

Lithuanian family in the context of migration: representation in legal documents and TV broadcasts

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Following the constructionist approach to family studies, the authors argue that Lithuanian society is shaped by meaning-making institutions producing knowledge about emigration and families affected by emigration. The social reception of living realities of families is mediated by symbolic and visual representations of ideologically based directions in the regulation of migration, family ideology and “truthful” images of emigrant families in the Lithuanian TV. The brief overview of normative prescriptions included in different official documents concerning family aims to disclose how the socially accepted family values used in Lithuania change with time and how the established parameters of family values might affect the social reception of family-making practice. The qualitative research aims to analyse TV broadcasts as value-making institutions and to show that the representation of families affected by emigration is shaped by the knowledge of program-makers, the internal ideology of a TV channel and the technologies that produce “truthful” statements about the phenomena.

Key words: emigration, families, legislation, mass media, social construction

INTRODUCTION

The worldwide social changes since the 1970s in the context of globalization and migration have led to the formation of regional and local norms and values related to family life. Changes in family life in Lithuania become the topic of debates in public sphere, changes in the context of migration among them. Lithuania being a EU state, its family is subject to specific influences. A country supplying migrants witnesses a transformation of family structure and relations; the migratory processes increase the variety of family life forms and pose questions as to who should be called a family and whether changes of family life pose a threat to the country's national identity. In the changing social reality, traditional signposts for determining family life have disappeared. Following the constructionist approach to family studies, the authors of the paper argue that Lithuanian society is shaped by value-making institutions producing knowledge about emigration and emigrant families. The daily life is mediated by symbolic and visual representations of ideologically based directions in the regulation of migration, family policy, and “truthful images” of emigrant life stories in the Lithuanian TV. In the paper, we shall introduce the recent official documents as well as TV broadcasts as value-making institutions. We shall interpret the documents to demonstrate changes in family

knowledge and in the process of institutionalizing families affected by emigration. The brief overview of normative prescriptions, included in recent official documents about family, aims to disclose how socially accepted family values used in Lithuania change with time and how the established parameters of family values might affect the social reception of family-making practice. We shall draw on sociological research aimed to learn how to read and analyse the systems of representation and interpretation of emigration and emigrant families in Lithuanian TV programs in 2006–2010.

FAMILIES AFFECTED BY EMIGRATION IN THE SPACE OF SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED VALUES

Following the constructionist approach to family studies (Gubrium, Holstein 1990; 1993), the authors question the notion of family as a social form corresponding to the singular concept of “the family” taken-for-granted. Family ideology and the related ideologies of society play a vital role in sustaining an individualistic mode of thought and family practice; socially accepted values underpin the creation of the sense of certainty and identity (Bernardes 1999). Certain practices are presented as real, while other alternatives are neglected as unnatural.

Economic migration has caught the Government’s attention first due to the fact that the economic reason is the most popular cause for emigrating from Lithuania. During the 1990s, short-term economic emigration in Lithuania did not seem dangerous and was accepted just as a mechanism of struggling with hardships. However, starting with 2004, the country faced great numbers of emigrants, and discussions about the “negative” consequences of emigration arose. In October 17, 2006, the Government of the Republic of Lithuania accepted the “*Economic migration regulation strategy and action plan*” – the first national strategy in the area of regulating economic migration. Emigration was portrayed as one of the threats to Lithuanian national security, which can be stopped using state-level measures. The emigration regulation strategy produced the normative prescriptions as socially accepted values related to Lithuanian identity and transnational commonality, provisions included in the strategy (to reduce the emigration of Lithuanian population and encourage migrants to return to homeland) created the space for defining the families affected by emigration in negative terms.

