological and social-psychological models* take on the basic arguments of neoclassical models, but are more concentrated with the selectivity in the migratory movement, i.e. the differences in the social and psychological attributes of individuals at the place of origin and integration at the place of destination (Zulauf, 2006).

Often studying actual and potential migration, migrants are reduced to anonymous atomized entries, 'moving bodies', functioning in a 'force field' of, for instance, population growth, supply and demand on the labour market and regional economic disparities (Van Naerssen & Van der Velde, 2008). However, investigating the social and psychological reasons of migration, each migrant's story should be considered as unique and special, because consequences of such migration could be experienced only in long-term future, such as a reappraisal of traditional values, ruin of traditional family institutes and roles, and even create the illusion of welfare.

As Okolski (2005) claims, new migratory patterns may follow naturally from the establishment of democratic order, the rule of law, functioning markets, and viable institutions in civil society, and not reflect the emergence of any extraordinary 'push' and 'pull' factors. Particularly talking about women's mobility, in order to investigate changes of social roles, it is very important to go beyond the economical orthodox causes of migration, but to look into such factors as social independence and the social, civil system of the country. The opening of borders allowed people from East Post-Soviet countries legally to move to the developed and 'comfortable to live" countries in the West. As a result, modern air travel, an enlarged European Union (EU), dynamic and open labour markets, mean that inward and outward migration is more commonplace. Migration brings opportunities and challenges. It is welcomed by employers but sometimes is met with only grudging acceptance or even outright hostility from sections of the public.

Since the main principle of EU integration is the free movement of labour within community, it opened a way for the unsatisfactory workers from economically weaker countries to find the better life conditions abroad. As a result, it is important to analyze the current trends of EU migration.

2.2. EU Enlargement (East-West Migration within the Community)

In recent years, migration has become a major challenge for researchers and policy makers. Europe still lags behind the traditional immigration countries in North America and Australia. And after the opening of the borders, East-West migration flows motivated by economic, political or ethnic reasons intensified.

The free movement of persons was always one of the lasting and extremely controversial issues in the debate whether to integrate European labour markets or not (Barros, 2001). Old members of EU are extremely anxious of mass immigration flows from the Central and Eastern European countries.

From 1991 to 1996, the European Community concluded with the CEE countries a series of association agreements of a new kind known as 'Europe Agreements'. These agreements replaced existing co-operation agreements. The first countries to sign were four Visegrad countries (Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic), followed by Romania, Bulgaria, the Baltic States and Slovenia. The Europe Agreement established a bilateral association between the European Community and each CEEC, covering both intergovernmental and purely Community spheres: '*political dialogue, movement of goods and workers, establishment and the provision of services, payment and capital, competition and government subsidies, harmonization of laws and economic, financial and cultural co-operation*' (Barros, 2001:120-121). This was one of the first steps which opened a way for migration from less richer countries in the East to the rich countries in the West.

The enlargements of the European Union eastwards in May 2004 and January 2007 completed a geo-political shift in post-1989 Europe that – in terms of the migration and mobility of populations poses the biggest demographic change in Europe since the devastation and flux at the end of the Second World War (Favell, 2008). In other words, the implosion of the communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe has made the new context more volatile and dynamic. The closed borders between Eastern and Western European countries were suddenly opened and many citizens, faced with the dismantling of the production system and the welfare state in their countries of origin, started seeking better life chances and work opportunities in Western and Southern Europe (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2007).

Many East Europeans in any case were able to move and work in the West before 2004; official enlargement simply regularizes a situation well established in practice on the ground (Favell, 2008). An important factor in determining migration is the difference in living standards between

sending and receiving countries. In the new member states, there has been rising prosperity over the last 10 years, in order to match high standards of the West.

Central-East European migrants are in fact regional *'free movers'* not immigrants and, with the borders open, they are more likely to engage in temporary circular and transnational mobility, governed by the ebb and flow of economic demand, than by long-term permanent, immigration and asylum-seeking (Favell, 2008). People from other countries within the EU have the same rights as in the countries of origin, except working in the public spheres, as a result the migration flows can be considered as a natural consequence of enlargement.

The principle of freedom of movement has been seen by the European Commission to be beneficial for both the economy and the people of the Union. In the Commission's view, freedom of movement contributes to the Union's economic development and competitiveness, reduces disparities between the different regions and member states, improves the balance between labour supply and demand and encourages mutual understanding between the people living in the Union (Papahatzi, 1999, in Zulauf, 2006). However, such migration might have a huge loss for the less developed countries of EU, which experience huge emigration and in exchange it faces an increasing illegal immigration flows from out of the Union. As one of the timely examples, the Lithuanian migration experience is worth investigating.

2.2.1. Migration of Lithuanian Population. Changes of Types and Models

Migration always played an important part in the political transformation of Central and Eastern Europe (Castles & Miller, 1993). But one of the most visual example of today's increased migration flows, specifically typical for post-Soviet republics, is the Lithuanian case. Like in many CEE countries, political, social and economical changes had a crucial effect on international processes of migration. Before 1990 it was possible to observe a surprising increase of population because of migration from collapsing Soviet Union. After several years as a result of a number of different reasons, such as liberalization of migration policy, the migration level not only increased, but geographical trajectories have changed, and also migration types have modified. Next to the traditional emigration/immigration more dominant became *'temporal'* migration, *not as a full family* migration and *irregular* migration from and into Lithuania is developing, moreover, trafficking and illegal migration is increasing in numbers.

Such intensive and varied migration has a very big influence on every sphere of Lithuanian living. Even evaluating it from a quantitative perspective, the population of Lithuania greatly decreased, and indirectly it has impacts on all other demographical, social, economical and political processes. Massive labour migration determines that in some sectors of the economy a great lack of labour force is felt, and government looks for alternative decisions, as a result they opened the way for immigration from other non-European republics, what have many negative consequences. The

biggest problem of emigration from Lithuania is so called 'brain drain'. However, even though this problem is very important, there is a huge hole in scholars' investigations and there's no common policy made. It is important to go deeper into the historical context of Lithuania.

First of all, it is essential to mention, that before 1990 international migration researches in Lithuanian and whole Soviet Union in particular were taboo. All information about international migration, even about migration within Soviet Union in Republics was forbidden and was used only for secret agencies. And after this period, the era of demographical sociological researches has come, and as a new research field - international migration researches appeared (Sipaviciene, 2006).

Changes of Lithuanian Migration Types and Models. Researches show that during the last 10-19 years in Lithuania happened several crucial migration flows, models and strategy changes. In the beginning of the 90s, comparing with Soviet times was the main break: *emigration came instead of immigration,* migration flows turned from East to West, geography was expanding, and migration motives became more economical, with some business elements.

It is possible to accentuate some features of that period's migration (Sipaviciene, 2006):

• Migration played a very big role in the question of household survival, around 90% of households had migration experience.

• Migration intensified due to the shortening of the migration period, in around 80% migration cases the migration period lasted less than one month.

• Migration destinations changed greatly, from East to West. In the long term migration perspective dominant are Poland, Germany and USA, where Lithuanian Diasporas are established. In short term migration, dominant are the UK, Ireland, and Germany.

Table Nr. 1 Short characteristic of Lithuanian migration flows before 1990 and after 1990

Short characteristic of Lithuanian migration flows before 1990		After 1990
Type	Emigration/immigration	Emigration
Direction	East Countries / SSRS	West European Counties/USA
Main motive	Ethnic, Political	Economical

Until the late 1980s, international migration in Lithuania was both intensive and stable at that time; there were almost no migration relations with other foreign countries except the Soviet Union. However, after 1989, as a result of political, social and economic changes in Lithuania, the migration situation started to change, with some migration flows even reversing their direction. Over the last decade, Lithuania has a negative migration balance (Zukauskiene, 2007).

Table Nr. 2 Immigration and Migration numbers in Lithuania (2003-2005)

	2003			2004			2005		
	Im-tion	Em-tion	Net M.	Im-tion	Em-tion on	Net M.	Im-tion ration	Em-tion	Net M.
Total	4,72	11,032	-6,304	5,553	15,165	-9,612	6,789	15,571	-8,782

	8								
Males	2,594	5,173	-2,579	2,968	7,146	-4,178	3,816	7,558	-3,742
Females	**2,134**	**5,859**	**-3,725**	**2,585**	**8,019**	**-5,434**	**2,973**	**8,013**	**-5,040**

Net M.- Net Migration- The difference between the total number of persons arriving and the total number of persons departing

Source: Department of Statistics to the Government of the Republic of Lithuania (Statistics Lithuania), 2005.

During this migration period on the macro level three motivating factors could be found: political, economical and social. The influence of political factors (migration policy liberalization, change of country's political orientation) was very sharp, however it was very temporal and after some time went on the background, and on the front other actions became dominant. Social factors (eg. sense of insecurity), also played a big role in the 'push' factor's aspect. In the middle of the 90s almost 23% of respondents answered that they were not feeling safe in Lithuania (Zukauskiene, 2007). Main motives of migration during that period – economical, more than half of respondents agreed that migration can help to improve the economical situation of a household.

Even though the Lithuanian government shows concern about the current migration situation, and emigration is defined as one of the most dangerous threats for national security, there are no real means and common programs made so far. Partial actions of different institutions, organizations are not very sufficient, since they are lacking of commonness in their activities.

After the Lithuanian entrance into the EU, population mobility increased, since the opportunity to migrate legally to the more developed West EU countries greatly raised. Illegal migration was replaced by legal labour migration, where social capital played a very strong role in the decision to migrate. In 2007, as well as in 2006, about two-thirds of emigrants left for EU countries: *The United Kingdom* (33 per cent of emigrants), *Ireland* (16 per cent), *Germany* (8 per cent), *Spain* (4 per cent), *Denmark* (3 per cent) and other. People were also emigrating to the *United States of America* (11 per cent), *Russian Federation* (7 per cent), *Belarus* (5 per cent) (Statistical Yearbook of Lithuania, 2008).

Nevertheless, although economical reason as considered as the most popular rational decision of emigration, there could be some other reasons to migrate, which previously were not broadly investigated: *situation of country's civil society* and *its crisis.* Here question lies in the socio-psychological problem, how comfortable person feels in one or another community. Previously such ideas were not taken into account, specially talking about the Soviet period, because the opportunity of comparison with other countries was totally excluded.

Travelling, migration and experiencing life in another country was strictly limited or even forbidden, as a result people were forced to be content with very little. After the Soviet Union collapsed, together with democratic rule, globalization, capitalism and other modern phenomena

came. People received a change to move to another place and experience previously unseen things. Already 19 years passed after the Baltic States and other countries declared their independence, huge improvements were made during this period, however people are still coping with new governmental rule and unfamiliar liberal values. As an example could be given the public attitude towards common property, as a result any new monument in the cities will be a victim of vandalism or as another example, the underdeveloped social security system, as a result, some groups, such as pensioners or disabled people, are totally excluded from public life (special roads for invalid people). This topic will be elaborated throughout this thesis and will be the base for the research, but before that it is important to find out to what extent emigration is a negative phenomenon for Lithuania.

2.2.2 Consequences of Migration for Lithuania

Much attention is paid to the migration consequences investigation; however there are many obstacles in this analysis according to the Lithuanian Institute for the Free Market (LLRI):

1. In many cases the consequences of sparse migration are not taken into account. Migration results investigation is usually made when migration flows are reasonably big; otherwise the phenomenon is not examined. The same applies to migration political processes, on the political agenda, problems are being solved only when they are on the burning level. As a result, policy become as a momentary response, but not a long-term strategy.

2. It is hard to see the linkages between migration and its consequences. For example, decreasing unemployment could be considered as a positive sign, but in such case left work places due to migration are not taken into account.

3. Different consequences for long-term and short-term migration. Evaluation depends on the migration period.

Since the migration process could not be estimated unambiguously, its consequences could not be divided strictly to only positive or only negative. The most frequently mentioned migration consequences are: *decreasing population rates*. According to the Lithuanian Statistical Department, at the beginning of the year 2008 in Lithuania there were 3366,2 thousands people, what means 18,7 thousands less than during the year 2007 (0,6 %). During 19 years of independence from Lithuania about 400 thousands people have left abroad (Sipaviciene, 2006). According UNO prognosis, Lithuania, is one of the countries whose population till the year 2050 will decrease the most (Lithuanian Department for Statistics).

The decreasing population rate has a direct impact on the demographical composition of the country, as a result *ageing of population* could be considered as a second consequence of migration in Lithuania. According to Sipaviciene (2006) at the moment Lithuania is experiencing the most intensive population ageing in its history. At the moment there can be seen an intense decrease of young children, and an increase of people older than 60 years. Before the 20th century, in Lithuania

there were more young people, in the year 2001 the proportion of both generations was almost equal, and at the beginning of the year 2006 there were 134 thousands more older people that kids till age 14. It is worth to mention that such tendency is typical for the whole continent of Europe.

Moreover, one of the threats for Lithuanian society is *'brain drain'*. This phenomenon is not treated equally, since some call this a 'tragedy', others as an 'opportunity'. The problem of 'bran drain' is rising because intelligent and educated people are leaving the country, as a result of the low salary wages at home, what means in the future perspective they will not contribute to the country's economical, political and social development (CIVITAS). '*From Lithuania annually more than several thousands of doctors, engineers, scholars leave abroad for permanent stay'* (Kazlauskiene & Rinkevicius, a2006:61). In many researches such migration type is influenced not only by the economic factor, but mostly by social and political: *'the higher education level, the more important motivation become professional self-realization'* (Kazlauskiene & Rinkevicius, a2006:62).

Movement of intellectual potential is connected with changes in the labour market, for example, *shortage of labour* force and *decline in unemployment rates*, influenced by migration. In reports by employment offices on the 1st of March 2008 (not including current rates, as a result of economical crisis, unemployment rate sharply jumped), unemployment rate was less than 4%, while in 2002 about 12%. However, sociologists warn that this is not the idea to be happy about, since such tendencies show that the level of working places is greatly increased in Lithuania due to the growing migration flows only. On the other hand, *improving work conditions and rising salaries*, as a result of increased competition in the labour market.

Migration has an impact not only on the general country's situation, but and on *family* structures too. The problem here is not only in quantity, but also in quality. Sipaviciene (2006) in her research claims that usually migrants while looking for economical benefit lives aside from their families. In such cases, when only one of the family member moves from the country, leaving her child to be raised by relatives or other people, or sometimes, children are left alone starting from the age of 12. There are no many investigations about such problem made in Lithuania, however, one of the main researches that was made is *'Family on two borders'* by Maslauskaite and Stankuviene (2007), where for the first time was mentioned a concept of transnational family, when parents are living away from their children, who are taken care of grandparents.

Taking everything into consideration, it became obvious, that in the analysis of migration consequences there was not enough attention paid to any of these aspects, and mostly social and cultural factors were forgotten. This could be explained by the fact that that Lithuania was never a traditional emigration country, and all the policies from the government don't have a good base.

