LANDSCAPES OF UN/BELONGING:

An Empirical Psychosocial Study

of Lithuanian Migration to London since the Early 1990s

by

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Abstract

This thesis illuminates the cultural imaginary of migrants who have come to London since the early 1990s from a poorly-known country, Lithuania. The country went through a traumatic history in the XXc., marked by the Holocaust and Soviet occupation, accompanied by mass deportations to labour camps and other forced settlements in remote parts of the Soviet Union. Since Lithuania gained its independence in the early 1990s, the population has been falling significantly, yet the academic literature is largely silent on this – even that of the UK, the primary destination of Lithuanian emigrants.

My psychosocial study investigates the possibility that this increased social and physical mobility of Lithuania's population is partly related to an immobility within the 'cultural psyche,' related to the country's exposure to repeated historical trauma over many decades. The study looks at how the cultural imaginary is produced out of this history. Regarding the present day, some migrants are 'haunted' by legacies of the past. People cannot provide a transparent and coherent story about their migration: they are defended about their status, are conflicted and nostalgic. The study explores and elucidates these intangibles.

The research cohort comprises and represents three generational groups, those in their 60s, 40s and 20s. Visual Matrix and Free Association Narrative Interview methods are used. Each matrix and interview is presented in the form of a case study: these case studies are crafted in a scenic way, as the thesis draws on the ideas of Alfred Lorenzer and has a strong imagistic stance. Furthermore, scenic compositions (in poetic form) are used to distil the gestalt of each case. The study looks at the findings in different age groups.

The findings are framed in terms of four imagistic metaphors: landscape, cityscape, escape and inscape. These present the imaginary as related, respectively, to 'home' country, to London, to migration, and to those states of mind generated by the migration experience. The metaphors also represent the cross-disciplinary nature of my study, as it draws largely on psychoanalytic thinking and psychosocial studies, and also on cultural geography and migration studies.

This thesis provides a psychoanalytically-informed, psychosocial and aesthetic analysis of migration, namely how it affects the imaginary that one calls to mind, particular ways in which one misses (or not) one's country of origin, and how one settles in London. There is a search (by the research participants) for cultural containers in the imaginary, predominantly through landscape, which plays out differently between generational groups. Re-configuring of the cultural imaginary is explored

using Winnicott's psychoanalytic thinking on 'object relating,' 'object use,' and the 'third space,' and also using Bion's theory on linking.

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1 Introduction

Whilst migration is a subject of much current interest, Lithuania has been under-researched – as evidenced even in the UK literature (Clarke, 2022[3]), despite the UK being the primary destination for Lithuanian migrants (to the extent that London has become known as 'the third city of Lithuania'). Over 200,000 Lithuanian-born immigrants reside in the UK: London houses the largest Lithuanian population outside Lithuania, namely over 100,000 (around 1% of all Londoners). My aim, therefore, is to undertake a psychosocial study of Lithuanian migration to London since the early 1990s, as this is when the borders reopened following the collapse of the Soviet Union (which led to Lithuanians being increasingly able to travel to the West).

In the XXc., Lithuania first gained its independence in 1918, but in the 1940s became part of the Soviet bloc for some 50 years, until regaining its freedom in the early 1990s. Joining the EU in 2004 widened the opportunities for emigration:[4] this has been exploited to such an extent that a very real problem for Lithuania is that its population is steadily declining. Thus in 1991 there were 3.75 million inhabitants, but by 2021 the figure had fallen to 2.78 million, according to the country's official department of statistics.[5] About 70% of this fall is accounted for by emigration.[6]

Furthermore, the way in which migration is researched does not fully consider the psychosocial dimension. The psychosocial approach is well-suited to studying migration, in that one cannot make complete sense of the migrant experience without seeking out (and then analysing) the unspoken, the unacknowledged, the disavowed or suppressed. This is especially important when considering a

[3] https://www.cfg.polis.cam.ac.uk/commentary/interview-charles-clarke-Jan22 (accessed on 07/01/2022)

[4] For example, once Lithuania joined the EU, Lithuanians gained the right to come to the UK without visas and enter the work market.

[5] From two webpages of the Lithuanian Department of Statistics *(Lietuvos statistikos departamentas)*: https://osp.stat.gov.lt/statistikos-leidiniu-katalogas?publication=8; https://osp.stat.gov.lt/documents/10180/8606925/Gyventojai_gyventojai.jpg (both accessed on 25/09/2021).

[6] Lithuanian net outmigration balance for the period 1990–2020 was 679,244 (1,052,241 emigrants vs 372,997 immigrants), https://mapijoziai.lt/emigracija-lietuvoje-1990-2019-m/ (accessed on 25/09/2021).

country such as Lithuania, because of its history of trauma and oppression and the psychological effects of these.

Whilst considering how best to research the Lithuanian migrant population, my assumption – due to the aforementioned – was that people cannot necessarily provide a transparent and coherent story about their migration – they might be defended about their status, be conflicted, or nostalgic. (My study notes these states of mind and investigates their psychosocial roots.) This informs my methodology and the way in which I analyse my data. My study uses techniques and concepts drawn from social science, and from psychoanalysis, cultural geography, and migration studies, as well as relevant historical sources. The study adopts a psychosocial approach that intertwines the social and the psychological and uses the Free Association Narrative Interview (FANI) (Hollway and Jefferson, 2013) and a group-based image-led methodology, the Visual Matrix (Froggett, Manley and Roy, 2015). These both employ free-associative methods to investigate how Lithuanian migrants imagine their shared cultural attributes (such as practices, symbols, traditions, norms), upheld as part of the cultural imaginary'[7] (Taylor, 2003). The data analysis occurs in panels[8] and uses a depth-hermeneutic approach.

Six FANI interviews were carried out. These comprised two interviews with members of three different generations of Lithuanian migrants. Four Visual Matrices were conducted, representing the same generations as did the FANIs, and five to eight participants were recruited for each. Fourteen panel meetings were held to establish a frame for analysis and to interpret the data – ten conducted with English panellists, and four in Lithuanian with Lithuanian panellists.[9] The panel composition was diverse with respect to gender and age; though most panel members were academics. The researcher expanded on the panel interpretations. The FANI analysis was triangulated with what emerged from the Visual Matrices.

[7] The concept of the cultural imaginary is discussed further in Section 3.5.6.

[8] A panel consists of a number of people who discuss a selected data-set in a series of meetings. Hollway and Jefferson (2013, p. 42) discuss the importance of collaborative analysis in qualitative research (namely involving others, such as colleagues or supervisors), thereby allowing for multiple interpretations and thus deeper insights into the data. Further detail on panels may be found in Section 4.4.6.1.

[9] The composition of these panels is presented in Section 4.4.6.1.

The study addresses the following research questions:-

- How is the cultural imaginary of Lithuanians (in their 60s, 40s and 20s) currently living in London configured?[10]
- How do Lithuanians in London imagine their relationship to Lithuania and to the UK (specifically London)?
- How is the cultural imaginary played out in individuals' lives?

I will now proceed by detailing the Lithuanian context as necessary background for my study. This will be followed by the literature review and the methodology chapter. The 'Study Cases' chapter then presents the case studies of the four Visual Matrices and the six FANIs. This is followed by a discussion and conclusion, bibliography and appendices.

[10] This also includes considering the differences in the cultural imaginary between the different generations.

2 Lithuanian context

2.1 Introduction

In order to understand the cultural imaginary of today's Lithuanian immigrants in London, it is necessary to situate the research in the Lithuanian context. Given the relative obscurity of Lithuania, it is important to give some background information on the country's history and its controversies, the contemporary scene, and its migration. This background will help in understanding certain aspects of my project and its data.

2.2 Study population

The population of interest to the study comprises those Lithuanians who have migrated to London since the early 1990s, as this is when the borders reopened following the breakdown of the Soviet Union (which led to Lithuanians being increasingly able to travel to the West). Over 200,000 Lithuanian-born immigrants reside in the UK: London houses the largest Lithuanian population outside Lithuania, namely over 100,000 (around 1% of all Londoners).

Lithuanian immigrants in London are to be found in diverse occupations, including as manual workers, professionals and students. According to the UK census of 2011, the majority of the Lithuanian immigrants in London live in the eastern boroughs – Newham, Barking and Dagenham, Waltham Forest, Redbridge, Greenwich and Lewisham. This may well be due to the lower cost of living in these areas. London hosts Lithuanian newspapers and magazines, shops, restaurants, Saturday schools, clubs, law firms, and even dentists.

2.3 History

Situating the research in the context of Lithuanian history helps reveal how Lithuanian identity has been formed.

2.3.1 Overview of Lithuanian history prior to WWII

The history of Lithuania can be traced back to the Baltic tribes who inhabited the area from the 3rd to the 2nd millennium BC: the territory comprised more than 330 thousand square miles of Central and Eastern Europe (namely, current Lithuania, Latvia, parts of Poland, Belarus, Russia and Ukraine) (Zinkevičius, Luchtanas and Česnys, 2006). Researchers at Vilnius University recently analysed the

genomes of Lithuanians and found that they have much in common with ancient peoples and even Neanderthals.[11]

The first documented occurrence of the name of Lithuania dates from 1009. In the 1230s the Lithuanian lands were united into a Kingdom by Grand Duke Mindaugas who became King on 6th July 1253. (Since 1991 the foundation of the state is celebrated on that day; Lithuanians around the world gather to sing the national anthem.)

Fig. 2.1 – Map of Lithuania showing historical developments

(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:LithuaniaHistory.png – accessed on 24/01/2022)

[11] https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1767293/blue-eyed-and-good-at-digesting-fats-scientists-sequence-lithuanian-genes (accessed on 19/10/2022)

The XIV–XVc., typified by the reign of Vytautas the Great, was the golden age of prosperity in which Lithuania reached the height of its territorial expansion. Lithuania was multicultural in that as well as Lithuanians it included former inhabitants of Kievan Rus', Poles, Latvians, and diasporas of Tatars, Germans, Danish, Swedish, Karaims and Jews. Various religions were represented: Eastern Rite Catholicism (Uniates), Roman Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Judaism, and Islam (Venclova, 2019). Lithuania was one of the largest countries in Europe, at its peak extending across the vast region between the Baltic and Black Seas (including present-day Belarus, Ukraine, and parts of Poland and Russia).

Lithuania, the last pagan nation in Europe, was Christianised in 1387. The Great Duchy of Lithuania gradually strengthened its relations with Poland due to the danger of the Teutonic Order[12] In 1569, the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth was created; ten years later a university was opened in Vilnius – the first university in Eastern Europe.

The area became a 'cradle of democracy' in 1791, when the Constitution of the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth was issued – the first written constitution in Europe (Eidintas *et al.*, 2013, 2016). The joint Commonwealth afforded an opportunity for cultural Polonisation of the Lithuanian nobility. The peasantry, however, retained the old local language. Lithuanian is one of the oldest Indo-European languages in the world (Dini, Richardson and Richardson, 2014).

The Commonwealth's funding of the army was meagre and the country was eventually partitioned by the Prussians, Austrians and Russians in the late XVIIIc. The largest area of Lithuanian territory became part of the Russian Empire and was its province for over a century (except for half a year in 1812 when Napoleon reached the area).

After the unsuccessful uprisings in the Russian Empire of 1831 and 1863, driven by the nobility's dream of restoring independence and statehood, the Tsarist authorities implemented a number of Russification policies. In 1832 Vilnius University was closed, and in the period between 1864 and 1904 the use of Latin characters by the Lithuanian press was banned. The latter evoked strong cultural resistance, such as the emergence of Lithuanian book smugglers[13] and secret home schooling.

[12] The Order of Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem – a Catholic religious order founded as a military order – historically serving for crusades.

[13] The Lithuanian bookshop in London is named 'Knygnešys' – which in Lithuanian means 'a book smuggler,' a name echoing days of yore.

At the end of the XIXc. the Lithuanian intelligentsia mobilised into a national movement of ethnic Lithuanians (Balkelis, 2009; Kulakauskas, 2013). It was during the period from the end of the XIXc. to the birth of an independent state in 1918 that the national identity was formed (Balkelis, ibid). The Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917 had the combined effect of causing the breakdown of the Tsarist Russian Empire. This, followed by Russia's failure in the First World War, gave Lithuania an opportunity to re-establish its independence, as it duly did in 1918.

During the interwar period (1918–1939) the country progressed economically and technologically. The country invested in art and education: it established its own university, as well as a National Theatre. Illiteracy was all but eliminated; the aviation industry, philosophy, architecture and professional Lithuanian arts developed (Eidintas, 2013). The country had a strong local currency – the Litas.[14]

In 1939 the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was signed between Germany and Russia, dividing the zones of influence: Lithuania ended up in the Russian one. On 10th October 1939, Lithuania regained its historical capital Vilnius,[15] held by Poland since 1920. (The provisional capital had been Kaunas.)

2.3.2 Soviet and Nazi Lithuania

On 15th June 1940 the first Soviet occupation took place. Lithuania was rapidly sovietised: political parties and various organisations were outlawed and some 12,000 people – including many prominent figures – were arrested and imprisoned in the Siberian Gulag as 'enemies of the people.' Larger private properties were nationalised. In June 1941, less than a week before the Nazi invasion, some 17,000 Lithuanians were deported to Siberia, where many perished due to inhumane living conditions (Anušauskas *et al.*, 2005).

In 1941 the Nazis occupied Lithuania and killed over 90% of the country's Jews. It is worthy of note that Jews began living in Lithuania as early as the XIIIc., and before the Second World War, Vilnius had a Jewish community of nearly 100,000 (about 45% of the city's total population): Napoleon named it 'the Jerusalem of the North.' At the beginning of the XXc. Vilnius housed the largest Jewish diaspora of all European capitals.

[14] The Russian rouble was deposed by the Lithuanian Litas, a currency backed by gold.

[15] Vilnius was a historical capital of the Great Dutchy of Lithuania. For the sake of clarity in this thesis the city is called Vilnius, although historically it has had several other names, such as Wilno and Vilna.

In 1944 the Soviets returned to Lithuania; the mass deportations to Siberia resumed, and lasted until the death of Stalin in 1953. Most families were affected by deportations. During that decade 186,000 people were detained and jailed, 118,000 were deported, and over 20,000 members of the Underground national army and their supporters killed. From 1944, the Underground national army – about 50,000 Lithuanians – stayed in the forests[16] and fought, hoping to restore an independent state. Arguably, for Lithuania the Second World War ended only in 1954, as armed resistance continued until then. There were also underground dissident groups publishing anti-Soviet and Catholic[17] literature (Anušauskas *et al.*, 2005).

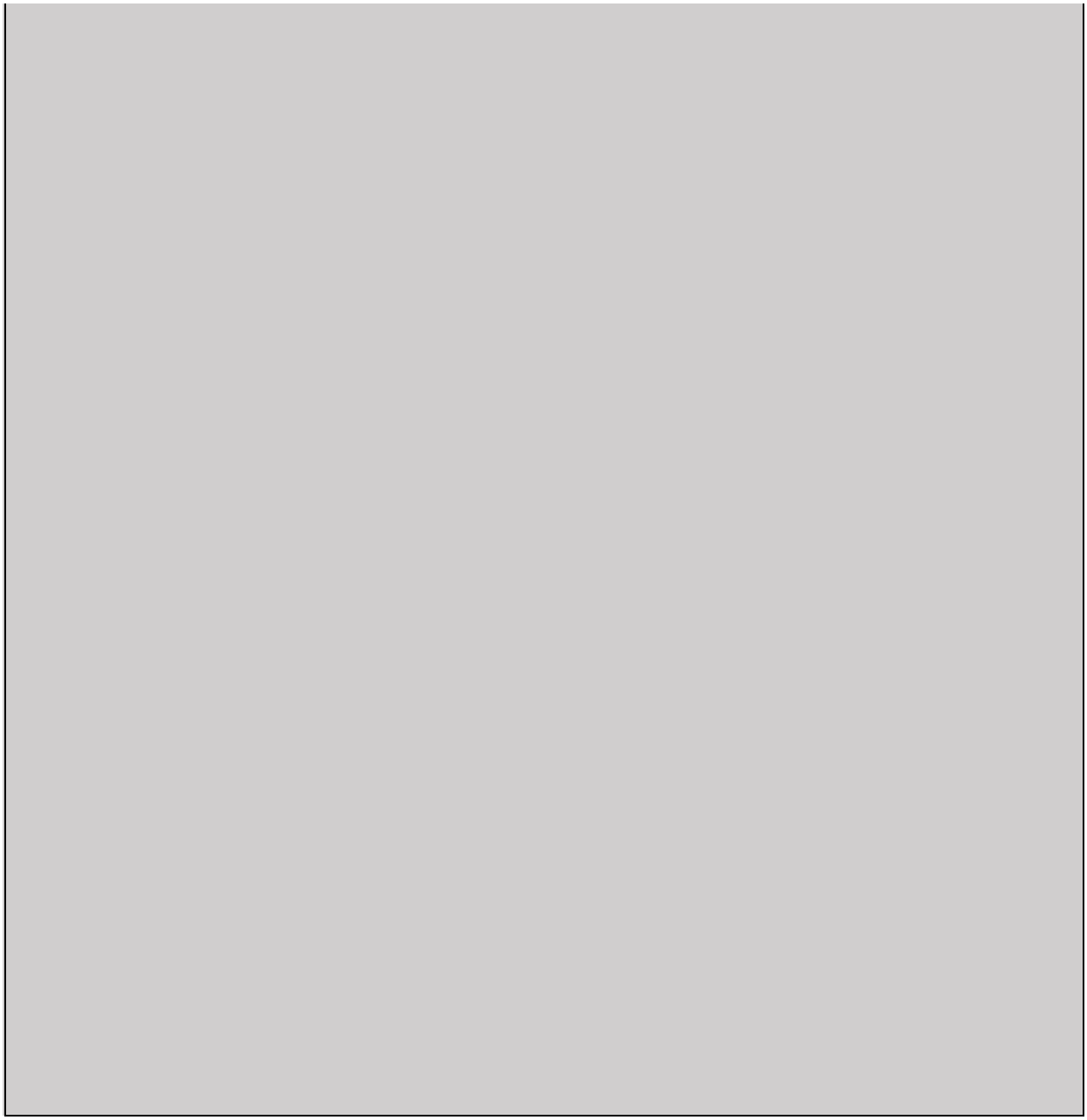
It is worth noting that during WWII, the country's towns – including Vilnius – lost a significant number of their population. The post-war reconstruction reversed this urban depopulation process with a major influx from the countryside (Davoliūtė, 2013). Hence for my research group in their 20s and 40s, it was common to have grandparents in the countryside and to spend their school holidays there. (By contrast, the majority of those in their 60s had their parents in the countryside and grew up there.)

The following vignette from my own family history illustrates the conditions in Lithuania after the Second World War.

Text not accessible in electronic version for ethical reasons.

[16] Hence they were popularly called 'forest brothers.'

[17] Lithuania was the only Catholic country to 'join' the Soviet Union.



Vignette 1 (Lithuania after the Second World War)

The Soviets outlawed the holding of private property; by 1952 94% of the land was communal; creation of collective farms led to a significant decline in local agriculture (Eidintas *et al.*, 2013). Stalin's death (1953) was followed by a greater degree of political, economic and cultural freedom: the national heritage began to be regarded more leniently, and people were returning from Siberia.

As pointed out by the Estonian political scientist Taagepera (2009), from 1945 to 1990 the attitudes of Western powers towards the Baltic states were affected by how the Baltics' history was perceived: was it a case of occupation or of voluntary union? Lithuanian scholarship dismisses the latter possibility; there is also little published analysis of the 'creation' of life and culture under sovietisation

(Rubavičius, 2006). The Lithuanian cultural historian Davoliūtė (2013) notes that the Soviet regime exhibited some paradoxical continuity with the interwar period: parades and festivals contained an element of staged nationalism. During the Soviet period – despite the censorship – literature and the other arts experienced a revival. The educational system underwent a significant expansion (Hernes and Knudsen, 1991).

Sovietisation also involved a process of "profound internal transformation on an individual and collective level" (Davoliūtė, 2013, p. 3). The regime aimed – in effect – to destroy the relatively newly-formed nation: to assimilate it into a mass of people submissive to Soviet rule. The State used the educational system, youth organisations and the mass media to control all areas of life in order to shape and subject people to the new ideology. The ideal type of Soviet person – *homo sovieticus* – was supposed to care about the workplace collective and the good of society, and not about personal needs. But all the while, people were being persecuted, tortured, and losing relatives (Gailienė, 2015). Girnius (1996) distinguishes three different reactions to the Soviet regime: collaboration, accommodation, and resistance.

2.3.3 Complexity of the Soviet era

It is worth mentioning the complexity of the Soviet period, though in this study the multiple layers of Soviet Lithuania are little explored, the focus being on the traumatic. (Discussion of the socio-historical trauma follows in Section 2.3.4.)