The impact of emigration on family structure and inter-personal relations was analysed in the context of family policy (Stankūnienė, Jasilionis 2009). From the very first signs of mass emigration in 2004, the press and internet portals started drawing attention to the problems of emigrants’ employment abroad, the issues of parents–children and children–custodians relations, children’s psychological condition (Juozeliūnienė et al., 2008). Sociologists explored the attitudes of Lithuanian population towards emigrants, factors underpinning this attitude, trends in the public emigration discourse and return migration (Maslauskaitė, Stankūnienė 2007; Juozeliūnienė, Leonavičiūtė 2009; Sipavičienė et al. 2009; Šukys et al. 2010). Starting from 2005, emigration and its impact on family attracted attention of the Lithuanian television, and from 2006 we saw production of social documentary series, standalone TV programs focused on emigration.

The articles in press and internet portals as well as research design and the interpretation of research results at that time on were largely mediated by official, socially accepted notions of the phenomenon of emigration as a threat to national identity and Lithuanian family. The impact of emigration on family is presented mainly in negative terms – parent’s intentions

of departing to work abroad are linked with the negative consequences for children, such as teenage delinquency and children suicide. Gradually, the concepts defining families under migration were distinguished as a separate social group which was given its own definitions and labels. Parents–children living separately in different countries were called “separated against their will”, whereas children were described as “belonging to nobody”, “abandoned”, “unneeded”, “phone children”.

Families affected by emigration started to be distinguished in Lithuanian legislation only in 2007. The interest to these families was peaked by their legal ambiguity: with both or one of parents departed abroad, minor children formally risked to lose their legal representative and end up being swept into the ranks of asocial families neglecting their children. The increased number of families with children left behind and the problem of legally representing these children – raised publicly – led to amendment of temporary custody provisions initiated in 2007 by the Child Rights Protection Service. The law not only enabled parents to ensure the legal representation of their children and to appoint a specific person responsible for caring for a child; it also obliged the individuals to provide such care.

In 2008, the new “national family policy conception” began to be debated. It sought to define the normative concept of a family. An official document for the first time involved the issues of defining parents–children variations living separately. The national concept of family policy could be seen as a representation of the existing national family ideology, elements of historically based intertwined traditional and national family models being intertwined, while features of the soviet family were eliminated. In the concept of the modern Lithuanian family, there remains the tradition of family functional characterization, which defines the contours of an individual’s self-consciousness and guidelines for child-raising in respect of the structural and functional understanding of a nuclear family. The family concept also includes deep-rooted family characterization features, such as economic cooperation of family members, reproduction, the partnership of a heterosexual married couple. The feature of family as a common living space is established by equating family with household. At the same time, much more attention is devoted to child as a value.

Meanwhile, the image of families affected by emigration, constructed in the public space at that time, was related to attitudes towards the negative outcomes of emigration, as well as to the “difference” from traditional family as regards structure, the distribution of roles, international networking. Parents and children living separately were given the status of a “new” type of family, different from the “normal” Lithuanian family, conditioned by the unfavourable circumstances such as the changed cultural space and values, the loss of economic security, the emerging problems of raising a child, which serve as symptoms of family “crisis”.

The definition established a distinction between the “normal” family as “harmonious” and the family with “parents–children living separately” as the one “going through a crisis”. The latter, as a kind of deviation, was defined as a temporary form of family life, characterized by psychological, social, health and economic problems. Families under migration were compared with families undergoing a divorce, nursing a patient, experiencing loss or violence. Children were labelled as suffering from ‘orphan’s syndrome’ implying the experience of a personal trauma, effects on psychological health and behaviour. Ideologically based institutionalization of families under migration as different from “normal” Lithuanian families produced knowledge about the deviance of these families and opened the door to the practice of stigmatization of parents and children living separately.