2.3. Return Migration

Migration within scholars' debate was considered as a permanent process, however, current trends and EU enlargement led to new type of migration - temporal migration. As a result, the important question of return migration is rising in academic framework, but still such return flows are considered rather new academic disciplines. *Return migration*, it is a come back to the homeland after the migration period. Or in other words, a return migrant is a person who moved back to the area where he formerly resided (Shryock & Siegel, 1973:618, in Arowolo, 2000). As Dustmann (2003) notices, the size of the migrant population in the receiving country at any time depends not only on the inflow, but also on the outflow of immigrants. This means that new parameter - duration of migration, on the same level as the migration decision, should be included in the general investigation of EU migration. Although, in many the cases main attention is given failed asylum seekers, who are made to return and re-integrate into the home society, return migration is also a very important question for the sending countries of CEE, whose emigration is considered to be an essential problem.

Yet, little is known about the determinants of migrant's duration abroad (Dustmann, 2003). Dustmann argues that the relationship is between the optimal migration duration, and the wage differential between the sending region and the receiving region. He suggests that the optimal duration of the migrant in the host country increases if the wage differential grows larger. It appears that, while a decrease in the home country wage always increases the optimal migration duration, an increase in the host country wage has an ambiguous effect. As a consequence, migration durations may decrease if the wage differential between home and host-country increases (Dustmann, 2003), since the stay in the host country becomes a benefit for the migrants.

The reasons for return vary widely but are intimately related to the objectives set for migrating in the first place. While some migrants return after achieving their objectives, others return out of frustration and return migration seems to be viewed as the outcome of a failed migration experience which did not yield the expected benefits (Casarrino, 2004). Some find it most fulfilling to return home after retirement from work; others prefer to return home and work after acquiring necessary skills abroad (Arowolo, 2000). Moreover, talking about the example of Lithuania, return migration can be confused with immigration numbers. And in some cases, return migrants are not even put into general statistical data.

Table Nr. 3 Return migrants in Lithuania

Year	Number of Immigrants	Citizens of Lithuania %
2000	1510	
2001	4694	15

2002	5110	16
2003	4728	38
2004	5553	61
2005	6789	69
2006	7745	71

Source: Sipavicienė, A., (2007), *Emigracija iš Lietuvos. Naujos tendencijos?* Vilnius: LRS

Also, return migration raises the complex problem of *re-integration*. There are many elements necessary for an effective reintegration program, and Arowolo (2000) argues that governments should focus on the institutional mechanism of program management, including the creation of a responsible agency or agencies. Establishment of an effective mechanism would be likely to inspire donor confidence; and "homecoming" would no longer be a nightmare for potential migrants trying to reintegrate. In Sipavieciene's (2007) report, she emphasized that the main problem of slow return migration is the deficit of information for prospective returnees.

In the case of migrants from CEE, such reintegration is mostly on the level of returning into the local labour market; in the case of high-skilled workers it is adaptation of their new skills in the new environment. As a result, the need to be familiar with local job and career opportunities, social security structures, programs of re-qualification, citizenship opportunities for mixed families, etc. is very important in the process of returning back. However, Arowolo (2000) mentions, if it can be assumed that a potential migrant is a fully integrated member of his place of origin, the decision to migrate and his actual departure from the home environment should not rob him of the status as a formerly integrated member of his home base.

Talking about migrants from East Europe, they do not really experience the need for reintegration as usually, since their period of migration is based on short terms, and in such cases part of the migrant's family remain in the home country, as a result, relations never break. Others, have plans to come back to the homeland only after retirement, as a result, they don't need to be reintegrated into the labour market of country. Also, there are cases, when migrants after their return, decide to migrate again, because of the governmental apathy towards such individuals, and no opportunities to find a job.

As already discussed return migration is a very new aspect of migration, and there are no particular programs made about the destiny of individuals who after reasonable amount of time abroad decide to come back to Lithuania. In the majority of cases there are no problems rising with reintegration of them, but the burning parts are *employment* and *social security* sectors.

However, another question of return migration is the *attraction* of migrants. Losing able-bodied population it is not only a huge loss for the identity of the country, but also for the economical prosperity. As a result, the investigation of the reasons and obstacles of return migration might help to solve problems concerning this part of the governmental programs. No doubt, economical benefit

remains the most important reason in the decision to return back to the homeland, however, investigation of other not economical reasons is the idea of current research. The understanding of the motives of return migrations, as well as the factors which explain variation in migration durations, is important for designing optimal migration policies (Adda, Dustmann & Mestres, 2006). As a result, return migration can be managed more effectively, productively and humanely if it is managed as part of a comprehensive approach to the overall migration phenomenon, rather than being an isolated and *ad hoc* consideration. Such an approach requires understanding the linkages between return and the different stages of the migration process (e.g. prior to departure from the home country; transit; and entry, stay and integration in the destination country) (IOM, 2008).

In today's Lithuanian migration to the UK it is important to investigate what influences people to prolong their stay abroad and even to become permanent migrants, and not to return back home. Moreover, essential to analyse which of these reasons are playing bigger role in the women's decision to stay longer in the host country. But before that it is worth to investigate gender from the theoretical side, and then to plunge into the debate between migration and gender, by finding linkages and nexuses between both.

2.4. Gender and Migration

It is important to define *gender* as a concept and to analyze feminist achievements in gender research, alongside its connection to the concept of migration. The simplest explanation of *gender is that it is a social construction organized around biological sex* (Buckingham-Hatfield, 2000). Individuals are born male or female, but they acquire over time a gender identity, that it means to be male or female (Gregson, 1997). However, gender is a crucial element of socially constructed identities that rest on binary dyad that constitutes and is constituted by men and women (Dominelli, 2006); gender is a society's interpretation of maleness and femaleness. In other words, society is determining what should be male and female characteristics and roles, and in the most of the cases, gender is a strongly politically influenced concept. In the search for the relation of gender and migration, the later-mentioned perspective of gender analysis is the best to describe such connection. But before that it is important to discuss all other gender approaches.

To begin with, since entering sociology's lexicon in the early 1970s gender has become one of its key concepts (Jackson & Scott, 2002). Gender as Jackson and Scott define it denotes a hierarchical division between women and men embedded in both social institutions and social practices. Hereby gender is a *socially structured phenomenon* but it is also produced, negotiated and sustained at the level of everyday interaction. The inhabited world is already ordered by gender, yet gender is also embodied and lived by men and women, in local, specific, biographical contexts and is experienced as central to individual identities (Jackson & Scott, 2002).

Moreover, Yuval-Davis (1997) argues that gender should be understood not only as a 'real' social difference between men and women, but as a *mode of discourse* which relates to groups of

subjects whose social roles are defined by their sexual/biological difference as opposed to their economic positions or their membership in ethnic and racial collectivities. As a result, such differences and inequalities are justifiable and understandable grounding on biological base.

However, Simone de Beauvoir's famous dictum: 'One is not born, one becomes a woman'. Or a man (Bradley, 2007). As Bradley paraphrased and explained De Beauvour: one is born with a body that is immediately ascribed a male or female identity, but one becomes a man or a woman through social interactions within a set of cultural understandings about femininity and masculinity. This can be explained that, being a woman or a man is not defined by nature, God, or anything else. One is born with major characteristics of man or woman, but should create the rest what means to be one or another.

As a result, it is impossible not to agree with Harriet Bradley (2007) that gender is as a construct is a *politically dependant*. Like Ann Oakley introduced the idea that 'gender' refers to the socio-cultural aspects of being a man or woman – that is, how society sets the rules for masculinity and feminity – while sex refers to 'the base of biological sex differences ("male" and "female") on which they were erected (Bradley, 2007; Jackson & Scott, 2002). In other words, the usage of the term has been persistently bound up with power relations between women and men. Also depending on established traditions, gender 'takes the shape' of their meanings. Man may cook or weave or dress dolls or hunt humming-birds, but if such activities are the appropriate occupation of men, then the whole society, men and women alike, votes them as important. When the same occupations are performed of human society men's sureness of their sex role is tied up with their right, or ability, to practice some activity that women are not allowed to practice. For instance, in Muslim traditions men are wearing long coats, similar to the women dresses, while in Western traditions men are associated with suits, but in any cases, men is the one who dictates such rules.

The importance of gender divisions developed from the Women's Studies courses that emerged under the influence of the 'second-wave' feminism of the 1970s and 1980s (Bradley, 2007). And this concept affects every aspect of our personal lives. In these cases, gender and other social relations are determined by cultural and religious customs of the national collectivity (Yuval-Davis, 2008). Traditional approaches to gender depending on the locality (in the majority of today's communities) presume that men and women are different and unequal. Men are given the dominant role, usually associated with being providers, breadwinners and revolving around men's capacity to earn a living wage for their families and to secure its material needs. A woman is gendered around having domestic responsibilities linked into her roles as wife, mother and carer of the household, undertaking domestic duties. However, as already mentioned the strength of gendered roles depends on the characteristics of the regions, their historical traditions and political rule, for instance, in the Muslim countries they have different attitudes towards women, where gendered relationships assume

women's passivity and victimhood within the low status private sphere in which the dominant ideology confines them, comparing with Western traditions.

In the world there are only a few communities, which are based on matriarchal relationships, where women have rule over men; however in a majority of cases, women stand on the lower positions; their bodies are gendered around their capacities to satisfy men's sexual appetites, to give birth, to raise children and to care for others. Walby (1990) called this *private patriarchy*, which operates to achieve and maintain the gender inequalities essential for the subordination of women. Women's freedom and contributions are very much limited and underestimated, and such context is possible not only for traditional religious world, but in developed countries as well.

'S*exism is a system of oppression based on the presumption of antagonistic relationships between men and women. In these, men exercise power over women and are privileged or deemed superior while women are cast as inferior. The system of organizing social relations so that men can control and exploit women on personal, institutional and cultural levels called patriarchy' (Dominelli, 2004:4).*

Patriarchy literally means the rule of fathers, and in its original usage, derived from Weber, it referred to a traditional form of authority vested in men as heads of families. Some feminists argued for a wider definition of patriarchy as any form of systematic male domination; others worried that this produced an ahistorical conceptualization. Some argued that the term should be reserved for the rule of the father within those societies ordered through kinship, but was not applicable to modern Western societies (Jackson & Scott, 2002). But what if in the country is spread informal patriarchy, which is not established officially, but was formatted through centuries of the particular history and traditions. As a result, again coming back to the example of post-Soviet countries, we can see that it is possible to get rid of the established social structure, when the father is the head of the family, while the woman is only a passive keeper of household, and the only goal of her life is to get married. Such ideology is deeply rooted in the mentality of the people, and even after 19 years of independence it is still hard for a woman to claim about her rights on the same level as a man, especially when traditions are dictating different[2].

The 'second-wave' feminism inspired many young sociologists to look for more critical approaches to the study of men's and women's social lives (Jackson & Scott, 2002). Most important, as already was said, the concept of gender enabled us to think of masculinity and femininity as historically and culturally variable rather than fixed by nature (Jackson & Scott, 2002), and as a result it has an essential connection with every country's political situation. It has made gender the basis of a dialectical process of organization (Brandwein, 1987 in Jackson & Scott, 2002), and challenged the division of society into the private domestic sphere outside public scrutiny that encompasses women's place in the community and male-dominated spheres in social, political and economic life

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[2] Interesting fact about Lithuania is that the Lithuanian language is the only language in the world, which has difference between last names of married and not married women, what shows the differentiation in statuses of married and single women, and the importance of marriage in the Lithuanian tradition.

(Dominelli, 2006). However, such process was possible only in the Western societies, while in the new democracies, such as Lithuania, patriarchal relationships were still major and ruling. This could be seen, firstly in the number of women in the parliament, and the continuing small number of women in the labour market (see Appendix Nr. 1, Table Nr. 4).

But even though, *'equality has been a central normative concept for the modern women's movement'* (Meehan & Sevenhijsen, 1991:1), as a result, the last decades evidence a marked progress both in the field of legislation and in juridical decisions concerning the equality of men and women in employment, social security, and the political arena. However, this all could be considered only as a theoretical background which still needs to be implemented in the practical life, specially talking about Central-East Europe.

Moreover, in the new post-Soviet countries, which just have stepped on the road of democracy, women, are still excluded from the researches. Important to mention a crucial fact, women did not just 'enter' the national arena: they were always there, and were central to its constructions and reproductions. However, it is true *'that including women explicitly in the analytical discourse around nations is only a very recent and partial endeavor'* (Yuval-Davis, 1997:3). Yuval-Davis reminds us that feminine and masculine attributes and roles were largely cultural rather than natural. In her later work she suggests that, despite the diversity in the human organization of sex-differentiated activities, masculine is always and universally deemed to be superior. Same is happening in the post-Soviet countries, where men were and still are considered higher, than women, whose main and the only one responsibility is taking care of the household. As a result the most common occupation for women is being a housewife and such praxis is still very frequent for the modern days of the post-Soviet republics.

In the question of gender relationships and migration, and all other processes, it is worth to mention, that women as research objects were excluded for a long period of time. However, women play crucial roles in biological and political reproductions of national and other collectivities, and are active participants in the world's political processes and contemporary European communities and also migration flows. An analysis of the history of migration policies of the EU countries shows that they rely on unequal gender constructions, such as the male breadwinner model of immigration (Apitzsch, 2006). Women migrants have often been *"invisible"* – assumed to be economic dependants of spouses – despite the fact that consistently over the past 40 years, nearly as many women as men have migrated. Men were deemed natural 'leaders' who manage projects and who are busy with the important 'hard' issues (Dominelli, 2006). However, women migrants are becoming more visible as they take up income-generating opportunities.

Such feminization of migration is connected to at least four phenomena: *'(1) improved statistical visibility, partly related to a changed perception of women-dominated migration as "work migration' in its own right; (2) the increasing participation of women in most, if not all, migration*

streams; (3) the increasing inability of men to find full-time employment in the origin countries; and (4) the growing demand for feminized jobs in destination countries' (Piper, 2008:2-3). And for the same reasons, women from East Central region migrate to the old member countries, since there they have an opportunity to find a job with higher salary. This is very often for women, whose husbands faced hard financial conditions, while their wives were working at home, and as a result they were not able to find a job as high-skilled worker, and even if they do, salaries are too low to support the family. Thus, women made their decision to migrate to a country, where they would be able to work as 'black' workers but with bigger salaries, but on the same time to have sources for living and opportunity of sending remittances back home.

However, migration may challenge traditional gender roles – absence of one spouse may leave the other spouse with both greater decision-making power and a greater burden of responsibility and labour. What is more, family structure gets a totally new composition, where children are left with grandparents, relatives or even alone. But women may gain economic independence, confidence and greater freedom through migration.