As the art historian Ūla Tornau (2016) notes, in the 1990s (after Lithuania re-established its independence), the Soviets' KGB archives were opened. The focus in Lithuania – by public, media and researchers alike – was on the political history and traumatic experiences of the country. There was an assumption that in the Soviet Union – as in other totalitarian states – the official political system and control were universal, and permeated all areas of life. The particular perspective of 'totalitarianism' employed by the researchers concerned, was one in which art is perceived exclusively as a product of official state ideology. (Tornau refers to Groys (2011) and Golomshtok (2011) as examples of researchers adopting this approach.) However, there was a resistance 'movement' operating in the arts: codes and symbols were covertly integrated into Soviet visual culture; in the country's largely-religious folk art, cemetery monuments were still styled in the Catholic tradition (Tumėnas, 2021).

Tornau (2016) also notes that – since the 1980s – Sovietologists have distanced themselves from positivist epistemology and, using the methodologies of modern cultural theory (Bourdieu, 1977;

Foucault, 1995 [1975]; Geertz, 2009 [1973]; White, 2014 [1973]), have emphasised the importance of interpretation of culture and its aspects, meanings, perceptions, values and symbols. Thus Sovietologists moved away from reductive dichotomies and sought to find more complex relations between the system (collective) and individual (personal) narratives and the various cultural elements they contain.

The 'totalitarianism' perspective (mentioned above) has been criticised by 'revisionist' historian Fitzpatrick (2008) and by the "revisionist" school of Sovietologists (Stites, 1991; Figes, 1997; Kotkin, 2015), for its overly centralised top-down interpretation of power, selective use of sources, overly general conclusions, and focus on exclusively political themes. They suggested that the sources should be analysed in a more critical and nuanced manner, so as to reveal a more complex (and thus more accurate) picture of Soviet life, and to introduce aspects of individual experience and personal will into the context of the Soviet regime. Thus in revisionist history studies, although the state and its regime remain important, they are but one of several elements factored in to the picture.

As pointed out by Tornau (2016), the Soviet era was characterised by a culture of deficit, spontaneous survival tactics, and informal social networks (some economic, such as hired work, private services, and semi-legal structures of exchange). Thus the official culture coexisted with informal semi-legal everyday practices. Different social identities were assumed depending on the circumstances, needs, and even the time of day.

The following vignette illustrates a controversial Lithuanian exhibition in London in 1968.

In 1968 Lithuania participated in the Soviet Union's Industry and Trade Exhibition, held in London at the Earls Court Exhibition Centre. The event was studied by design historian Jakaitė (2013): Lithuania had its own stand with an integrated artistic concept which was both modern and Western in its form. It included ambitious works of art, a kinetic (moving) stained glass installation, avant-garde electro-acoustic music, collections of the newest furniture and luxury items (none available back home), photographs of nudes, and various national and patriotic images. The artwork, specially produced for the occasion, reflected the image the Soviet Union was projecting to the world. The event's advertising material highlighted the modern nature of Lithuanian graphic design in the context of Cold War competition for modernity. The Exhibition as a whole was intended to show the West that when it came to modernity the Soviet Union was keeping pace with it.

Vignette 2 (Lithuanian products exhibited in London)

2.3.4 Post-Soviet Lithuania

The dissolution of the Soviet bloc in the early 1990s brought about a major change in the lives of Lithuanians. The society "experienced (and continues to feel the effects of) several processes simultaneously – the influences of re-nationalisation, de-sovietisation, Europeanisation, globalisation and post-modernisation" (Švedas, 2014, p. 224). The first decade, 1990–2000, was the most intense period of the transition from socialism to a radical neo-liberal form of capitalism, "accompanied by a dramatic deterioration of the [sic] living standards, rising inequalities, normative chaos, and the restructuring of educational systems" (Maslauskaitė, 2021, p. 3). After a period of dramatic economic decline and inflation, a macroeconomic stabilisation and growth followed in the subsequent decade (ibid). More recently, political sociologist Ramonaitė (2013) has analysed how different attitudes towards the Soviet era divide Lithuanian society and influence elections, and Lithuanian historian Grybkauskas (2016) distinguishes three current perspectives on the Soviet past in Lithuania, portrayed by the school of 'Struggling Lithuania,' the school of 'Naujasis Židinys,' and the discourse of former communist figures.

The 'Struggling Lithuania' school depicts the Soviet period as "a series of changing forms of the Lithuanian nation's struggle against Soviet occupation" (Grybkauskas, 2016, p. 15). The 'Naujasis Židinys' school's view can be encapsulated thus: "Lithuanians [were] more involved in collaboration with the Soviet regime than previously argued by the 'Struggling Lithuania' school and, of course, by the former communists. This approach calls for a reassessment of the Soviet past and stresses the need for a new attempt at de-Sovietisation" (ibid, p.16). This group claims that "only a Western orientation without any national or ethnic nostalgia can save the nation from Sovietisation" (ibid, p.16). Finally, the former communists present and publicise their own experience of the Soviet times; their narratives are criticised by their opponents as an attempt "to present the Soviet past as an attractive story, saying nothing about repression and the regression of society at that time" (ibid, p.18).

The Polish sociologist Sztompka (2004) writes about a "culturally-defined wound": sudden significant societal changes that appear positive can also have traumatic effects, yet for a long time social changes have been seen as nothing but progress. The collapse of communism and ensuing radical changes in Eastern Europe were met with joy and enthusiasm by the majority, but some had traumatic experiences too – so-called transitional pains, such as unemployment, inflation, loss of status (ibid). This reality will be reflected in my study's oldest generation cohort.

Emerging from the Soviet era was – and is – a slow and painful process of progression and regression, of hope and disillusionment, of unexpected psychological barriers. These barriers become walls that confine people by unconsciously preserving old adaptations to political terror, walls that divide one part of the mind from another, and walls that arise between generations (as pointed out in reports from therapists working in other post-Communist countries) (Lindy and Lifton, 2014). For example, people still retain older patterns of suspicion and mistrust of others (this will be apparent in Section 5.4.3), they do not trust themselves (as in my middle generation's FANIs), retain dishonesty (such as selling a ring with defect – qv Section 5.3.3.3), and have an expectation to be looked after by the State.

The literature also includes both further psychoanalytic perspectives and socio-political perspectives on people's reactions to the changes following the break-up of socialist regimes, such as Gailienė's and Žižek's work. Danutė Gailienė is a Lithuanian psychologist whose work is based on empirical studies, whilst also incorporating therapeutic case studies and cultural analysis. Gailienė (2008, p. 165) states that "[t]o live in the new economic and political environment, members of society needed certain qualities and skills that the totalitarian regime was seeking to destroy. People lacked initiative, autonomy, and psychological resilience, therefore many responded in a destructive way to the challenges and the stress caused by change."[18] Gailienė notes that Lithuanians have post-traumatic symptoms, even if they were not deported or imprisoned. Gailienė (2015) further notes that Lithuanians who visited from the West saw the post-independence Lithuanians as distrustful of others, hypocritical, closed. Even those returning from Siberian exile (earlier, in the first decades of the occupation, especially after Stalin's death) noticed that those who had remained in the homeland were frightened. After encountering the totalitarian system, families developed behaviours such as deception of the system, duplicity, passivity. Gailienė (2015) also states that the people developed traits of secrecy: for example, those who experienced deportation or imprisonment had to stay quiet for many years in order to protect their families. In Žižek's (2006, p. 129) view, "[c]itizens of former socialist countries experienced the disappearance of this 'big Other' and [the] subsequent upheaval as a traumatic encounter with the Real."[19]

[18] All Lithuanian quotes have been translated by the author (AB).

[19] Žižek refers to Lacan's (2006) concepts of the 'big Other' and the 'Real.' The 'big Other' represents the symbolic order, the social rules and expectations that structure reality (such as the authority of the State in socialist countries). The 'Real' is beyond language and the symbolic order, it is the raw unmediated reality that resists full integration into the symbolic structure of understanding. Žižek views the collapse of the ideological

A Lithuanian psychologist, Gudaitė (2014), who analyses long-term psychotherapy interventions, identifies how lying to others merges with lying to oneself, and so leads to aggression, including self-directed aggression. Although beyond the scope of my study, it is important to note the country's alarming suicide statistics (for example, in 2019 the suicide rate was 20.2 suicides per 100,000 people – then the highest in the EU). The sociologist Durkheim (2002 [1952]) suggested the main contributory factors to suicide were social circumstances and changes in them. The majority of suicides in Lithuania are committed by men in the countryside. Gailienė (2015) links this to the Soviet regime's destruction of the basis of traditional family structure: successful and 'strong' men – such as farmers and teachers – were deported, and those in the anti-Soviet partisan forces were defeated.

The Lithuanian culture is traumatised, but it remains unclear why Lithuania's suicide and emigration rates differ so much from the other post-Soviet countries, and what constitutes the severity of this trauma. Whilst answering this question is beyond the scope of my thesis, there might be some elements in my data which will be helpful for future research on this issue. It could be that the suicide rate is an indication that transgenerational transmission of trauma persists. Also, the suicide and migration rates suggest a high level of dissatisfaction with life in Lithuania, and are a form of protest.[20] Hence, links would be expected to exist between the country's traumatic history and the subsequent migration: my study will endeavour to explore this avenue. It is important to note Lithuania's socio-historical trauma, the collective emotional and psychological wounds experienced by the whole country due to the historical events of the XXc. As will be seen in the literature review on haunting (Sections 3.5.2 and 3.5.3), this type of trauma is intergenerational and transgenerational[21].

Post-Soviet trauma is little researched. It differs from the Holocaust in that in the Soviet case the repressions were based not on ethnicity, but on wealth and degree of opposition to the regime (Gailienė, 2015).

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structures as pushing citizens into a traumatic confrontation with the underlying uncertainties and anxieties that the symbolic order had previously masked.

[20] Dr Vytautas Tumėnas of the Lithuanian History Institute, personal communication, 2024

[21] Intergenerational refers to transmission down through the generations, whereas transgenerational transmission refers to that occurring across number of generations (Atkinson, 2002; Williams, 2021).

2.4 Contemporary Lithuania

Lithuania today retains the borders of Soviet Lithuania: thus, over the centuries, the country has shrunk into an ethnographical territory not even covering all the lands where Lithuanians dwell. In 2020, 85.9% of the country's population comprised ethnic Lithuanians, 5.7% Poles, 4.5% Russians, and 1.7% Belarusians, Ukrainians and other nationalities.[22]

In late February 2022[23] the military invasion of Ukraine by the Russian armed forces began: one of the largest military conflicts in Europe since WWII. In addition, this invasion caused Europe's biggest migration crisis since WWII, with over three million people leaving Ukraine within a month (Lithuania has since welcomed over 86,000 Ukrainian war refugees). The war induced a sense of dread in Lithuania.[24]

The following two vignettes illustrate my impressions of contemporary Lithuania and its art, respectively.

Nowadays Vilnius is processing, working on history. The past has not passed, "[t]he past is always a work in progress" (Frosh, 2013a, p. 54).

The past is alive and re-emerges unexpectedly: in 2019 the plaque honouring General Vėtra was removed, on the grounds that he had collaborated with the Nazi regime. Equally, though, General Vėtra had been involved in anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet movements. The event created a scandal in Lithuania and the plaque was restored. Symbolically, General Vėtra seemed to represent ambiguity and 'stuckness.' We are looking at an indigestible past. History is painful.

[22] https://osp.stat.gov.lt/lietuvos-gyventojai-2020/salies-gyventojai/gyventoju-skaicius-ir-sudetis (accessed on 19/01/2022)

[23] The invasion began after I conducted my interviews (held between June 2020 and January 2021) and shortly before the Visual Matrices (held from March to July 2022).

[24] https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1681465/watching-war-in-ukraine-people-in-lithuania-are-getting-anxious; https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2024-02-06/putin-s-shadow-feeds-fear-on-nato-s-russian-border; https://www.bloomberg.com/news/newsletters/2024-05-08/lithuanian-election-russia-war-fears-loom-over-presidential-vote (links accessed on 28/07/2024)

The last three decades have seen the removal of most of the Soviet era's social realism sculptures and statues from public spaces – including those of Lenin and other political leaders, as well as workers, students and soldiers.

Amongst the last statues to be removed – in 2021 – was one in central Vilnius of the writer Petras Cvirka (who had welcomed and supported the Sovietisation of Lithuania). Local artists Eglė Grėbliauskaitė and Agnė Gintalaitė hoped to hold a several-day performance ('Let's not forget not to remember'[25]) a month before its scheduled removal. The performance duly began: the statue was covered in a layer of moss, symbolising the flow of time (the moss being a quiet witness to time's passage) and the healing powers of nature. However, once the sculpture had been fully clad with the moss, Vilnius municipality withdrew their permission for the performance: police and local officials promptly moved in to halt the proceedings. This rather recent story, of happenings taking place even as my project was underway, illustrates how processing the trauma of the Soviet past still proves as difficult as ever. The incident also illustrates an explicit repression of an activity that might allow people to symbolise and give meaning to this past.

A 30-year commemoration of The Baltic Way[26] was held in 2019, echoing the past with a popular song from the liberation movement: 'We woke up, let's get up now!' (*'Pabudome ir kelkimės!'*). Overheard – a good summary of the event – "In the past there was less technology, but things happened. Now, it's not clear what is going on here!"

Vignette 3 (Contemporary Lithuania)

In all the exhibitions I have recently visited in Vilnius, it seems that art is processing the heritage of the XXc., looking backwards to the past, and if the future is thought of, it is rather gloomy. The exhibitions' titles too seemed to convey this message: 'Vilnius (Re)collection,' 'Unsustainable States,' 'Without Perspective.'

[25] https://osp.stat.gov.lt/lietuvos-gyventojai-2020/salies-gyventojai/gyventoju-skaicius-ir-sudetis (accessed on 19/01/2022)

[26] The Baltic Way was a human chain connecting the three Baltic capitals, held on 23 August 1989. It was a demonstration for freedom, marking the 50th anniversary of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. (The Pact had partitioned the zones of influence between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, thus paving the way for the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States.)

Vilnius (Re)collection by Antanas Sutkus

The official description of the exhibition notes that the selection of photographs focuses on the relationship between the person and the city, marking moments of 'silence and introspection' as when "[we] immerse into memories, we try to detect the imprint of time in our lives, we depict the people and background which brought us up, made us confront [the system] and struggle for creative freedom."

The exhibition's selection of photographs captures the Soviet period in the 1960s. Part of the exhibition is prints of unprocessed film negatives found in a long-forgotten suitcase. The familiar buildings of the Old Town of Vilnius in these photographs look very similar to those filmed in the 1930s. The generations pass, regimes change, architecture remains.

Fig. 2.2 – Vilnius, photograph by Antanas Sutkus, at Vilnius (Re)collection exhibition

Unsustainable States by Arūnė Tornau

Arūnė Tornau's exhibition consists of paintings and a number of three-dimensional objects created over the last few decades. "The end is the beginning," writes the artist. She relates how she has used the belongings of her deceased mother to create art as it was difficult to throw them away. Sewing them into 'pillow-cases' was an existential conversation with both herself and time, with an understanding that the end is only part of the process. The artist links her created pieces to the food parcels sent from villages to towns during Soviet times. One sees echoes of Louise Bourgeois' art in these sewn objects.

Fig. 2.3 – Painting at Unsustainable States exhibition by Arūnė Tornau;
photographed by Asta Binkauskaitė

Fig. 2.4 – Installation 'The End is the Beginning, in Memory of Mother', 2017–2019
at Unsustainable States exhibition by Arūnė Tornau; photographed by Asta Binkauskaitė

The author expresses her interest in recording the signs of ageing (decay, rusting) and analysing erosion; destructive processes which transform one 'live' material into another. Tornau relates the countryside objects to the past, when time was sensed by observing nature. The artist likes the

transitional states between day and night when the boundary between reality and dream is blurred. She creates her paintings by applying multiple layers of thin oil paint, finally covering most of the surface with a dark colour, leaving only a few signs of life – so 'burying' the treasures of colour under the darkness.

At first glance, the paintings may seem repetitive, and devoid of meaning. Tornau uses colours of the local landscape and its soil. She also incorporates found objects from the countryside in her exhibition.

Without Perspective by Agnė Gintalaitė

This exhibition consists of two series of photographs: Beauty Remains (2015) and Without Perspective (2017–2019). These photographs evoke thoughts about the relationship between the past and the future.

Beauty Remains (Lithuanian title: 'Grožio reliktai' [Relics of Beauty])

Gintalaitė documented a series of some two hundred Lithuanian garage doors on the outskirts of Vilnius, weathered by the elements, and repainted over time. In Soviet times, garages represented a 'wealthy' middle class.

Fig. 2.5 – Photo-collage 'Beauty Remains' by Agnė Gintalaitė;
photographed by Asta Binkauskaitė

Without Perspective

The photographer captures Soviet dormitory suburbs. Each image is actually assembled from multiple drone shots, the aim being to destroy perspective as much as possible.

Dormitory districts are monuments to the Soviet era. Gintalaitė notes that people still live there: in today's world between the walls of yesterday's world. Some Soviet buildings are being renovated – 'clothed' with modern materials, hidden under a coloured shell. However, the internal structure and layout remain unchanged, as perhaps does the consciousness of the people (also raised by the Soviet Union) who live therein. Gintalaitė constructed a linguistic-visual paradox by showing flat facades instead of the three-dimensional buildings. The author eliminates the context, as if claiming these buildings could be anywhere.

Fig. 2.6 – Photomontage 'Without Perspective' by Agnė Gintalaitė
(https://echogonewrong.com/exhibition-without-perspective-agne-gintalaite-vilnius-photography-gallery/
– accessed on 01/08/2019)

Vignette 4 (Contemporary Art in Lithuania)

In 2018 the US-UK HBO/Sky television series 'Chernobyl' was filmed in one of Vilnius's districts (without making any significant changes), presenting a Ukraine of 30 years ago. Parulskis (2019) draws attention to the sheer quantity of preserved Soviet urban landscapes in Lithuania.

According to Lipšic (2019), our Soviet 'material' has not yet been digested in our social bodies, and we need to work on it. Lipšic recalls a Soviet expression that encapsulates the ideological fight with the past and the writing of history in a totalitarian regime: "The future is certain – it's the past which is unpredictable" (будущее можно представить но прошлое оно непредсказуемое).

In the times when the future was drawn as certain and bright, attainable by hard work, the past sometimes had to be adjusted to this picture by eliminating various facts or people. Therefore the past was unpredictable: it could have been re-written at any time. Today the past co-exists in different forms.

By destroying the monuments and transforming the spaces, we will not be able to change the history. Each epoch leaves its marks in the space by transforming it. Spaces represent the period of time, they reflect and embody that period's spatial awareness and understanding of time. Later on, the time still resides in those spaces, and other people learn how to live with the heritage. Our ownership of the past requires conscious work. Integration of the past is needful for both the individual and society. Otherwise the past will constantly be impinging on the present, and will perturb the adequacy of decisions in the present, and future planning (Lipšic, 2019).

These processes – storage, repairing, creation – all co-exist in the Gintalaitė garages. As Lipšic (ibid) asserts, this co-existence of different times and historical spaces is as described by William Gibson (1993): "The future is here, it's just not equally distributed."

To sum up, visual iconography and contemporary imagery are important in composing Lithuanians' cultural imaginary – hence I use imagery in my methodology (qv Chapter 4) and in the organisation of my discussion (Chapter 6).

2.5 Lithuanian migration

The beginning of Lithuanians' emigration can be traced back to XIII–XIVc. At the end of the XIXc., Lithuania was the Eastern European country with the largest number of emigrants (relative to the population). Thus at the end of the XIXc. and beginning of the XXc., about half a million inhabitants left Lithuania (mainly due to economic reasons). The largest Lithuanian communities were established in the US, Canada, the UK, Australia, Germany, and South America (Vaitekūnas, 2006).

The first Lithuanians entered Great Britain as prisoners of war in 1853–1856, during the Russian-Turkish war over Crimea. Lithuanians started emigrating to the UK at the end of the XIXc., the UK serving as a short-term 'resting place' on their way to America. Thus for many emigrants, Britain was a place where they lived for a year, before travelling further or – having earned some money – returned to Lithuania. Before WWI there were some 4,000 Lithuanians in England and about 8,000 in Scotland. After the war, the number of Lithuanians in Great Britain decreased – in 1922, there were some 10,000 Lithuanians, of whom about 7,000 were in Scotland (ibid).

Park (2015) writes about a "society of departure" in post-Communist Europe and the socio-political reasons behind mass Lithuanian emigration. Lithuania exhibits an outmigration rate that is significantly higher than that for other European post-Communist states (ibid). In 2021, the net annual outmigration from Lithuania was 7.8 per 1000, the next highest figures being those for Latvia (5.7), Croatia (1.1) and Poland (0.5).[27]

A recurrent theme in the Lithuanian literature is the possible reasons behind Lithuanian emigration: economic, political and social (Park, 2015). Kumpikaitė-Valiūnienė, Lukauskas and Agoh, (2017) consider the main factors to be economic conditions (rather than non-economic ones). Personal life issues and relatives living in the foreign country were highlighted as the main non-economic factor.