The official documents, such as “The national compact on environment favourable to family”, approved by Seimas in 2010, and “The draft of the law on family policy fundamentals”, submitted in 2011, followed the controversial national family policy conception aimed to adapt the traditional family model to the social environment irreversibly altered by globalization. On September 28, 2011, the Lithuanian Constitutional Court approved the national family policy conception, which recognizes families created on the basis of marriage contradicting the Constitution. The Court has noted that the constitutional concept of family cannot be descended from the institute of marriage. This decision of the Constitutional Court annuls all legal legislation harmonized with the concept of the family policy. Therefore, in Lithuania, the prevailing family ideology started to be questioned on the official level. Two official institutions – the Constitutional Court and Seimas – have initiated family discourse and opened up the problem fields that have been confronted by Western European and US family sociologists since the 90s of the last century.

Moreover, due to the increasing scale of emigration, the strategy “to stop emigration” was replaced by the strategy of “upholding close ties with emigrants abroad”: in 2010, the “Strategy of creating global Lithuania – including Lithuanians from abroad in national life – for 2011–2017” was announced. The new ideologically based emigration regulation strategy disclosed the changes in normative prescriptions, included in different official documents, and the changes in socially accepted values related to the national Lithuanian identity, the status of Lithuanians living abroad, transnational commonality and worldwide informational space. Both the recent family discourse and the new strategy on migration policy have opened the way to the re-conceptualization of families affected by emigration in the light of newly emerging socially accepted meanings values.

REPRESENTATION OF EMIGRATION AND FAMILIES IN LITHUANIAN TV

In developing our empirical survey, we have relied on the statement that the media provide information about political, economic, social and cultural happenings in social life and shape people’s perception of the everyday world. In Lithuania, there has been no research on the representation of emigration in television. The present work is the first of the kind.

We raised the following questions: how television portrays the phenomenon of emigration and what images of emigration families are presented by it? What are the systems of representation allowing the program-makers to create a visual text which gives the viewer an illusion of having unmediated access to reality? Several tasks were formulated: firstly, to elucidate the dynamics of representing emigration and emigration families in Lithuanian TV programs (2006–2010) and, secondly, to analyse how producers of TV programs define the phenomenon of emigration and how this knowledge is being reflected in TV programs.

METHODS

While performing a survey of social documentary broadcasts on TV, we referred to the ideas of J. Baudrillard’s (1999; 2002) simulation theory which assumes that the construction of social reality with the help of media is the transfer of meanings, and the relationship of individuals with media (television) may be assumed as a mediated interaction. TV programs were analysed as “realistic” visual texts which aspire to present a true-life view of a phenomenon. We have applied the insights of Norman K. Denzin (2004) into a subversive analysis of realistic visual texts and T. M. Trinh’s (1992) ideas about the aesthetics of visual documentary objectiveness and technological apparatuses used to construct truthful images of the world.

Data collection to analyse the constructed nature of TV programs is disclosed by examining, firstly, visual texts of documentary series and, secondly, exploring the knowledge of producers behind TV documentary series and its application in the production of TV programs. Triangulation of research methods: analysis of a visual text is combined with the in-depth interviews of TV program producers by means of a role-making map, as well as with semi-structured interviews and a field note analysis.

In order to reveal the subversive reading of visual texts, the method of reconstruction of visual information presentation by U. Flick (2004; 2006), the scheme of presentation of narratives by H. Herman (Flick 2006), procedures of “reality” creation by Norman K. Denzin (1995; 2004), T. M. Trinh (1992) and the exclusion procedure of “difficult social data about family” by B. Hildenbrand and W. Jahn (Flick 2006) were used. For the narrative analysis of life stories presented in visual texts, the model of family stress was used, rooted in the examined Hill’s (McKenry et al. 2005) theory.

The definition of the emigration phenomenon was examined with the help of the role-making map* (authors I. Juozeliūnienė and G. Martinkėnė), designed as a modification of the my-family map (Levin 1993; 1999), and technologies which produce images of emigration in TV programs performed through a semi-structured interview. of a technological apparatus which produces images of emigration in TV programs prepared as semi-structured interviews.