It is important to remember, that women have been a considerable component of international migration during the past five decades. As of 2000, about 49 percent of the world's migrants were women, up from 46.6 percent in 1960 (Martin, 2004). Significantly, the proportion of migrants who are women has grown to 51 percent in more developed regions. The highest proportion of women is in Europe and the lowest proportions are in Northern Africa. Coming back to the example of Lithuania (Table Nr. 2), we can see that migrating women are higher in percentages than men; as a result their role in the general migration flow can not be underestimated.

There are many different factors influencing whether women will migrate internationally. These may be found at the individual, familial and societal levels. Individual factors include age, birth order, race/ethnicity, urban/rural origins, marital status (single, married, divorced, widowed), reproductive status (children or no children), role in the family (wife, daughter, mother), position in the family (authoritative or subordinate), educational status, occupational skills/training, labour force experience, and class position. Family factors include size, age/sex composition, life-cycle stage, structure (nuclear, extended, etc.), status (single parent, both parents, etc.), and class standing. Societal factors include those community norms and cultural values that determine whether or not women can migrate and, if they can, how (i.e., labour or family reunification) and with whom (alone or with family) (Martin, 2004).

While the influencing motivation of migration in a majority of cases is the prospect of earnings and a 'better life' for some women; it is also important to understand migration as an escape route for women who find themselves locked into what they consider to be oppressive patriarchal social structures with rigid notions of what constitutes 'proper' behaviour for women (Koser & Lutz,

1998). As a result, economical reasons are dominant, but definitely not the only which attract women. Thus, problems of civil society can be considered as another women's migration motive.

3. CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE CEE COUNTRIES

In this chapter the idea of civil society, it's importance in the existence of every democratic country, and the connection of it with the gender aspect in the Central and Eastern Europe is elaborated, since, as Howell (2004) noticed, there has been so little interrogation of the relationship between gender and civil society, within either feminist or civil society theories. Moreover, the connection of civil society with problems of migration is heavily under-theorised. But before starting the search of the nexus between these concepts, it is important to investigate definitions, historical backgrounds, and then continue with the linkage between it.

3.1 Concept of Civil Society

People construct themselves as members of national collectivities not just because they, as their forefathers (and mothers) have shared a past, but also because they believe in their futures. It can explain the subjective sense of commitment of people into collectivities and nations, such as in settler societies or in post-colonial states, in which there is no shared myth of common individual and communal assimilations in other nations. At the same time it can also explain the dynamic nature of any national collectivity and the perpetual processes (Yuval-Davis, 1997). In other words, *people are social beings*, and their feature to be part of the one entity, society in such case, is integral.

The construction of the society should have its major characteristics, such as country, nation and government which have a tight interconnection. As a result, as in every relationships a tension between these components appears. Thus, civil society plays a connective role between private interests and government's public spheres. In today's global debate the idea of civil society became extremely popular and widely used, government officers, scholars, and not to mention ordinary people, all are struggling for a better world. And as Dominelli (2006) showed, communities have been taught to be formed according to geographical affinities, identity traits or interests. They are constituted to provide a sense of unity or belonging.

The concept of civil society is very broad and often linked into debates, but the importance of it is indisputable. In the 4th edition of the dictionary of Human geography, edited by R.J. Johnston and others, *civil society is described as those segments of capitalist society which lie outside both the sphere of production and the state.* It involves divisions on a number of criteria, such as gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and age, between which there may be a conflict.

The reproduction of society, individually and inter-generationally, biologically and culturally, is organized within civil society. The existence of capitalism does not ensure a civil society, however: many capitalist societies have authoritarian states and other social forces which cage and control the individual, limiting room for moral autonomy over many aspects of life, such as the choice of clothing and marriage partner, whereas in civil societies 'individuals have the chance of at least trying to create their own selves' (Hall, 1998).

There are different theories saying that civil society is either a specific product of the nation state and capitalism or a universal expression of the collective life of individuals at work in all countries and stages of development but expressed in different ways according to history and context (Edwards, 2004). However it is impossible not to mention, that civil society is a product of democratic rule. As John Keane (1998) emphasized, democracy is a special type of political system in which civil society and state institutions tend to function as two necessary moments, separate but continuous, distinct but interdependent.

However, despite the importance of the civil society in the today's political and scientific debates, it is impossible to find one common definition of the civil society. Throughout hundreds of years of democratic rule existence, about civil society appeared, but a majority of them emphasize the capacity of people to control the State's power.

For comparison, for Edwards (2004) the nature of the good civil society are the rights and responsibilities of citizens, the practice of politics and government, and, most especially, how to live together peacefully by reconciling our individual autonomy with our collective aspirations, balancing freedom and its boundaries, and marrying pluralism with conformity so that complex societies can function with both efficiency and justice. Throughout history, the ability to 'control' major power had only elite or influential members of the society. Or as in the case of a totalitarian state, the power of citizens to stand against authority was even invidious.

In today's modern world it is no longer possible to regard civil society as the preserve of a subset of privileged individuals – citizens of the Greek polis, while male property-owners in eighteenth century Europe, or the West, the North or the South. The odes of civil society have spread across the world to become a powerful leitmotif in politics and practice, yet it remains dominated by the narrow and disputed interpretations of what civil society is and does, and this narrowness threatens to erode its potential as a force for positive social change (Edwards, 2004).

As John Keane (1998) pointed out, civil society is an ideal – typical category<…>that both describes and envisages a complex and dynamic ensemble of legally-protected non-governmental institutions that tend to be non-violent, self-organizing, self-reflexive and permanently in tension with each other and with the state institutions that frame, construct and enable their activities. As a result, here again the conflict between people and State is underlined.

However, Michael Walzer's (1997) definition is more close to the idea of this research, where civil society is a space, which is formed for the sake of family, faith, interest and ideology - that fill this space. Here the debate about the division of the private and public spheres is rising. Edwards emphasizes that civil society is part of the state or vice versa – they are clearly different sets of institutions – but if they are disconnected then the positive effects of each other can be negotiated.

In Seligman's (1992) vision private concerns become public interests because that is the only possible safeguard of their existence in a society where the distinction between two has been

lost. Private and personal matters become public concerns precisely because it is the private individual who represents the universal category of the ethnical (Seligman, 1992). As a result, civil society becomes not only the 'matter of fight' with the government, but its composition (the people!) becomes a value.

In the Edwards (2004) idea while governments, firms and families are not part of associational life, which is based on non-political volunteering civic associations, they must be part of building a society that is civil because they influence both social norms and political settlements that translate them into public policy. Family life, friendships, relationships with neighbours take up far more of most people's time than associational life, for instance, participation in the public organizations, NGOs and charity campaigns, so it can be expected to influence their commitments especially strongly (Edwards, 2004). And according to Michael Edwards, not a bad foundation for good society is the formation and nurturing of loving and supportive family relationship – in which both employers and government obviously play a role – is crucial to building a society that is civil.

Consequently, civil society is not only the scope where people can express their public spirit through participating in NGOs or trade unions, and as a result express their resistance to the government, or just to show their interest in the political situation, but it includes connection between and among people, how they treat each other, their informal connections, for instance, general level of trust (both in public institutions and other people), tolerance, mental security and solidarity within the society. And since *the aim of the research to reveal those psychological and social reasons, which hold people from not coming back home from emigration, under ideas of 'psychological and social' hides the aspect of civil society which has the thought of relationship between people.*

As a result, the concept of civil society has two levels, when the *upper formal level* is based on the idea of collective action of citizens against authority, and *the informal level*, which is a ground for the first one, is constituted of the atmosphere among citizens themselves. Therefore, *civil society is a safe society, maintained by people's inter-collaboration, respect and tolerance, and their ability to join together against authorities for the common interests.* This definition reveals all sides of the civil society, and shows not only the rights of citizens to participate in the political decision making through the work of organizations and charity organizations, but takes into the consideration people's quality of lives and their communication.

No doubts, by such definition there is no aim to underestimate the importance and weight of the associational life, but to emphasize that for the main aspect of civil society- associational life, there is a huge need for a well-built base, which could be created by strengthening people's relationship within society. Clearly, the importance of mutual feelings of trust, solidarity and respect towards ethnic minorities, vulnerable groups and even ordinary citizens, these all can not be considered as associational life directly, but it definitely is an essential element for the system's functioning. Since the civil society is constructed by the voluntary participation, such voluntary

actions can be based only on the society, where respect towards people exists, otherwise people become indifferent and careless towards their country. In other words, the formal level of civil society is able to function only if the informal one is working in the right direction of democracy and development.

As Edwards (2004) claimed civil society has become the 'chicken soup of the social sciences'. Today, same as in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the idea of civil society was the result of the crisis in social order and the breakdown of existing paradigms of the idea of order. And this search, as Seligman (1992) noticed, was characterized by both a reworking of existing intellectual traditions and search for a new ground. The idea of civil society touches on and embraces the major themes of the Western political tradition. After the Soviet Union collapsed, Eastern and Central European countries were trying to copy rules and laws of the West, what was suppose to help with the creation of successful democratic societies. But countries looked 'western' only from the outside, while society was struggling through the deep moral crisis and ideological vacuum.

3.1.1 Crisis of Civil Society in the CEE countries

Continuing with the differences of civil societies in both Western and Eastern communities, it is worth to mention that the historical background and political situations had a great impact on these regions in the process of the development of civil societies. During the first years of independence, especially to a large extent in the wake of the transformations within East-Central Europe politics and society the idea of civil society gained interest among wider sectors of the academics, professional, and reading public. But after some period of time, especially after entrance into the EU, governments of these countries forgot about the importance of this concept, relaying on the idea that democracy has already rooted deep enough into the mind of nations. As already mentioned in the previous section, countries were tying to copy systems of the West countries, and to create a modern developed State. However, it is the same as with the structure of the body, while muscles and skin were created, the whole conception lacked bones. As a result, Western countries were based on the long-lasting traditions of democratic civil society, CEE countries had totally opposite history of oppression from the side of authorities.

According to Seligman (1992) the period of transformation into independent countries in Eastern Europe, shows a unique historical re-enactment of the development of an autonomous, self-regulating domain independent of the State. But Eastern and Central Europe presents an interesting example of the problems incumbent on any contemporary usage of the term civil society. The current East European 'nostalgia' for a civil society beyond the pettiness in politics is in fact a wish to duplicate the Western form of political action, which is presented as a model of protest and participation for civil society everywhere (Seligman, 1992). However, such attempt was very short and finished the same moment with all the passions about independence subsided. The active

movements and participations were seen everywhere from the side of ordinary people during first years of the 90s, but after it, common activities were not so popular, since people faced the threat of weak economies, and started to be worried more about the living conditions, but not the creation of civil spirit.

Therefore, after a period of time people started to lose sense of belonging to the country, and their participation in the activity of NGOs became very low. People, as already said, were more concerned about financial benefit, and with the introduction of capitalism relationship into this region, were trying to learn new market rules. After a long period under socialism, many people faced problems with living under new rules, while others were very fast and managed to gain profit, others remained poor and unhappy. As a result, social separation was growing among people, and the class differentiation was getting only stronger.

At the moment it is possible to see deep moral crisis, primary in the rising ethnic and national inequalities of Central-East European societies. Since autonomic establishment of civil society here was only based on the free market and democratically elected governments, as in the West, without a strong historical background of democratic values, it could not work properly. In Seligman's (1992) idea, Central-East Europe's civil society, during the forty years of state socialism was denied, or even simply a model of civil and political citizenship never existed. And, moreover, the liberal-individualist tradition based on the principles of universal citizenship was extremely weak and never fully instituted. As a result, people don't have a feeling of common belonging, while insecurity, mistrust, and anxiety between people are growing. Here the problems of constructing trust in society, as Seligman (1992) was arguing, is the problems of civil society – in the West as in the Central-East Europe, since it is essential for democracy and social process (Edwards, 2004).

In the context of Central-East Europe the problem of trust takes on a special dimension. Trusted institutions of national life are the church and family. For example in Lithuania, people are more willing to trust family members than other people. Such statement is of course logical, however, the general trust in other people in the year 2006 was only 10% (CIVITAS). While, for example, level of trust in the West countries was considerably higher: in Italy - 35%, Germany – 38%, Norway – 65%. According to the Civil Society Institute, the high mistrust in the society shows that the biggest part of nationals do not feel safe in their own countries, do not believe in people's kindness and honesty. And moreover, lack of trust in the society is a sign of weak social capital, without it is impossible to guaranty effective democracy and social order.

Continuing with the differences of civil societies in the both parts of the world, Seligman was using a metaphorical example of Jerusalem, Budapest and Los Angeles as representatives of three different problems of the societies; it is worth to investigate these examples and Seligman's opinion in his book *The Idea of Civil Society (1992)*. According to him, the differentiation of civic selfhood communal or collective attributes was a process that, in Western Europe, took place over

hundreds of years. The trajectory and timing of state-building in Western Europe; the different phases of elite integration, mass participation, and active membership; and the establishment of redistribute agencies (the modern welfare state) all allowed the development of autonomous social bodies, independent of state power.

The Eastern Europe situation was completely different. These countries did not experience the freedom of democratic rule, which could give the ideological base for the strengthening of the local identity. This was characterizes by the rule of Russian Empire and the Orthodox Church, and in the Lithuanian case the Roman Catholic Church. Together these institutions led to the lag in the development of people's view of responsibility for their country and nation.

It is well known, the social and political history of Central-East Europe has been often used to explain their peculiar paths to modernity, the saliency of the State apparatus, and the lack of distinction between State and society, or civil society, as Seligman (1992) called it, in these countries. The consequences of fifty years of soviet occupation, repressions and anxiety, as Seligman cited Gyorgy Csepeli, raised many problems of nationalism and ethnicity in Central-East Europe: '*the concept of the nation came before the establishment of the proper national institutions and the emerging national ideology therefore had to refer more actively to elements of the ethnocentric heritage such as decent, cultural values and norms'* (Seligman, 1992). As a result, the process of establishment of civil society was completely opposite than in the West countries, and the situation in Central-East Europe is very different, and the existence of civil society in some synthesis of the public and the private, the social and the individual as in the West is not possible.

Rosalind Marsh (1998) suggests that in the conditions of unstable political situation in post-Soviet countries since 1985, which have been profoundly divided by national strife, ethnic violence, political conflict, rapid economic and social change, cultural dislocation, moral trauma and psychological instability, women are much more vulnerable than men, since they are considered to be economically unbeneficial, and as a result are not having full rights as citizens.

3.2 Civil Society and Gender

Although people's experience of the 'community' formed by the nation-state as either a geographical or citizenship-based entity, created for the sake of common interest and having characteristics and define themselves as members of such entity (Dominelli, 2006), but in many cases women have complained about not being treated as equals within it, even if they are nationals. But is crucial to remember that women have always participated in the community activities, but their significance has been relegated in favour of men's actions (Dominelli, 2006), and their actions in making communities better were not considered as a valuable contribution.