Juknevičius (2012) states that emigration is driven by two groups of forces within the collective unconscious. First of all, it is the search for happiness, which is understood as being attained through better living conditions. "Another dominant – a need for wandering. The psychology of this type of people is well reflected in the cult novels by Jack Kerouac 'On the Road' and 'The Dharma Bums'" (ibid, p.137).

Arcimavičienė (2008) conducted linguistic research about the meaning of the word 'migration' in English and Lithuanian. Her findings revealed that 'migration' had a two-fold representation in both English and Lithuanian discourse: migration as adventure (as per Odysseus) and migration as survival (as per Robinson Crusoe). The latter metaphor strongly prevailed in both languages.

A very limited number of studies exists on Lithuanian migrants in the UK (Parutis, 2006, 2014; Kuznecovienė, 2014). Kuznecovienė (2014) examines first- and second-generation Lithuanian

[27] https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/LTU/lithuania/net-migration#:~:text=The%20net%20migration%20rate%20for, a%203.45%25%20increase%20from%202017 (accessed on 13/12/2021)

immigrants in London. She found that the cultural models internalised in childhood ('learned to be Lithuanian') are the most important – and often the only – elements of first-generation Lithuanian immigrant national identity articulation. The narratives reveal fragmented engagement with the host society, with very few constructive practices of belonging to the place or even to the local community.

Parutis (2006) undertakes a sociological analysis of the processes of 'home creation' in the UK: most migrants reported their affiliation as being with their home country (and in only a few cases – those of Lithuania's ethnic minorities – with the host country). However, Parutis' sample included only people working in low-wage sectors. Overall, her study – like my thesis – challenges the idea of the 'placelessness' of contemporary migrants, and supports the importance of place identity. Further, most of the participants had plans to return to their home country. Her study shows that 'home' has not only emotional aspects, but also public dimensions such as social status and property – the latter being more important for male participants. Parutis stresses the educational factor: an appropriate occupation is important for highly-educated migrants, whereas the others are mainly focused on income. Her younger migrants are trying out different life styles – the older ones are more focused on earning money. Those most satisfied by having migrated were builders (due to their high income) and au-pairs (due to what they experience and the opportunity to learn English).

Parutis (2014) explores Lithuanian migrants' work experiences in the United Kingdom. In spite of their qualifications, they often occupy low-skilled positions. Although classified as economic migrants, many have migrated not only to earn money, but also to try life abroad or learn English. (There are elements of these in all generational cohorts of my study.) The findings suggest they are highly upwardly-mobile in the British labour market. The author argues that to understand why working below one's qualifications is acceptable to the migrants, one should view their experiences in the context of their future plans (such as returning to the home country or improving their other skills, hence opening up further opportunities).

Račiūnaitė-Paužuolienė (2019) examines the identity of Lithuanian academic youth in England, whom she describes as being like an 'island' hanging between several continents, where the youths feel at home everywhere, but at the same time nowhere. How this relates to my participants of the youngest age will be explored in Section 5.1.3.

Daukšas (2017, 2019, 2020, 2021) studies Lithuanian migrants in Norway. Daukšas (2021) raises an important question: where is home, and how does it affect emotions and rational choice? He emphasises that modern migration is not seen as a one-way process (leaving the country of origin and arriving in a new country and gradually assimilating with the new society), but is, rather, seen as a

never-ending process that does not necessarily result in assimilation. Since migration is a long-term process, it is natural that the idea of home is not fixed in time: it changes (for example, with changes in life stages and family composition). Migrants see their time spent in Norway as a certain liminal state, or even feel they have not left Lithuania. Only second-generation migrants call Norway their home. Daukšas concludes that three main concepts of home are constructed by migrants: home in Lithuania, home in Norway, and home as "here" and "there." The perception of home as being in Lithuania is partly related to the age and social status of the migrants, and the level of integration into the new society. (Older people are often working in low-skilled jobs and know little if any Norwegian, and see their stay in Norway as a temporary phase of life.)

Čiubrinskas (2014, 2020) focuses on the socio-cultural ties and resources used by migrants and their descendants for their strategies and practices of belonging, in the case of Lithuanian immigrants in the United States. These immigrants, although living their lives locally, are framed transnationally. Čiubrinskas (2014) unpacks the concept of deterritorialisation. He states that what is often assumed as multi-ethnic bricolage could better be understood as rooted cosmopolitanism. The latter is seen as one of the most common ways of constructing the contemporary migrant identity, encompassing both hybridisation and fragmentation of immigrant backgrounds. Čiubrinskas (2020) studies political migrants who left Lithuania after WWII, and more recent 'economic' ones (that migration wave which I explore in my study), and notes that each wave was influenced by models of behaviour rooted in their homeland at that point in time. (The second-wave migrants are called *"tarybukai"* – "little Soviets" – by the first-wave ones.) Those in the two migration waves were also influenced – in behaviour and lifestyle – by certain features of American life.

Ramonienė (2015) analyses the relationship between language and identity. Her study highlights the importance of the Lithuanian language, which was acknowledged by the respondents across all emigration waves and generations.

Overall, the literature on Lithuanian migration is relatively limited and mostly tends to explore processes occurring on the 'conscious' level (for example the various material reasons for migration), and neglects the unacknowledged and unspoken within the culture such as legacies of the past and historical trauma. My psychosocial research is designed to address these gaps in the literature, and to do so by exploring the cultural imaginary of Lithuanian migrants in London (which can only be understood in the context of history) through two methodologies – Visual Matrices and FANI interviews.

Having now considered the Lithuanian context, I will present a review of the wider literature.

3 Literature review

3.1 Introduction

The academic literature that I reviewed in the context of my study of Lithuanian migrants in London is presented under headings which mirror the study's key themes. I will start with belonging, as it is highly plausible that if Lithuanians are transgenerationally traumatised or disturbed by elements in their collective past, they are going to bring that into their new context, and it is going to affect their sense of belonging not only to Lithuania, but also to London. If the ability to belong, assimilate, adapt, find a distinctive niche or community in London is compromised, then that will affect the way in which migrants construct a new identity in the new situation. The mobility paradigm illuminates the way in which some participants have experienced their mobility (in terms of arriving and working out how to live in a new context), their relationship between past and present, and between Lithuania and London. And, lastly, I will consider the psychosocial paradigm, the approach I will take in my study: this section will include the cultural imaginary and some relevant psychoanalytic concepts.

3.2 Belonging

As the title of my thesis suggests, I am interested in how Lithuanian migrants living in London situate themselves towards Lithuania and London.

As Jones and Krzyżanowski (2008, p. 50) state, "[b]elonging is a way of describing how individuals interpret a huge range of imagined and lived attachments and memberships." The Australian sociologist Halse (2018, p. 6) notes that there is a "seemingly endless range of modes or ways of belonging to any particular place, space or social group." Belonging can be public (formally recognised or created by law – such as being a citizen) and can also be a feeling of attachment or of fitting in (such as experiencing an emotional connection to a nation or a landscape).

In my exploration of the literature, it is apparent that scholars are approaching 'belonging' from different disciplinary perspectives, which are asking slightly different questions. Some of those are complementary with my research (which uses a distinctively psychosocial lens – see Section 3.5), some less so. I am selecting the scholarship that relates to my research and helps to contextualise it. I have selected the literature which explores the intersection of social, psychological and cultural factors in shaping a notion of belonging. For example, I am not exploring the behavioural psychological literature in any depth, nor quantitative sociological studies, as the 'psychological' element of my psychosocial research is concerned with the psychoanalytic approach and the sociological element with qualitative studies. In the psychosocial approach, personal psychological makeup and society are in constant

interplay; identity and migration cannot be abstracted from societal, cultural, and historical contexts. Viewing belonging through a psychosocial lens thus involves considering all these factors.

At a fundamental psychological level, belonging is regarded as one of five basic human needs (Maslow, 1999 [1968]), along with physiological needs, safety, self-esteem, and self-actualisation: 'belonging' is essentially viewed as being the emotional need to be an accepted member of a group. A sense of belonging or un-belonging is influenced by internal and external factors, such as quality of interpersonal relationships, their meaning, feeling accepted and appreciated, as well as relation to place, land, sounds, smells, textures, tastes and sensations (Allen, 2021). In the psychological literature there is a consensus that a feeling of belonging has a positive effect on people's psychological wellbeing and quality of life (Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Osterman, 2000; Stillman *et al.*, 2009).

As stated by Jones and Krzyżanowski (2008, p. 38), belonging "has a long history in both political and social theory. But the re-emergence of the term in the social scientific literature (for example, Probyn, 1996; Fortier, 2000; Sicakkan and Lithman, 2005) can be explained by the fact that the concept provides social scientists the potential to capture something of the complexity and multiplicity in a way that arguably 'identity' does not." Belonging offers a lens through which social scientists can better understand the intricate and diverse nature of human experiences and social relations; it allows a more nuanced exploration of how individuals navigate their relationships with and within various social groups, communities, and institutions. Halse (2018) too notes that belonging has become a subject of interest and interrogation across multiple disciplines, which she lists in her article, including migration studies (for example, Babacan and Singh, 2010; Steiner, Mason and Hayes, 2014).

In the contemporary world with its globalisation, the relationship between belonging and historical roots (place of origin) is commonly challenged. Savage et al. (2005) have coined the concept of 'elective belonging': in their view people's feeling of belonging is not linked to historical roots in the area; therefore places are not defined by tensions between insiders and outsiders, but by people choosing to belong there – not merely reside. People who come to live in an area with no prior ties to it can come to see themselves as belonging to it. The authors examine residents' perceptions of divisions between locals and migrants, premised on an ethics of 'elective belonging,' in which both born-and-bred locals and transient migrants are treated with suspicion in favour of those who have migrated into the area and have made a decision to stay. In their sample, those who are 'born-and-bred' in their area come to feel 'out of place.'

The political theorist Yuval-Davis (2006) explores how people belong and the politics of belonging that arise when different social groups interact. She notes the importance of differentiating between 'the

feeling of belonging' and the politics of belonging. Belonging is about emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home'; the politics of belonging involve the power dynamics and boundaries of political communities, leading to a feeling of being included in political projects – or excluded. This relates to the participatory politics of citizenship as well as to entitlement and status. Yuval-Davis (2011) distinguishes three different levels on which belonging needs to be studied and analysed: social locations, identifications (and emotional attachments) to various groupings, and the ethical and political values with which people view belonging.

Bauman (2011b, p. 435) argues that "[i]n its contemporary liquid-modern rendition, 'belonging' to one entity may be shared and practised simultaneously with belonging to other entities in almost any combination. […] Hardly any 'belonging' engages 'the whole self,' each person at any moment of her or his life being involved in, so to speak, 'multiple belongings.'" 'Liquid modernity' contrasts with the earlier period of the 'solid modernity' where social structures were more stable and predictable, where identities, roles and relationships were defined by fixed social categories and institutions.

'Liquid modernity' is manifested in global capitalist economies by increasing privatisation of services and by the information revolution. Among its characteristics is that some traits which in previous generations were assigned to individuals by the community, are instead self-assigned individually and can be changed at will. As a result, people feel insecure about their identities and their places in society, and feel anxious and unsure whether their self-proclaimed traits are being respected (and hence tend to be distrustful of others). Thus society as a whole feels more chaotic.

American ethnologist and behaviour researcher Calhoun (2003, p. 536) questions 'liberal cosmopolitanism,' and argues that "[i]t is impossible not to belong to social groups, relations, or culture." He sees the idea of 'escaping from social determinations into a realm of greater freedom, and of cultural partiality into greater universalism' as unrealistic (ibid). Calhoun is concerned about what he sees as a misleading dichotomy between ethnicity and nation on the one hand (both often currently understood to be old-fashioned and biased), and progress and cosmopolitanism on the other.

In cultural studies, Probyn (1996, p. 19) perceives belonging as a process, a desire for attachment "be it to other people, places, or modes of being, wanting to become, a process that is fuelled by yearning rather than positing of identity as stable state." Probyn notes that belonging is defined by the interplay of two states: that of 'be'-ing and that of 'longing.' Although it is beyond the scope of my research, Probyn's work is significant in that it stretches the boundaries of the notion of belonging, as her concept of 'outside belonging' refers to the spaces, identities, and experiences that fall outside

conventional notions of belonging. She explores how individuals negotiate their sense of belonging in relation to social norms, cultural expectations, and personal experiences.

Cultural geographers study relationships between place and identity – the affective bonds with places. Identity is understood as created both internally in the mind, and through bodily interactions with the outside world. As Casey (2001, p. 406) points out, always situated in a place, we move from one place to another: "There is no place without self; and no self without place." Sack (2001) notes that places cannot exist without us and we cannot exist without them.

Places are felt not only physically, but also internally. Gieryn (2000, p. 465) states that places are 'doubly constructed.' They are in some way physically carved out, but also "interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood, and imagined" (ibid). Cultural geographers also study the meanings that migrants attach to their mobility and settlement experiences. Massey (1995) argues that places (including homes) are not settled, they are open to, and created by, the social relations which extend beyond them. Instead of being constructed out of an introverted, inward-looking history, delving into the past, Massey suggests an 'extroverted' sense of place, where a place's identity is formed of the entirety of its linkages to elsewhere. She mentions the Docklands area in London as an example: it underwent significant transformation from an industrial area to a focal point of global economic connections. Massey defines the dynamic concept of space denoting a changing network of complex links which is constantly being built from the social perspective.

Rose (1995, p. 89) suggests that identity is connected to a place by one's feeling of belonging there. "Part of how you define yourself is symbolised by certain qualities of that place." Rose argues that a sense of place is a natural instinct, as well as a result of the meanings people actively give to their lives; and part of a cultural interpretation of the surrounding world. Rose's research is relevant to my thesis as she analyses the link between place and identity, incorporating a range of possible responses to place: identification with a place, identification against a place (the construction of 'we' versus 'them'), and non-identification with a place (feelings of displacement or estrangement).

Tuan (1980, p. 8), however, differentiates 'rooted-ness' from a 'sense of place': the former is "a knowing that is the result of familiarity through long residence" while the latter is "a knowing that is the result of conscious effort." Antonsich (2010, p. 647) coins the term of 'place-belongingness' – a sense of belonging that arises from one's attachment to a familiar place, or a symbolic space that gives one a feeling of being "attached to and rooted." In this context, to belong means a feeling of being at home in a place, in a symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security, and emotional attachment. Five factors contribute to generate such a feeling: auto-biographical, relational, cultural, economic, and

legal. Auto-biographical factors relate to one's past – childhood memories, the presence of family members and memories of one's forebears. Relational factors refer to the personal and social ties that enrich one's life in a given place. Cultural factors include language, as well as tacit codes, signs, and gestures; also religion and cultural practices. Legal factors include integration into a given economy, secure legal status, length of residence. The absence of 'place-belongingness' is experienced as a sense of loneliness, isolation, alienation, and displacement. Interpreting this psychosocially, the authors are exploring inter-related domains of the internal, interpersonal, and cultural/societal experience.

Cultural geographers Ralph and Staeheli (2011) argue that belonging to a place is not only a subjective feeling held by individuals, it is also defined by others according to specific norms and expectations. Belonging emerges out of intertwined social processes of incorporation and exclusion that are partly self-defined, and partly other-defined (as the wider community must validate the newcomers). Interpreting this psychosocially, the authors are addressing the dynamic relationship between the internal, and interpersonal interactions. This experience of exclusion is often the case in migrants' encounters with members of the places to which they have moved (Crowley, 1999; Yuval-Davis, 2006; Wessendorf, 2019).

When undertaking the literature review on belonging, I bore various questions in mind, among which were the following. How do Lithuanian migrants situate their belonging, and is it merely on an emotional level (such as a feeling of being accepted in London)? Do they feel secure about their social place? Do they identify with London, and in what way? Do they experience any exclusion? Are they choosing to belong or merely to reside in London? How do they navigate their relationship with the local British community? Where are they rooted? Do they have a sense of place? Do they experience multiple belongings? What role does their relation to their historical roots (namely in Lithuania) play? Finally, what do they feel about their 'be-ing' and 'longing'?

3.2.1 Home

Belonging involves an attachment, connected with feeling 'at home' and being 'in a safe space' – even when this is not experienced as being warm or positive (Yuval-Davis, 2011). The notion of home inevitably gets modified in migration, as people leave their physical homes. Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) concepts of 'homing of diaspora' and 'diasporising of home' define the home in the light of migration: on the one hand, 'home' – and especially nostalgia for 'home' left behind – is infused into the very notion of diaspora; on the other hand, diaspora brings its 'home' over and reconstructs it in the new environment.

'Home' gets stretched far across borders by the sustaining of home relationships through travel, virtual connections and the movement of goods (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Boccagni, 2017; Burrell, 2017; Belloni, 2019). However, 'home' is not only positive, but also what one runs away from, and it is not uncommon for migrants to be left feeling as 'outsiders here and outsiders there' (Ibričević, 2021). The concept of home in people's minds holds a tension between the real and the ideal/imagined home (Jackson, 2000). Home is far from being universally experienced as a private haven (Sibley, 1995; Wardhaugh, 1999).

However, from a psychosocial perspective, Papadopoulos (2015) has observed the tendency in general public to idealise home. He (ibid, p. 34) notes that "not a single actual home is ideal and each one includes various combinations and degrees of opposites such as love and conflict, closeness and distance, hopes and disappointments, joys and sorrows. […] This is an astonishing paradox: although in actuality all homes combine positives and negatives, the image of home almost invariably activates dominantly positive and, indeed idealised attributions."

Ralph and Staeheli (2011) focus on migrants' engagement with the notion of home – including a tension between home as mobile and home as stable. They distinguish two strands of research: one relating home to a fixed, bounded, grounding place, the other focusing on the capacity of home to extend and connect people and places across time and space. They offer the conceptualisation of home as mobile and messy (Ahmed, 2003; Brettell and Sargent, 2006; Nowicka, 2007). In migration, home gets modified by mobility and mobility gets modified by gestures of attachment (Easthope, 2009). The construction of home emerges out of the 'attachments' formed to people (in the form of regular relationships) and to material objects, allowing migrants to symbolically 'ground' themselves.

Cultural geographer Morley (2001) defines home as both physical (household) and symbolic ideas of '*Heimat*' (the 'spaces of belonging'). Gustafson (2001) concurs that 'home making' consists of mobility and stasis, displacement and placement, as well as roots and routes. Contemporary migrants' homemaking transcends the aforementioned dualities. Cultural geographers' focus tends to shift to mobile geographies of home (Fortier, 2001; Blunt and Dowling, 2006).

Ahmed (1999) and Olwig (1999) reject the idea that home and away are oppositional experiences and concepts. Ahmed (1999) criticises the representation of home as a space of belonging with clearly defined, fixed boundaries in which one is free of desire, at rest, secure and comfortable. Ahmed (ibid) argues that home encompasses both movement and strangers, encounters between those who stay, those who arrive and those who leave. Home can be associated with feelings of comfort and security, as well as of oppression; home can provide belonging or a sense of marginalisation. Persram (1996, p.

213) defines 'home' as "a site of rest; somewhere that one does not have to try as hard, because one's identity works, speaks and constructs itself. A respite where there is being but no longing."

Ahmed (1999, p. 330) argues that a place that is "comfortable and comforting," can be "the in-between space, the interval, of the airport. Such a space is comforting, not because one has arrived, but because one has the security of a destination, a destination which quite literally becomes the somewhere of home. Home is here, not a particular place that one simply inhabits, but more than one place: there are too many homes to allow place to secure the roots or routes of one's destination." Seaman (1996, p. 53), as quoted by Ahmed, acknowledges the phenomenon of "feeling of being at home in several countries, or cultures but not completely at home in any of them."

To relate the literature on 'home' to my study, I am expecting to see (in my data) how Lithuanians in London see 'home': do they feel at home anywhere, have they brought home over with them and reconstructed it in London, or do they feel nostalgic about it? Is there a tension between the real and imagined home? Do they experience home as mobile or stable? Do they have several homes? How do the roots and routes play out in their lives?

3.2.2 Myth of return

Thinking of Boym's (2001, p. XIX) describing those exiles who never returned as "at once home sick and sick of home," it seems important to address the vision of return. Conway (2005) notes that a desire to return home is an expression of migrants' search for a stable sense of self in a changing world.

Migrants often express an ambivalence about return, recognising that they have changed, as has the place they remembered as 'home' (Ní Laoire, 2008; Ralph, 2012). A return can be unsettling. The migrants "often feel they no longer belong in their home place. Thus, while seeking to stabilise an identity, they encounter the complex relationships between identity and belonging" (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011, p. 523). Nevertheless, holding to a romanticised version of home and the myth of return features extensively in migration literature (Ali and Holden, 2006; Boccagni, 2011; Sinatti, 2011).