For **sampling**, we have chosen the period 2006–2010 for the analysis of TV programs, because Lithuanian TV has been broadcasting series and standalone programs related to emigration since 2006. The sample included two weekly social documentary series focused on emigration (2006–2009), namely “The Emigrants” and “How are you?” In total, 87 programs from these series were analysed. In 2009, the broadcasting of specialized emigration series was discontinued, so we analysed all programs shown on Lithuanian TV in 2009–2010 – a total of 22 programs – dealing with the issues of emigration and families affected by emigration. The sampling of program producers was conducted using the “snowball” method: five people took part in the research, and they presented two social documentary series about emigration.

Dynamics of representing emigration and families in TV programs in 2006–2010

General features of TV programs. During 2006–2010, the dynamics of representing emigration on Lithuanian TV was marked by the move from attempts to examine the phenomenon of mass emigration and its impact on the lives of individuals, families from the inclusive perspective towards a more episodic presentation of the phenomenon. Throughout the entire period, emigration has been presented in four contexts: studies, work, family, Lithuanian community / school, although the topics covered by programs change in such a way that

* Role-making map is defined by visualization of personal conceptualizations of a person interviewed, reconciliation of verbal and non-verbal information, triangulation within the method, subject’s inclusion in performance, understood as his / her creative participation in the survey. The research methodology consists of four parts having partial goals. In the first part (a list), we establish the structure of emigration phenomenon as a list of topics with respect to the subject, in the second (significance of the topics) the structure of emigration phenomenon is represented in a hierarchical way, according to the significance of the topics, in the third (a map) it is visualized how the subject managed to implement the representation of emigration phenomenon in TV documentary series (the closer the topic to the figure of “me”, the better the implementation of the topic), and in the fourth (in-depth interview) we ask about the meanings conferred by the subject to the creation of his / her role as a producer of TV programs about emigration, expectations on carrying out the performance of the role.

interest in the phenomenon of emigration itself and its impact on an individual, family, social-psychological interaction, everyday life of a person is replaced by exclusive preoccupation with the economic dimension of emigration and a focus on the macroeconomic analysis of emigration, its political, social and economic aspects.

Subversive analysis of truthfulness of TV programs. *Recounting of a personal life story* shows that a life situation is being recounted from the first-person perspective, other participants performing the role of “witnesses”. To add drama to the situation and to justify the true nature of negative / positive experiences, the program invites witnesses, for example, children (to illustrate the negative impact on children); the opinion of an older person is important. To verify the truthfulness in a social documentary series, it was enough to include witnesses from individuals related to the family, while in programs where emigration experience is being covered in a fragmented way, bigger teams of witnesses are convened, and an expert is invited to legalize the authenticity of representation.

Dramatization of life stories. Program producers usually invoke a double technique: that of building up evenly the emotional tension and the technique of creating emotional jumps. To dramatize life stories, the events with the biggest emotional charge are repeated to enhance the dimension the producers are interested in. Attention is focused on strong emotions: stress, despair, joy. In a fragmented coverage of emigration, the appearance of a new, expert witness of authenticity, the expert’s opinion are used to enhance dramatization. Comments of experts – seen as objective participants – confirm / deny the guests’ stories.

Anonymity of program presenter is a necessary condition of program truthfulness. The spectator must see the program presenter, but he / she should not feel his key, directing role in producing the program and broadcasting it. The effect of a true image is achieved by presenting the guest in his everyday environment – at home, at work. The authenticity of recounted life stories is “investigated” and “witnessed” by the program presenter taking part in the subject’s daily activities: they walk through a park, look at photos, walk / travel to work, shop, most often set out a table for meals, dine, drink coffee.

Way of presentation of narratives. Social documentary programs are similar in terms of the presentation of narrative schemes (the beginning, development, consequences of the situation) and correspond to the structure of visual text narratives presented by H. Herman (Flick 2006). Usually, the programs vary only in the starting point of the story: they start “from the beginning” or from “the present-day” (consequences) state of a situation.

