



Šiuolaikiniai migracijos procesai

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Structural Analysis of the Emigration Narrative on the Social Documentary *(Ne)emigrantai* (2004–2023)

Summary. The portrayal of emigration and emigrants from Lithuania on social documentary television shows is an unexplored topic. In Lithuania, no scientific studies have been conducted that reveal in detail the picture of emigration formed on national television shows dedicated to emigration. This article presents the results of an empirical study on the presentation of emigration on the social documentary *(Ne)emigrantai* ('(Not)emigrants'; hereafter referred to as the 'TV programme'), from 2004 to 2023. Using the concept of a narrative as a set of stories, the study examines what image of emigration from Lithuania from around 2004 to 2023 was created on the TV programme, what characteristics it has and what structure of the emigration narrative it reveals.

The empirical research showed that the stories presented on the TV programme about emigration from 2004 to 2023 correspond to the scientific trends of the development of emigration, and their specifics do not change in the different periods of emigration. The shows aired usually emphasise the economic motives for emigration, and other factors of emigration complement the stories. The nature of emigration determines the types of emigrants. Two main character types are mentioned the most on the TV programme: economic migrants, and people looking for happiness. Several emigration directions are accented in the emigrants' stories. Most people emigrate to economically strong countries that value unskilled manual labour. Analysis of the specific characteristics of the emigration narrative highlighted that the emigration experiences were recognised as successful, but the destination countries were not idealised on the shows aired. The hero's journey is shown to television viewers realistically and without exaggeration, through the phase of change in the successful overcoming of obstacles. The transformations of the hero's character are highlighted through the adventure and didactic type of storytelling.

Keywords: social documentary, emigration, development trends of Lithuanian emigration, 2004–2023, storytelling, narrative as a set of stories.

The Topic of Emigration in Social Documentaries: Significance and Research Review

Emigration is one of the topics of most interest to the media. Various aspects of emigration – the reasons for emigration, for example, the significance of the country of origin, character sketches of the emigrants – are presented not only on the news, but also in lifestyle sections in the press, online media¹ and social documentary television shows.² According to scholars studying emigration, it is social documentaries that convey the broadest image of emigration.³ Although audiovisual genres merge and become similar to television genres that are purely for entertainment, documentaries demand truth and objectivity.⁴ Documentaries depict real people and events. So when documentaries present stories of emigration arranged according to the conceptual and artistic principles and reasoning of the creators of the show, a considerable amount of contextual material and details are provided.⁵ From a compelling emigration love story told on the TV screen by an emigrant, which reveals the details of their personal life, mental states and experiences, the circumstances of the decision to leave, the whereabouts of the destination country and the assessment of emigration come to light, while how the narrators describe themselves also provides a picture of the person who left.⁶ Personal life stories are used in social documentaries to create the emigration narrative – a story that the audience can relate to, made up of different chronologically connected events.⁷

The narrative enquiry tradition of analysing emigration in social documentaries is widely used by foreign scholars. Not only are emigration trends and their representation analysed⁸, but the emigrants' traumatic experiences and identity issues⁹, the life of

¹ Budginaitė, Irma, "Visuomeniniai grįžamosios migracijos veiksniai: grįžusių migrantų įvaizdis viešojoje erdvėje ir visuomenės požiūris", in Barcevičius, Egidijus et al., *Užburtas ratas? Lietuvos gyventojų grįžtamoji ir pakartotinė migracija*. Vilnius: Vaga, 2012, 216–270.

² Schrader, Sabine & Lange, Stella, "Intermediality and Media Reflexivity in Italian Cinema of Migration", *Studies in European Cinema*, 2023, vol. 20, no. 2, 117–121, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17411548.2023.2202956>.

³ Loustaunau, Esteban E. & Shaw, Lauren E. (eds.), *Telling Migrant Stories: Latin American Diaspora in Documentary Film*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2018, 1–336.

⁴ Pollack, Alexander, "Analyzing TV Documentaries", in Wodak, Ruth and Krzyzanowski, Michal (eds.), *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, 77–95.

⁵ Ellis, John, "Television as Working-Through", in Gripsrud, Jostein (ed.), *Television and Common Knowledge*. London, New York: Routledge, 1999, 55–70.

⁶ Loustaunau & Shaw (eds.), *Telling Migrant Stories*, 1–16.

⁷ Bernard, Sheila Curran, *Documentary Storytelling: Creative Nonfiction on Screen*, 5th ed. New York: Routledge, 2023, 45–46.

⁸ O'Leary, Eleanor & Negra, Diane, "Emigration, Return Migration and Surprise Homecomings in Post-Celtic Tiger Ireland", *Irish Studies Review*, 2016, vol. 24, no. 2, 127–141, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09670882.2016.1147406>; Frey, Mattias, "Goodbye Germany: Emigration, Reality TV and Schadenfreude", *Jump Cut: A Review of Contemporary Media*, 2010, no. 52, 1–5, retrieved October 12, 2024, from <https://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/jc52.2010/freyEmigrationTV/index.html>.

⁹ Loustaunau & Shaw (eds.), *Telling Migrant Stories*, 1–16.

transnational families¹⁰, the challenges of adapting in the destination country¹¹ and other matters are as well. In Lithuania, the presentation of emigration as a narrative in social documentaries has not been examined. Only a few research papers that analyse the images of emigration and emigrants have been published in Lithuania. Juozeliūnienė and Martinkėnė¹², using the combinations of different methods – Baudrillard’s theory of simulacra, and Denzin’s and Trinh’s principles of documentary aesthetics – have studied the images of families affected by emigration on television shows. Stankevičiūtė-Volkauskienė¹³ used quantitative and qualitative content analysis to analyse the images of Lithuanians in the world in the stories created by the LRT Lituania channel (from World War I to 2020). The empirical study conducted by Stankevičiūtė-Volkauskienė¹⁴ shows the picture of Lithuanians in the world through the reasons for emigration and the emigration directions. However, the corporate storytelling analysis tradition that the author selected does not allow her to reveal the specifics of the images of emigrants in the periods of emigration or evaluate the changes in the images of emigrants. Social documentaries do not tell the audience how to think about emigration, but they can influence the attitude of viewers towards this topic through the repetition of various aspects of emigration and the emphasis on problems. Social documentaries relate people’s experiences and disclose their understanding of the country of origin and destination, and therefore, indirectly reflect public opinion about emigration and affect public perception of this phenomenon.¹⁵ A comprehensive empirical study about the presentation of emigration in social documentaries is necessary because of the need to increase the study of this topical issue on television. Also, because of its potential to stimulate broader scholarly discussions about the structure of the presentation of emigration, with consideration as to how recurring aspects of emigration can shape the attitude of viewers towards this topic.

In this article, the author uses a narrative research approach to demonstrate how the social documentary *(Ne)emigrantai* (‘(Not)emigrants’, hereafter referred to as the “TV programme”) presents emigration from Lithuania (2004 to 2023). The article explores what image of emigration is created by highlighting the motives for emigration, the portrait of emigrants, the emigration directions and the structure of the stories.