Home is "a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense, it is a place of no return." (Brah, 1996, p. 192). Brah (ibid) notes that home is "also the lived experience of locality. Its sounds and smells, its heat and dust, balmy summer evenings, or the excitement of the first snowfall, shivering winter evenings, sombre grey skies in the middle of the day."

Papadopoulos (2015, p. 40) too talks about the 'onto-ecological settledness' which represents a uniquely established and stable configuration which contains a "mixture of positive and negative elements, creates a certain fluency of life, familiarity, stability, and predictability – regardless of how satisfactory or unsatisfactory this state may be." A destruction of this settledness results in "a sense of disorientation, discomfort, and distress that can best be described on the whole as nostalgic disorientation because it is not a known disorientation but one that activates a strong yearning for a return to the predictability of the familiar settledness" (ibid).

The literature on myth of return closely links to the aforementioned sense of home. I am wondering whether the myth of return will occur in the accounts of Lithuanians in London, and, if so, how they feel about the return. Overall, migrants' sense of belonging, home and the myth of return will naturally relate closely to their sense of identity.

3.3 Identity

In the context of my study, the concept of 'identity' and its development encompasses questions about the use of the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than *being* (Hall, 1996). "Identity formation is never fixed, never final, veering between the pole of freedom and that of security" (Bauman, 2011b, p. 425). Bauman (ibid, p. 431) suggests that nowadays 'identity' is a lifelong task, which is never complete; "at no moment of life is the identity 'final'" as the conditions of life are constantly changing. Further, "identities can function as points of identification and attachment only *because* of their capacity to exclude, to leave out, to render 'outside'" (Hall, 1996, p. 5).

Identity refers to a sense of self and includes features that make an individual both different from and similar to others (Bhugra and Becker, 2005). Mann (2006) notes that identity formation is mediated by biological, psychological, and social processes, and thus is constantly re-forged by life experiences. Postmodernism argues that identity is constructed by social and cultural context (Burr, 1995). According to object relations theory, relationships with people and culture/society are internalised and create the basis for the 'self' (Winnicott, 1971).

Psychosocial studies see identity as non-static, in a constant interplay with its socio-politic context. "Identities are narratives, stories people tell themselves and others about who they are (and what they are not) but identity is fluid, always producing itself through the combined processes of being and becoming, belonging and longing to belong" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 202). The migrant's 'hybrid' identity is being constructed and negotiated while living 'between' home and host country.

Migration redefines the notion of rootedness as part of one's identity: the homophonic 'roots/routes' wording is employed by Clifford (1992, 1997), Gilroy (2003 [1993]) and Hall (1996). They use this play on words to encompass both the common origin, homogeneous tradition and bounded culture, and also diffusion and intercultural movement.

Hall (1990) explores a complex, postcolonial, diasporic subjectivity. "The *other* plays an increasingly important role in postmodern cultural identity. In this respect, cultural identity is not fixed in its internal content of cultural history" (Hall, 1990, p. 223).

Bauman (2011b, p. 434) notes that when defining contemporary identity, the metaphors of 'roots' and 'uprooting' would be better replaced with anchors: "anchors are drawn up in the hope that they may be safely dropped again elsewhere; and they can be dropped with similar ease at many different and distant ports of call." Bauman points out that the metaphor of anchors captures "the intertwining of continuity and discontinuity in the history of all or at least a growing number of contemporary identities" (ibid, p. 435).

Bauman (1996, p. 18) – in 'From Pilgrim to Tourist' – highlights the difference between modernity and postmodernity: moving from the attempt to construct the identity solid and stable to 'keeping the options open.' "Indeed, if the *modern* 'problem of identity' was how to construct identity and keep it solid and stable, the *postmodern* 'problem of identity' is primarily how to avoid fixation and keep the options open. In [the] case of identity, as in other cases, the catchword of modernity was creation: the catchword of postmodernity is recycling. Or one might say that the 'media which was the message' of modernity was the photographic paper (think of the relentlessly swelling family albums, tracking page by yellowing page the slow accretion of irreversible and non-erasable identity-yielding events), the ultimately postmodern medium is the videotape (eminently erasable and re-usable, calculated not to hold anything forever, admitting today's events solely on condition effacing yesterday's ones, oozing the message of universal 'until-further-noticeness' of everything deemed worthy of recording). The main identity-bound anxiety of modern times was the worry about durability; it is the concern with commitment-avoidance today. Modernity built in steel and concrete; postmodernity, in bio-degradable plastic" (ibid).

Papadopoulos (2015, p. 38) notes that "[t]he tangible part of identity fits on top of a base" of a mosaic of different elements related to the senses such as the "visual (landscape, nature, architecture, people, artefacts); sounds (natural, human-made, human voices, language, music); smells (natural, human-made); tastes (food, drink, air); touch, feel (textures, clothes)." The elements are also related to the habits, rituals and a sense of belonging to a home, a family, a community, a culture, a country.

Regarding my study, I will be looking at what effect the historical trauma and subsequent migration has on Lithuanian migrants' hybrid identity, and whether they are associating with roots or anchors.

3.4 Mobility

I am also exploring the issues of globalisation and nomadism as these themes are naturally of direct relevance to migration. The concepts of nomadism, diaspora and globalism are of key importance as they reflect the possibilities and the situation of contemporary migrants. Migration has become a significant phenomenon: we live in an age of global transnational movement. Mobility is mostly a sociological 'paradigm,'[28] but it does have its psychosocial side, because as much as it is a state of physical movement, it also is about a state of mind and outlook and a way of seeing things.

Elliott and Urry (2010) and Sheller and Urry (2016) cover a comprehensive field of mobility studies and do so in social theory terms. These studies are related to the material conditions under which people currently live – one of substantial movement of populations. There is a not uncommon perception that we live in a mobile world: accordingly we have to understand it in relation to the notion of mobility. We are societies on the move, we are people on the move, our minds are on the move, our consciousness is on the move. The authors set out all the dimensions of mobility, and include coverage of various kinds of movement. While the authors do explore the impact of mobility on contemporary society, their approach falls short of a psychosocial to psycho-societal perspective as they do not explore emotions and unconscious social processes.

Mobility studies is a broad and interdisciplinary field, and – as will be seen in the following sections – spans various disciplines, including sociology, geography, anthropology, and urban studies. Mobility studies specifically focus on movement and offer access to a variety of researchable entities. This has allowed academia to explore the centrality of movement to the social and material realities of our lives, and affords new opportunities for research. When people are moving, they can be tracked, and the investigator can also be present (physically or digitally) with them. This allows the observation, recording, and interpretation of movement – both during the movement, and before and afterwards.

[28] British sociologist John Urry (2007) coined the 'new mobilities paradigm.' However, Swiss sociologist Richard Randell (2020) questions labelling mobility itself as a paradigm. According to Randell (ibid, p. 219), it is a systems theory paradigm with a mobility focus, as "[t]here is no single mobilities paradigm […], but there are many paradigms in the plural that have been deployed by mobility scholars."

However, the focus of my study is not mobility as such, and my study approaches movement from a different angle – it is more hybrid.

3.4.1 Migration studies

Migration is widely researched in the current scholarship, which addresses migrant and diasporic identities, and explores various aspects of migration-related phenomena. Skrbiš (2008), in 'Transnational families: Emotions and belonging,' gives an overview of the migration literature in general. Burrell (2010) summarises the key themes in current academic research undertaken in the UK on migration movements from Eastern Europe. Whilst extensive literature exists on migration to the UK including from some former Eastern Bloc countries (especially Poland), not all aspects are necessarily applicable to Lithuania due to differences in historical, socio-economic, and cultural contexts (including the difference in language family). For instance, Parutis (2018) notes a difference between Polish and Lithuanian migrants in that the former – unlike the latter – use only their mother tongue with their offspring.

3.4.1.1 Causes of migration

Giddens and Sutton (2013) criticised 'push and pull' theories as being too simplistic and being unable to explain the complexity or full spectrum of migration processes. Accordingly, scholars are increasingly looking at global migration patterns as 'systems' – systems produced through interactions between macro- and micro-level processes. The former represent political situations, regulations regarding migration and changes in the international economy, the latter are linked to the subjects' resources.

Massey (1995) uses cumulative causation theory in migration studies to explain the density and geography of migration flows. Bartram *et al.* (2014) note that the more people migrate from a region, the more those remaining feel relatively deprived and encouraged to migrate in order to create their own success story.

3.4.1.2 Migrant adaptation

A significant amount of literature exists about migrant adaptation in the host country. Migration involves separation-individuation and identity change (Akhtar, 1999), culture shock (Garza-Guerrero, 1974), and mourning for lost cultural experiences.

Migrants' adaptation to a new place plays a significant role in my psychosocial research. The American psychoanalyst Yoshizawa-Meaders (1997), the Argentinian psychoanalysts Grinberg and Grinberg

(1989), and the American psychologist Lijtmaer (2001) have explored the psychological stages involved in migration, including the aspect of adaptation. Grinberg and Grinberg (1989) suggest that migrants move through intense sorrow over losses, through a manic state, through nostalgia, and reach a point where the two cultures have been integrated.

Yoshizawa-Meaders (1997) suggests three styles of adjustment to a new environment. The first is when one's own culture is denied in a rushed attempt to fit in, the second when immigrants isolate themselves and rigidly hold onto old traditions, while the third flexibly express their own cultural identity, while also being receptive to new influences. The third style is linked to 'trans-cultural' identity: the person overcomes dichotomies and integrates both cultures into their being.

Winn and Priest (1993) distinguish three types of approach to cross-cultural adaptation. The 'problem' approach claims immigrants will always be marginalised, the 'equivalent' approach claims that they can gradually identify with – then assimilate into – the dominant culture, and the 'variant' approach claims that they can develop an integrated identity drawing on both old and new societies. However, it can be argued that one can never completely be part of a culture that one adopts: thus Kohut (1977) states that the necessary reorganisation of migrants' psyches may require several generations to achieve. The reorganisation of migrants' psyches involves a dynamic interplay of individual, interpersonal, and intergenerational factors, as well as ongoing negotiations of identity, belonging, and cultural integration within the new cultural context.

Eisenbruch (1984) uses the term 'cultural bereavement' for mourning resulting from relocation. It is common to migrants who have experienced multiple losses. Sengun (2001) states that immigrants can achieve a sense of integration only once the mourning for these losses has occurred.

Bowlby (1980) distinguishes three stages of grief, which mirror the anxiety experienced by children when separated from their mother. First comes disappointment, anxiety, and grief due to separation from the original object, and children's energy gets focused on recovering this lost object. The second stage brings psychic disorganisation, emotional pain, and despair as they slowly withdraw their energy from the lost object. In the final phase, mourning processes are completed and a new self-state emerges whereby energy is also directed towards new objects such as people or places.

Furthermore, "Traumatic events destroy the fundamental assumptions about the safety of the world, the positive value of the self, and the meaningful order of the creation" (Herman, 1997, p. 51). Trauma destroys both meaning and attachment, culture being an attachment system (Alford, 2019). Culture is also a symbolic system which (when fluid enough) creates transitional objects where new meanings

and emotional attachments can be forged. Winnicott (1971) locates culture in a third/transitional space and an arena of transformation, re-configuration and play. The link with play is important and sheds light on the previous observation that the more traumatised a migrant's experience, the less capacity there is to entertain or forge new experience in the form of a modified cultural-symbolic system.

Lijtmaer (2001) notes the various defence mechanisms employed by migrants, such as splitting (for example, idealising the old cultural objects and devaluing the new ones). For Winnicott (1971) the transitional object represents a defence mechanism for a child when separated from a primary caregiver: the object maintains a link between the two and, representing the caregiver, soothes the child, and helps the child cope with the temporary absence. Grinberg and Grinberg (1989) note the importance to migrants of familiar 'objects' from their country of origin.

Migrant integration in the new country is affected by various factors, such as age, motives for relocation, and reception by the host country (often dependent on the level of cultural difference) (Sengun, 2001). Sengun also notes frequent visits to the home country as a facilitating factor. Furthermore, religious involvement is proved to be a significantly supportive factor (Eppsteiner and Hagan, 2016). Ryan, Huta and Deci (2008) note that the extent of integration and the diversity of social networks of immigrants strongly depends on their cultural capital, especially when forging connections with those beyond the boundaries of the ethnic community.

My study will include consideration of cross-cultural adaptation in the case of Lithuanian migrants.

3.4.1.3 Nomadism

Globalisation has led to a new phenomenon of nomadism and so-called 'global nomads,' which is expected to be of relevance to my study. McCaig (1996) suggests the possibility for global nomads to replace the physical home with an internal one. Papadopoulos (2015) proposes that home could be understood as a container of complex inter-relationships between space, time and relationships. The experience of home can emerge "whenever specific relationships are established over a period of time and within the context of a particular space. The space is not limited to geography, physical place, or architecture; it also refers to any space that is experienced as being intimate" (ibid, p. 37). Chambers (1994) argues that migrants have no roots and live between the country of origin which they have lost, and the country of immigration into which they cannot completely integrate.

Schmidt (2016, pp. 32–38) too notes that "there can be 'home places' of a totally different kind like a scientific field, for example, a working place, a field of art, or sometimes even relationships. It is

probably those different kind [sic] of home places that enable some people to 'transcend' concrete sites, so they don't miss a particular place as long as they are still active members of their field. This is probably what enables cosmopolitism [sic] of artists and researchers of various kinds." These 'home places' relate to Winnicott's aforementioned concept of the 'transitional' space which resides between internal and external reality, where creative and imaginative experiences occur, and 'play' – cultural experiences – takes place.

3.4.2 Transnationalism

Transnationalism, in the context of globalisation, is a process whereby migrants operate in social fields across geographic and cultural borders. Transnationalism theories argue that "globalisation has increased the ability of migrants to maintain network ties over long distances" (Castles, De Haas and Miller, 2014, p. 41): ever-growing communication technologies allow migrants ease of contact with their home country and increase their ability "to foster multiple identities, to travel back and forth, to relate to people, to work and to do business and politics simultaneously in distant places" (ibid). There is a rising tendency for migrants to sustain ties with the country of origin (as well as developing ties with the new one), rather than being rooted in just one country: they travel back and forth and communicate regularly with family and engage in voting in more than one country (Bartram, Poros and Monforte, 2014). This phenomenon has come to be known as transnationalism. Mobility does not necessarily mean deterritorialization: it can mean expansion of space through personal as well as family livelihood practices that occur in two or more places (Olwig and Sørensen, 2003).

Cohen (1997) identifies five different categories of diaspora: Victim, Labour, Trading, Imperial, and Cultural. Cohen (ibid) suggests that all of diaspora meets the following criteria: a forced or voluntary movement from an original homeland to a new region or regions; a shared memory about the original homeland, a commitment to its preservation and belief in the possibility of eventual return; a strong ethnic identity sustained over time and distance; a sense of solidarity with members of the same ethnic group also living in areas of the diaspora; a degree of tension in relation to the host societies; the potential for valuable and creative contributions to pluralistic host societies.

3.5 Psychosocial paradigm

In this section I proceed to discussing the psychosocial approach that I take in my study. Given that my study endeavours to illuminate how people might be defended and conflicted about their migration status, a psychosocial approach is distinctly appropriate. Bearing in mind the Lithuanian context, Lithuanian migrants can only be adequately understood by considering unconscious social

processes, which other aforementioned approaches do not take into account. Hence there is a gap in the literature in this regard.

The psychosocial paradigm in my literature review comprises a set of concepts, such as nostalgia, melancholia, and haunting, related to the individual and social experience of loss and how it is processed. Processing loss is a significant aspect in migrants' experience. Although the word 'nostalgia' is in everyday use (as, to a lesser extent, are 'haunting' and 'melancholia' too), the psychosocial usage of these terms attends to their psychoanalytical roots and resonances. Accordingly I situate my use of them, in relation to my data, socio-historically and culturally.

Haunting is relevant to my research because it is the way in which the past is brought into the present at the level of the unconscious and the imaginary. Certainly, nostalgia, melancholia and haunting do not necessarily play out the same way for everyone: people have very different experiences depending on when they left, their age, what their prospects are.

I chose to undertake a generationally-structured study, so as to be able to find out how different Lithuanian migrant groups are affected by nostalgia, melancholia and haunting. Because Lithuanian migrants have distanced themselves from their land which holds the difficult history of the XXc., marked by Soviet and Nazi occupations, I have designed my study in such a way that it will enable me to consider what effect (if any) this history has on the cultural psyche.

3.5.1 Nostalgia

There is good reason to surmise that nostalgia is a significant issue for migrant communities. The question is how much the migrants are nostalgic about the country they have left. Because I have taken a generationally-structured approach to my data collection, my study is going to delve into the question of how different generational groups employ nostalgia and what effects this has on their sense of belonging.

The usual working definition of the word nostalgia is essentially that given by the Oxford English Dictionary (1999), which defines 'nostalgia' as 'an acute longing for familiar surroundings; severe home sickness.' Latterly, in the early XXc., it also came to mean 'regret or sentimental longing for the conditions of a period of the (usually recent) past; regretful or wistful memory or imagining of an earlier time' (ibid). The word is derived from the Greek words 'nostos' (homecoming) and 'algia' (pain). It is commonly used to denote a severe homesickness. As the British sociologist Gabriel (1993, 2020) points out, in the early part of the XXc. the term 'nostalgia' was de-medicalised, and its emphasis shifted from a place to a time in the past that has become the focus of loss, lack, and longing.

Nostalgia as a form of symbolic capital plays an important role in identity construction. “Nostalgia emerges out of an experience of discontinuity and loss in an effort to maintain the integrity of identity and provides consolation for current discontents and privations by constructing a past that is precisely the opposite of whatever these current discontents and privations happen to be” (Gabriel, 2020, pp. 596–597). In the face of discontinuity and disruption, nostalgia aims to maintain a sense of continuity: it “can be viewed as an anchor to the past, one that stops identities from drifting or being overwhelmed or wrecked by a changing world” (ibid, p. 586). Thus my study will attempt to address the extent to which Lithuanian migrants in London experience current discontents and discontinuity in their lives, and also the extent to which nostalgia is involved or employed.

Davis (1979, p. 31) notes that we employ nostalgic narratives “in the never ending work of constructing, maintaining, and reconstructing our identities.” Sedikides and Wildschut (2018, p. 48) comment that nostalgia “helps people find meaning in their lives, and it does so primarily by increasing social connectedness (a sense of belongingness and acceptance), and secondarily by augmenting self-continuity (a sense of connection between one’s past and one’s present).”

Schmidt (2016, p. 32) notes that “[n]ostalgia is the recalcitrance against change to which we and place are subjected. This is for the sake of personal identity, which is entwined with place and therefore has to be upheld […]. Nostalgia is a symptom of displacement.”

When shared and honoured by others, nostalgic narratives enhance our self-esteem and self-confidence. The fact that we experienced first-hand momentous events or, even, that we helped shape them, bestows on us a certain self-worth (Davis, 1979). No matter how lowly, infirm or powerless we are now, we can take heart from earlier glories and grandeurs.

Pain (‘algia’) is caused by unsettlement in one’s life. Malpas (2011, p. 96) writes about “the discontinuity that is encountered in nostalgia, and that gives rise to its pain. It is a discontinuity that exists between the self and the world in which it presently finds itself out of place, estranged, and yearning for a home that it cannot reach”. This discontinuity is not between a self and an outside world, but rather within the self: between the present disoriented self and a past self that managed to orient itself. Nostalgia stems from the alienation experienced in one’s current surroundings. The feeling of nostalgia derives from the gap between the idealised home and the alien reality one is confronting (Schmidt, 2016).

Gabriel (1993, p. 119) notes that nostalgia “exercises a considerable influence on the way present-day events are interpreted.” It reflects the discontents of the present rather than the contents of the past

(Davis, 1979; Gabriel, 1993; Murphy, 2009). Nostalgia seeks to compensate for loss and make up for continuing present discontents and frustrations.

Here, it is worth mentioning Boym's (1995, p. 134) insight that "[t]he imagined community of the nation is based as much on shared forgetting as on shared history." Gabriel (1993, 2020) sees selective forgetting as a core element of nostalgia as negative elements from the past are eradicated in the interest of idealisation. Nostalgia is connected to a highly idealised image of the past, devoid of flaws or blemishes. This past is experienced as valuable and precious (Kaplan, 1987), a valuable heritage (Brown and Humphreys, 2002) that needs to be preserved, celebrated, protected, and treasured. My study will consider whether Lithuanian migrants exhibit a tendency to forget certain things, as well as whether they idealise the past.

We do not necessarily miss a certain place, but, rather, how it felt to be in that place. "In being nostalgic, what we seem to miss, to lack or need, is a world as it was once established in a place" (Casey, 1987, p. 362). We are nostalgic about a home-place, "a place from which we have come in some basic sense, and it includes not only our natal place but any place that has been of significance in our lives" (ibid).