Rhetoric. Remarks are not categorical, they signal intentions of agreeing with one’s opinion, express a slight doubt encouraging one to look for arguments, speak of inclination to understand better the situation and discuss the consequences, for example, “it seems that”, “it looks like”, “most probably”, “it’s doubtful”. When emigration is covered in a fragmented way by thematic programs, these remarks provoke and encourage the discussion, they call for more dynamic, shorter, more emotional replies, contain a clue about the position of the program presenter, for example, “still”, “we should not be surprised”, “it’s obvious”, “one can confidently refer to”.

The generalizing statements at the beginning and end include connotation, because they coin a certain attitude towards the topic. Thematic and informational programs can end with rhetorical questions. Multiple meanings contained within rhetorical questions symbolize tolerance towards different opinions and leave the intrigues for other programs.

“General opinion” is used to distinguish, categorize different situations and opinions, summarize them in a simplified manner, confirm / contradict in the name of “others”. Program presenters often use generalizations to censure / console a guest in the name of “every-

body". Changes in the rhetoric of programs dealing with emigration were stated. In programs broadcast before the economic crisis, intentions to depart from Lithuania were accompanied by neutral or negative rhetoric; later, one comes across the rhetoric that justifies emigration: "victims of emigration"; "crisis emigrants"; "crisis emigration".

Narratives of life stories. The main stressors affecting families were inability to speak the language, unemployment, negative attitudes towards emigrants in the home country, an exceptional stressor being the parental fear of children's acculturation in the alien country, loss of Lithuanian heritage. Parents living abroad were presented as a stressor determining changes in family relations, roles, emotional ties, exerting a negative impact on a child's psychological condition and behaviour.

TV programs reveal that stress has a *different structure and consequences*. Families can experience a traumatizing, masking, two-pole and mobilizing stress. The *mechanisms for overcoming family stress* are related to the psychological and social resources of the families. TV programs uncover the *problems* of emigration families: firstly, the problem of adaptation, related to learning the language, the ability to adapt to the new cultural and legal environment, join a new community; secondly, the danger of children's acculturation in a foreign country and loss of connection with Lithuania; thirdly, the negative social reception in Lithuania due to neglecting the mother's / father's role and negative consequences for children; fourth, the gap between expectations and reality, revealed when the reality of living abroad does not live up to expectations, fails one's dreams; fifth, the problem of "lost time", manifested in the fact that family members working abroad are unable to control the external factors such as employment opportunity, wage; sixth, the problem of the constant waiting / "tied hands" effect, manifested in missing close relatives and feeling helpless, having no possibility to help those who remain in Lithuania; seventh, the problem of changed parents-children and couples' inter-personal relations stemming from loneliness, self-recrimination, existential issues and life choices.

DEFINITION OF EMIGRATION AND PROGRAM-MAKING TECHNOLOGIES

The definition of emigration was examined via the *role-making maps*. Using the generalized content analysis, we generated five "thick descriptions" of emigration and called them the existential, instrumental-cyclical, emotional, critical, and warning models.

Existential emigration model (emigration as the choice of life values)

When drawing up a list of issues associated with emigration, the program producer distinguished three main topics and presented them in the form of questions: "1. Motivation: what drives you to emigrate? 2. Is it really the case that you can realize or achieve your goals there, but not here? 3. Is it really the case that what you earn is more than you own right now?". The role-making map indicated the extent the producer managed to cover them in TV programs – the closer distance to the figure of "Me", the better the topics were covered. Different colours were associated with a different importance of the topic; the colour was chosen by the respondents themselves. While explaining the role-making map, the program producer demonstrated that in TV programs she managed to shed light on the first two topics related to emigration motives and the evaluation of realizing one's material gains (close distance in the map). The most important topic describing emigration – about gains and losses – was covered only partially (see Fig. 1). She has stated that the personal opinion of the producers of