¹⁰ Negra, Diane, McIntyre, Anthony P. & O’Leary, Eleanor, “Broadcasting Irish Emigration in an Era of Global Mobility”, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2018, vol. 22, no. 5–6, 849–866, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549418786408>.

¹¹ Hayward, Mark, “Good Workers: Television Documentary, Migration and the Italian Nation, 1956–1964”, *Modern Italy*, 2011, vol. 16, no. 1, 3–17, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13532941003683021>; Kemp-Welch, Klara, “The Romanians Are Coming: Labour Migration and the Politics of the Observational Documentary”, *Third Text*, 2020, vol. 34, no. 2, 255–270, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09528822.2020.1765601>.

¹² Juozeliūnienė, Irena & Martinkėnė, Gintė, “Lithuanian Family in the Context of Migration: Representation in Legal Documents and TV Broadcasts”, *Filosofija. Sociologija* 22 (4) (2011), 414–425, retrieved November 7, 2024, from <https://www.cceol.com/search/article-detail?id=138018>.

¹³ Stankevičiūtė-Volkauskienė, Daiva, “Pasaulio lietuvių paveikslas LRT Lituania kanalo kurtose istorijose”, *Mokslo taikomieji tyrimai Lietuvos kolegijose* 2 (17) (2021), 102–114, retrieved November 9, 2024, from <https://ojs.kauno-kolegija.lt/index.php/mttlk/article/view/501>.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Frey, “Goodbye Germany: Emigration, Reality TV and Schadenfreude”, 1–5.

Creating Stories in Social Documentaries: Narrative Principles and Storytelling Mechanisms

Scholars studying the social documentary genre emphasise that as a genre, documentary has many subgenres and categories. Social documentaries deal with topics of varying importance – only the format and style of presentation to the audience differ.¹⁶ Bernard defines social documentary as ‘a television genre based on the recording of reality and its interpretation, presenting the depicted events through storytelling/narrative’.¹⁷ It is precisely the storytelling component that gives social documentary a sense of freeness and allows it to go beyond the confines of a single genre. Objective events and people that actually exist are presented through storytelling with playful elements of entertainment, and the line between fact and fiction is blurred.¹⁸ In presenting events and people, social documentaries provide an assessment of the phenomena of social reality. For this function to be implemented, the sequence of the events being depicted in the narrative is reconstructed structurally – the characters involved in the story as well as their actions and experiences are consistently repeated. In this way, various life situations, ways of solving them and archetypes of society are not only highlighted in social reality, but also captured through the structural composition of the story.¹⁹ Since the narrative represents social reality, the storytelling is visually reproduced on the screen through montage.²⁰ The events in the narrative are arranged like a plot, and a plot is characterised by a three-tiered structure: the beginning, which marks the moment of the emergence of the narrative; the evolution, which recounts the development of the narrative; and the end, which marks the implied or real issue of the narrative.²¹ In a social documentary, the narrative structure is maintained, but the events are not necessarily presented according to the requirements typical of informational television genres. Events are laid out according to the inverted pyramid (who, what, where, when, how) in a problem-based, chronological or other sequence.²²

Since social documentaries talk about public life and look at the problems being presented through the eyes of the storyteller, they are characterised by a light style of presentation. By presenting an episode of life or an adventure to the audience, or displaying exceptional abilities, the storyteller testifies to the authenticity of the events.²³ Although the stylistics of television genres are mixed, with social documentary taking on the features of

¹⁶ Zoellner, Anna, “Professional Ideology and Program Conventions: Documentary Development in Independent British Television Production”, *Mass Communication and Society*, 2009, vol. 12, no. 4, 503–536, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205430903237840>.

¹⁷ Bernard, *Documentary Storytelling*, 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 25–32.

¹⁹ Pollack, “Analyzing TV Documentaries”, 77–79.

²⁰ Bernard, *Documentary Storytelling*, 63–65.

²¹ Abbott, Porter H., *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, 2nd ed. West Nyack, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 13–27.

²² Corner, John, “Documentary: A Flawed Genre?” in Gripsrud, Jostein (ed.), *Television and Common Knowledge*. London, New York: Routledge, 1999, 175–183.

²³ Bignell, Jonathan, *An Introduction to Television Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2013, 94–96.

documentary drama and reality television,²⁴ the significance of this genre in explaining and interpreting the phenomena of social reality in a language understandable to the public is great. Social documentaries are interested in public affairs – social ills that arise due to political, economic or societal reasons. Therefore, a personal life story that highlights the problems of the storyteller also reveals its origin. Using the storyteller's story, social documentaries talk about politics, corruption, unemployment, poverty, economic inequality, and social exclusion and its groups.²⁵

The storyteller – the main character of the narrative who conveys their life story to the audience through a monologue or dialogue in the social documentary – is called the hero.²⁶ The course of events in the narrative and the development of the plot determines the roles of the hero on the television screen. The hero in a social documentary programme can be portrayed as a victim, a fighter, a villain, a good guy, a lucky person or a loser, or can be given another role. The role not only shows a character sketch of the hero – it is also a significant criterion for determining the end of the narrative. For example, the role of victim, villain or loser indicates that the narrative ends in failure, while the role of fighter, good guy or lucky person means a successful ending to the story.²⁷ If the hero's role changes in the story due to the specifics of the events, the last description of the character in the core of the narrative is recognised as the final character sketch.²⁸

The distinct nature of the hero's disposition is formed by the character transformations experienced by the hero during the events of the story.²⁹ Scientific literature points to various phases of change in the story that create the hero's character. Like other genres of television with entertainment and educational content, social documentaries are characterised by the following phases: rebirth, simplification of failures, successful overcoming of obstacles, new experience, or tragic ending. In the *rebirth* phase, the hero demonstrates the ability to find a way out of a hopeless situation, and then imitates strengths in the *simplification of failures* phase, reveals their true skills and resistance to adversity in the *successful overcoming of obstacles* phase, gains new competences in the *new experience* phase and loses in the *tragic ending* phase.³⁰ The phases of change in the story, which reflect the hero's journey, indicate the type of story. If the hero experiences adventure, intrigue or danger, an *adventure* story is created on the television screen. The hero's flaws and weaknesses that come to light during the adventures and provide a pretext to teach the audience a lesson

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 123–146.

²⁵ Aufderheide, Patricia, *Documentary Film: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, 10–25.

²⁶ Ankersmit, Frank, "Hero", in Herman, David, Jahn, Manfred and Ryan, Marie-Laure (eds.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory*. London, New York: Routledge, 2005, 211–213.

²⁷ Margolin, Uri, "Character", in Herman, David (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 66–79.

²⁸ Nabažaitė, Erika, "Žiniasklaidos naratyvo tyrimo prieigos konstravimas: Lietuvos periodinės spaudos leidinių "Respublika" ir "Lietuvos rytas" publikacijų emigracijos tema analizė (1991–2017)". PhD Thesis, Vilnius University, 2022, 48–49.