However, for Dominelli, the class, race, gender and other biases of society remain hidden within traditional community work alongside the unequal distribution of power, resources and structural inequalities that give rise to poverty and other forms of oppression. Although, feminists

have demanded that power relationships between men and women move in more equal directions, despite their attempts to challenge men's power in the socio-economic and political spheres and some gains made by women, men continue to stand on the top of the economy and government and earn more. Feminist researchers have shown that women are usually left in supporting roles while men take the leading ones. But as Dominelli (2006) argued women themselves ignore their involvement in public participation by claiming that they are '*just housewives doing housework*', and discounting caring for others as contributions to the civil society.

Even though, thing have changed during last decades, partly, this has been a result of the growing sensitivity of feminist theories as well as activists to differential positionings among women, as well as the growing recognition by mainstream international agencies of the 'impact of gender'(Yuval-Davis,1997). But there are still many inequalities between women and men, particularly concerned with roles, relations, power dynamics and other social, economic, political and cultural forces.

In the majority of cases, women's status is not only empathized as different but mostly is unappreciated and even humiliated. As a simple example can be given the way women are represented in every day world, as Delamont (1980) noticed in the social context '*women are often described as 'gossiping' but men as 'discussing' in the accounts'*. Link with sexist stereotype, like women can not drive properly, make logical decisions; women loose their heads in panic, cry all the time, and while men seen as tough and always rational human beings. Women exclusion was '*part and parcel of the construction of the entitlement of men to democratic participation which conferred citizen status not upon individuals as such, but upon men in their capacity as members and representatives of a family (i.e. a group of non-citizens)'* (Vogel 1989:2 in Yuval-Davis, 1997).

The first and perhaps the most obvious reason for the feminist theorists and practitioners is that *women have been significant actors* in the spheres of civil societies across the world. Moreover, women's economic and political roles are frequently neglected:

But women are not only the biological reproducers of an ethnic group, but also the 'cultural carriers' who have the key role in passing on the language and cultural symbols to the young (Vasta, 1990). In nationalist discourses women serve as the symbolic embodiment of national unity and distinctiveness. They nurture and support the (male) warrior-citizens. In defeat and suffering, the nation is portrayed as a woman in danger. Such symbolism legitimates the political inferiority of women: they embody the nation, while the men represent it politically and militarily (Lut, Phoenix and Yuval- Davis, 1995 in Castes and Miller, 1998).

Often excluded from state institutions and male-dominated politics, women in different historical and cultural contexts have found it easier to become active at the local level, for example, community organizations, self-help groups, and etc. (Howell, 2004). Howell agreed that feminist researchers focused on women's movements apart from the broader context of civil society, while civil society theorists referred to women's activism to illustrate the dynamism and vibrancy of actual civil societies. As civil society is a broader concept than social movements and participation in the

civil organizations, it allows for the possibility of exploring these larger questions about how space for collective action is used, how they become politicized, and how they are gendered (Howell, 2004).

The main axis of engagement around gender and civil society has centred on whether the family or household is part of civil society, although this is not an issue that has aroused great passion. While some theorists conceptualize the family or household as outside of and separate from civil society and the state, others include the family within civil society (Howell, 2004). But as already has been argued in the precious section, the civil society can not be accepted and investigated only from the idea of people's public spirit, but it consist of deeper psychological and social approaches, as a result, women's impact, even as a housewife must be considered as valuable contribution to the construction of civil society and crucial roles in biological, cultural and political reproductions of national and other collectivities (Yuval-Davis, 1997).

Feminist community actions, initiated by feminists active in the women's liberation movement to address quality of life issues that affected women, fostered equality, democracy, connectedness and inclusivity. They confronted masscults community work on theoretical and practical grounds, and what is more important they had criticized sexism, as inappropriate structure for the modern society.

And by focusing on gender as crucial feature of collective action that takes place in the community, they harnessed its energies to promote social change and gender equality (Dominelli, 2006). Dominelli mentioned, that feminist achieved this by challenging fundamentally the nature of capitalist patriarchal social relations between men and women, women and the state and adults and children, and rooting their change efforts in the everyday routines of life and active citizenship.

Such processes are important in configuring social relations that define roles, status and positions within particular communities. Gendered relations of oppression are reproduced through social interactions in which men and women accept differences between them as signifying a hierarchy of value that privileges men (Dominelli, 2006). Dominelli stated that women's social capital is rooted more firmly in the private sphere while men's is located in the formal public arena, particularly in the organizations of representational politics within local authorities and the central state.

As a result, key challenges to traditional community work have been feminists' insistence on recognizing women's strength, responding to their needs and ensuring that these occupy a central and equal place in community action. To achieve these objectives, feminist have sought to understand how power relations shape community dynamics to privilege men's position, skills and attributes, identity women's talents, celebrate their contributions to community life and assert women's rightful place in it (Dominelli, 2006).

As already mentioned, the crisis of the 1990s affected everyday life in more immediate ways as the *pluralism democratization* of the late 1980s, and therefore had more impact on women, who were closely involved in the daily struggle for existence than men (Marsh, 1998). As Marsh (1998) argued, women's sense of catastrophe in the post-communist period linked to a multitude of factors: the decrease in the quality of life, the threat of unemployment, rising criminality in the cities, the lack of opportunity to solve housing problems, the substitution for paid medical care and education for formerly free services, and fear for the future of their families (Marsh, 1998). Women, who in socialism were supposed to have achieved their social and personal emancipation and equality with men and who were one of the preferred 'social subjects' within the ideology of socialist societies, became in post-socialism once again the target of a special ideological interpretation, even though this interpretation is now of a radically different nature (Rener & Ule, 1998).

It is worth mentioning, that gender has never been recognized by Soviet politicians as a particularly important cause of conflict in their society, which was rooted in long-lasting patriarchal Soviet attitudes towards women (Marsh, 1998). The media emphasized the importance of the family, and motherhood was seen as women's true vocation, although the reality of Soviet society was that there were very high levels of divorce, and that many Soviet women chose to resort to abortion as their method of contraception after having their first and only child (Marsh, 1998).

Marsh stated, that the growing desire to control and regulate women's bodies in contemporary Russia (and post-Soviet countries) was providing (and still does) disturbing evidence of increasing male hostility to women's sexuality and the desire for women's submission, as well as functioning as a means of implementing the socio-economic transformation.

Women were encouraged to devote more time to their home and family. It should, however be noted that such values were also espoused by many Soviet women themselves. In post-Socialist societies they became the targets of re-delegation into 'mothers who should ensure the biological survival and the moral progress of the nation', 'the guardians of the home', and the 'guardians of privacy' (Rener & Ule, 1998).

The national revival has been linked with the rise in the influence of national religions – the Russian Orthodox Church, the *Catholic Church in Lithuania*, which provide further support for conservative attitudes towards women (Marsh, 1998). The public role of the Church in Central-East Europe is very different from that of the Church in the West. It represents not simply one interest group among many, but an alternative moral universe of values or norms, an image of the public good with claims to overall legitimacy that the Church in West has more or less renounced. Religion in Central-East Europe is not a private matter, as the mandatory religious instruction in public schools or the cancelling of funds and equipment for hospitals performing abortions in Poland (or Lithuania) today attest (Seligman, 1992). Coming back to the idea of trust, according the statistics,

73% (Baltijos Tyrimai) of respondents consider the Church the most trustable institution, and as a result it becomes very influential in the process of constructing women ideology.

In Lithuania, Catholic publications have promoted virginity and purinity among young women, and warned them not to place too much emphasis on a career, or they will be in danger of not getting married (Marsh, 1998). Religion has attacked women's reproductive rights, especially on abortion. Gender issues are defined as a political luxury which the new democracies can ill afford (Marsh, 1998).

In sum, the employment of women led to a new dependency and burdened women instead of offering economic emancipation. The political activation of women resulted in their formalistic and ritualistic participation in the lower strata of the power structure , whereas toward the top of the political pyramid of power their participation was drastically minimized (Rener & Ule, 1998). Even after establishment of democratic rule, women were still considered on the lower position in their economic activities. As a result, many women who can not find a well paid job, or are not respected by society and even husbands are forced to move to another country, where their living conditions might improve, and the general feeling of security is much higher. As a result, establishment of the connection between women migration and civil society is a very important issue, since many women have made their decision to migrate not only because of the economical reasons, but due to are irrespective attitude from the society, thus next chapter is concentrated on finding the civil society problems, which women consider as the defects of Lithuanian society.

4. PICTURE OF LITHUANIAN SOCIETY THROUGH THE EYES OF MIGRANT WOMEN

Single-side love is not enough.
When you love Lithuania, but if it does not love you.
(Gyte, 35 years, 5 years in the UK)

4.1. Migration Patterns

Before going into a detailed investigation of European migration flows, it is important to define a standard picture of the migrant normally represented in the migration literature, and to assume of his/her migration reasons and circumstances, and as a result to compare it with the result received from the research. Labour migration is usually performed by young able-bodied single people, who are often low-skilled men. However this does not mean exclusively men are to migrate more often: gender patterns of migration relate to a range of political, economic and social conditions. And it is essential to mention that women make up 50 per cent of EU migrants (Zulauf, 2006). In Lithuanian case (see Table Nr. 2) women were 51% among the all migrants in the year 2005, where the majority of migrants were single. Moreover, women who decided to migrate as a first member in the family remain rather high percentage as well.

Migration declines with age, since the benefits of a better post versus the costs of the move have to be discounted over fewer years (Adnett, 1996, in Zulauf, 2006). The migrant population tends on average to be significantly younger than the national population, and a disproportionate number are in their twenties or thirties. On the other hand, among respondents in the current research, there were several women who decided to move when they were already in their forties.

Talking about the migration process from CEE, in particular from Lithuania, the most common motives are economical and search for a political refuge. In the study funded by the Leeds City Council it was emphasized that the key motivation for migration to the UK for participants is the desire to enter the UK for paid work. The favourable disparity in wage earning potential between migrants' countries of origin and the UK was an important linked factor. However, migration is determined not only by economical factors, and different migrants also have different motives. For some it's an accumulation strategy, for the poorest it tends to be a survival strategy. However, in Lithuanian CIVITAS research one main factor was reminded, that in percentages the highest rates among migrants are from Poland (50%) and Lithuania (15%), although in the zone from Slovakia and Estonia dominate more-or-less the same economical conditions, but emigration rates are different.

Sipaviciene (2006) noted, that 'surveys of public opinion show that more that 97% of migrants leave Lithuania because of *better salaries*. In her opinion, there are also other reasons, which determine the decision making: better *opportunities for professional and self-implementation possibilities*, this factor influences mostly high-skilled migration and became more popular after EU entry' (Kazlauskiene & Rinkevicius, b2006:73*).* Moreover, when the situation in the labour market is

instable, and the *social insurance system is defected*, migration is becoming a way to decrease social risk (ex. in the family) (Kazlauskiene & Rinkevicius, b2006:74*)*. Furthermore, when c*orruption, kinship relationship, and black economy are* becoming more important than skills and knowledge of the person, migration is understood as an opportunity to secure your work position and social relations. Another reason, which encourages migration flows is *Euro integration and Schengen space* (Sipaviciene, 2006), when ability to move became easy accessible. Also, as an attraction of another country, different narratives and myths are creating ideas, that migration will solve all the problems. The decision to migrate, in such case, is mostly based on emotions but not on rational analysis (Sipaviciene, 2006).

Therefore, the investigation of women opinions was made through qualitative semi-structured interviews, in order to find out the main reasons of their migration and postponement of their return. It is worth repeating, that economical motives in majority of cases remain central, and it is impossible not to count it in, but in this research, reasons, such as crisis of civil society, and as a result, crisis of the social and psychological stability of people's lives are considered as crucial factors for not coming back to the homeland.

In order to disclose a range of socio-psychological factors and reasons why women are deciding not to come back, 17 in-depth interviews were conducted with women of different age and professions, who are recently living in the UK or after a short stay at home, are planning to go back to the UK. Half of the number was obtained through the personal list of contacts; remaining numbers were obtained via snowball method. Respondents were asked if they know anyone else living in the UK from Lithuania. Members were interviewed in the cities such as Leeds, Sheffield, Chester and London in the UK. Interviews with migrants were semi-structured using a questionnaire with open questions in Lithuanian and Russian languages. Even though some of the respondents were able to speak English fluently, answering in their own language helped to express more deep and emotional answers. Women were willing to share their emigration stories and to tell their experiences, and often on expiration of the interview time, they were still expressing their ideas and thoughts about the Lithuanian situation.

Questions of the interview were connected with the living conditions in the UK and the situation in Lithuania. Respondents were asked to tell their stories of emigration, problems, which occurred after they entered new society and the integration process. Since the respondents represented women of different ages and different educations, using semi-structured interviews was a good decision; as a result for some women questions were simplified, for instance, idea of civil society was represented as idea of ideal society (see Chapter 4.5).

In order to analyze the result, in the answers special codes were looked for, which gave an opportunity to reproduce the whole picture from the different and separate fragments. For example, for the understanding what women think about Lithuanian society, in answers were searched for such

codes as: 'relationships with friends', 'trust in people', 'description of Lithuanian person', 'level of insecurity and protection', etc. Through such separate categories, indirectly the whole view of the problems of Lithuania was created, which are making the life of citizens (from the perspective of women migrants) complicated.

Moreover, going back into the definition of *civil society, which is, as already discussed, a safe society, maintained by people's inter-collaboration, respect and tolerance, and their ability to join together against authorities for the common interests.* Women's answers were searched for the equivalent ideas which can fit in to the current definition of civil society, especially the discussed informal level of civil society, such as intolerance, disrespect and emotional instability. As a result, through not complicated conversations, an important concept and problems was touched. Every new idea, which, according to the women, is connected with the migration push effects and return migration obstacles, is presented in italics; it is closely connected with the informal layer of civil society, and is representing its crisis.

4.2 Migration Causes and Motives for Lithuanian Women

At the beginning of every in-depth interview the first questions are always the hardest. But in this particular research, as already mentioned previously, women were very willing to tell their stories of emigration; this could be explained because of their legal status and no fear of expulsion. As a result, an important factor of adjustment in the host society is the legal factor. Or in other words, the migrant's legal status is an important aspect influencing the ease with which she will be able to adjust. In the case of migration as a citizen of European Union, integration processes have become more smooth and easier.

Women were asked to tell their stories of migration decision making and the process of emigration. Moreover, they were asked to name what to their opinion are the reasons of migration from Lithuania. As already was mentioned previously, the economical situation in the case of East-West EU migration is the major push factor and a migration motive, and it is impossible to not to count in such factor. But the idea was to go beyond it, and to investigate *socio-psychological factors*, which might influence the migration decision, and which are parts of civil society. As a result, the interview included some abstract questions, such as 'what is more important for you – political rights or economical benefit and why?' Here, the aim was to find out, what is more significant for women, to be a full-right citizen, with political rights, or to live in the country, which gives an economical stability, but without any rights, as in democratic society. Answers depended mostly on if a woman had children and family, since she considered her most important and basic duty - taking care of her offsprings and spouse. Consequently, in the answers it was possible to see that political rights are important, but here in the cases of respondents it played a barely important role, and only a few answered that they would migrate from a politically instable country, but which would give them economical security and stability. Here there was no attempt to compare the Lithuanian situation on

the scale of political freedom, but to find out the general opinion of women concerning their rights as citizens.