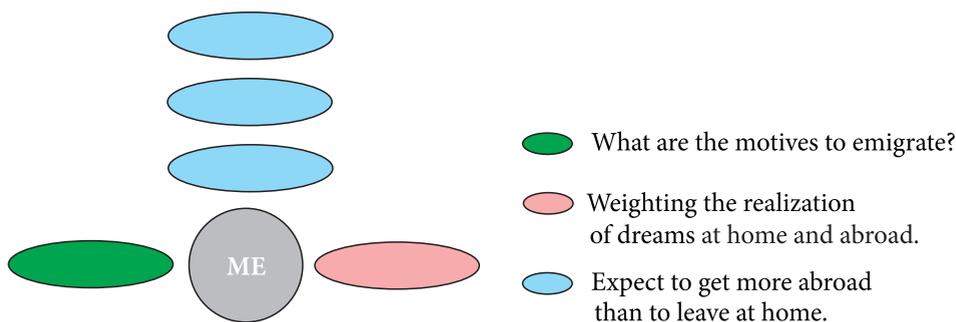


Fig. 1. Role-making map: realization of existential model of emigration in TV

TV programs about the phenomenon determines the choice of program topics and content: “<...> the way you will map it out, the way you will construct it, these things are decided entirely by the producer <...>”

Instrumental-cyclical emigration model (emigration as entirety of returning activities)

The respondent indicated seven topics related to emigration, which TV should cover for its audiences. These topics were presented in the form of rhetorical questions because – according to the respondent – TV must encourage viewers to think. [The subject] indicated a strict order of topics to be covered, which makes a closed cycle: “1. Why emigrate? 2. Is it easy to leave? 3. Is it easy to settle down in an alien country? 4. What is the most difficult part about being abroad? 5. Do you miss most when living abroad? 6. Do Lithuanians living abroad stick together? 7. Do you plan to come back?”

The role-making map has shown that the program producer has failed to cover all topics in the TV program, because topics 1, 6 and 7 remained uncovered (see Fig. 2). He indicated that a more detailed analysis of the motives would be too “boring” for a commercial channel, which led the team to look for a memorable, intriguing, and attention-grabbing aspect of emigration. During the interview, a clear opinion was formed, stating that the TV program producer’s personal attitude to the phenomenon influences the production of the TV program; however, this influence is mediated by the internal ideology of the TV channel.

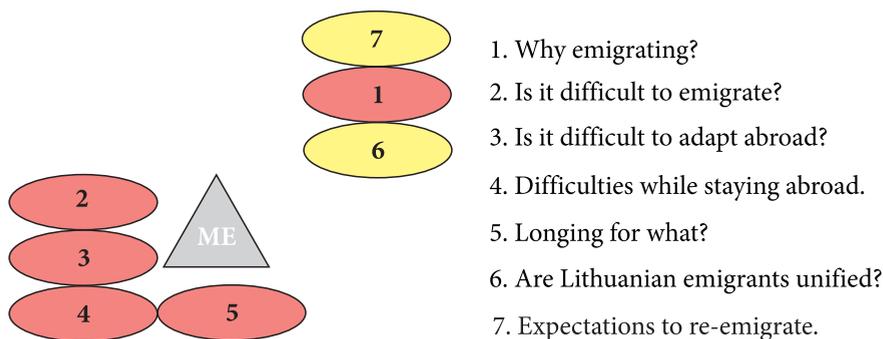


Fig. 2. Role-making map: realization of cycle model of emigration in TV

Emotional emigration model (emigration as disappointment)

In describing the phenomenon of emigration, three topics were distinguished: nostalgia, indignation, and adaptation. The respondent has emphasized that her working style is characterized by a primarily emotional perception of the phenomenon, and only later she envisions the logical-instrumental sequence of presenting the phenomenon. The role-making map has shown that the producer was most successful in tackling questions related to nostalgia (close distance in the map), because this feeling was common to all program guests (see Fig. 3). It was difficult to uncover the multi-dimensional nature of adaptation in a TV program, while indignation was very often something that guests were not willing to talk about. When explaining her role in the production of TV programs, the producer emphasized that she strived to uphold a balance between representing positive and negative experiences and used various professional procedures to balance the representation of positive and negative emotions.