Unlike homesickness, nostalgia involves a temporal component. Homesickness can principally be cured by going back home. Nostalgia, on the other hand, makes visible the inevitable loss of place in time (Hart, 1973). Schmidt (2016) states that nostalgia is a painful withdrawal of the place one called home, as homes are subject to change. So, even if one returns, one's home-place as one knew it would most likely be gone and would only live on in one's memories (Pierson, 2006).

In my research, I want to consider nostalgia through the lens offered by the (aforementioned) Russian cultural theorist Svetlana Boym.[29] Boym (2001, p. XIII) considers nostalgia to be "a longing for home that no longer exists or never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's own fantasy." She adds, however, that there is a danger inherent in nostalgia, in that "it tends to confuse the actual home and the imaginary one" (ibid, p. XVI).

"At first glance, nostalgia is a longing for a place but, actually it is a yearning for a different time – the time of our childhood, the slower rhythms of our dreams. In a broader sense, nostalgia is rebellion

[29] A Russian scholar of Jewish descent who fled from Russia to the US; she was only in her 50s when she succumbed to cancer.

against the modern idea of time, the time of history and progress. […] The nostalgic desires to obliterate history and turn it into private or collective mythology, to revisit time like space, refusing to surrender to the irreversibility of time that plagues the human condition" (Boym, 2001, p. XIII–XV).

Boym (2001) makes a distinction between what she calls 'restorative'[30] nostalgia and 'reflective' nostalgia.[31] Restorative nostalgia is about the return to origins, whereas reflective nostalgia is used in the service of processing rather than in the service of return to an idealised homeland.

"Restorative nostalgia stresses *nostos* and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home. Reflective nostalgia thrives in *algia,*[32] the longing itself, and delays the homecoming – wistfully, ironically, desperately. […] Reflective nostalgia dwells on the ambivalence of human longing and belonging and does not shy away from the contradictions of modernity. Restorative nostalgia protects the absolute truth, while reflective nostalgia calls it into doubt" (Boym, 2001, p. XVIII).

Restorative nostalgia "proposes to rebuild the lost home and patch up the memory gaps;" reflective nostalgia dwells in "longing and loss, the imperfect process of remembrance" (Boym, 2001, p. 41). "*Re-flection* suggests new flexibility, not the reestablishment of stasis. The focus here is not on recovery of what is perceived to be an absolute truth but on the meditation on history and passage of time" (ibid, p. 49). "Nostalgic reconstructions are based on the mimicry; the past is remade in the image of the present or a desired future" (ibid, p. 354).

Nostalgia is a result of interactions "between actual landscapes and the landscapes of the mind. […] [R]estorative nostalgia returns [to] and rebuilds one [sic] homeland […]. Instead of recreation [sic] of the lost home, reflective nostalgia can foster a creative self. […] Nostalgia can be both a social disease and a creative emotion, a poison and a cure. The dreams of imagined homelands cannot and should not come to life" (Boym, 2001, p. 354). Boym (ibid, p. 355) concludes with: "Sometimes it's preferable

[30] Not to be confused with restorative justice.

[31] In her previous writing (Boym, 1995) the author had differentiated between 'utopian' and 'ironic' nostalgia. In a Russian context, utopian nostalgia emphasises 'nostos' and dreams of rebuilding a utopian greater version of Russia. Whereas ironic nostalgia permeated the works of many post-Soviet artists who reconfigured and preserved elements of Soviet kitsch and memories of totalitarian childhood.

[32] Boym interprets 'algia' as longing, whereas it is usually translated as pain.

[…] to leave dreams alone, let them be no more and no less than dreams, not guidelines for the future."

3.5.2 Melancholia and haunting

The concept of melancholia, as used in my research, is linked to Freud's theory developed in 'Mourning and Melancholia' (1917). "Melancholia is in some way related to an object-loss which is withdrawn from consciousness, in contradiction to mourning, in which there is nothing about the loss that is unconscious" (ibid, p. 244). "In mourning it is the world which has become poor and empty; in melancholia it is the ego itself" (ibid, p. 245).

Freud's (1917) concept of melancholia was subsequently applied to social processes (Abraham and Torok, 1976; Gilroy, 2006; Volkan, 2009; Frosh, 2013a). In social processes, melancholia is expressed through haunting. In this section I will present a concept of haunting with the aim of contextualising the psychosocial approach to it that I am applying within my thesis.

In the New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (1999), 'haunting' is defined as "that [which] haunts" (such as thoughts or memory), whereas 'haunted' refers to "much visited by a ghost, a spirit." In my research, I relate 'haunting' to the ghosts of history, and to transgenerational transmission of trauma. The question then arises: are the participants haunted by Lithuania's difficult history of the XXc.?

Alford (2019) points out that Abraham and Torok (1994), Caruth (1996), Davoine and Gaudilliere (2004) claim that those who suffered trauma cannot adequately symbolise their experience and that this leads to intergenerational transmission of trauma through non-symbolic means: 'phantom' for Abraham and Torok, 'hysteria' for Caruth, and 'embodiment' for Davoine and Gaudilliere. Trauma affects the ability to symbolise, which is crucial for development of the third space (Winnicott, 1971). Symbolisation allows one to process and make meaning of experience. Trauma interferes with one's capacity for play, creativity, and the reconfiguring of the cultural imaginary.

For Abraham and Torok, the phantom is related to family secrets, or a time in which the forebears suffered and may have been perpetrators, victims, witnesses or bystanders. The trauma is passed down the generations by ancestral silence and family secrets. "[W]hat haunts are not the dead, but the gaps left within us by the secrets of others" (Abraham and Torok, 1994, p. 171). Frosh (2013a, pp. 118–120) states that "melancholic objects exist in the lives of the nations. […] Haunting is then a norm, each generation is filled with those that have come before." "Trauma lived in one generation continues to have effects in later ones. It doesn't reduce to what we have seen and heard" (Frosh, 2013a, p. 2).

Alford (2019) presents cases where the children of Holocaust survivors were cut off from their parents' difficult emotional experiences – this withholding was felt as the equivalent of "being dropped by the mind of the mother"[33] (Winnicott, 1965). As children were denied knowledge of their parents' past emotional experiences, this not-sharing of secret parts of the self was a failure of holding.

Acts of atrocity engender trauma that echoes for generations (Schwab, 2010; Frosh, 2013a). Schwab (ibid) provides an account of various 'haunting' legacies throughout history, including slavery, forced migration, and colonialism. Schwab stresses that the trauma suffered by perpetrators and their descendants is part of the unattended mourning and trauma that make up a larger cultural and national 'crypt,' so that in our turning away from their legacies of violence, guilt, and shame, we refuse to attend to our own collective 'crypt.'

Frosh (2019) notes that there may be a limit to what is possible, and that there are experiences of the past which can never be resolved and always have to live on in order for their significance for contemporary social and personal formations to be recognised (such as the legacy of slavery, genocide, displacement, colonialism). These events will haunt forever, no matter what acknowledgments are made.

In 'Mapping Social Memory,' Williams (2021) discusses both the epigenetic and social transmission of trauma alongside key discourses from sociology, psychology and psychosocial studies on memory, post-memory and haunting. Although there is a wealth of material on memory and the Holocaust (such as Felsen, 1998; Laub, 1998), Williams notes apparent gaps in the study of migration, slavery and gendered effects.

Williams (2021) lists various studies on transmission of trauma, and notes that the literature on intergenerational and transgenerational transmissions encompasses a spectrum from genomic studies and molecular biology to considerations of ideas within economic, political, cultural and psychological disciplines. Williams (ibid, p. 98) states that it is possible that "if an event becomes completely lost in time, via transgenerational memory, it can be represented in future generations by

[33] According to Winnicott, a 'good-enough' mother helps her child to develop a healthy sense of independence by moving away from the child in small bearable steps – a sudden transition would risk the shock of being 'dropped.'

social, cultural or epigenetic processes." His examples of such phenomena include mass migration or social displacement, and mass extermination – all of which relate to Lithuania's history.

Williams (ibid) explored multigenerational memory from a psychosocial perspective, partly focusing on its implications in psychotherapy. Examples of that privation and hunger hitherto widely known as the Irish Famine recurred in his data: "the key aspect that emerged was how memory was held by subsequent generations. If it was traumatically informed, then the past might feel that it had never gone away" (ibid, p. 176). His research showed that much traumatic memory haunts and troubles people, and that they struggle to make sense of it. Some of the respondents in his study felt their ancestors "were still 'present' and that a whole past stood close behind them. Others spoke about being haunted by knowing something had happened but not knowing what it was. When these sorts of experience predominate, they tell us that the work of reconceptualising loss has been replaced by the experience of haunting and unhappy interment" (ibid, p. 190).

In the social sciences (Bhabha, 1996; Gunew, 2004; Gordon, 2008), haunting has emerged as a conceptual tool to interrogate the coexistent relationships between past, present and future. Gordon (ibid) criticises sociological enquiry's insistence on what can be known empirically and its consequent inability to fully attend to histories of loss, repression and absence. Gordon (2008, p. 134) states that "[h]aunting is an encounter in which you touch the ghost or the ghostly matter of things: the ambiguities, the complexities of power and personhood, the violence and the hope, the looming and receding actualities, the shadows of ourselves and our society."

The concept of haunting moves between personal narrative and social memory, between the speakable and unspeakable, between historical representation and the disappearance and loss of the absent others, and between the political and analytical work undertaken by literary fiction and that undertaken by sociology (Saltmarsh, 2009). Essentially, haunting becomes a way of addressing unconscious social processes without directly naming them; thus there is a gap in the existing literature in that it fails to attend to these processes. My thesis will endeavour to make a contribution to filling this gap seeking out the various unconscious social processes involved.

The philosopher Derrida (1996) introduced the term 'hauntology,' which defines the return of elements from the social or cultural past in the manner of a ghost. The present is haunted by the past and by the ghostly traces of lost futures.

3.5.3 Post-Soviet hauntology

In 'Post-Soviet Hauntology: Cultural Memory of the Soviet Terror,' Etkind (2009) points out the particularities of post-Soviet haunting. Etkind explains the difference between Russia and Germany: "[T]he processes and institutions of terror in Nazi Germany and Communist Russia featured multiple parallels and contacts; but the cultural memories of Russian and German terror developed in such different ways that they seem to defy comparison" (Etkind, 2009, p. 185).

The way Lithuanian history is generally perceived is affected by the fact that Russia was unable to produce a 'clear' vision of its violent past as Germany managed to do. Etkind notes that Khrushchev's concept of 'unjustified repressions' used in his de-Stalinisation campaign in 1956, as the idiom for mass murders, arrests, and deportations did not specify the agency and, therefore, evaded the issue of responsibility. Germans had already experienced the Nuremberg trials (1945–1946) and the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials (1963–1965). In Russia, an attempt in 1992 to put the Communist Party on trial failed.

"In an indefinitely large part of the Soviet experience, death could not be recognized [sic] as death, and survival could not be relied upon as life. The state, the source of repressions, was also the only source of information. Millions were convicted for long terms 'with no right of correspondence'; no information was received from them for years or decades. As we know now, some of these victims were murdered immediately after their sentencing and some of them died later in the camps. Relatives were usually not informed in either case. People returned from the camps earlier or later than their sentences were supposed to expire. The sentence had little or no predictive value. The Gulag did not provide reality checks for either hope or mourning. What it did provide was fertile ground for ghost-making" (Etkind, 2009, p. 187).

3.5.4 Melancholic subjectivity of XXIc.

It can be argued that the temporal context of my research, namely the XXIc., is in itself melancholic. Frosh (2013b) writes about the melancholic subjectivity of our times, stating that "social and psychological nomadism promotes a subjectivity constituted in sensations of rootlessness and loss" (2013b, p. 87). Hampartzoumian (2004) concurs on the presence of melancholia in the 'hollowness of modernity,' where the formation of an individual occurs on the basis of melancholia, nostalgia, and mourning. Hampartzoumian argues that the melancholic object for the modern individual is community, therefore individuals feel a deep sense of abandonment.

3.5.5 Relationship between nostalgia, melancholia, and haunting

It is worth pointing out that there is some overlap between the concepts of nostalgia, melancholia, and haunting; they tend to segue into each other. An example is 'nostalgia as haunting memory': as Schmidt (2016, pp. 27–28) notes, "[f]or a long time memory was considered to be just a medium for the preservation of the past, thus we thought of it as solely directed to the past. But the main purpose of memory is not simply to represent the past. Rather, the primary function of memory is to grant continuity for the sake of the present. Memory is part of our ability to adapt to a changing environment. It is essential for our orientation in the present and towards the future. […] Nostalgia as a form of memory shows in a specific but radical way what the past means for the present."

Like nostalgia, haunting emerges out of the experience of loss: in nostalgia one is aware of the lost object, but not so much in haunting. Nostalgia is somewhat consoling, rather pleasant; haunting is like a shadow, unwelcome, overwhelming. Nostalgia is felt towards that past which our selective memory treasures, haunting refers to the lesser-known, disturbing, uncomfortable and shameful past. Nostalgia and haunting share selective forgetting: nostalgia brings back what one wants to remember, haunting – what one doesn't. Haunting and nostalgia are the results of constructing an idealised vision of the past.

Paradoxically, haunting – like nostalgia – provides a sense of continuity: nostalgia prevents identities from being overwhelmed by the changing world (Gabriel, 2020), haunting lurks in the background of one's subconscious and does not allow one to run away from one's roots. Like nostalgia, haunting can be seen as connecting people by invisible ties. Haunting can be detected not necessarily in what participants say, but rather in the voids of silence: it is beyond language, beyond what one can name.

'Restorative' nostalgia (Boym, 2001), like haunting, 'locks' one in the past and prevents one appreciating the present. Melancholia is also linked to restorative nostalgia. It is restorative in the sense of wanting to bring back something that has gone, wanting to restore what one has lost. This could be linked to a melancholic state of mind as one is trying to bring back what one cannot bring back, and not accepting the fact that one cannot bring it back, that it belongs to the past. It is an arrested mourning: one has not mourned it, one has not internalised the good object and one cannot let it go.

One would expect to see the interplay of these phenomena in my study of the cultural imaginary of Lithuanian migrants.

3.5.6 Cultural imaginary

As noted in the Introduction, the cultural imaginary is how a given people imagine their collective shared cultural attributes (Taylor, 2003). A British scholar in psychosocial and psychoanalytic studies, Matt Ffytche (2019), states that despite the emergence – since the 1980s – of a literature aiming to constitute fantasy and the imaginary as objects of social study, the sociological portrait of human interaction has remained dominated by cognitive models. Ffytche considers the 'imaginary' as an entity that is often excluded from the sociological imagination, and argues that the imagination of human encounters – including fantasies[34] about such encounters – is essential for understanding the dynamics of interaction processes.

Ffytche (2019, p. 26) argues for a view of imagination and fantasy as crucial social facts, the imaginary being "a necessary third component in the dialogue between psychoanalysis and sociology, not quite reducible to either camp, within which elements that are historically, or psychologically, or socially displaced, can be encountered and potentially recognised."

Part of the originality of my study lies in my undertaking an empirical study of the cultural imaginary, rather than a cultural study (cultural studies rely primarily on texts, literature and film). I am looking at how the cultural imaginary plays out in the lives of real people who have migrated from Lithuania to London. I will be delving predominantly into the realm of 'phantasy,' as the imaginary is not explicit in people's consciousness in the way that having (and especially telling) an articulated 'fantasy' is. In cultural studies one can find highly theorised accounts of the cultural imaginary, but my approach is to build on the background of the arts and employ methodology (qv Chapter 4) that bridges the divide between the arts and the social sciences. My methodology gives access to the sensory material – such as sensory impressions, memories, and sense-laden images that my participants use.

Lorenzer's (1986) notion of the scenic is a way of thinking about the cultural imaginary; this will be explored further in the next chapter (qv Section 4.2.1), where I will explain the approach to researching the cultural imaginary used in this study.

[34] It is worth noting the distinction between 'fantasy' which is conscious and 'phantasy' which is by definition unconscious. Ffytche (2019, p. 4) notes that within psychosocial studies, the concept of 'phantasy' is maintained as "something deeply unconscious and distinct from the more cognitivist languages of representation common in sociology."

3.6 In summary

The original contribution of my thesis is in terms of transhistorical psychosocial processes as seen in migration: my thesis illuminates the way in which historical trauma transmits through communities of migration into the present. As we shall see, there is something distinctive about the experience of this historical trauma for Lithuanian migrants. My thesis will shed light on how this affects migrants' sense of belonging to London and what impact it has on their identity, how they experience their mobility (or immobility) and their relationship to their past and present (in terms of the concepts discussed above – nostalgia, melancholia and haunting). I will investigate a generationally-specific cultural imaginary due to 'generational consciousness' (Bollas, 1997), given that each generation possesses a distinct collective psyche shaped by shared experiences, cultural shifts and historical events.

My literature review and my examination of the Lithuanian context informed my methodological choices and study design. They directed me to the psychosocial methodologies, as these take into account the psychic conflicts, historical and societal processes, as well as grasping the unconscious social processes. Given the scarcity of psychosocial studies on migration (especially migration from post-Soviet countries, such as Lithuania), my study should help to address this knowledge gap. The particular psychosocial methodological approach I adopted comprised the Visual Matrix and FANI methods, as detailed in the next chapter.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

My research aims to grasp the nettle of both the unconscious and conscious social processes at play in my study cohort, and therefore requires a suitable methodology for investigating such processes. This also entails attending to the way participants tell their stories, the discursive constructions they use in their choice of language, and – when they talk in visual, sensory terms – their choices of visual imagery. I am looking for manifestations of unconscious processes 'under the surface' or behind the words (Clarke and Hoggett, 2009).

My hypothesis is that the identities of Lithuanian migrants in London are part-formed in Lithuania and part-formed in the UK. My study investigates whether people are conflicted about where they locate themselves (and if so, how they handle such conflicts), which cultural resources they draw on, where they belong, and where their attachments can be found. When considering how best to research this particular population, my epistemological position is that people are not necessarily able to recount a transparent and coherent story about their migration: they might be defended about their status, conflicted, or nostalgic. The study endeavours to access and elucidate the different elements of these accounts.

My research also studies the cultural imaginary – the ways a given people imagine their shared cultural attributes (Taylor, 2003). "[I]maginaries are patterned convocations of the social whole. These deep-seated modes of understanding provide largely pre-reflexive parameters within which people imagine their social existence" (Steger and James, 2013, p. 23). Rather than just relying on discursive data, my research methodology enables me to access the cultural imaginary which is composed of sensory and imagistic material (such as images of Lithuania, the smell of forests, the affect that gathers around Christmas rituals). The study's participants share their impressions and memories in a linguistic way, but the language simply opens the door to the figurative universe they have in their minds. The material I am working with does not belong to the realm of discourse, it belongs to the realm of sight and sound and other senses, and the affects that accompany the senses.

The discipline of psychosocial studies adopts the view that there are aspects of selfhood which are hidden from the self and not available to cognition or capable of being discursively represented. Hence my adopted epistemology does not rely exclusively on language. In Bion's theory of 'containment' (qv Section 4.2.2.1), the symbolic container enables linking and thinking. A cultural imaginary is an

elaborated and complex symbolic container on a social level, that enables social groups to process cultural experience.

I am choosing a methodology that takes into account the conflicts (psychic and historical) and the social processes that Lithuanian migrants experience but cannot necessarily easily articulate. My study requires a free-associative method, as other methods – such as semi-structured interviews or focus groups – would render the unconscious processes less accessible. Free association (Freud, 1913)[35] allows access to the unconscious meanings, anxieties and defences through coherencies and incoherencies in participants' accounts. According to Hollway and Jefferson (2013), free association in research hinders the masking effects of participants' internal defences.[36] Free association allows the study's subjects to largely determine the frame of reference, and to associate freely in ways that, to an extent, let some of the unconscious guide – and sometimes erupt into – the telling of the emergent story.

In my study I am combining Free Association Narrative Interviews (FANIs) and a group-based methodology (Visual Matrices). I have selected these free-associative methods because they relate to one of my research aims – that of perceiving unconscious social processes – and as the Lithuanian context and my literature review revealed the significance of the conflicted and of the unspoken. A free-associative process involves seeing what a stimulus – whether it be a question in the FANI or a visual stimulus in the Visual Matrix – produces in the participants. The researcher extrapolates the

[35] In free association a person is encouraged to verbalise all thoughts that come to mind – to express the content of their conscious mind without censorship or prompting (Freud, 1913). This is an aid in gaining access to unconscious processes.

The FANI interview needs to be distinguished from the clinical situation. As there is some framing in my research, the association is arguably less free than in a clinical setting. FANI researchers are 'psychosocial' – they do not psychoanalyse their interviewees but they use psychoanalytic concepts in conjunction with social ones to understand those aspects of human feeling and behaviour that cannot necessarily be rationally accounted for and that reflect conflicted emotional states and the operations of phantasy/fantasy. Although informed by psychoanalysis, the method is primarily psychosocial. The psychosocial frame uses historical and sociological material in a dialogue with the accounts the research participants give – their discursive constructions and life narratives – as well as with their unconscious social processes.