Full-rights are very important. Well, what is if you are paid a lot, but are treated like no one?

(Lijana, 21 years, 3 years in the UK)

If you have political rights, you can reach more while struggling and fighting for what you believe in. Yes, economical benefit is important but, less than political situation.

(Gintare, 26 years, 3 years in the UK)

If only I had normal job, good education, would never emigrate from Lithuania

(Evelina, 29 years, 9 years in the UK)

Moreover, talking about the reasons of migration for the respondents, of course, economical reasons among emigration causes remain to be on the top. *Low salaries, high unemployment rates, instability and fear* of what might happen are the factors which force women to migrate. As a result, when the danger is over a woman and her family life, she takes a risk and migrates where economical situation is more suitable for her. Problems with finding a job in Lithuanian were mostly about economical benefit, since in Lithuania, according to respondents, no matter what job you would take, you won't have enough salary, because of a very huge misbalance between people's income and living costs. Also, respondents with only secondary education, mentioned that in Lithuania they would not have an opportunity to find a job they want, and they would need to stay in the service sphere, which they are not satisfied with.

In Lithuanian what you get, same you give, because with your salaries you only manage to get basic food, and clothes only sometimes.

(Anastasia, 24 years, 2,5 years in the UK)

When I'm coming back to Lithuania, everyone are not so nice there, angry. But, honestly I understand, people are starving there. I think so. Because for us, buying food is not a problems.

(Sale assistant in the Lithuanian store in London, 45 years, 5 years in the UK)

First, as I said money. Second, is a search for better life. And… searching for better life… if person is considering himself to find in a new lifestyle. But money, definitely, for sure, are the first in Lithuania. And yeah, people are going if they have families abroad. But economical reasons are quite strong, I think.

(Natalie, 25 years, 2 years in the UK)

People, who have found a good place to work, they have no reasons to migrate. Lithuania is a good country. It is worth living there. The only problem is to make a first step and then to remain on that good position.

(Viktorija, 21 years, 3 years in the UK)

However, reasons such as: *new opportunities*, *personal growth* are more important for young and just graduated students. They do not see chances to start an independent life, to find a good position and to make a career in Lithuania; as a result they are moving to another country. Also, an important factor is to have an opportunity *to develop as professional and as individual*, search for new perspectives and adventures.

Search for independence from parents (reasons to migrate). An escape from the routine, from parents.

(Evelina, 25 years, 5 years in the UK)

40

(And what about working in Lithuania? Have you thought about this? Starting to work after your graduation?)

Well, I was considering it, but I thought that was not really able to rent a flat there. And still my parents would have to help me, and I wanted to avoid this, I mean, help from my parents. As a result, I took a decision: that the only way how I can earn some money, which would be enough for living, is to go abroad. Yes, I mean in Lithuania, first it is very hard for a young person to get on the feet, to start your life without support of your parents, specially, when you are single person. I think it is because an accommodation rent is very high, and it is only on your shoulders alone. And when you already reaching certain age, you don't want to live with someone and share a place. And yeah, and if you are staying in Lithuania, you get the feeling you can not… you know how everything will go on. And if you are going abroad, it is more like an adventure. And you are doing something, what you could not even imagine.

(Natalie, 25 years, 2 years in the UK)

I think there is a huge shortage of place where people can improve themselves as professionals as humans. Because during my 4 years, I met so many interesting and intelligent people, who were studying in UK, or somewhere else, and they find good jobs there and achieve a lot, during those first years. And I started thinking that in Lithuanian we don't have such opportunities. And in general, after graduation, for the further studies England gives much bigger aria in the search for the perfection.

(Akvile, 23 years, 4 years in the UK)

I thought I would be more independent; have some more experience, because I was very attached to my parents. But the main reason was economical, after graduation I could not find a good position and in UK at that moment there was a huge shortage of dentists.

(Skirmante, 29 years, 4years in the UK)

For young people the main reason to migrate is career. In Lithuania it is hard to enter university, hard to study. And at the end, all this looses it's sense. It won't be like this, that after graduation every employee will accept you or all the doors will be open. No. it means, there is no guarantee that you will find a job even with a good education <…>

(Viktorija, 21 years, 3 years in the UK)

Lithuania was always called a *'land of brothers-in-law'*, where main opportunities are received only through the help of relatives or friends, as a result your personal characteristics and experiences are not important in the search for the better position, but the factor if you have friends in a particular area will guarantee a working position.

It is hart to 'materialize', because Lithuania is a very small country. It is a 'land of brothers-in-law'. If you have 'background' it is easy to go through all this road of career, but if you don't have it is very hard to find positions, to be promoted.

(Gintare, 26 years, 3 years in the UK)

In Lithuanian we don't have such opportunities. While in the UK you have a huge aria, which you can enter if you mach some criteria. But in Lithuania we have 'patronages', relationships, clans of doctors, clans or layers<…>And moreover, I think people are interested, interested in what can be different. Are interested to try something new. I think it is like escape from the grey reality in Lithuania.

(Akvile, 23 years, 4 years in the UK)

Respondents were asked to think what are the main reasons of such instability and injustice in Lithuania. Women assumed that it is the problem not only of the government, but also of the entire

nation, which as been under Soviet influence for a half a century, as a result mentality of people have been harmed and the general situation of the country is injured.

Soviet times, 50 years, I think it did a lot of harm. For example, general hesitation, a belief, that everything will be done by someone else. We are still taught by the old generations, and it just stays. It is a heritage and talking about formation of new values, it so far impossible. We don't know were to take these new standards, values, which could be acceptable for us, for our mentality. What was ours was destroyed. And what is right now is contravening.

(Akvile, 23 years, 4 years in the UK)

We are from the Soviet times just recently, and it definitely had an impact on us. During soviet times all the people were on the same level, but after the collapse of the Union, some people were faster and made money. While others remained poor and unhappy. As a result people are very divided, both talking about the material status, and social, and even spiritual. As a result anxiety appears, the idea that someone is in charge of every tragedy which happened to Lithuanians. And what is most important, people become angry and envious.

(Gyte, 35 years, 5 years in the UK)

Also one of the reasons to migrate from Lithuania is political situation. As I said, every politician at the beginning of his career has a background that pay for every step one makes. As a result, he's not representing the nation, but someone's other's interests. It was always, and I think it will always remain like this.

(Gintare, 26 years, 3 years in the UK)

In sum, although financial benefit is one of the main reasons to leave, it is possible to notice that the country's inability to suggest a woman an opportunity to develop; and when kinship tights and corruption are more valuable than person's knowledge and skills, this all gives a base for dissatisfaction in civil society and the country in general. Here, both the inability of people to stand for their rights and people's *mentality of obedience* are the reasons why Lithuania can not be considered as strong democracy with deep traditions of civil society. And when people's major needs are not satisfied, they decide to move for a better future.

I was thinking recently, people were always on the move, from ancient times. They were migrating in order to find better living conditions. And today, people are still moving to the place where their lives would better, better conditions to work, study, and take a credit.

(Ekaterina, 20 years, 2 years in the UK)

And even though such reasons have no direct linkage with the civil society, but there is no doubt that the huge connection with it exists. For instance, even talking about the 'land of brothers-in-law', such relationships are representing a society, where everything is made and achieved with the help of relatives and friends, but not through personal knowledge, have led to the stage when people start losing the trust in legal institutions and other organisations, since all their actions are not available for 'ordinary people'.

And moreover, women agreed that the problem of such disorder lies in the mentality of people, not only the actions of government, as a result, here again the mentality of post-Soviet structures is emphasized, when in the officially democratic state, there are no opportunities for personal growth and freedom, thus no opportunity to be yourself. Consequently, women noticed the

crisis in the Lithuanian civil society, and which could be a strong motive of movement to another country.

4.3 Lithuanian Women in Emigration

At the beginning of this part, the picture of the ordinary migrant was suggested; in the case of this research the biggest part of the respondents were single when they decided to migrate. In two cases, women were divorced mothers, and were first to migrate, and afterwards brought all their families to the UK. And only two respondents were married or had a partner at the moment of migration, and as a result migrated together. Almost all respondents chose the UK because of the existence of social networks there; they agreed that they had relatives, friends here, which helped to adjust in the new place during the first days. Furthermore, the fact that travel from Lithuania to the UK became so easy these days, starting from documental preparation, continuing existence of good air communication, mobility from Lithuania is not complicated at all. Moreover, among respondents two of them were women who after several years spent in the UK, came back to Lithuania, but are planning their migration trip again (potential migrants).

Respondents were asked to tell what problems they faced when they have just arrived to the UK. In a majority of the cases there were no particular difficulties after the migration period started. First of all, *language barriers* were the main obstacles of integration into a new society, as a result also the process of the job search. But in general, the search for the job was always very quick and easy. However, these were the problems for low-skilled workers. High-skilled women faced more problems, connected with documents and English language skills. As a result, the main barrier of getting a job was the lack of the English language knowledge, but not the deficit of working places. However, some of the respondents mentioned that English employees are willing to accept young specialists, and many high-skilled workers are very valuable.

At the beginning of my life in UK, I faced many problems concerning language. For example, if I wanted to find a job, in every employment office, first of all they were asking if I know the Polish language, but not English. Because here are so many Polish people, and they make priority their language among migrants. But in general, I was lucky, because I was without work only for a week, and then I filled an application in one of the offices, and after a week I got a job, and already for 2.5 years I'm working there

(Anastasia, 24 years, 2,5 years in the UK)

Discrimination can be considered as another problem migrants faced after their arrival, but the more important issue arises – conflicts among migrants themselves. An interesting fact is that, many of respondents felt discrimination in the host society, but only from the side of other migrants, for example from the side of Polish people, who considered themselves stronger emigrational community, and who have reached higher respect among local people. One respondent even noticed, that many local employment agencies asked if she knew the Polish language, which would be an

advantage in finding a job. Sometimes after, she was forced to learn Polish, in order to stay on the same position and to be able to communicate with her colleges.

I don't feel different from English people. But the barrier of language will always put you in a lower position. And in general, they don't like very 'sophisticated' people. They don't like you to be smarter than them. Moreover, polish people consider themselves higher than other migrants, this is another problem. They get frustrated, when Lithuanians work more, they say it is not good to show off with you temp.

(Vilija, 42 years, 4 years in the UK)

Nevertheless, women were asked about their experience of finding a job and integration into a local society. As a result, a majority of women agreed with such factor that in the UK there are more opportunities to find a job, than in Lithuania. They explained that Lithuanian society is still living according 'the old rules', when women are considered lower than men, and their work is not appreciated equally as masculine work. In the UK, according to them, it is easier to find their job and move through career level. Moreover, they were asked if they felt on the same level as the local population, and whether they experienced any kind of discrimination.

In many cases, women were considered on the same level as local people, but such evaluation is received only if a woman was fluent in English, and also if she considered her migration duration rather long and she knows all her rights as a European citizen. It is possible to claim, that women who have higher education, or working in the high positions are more confident with their status. Some of the respondents mentioned factor of mentality, since they would never be on the same level with English people due to differences in education and personal development.

Yes, I feel different but only because of my education and mentality. But because of my nationality, never. Here people don't make differentiation are you white or black or red, here all are considered on the same level. At the beginning I was feeling inferior to local people, but only because of my bad English skills. I felt insecure. I was scared if anyone would ask me what time is it, or directions on the street. But right now, definitely not.

(Anastasia, 24 years, 2, 5 years in the UK)

But I certainly understand that I'm a migrant, I will always remain a migrant.

(Anastasia, 24 years, 2, 5 years in the UK)

I will always remain a migrant here, no matter how long I will live here, no matter if I speak their language perfectly. You will be always a foreigner in a strange country.

(Gintare, 26 years, 3 years in the UK)

Once migrants obtain jobs they have other needs: to socialize, to maintain contact with distant relatives, to keep religious rituals alive and to reconstruct their identity against the backdrop of new 'significant others' (Garapich, 2008). However, the respondents agreed that the problem of being differentiated from the local society it is only a personal problem of the migrants, the unwillingness of learning English, and looking for a better position and looking for information about their rights.

I'm not feeling different. I don't feel a migrant anymore.

(Vilija, 42 years, 4 years in the UK)

It is only the fault of Lithuanian people that he is underestimated here, or being as you said discriminated. If you know English, doing your job, why should you feel worse than an English man? I don't feel worse. We are living in these not luxurious neighbourhoods, with other not rich English, so why they could be better than I am?

(Sale assistant in the Lithuanian store in London, 45 years, 5 years in the UK)

One of the main questions was, what does it mean for the respondent to be a migrant and a woman. Even though, the aim of the question was not based on comparison with men, many emigrants were mentioning their experiences of migration, integration and adjustment of their male partners or friends. In their answers it was possible to see that, being a woman and being a migrant does not imply any specific difficulties. Even in many cases, women are easier with decision making, and able to adjust into a new surrounding faster. Many of respondents, whose movement to the UK was not the first migration experience said, that migration is like addiction, once you have started you can not stop, since after some time, moving from one place to another gets easier and easier, with experience and knowledge about emigrational life you get also strength and even attraction to be on the move. But such statement was mostly for young, single girls.

It depends if you have a family, and if you are going as a woman who has a family, I think it is totally different experience, but as single women. Well, I met some guys, who were going from the same agency to the same place as I did, where I was working. I could not say that it was easier for them to adjust to the place. I think in some cases they were more dramatic than me. So, I don't think it is more difficult for women.

(Natalie, 25 years, 2 years in the UK)

It depends on personality. As for me it was easy. But for me it was easy to adjust in any county. However I have friend, girls, you could not do it. I don't have such thing as 'hard', but I had only one 'I have to"

(Viktorija, 21 years, 3 years in the UK)

I was trying to enter totally different level, different social level. For me it was easier to integrate. For example, people who are working in the contractions, and those who are working in the offices belong to the different levels, different life styles. But for me it was easy to start normal life here, cultural life. I knew what I wanted to do and where to be. And majority of those men who come here are working in the contractions, they don't see other life but communication with other migrants, as a result they integrate slower.

(Gintare, 26 years, 3 years in the UK)

According to women migrants they consider themselves as more diplomatic, more flexible in the new society; as a result they accept any situation and no matter what might happen they are able to integrate and accept new society. As a result, they are able to find a job easier and integrate into a new environment, what leads to the assumption that women are more oriented towards the receiving country, and might lead to the losing engagement with the host society. However, some stereotypical characteristics of genders, such as men are more arrogant, and women are more attached to the family were often mentioned.