²⁹ Nabažaitė, Erika, "Emigracijos archetipai periodinėje spaudoje: metaforiško pasakojimo analizė emigracijos tema", *Oikos: lietuvių migracijos ir diasporos studijos* 1 (35) (2023), 7–21, <https://doi.org/10.7220/2351-6561.35.1>.

³⁰ Booker, Christopher, *The Seven Basic Plots: Why We Tell Stories*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2006, 736.

are presented in *adventure and didactic* stories. If the hero's character is being examined to moralise viewers and instil values, a *didactic* story is created. If the hero, in experiencing the adventures, raises philosophical questions and questions of meaning, an absurd story is created on the television screen. *Absurd* stories are characterised by tragedy, comedy and irony. Non-standard transformations of the hero's character are shown with the help of an illogical, chaotic sequence of events of the story.³¹ The variety of story types is large and depends on the topic being presented on the social documentary show. Different combinations can therefore, be made from the types of stories discussed.³²

In summary, it can be argued that social documentary is a convenient journalistic genre for studying the portrayal of emigration in the media. From a functional point of view, it combines several poles (objectivity, analysis, and entertainment) and shows a broad image of the topic being analysed from different angles. At the structural level (through the totality of storytelling elements), social documentary allows us to analyse the patterns of the narrative and highlight their dynamics.

Lithuanian Emigration (2004–2023): Analysis of Patterns and Context

Determining the chronological limits of Lithuanian emigration is a matter of scientific consensus. In historiography, emigration after 1991 is classified as the third wave of emigration.³³ To disclose the development of narrative in social documentary in more detail, this article divides the third wave of emigration into two analytical stages: the 2004–2013 and the 2014–2023 periods of emigration.³⁴ This approach does not change the established historiographical tradition of emigration but rather highlights the specifics of emigration in the period being analysed and emphasises the political, economic and social factors characteristic of emigration as well as their change or stability. In addition, dividing emigration into separate periods allows for a more precise analysis of the emigration narrative patterns in social documentaries, and for capturing the structure of the story about emigration.

The first analytical period (2004–2013) marked changes in the development of Lithuanian emigration. Unlike in the 1991–2003 period, once Lithuania joined the European Union, emigration became legal and increased significantly.³⁵ This period was characterised by the legalisation of emigration, which changed the forms of emigration from

³¹ Nabažaitė, “Žiniasklaidos naratyvo tyrimo prieigos konstravimas...”, 51.

³² Bacchilega, Cristina, “Adaptation and the Fairy-Tale Web”, in Greenhill, Pauline et al. (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Media and Fairy-Tale Cultures*. New York: Routledge, 2018, 145–153. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315670997v>.

³³ Kuzmickaitė, Daiva Kristina, *Tarp dviejų pasaulių: naujieji imigrantai lietuviai Čikagoje (1988–2000)*. Kaunas: Versus aureus, 2004, 1–207; Čiubrinskas, Vytis, “Transnacionalinis identitetas ir paveldas: lietuviškumas diasporoje”, *Sociologija. Mintis ir veiksmas* 2 (2005), 41–54, retrieved April 14, 2025, from <https://etalpykla.lituanistika.lt/fedora/objects/LT-LDB-0001:J.04~2005~1367152046647/datastreams/DS.002.0.01.ARTIC/content>.

³⁴ Nabažaitė, “Žiniasklaidos naratyvo tyrimo prieigos konstravimas...”, 76.

³⁵ Sipavičienė, Audra, *Tarptautinė gyventojų migracija Lietuvoje: modelio kaita ir situacijos analizė*. Vilnius: Tarptautinė migracijos organizacija, 2006, 42.

spontaneous and short-term to long-term, planned emigration. Although the main factors of emigration remained economic, the survival strategy characteristic of emigration in the 1991–2003 period was joined by economic motivation (the pursuit of material well-being as an investment in the future) and the opportunity to quell the strong sense of social insecurity felt throughout the third wave of emigration.³⁶ The second analytical period (2014–2023) is analysed as an independent stage due to the slightly changing nature of emigration. Although the motives remained the same (economic), the phenomenon of emigration took on a different form. As Lithuania recovered from the global financial crisis, there was an increase in return migration, and the decision to leave was increasingly becoming an individual one determined by the values of the modernising world.³⁷ Taking into account the discussed features of emigration, each of the emigration periods is presented in more detail below.

The 2004–2013 period of emigration was driven by the processes of unification of the European countries. In 2004, when the EU abolished migration restrictions and abandoned the strict regulation of movement of the population, opportunities opened up for Lithuanian citizens to establish themselves in the labour markets of the EU Member States.³⁸ In 2004–2008, when Lithuania was going through a stage of political, economic, and social instability due to low trust in government, unemployment, poverty and low wages, the population's emigration behaviour was primarily shaped by economic motives, i.e. people went abroad to earn money. Alongside economic factors, personal/psychological motives also emerged. The image of the advanced Western world enticed people to look for happiness, pursue a career, increase their competences and study. The main emigration directions were to European countries with a high level of material well-being and good social guarantees.³⁹ Right up until the beginning of the financial crisis, both the outflow of labour and the emigration of highly qualified specialists took place

³⁶ Sipavičienė, Audra & Stankūnienė, Vlada, "Lietuvos gyventojų (e)migracijos dvidešimtmetis: tarp laisvės rinktis ir išgyvenimo strategijos", *Filosofija. Sociologija* 22 (4) (2011), 323–333, retrieved December 14, 2024, from <https://mokslozurnalai.lmaleidykla.lt/publ/0235-7186/2011/4/323-333.pdf>; Klüsener, Sebastian et al., "The Mass Emigration Context of Lithuania: Patterns and Policy Options", *International Migration*, 2015, vol. 53, no. 5, 179–193, <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12196>; Maslauskaitė, Aušra & Stankūnienė, Vlada, *Šeima abipus sienų: Lietuvos transnacionalinės šeimos genezė, funkcijos, raidos perspektyvos*. Vilnius: Socialinių tyrimų institutas, 2008, 34–37; Thault, Laura, "EU Integration & Emigration Consequences: The Case of Lithuania", *International Migration*, 2009, vol. 47, no. 1, 191–233, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2008.00501.x>.

³⁷ Kallaste, Epp & Woolfson, Charles, "Negotiated Responses to the Crisis in the Baltic Countries", *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*, 2013, vol. 19, no. 2, 253–266, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1024258913480903>; Kasnauskienė, Gindrutė & Kavalnis, Remigijus, "Does Emigration Hurt the Economy? Evidence from Lithuania", *Organizations and Markets in Emerging Economies*, 2021, vol. 12, no. 2, 440–458, <https://doi.org/10.15388/omee.2021.12.64>; Kumpikaitė-Valiūnienė, Vilmantė et al., "Can Intentions to Emigrate be Explained Through Individual Values? An Exploratory Study in Lithuania", in Mockaitis, Audra I. (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Migration in International Business*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023, 165–182, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-38886-6>.

³⁸ Nabažaitė, "Žiniasklaidos naratyvo tyrimo prieigos konstravimas...", 82.