[36] Hollway and Jefferson (2013) refer to Klein's (Klein, 2017 [1921–1945]) unconscious defences against anxiety.

cultural imaginary from reverie-led[37] methods: from the accounts the migrants give of their lives and from the imagery they generate. Hence, my study adopts an ontology of defended subjectivity (Hollway and Jefferson, 2013) which requires a psychoanalytically-informed psychosocial epistemology (qv Section 4.2.3).

4.2 Theoretical framework

4.2.1 Lorenzer's approach

The study's design is informed by the work of the German psychoanalyst and sociologist Alfred Lorenzer (1986): I have juxtaposed the individual to the societal collective. Lorenzer himself applied his method to the analysis of literary texts. His approach has subsequently been applied in a wide range of cultural, social and social psychological studies (Redman, Bereswill and Morgenroth, 2010). For Lorenzer, text transcends the obvious meaning as it houses an unconscious dimension – its impact goes beyond the individual, it is societal-collective. In Lorenzer's view, psychodynamic forces are the result of social interaction and are expressed through symbolic interaction forms embedded in culture – in the first instance between infant and primary caregiver[38] (Salling Olesen and Weber, 2012); they are subsequently elaborated through ongoing socialisation processes. Psychic dynamics are seen as being produced by societal relations and as representing an inner psychic modality of culture.

The scenic is understood as an ongoing register of affective and embodied experience and meaning that "persists throughout life, infusing, animating and, importantly, resisting what is consciously

[37] Reverie is a quality of unfocussed dream-like attention (Bion, 1989 [1965], 1991 [1962], 2014 [1963]).

[38] Lorenzer refers to "the practices of care and nurture that punctuate a baby's daily life (feeding, soothing, cleaning, 'conversations' with caregivers, mirroring games of various kinds, and so on)" (Bereswill, Morgenroth and Redman, 2010, p. 226). These interactions (and their failed counterparts) constitute the 'interaction-forms.' This scenically structured experience of the infant is profoundly embodied. The process of mutual constitution takes place within the 'interplay' between the infant and the primary caregiver: the process of negotiation and 'agreement' by which interaction-forms become established in the infant's inner world. (This early scenically-structured experience of specific interaction-forms is inscribed in the neuro-physiological structure of the brain and nervous system.) Such 'agreements' tune the infant into 'historical-cultural-social forms' because they reflect the social conventions in a particular historical time and cultural location. With the child's entry into language, and the child's learning to link the scenic qualities associated with specific interaction-forms to sound-symbols, the specific interaction-forms are transformed into the symbolic interaction-forms (Bereswill, Morgenroth and Redman, 2010).

known" (Bereswill, Morgenroth and Redman, 2010, p. 226). The major significance of Lorenzer's work in relation to my study is this conception of 'scenic understanding'. Scenic understanding for Lorenzer is a primary mode of perception of reality; the Visual Matrix is methodologically derivative of this complex mode of apprehending reality. The Visual Matrix is a succession of imagistic scenes produced by the shared associative process or reverie of the participants. The scene comprises a matrix of relations in which the participating consciousness of the researcher plays a part. It is this scenic dimension that my study also employs in the scenic compositions[39] which are used to present the complex cases 'syncretistically'.

Lorenzer (1977, p. 125) states that "[i]f we want to understand the analysand's life-practice, which does not exclude his concrete social reality, we must follow the path laid down by his subjective phantasies and outlines of relations.[40] This means we must become attuned to his scenic interaction forms as these unfold before us" (English translation as cited in Salling Olesen and Weber, 2012, p. 52).

"The scenic understanding focuses on the ongoing tense relation between the manifest and the unconscious meanings […] which requires an imagination of the unconscious […] as a collective reservoir of culturally rejected patterns, forbidden yearnings and suppressed desires" (Salling Olesen and Weber, 2012, p. 56). Indications of the dynamics of hidden conflict include gaps, inconsistencies, unusual use of language, jumps in the story or sudden changes of subject, as well as the interpreter's reactions, emotional states and associations. Hollway and Froggett (2012, p. 13) describe this as "a potential disjunction between subjective fantasy and concrete reality" which is experienced as "a lack of 'fit,' an irritation or a provocation, where something that has not yet been symbolised 'presses' into language." These occurrences in the text have a role in the depth-hermeneutic interpretation process as they indicate where the connection between the scenic and the symbolic interaction forms is ruptured (qv Section 4.4.6.1).

[39] This is explored in more detail below, in the 'Scenic composition' section (4.4.6.3).

[40] cf translation cited by Froggett and Hollway (2010, p. 283): "we must follow the path laid down by his subjective ideas and fantasies about relations."

4.2.2 Other psychoanalytic concepts

The Visual Matrix also draws on the concept of containment (Bion, 1970), the notions of potential space and transitional phenomena (Winnicott, 1971), and rhizomatic thinking (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987).

4.2.2.1 Containment

Bion (1991 [1962]) noted that when an infant cannot contain some internal 'parts,' he projects them onto the mother. The mother acts as a container to contain the split parts and return them in an improved (digested, as in processed) condition. In this way the infant experiences an object which is able to tolerate and think, allowing him to see the world and himself in terms of meaning. In Bion's terminology, the (infant's) undigested elements of sensation ('beta elements') require the 'metabolising' action (exercising 'alpha function') of a container (mother) in order to render them thinkable.

In the panel analysis process (qv Section 4.4.6.1) the provocations in the data extracts or scenic compositions (akin to what Bion calls 'beta elements') get transformed into 'alpha elements' by the panel's action of rendering them available to experience and thinking.

The Visual Matrix process is only possible in conditions of containment: as Froggett, Manley and Roy (2015) note, the facilitator needs to provide a 'soft' facilitation, the prototype of the container-contained relationship being the nursing mother whose entry into reverie (a form of attuned – sometimes dreaming – attentiveness) supplies containment. Since this capacity (of containment) gets internalised, it can then be stimulated by other notions that recall the conditions of thinking in infancy. The Visual Matrix accesses this container and so stimulates a sense of reverie and safely contains participants' anxieties, allowing them to digest and make use of the spontaneous creative thoughts and images that arise.

4.2.2.2 Potential space and transitional phenomena

Winnicott (1965) coined the concept of the holding environment, which is similar to Bion's containment. "The container is internal, whereas holding or the holding environment is external or in the transitional stage between internal and external" (Symington and Symington, 1996, p. 58). In order to develop, an infant needs (according to Winnicott) a holding environment – 'good-enough' maternal care. If an infant is secure in the relationship with the mother, the transitional space begins to develop in between them. In this space, the capacity for play emerges (Winnicott, 1971). For Winnicott, there is a direct development from this playing to cultural experiences later in life.

The Visual Matrix is the potential space for metabolising and symbolising: it functions as a space where ideas can be explored in a playful way. This space gives rise to transitional phenomena which are simultaneously internal and external, personal and social (Froggett, Manley and Roy, 2015).

4.2.2.3 Rhizomatic thinking

The metaphor of a 'rhizome' (from the Ancient Greek word for 'mass of roots') is used to describe a non-hierarchical network where any point may be connected to any other point (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) and captures the non-linear process of the emergence of images, affective intensities and ideas in the Visual Matrix. The 'thinking' development in the matrix is 'rhizomatic' rather than linear or thematic – diverging associations appear with fluctuating moments of intensity (Froggett, Manley and Roy, 2015).

4.2.3 Psychoanalysis in psychosocial research

The FANI method draws on a psychoanalytically-informed psychosocial ontology that emphasises unconscious conflict and anxiety (and defences against anxiety) as the basis of self-presentation. These anxiety defences are intersubjectively enacted; the participants and the researcher are 'defended subjects' who co-produce data shaped by unconscious dynamics. Unconscious meanings, anxieties and defences that shape participants' accounts and actions can be accessed through psychoanalytically-informed in-depth analysis (qv Section 4.4.6.1). The first stage of the FANI data analysis in my study is undertaken by a panel: the use of panels helps to compensate for any researcher bias and enriches the analysis. (In the case of the Visual Matrix, the analysis process is started by the participants in the post-matrix discussion; qv Section 4.3.2.)

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the FANI borrows from psychoanalysis the concepts of unconscious defences and free association.[41] "If the range of unconscious processes is from the unsaid to the unthinkable, the FANI method encourages the former and occasionally, aided by the containment of the interview relationship, enables elements of the latter, picked up through the researcher's emotional responses" (Hollway and Jefferson, 2013, p. 152).

[41] Hollway and Jefferson's first publication on FANI ('Doing Qualitative Research Differently') appeared in 2000. The method, namely its use of psychoanalysis in psychosocial research, was subsequently criticised (Frosh and Baraitser, 2008; Frosh, 2010); the authors replied to the critique in their book's second edition, in 2013.

4.3 The double methodology

4.3.1 The Free Association Narrative Interview

The FANI was conceptualised by Hollway and Jefferson (2013 [2000]), and was first tested in connection with the criminological finding that subjective anxiety does not reflect objective risk: there is a non-rational element that can only be accounted for by some conception of unconscious phantasy. FANI interviews start with one or more framing questions and thereafter encourage the interviewee to free-associate in response. The virtue of uninterrupted narrative is that it "allows interviewees to follow the threads of their emotional experience as they transform it into freshly-discovered meaning. It helps to guard against 'well worn' stories, and commonplace discourses, depleted of personal meaning and emotionally vivid experience" (Hollway and Jefferson, 2013, p. 151). The FANI uses open questions to elicit stories, avoids 'why' questions, and follows respondents' ordering and phrases. The researcher's responsibility is to be a good listener, where "the interviewee is a story-teller rather than a respondent" (ibid, p. 29).

The FANI commences with the posing of an open-ended question around the point of interest, in order to elicit the interviewee's uninterrupted narrative; the question is phrased to facilitate, not direct. The FANI interviewer's intervention is minimal: the interview is determined by one or more narrative questions. A further exploration of the FANI can be found in Section 4.4.3.

4.3.2 The Visual Matrix

As well as FANI interviews, my study is also using a group-based methodology, Visual Matrix, because the study is investigating not only the individual imagination, but also the way in which a social group collectively imagines its own way of life. The Visual Matrix (Froggett, Manley and Roy, 2015) captures the cultural imaginary and how it is collectively revealed by groups drawing on their shared resources. The method was initially developed and tested by the Psychosocial Research Unit at UCLan in a project on the impact of public art on local townsfolk (ibid). The Visual Matrix is an image-led associative methodology that allows participants to engage in a process of visualisation, symbolisation and reflection. It has been designed for researching the cultural imaginary: it creates a 'third space' (Winnicott, 1971) research setting in which to observe groups re-enacting their lived experience. Unconscious or pre-conscious processes can find expression in an analysis of what the stimulus generates in the group.

The imagery that lives in people's imaginary tells us much about their attachments to place and culture, whether those attachments are strong or weak, and to what extent they are compromised or

enhanced by political circumstances. For example, people might dream of escape or of return: such half-formed ideas and other ambivalences are not easily accessible through interviews. Furthermore, the Visual Matrix offers people an opportunity to explore their 'imagery' without having to produce a convincing finalised account and without feeling 'cornered.' Also, in the Lithuanian context, attention to the visual seems particularly appropriate, as art in the Soviet era became an antidote to the prevailing ideology, and was where people sought refuge (qv Section 2.3.3).

The facilitator of a Visual Matrix asks for participants' associations to the stimulus material and to one another's contributions. Participants contribute as and when they wish. The matrix is associative rather than discursive, led by imagery and affect. In a free-floating state of mind, participants produce creative images and ideas which build up into a 'collage.' The Visual Matrix works with participants' internally-generated images and encourages contributions in the here-and-now rather than asking them to offer judgements and opinions. Also, the participants' verbalisations include not only 'declared images': a researcher will note other responses too, such as non-verbal communication and expression of affect. A state of reverie is held within containing boundaries. When it takes place in person, matrix participants are seated in a 'snowflake' pattern, so minimising group dynamics, and discouraging direct addresses to other members or the facilitator (as in the Visual Matrix people speak to the shared space, not to one another).

The analytic framework is configured by the group in the post-matrix discussion, where participants 'image-map' the matrix experience by identifying the main imagery and associated feelings from the session, so setting a frame for subsequent research team analysis. (For this task, the chairs are re-arranged into a semicircle[42] around a whiteboard or flip-chart.)

The Visual Matrix is usually facilitated by more than one person, especially when the number of participants is higher. One of the benefits of having more than one facilitator is that it is easier to enable the reverie, as various facilitating tasks can be shared. I was the sole facilitator of my groups.

4.3.3 Narrative vs lyric

The interviews have a narrative structure; when people talk about their lives they tend to construct a narrative in some way. In Visual Matrix there is no story – it pays attention to what comes to mind in

[42] This helps the participants transition out of the 'reverie' mode, in order to be able make links and interpretations.

the present moment, in the 'here and now.' This state is termed lyric (Abbott, 2007), as opposed to narrative. "A narrative writer seeks to tell us what happened and perhaps to explain it. A lyrical writer aims to tell us of his or her intense reaction to some portion of the social process seen in a moment. […] It means that the first will try to show reality by abstract mimesis while the second will try to make us feel reality through concrete emotions" (ibid, p. 76). Most importantly, it is the difference between story and image. "Narrative writing centers [sic] on a sequence of events, […] lyrical writing centers [sic] on an image or images. These are viewed in different ways, through different lenses, to evoke the sources of the writer's emotional reaction" (ibid, p. 76).

The lyric mode is about being in the present, living with images and sensations: an 'existential moment.' The Visual Matrix accesses that lyric mode (by generating images and associations in a non-linear manner) rather than a narrative mode. My research will combine a form of data which is very dependent on a storyline, with a form of data which is sensory (and, in that sense, abstracted from anyone's particular story). In a narrative we get linearity, in Visual Matrix we get emerging threads.

4.3.4 The FANI and the Visual Matrix in combination

The study uses an innovative combination of individual interviews and group-based data generation: the FANIs and the Visual Matrices. Both of these methodologies rely on some form of free association: in the one case as an individual process and in the other as a group process of shared association. They both attempt to grasp the cultural imaginary at work: it is at work partly unconsciously in (and emerges through) both the individual construction of the biographical narrative (FANI) and a shared process of association in the Visual Matrix. Both methods can give access to unconscious social processes. Visual Matrices investigate the way in which a social group collectively imagines its own way of life; the FANIs give people an opportunity to tell their stories, and show how the cultural imaginary plays out in individuals' lives and informs people's decisions. Both methods pay attention to the interaction between inner and outer worlds, and enable a deeper understanding of complex subjects. With different units of analysis (individual vs group), they are complementary. My study examines the participants' ways of imagining being Lithuanian, as revealed by the FANI and by the Visual Matrix: the two methods will show both common and distinct features. Using these two free-associative methods affords the possibility of some triangulation.

Although the Visual Matrices establish what the generational groups (presented in the next section) have in common – and in what respects they differ – the FANIs show that there are distinctions between the generations in how the commonalities are lived in people's lives (with certain differences between individuals). This was the reason I chose to combine the two methodologies.

4.4 The methods

4.4.1 Sample and recruitment

I recruited immigrants who were born in Lithuania and identified themselves as Lithuanian. My initial plan had been to approach prospective participants in person through various Lithuanian social networks, such as the London City Lithuanian Club, the Community of Lithuanians in the UK, the Lithuanian Embassy in London, and the Lithuanian bookshop 'Knygnešys.' However, due to the Covid-related 'lockdown,' I also used my circle of acquaintances.

For the FANIs, two subjects were selected from the following generational groups (which can be compared with each other and with the Visual Matrices[43]):-

1) Migrants in their 60s (born in Soviet Lithuania; adults when the country became independent).

2) Migrants in their 40s (born in Soviet Lithuania; school pupils when the country became independent).

3) Migrants in their 20s (born in independent Lithuania).

Interviews were held between June 2020 and January 2021; each lasted approximately one hour. All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and translated by the researcher: these aspects are detailed below (qv Section 4.4.5, Language). The demographics of the interviewees are tabulated in Appendix A.

4.4.2 Research process

My research started in October 2019: the first six months were dedicated to working on the Research Project Approval and Ethical approval (qv Section 4.4.7) as required by the University. By March 2020 the UK had entered a Covid-related 'lockdown.' Consequently, my original plan – to start with Visual Matrices and then proceed with FANIs – had to be modified by reversing the sequence. Furthermore, I was obliged to use online methods of communication for my data collection. Thus I undertook the face-to-face interviews online and became increasingly confident using this medium.[44]

I then progressed onto the Visual Matrices, conducting three out of the four groups online, after running two pilot sessions (online) with UCLan's postgraduate research student group. Unfortunately,

[43] For the Visual Matrices, the subjects were divided into the same three generational groups.

[44] Johnson *et al.* (2021) compare online and live interviews.

one of the online sessions with the Lithuanian migrants encountered technical issues at the outset (qv Section 5.1.4). The Visual Matrix group with the cohort in their 60s was conducted face-to-face. The initial plan was to do the group online, but several people I approached in their 60s said that they were struggling with the online medium (as calls would sometimes drop) and were requesting for it to be done live. My plan was to hold the group in the Lithuanian embassy, but the participants asked if it could be done in a Lithuanian nursery as the location was more convenient for them.

Undertaking the interviews by video calls necessarily entailed a merging of 'professional' and 'domestic' spaces that would not normally occur in traditional fieldwork. Also, it introduced both disembodiment and distance, but also familiarity. Online video calling mirrored the experience common to the migrants of their video calls to their relatives and friends – the oldest interviewee even made a reference to this when discussing the quality of the online connection.

The calls involved seeing on-screen not only the interviewee's face, but also my own: an unusual self-reflective experience. Most of the interviewees were in their home spaces (as was I, though I had a blank wall as background). One interviewee was at work, and another was staying in Lithuania for the duration of the 'lockdown.' One interviewee was moving around his house, so at times I would see just fragments of his face and the ceiling. Another interview was interrupted by a child coming into the room. Two interviewees tried to show various artefacts, such as family photographs and books. The flow was occasionally interrupted by the internet connection slowing down or dropping.

All this had an effect on the quality of the communication. The biggest challenges arising from conducting interviews online (compared with the traditional in-person mode) were dropped calls, inaudible fragments, difficulty reading body language and nonverbal cues, and loss of continuity. The encounter was more distant emotionally, and less visible body language naturally evokes more focus on the verbal. There were two occasions of internet drop-outs within my calls with the interviewees in their 20s: these introduced a feeling of responsibility and worry that the call could get interrupted again. The call drop-outs disturbed the intimacy and flow of the communication, which took some time to rebuild.

The foregoing affected the analysis phase of the study, as it is mainly based on the verbal communication (both what was said and how it was said). Arguably, the online 'distance' allowed some people to feel less intruded upon. In the debriefing phase of the interview, Evita stated that the online medium had helped her: she thought she would not have said as much if we had had a face-to-face encounter.

4.4.3 The Free Association Narrative Interview

Prior to the Visual Matrix sessions, six respondents were identified (who reflected the generational composition of the groups) for biographically-oriented, psychodynamically-informed FANI interviews. The interviews are explored and presented in this thesis as in-depth case studies (qv Section 5.3). The latter are about the lived experience of being a Lithuanian emigré in London: how Lithuanian emigrés have constructed their identities and how that differs between generations. Additionally, the case studies convey participants' 'personal idioms' (Bollas, 2019 [1989]), which refer to the unique way in which participants express themselves and engage with the world. These 'existential signatures' are shaped by the internal world, including unconscious processes. 'Personal idioms' allow deep understanding of the person, and aid the comparison of cases.

This carefully-chosen initial question framed each of my interviews:

> Can you tell me about your life as a Lithuanian living in London? What aspects of Lithuanian culture and British culture are important to you? You can share what you want, start where you want. On occasion I may intervene or ask questions, but will try not to interrupt your story.

In order to gain the necessary deep understanding of my interviewees, I provided them with a space to express their thoughts and was attentive to the emotional tone of the interview, and to the spoken and the unspoken. I also attended to the emotions the interview evoked in me, and how my presence had an influence on what was said, and was mindful of the historical and sociological context (qv Section 4.4.9, Reflexivity). The FANI is sensitive to psychic reality, including the unconscious intersubjective dynamics in the interview relationship.

4.4.3.1 The challenge of an unstructured interview

Any open-ended and unstructured interview (with an open question) can create a certain discomfort, and so it is not uncommon for participants to ask for more guidance. Interviewees are sometimes uncertain whether they are revealing too little or too much, and whether what they are saying is appropriate or not. However, many anxieties get dispelled once interviewees get into their stride. In one of my interviews a psychology student presented a ready-made defence: "You're not doing it right; have you got a specific research question?" [paraphrased].