I think it is easier for women to integrate. Well, here I'm talking about me and my boyfriend. He could not accept here anything. He does not like here anything. He does not like multiculturalism, or English people. And, I think maybe, women integrate easier, men are more categorical. And women are more easy going.

(Kristina, 24 years, 5 years in the UK)

I think it depends on a person. As for me it was not very easy to adjust in a new place. But for me everything went naturally. It depends on a personality.

<div align="right">

(Skirmante, 29 years, 4 years in the UK)

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For my husband it was harder. Men are … maybe for them it is sort of humiliation of the masculinity. This is for majority I was talking with. They were working in Lithuania; some of them were having their own business. After some time, they had lost everything, came here. And here were told: take a broom and clean the floor. And this is such a humiliation, going very low. And for many of them it was very hard, some of them were even throwing that broom away. But after some time, they had to overcome it.

<div align="right">

(Gyte, 35 years, 5 years in the UK)

</div>

Women are more flexible, are able to overcome more problems and easier. They are able to integrate faster.

<div align="right">

(Evelina, 25 years, 5 years in the UK)

</div>

For me it is easier to integrate into a new society. I even brought here my husband. Women are more loyal. They see everything not in very abstract way, more rational.

<div align="right">

(Vilija, 42 years, 4 years in the UK)

</div>

It depends on a person, I'm an optimist, and for me it was easy to get used to a new place. <> but I think it is harder for a women, than a men to integrate in a new place. Maybe because of the family. Hard to say.

<div align="right">

(Rima, 48 years, 2,5 years in UK)

</div>

To women it is easier to adjust in a new society, because they are more plastic in their personalities, more diplomatic towards new surroundings, communications than men. For women it is easier to communicate with people, they are more open. Men are more conservative in communication, they are scared of it.

<div align="right">

(Anastasia, 24 years, 2,5 years in the UK)

</div>

For me it was hard, because I was separated from my family. But after sometime, I brought all my family here. But in general, the woman is a head of the family, and you can not do anything with it. <…> as you know, women work more than men (laughing).

<div align="right">

(Vilija, 42 years, 4 years in the UK)

</div>

But I think again, Lithuania has past within the Soviet Union, where women had a very strong role in the family, and gender question was not that strong. And she's still doing the main household, nothing changed a lot.

<div align="right">

(Natalie, 29 years, 4 years in the UK)

</div>

The answer to this question really depended on the *women's family status*, her age and living place. It is possible to claim that younger girls considered themselves more integrated into the society, than older, who claimed they were not even doing anything to make their communication with local people more active. Moreover, it is worth to mention, those girls who were single and came to another country without their partner, considered themselves as more integrated into the local society than women with partners or spouse. It goes without saying that girls who are studying in the UK, are really easy to start new connections with local people, and adopt new traditions of the society faster than any other group of respondents. Moreover, people from bigger cities, such as London and Leeds, are closer to the Lithuanian communities, than people from the small towns, such as Wakefield or Chester, since Lithuanian communities are smaller here and circles of friends consist mostly from English people or people from other ethnical groups.

Consequently, the range of questions, about the features of Lithuanian society and the country itself, opened the connection between woman and the civil society. It is easy to see, that

women feel good and comfortable in the new society and even consider themselves faster and easier in the period of integration (it is worth repeating, that this research does not imply an idea to make comparison between living condition of women and men, but the work is made only from the side of women experiences and their position).

Moreover, women feel free and stable in the new society, they had never experienced discrimination or offence from the side of local people, because of their gender or nationality; they were very easy to adjust in the new country. As a result, it is possible to make an assumption, that civil society in the UK is more mature in the way talking about the acceptance of people from other cultures and is more respectful to any society member. However, such assumption requires further analysis.

4.4 Image of Lithuanian Society

The investigation of women's opinion about the situation in Lithuania is essential part of the research what could be done by naming features of Lithuanian people and the society; as a result, it becomes possible to analyze the main obstacles of return migration and the push factors from Lithuania, and moreover, continue the comparison of answers of Lithuanian women migrants with the definition of civil society.

Respondents were asked to characterize a typical Lithuanian person. The answers were in fact very different, and surprisingly even Lithuanian people, who did not belong to the Russian minorities group, mostly defined Lithuanians in a negative way. But characteristics were not similar talking about Lithuanians abroad and Lithuanians back at home, while Lithuanians in migration were considered as very helpful, kind and generous people, some respondents emphasized that might have happened because of the influence of English society. However, people back at home are more *jealous, unhappy and impolite*. As an explanation for such behaviour the bad economical situation was given as example.

Well, I don't believe in something typical, but, there are some features that you can see more often. Well, I would say, different people, some circumstances make people feel angry and disappointed. But it is very natural, but I think it depends… we have good people, we have bad people. Because life made them and they don't have enough money, they are struggling all the time, that's normal. Well, I would say, Lithuanian people, they are creative nation. They are seeking all the time for a better life. The amount of migrants also can show that people are not afraid to take risk, and challenge and look for something better.

(Natalie, 25 years, 2years in the UK)

'Lithuanians spit in your back'. They are envious of everything. But I'm trying not to communicate with them.

(Rima, 48 years, 2,5 years in the UK)

Very jealous, egoistic. This is the Lithuanian in England.

(Evelina, 29 years, 9 years in the UK)

When you communicate with a typical Lithuanian he looks only for the benefit in the communication.

(Anastasia, 24 years, supervisor at the warehouse)

If there is a saying: 'works like a black person'[3], I would say: 'works like a Lithuanian'. They are very calm, diligent, and very shy. Would never cause troubles. Such picture is abroad. But in Lithuania probably not.

(Vilija, 42 years, 4 years in the UK)

I'm here living my life, in every day situation, doing my every day stuff, going to the doctor, or to the store, I'm feeling very well. Everyone are accepting you and treating you in a very nice way. They are communicating, smiling. In Lithuania in the same service area, you are feeling … very 'unwelcomed'. But talking about very close relations or friendships, it is very hard to make it here. <..> People don't accept you straight away.

(Skirmante, 29 years, 4 years in the UK)

As it is seen in the answers the Lithuanian person is described from the negative side in a majority of cases, however, this is the problem of all the nations and the country in general, since many of the respondents agreed that emigration to the UK have changed them into a positive way. Already such epithets are showing about the disagreement of the Lithuanian society with the concept of civil society repeated in the beginning of this chapter. Hence, when women come back to the homeland, they can clearly see the differences of the Lithuanian society comparing with the host country.

But also other thing, when I arrived here, I've changed. After some time I started to greet everyone, smile. It became mechanic, you do it automatically.

(Skirmante, 29 years, 4 years in the UK)

Who already living here for longer have been absorbed by communication from the local people, as a result became more polite, friendly. While new comers, especially young people, act very disrespectfully.

(Sale assistant in the Lithuanian store in London, 45 years, 5 years in the UK)

According to the respondents, Lithuanian people, especially women are usually scared to take a risk. And they are very *conservative* about their personal life and are strongly dependable on their spouse; as a result Lithuania is still very patriarchal country. People are getting married and bearing their children when they are very young, between 20 and 25. They are scared to take any new opportunity; they are comfortable with what they have. During the Soviet period, travelling was strictly forbidden; and it might be the reason why people are so conservative. However, women say, the Lithuanians are very talented and open-minded, because of the Soviet Union educational system, were people were taught many disciplines, as a result people from CEE know more foreign languages, have better working skills and are able to find good jobs abroad, where such characteristics are valuated more.

Lithuanians from the Soviet times, and education they know how to do everything. While English people are very narrow. And in Lithuania this would no be enough. Lithuanian people are very talented, but are very shy, unconfident.

(Gyte, 35 years, 5 years in the UK)

It is not that in Lithuania everything is so bad, just people are very pessimistic. And this all is seen very well. When you come back, TV, magazines, everything is about problems.

(Evelina, 25 years, 5 years in the UK)

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[3] A very common expression, which refers to a very hard-working person.

Comparing with the Western people, we are more closed, shyer. Less optimistic. Thinking about failures more than success. <..> Maybe those people who travelled are already different, but others are very shy. We are not really polite, not very satisfied with our country, and pessimists, that's true.

(Skirmante, 29 years, 4 years in the UK)

Here it is easier; it is connected with financial situation and even more it is interesting to work. It is hard to work there, hard in a moral way. You never know what to expect. You never know what is going to happen with you. And here you work, and you know that your salary is enough to live normally.

(Rima, 48 years, 2,5 years in the UK)

Lithuanians are very stubborn and ambitious. Bet on the same level, they have a small confidence in themselves. I'm going to go only to that point, and not further, because I won't make it or I haven't deserved it.

(Akvile, 23 years, 4 years in the UK)

Another alarming issue in Lithuania is *discrimination towards ethnic minorities* in the country. In the UK none of the respondents received any offensive expressions towards them. But for example in Lithuania, some of the girls who are the Russians have been offended because of their Russian roots. The country was under Soviet occupation for almost fifty years, as a result in Lithuanian mentality negative attitudes towards the Russian people still remains. Among respondents, who belong to Russian minority group, but are Lithuanian citizens, the question of respect towards different nationalities was really burning.

As from my side I experience discrimination on myself. It is long lasting conflict among Russians and Lithuanians. For example, we had an incident, that during our prom, already in the morning we went to greet the sun by the sea, and met group of Lithuanian students who were doing the same. After some time they started to insult us with different offensive expressions. They were calling us occupants and murderers. Also many times my friends in Lithuanian universities with Russian last names were experiencing discrimination.

(Ekaterina, 20 years, 2 years in the UK)

Lithuanian society is divided in an ethnical sense. Lithuanians are with Lithuanians, Russians are with Russians. While here we don't have some division, even with people of different nationalities but from the same country.

(Ekaterina, 20 years, 2 years in the UK)

In Lithuania there are around 20 ethnic minorities, the Polish and the Russians are the dominant among them. But at the same time, the number of nationalistically oriented groups is increasing day by day, and in the European media researches Lithuania has the highest rates of racism and xenophobia in the whole EU (Straipsniai, 2006). Even though many of Russian people in Lithuania are born here, have Russian nationality, work for the common country, Lithuanians are very aggressive toward ethnic minorities, and nationalistic moods are raising in the current context, as a result, existence of tolerance and respect in the Lithuanian is a debatable question.

Lithuania is lacking respect and equality toward national minorities. Local people are very nationalistic. While the UK is very multicultural, but it is lacking of understanding what is 'culture', or 'civilization' better to say.

(Ekaterina, 20 years, 2 years in the UK)

Many of the respondents said they are not patriots of the country; as a result they had no harsh feelings with migration to the UK. But some of the women mentioned that they are really

interested in the situation back home, and have even deeper feeling for their homeland than those Lithuanians who stayed at home.

There's a lot of things going on. Mass depression that we have, people don't feel happy at this time and the times of credit crush every where. But in the Lithuanian case it is different, because in other countries people have savings, and if they are fired from their works they still can live from it. And in our case, this is an issue, because people are really living from one salary to another, without any opportunity to save. And the idea of being fired it is a huge tragedy in a family.

(Natalie, 25 years, 2 years in the UK)

Moreover, women were asked whether to their opinion the situation in Lithuania would improve if there would have been more women in the parliament, the answers were mostly negative, but on the other hand, they agreed it would help to overcome the archaic mentality in which Lithuania is trapped right now.

Nevertheless, talking about the social situation, Lithuania at the first sight might be called a *country without disable people*, since never on the streets people in the wheelchairs can be seen, but is only because government doesn't provide such people with proper help, and support, and equipment. Still rights of the single mothers and seniors are not fully protected, because of the low pension wages and maternity payments. Low financial support for such groups shows that country is still in a big financial and social problem.

You don't see disable people in Lithuania, it feels that we don't have such people. The whole country is not suitable for them. Here, there are so many special wheelchairs, special roads, they are participating in everyday life. And in Lithuania you don't see them, and even all others look at them in a different way.

(Skirmante, 29 years, 4 years in the UK)

In the question 'Do you feel secure in Lithuania?' physical and moral security were taken as the target. The answers were totally opposite from each other. On the one hand, the UK was considered as one of the safest place where respondents were living, while Lithuania was a terrible place to be, on the other hand, girls from the big English cities, were claiming they are scared to go late at night in their neighbourhoods and Lithuania was considered as a very nice place. But talking about moral security, *general instability* was one of the main issues which make Lithuania one of the most unpleasant places.

(Are women protected in Lithuania?) No, in Lithuania anyone can push or insult women. Women are insecure in Lithuania. Any person is insecure in Lithuania. There is lack of security in Lithuania. Lack of protection to children, women. First of all Lithuania is not lawful country. No security. Here for example, I like that we are protected, they have laws and orders. Talking from this perspective, here it is more convenient to live.

(Vilija, 42 years, 5 years in the UK).

But it is a problem both of government and people. We have laws about women protection issued. But there's also women's problem, they are lacking of information and knowledge about their rights. Women let to be harmed. There might be done a lot from the side of government, maybe there are a lot of laws, but such protection is only 'on the paper', and in the practice women never complain, they are scared. This is how it is, women don't protect themselves. Maybe

they don't even know about such thing. Or maybe in Lithuania we still have that old mentality that women should be on the lower position than men. They don't look for 'shelter' till the last minute.

(Vilija, 42 years, 5 years in the UK)

Alcohol problems in Lithuania were always considered as one of the crucial problems of the society. Surprisingly, women claimed that in the UK, people are drinking not less, even more according to the Lithuanian situation. But comparing with Lithuania, in the UK people know how to behave when they are drunk; while in Lithuanian they become aggressive and even dangerous to the society. Here we can blame both Soviet mentality, where physical abuse was considered as normal behaviour (in the majority of cases, it was not even reported) and the bad work of police officers, whose low salaries and unprofessional forced them not to be strict with the violators.

(*So maybe there are problems because of the alcohol in Lithuania?)No they are trying to forget the problems with alcohol, same as in the saying: 'get drunk and forget⁴'.*

(Rima, 48 years, 2,5 years in UK)

Talking about alcohol situation, in the UK people drink more, somehow they know how to hide it and know how to reach home after the pub. Lithuanians can't do that. And they even emphasize it. Moreover, in UK they don't have homeless people, like for example in Lithuania, or at least only those who want to be homeless.

(Gintare, 26 years, 5 years in the UK)

Civil society as already analysed in the previous sections, is not only the space of actions of NGOs but, people's ability and wish to respect, and accept others members of the society, it is the *level of personal security and spiritual comfort* in the country. Thus, taking into consideration answers of the women, a line can be drawn between the women migration and civil society, especially after their representations of the Lithuanian society.