³⁹ Anderson, Bridget, Clark, Nick & Parutis, Violetta, "New EU Members? Migrant Workers' Challenges and Opportunities to UK Trades Unions: A Polish and Lithuanian Case Study", *European Commission*, 2007, 1–22, retrieved June 13, 2024, from https://migrant-integration.ec.europa.eu/library-document/new-eu-members-migrant-workers-challenges-and-opportunities-uk-trades-unions_en.

with equal intensity.⁴⁰ Upon arriving in the destination country, Lithuanians – regardless of their education – performed unskilled jobs in agriculture, construction, industry, services and catering. Lithuania clearly felt that it was losing its workforce and investments in economic, innovative, and scientific potential.⁴¹ The rapid rise in the emigrants' standard of living sharpened the contradictions between the origin and destination countries. Positive opinions of the destination country and criticism of the country of origin adopted from compatriots who had emigrated strongly supported the convictions on emigration of Lithuanian residents.⁴²

The mass media contributed to the formation of a negative image of Lithuania. During the 2004–2013 period, due to the economic, social, and demographic problems caused by emigration, insufficient government attention to the topic of emigration and other factors, Lithuania was portrayed in the media – especially on television – as a country where it is difficult to live well. The topic of emigration was widely discussed in the media – Lithuanians' experiences with emigration were presented on television, and destination country labour markets and welfare systems were discussed. On the other hand, emigration and emigrants were viewed critically in the mass media, as a loss and damage to Lithuania.⁴³ The negative opinion of Lithuania among the members of society strengthened even more in 2009, when Lithuania experienced strong signs of an economic crisis. Deteriorating economic indicators (decreasing gross domestic product and purchasing power, the collapse of small and medium-sized businesses, financial indebtedness of the population to banks, contraction of industrial output) resulted in the country losing, in just a few years, the most people it had in the entire period of the restoration of Lithuania's independence.⁴⁴ The reasons for emigration during the crisis period remained economic. In terms of the demographic and social characteristics of society, poverty, unemployment, and deprivation increased emigration the most among working-age men, young people under the age of 40 and people with high educational attainment.⁴⁵ With the slowdown in economic activity and the decrease in workforce demand, the impact of the crisis was felt by Lithuania's unskilled workers, who lost the option of earning money abroad doing physical labour.⁴⁶

Although economies across Europe were slow to recover, the places that emigrants from Lithuania flocked to – Ireland, United Kingdom, and the Scandinavian countries – overcame the economic crisis quite quickly, and from about 2013 reopened to Lithuanians

⁴⁰ Beržinskienė, Daiva, Reizgevičienė, Rasa & Reizgevičius, Marius, "Migracijos įtaka darbo rinkai", *Ekonomika ir vadyba: aktualijos ir perspektyvos* 2 (18) (2010), 5–17, retrieved January 3, 2025, from <https://www.google.lt/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwjtzvf9w6iEAXUzRvEDHYrED80QFnoECBEQAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fpublications.vu.lt%2Fobject%2Felaba%3A6105197%2F6105197.pdf&usg=AOvVaw0G0Z9iixTINlaFY-V0F4W8&opi=89978449>.

⁴¹ Anderson, Clark & Parutis, "New EU Members?", 1–3.

⁴² Parutis, Violetta, "Economic Migrants' or 'Middling Transnationals'?" East European Migrants' Experiences of Work in the UK", *International Migration*, 2011, vol. 52, no. 1, 36–55, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2010.00677.x>.

⁴³ Dapkutė, Daiva, "An Overview of the Emigration Processes of Lithuanians", *Lituanus*, 2012, vol. 58, no. 3, 5–29, retrieved January 10, 2025, from <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12259/45356>.

⁴⁴ Nabažaitė, "Žiniasklaidos naratyvo tyrimo prieigos konstravimas...", 84.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁴⁶ Isaksen, Vogt Joachim, "The Impact of the Financial Crisis on European Attitudes Toward Immigration", *Comparative Migration Studies*, 2019, vol. 7, no. 24, 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-019-0127-5>.

who wanted to earn money from manual labour.⁴⁷ The official end to the global financial crisis in Lithuania is considered to be 2014. As the Lithuanian economy grew, the motives for emigration in the 2014–2023 period did not change. With the country's lack of financial prosperity and stability, people continued to go to foreign countries for economic reasons – the need to earn money.⁴⁸ Alongside economic motives, personal/psychological factors of emigration come to the fore in the 2014–2023 period, which explains the attitudes towards migration of young people under 30. The increase in the emigration of young people with high qualifications that has been visible since 2017 suggests that the emigration trends reflect the directions of emigration development characteristic of the beginning of the 2004–2013 period. The need for self-expression once again became important motives for emigration – professional development, gaining life experience and the desire to change environment.⁴⁹ Patterns of return migration have been visible in Lithuanian emigration behaviour in recent years (roughly since 2018), where there are more people returning to the country of origin than emigrating from it.⁵⁰ It is notable that although the image of Lithuania's 2014–2023 period of emigration on television has not been examined in detail, the presentation of emigration on television programmes is changing. This is influenced by the phenomenon of globalisation – economic growth, the free movement of capital, and the rapid penetration of Western culture. When recounting their experiences of emigration, emigrants no longer refer to themselves exclusively as economic migrants – images of global citizens who are travelling and looking for themselves are taking root in emigrants' stories.⁵¹

Analysis of the development of Lithuanian emigration in 2004–2023 shows that the reasons for emigration from the country are economic. In both the 2004–2013 and the 2014–2023 periods of emigration, earning money abroad is the dominant motive. Economic motives are complemented by personal/psychological factors related to the expression of aptitudes, the pursuit of goals and the search for new experiences. Based on the established patterns of emigration, the complex image of emigration highlighted on the TV programme will be further on analysed.

⁴⁷ Cuadrado-Roura, Juan R., Martin, Ron & Rodríguez-Pose, Andrés, "The Economic Crisis in Europe: Urban and Regional Consequences", *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 2016, vol. 9, no. 1, 3–11, <https://doi.org/10.1093/cjres/rsv036>.

⁴⁸ Nabažaitė, "Žiniasklaidos naratyvo tyrimo prieigos konstravimas...", 85.

⁴⁹ Okunevičiūtė-Neverauskienė, Laima & Pocius, Arūnas, "Demografinių grupių migracijos skirtumai ir tendencijų pasikeitimai Lietuvoje", *Filosofija. Sociologija* 30 (4) (2019), 295–304, retrieved January 15, 2025, from <https://www.lmaleidykla.lt/ojs/index.php/filosofija-sociologija/article/view/4155/3066>.

⁵⁰ Czeranowska, Olga, Parutis, Violetta & Trąbka, Agnieszka, "Between Settlement, Double Return and Re-emigration: Motivations for Future Mobility of Polish and Lithuanian Return Migrants", *Comparative Migration Studies*, 2023, vol. 11, no. 28, 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-023-00350-3>.