4.4.4 The Visual Matrix

The Visual Matrix groups were held between March and July of 2022. The groups, each with five to eight participants, lasted between an hour and twenty minutes and two hours. The demographics of

the participants are tabulated in Appendix A. All the Visual Matrices were recorded, transcribed, and translated by the researcher. The Visual Matrices are explored and presented in this thesis as in-depth case studies (qv Section 5.1).

The Visual Matrix comprises two parts: the Visual Matrix itself and the post-matrix discussion. My verbal introduction to Visual Matrix participants can be found in Appendix G. The Visual Matrix is initiated by a visual stimulus: the visual framing in my research consists of a slideshow of landscapes, places, and cultural artefacts (qv Section 4.4.4.1). The matrix facilitates examination of people's relationships to these images (qv Section 4.3.2).

4.4.4.1 Images[45]

The cultural artefacts symbolically express the cultural experience without necessarily over-describing it, they are open signifiers. For example, a painting says what it says overtly, but it also leaves open a whole field of interpretation, some of which is not easy to grasp consciously. This involves what Bollas (2019 [1987]) calls 'unthought known,' something that the participants all know, but which has not yet found its way into cultural expression.

My selected images (open signifiers) provide a stimulus for a response (in a particular context and for a particular group): I was trying to uncover the imagery that underlies people's accounts of their relationship to Lithuania and the UK, and also their (related) memories and phantasies. Therefore I used imagery of Lithuania and the UK to stimulate and provoke further imagery in the participants. My image selection for the Visual Matrix was also informed by the FANI interviews I had undertaken. I included imagery which appeared important to the interviewees (such as forests and the Lithuanian countryside).

Participants were presented with 16 –17 images in no particular order, avoiding 'over-framing' (so as not to influence the subsequent associations). Some images had a happy tone, some neutral (such as recognisable landscapes), and some were historical (photography and artwork). Also, the material was of deliberately varied quality.

Any selection of images, presented in a sequence, has the potential to impose a frame. I assembled the slideshow in such a way as to avoid this problem, so ensuring that participants had an unrestricted choice of response. In my choice of images, I selected those that should resonate with participants

[45] The images used in the Visual Matrix are listed (and reproduced) in Appendix H.

and trigger a response. In the Visual Matrix, images are not seen as representative: they are provided to stimulate a free association process. The role of images is to nourish the imagination of those who take part, so they can produce their own images. The Visual Matrix provides a context in which thoughts can come into the open; for example in the Visual Matrix with the oldest group (qv Section 5.1.2) an image is created which embodies the pain of being rent apart from (the 'body' of) one's motherland.

4.4.4.2 Participants' reaction to the imagery

In my Visual Matrices, the participants perceived the task as being to interpret the images and duly worked mainly with them. In the second Visual Matrix held with participants in their 40s, there was substantial resistance to the images. One participant reacted strongly against both the task and the images: the group was partially derailed by her contribution. The group dynamic was linked to this participant's role in the group: she was in a 'group' behaviour mode rather than a 'reverie' mode.[46] She was making a bid for control because (in her professional life) she works with images and accordingly views herself as an expert: she could attack the researcher from this position of supposed superiority.

This is always a risk when collecting data: one cannot predict that all will go according to plan, as human beings are perverse, they put up resistance, they are defensive, and have other agendas. It is difficult when the Visual Matrix encounters such participants: they cut across the process and can subvert it. It would have been helpful for the researcher to have had a co-facilitator attending to those dynamics and gently offering an association after the participant's disruptive comment.

The participant felt manipulated, there was an undertone of suspicion: one always has to be watching one's back and making sure that others do not scrutinise one too closely. This reflects a specific cultural trait linked to an aspect of Lithuanian history, namely that of post-Soviet trauma (qv Section 2.3.4).

The participant became critical. She was afraid of being deceived: possibly she had experienced deception in her life. The attack seemed to arise from insecurity. She did not know where the researcher was 'leading' her, and felt neither free nor confident. The Lithuanian panel noted that the

[46] The Visual Matrix focuses on the emergence of a (rhizomatic) matrix which is activated by participants' shared affective associations (not on the dynamics arising between participants). The matrix provides the conditions for voicing (in a symbolic form) the cultural imaginary existing among the participants.

attack, the aggression, seemed out of place and the task would have been perceived as much easier and simpler by someone who had grown up in a democracy.

Interestingly, when the associative part was over, in the post-matrix discussion – when it was no longer a battle for control – the participant got involved in the whole process and the group started to work as if they were still in the Visual Matrix, and allowed in the emotional connection that it had hitherto defended against.

The first group with the cohort in their 40s also voiced some preoccupation with the process: "What are you trying to find out? – from our answers?" In the post-matrix discussion I was asked "Why were the photos so melancholic, not joyful?" In my selection of images I was trying to show the difference between the two places, Lithuania and London. I was choosing timeless images, at least consciously.

Had I unconsciously framed melancholia? Perhaps I have a melancholic relationship to the images of Lithuania or indeed to Lithuania itself? For example, the iconic image of a farmstead is, to my mind, representative of Lithuania, possibly as such themes permeated the literature prescribed by the school curriculum, and a farmstead is a place clearly distinct from the global landscape. I chose images – "iconographic" images, as one participant said – which do their 'work' by facilitating access to the cultural imaginary.

4.4.5 Language

In the interviews and groups, an option was offered of using the Lithuanian language, so allowing the participants to express themselves in their mother-tongue should they so wish. The further analysis of all such Lithuanian data was based on my own translation of the material. In view of the various issues known to be related to translation (Temple and Young, 2004; Riessman, 2008; Hollway and Jefferson, 2013), every effort was made to ensure the study is as accurate as possible in this respect. Translation requires making interpretative decisions whilst trying to adhere to the original meaning. Also, in any language there are expressions that do not translate easily: this complexity was also taken into consideration.

The translation process was not as straightforward as might have been anticipated. For example, the range of verb tenses differs between the two languages – the English language has more differentiated forms, so equivalents had to be sought. In Lithuanian, the difference between masculine and feminine genders is explicitly denoted by the word-ending. This also applies to animate beings: a male emigrant is *emigrantas* and a female emigrant is *emigrantė*. Such nuances were all taken into account. Also, certain words in Lithuanian are semantically 'loaded' and are not easy to translate directly into English.

Therefore, on occasion it was necessary to retain the original. For example, in the case of Lithuanian proverbs,[47] I have translated these literally, but have indicated that the phrases are in fact proverbs.

In one case (qv Section 5.3.7) the participant's narrative was unclear in Lithuanian, in that he would suddenly switch to a different topic and his sentences – and even words – were often uncompleted. This resulted in the transcription of his material often seeming to be disrupted, if not completely inarticulate. Translating such material into another language can add a further degree of incoherence.

The methods used – Visual Matrix and FANI – foreground the quality of people's experience and how they choose to express it. Participants need to be able to express themselves as fully as possible, including with emotional nuance. Language is performative, so feeling sufficiently at ease with the mode of expression is important in this type of research. Another relevant issue is that the mother-tongue is psychodynamically loaded: it is the language of the mother, so participants choosing to use Lithuanian is significant in itself.

The interviewees in their 20s chose to use the English language, stating that this was the language in which they found it easiest to express themselves. Nevertheless, both these interviewees did use a few Lithuanian words (when seeming to communicate a comfort provided by their culture of origin). For example, Lukas briefly switched to Lithuanian when our internet connection was restored: "*Jūs čia? Va, viskas gerai – sugrįžom*" ("You're there? All's well – we're back"). I suspect he uses Lithuanian at this particular moment to connect to me (as a fellow-Lithuanian) and is possibly seeking a maternal containment and comfort. He also uses Lithuanian to say that Lithuanians are *"Tiesiog išsilavinę labiau"* ("They are just more educated"), linking to his pride in being Lithuanian. Fausta uses one Lithuanian word: "*kūčiukai"* (small Lithuanian pastries) – a cultural object that connects her to Lithuania.

The interviewees in their 40s and 60s chose to use the Lithuanian language: those in their 40s included a few English words, as did one interviewee in her 60s. Evita (in her 40s) uses English words on two occasions. Firstly, she refers to her difficulty regarding the "*gap'as"* (adding a Lithuanian ending) between the lowest and highest levels of the British middle class. Secondly, she refers to the "comfort food" she prepared during the "lockdown" – expressions with no direct equivalent in Lithuanian. This might show that Evita has integrated some English into her thinking, but also that English might provide her with some emotional distance, a degree of disconnectedness from any pain she feels.

[47] For example, "I poured [liquid] from an empty container into a leaky one."

Tomas (also in his 40s) uses English when depicting local culture: “have a pint” and “having conversation.” He also draws attention to his grasp of English by commenting that he knows to say “I went” rather than “I going to” [sic]. He uses English to express his annoyance with the “British,” saying some of them have no “intellectual” baggage, have “limited” intellect, and ask him “Where are you from?”. Tomas’ inner response to English ignorance about Lithuania is “F*** off!”.

Nida (in her 60s) uses no English words. Marija (also in her 60s) illustrates how polite Brits are: “Sorry, sorry.” When talking about her former work she uses an English word with a Lithuanian ending: “*housekeeper’iai”* (and similarly uses a Russian word with a Lithuanian ending to refer to a tour guide in Minsk and Kiev (“*ekskursavodas”*)). She also says “Insurance number” when explaining the procedure for ordering medication.

The interviewees in their 40s show their identification with the Lithuanian language, but their narrative incorporates some English words as they use both languages in their everyday communication. (In Lithuania, this generation occasionally uses English words in their speech too, as English is widely used in work and cultural settings.) The interviewees in their 60s, despite living in London, use mostly Lithuanian language in daily life, and English language barely appears (if at all) in their narrative or thoughts. Overall, the use of English in the interviews seems to reflect the level of immersion in British culture.

In the Visual Matrices, only Lithuanian was used, though in the youngest group a couple of participants struggled to find the right words, used them atypically or in too literary a manner, or resorted to English.

4.4.5.1 Silence

Silences can be very generative when people are truly making use of them. For instance, in the Visual Matrix session with the cohort in their 20s, the group stayed in silence for significant periods of time. During the first two silences I worried whether the participants would cope with the silence. Gradually, it became clear that the group was working well. I needed to analyse what was happening in the silences, from what came before and after. In those silences the participants were thinking of their own personal experience before sharing something with the group (qv Section 5.1.3).

4.4.5.2 Visual Matrix with the participants in their 40s

The Visual Matrix worked well with two of the generational groups, namely with the cohorts in their 60s and 20s. With the participants in their 40s, it worked in an unconventional manner, but still

produced some associative data. Neither group was a classic example of the Visual Matrix: although similar to each other in their pattern, both were relatively short – one due to technical issues and the other due to the reverie being dropped (qv Sections 5.1.4 and 5.1.5).

4.4.6 Data analysis

4.4.6.1 The Panel

"Ogden's summary of one of the main tenets of Bion's theory of thinking, that 'it takes two minds to think a person's most disturbing thoughts' (Ogden, 2009, p. 91), has found practical expression in the use of panels for data analysis" (Salling Olesen and Weber, 2012; Hollway and Jefferson, 2013). In my research, data analysis occurs in panels and uses a depth hermeneutic approach, associated with Lorenzer. Panel analysis is standard practice in the depth hermeneutic method, and facilitates a more nuanced reading of the text and prevents the interpretative process being dominated by one person. As will be seen in the reflexivity section (4.4.9), I am – like any researcher – predisposed to interpret the material in a particular way. The panel helps to make me aware of this particular way and helps me to avoid any consequent bias.

In order to acquire a sufficiently deep (and scenic) understanding of the research data, the Dubrovnik method (Hollway and Volmerg, 2010) was applied in my analysis. This method is designed to identify (the previously mentioned) interaction forms. The protocol chosen for use by the panel to orientate their analysis originates from the Lorenzerian approach, which distinguishes three (sequential) levels of interpretation:-

1. What is said? (The overt meaning of the text or utterance.)
2. How is it said? (In terms of noting the key emotional tone of the text.) This concerns how the participants 'perform' and how this is then received by the researcher – the latter part requires panel interpretation and is the point at which different perspectives come into play as panel members react to the material differently. When transcribing and writing-up each case I paid attention to the participants' emotional states – this might be revealed by their choice of words, or their vocal tone (or, in the case of the FANIs, also by gestures). Or, there may be no overt signs, but simply my emotional response. Regardless, I endeavoured to understand why certain feelings were elicited in me during the course of the interview or the Visual Matrix. When analysing my own response to it, I also paid attention to those elements that might be enigmatic or provocative – or even incomprehensible. I also took into consideration my own role, given that I too am part of the 'scene.'

3. ‘Why is it said in this particular way?’ (Including hidden intentions – whether consciously hidden or unconsciously so – as well as overt ones.) The panel, in their analysis, consider how the utterance can be understood by means of theoretical and factual knowledge of a socio-cultural and psychosocial nature. This required seeking out those aspects which may run counter to the manifest meaning. Here, the researcher’s theoretical stance plays an important role (Salling Olesen and Weber, 2012; Hollway and Jefferson, 2013). This final step contextualises the data and – in my study – illuminates the nature of the participants’ cultural imaginary.

The research panel comprised my supervisory team: two or three supervisors were present at each meeting. The panel was presented with one or more extracts of the interview or the Visual Matrix and, later, the scenic composition. The panel analysis consisted of several sessions dedicated to each FANI and each Visual Matrix, following the aforementioned three-stage schema. The extract transcripts and scenic compositions were read aloud and the panel then undertook several run-throughs, moving from experience-near scenic views to experience-distant interpretations.

The particular extracts used for panel analysis were chosen because they contained a conundrum, a provocation, a ‘crack’ (Lorenzer, 1986), that needed to be explained, so helping to ‘open up’ the text.[48] I tended to select affect-rich extracts, where the participants were particularly emotionally engaged. The extracts were worked on to get to the case as a whole: the panel sought to identify the ‘interaction forms’ that constituted the gestalt.

Regarding the scenic composition, the ‘scenic’ aspect is of the case as a whole, and the composition is a way of apprehending this (qv Section 4.4.6.3). It represents data that has been processed and distilled through the researcher’s perception. The panel’s work enabled access to the affective responses and insights of others to the data, and revealed my own ‘blind spots.’

I also organised Lithuanian panels for some of the interviews and Visual Matrix groups, to incorporate perceptions from people with a lived cultural and historical experience of Lithuania and an understanding of cultural nuances. The Lithuanian panel consisted of two or three Lithuanians in their

[48] It is worth noting that since the role of the panel sessions is to stimulate further thinking, some of their remarks might appear judgemental; the panel was not tasked with providing a final ‘verdict.’

50s, one of whom was an academic. The members of the Lithuanian panel were based in Lithuania and had never lived abroad. This will also be discussed later – qv Section 7.3.

4.4.6.2 Gestalt

The object of FANI analysis is the whole narrative itself, as opposed to just the events that were narrated. The primary underpinning principle is that of gestalt.[49] Therefore, attention is paid to the data as a whole (including non-verbal communication) and to "links and contradictions within that whole" (Hollway and Jefferson, 2013, p. 5). Gestalt provides the basis to think across the cases.

One example of the gestalt in my research cases is a sense of being uprooted. There is much un-grounded-ness (part of the migrant condition) and – yet – a constant harking back to the cultural bearing of Lithuania as represented particularly by landscape, language, and customs. In all my interviews, albeit expressed in very different ways, I can see (or infer) that this is structuring the gestalt: the interviewees all present different variations of this underlying theme. This allows me to make a cross-case comparison which otherwise would be quite difficult because the participants are so specific and their biographies each unique.

As a researcher, when I look at certain key underlying patterns of the interviewee's narrative, I can see parts of the cultural conscious as well as those of the cultural unconscious (qv Section 4.4.6.1). An example of the cultural conscious (a conscious thought that the interviewees share about their culture and cultural heritage) is that of the Lithuanian landscape – certain features are particularly precious, such as the forest. But there may be, as already mentioned (and a key rationale of my study), some aspects of shared experience that are not and cannot be easily articulated – partly due to the historical trauma, and partly as some non-verbal experiences simply do not lend themselves to description in words. Also perhaps partly because the interviewees have untethered themselves from Lithuania by opting to leave it.

4.4.6.3 Scenic composition

Scenic composition (Froggett *et al.*, 2014) is a methodology which is sensitive to the sensory and performative qualities of the interview and the imagery it evokes. The scenic composition was developed in its original form as a pen portrait and later came to be termed 'scenic composition' as a

[49] The concept of 'gestalt' originates from the Berlin School of Gestalt Psychology (founded in 1912), its core principle being that the whole can be perceived as more than the sum of its parts.

reflection of its ability to express the scenic dimension of an interview syncretistically. Its Lorenzerian frame'[50] was first articulated by Froggett and Hollway (2010). Scenic composition was then elaborated in 2014 (Froggett *et al.*), in a study investigating how live webcasting might help communities to address street drinking in Liverpool. The study's contributors each experimented with a different literary form ('a novel', 'an internet chat', 'a fantasy fiction' and 'a rap poem'). The author of this thesis has further extended the scenic composition's use, through poetry (as presented later in this section).

Scenic composition "aims to provide a vivid, visualised, rendering of a data extract that preserves its emotional resonance during data analysis" (Hollway and Froggett, 2012, p. 2). It also presents the complexity of the scenic in a highly condensed form and hence is one way of capturing the gestalt (qv Section 4.4.6.2). Furthermore, scenic composition is a response to the contemporary insistence on reflexivity in psychosocial and other depth-hermeneutic research and the interest in accounting for the aesthetic qualities of research subjects and interactions. The scenic composition gives access to a multi-sensory range of the researcher's experience, including unconscious elements, which are then available for reflexive interpretation by a research panel. In mobilising the creative imagination of the researcher alongside a hermeneutic and thematic analysis, the method is situated between the arts and (social) sciences (Froggett *et al.*, 2014).

The composition is written 'as it comes' – 'free from memory or desire' (Bion, 1970) – emerging in a state of reverie, a precondition to 'negative capability'[51] (Froggett *et al.*, 2014). According to Ehrenzweig (1971), "syncretistic perception is achieved through a form of scanning that depends on a relaxation of cognitive focus and allows a response driven by primary process. […] In contrast, the work of analysis depends on the ego and the deconstructive and reorganising functions of the intellect. […] [W]hereas analysis is essential for identifying the components of a complex structure and for a relatively detached and dispassionate stance, syncretism depends on a necessarily subjective

[50] The conceptual underpinning is drawn from Lorenzer's (1986) scenic understanding.

[51] 'Negative capability' is "the ability to apprehend open structures without focusing on detail or foreclosing on meaning. Bion's use of the concept of negative capability brought together the artistic and clinical psychoanalytic attitude. He famously borrowed the term from […] John Keats (1817) […] [who described a quality of attention as being] 'when a man is capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason' (cited in Bion, 1970*, p. 125)" (Froggett and Hollway, 2010, p. 290).

*As per my reference Bion, 1970.

experience that brings one closer to the object and is better able to afford an appreciation of the relations that compose the whole" (Froggett *et al.*, 2014, p. 289).

The FANIs and Visual Matrices were each in turn transcribed within a fortnight of their occurrence, and the scenic compositions written immediately following transcription. For those 'sessions' where the Lithuanian language was used, I wrote my scenic compositions in Lithuanian, then translating them into English. (My scenic compositions for the English interviews were written in English.)

The scenic compositions, being my emotional response to the data and – as already mentioned – capturing its gestalt (and focusing on the aesthetic dimension), came to me in the form of short poems. Arguably, poetry provides *le mot juste* that much prose cannot: poetry conveys a thought in a concentrated, lyrical arrangement of words, using aesthetic qualities of language, to evoke additional meanings to the prosaic and the apparent. In Lawrence Ferlinghetti's (2007, p. 50) words: "Poetry is the shadow cast by our streetlight imaginations."

Scenic compositions helped me to think 'syncretistically' about the data, and represent my lens on it. They are very affect-laden: they say something about that which the data evokes in me. They are expressions of my state of mind as my response to the data. By externalising this in the form of a poem, I am making it available for myself and for the reader to see. The compositions also enable me to see more clearly what the participants are saying.

The following is an example of a scenic composition, the poem being my response to the interview. The poem resonated with me both as a quest and as an exercise of rummaging. Here I am presenting the first two lines (the entire poem is found in Section 5.3.6) which portray glimpses of the Lithuanian imagery 'presented' in the interview:

> It is snowing with cherry blossoms through the triangle of a lead window.
>
> Mother's dress. Chafing shoe.

This scenic composition contributes methodologically to the overall study design by working in combination with (and being considered together with) the narrative of the interview or Visual Matrix. For instance, in the case of the FANIs, I am taking the biographical account and expressing how I perceive it, by crafting it into an aesthetic form which has something to do with my impression of the existential signature, the idiom (Bollas, 2019 [1989]) of the interviewee (qv Section 4.4.3). My scenic compositions, written for the Visual Matrices, express my own experience of facilitating each of the groups.