First of all, the negative view of Lithuanian people, shows that people are not willing to communicate with each other because of people's jealousy and 'wish to get the use' from others. Such aspect points *to people's lack of trust and good attitude* towards each other, and as was mentioned in the previous section about civil society, loss of these features is one of the main defects of civil society and reason of instability of democratic values. As a result, women who have experienced other treatment in the host community are not willing to go back to the unwelcoming home country.

Moreover, a developed civil society in the democratic state is free from such abnormalities as xenophobia, racism and nationalism. While Lithuania suffer from nationalistic ideas, and people who are full-right citizens but do not belong to the Lithuanian nationality, do not feel secure and welcomed; as a result, those who belong to the ethnic minorities are choosing to move to another country, since strong civil society is based on the tolerance and respect, here it is possible to see a totally opposite situation.

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⁴ Such statement came from the Soviet times, when people were coping with their stress with the help of homemade alcohol. Drinking it was one of the main ways of communication and spending their free time.

Moreover lack of moral security, feeling of instability, observed by the women is an evidence, that Lithuania is left by its citizens not only because of economic situation, but the idea, that people are scared and are not sure what the new day might bring in Lithuania, because of the existing mental instability, both of the market and the society pressure women to leave their homes.

Consequently, the link between crisis of civil society and migration is drawn through the negative features of the Lithuania, represented by respondents, when society is described as unpleasant, conservative and unwelcomed; it is possible to see a weak basement, for what is called, associational life. When people are not satisfied with their every day living conditions, they are not likely to take part in the community or charity organisations. As a result, the crisis of civil society, or to be more precise the crisis of the basement for civil society makes that the whole system is ill-functioning.

4.5 Civil Society in Lithuania V. Ideal Society

In order to find out what Lithuania is lacking as a society, so it could be a comfortable and nice place to live, respondents were asked to define what an ideal society means for them. The strategy to ask about ideal society helped to investigate how 'high-quality' civil society should be for the women, in order for them to come back to the homeland. Such concept was used in the majority of the interviews, since many of the respondents are people only with the secondary education and are not familiar with the idea of civil society.

In many cases comparison of the societies with the UK was made. Even though, they agreed that at the moment the UK stands on the higher position on the road to be called ideal, therefore, to the question how they find the UK as a place to live, they were hesitating to call it the country of their dreams. Answers to this question were really based on personal preferences. Some of the respondents as an advantage called the UK an attractive place to live, only because of the multiculturalism here, while others consider such characteristic as a disadvantage. Moreover, the great differences between mentality of the Lithuanian people and the local people were emphasized, and the fact that Lithuania as a former Soviet country was based on adifferent educational system, plays a huge role. Moreover, the climate plays a negative role in the whole range of characteristics for the UK. But in general, English people's politeness was highlighted as one of the main positive factors. Furthermore, their optimism and willingness to help, and what is more important, for Lithuanian women migrants it is a place of opportunities, where everyone can reach their dreams, no matter what gender, class or kinship relations they have.

England gave me more than Lithuania.

(Rima, 48 years, 2,5 years in the UK)

English society is definitely not my favourite, but I'm happy with what I have, I'm happy with salaries

(Rima, 48 years, 2,5 years in the UK)

I feel more safe in Lithuania. Here I'm scared to come back at night.

Well, basically, I like the country. I like it here. I like the way, I think Great Britain is pretty welcoming for the foreigners, because you still have a possibility to work; you still have a possibility to get on your feet. Sooner or later. And specifically in London I liked the multicultural context. A lot of different people with different stories, which was pretty amazing, I think.

Here people are treating other people in different way, in a very sweet and warm way. They will never insult you, never harm you. While people in Lithuania they are not very friendly. In England they don't care what nationality you are.

We are not their people, but they treat us in a very nice way. Especially talking about social support.

An English person will never show his mood or attitude. There's even an anecdote: if you will sink in a Thames, English person will pass you by, just not to show in what embarrassing situation you are.

However, the UK was described as a very open country were people from more conservative areas might feel unpleasant, since they are still not ready for 'English' expressions of freedom. While talking about deeper communication, English people are not willing to accept foreigners into their circle of friends or family, women agreed.

In England, this openness for everything or in another words lack of morality for me is unacceptable. Such openness for many things, which in Lithuania are not that spread or just not very announced. For example all rights of homosexuals, while in Lithuania there is not enough freedom, while in England it is all overboard. For me it is unacceptable. It seems that this is not a norm any more, but sort of fashion.

Local culture is surprising. As for me, I'm already surprised when I come back to Lithuania. Here when they say I'm sorry or how are you every time, and this is going naturally. And in Lithuania, when my neighbour was working in supermarkets, she was forced to smile to the clients, but it was artificial. They were saying that they were squeezing this smile from the lips. We don't do it naturally. <…> but for the English, it is from their birth, they don't have that much stress as we do.

Lithuania was emphasized as the country with an amazing landscape and a beautiful nature. And in many cases sentiments towards this country were based on nostalgic memories, but not on the rational reasons. Women agreed that still their homeland is lacking of a strong economical background, and as a result can not be considered as a very attractive place to live. But some of the respondents talked about their future plans to come back to Lithuania and connect their lives with the motherland, since they are patriots of Lithuania, and the connection with the homeland could never vanish.

It is a beautiful country, especially if you have your favourite job, good job. It is a nice place to live.

Lithuania is my homeland, Lithuanians, where everything is good for me. The only thing is a job there. <..> So what that you will graduate, you wont find a place if you don't have relations.

On the other hand, Lithuania is still lacking many features, till it could be an ideal place to live. This is all connected with theeconomical situation, social security and even thecondition of ordinary people, according to the respondents, who do not have space for self-expression and improvement as individuals.

Self-realization is very tough in Lithuania. Especially if you want to start your own business, if you don't have good primary capital, or relationships it is almost impossible to reach something. While here at least some first steps are easier, university suggest some places for internships or work, gives some basics.

(Ekaterina, 20 years, 2 years in the UK)

Communication among people in Lithuania is very hard. Especially right now you can feel the anger towards us, migrants, back in Lithuania. You can feel it even among friends. If someone lives worse than another. They think we are very rich here. But we struggle on the same level, and even harder. Only that here it is a little bit easier in financial way.

(Sale assistant in the Lithuanian store in London, 45 years, 5 years in the UK)

In Lithuania my education is not good enough, at least to start basic career in my field, I need at least a master degree (in psychology). I refuse to study in Lithuanian system. Honestly, in Lithuania we have a huge disrespect to people, and it just kills me. <...> On the street someone is always sneering at you, throwing something at you, or something like this. People are driving terribly, there is a huge lack is respect to a person. All this seem very small reasons, but which bother me and make me frustrated. Lack of respect, politeness, and understanding that you are also a human, total insolence. What is more, talking what I was studying, to find a normal job for me it is almost impossible, since I don't have relatives or any other relations the field. And moreover, I don't even see a normal place were I could work. Since Lithuanian medical system is really bad.

(Akvile, 23 years, 4 years in the UK)

Yes, I agree, Lithuania is more closed. (In communication?) Yeah, in everything….Well, I can say nothing bad. When I was studying I was enjoining my environment, meeting my friends, but at some point you understand, that if you will stay, you will experience the same for a long time. And nothing will change really, and you want to develop yourself, you want to learn something more, and it is not the place, I think.

(Natalie, 25 years, 2 years in the UK)

Social security is poor, grey. If there is no respect to a person, then sure old person or disable will not receive such respect. It is sad.

(Akvile, 23 years, 4 years in the UK)

Defining the ideal society is always hard, since people don't know with what idea it to compare. It is worth to mention, that almost none called England an ideal society. Many of respondents agreed that Lithuanian could be a nice place to live, however it is lacking some of the features, which could be found in the deep rooted democratic society, for example the UK, but still nothing could be better than native country.

Ideal society is a respectful society, society full of understanding with each other. It is active society, which understands the rules and understands of what is happening on the all levels: politics, culture. This is an active society.

(Natalie, 25 years, 2 years in the UK)

Ideal society, in any case, not racial society, society of normal, free and optimistic people.

(Rima, 48 years, 2,5 years in the UK)

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Ideal society is, first of all, save society, mainly, from the criminological side, but also where you can be who you are. You will be accepted. (Do you feel secure in Lt? in a physical way and spiritual?) In both ways, I don't feel safe in Lithuania.

(Akvile, 23 years, 4 years in the UK)

Ideal society is legal society.

(Vilija, 42 years, 5 years in the UK)

Ideal society- is respect towards each other, diplomacy towards each other. Democracy. <...>In my opinion we cant find it in Lithuania. Because the class differentiation is very obvious, as a result there is no respect among people

(Anastasia, 24 years, 2,5 years in the UK)

Talking about the opportunity for people to participate in the general decision making of the country, some of the respondents said that people in Lithuania would change, and start caring about social problems, and problems of civil society, if only their primary needs, such as lack of food would be accomplished.

Well, I think a lot of people are trying to be active, but a lot of people don't have opportunity to be active, because they are surrounded by other problems. And I think to be active, first of all you need to feel safe in economical way, I think it is important. I believe, if your parents are economically not safe then, as a child without money you can not be active, just because psychologically you feel no safety. Everything what is around you seems very unstable, and it is hard to be active in other things, like survival. And a lot of people are thinking about survival in Lithuania.

(Natalie, 25 years, 2 years in UK)

And it is possible that these people who are here, are bigger patriots, than those who stayed.

(Gyte, 35 years, 5 years in the UK)

Ideal society is of course rather utopian concept, however it is a very good criterion for the evaluation of the current trends in Lithuania. According the respondents the ideal society is an *active, tolerant, respectful and democratic societ*y, where people are able to be who they are, and have the opportunity to develop themselves as individuals. The same time, respondents were asked whether Lithuania could be called an ideal society, they agreed that homeland always remain a native place, with an extra-ordinary landscape, long-lasting traditions and great history, but this country is lacking the features of modern developed society, with are credited to their ideal society. And consequently, such absence shows that Lithuanian civil society is in need for the main features which are credited to and constitute the civil society. As a result, the lack of strong civil society can be definitely considered as one of the obstacles for women to return.

4.6 Decision to Return

There were no common answers; all the respondents had their own reasons to come back or not. Many of the young girls said, that they might come back to Lithuanian, but only after some longer period of time, since it is their homeland and here the factors of 'dying at home' plays the most important role.

I don't think I will come back soon. Previously I was saying 5 years at least, but right now I think longer. Maybe I will not even go back because of my children.

(Rima, 48 years, 2,5 years in the UK)

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No, at the moment, well… I have some times, when I miss my friends, my parents, but I never consider turning back. At least not now. Maybe I would like to go back when I'm older, when I already have some of my life goals reached, but at the moment I don't see how it could work.

(Natalie, 25 years, 2 years in the UK)

I'm feeling full-right person here, and I can say, if you would feel in a different way, they would treat you like you feel. I think I belong here, and right now life in Lithuania is not possible for me.

(Anastasia, 24 years, supervisor at the warehouse)

At the beginning I wanted to come back to Lithuania. But at the moment, after my last visit, I definitely don't want to. There's nothing to do in Lithuania. People are so angry, I really don't like it. You come here, they all are smiling, even though you are foreigner, but they threat you in a nice way.

(Lijana, 21 years, 3 years in the UK)

I can't imagine what I can do back at home. It will be very hard to come back to Lithuania. I think I will come back one day, but I don't think it will happen soon

(Viktorija, 21 years, 3 years in the UK)

I can not imagine Lithuania as a place to live. It might sound strange, I fly home only because of my parents, and nothing else is holding me there.

(Ekaterina, 20 years, 2 years in the UK)

Among respondents there were two women who after some period in England came back home to Lithuania, but at the moment are on the verge of the decision to migrate again.

To comeback I really want, I don't know if I will. Well if only I could work in Lithuania, to reach my goals. I would stay. (Will anything change in Lt?) And whether something will change- hardly.

(Akvile, 23 years, 4 years in the UK)

I got used to a different life, I would say more 'luxurious' I would say, while I can get it in Lithuania, but in England even with an ordinary salary.

(Ruta, 23, 2 years in the UK)

From one perspective such answers might sound alarming for Lithuania, but on the other hand, there are still many people who feel sentiments for their homeland, as a result such numbers should be considered in an optimistic way and it is already a governmental problem to solve, when political programs should be oriented towards improvement of return policy.

(Would you be able to spend the rest of your life here?) Probably not, I don't like the culture, I don't like their way of life, it is very 'dry'. Still one day I'm thinking to go back to Lithuania, but when exactly, I don't know

(Vilija, 42 years, 5 years in the UK)

I'm planning to come back, I know it. Still inside of me, I have a feeling that I will come back. When you are alone, this place can not be your home. Yes, it is home, but not for all your life. But I don't know when.

(Skirmante, 29 years, 4 years in the UK)

I though at the beginning - 2 years, but I'm already for the 4. It is hard to come back; the idea of starting everything from the beginning is scarring me.

(Skirmante, 29 years, 4 years in the UK)

Lithuania is everything for me. (Planning to come back?) Yes, for sure.

(Kristina, 24 years, 5 years in the UK)

But still we are planning to come back. Planning and thinking. On the other hand, those who spent here more than 10 years, come back to Lithuania, and after some time return again, since everything is frustrating for them, they don't see themselves in Lithuania anymore.

(Gyte, 35 years, 5 years in the UK)

Planning to come back, planning to live quietly, somewhere close to the sea. But probably after retirement here.

(Vilija, 42 years, 3 years in the UK)

Lithuanians are very ambitious and can reach much more in England, while back at home the round is closed for them because of the lack good relationships and relatives, and in England they are able to show what they can. All their abilities. Many talented people, who know that they want come to UK, they conquer it. Because here there are all opportunities for this. But I'm not planning coming back, still thinking about it. But if only I have had a job there, opportunities to improve in Lithuania I would go back the same day.

(Gintare, 26 years, 3 years in the UK)

I don't feel here perfectly good. Nostalgia, and all spiritual things are very hard.

(Evelina, 25 years, 3 years in the UK)

Also, respondents were asked what should change in Lithuania, in order to attract them back.

People here are freer, tactic, polite. For example you go to the store, and a stranger smile to you. But in our country, people are very grey, not open in such way, even if they are rich people. For instance, in my village in Lithuania we have an English man living, who usually spending holidays in Lithuania. And he's receiving his English pension in Litas. And when he decided to change some furniture in his office, he went to the store, where people already knew who he was. And he said: 'I was suggested not with what is comfortable or good, but what costs more.' This is bad in Lithuanian person. English would never try to use you.

(Vilija, 42 years, 5 years in the UK)

I think those changes will be very slow and complicated. Moreover, when we have such things going on in social spheres, when women with children are disrespected. With such decision we can not move towards the West or something positive.

(Akvile, 23 years, 4 years in the UK)

I'm not planning to come back, but I already think I will not come back. I have my kids here, who definitely not planning about return. And I think for them here it will be better.