⁵¹ Šimelytė, Agnė, Korsakienė, Renata & Ščeulovs, Deniss, "Americanization in Lithuania as a Driving Force for Globalization", *Journal of Open Invitation: Technology, Market, and Complexity*, 2017, vol. 3, no. 3, 1–13, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40852-017-0070-3>.

Research Methodology and Methods

The aim of this research is to determine:

Q1 What image of emigration is highlighted on the TV programme over the long term, and what patterns of emigration development characteristic of emigration in 2004–2023 are revealed by the social documentary programme?

Q2 What narrative structure is formed by presenting a story about emigration on the TV programme, and what are its characteristics?

Empirical Data Selection and Sampling

(Ne)emigrantai was selected for the empirical research because it was the first dedicated programme about the lives and problems of emigrants abroad to be broadcast on the Lithuanian national television channel (LRT). Although the programme only began broadcasting in 2006, the point of reference for the analysis is 2004, which marked the beginning of the open borders policy in Lithuania. The main patterns of emigration (emigration motives and directions, and descriptions of characters), which were later reflected in the story about emigration on this programme, are believed to have been formed in 2004–2005. The material needed for the research was collected by watching the archive of the TV programme for the 2006–2023 period in the LRT multimedia library online. According to television content researchers, research sample requirements for long-term analyses vary. However, one programme per month (12 shows per year) is usually not enough to obtain objective results.⁵² Taking into account the frequency with which *(Ne)emigrantai* was aired,⁵³ two or three shows per month were analysed. The beginning of the selection is considered as the first programme published in the LRT multimedia library.⁵⁴ Random sampling was used to ensure that all shows were included in the sample. After compiling a list of shows for each year during the 2006–2023 period, the shows aired on odd days of the month, starting with the first show, were selected from the archive of the one-year period. The sample for the following year included the shows aired on even days of the month and so on. A total of 259 shows were selected for analysis. Finally, by viewing the shows selected from the LRT multimedia library archive and applying criterion sampling, personal life stories told by people about emigration were selected, a total of 796 stories that delve into the topic of emigration. If a family member takes part in the hero's story about emigration and shares the experience of emigration from their own perspective, the story told is considered as a separate unit. Stories about the hero's return from emigration to Lithuania were not included in the selection.

⁵² Manganello, Jennifer, Franzini, Army & Jordan, Amy, "Sampling Television Programs for Content Analysis of Sex on TV: How Many Episodes are Enough?", *Journal of Sex Research*, 2008, vol. 45, no. 1, 9–16, retrieved January 20, 2025, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20620334>.

⁵³ Shows are aired once a week in the autumn, winter and spring seasons, but not always in the summer season. The broadcast features of the programme are described in more detail in the empirical research results section.

⁵⁴ The first programme about emigration from Lithuania during the 2004–2023 period was broadcast on LRT on 5 October 2006.

Empirical Data Analysis Design

The empirical research was carried out through the research approach of the narrative as a set of stories.⁵⁵ It is argued that the story of emigration is created on the TV programme over the long term, from a collection of different stories. By considering the personal life story to be a single unit of audiovisual production, an overall narrative is formed from the stories, which repeat thematically over time. The consistent chronological sequence of the events that make up the story is derived from the narrative's course over the long term. The patterns characteristic of the narrative and the specifics of the elements of the narrative are shown by quantitatively analysing a large and characteristically varied array of elements (components) of the emigration theme and narrative. The numerical character of data analysis predetermines that the research is quantitative.

Although narrative analysis is most often associated with qualitative analysis, the concept of narrative as a set of stories offers a new attitude. Since a coherent narrative about emigration consists of a set of different stories, and the image of emigration is formed from recurring narrative elements (such as emigration motives, characters or emigration directions), the narrative is used as the basis for structural analysis. Quantitative content analysis is used to identify structural narrative elements that recur over time. Such a methodological approach makes it possible not only to quantitatively group the components of storytelling, but also to reveal their interactions and changes that determine the creation of the image of emigration in social documentary.

The presentation of the story on the TV programme is shown by the plot. It is formed from character sketches of the emigration characters, the motives for emigration and the presentation of emigration destinations. The types of emigrants are determined by how the heroes directly refer to themselves in the story. The emigration motives are the reasons for emigration revealed by the heroes, and the emigration directions are the destination countries where the heroes settled, lived, and worked. The composition of a three-tiered narrative structure is formed from the emigration motives, emigration directions, and types of emigrants. Finally, according to the features of the social documentary genre described earlier, the specifics of the story about emigration are analysed. As mentioned, the role of the hero in the story shows at the end of the narrative. The hero's experiences in emigration are revealed through the phases of change in the story, and they highlight the types of emigration stories. Since the course of the narrative would not be possible without the motives of emigration, the experiences of the hero that form the distinctiveness of the story about emigration are also shown through the reasons for emigration.

The empirical research data was systematised using the method of descriptive statistics. When analysing each specific emigration story, a compendium of the empirical research data (components) was compiled in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. The reasons for emigration, the emigrant type, the emigration direction, the ending of the story, the phases of change in the story that highlight the hero's journey, the type of story about emigration, among other components, were established. The specifics of each particular component

⁵⁵ Nabažaitė, "Žiniasklaidos naratyvo tyrimo prieigos konstravimas...", 57–61.

were shown by calculating the number of stories that make it up in units and the percentage share in the periods of emigration. Each component was analysed in this way until all the data required for the study and the desired component variations were obtained.

The Emigration Narrative on the TV Programme: Motives, Directions, Character Types, and Story Structure

Types of emigrants. Two main character types can be found on the TV programme – economic migrants (42.6%), and people looking for happiness (22.0%). Emigrants are described in different ways on the shows and more than 20 different kinds of emigrants are named, but their mention in the story is episodic and irregular. During the 2004–2013 period of emigration, the emigrants were called economic migrants (55.3%). Other kinds include people looking for happiness (15.0%), and people who left for their career (8.3%). The migrants during the 2014–2023 period of emigration are economic migrants (36.6%), people looking for happiness (23.8%), people who left for their career (9.9%) and love migrants (6.6%).

Motives for emigration. The narrative created on the TV programme is characterised by two main reasons for emigration – to earn money (33.9%), and to look for happiness (20.2%). Other reasons include career/work (9.5%), marriage to a foreigner (5.4%), poverty (4.3%) and studying abroad (3.9%). On the programmes aired during the 2004–2013 period of emigration, earning money was the dominant motive (44.3%). The spectrum of motives for emigration also includes the search for happiness (15.0%), career/work (8.7%) and poverty (6.3%). The most significant emigration factors during the 2014–2023 period of emigration that were highlighted on the programmes were the need to earn money (29.1%) and the search for happiness (22.7%). Less important factors included career/work (9.9%), marriage to a foreigner (6.6%) and looking for adventure (4.1%). The story of emigration presented on the TV programme coincides with scientific explanations of emigration. On the shows aired, the scale of emigration motives is most clearly formed by the economic factors of emigration, while the thematic composition of the emigration narrative is diversified by other emigration motives.