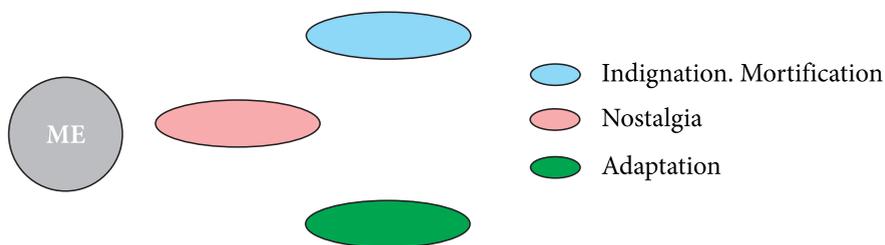


Fig. 3. Role-making map: realization of emotional model of emigration in TV

Critical emigration model (review of emigration concept in the context of global migration)

In describing the phenomenon of emigration, the respondent provided three definitive statements with directional indications: “1. Emigration is an extreme strategy when a person cannot find a job or survive in his own country; only then should he emigrate. 2. Emigrants must weigh in on how their departure will affect family members, close people. 3. I think that in the future there will be no such word as ‘emigration’. Everybody will live everywhere and only native languages will be different”. When working on a role-making map, the narrator emphasized that a review of the concept of emigrant should be the most important news TV brings to the viewers; however, its representation is especially difficult, and he failed to convey it (distanced from the figure of “Me” in the map) (see Fig. 4). The subject did not doubt that the TV program producer wields the influence over the program, but the producer is not omnipotent.

Warning emigration model (emigration as the totality of dangers)

The respondent provided eight questions marking relevant emigration topics: “1. Is it really worthwhile to abandon one’s family for a better social well-being? 2. What are you expecting in return for swapping life in Lithuania and departing abroad? 3. Have you familiarized yourself with the country where you are going? 4. What drives you to emigrate? 5. Do you plan to return to Lithuania? 6. What do you need to come back? 7. What would change your decision and convince you to stay in Lithuania? 8. What kind of life do you expect abroad?”

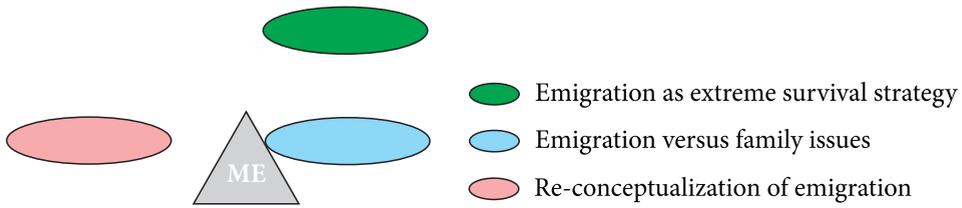


Fig. 4. Role-making map: realization of critical model of emigration in TV

The role-making map discloses that the respondent wanted to emphasize the general cautionary nature of TV programs about emigration and chose vivid colours: she associated the red colour with dangers, fear, the pink one with illusions which are not always justified and can be shattered, and orange with irritability (see Fig. 5). The subject chose the green colour only to mark the questions related to return migration. The constructed role map is in the shape of a flower, indicating that the subject aimed to cover all questions in every TV program, and she succeeded in doing this to a similar extent (the same distance in the map).