(Sale assistant in the Lithuanian store in London, 45 years, 5 years in the UK)

Respondents were asked if only they were able to turn back the time, would they repeat their emigration experience. No matter how hard was the migration experience of respondents, almost all of them answered that they would repeat their emigrational road with no doubts. Moreover, some of them claimed to migrate even earlier, if only they would be braver. However, there are always some people, who had a very hard emigration period, as a result, they said they might repeat all their experience, but this time would try to avoid many of the things, since the main problem of all migrating people is lack of legal information and knowledge about their rights.

I had no any single thought to come back to Lithuania. It was huge shame to confess that I migrated and I appeared in such conditions

But still there were many women who said, they were too young in the period of migration, they had to stop their education, leave families, and they would not repeat such thing again.

Taking everything into consideration, women remember Lithuania with good and melancholic feelings; however a majority of them agreed that the situation in Lithuania, both economical and social conditions are still in the very early stages of development to make their citizens satisfied with their living conditions. There are only few social guaranties for vulnerable groups of people, who are disrespected and are feeling scared and frustrated because of inappropriate conditions of life. Hence, at the moment such social background can not create positive bases for the civil society, and as a result, such unstable social conditions, have a strong link with daily increasing emigration flows.

5. CONCLUSIONS

There are enormous differences between the lives and opinions of young women and old women, urban and rural women, professional women and uneducated women, lesbians and heterosexuals, women of different ethnic groups, refugees and migrants, prostitutes, religious women, overt feminists and women of all ages and nationalities who wish to return to the traditional values of home and family (Marsh, 1998). Gender is fractured along and interacts with a number of social divisions that intersect with each other rather than being additive. Dominelli (2006) refers to 'women' in the community, but this should not be taken as their experiences of community. Differences based on class, 'race', ethnicity, age, disability, sexual orientation and mental ill health configure women's experiences of gendered relations in diverse way (Dominelli, 2006).

Accordingly, women's opinions were based on their social and physical features, but generally talking, similar as in the majority of today's feminist migration researches, the main finding of this work is that migration which was previously considered as primary economically and male-determined is a much gendered process, were women are more than passive followers, but are independent and economically sufficient actors in the migration process. And as was mentioned at the beginning of the research, migration for a woman can be considered as an escape route from the patriarchal social structures and the opportunity to develop, which is impossible in the home country, as a result, the research has proven this statement, and has shown that women in Lithuania suffer from the politically and historically constructed gender stereotypes.

But even though migration in a majority of cases is encouraged by economical motives, the idea of this research is to have a new look on the importance of the country's social conditions, in other words, the state of civil society, and how the relationship between people in the society can influence people's mobility. This is not a contradicting or a totally new idea, but this is a challenge for the further migration studies, since all the concepts are already well know, but are lacking of comprehensive connection of such ideas.

No doubts, there were no intentions to deny great concepts of scholars' concerning the civil society, but the idea was to add a new approach into their assumptions; and to remind that every aspect of associational life requires deep-rooted and strong traditions of trust, solidarity, tolerance, respect and equality among people themselves in their informal relations.

As a result, another important idea of the work, is that civil society is not only the representation of people through NGOs and participation in public actions, but the rather opportunity for citizens to live wealthily in the secure and responsible state, which can be measured through their relationship with other society members. After all, it is obvious that only after achieving mental stability and security, citizens can be politically active. And of course it is more important for governmental actors to understand that without improving the economical and social conditions of

the population it is impossible to reach a real democratic society on the same level with Western countries.

Walzer (1998) reminds us, that what civil society requires are men and women actively engaged-in state, economy, and nation, and also in churches, neighbourhoods, and families, and in many other settings too. However, such engagement needs to be based on equality of people, while in the post-Soviet societies' social, class, ethnical and gender differentiation is very obvious and deeply rooted in the mentality. Women are pushed away from the participation in political and social sectors of the society, and what is more important have less rights than men, and everything is because of the remaining Soviet patriarchal ideology, which left its mark in the nation's mind. Women's 'power' is rooted more in the private sphere, while men's is located in the formal public arena; as a result their connection with the civil society is not considered as valuable. But family and informal communication is a part of civil society; hence a woman's incorporation into the civil society matters, even though she is a housewife and is not economically active. Because in such private area, women can be in an enormous danger of, for instance, domestic violence, alcohol addiction, offences from the side of her husband and other family members. Consequently, women's protection is the matter of the whole society and country, because women embody the nation, thus, careless attitudes towards a woman can ruin the whole nation and country as well.

Furthermore, there are many gender studies and wide expertise in migration research, however such aspects as general sullen indifference, fear, despair, apathy, and withdrawal in the civil society were never considered as reasons to migrate. But people's inability to trust in each other, anxiety, jealousy, and anger, which are spreading in the air of Lithuanian society and were mentioned by the respondents, indirectly but force people to move, and since women are very sensitive to the processes happening around, they are the first to move or already not to come back.

Accordingly, the link between women migration and civil society is drawn through concepts, such as trust, tolerance, etc, which are already scholarly proven to be important for the existence of civil, democratic states and for women lives' quality. In this research cited scholars' and researchers' opinions concluded that without democratic base and values it is impossible to create a fully-functioning developed state. And moreover, the difference in the societies between West EU countries and CEE post-Soviet states is very obvious; where understandings of trust, importance of religious institutions had a different influence of the development of society's values.

Even though as was emphasized many researchers noticed that private life is separated from the civil society, all of them agreed that a strong base, for example, a caring and loving family and helpful neighbours, moral security and stability, and equality are important for the creation of the whole civil society system. As a result, the nexus between migration and civil society lies in the absence of the previous idea, which influences women's life conditions and their level of moral 'comfort' in the homeland.

As a result, through this work in the new concept of civil society a crucial is played by such aspects as trust, tolerance, respect and equality among people. Hence, it is possible to draw a link from the theoretical perspective on the civil society through answers and complaints about Lithuania of women. They emphasized that in Lithuania women are still considered on lower positions than men, and are not equally respected; Russian women in Lithuania notice high number of nationalistic ideas in the society, what is causing discrimination of ethnic minorities; Lithuanians were described as not welcoming, impolite and envious people. Consequently, all these aspects play an important role for the establishment of strong civil society, which Lithuanian is lacking, as a result, women, who have experienced life abroad, have compared the difference in the relationship between people in both sending and receiving countries, at the moment do not consider returning back to homeland.

Moreover, return migration in this research is graded as an important new phenomenon and should be credited with the higher attention, since the attraction of people can be considered on the same level of importance as the investigation of migration causes, because it implies an important problem, when temporal migrants decide to become permanent due to higher economical benefit and better living conditions in the host country. Nevertheless, as already stated, migrants decide to prolong their migration period, and as a result they bring their family with them after some time, thus the country loses not only its population, but also an opportunity to make a profit of remittances.

Talking more explicitly, with the help of the interviews, it was investigated, that women are not satisfied with the current situation, when corruption, kinship, patronage and bribes are replacing human knowledge and experience, which show the existing crisis of the civil society, when young girls are not able to develop as individuals and reach their dreams, only because of society's conservative and closed views of women activity outside the household. And as Hall (1998) soundly noticed, in the civil society individuals have the chance of at least trying to create their own selves, while in Lithuania people do not have such freedom. Also Moses (2006) claimed political inequalities can be understood as the second motivation, after economical benefit, for considering an argument for free human mobility. Especially after the emigration period, when it became possible to compare quality of lives in both, home and host societies, women are hesitating to come back to their homelands because of the opened opportunities in the new society, where they are not imprisoned anymore in the historically developed forms of social dependency.

Consequently, from the research data and the opinions of respondents a conclusion can be made, that Lithuanian women are not only important participants in the migration flows, and can be considered as economically sufficient actors, who are no longer are part of family reunification, but are the pioneers in the family migration. Moreover, it was shown that women do not experience any discrimination or discomfort from the side of the local community; as a result, they are very easy to adjust and integrate into a new society, are not scared of difficulties and are easy with accepting lower job positions than in the home society.

Furthermore, scholars agreed that Central-East civil society is very different from the West democratic traditions, and from the interviews it can be seen that civil society in the CEE countries is not ready to give moral security to the people, as a result they can not be freely engaged, fully, committed, decision-making members in the democratic state as in the old EU members. Here the conservative role of the Roman Catholic Church, old-fashioned views of society, strong patriarchal traditions have a negative attitude on women's emancipation with respect to the household burden, by promoting humility and virginity, and not to obey 'rules' of her husband. As a result, women who had an opportunity to migrate once, they are hesitating to come back, due to the social blame and pressure. While in other countries, in such case in the UK, women are free to express themselves, are able to work and to live with no pressure from the side of society, since the country is providing them with the moral (no discrimination because of the gender) and the social (financial support for single mothers and disabled people) security.

Women agreed that Lithuanian society suffers from high levels of nationalism, xenophobia and is not only intolerant towards foreign-borns but toward its own citizens. People here are not welcoming, impolite, rude and jealous, not only because of the harsh financial situation, but also because of established traditions and culture of civil society. Women feel suppressed in the society, since they do not have an opportunity to develop as individuals, what can be possible only within the strong civil society, but not in the place with a very conservative view on innovations in education, technologies and other spheres. But in such case there are not only the problem of government or influence of hybrid ideology of post-Soviet times, but also the women by themselves, who consider their lives on the lower position than men's and are agreeing with the representation they receive in the society.

Nevertheless, Lithuania is a very patriarchal society, where patriarchal values play a significant role in sanctioning women as lower human beings; they support and reinforce women's dominated roles in families, the workplace, the mass media, and society. And such patriarchal values as stereotypical gender roles are passed down through generations and history, taking root in the informative communication between people. Therefore most women agreed that they do not feel secure in Lithuania, and can not live here the way they want to. As a result, the link between women migration and civil society is a very strong and important factor in the process of investigation migration flows, especially in the former Soviet republics and other new democracies.

The optimistic idea exists - changes in the position of women in society today are happening quickly, in comparison with the first years of independence. Women have achieved great changings in the relation between men, by challenging traditional patriarchal social relations. And even talking about return migration, they are feeling positive toward their homeland, what can be a good ground for the development of further emancipation and return politics. Currently, women in Lithuania do not have adequate influence over policy making, but the situation is beginning to

change for the better. Especially when the new era is being forecasted, since for the first time in the Lithuanian history, a woman became the head of the country. Just elected as new president of the country is Dalia Gribauskaitė, whose support from the side of ordinary people is surprisingly high, and according to the political scientist of the region such aspect shows about people's positive ability to follow new ideas and trends of the West, without historically elaborated gender stereotypes.

However, that there are still many unsolved problems, which make women abstain from returning home, and even change their migration status to permanent migration. And such situation might continue, till governmental leaders would understand the importance of the woman's impact on the country's economical, social and cultural property. As a result, this work reveals an important side of the society's development, which can help for the further creation and formulation of political programs, for the improvement of country's civil situation and on the same time the attraction of return migrants, before the following collapse of the already weak civil society which could cause a bigger erosion of democratic values.

Lastly, this research has repeated the idea of feminist researchers about how significant women are in the societies and migration flows, while in the conservative Lithuanian people do not acknowledge the danger of the rapid women migration trends, which might follow with the more increasing numbers. Thus, the following researches should be oriented not only on creating a better policy of stopping migration flows, but the creation of better living conditions of those who have stayed, and the attraction of those who have migrated. And their reintegration in the labour market should be considered not as a burden for the economy, but as a brain gain (in this case as a social experience for the civil society) for the whole country. This would, in itself, prevent people from leaving their homeland, and give a root for the development of the civil society, which can be considered on the same level as West EU countries, and eventually to become a strong and wealthy society.

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Appendix Nr. 1
Table Nr. 4 Labour force by sex

	2004	**2005**	**2006**
TOTAL	1620,6	1606,8	1588,3
Male	824,4	818,0	802,6
Female	796,3	788,8	785,7

Source: *STATISTICAL YEARBOOK OF LITHUANIA 2008*

Table Nr. 5 List of women participated in the interview

Interview	Date	Age	Education/ years in UK
Akvile	2009-04-15	23	Higher (4)
Anastasia	2009-03-14	23	Secondary 6(3 in Gernamy-2,5 in England)
Evelina	2009-04-14	29	Secondary (9)
Evelina	2009-04-14	25	Current student (5)
Gintare	2009-04-12	26	Current student/Not finished medical (3)
Gyte	2009-04-14	35	Secondary/professional (5)
Jekaterina	2009-04-06	20	Current student in UK (2)
Kristina	2009-04-14	24	Secondary/professional (5)
Lijana	2009-03-28	21	Secondary Professional (3 years)
Lt parduotuves darbuotoja	2009-04-14	45	Higher (5)
Natalia	2009-03-07	24	Higher/Sociologist (2)
Natalia	2009-06-19	29	Higher education (4)
Rima	2009-03-14	48	Secondary Professional (3)
Ruta	2009-06-02	24	Student in Lt (2)
Skirmante	2009-04-05	29	Higher /Dentist (4)
Viktorija	2009-04-05	21	Current student in UK (3)
Vilija	2009-03-14	42	Higher/Professional (4)

Appendix Nr. 2
Questionnaire for Lithuanian Women Migrants in the UK:

1.	Can you tell a little bit about yourself? Who you are? How old are you? What is your education?
2.	Can you tell me your story how you appeared here? (How you decided to move to UK?
3.	What difficulties you faced when you arrived here?
4.	What was your experience with getting a job? What main barriers you can define?
5.	What about working in Lithuania?
6.	How do you find UK as a place to live? and Lithuania?
7.	What does it mean for you to be a women and a migrant?
8.	What do you think about women's ability to integrate into a new society?
9.	What about finding a job? To be appreciated as a professional?
10.	Do you consider yourself different among local population because of your nationality or status?
11.	Do you define yourself as a migrant?
12.	If you were to do it all again, would you agree to experience all the same?
13.	Do you consider coming back to Lithuania?
14.	Do you consider yourself as a full-right person comparing with local population?
15.	Have you experienced any kind of discrimination here?
16.	Do you feel integrated into the local society?
17.	What is more important to you – political rights or economical benefit?
18.	Do political rights have an influence on your decision to migrate?
19.	What are the reasons to migrate from Lithuania?
20.	How you would define typical Lithuanian person?
21.	Do you consider yourself a patriot of the country? What is patriotism for you?
22.	What is ideal society for you?
23.	Why you think Lithuania is attractive or not attractive place to live?
24.	What about social security? For example, are rights of disable people, single mothers, and seniors protected? What do you think about ethnic minorities in Lithuania?
25.	Do you feel secure in Lithuania both as a citizen and as human being?
26.	What do you think about alcohol addiction in Lithuania?
27.	Have you received any offensive expressions towards yourself in Lithuania (and in UK?)
28.	Do you vote?
29.	For example talking about parliament is it a problem if we have not so many women as members?
30.	Does need of self-esteem is important for you?