Emigration directions. The geography of emigration directions is narrow. The TV programme usually shows Lithuanians who have gone to United Kingdom (21.4%), Spain (14.4%), Ireland (13.2%) or Norway (10.7%). The directions of emigration on the programmes aired are in a slightly different order to the periods of emigration. The programmes aired during the 2004–2013 period of emigration include the following emigration directions: Spain (24.3%), Ireland (21.5%), and Great Britain (21.5%). The programmes aired during the 2014–2023 period of emigration include Great Britain (21.4%), Norway (12.5%), Spain (9.8%) and Ireland (9.4%). The order of emigration directions in the story is explained by the trends of emigration development. The characteristics of the 2004–2013 period of emigration were shaped by the abolition of restrictions on the free movement of people within the territory of the European Union, which led to an increase in demand for unskilled manual labour. The specifics of the emigration directions of the 2004–2013 period

of emigration highlighted on the TV programme suggest that emigrants went to countries where they could easily earn money (often in temporary or seasonal jobs). The directions of the 2014–2023 period of emigration are associated with the phenomenon of the global financial crisis. The destination countries on the shows aired stand out as being economically strong countries that managed to quickly eliminate the effects of the economic crisis and bring back the workforce from countries heavily affected by this.

Structure of the narrative about emigration. Scientific analysis of emigration trends has shown that the periods of emigration were also similar in terms of their duration, with both spanning 10 years. When determining the structure of the narrative, the specifics of broadcasting the TV programme were also taken into account. The programme (*Ne*)*emigrantai* began to be aired in 2006, and was not shown in 2009–2011. For the analysed period to cover equal chronological intervals, the following sequence of stories about emigration is presented: 2006–2013 – the beginning of the narrative, 2014–2018 – development of the narrative, 2019–2023 – the end of the narrative. The story of emigration is considered to be formed by the components of reasons for emigration, directions of emigration and types of emigrants that make up the biggest share in the established chronological intervals.

Structure of the narrative of motives for emigration. The most important motive for emigration in the plot of the narrative at the beginning of the story is to earn money (44.3%). This is reinforced by other motives for emigration, such as the search for happiness (15.0%), career/work (8.7%) and poverty (6.3%). In developing the narrative, two main motives for emigration dominate – earning money (32.1%), and finding happiness (23.0%). Additional motives for emigration include marriage to a foreigner (7.3%), and career/work (7.0%). The story is ended by the most significant motives for emigration, such as earning money (25.8%), looking for happiness (22.3%) and career/work (13.3%). The story is complemented by studies abroad (6.3%), and marriage to a foreigner (5.9%). When evaluating the narrative of motives for emigration, it can be discerned that the TV programme presents an unchanging picture of emigration motives. The sequence of the most significant motives for emigration on the shows aired during the entire period of the narrative's existence is visibly formed by the need to earn money and the search for happiness. The emigration specifics and changes are more clearly demonstrated by the emigration factors characteristic of the subplot of the narrative.

Structure of the narrative of emigration directions. The beginning of the narrative presenting the directions of emigration is formed by three main countries – Spain (24.3%), Ireland (21.5%) and United Kingdom (21.5%). In the development of the emigration narrative, the most popular emigration direction is United Kingdom (20.6%). Norway (14.3%), Ireland (11.8%) and Spain (9.8%) are also mentioned. The list of destination countries at the end of the narrative is diverse. United Kingdom remains as the most popular direction of emigration (22.2%), while Norway (10.5%), Spain (9.7%), the United States of America (8.6%), Ireland (6.6 %) and Denmark (5.1%) emerge among the other emigration directions. The narrative of emigration directions presented on the TV programme is explained by the political, economic, and social patterns of emigration. The introduction of new destination countries on the programmes aired during the 2014–2023 period of emigration

suggests that the narrative of the end of emigration highlights the changing nature of emigration.

Structure of the narrative of emigrant types. Following the principles of analysis of the story about emigration, the types of emigrants are highlighted, and the course of events in the emigration narrative is considered to reflect the participants. Therefore, the arrangement of emigrant types in the structure of the narrative allows for these assumptions to be verified, and character sketches of the emigration characters to be revealed. In the beginning stage of the story about emigration, one character type is dominant – economic migrants (55.3%). Other types of emigrants include people looking for happiness (15.0%), and people who left for their career (8.3%). The development of the narrative repeats the same patterns – the most significant character type is economic migrants (44.3%). The second most important character type is people looking for happiness (24.0%). Secondary character types include people looking for love (7.3%), and people who left for their career (7.0%). At the end of the story, economic migrants (28.1%) and people looking for happiness (23.8%) become the main characters of emigration. People who left for their career (13.3%), forced emigrants (8.6%), students (6.3%) and migrants looking for love (5.9%) are considered secondary characters of emigration. Looking at the types of characters on the TV programme, it is visible that they correspond exactly to the spectrum of motives for emigration.

Features of social documentary genre expression in the story about emigration. The characteristics of the expression of the hero's roles revealed that the emigration experiences presented on the shows aired are considered successful. Success stories make up 90.2% of the stories, while 9.8% of the stories end in failure. The trends identified remain almost unchanged in the different periods of emigration: during the 2004–2013 period of emigration, 84.6% are success stories and 15.4% are failures, and during the 2014–2023 period of emigration, these numbers are 92.8% and 7.2%, respectively. Success stories are mostly associated with the motive for emigration of earning money (31.9%). The search for happiness (21.2%) and career/work (10.4%) are also mentioned among the other emigration motives. The expression of motives for emigration during the 2004–2013 period of emigration is as follows: to earn money – 38.8%, to look for happiness – 15.9%, for career/work – 9.8%. During the 2014–2023 period of emigration, the motives are as follows: to earn money – 29.0%, to look for happiness – 23.4%, for career/work – 9.3%. The structure of failure stories is similar. On the shows aired, failures are associated with emigrants' efforts to earn money (52.6%), and to find happiness (11.5%). Among the failure stories in the different periods of emigration, the same motives for emigration can be found, but their percentages are different. On the programmes aired during the 2004–2013 period, the emigration motive of earning money (74.4%) dominates over the search for happiness (10.3%). During the 2014–2023 period, the predominance of the main motive forming the structure of failure stories is not as distinct (earning money – 30.8%, looking for happiness – 12.8%). Although the TV programme portrays emigration through success stories, the countries of origin and destination are not contrasted in the story. The stories told by the heroes do not create an ideal picture of the destination country. The destination country is idealised in 30.5% of the emigration stories, while negative qualities are attributed to the destination

country in 69.5%. The opinions of the country of origin and destination are similar in the different periods of emigration. The destination country is idealised in 31.5% of the stories during the 2004–2013 period, and in 30.1% of the stories during the 2014–2023 period. Negative connotations are found in 68.5% and 69.9% of the stories, respectively. The attribution of positive qualities to the target country is seen in stories with romantic content – for example, in conveying the theme of marriage to a foreigner (93.0%). The programmes aired during the 2004–2013 period idealise the theme of the search for happiness (68.4%) and marriage to a foreigner (85.7%), and those aired during the 2014–2023 period idealise the theme of marriage to a foreigner (94.4%).