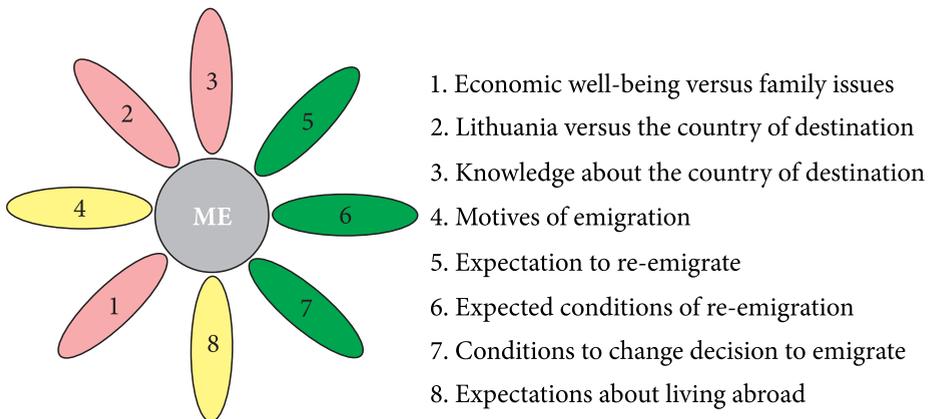


Fig. 5. Role-making map: realization of warning model of emigration in TV

Technologies of constructing TV programs

Data collected via a semi-structured interview with TV program makers disclosed the technologies of constructing “realistic” TV programs on emigration. The goals and competitive spirit encouraged producers to use technologies allowing them to convey the knowledge of the phenomenon: 1. Selection of the program producers’ team, guests, and topics. 2. Combining positive and negative experiences. 3. Combining verbal and non-verbal information. 4. Program scenario and modifying intervention.

CONCLUSIONS

The images of the phenomenon of emigration and of families affected by emigration are constructed by means of symbolic and visual representations. They shape official documents and the Lithuanian television. Changes in representation since 2006, produced by

value-shaping institutions, were recorded. The Government's strategy to stop emigration by means of national state measures, approved in 2006, was replaced by a national strategic document to bring together Lithuanians living globally and gave way to changes in the values related to national identity, transnational commonality and parents–children living separately in different countries.

The institutionalization of families with parents living away as a deviation in 2008 opened the door for the practice of stigmatization of families affected by emigration, while September 2011 can be considered to initiate officially the family discourse and redefine the concept of family in Lithuania. The results of a qualitative research reveal the social construction of broadcasts about emigration and families under migration. It is assumed that TV broadcasts represent the reality as shaped by the knowledge and inner ideology of the program-maker and of the TV channel, as well as by the technological apparatus which produces “truthful” statements about the phenomenon.

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Lietuvos šeima emigracijos kontekste: reprezentacija oficialiuose dokumentuose ir TV laidose

Santrauka

Straipsnyje aptariama žinojimo apie šeimas kaita, emigracijos paliestų šeimų institucionalizavimo eiga ir joms suteiktas statusas, analizuojama šių šeimų reprezentacija „realistinėse“ TV laidose. Atskleidžiama, kad tiek oficialūs dokumentai, tiek ir televizijoje kuriami emigracijos fenomeno paveikslai bei migrantų įvaizdžiai yra medijuojami juos kuriančių subjektų. Kontekstiški ir ideologizuoti konstruktai tikslinei auditorijai perteikia reikšmes ir kuria atitinkamą socialinę recepciją bei elgesio strategijas. Straipsnio autorės remiasi oficialių dokumentų analize ir sociologinio tyrimo duomenimis apie emigracijos reprezentaciją TV laidose 2006–2010 metais. Pritaikant teorinių įžvalgų ir tyrimo metodų trianguliaciją, nagrinėjami vizualūs tekstai, emigracijos sampratos konceptualizavimas ir šio žinojimo realizavimas TV laidose, kai pasitelkiamos įvairios laidų konstravimo technologijos.

Raktažodžiai: šeima, emigracija, teisė, medijos, socialinis konstravimas