The hero's journey is highlighted on the TV programme through the phase of change in the successful overcoming of obstacles (57.8%). Simplification of failures is characteristic of 21.2% of the stories, while a tragic ending is characteristic of 9.8%, rebirth of 6.3% and a new experience of 4.9% of the stories. Stories presenting the real, unromanticised abilities of the hero unfold in the different periods of emigration as well. The successful overcoming of obstacles accounted for 47.8% of the stories on the programmes aired during the 2004–2013 period, and for 62.4% of the stories on the programmes aired during the 2014–2023 period. The phase of change in the successful overcoming of obstacles is highlighted in the stories of heroes whose motives for leaving the country of origin were earning money (38.6%), looking for happiness (18.1%) and career/work (12.2%). During the 2004–2013 period of emigration, the story in the discussed phase of change in the course of events is set out as follows: earning money (51.2%), career/work (12.4%), poverty (9.9%). During the 2014–2023 period of emigration, transformations of the hero's character through the successful overcoming of obstacles are realised when the main character emigrated to earn money (33.9%), look for happiness (22.1%) or pursue career/work goals (12.1%).

In briefly discussing the other phases of change in the events of the stories highlighted on the shows aired, it can be seen that the simplification of failures is most emphasised in stories where the hero is looking for happiness (33.7%), or is there to earn money (30.2%). The structure of the presentation of stories where the hero hyperbolises their abilities remains identical in the different periods of emigration. The remaining phases of change in the stories about emigration present specific themes. The phase of change in rebirth is exclusively characteristic of the topic of marriage to a foreigner (70.0%). Marriage to a foreigner accounted for 57.1% of the stories during the 2004–2013 period of emigration, and for 72.1% of the stories during the 2014–2023 period of emigration. The phase of change in the course of events of new experiences is associated with diplomatic service (51.3%), with 47.6% during the 2004–2013 period of emigration and 55.6% during the 2014–2023 period of emigration. The phase of change in the course of events with a tragic outcome tells about failures in the search for a better life elsewhere (52.6%, with this expression of the emigration motive identical in the different periods of emigration). The transformations of the hero's character on the TV programme are shown through the adventure and didactic type of storytelling (94.3%). Didactic storytelling is found in 3.4% of the stories, and absurd storytelling is found in 2.3% of the stories. There is little change in the trends in the different periods of emigration. Adventure and didactic stories account for 92.5% of the stories on the programmes aired during the 2004–2013 period, and 95.2% of the stories

on the programmes aired during the 2014–2023 period. The adventure and didactic stories are presented through two main motives for emigration – the hero’s quest to earn money (35.7%), and look for happiness (21.0%). The same patterns are visible in the different periods of emigration. During the 2004–2013 period, the motive for emigration was to earn money (47.4%) and look for happiness (16.2%); these motives stood during the 2014–2023 period as well, at 30.4% and 23.2%, respectively. The didactic stories introduce a certain theme of the emigration narrative. The didactic type of storytelling is found in the topic of diplomatic service (70.4%; 55.6% during the 2004–2013 period and 100.0% during the 2014–2023 period). The specifics are not characteristic of absurd stories – these stories are supported in various motives for emigration, such as when the hero is looking for happiness (16.7%), is studying abroad (16.7%), is looking to earn money (11.1%), is forced to go abroad due to family circumstances (11.1%) or is starting a new life abroad (11.1%). On the other hand, the trends differ in the emigration periods. On the programmes aired during the 2004–2013 period, absurd stories are only characteristic of the motive for emigration to earn money (100.0%). During the 2014–2023 period, the motives for emigration in the absurd stories are diverse: the search for happiness (17.6%), studying abroad (17.6%), going abroad due to family circumstances (11.8%), starting a new life abroad (11.8%).

Discussion and Conclusions

Analysis of the presentation of the topic of emigration on the selected shows makes it possible to confirm the insights of scholars that social documentaries are interested in events that take place in the public arena.⁵⁶ The stories told by the emigrants revealed a detailed image of emigration on the TV programme during the 2004–2023 period, and highlighted media assessments on the subject of emigration. Although the role of the media is not analysed in the article, it can be seen that emigration is presented on the TV programme through the political, economic, and social contexts relevant to society. The trends in the development of emigration portrayed on the programme exactly correspond to the sociological trends in the development of emigration described by researchers in scientific literature, which are determined by the political, economic, and social development of Lithuania.⁵⁷ This study reveals which aspects of emigration the mass media focused on the most when telling stories about emigration through narrative. By combining narrative analysis with other research methods, the study can be continued to answer the questions of what public attitudes and opinions about emigration and emigrants are formed by the media on the TV programme. The results of the research conducted can be useful for scholars in communications and other fields who are retrospectively studying various

⁵⁶ Aufderheide, *Documentary Film*, 10–125.

⁵⁷ Nabažaitė, “Žiniasklaidos naratyvo tyrimo prieigos konstravimas...”, 75–86; Anderson, Clark & Parutis, “New EU Members?”, 1–22; Isaksen, “The Impact of the Financial Crisis...”, 1–20; Czeranowska, Parutis & Trąbka, “Between Settlement, Double Return and Re-emigration...”, 1–20; Okunevičiūtė-Neveauskienė & Pocius, “Demografinių grupių migracijos skirtumai...”, 295–304.

aspects of emigration. The study also adds new insights to existing research on emigration and the presentation of emigrants on television.⁵⁸

In the portrayal of emigration in 2004–2023 through personal life stories, two types of characters share the television screen – economic migrants, and people looking for happiness. On the shows aired, Lithuanians usually go abroad to earn money and look for happiness. During the 2004–2013 period, with the processes of European unification shaping emigrants' behaviour and the onset of the global financial crisis, economic insecurity and uncertainty about the future, the motives for emigration in the stories of emigrants told on the TV programme were mainly economic. People went abroad to earn money and to escape poverty, although the search for happiness and career/work are mentioned among the personal/psychological motives for emigration. Accompanied by economic hardship, economic migration continued during the 2014–2023 period. On the other hand, other factors of emigration emerge in the secondary plot structure of the narrative. As researchers have emphasised,⁵⁹ they are characteristic of the changing 2014–2023 period of emigration.

In the emigration stories shown on the TV programme, the following reasons for emigration are accentuated: the search for happiness, career/work, marriage to a foreigner, and the search for adventure. The specifics of the motives for emigration highlight the economic, political and social nature of emigration through emigration directions.⁶⁰ On the programmes aired, the most popular emigration directions are economically strong countries that have a shortage of unskilled labour (2004–2013) and that are resistant to fluctuations in economic instability (2014–2023), such as Great Britain, Spain, Ireland, and Norway. The structure of the stories about emigration is stable and does not change over time. There are differences in the timing of the stories on *(Ne)emigrantai* due to the specifics of the TV programme. However, the structure of the narrative of emigration motives, emigration directions, and emigrant types corresponds to the chronological framework of scientific explanations of emigration and reveals an image of emigration determined by the confluence of emigration periods. In the stories presenting the reasons for emigration, the beginning, development, and end of the emigration narrative is shaped by the two main factors of emigration – the desire to earn money and the search for happiness. The remaining factors of emigration complementing the plot of the narrative consistently highlight other reasons for emigration specific to the particular period. Analogous trends can be seen in the narrative of emigration directions. The beginning of the narrative of emigration directions presents the most popular destinations during the 2004–2013 period. On the shows aired, countries where people went to do unskilled manual labour (Spain, Ireland, and United Kingdom) were emphasised the most. The development of the narrative reveals the characteristics of the second half of the 2004–2013 period of emigration. In the emigration stories told by emigrants on the TV show, the largest emigration flows are to countries with high economic capacity (United Kingdom and Norway). At the end of the narrative, the changing development trends of the 2014–2023 period of emigration are

⁵⁸ Stankevičiūtė-Volkauskienė, "Pasaulio lietuvių paveikslas...", 102–114.

⁵⁹ Šimelytė, Korsakienė & Šceulovs, "Americanization in Lithuania as a Driving Force...", 1–13.

⁶⁰ Anderson, Clark & Parutis, "New EU Members?", 1–22; Cuadrado-Roura, Martin & Rodríguez-Pose, "The Economic Crisis in Europe...", 3–11.

demonstrated more clearly. Among the destination countries, new countries appear on the shows aired – the United States and Denmark. The structure of the narrative of emigrant types, as previously mentioned, completely coincides with the narrative of motives for emigration. With two character types dominating the structure of the development of the stories, the main character sketches of the emigrants are formed from economic migrants and people looking for happiness.

The features of the social documentary genre revealed the specific characteristics of the expression of the stories about emigration presented on the TV programme. The shows aired featured positive stories of emigration. Based on the change of roles of the hero, the experiences of emigration are considered successful. The presented success stories, the structure of which does not change in the periods of emigration, are associated with the following emigration motives: the hero's efforts to earn money, find happiness, and pursue a career/work. The failure stories, which make up a small percentage of the total, have a similar structure. The TV programme highlights stories of emigrants who did not manage to earn money or find happiness. The idea put forward by scholars in previous studies that the country of origin and destination are contrasted was not confirmed.⁶¹ On the shows aired, the emigrants do not idealise the destination country. No contrasts between the countries of origin and destination were created in the stories told by the heroes. A positive and ideal description of the destination country can be seen in emigration stories with a romantic plot about love and the search for happiness. The hero's journey and the lessons learned along the way are shown to television viewers realistically and without exaggeration, through the phase of change in the successful overcoming of obstacles. It presents the following motives for emigration: the desire to earn money, the search for happiness, or career/work. A similar sequence of arrangement of emigration motives in the phase of change in the course of events in the successful overcoming of obstacles remains on the programmes aired in both periods of emigration. The phase of change in the course of events in the simplification of failures, which does not change in the periods of emigration, conveys stories of emigration about the hero's search for happiness and attempts to earn money.

Other phases of change that are little reflected in the story of emigration are used to present specific topics to television viewers. The stories of emigration are shown through an adventure and didactic type of storytelling. A tendency to moralise and teach the audience a lesson through the hero's experiences is seen in stories where the main character of the story is looking to earn money or find happiness. Didactic stories introduce the theme of diplomatic service, while absurd stories include several different themes that highlight the hero's search for happiness, studying abroad, the quest to earn money, going abroad due to family circumstances, and starting a new life abroad. The structure of presentation of narrative types on the programmes aired, with the exception of the absurd stories, did not really change at all in the different periods of emigration.

It is important to note that this study did not aim to conduct a qualitative narrative analysis or search for the semantic meanings of emigration and their interpretations.

⁶¹ Parutis, "Economic Migrants' or 'Middling Transnationals'?", 36–55.

A structural narrative analysis was selected to investigate how the story about emigration is structured, which narrative elements (such as emigration motives, characters, or directions) are repeated, and how they interact with each other and change over time. This analysis revealed the patterns and structure of the emigration narrative presented to social documentary viewers through the stories of emigrants on the TV programme. In the future, the structural narrative analysis could be supplemented with a qualitative examination of the narrative, focusing on the interpretation of the meanings of emigration in social documentaries – for example, the meanings of the depiction of emigration and the assessment of the narrator's experiences.

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STRUKTŪRINĖ EMIGRACIJOS NARATYVO ANALIZĖ SOCIALINĖS DOKUMENTIKOS LAIDOJE „(NE)EMIGRANTAI“ 2004–2023 M.

Santrauka. Emigracijos ir emigrantų iš Lietuvos vaizdavimas socialinės dokumentikos televizijos laidose – netirta tema. Lietuvoje neatlikta mokslinių tyrimų, kuriuose būtų išsamiai atskleistas emigracijai skirtose nacionalinės televizijos laidose formuojamas emigracijos paveikslas. Straipsnyje pristatomi empirinio tyrimo apie emigracijos perteikimą socialinės dokumentikos laidoje „(Ne)emigrantai“ (toliau – TV laida) 2004–2023 m. rezultatai. Pasitelkus naratyvo kaip visuminio pasakojimo konceptą, tirta, koks emigracijos iš Lietuvos 2004–2023 m. vaizdinys sukuriamas TV laidoje. Ryškinama, kokiomis ypatybėmis jis pasižymi ir kokią emigracijos naratyvo struktūrą atskleidžia.

Empirinis tyrimas parodė, kad TV laidoje pateikiamas pasakojimas apie emigraciją 2004–2023 m. atitinka mokslines emigracijos raidos tendencijas, o jo specifika nekinta vertinant emigraciją pagal laikotarpius. Rodytose laidose dažniausiai akcentuojami ekonominiai emigracijos motyvai, o kiti emigracijos veiksniai pasakojimą papildo. Emigracijos pobūdis nulemia emigrantų tipus. TV laidoje dažniausiai minimi du pagrindiniai veikėjų tipai: ekonominiai emigrantai ir ieškantieji laimės. Emigrantų istorijose akcentuojamos kelios emigracijos kryptys. Emigruojama dažniausiai į ekonomiškai stiprias, nekvalifikuotą rankų darbą vertinančias valstybes. Specifinių emigracijos naratyvo ypatybių analizė išryškino, kad emigracijos patirtys pripažįstamos sėkmingomis, tačiau tikslo šalis rodytose laidose neidealizuojama. Herojaus kelionė televizijos žiūrovams parodoma tikroviškai, neperdedant, pasitelkiant įvykių vyksmo kaitos sėkmingai įveikiant kliūtis fazę. Herojaus charakterio transformacijos ryškinamos per nuotykių ir didaktinį pasakojimo tipą.

Raktažodžiai: socialinė dokumentika, emigracija, Lietuvos emigracijos raidos tendencijos 2004–2023 m., pasakojimas, naratyvas kaip visuminis pasakojimas.