In my compositions I extracted that imagery which seemed to be charged with strong emotion in the data. The scenic compositions emerge from my associations and unconscious phantasy (Froggett and Hollway, 2010). They also attempt to capture the overall 'feel' of the data.

When I paint a scene with my scenic composition, the overt content is those parts of data – even single words – which resonate with me and seem emblematic of it. As I present the scenic composition to the panel, I find that there are more layers of meaning being signified in the composition than I had originally perceived. Therefore the idea of scenic understanding is a useful notion for my research. In any scene there is a degree of interaction between its elements: between what we know is going on and what lies beneath the scene. As previously mentioned, the concept of scenic understanding derives from depth hermeneutics. There are always elements in the scene which are in excess of what we can readily identify, and which only depth interpretative strategies can reveal.

Lahman *et al.* (2019) explore the use of poetry in research (or as the authors term it, "poemish 'research' poetry"). The process of writing a poem is presented as laborious, involving significant cognitive input. My scenic compositions are spontaneous expressions without my trying to 'control' or analyse/judge their quality as poems. This spontaneity of expression enables the capture of my scenic apprehension, and of unconscious meanings between interactions.

Furthermore, although my interviews and Visual Matrices are rich in visual imagery and metaphor (beyond their overt imagery), I have enhanced my analysis of the data by using my own process of visualisation in my scenic compositions (as within them I use some of my own 'images'). This way, I create a link between the presented imagery (in the interviews and Visual Matrices) and my capacity for visualisation given my artistic background. Creating my own imagery in response to the data is a way of 'translating' the language of the participants (already suffused with imagery) into a literary form which works with that imagery, enabling the content of the data and its affect to be syncretistically presented. This work on the imagery is further developed through my drawn sketches, as detailed in the Discussion (Chapter 6).

4.4.7 Ethics

Given that my empirical research involves personal encounters, careful attention was paid to how participation in the research affected the participants, as well as to the handling of the data and protection of anonymity. In terms of such potential ethical concerns, no major issues were anticipated, nor did any surface. Before beginning the research, ethical approval was obtained from the Business, Arts, Humanities and Social Science Ethics Committee at UCLan (qv approval letter in Appendix B).

Interview and group participants gave fully-informed consent. The participants were introduced to the research verbally and were provided with informational leaflets (Participant Information Sheet (Appendix C) and Privacy Notice (Appendix D)), and signed a Consent Form (Appendix E). The research was explained in a user-friendly way, emphasising how taking part could be both enjoyable and useful, including potentially benefitting the Lithuanian community. The participants were encouraged to ask questions.

Participants had different personal reasons for taking part in the research. For example, Fausta revealed in the debrief that she felt a duty to take part, and as a student she also needed research participants and knew how difficult it could be to recruit the right people. Lukas agreed to an experience in which he might learn something new. Some participants also shared reservations. Tomas, once he had agreed to take part in the research, was not in the mood for an interview at the appointed time, so the interview was rescheduled. Marija expressed her concerns about using a video call as she feared it could be video-recorded and placed on the Internet. Nida wanted to know what the data would be used for.

It was made clear to the participants that I would not be publishing information which could personally identify them. For example, names – and any biographical details – that might enable my participants to be identified, would be amended. The data collected were anonymised as soon as possible after collection and any names (or other potentially identifying details) mentioned by the participants were excluded from the written notes.

The participants were reassured that should they experience any emotional discomfort during a session, appropriate support would be offered. After each interview, an opportunity for a debriefing was offered, in order to review the interviewee's experience and facilitate the transition out of the interview. While Evita, Lukas and Marija did articulate a sense of satisfaction with the interview process and enjoyed the opportunity to express their views and emotions, I noted a certain disappointment with Fausta – as a Psychology student she seemed to have expected a more structured/guided interview. The debrief time also provided an opportunity for discussion of any sensitive material which might have left the interviewee feeling uncomfortable. (No one availed themselves of this latter opportunity.) Likewise, after each Visual Matrix group a joint debrief was offered, with the option of an individual debrief if desired. All study participants were also provided with a debriefing sheet (Appendix F), which contained counselling support links lest the participants wished to further explore any personal concerns.

4.4.8 Limitations

My research was based on a relatively small sample of the relevant migrant population. However, my study is not primarily examining individual responses – my sample is aimed towards gaining insight into a shared cultural imaginary as articulated through some individuals and some generationally segmented groups. Also, the gender distribution was uneven (for example, most of the youngest generation participants were male, and there were only female participants in the oldest generation).

Whilst the age groups chosen may seem to be limited, there would be no value in expanding their upper limit, and the omission of children was intentional. Lithuanians older than their 60s would have come to London before the 1990s (which is beyond the scope of my research), and children are not yet at sufficient maturity for the type of research I was undertaking. As to the question of socio-economic representation, there was no reason to suppose that my cohort was unrepresentative, and it did include participants from a range of social and educational backgrounds.

For any future research replicating or elaborating on my study, a larger number of participants could be used and the gender distribution evened up. Also, a data comparison of the migrants to their non-migrant counterparts living in Lithuania would be of interest. Further work could be carried out to explore 'generational differences' in terms of 'lived lives over time,' using – for example – BNIM methodology (Wengraf, 2001). (Such longitudinal research would seem appropriate, given that my work has identified a relative 'stuckness' of the migrant experience as a process.)

Also, those of Lithuania's cultural minorities (for example Jews, Russians, Poles, Gypsies) who have migrated from Lithuania could be studied. Furthermore, the data collection could be carried out in other cities in the UK, and also in the UK countryside. Additional conceptual material could be considered, such as Adorno's (Adorno and Bernstein, 2007 [1951]) philosophy, namely his thought about totalitarian states of mind – the way totalitarian regimes influence and reshape people's psychology and societal behaviour (such as fostering conformity). Although Adorno mainly focused on the Nazi regime, his ideas are also applicable to the Soviet regime.

In addition, some may argue that there are issues of power inherent in the methods used in my research. For example, when I showed my slides to the Visual Matrix participants, the slides bore no titles (subsequently added here for ease of reference). Both FANIs and Visual Matrices leave the participants 'free' to follow their own criteria of relevance as they involve an 'open' interview and an open associative process which are not particularly conditioned by the researcher's concerns or questions. There is, respectively, an initial (open) question and a selection of images as an initial

stimulus ‘shaping’ the possibilities of response, but this ‘shaping’ is somewhat limited – both the interviews and the Visual Matrices produce ‘emergent’ rather than structured data, with the researcher taking a relatively passive role (hence the image titles are not given, so that participants do with the images what they will).[52]

Also, the data analysis process could be perceived as insufficiently collaborative with the participants: although the Visual Matrix analysis begins in the post-matrix discussion, where participants are involved (designed to mitigate research power, ensuring the analysis is led by participants and the analytical frame is shaped by them), the subsequent analysis is undertaken by the research panels (designed to ensure that the researcher conducts an analysis open to other voices and viewpoints). Involving participants in the further analysis would clearly be problematic, primarily due to the ontology of the defended subject (qv Section 4.2.3).

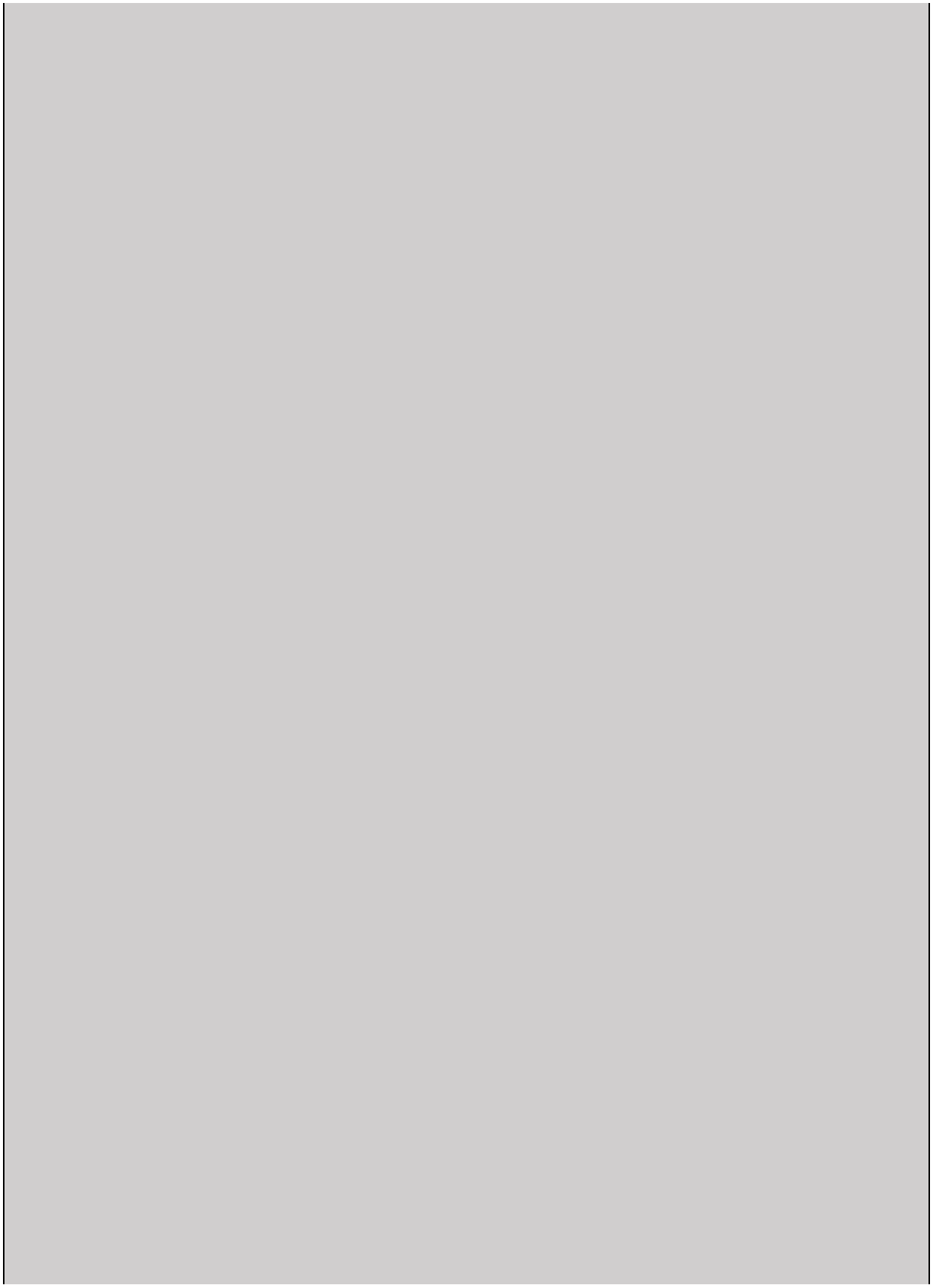
4.4.9 Reflexivity

In the following vignette I will present my story and will then proceed to explore my reflexivity as a researcher.

Text not accessible in electronic version for ethical reasons.

[52] Prof Lynn Froggett, personal communication, 2025

[53] Text not accessible in electronic version due to ethical reasons. Text not accessible in electronic version due to ethical reasons. Text not accessible in electronic version due to ethical reasons.



[54] Text not accessible in electronic version due to ethical reasons.

Vignette 5 (My Story)

Intersubjectivity is important in psychosocial research; as Roseneil (2006, p. 865) notes regarding psychosocial interviews, they are "the co-production of the interviewer and the interviewee, at a particular moment in both of their lives." Narratives are generated in the encounter between subjects in their shared environment, hence as a researcher I can represent an 'imagined' community which the participants feel part of. My age and the fact of my being a Lithuanian migrant to London inevitably affect how I interact with the study participants and how I interpret the data, as the data resonates with my own lived experience (especially the data originating from the participants in their 40s).

As a researcher, I am also part of the interview and Visual Matrix scenes because I bring my own cultural experience and heritage to bear on what is presented. The scenic compositions (further explored in the 'Scenic Composition' section, 4.4.6.3) reflect my inner processes as I confront the material. The scenic compositions depict what resonates with me from the interviews and the Visual Matrices and what has the most meaning. One reason for my excluding material would be its standing outside of our shared cultural experience; another, possibly its provoking such discomfort that I subconsciously repress it.

Also, from a psychosocial perspective[55] it is implicit that participants were drawn to their specific 'positions' and shared certain topics (and not others) depending on where they had situated me and

[55] Psychosocial reflexivity accommodates and researches aspects of unconscious inter-subjectivity, the dynamic between the interviewee and the researcher, acknowledging the presence of transference and

my interests. For example, in the interviews, Evita saw me as a person of a similar age, Tomas – as a woman, Fausta – as an authority figure, Lukas – as a mentor or a mother; Marija called me a 'little child,' and Nida asked me which little town I was from. The interviewees seemed to have detected my artistic background, as they brought much visual material to their accounts. Furthermore, they all knew I too was a Lithuanian migrant: I felt this created a bond, as well as rendered the conversation less formal.

I began this research when I myself had already been living abroad for more than 15 years. The decision to undertake the research was not accidental and reflected my effort to understand my life. This project drew me to 're-visit' Lithuania in a reflective way, to meet the Lithuanian community in London, take part in Lithuanian events, and delve into Lithuania's history. All this had a mesmerising and slightly overwhelming effect on me. The material I collected in my study is very familiar and resonates with me, it draws me in and it is not easy to take a reflective distance. Also, when interpreting my data, at times I felt very close to it, because I too had encountered some of the experiences my research participants had found difficult. This is one of the lenses through which I view my data: this lens will bring certain things into sharper focus, and blur other things. (Hence a benefit of using panels, as they can help correct any over-interpretation (qv Section 4.4.6.1).) As Crociani-Windland (2020) has noted, subjectivity is of key importance in psychosocial research, but mandates the use of reflexivity.

Having now considered the methodology, my case studies (written for the Visual Matrices and FANIs) will be presented and discussed.

countertransference (Clarke and Hoggett, 2009). Transference concerns the feelings (about someone in their lives) that the interviewee transfers onto the researcher; countertransference concerns the feelings that are evoked in the researcher toward the interviewee.

5 Study cases

5.1 Visual Matrices – case studies

5.1.1 Introduction

Although the FANI interviews were undertaken first, here I am presenting the Visual Matrices first, because the Visual Matrices establish what the generational groups have in common (and in what respects they differ). I then present my interviews to show that there are individual distinctions in how the commonalities are lived in people's lives (also noting certain differences between individuals). I start with general aspects, and move on to particular ones. Each case study will start with a scenic composition. In the FANIs, scenic compositions capture the idiom (Bollas, 2019 [1989]) of the interviewee, whereas in the Visual Matrices they express my own experience of facilitating the group. (The scenic compositions and Visual Matrix extracts are used for the panel discussions: see Section 4.4.6.1.)

Also, the generational order I will follow throughout the remainder of my thesis will start with the oldest generation, then moving onto the youngest and the middle ones. Thus I will start with the 'extremes' (the oldest, very settled in their minds, and the youngest) and will follow with the middle generation.

5.1.2 Visual Matrix 1 (with participants in their 60s)

5.1.2.1 Scenic Composition

Following the path of blood drops into the depths of the forest...

With downcast eyes I try to endure.

The room fills with pain,

guilt and disappointment.

Years are like dust.

Tension is mounting.

Who needs a person with no job?

A dreadfully sacrificed body,

a son is a set of body parts.

Why here?

It was bad in Lithuania.

The first year was just tears.

Is it good here?

Do we work or do we live?

5.1.2.2 The Visual Matrix scene

The Visual Matrix had six participants, all women aged 64–69, who had arrived in London between 1997 and 2007. Half of them had come from cities and half from small towns. They had come here looking for work: for most of them as a result of factories closing down in Lithuania. In London they have been working mainly as cleaners. They all have children and grandchildren.

The Visual Matrix session was held in a Lithuanian nursery in East London. Whilst waiting for the session to begin, the group was discussing the war in Ukraine which had started some ten days earlier.

I projected the slideshow onto a screen; the group watched the slides in silence – only one whisper was heard, “What a nice farmstead!” In terms of seating, the participants formed an irregular semi-circle divided in two by the projector. The group insisted on remaining in this configuration for the associative part of the session, as they noted that this would fulfil the requirement that they would not be facing each other. After my explaining the associative task, one participant asked what would

happen if one felt sleepy and had no associations: would that be acceptable? I reassured her that all that mattered was their being authentic.

5.1.2.3 Clusters of imagery

The first association offered was as follows:

> I can say: it reminded me of my childhood – winter there, and summer. It's very beautiful there... those farmsteads are very beautiful. They reminded me of my childhood! Reminded me of my childhood, I really enjoyed it. I remembered and... childhood.

This opening statement contains much repetition of the words "childhood" and "beautiful": it reflects what seems to be an idealised vision – beautiful farmsteads, postcard-like images.

Trees and forests emerged in the second and the third associations offered:

> Now, as for me… I looked at those trees and I… I have so much stress these days – I'd like to remain *[tearful]* as resilient *[lit: straight]* and honest as a queen. And I think… I'm worrying so much these days, probably a decision will be taken such that everything will be fine: that's my strength, my power and I'll endure it all. *[Pause]* For me the first… the first [slide] (Appendix H, image No 1): the trees [show] that I have to be strong, not to give up, and be as righteous as a queen.

* * *

> The first picture reminds me that here is… probably it's the morning and the sun is rising, and the light is visible in the forest. But it is most unfortunate that forests are being cut down in Lithuania, they are being destroyed; beside my house many such beautiful spruces and pines were cut down and everything is being taken abroad, the wood is no longer in Lithuania. Everything is taken away.

The Lithuanian panel noted that trees are important to Lithuanians as a symbol of strength: many will have seen old trees, strong enough to weather the storms. The participants have lived among trees, with trees; Lithuanians sense the life of trees.

The idea of being straight, honest, regular seems to be about retaining one's integrity and doing so proudly. Hence the reference to a queen, a symbol – almost an icon – of pride, integrity and righteousness for a nation. One needs to be like a queen, one needs to have the bearing of a queen in

order to bear what is coming and to bear the original migration. There is something really quite profound about dignity and bearing here, and being as strong and straight and upright as a tree.

People are tree-like, trees are like people. Trees are leaving. In Lithuania one seems to be like a tree with roots, but one is taken away as 'wood,' to be used for the production of something that someone else can use. 'Everything is taken away' seems to speak well beyond the trees.

The participants' departure from Lithuania – and others' leaving Lithuania – is being compounded by the current war.[56] The war appears to be very present in the sense of overwhelmingness, sadness to tears, and the depth of affect. It is almost inevitable – whether it is referred to directly or not – that the war is going to permeate this Visual Matrix session; the framing of it will be present. All the comments above could be taken as referring to the war, though they also refer to the participants' original departure.

In terms of belonging/non-belonging, in order to be transported, one has to have one's roots removed. It speaks to the idea of being uprooted from one's place of belonging, which must be very present in the speakers' minds even if unacknowledged. There is a duality between the original severance from their roots when they migrated, and potentially being severed from those roots through invasion. What is happening is a conflation of biography and history (because invasions have happened before in the history of Lithuania). There is the original biographical severance, the historical severance, and their emotional effect – the fear of coming severance.

The third association proceeds with a response to the slide of 'The Adventures of Shurik' (a Soviet comedy from 1965) (Appendix H, image No 14):

> And also the movie, from a movie, aah here, how is it [called]? Well, we grew up with those comedians, those actors; it was very funny and we – all the children and [youth] – we watched that movie.

Whereas the trees or the queen seem to show how one could be resilient and endure in the current reality, mentioning the movie may be a retreat into something more familiar, more homely. 'The Adventures of Shurik' feels like a retreat from reality, a retreat to a happier time when they could

[56] The Russian invasion of Ukraine, which started in February 2022. Although Lithuania is not directly involved in the war, it does share a border with Russia and there is a perceived risk of escalation.

laugh. It is a Soviet comedy, relating to a time when the relationship to Russia was lighter, less fearful – one could laugh together.

The third association ends with a return to the Lithuanian landscape:

> I grew up in a village: green meadows, green… and snow, and… and because I had – aah – to tend – aah – cows in the village when I was growing up.

An attachment to the landscape of Lithuania is profoundly felt by the whole group. There is a very strong sense of return to the rural setting, and it seems that several participants grew up in the countryside. The panel wondered if this were a common experience among the oldest generation of Lithuanian migrants. There is a theme of attraction – clearly a visceral attraction which is felt in the present. There is a powerful nostalgic attachment to the rural idyll of a Lithuanian village. It is as if the participants are all piling on top of each other to reinforce the idea of this intense attraction to the idealised, beautiful, wonderful, land of origin:

> The farmstead, you immediately think about your childhood, it immediately brings you back, you return – there was your beginning. You are from there.

In the midst of this strong affirmation of one participant's origin, an image of a 'monster' emerges:

> Where did that monster come from, what kind of thing is it? Is it a kind of world monster? Who is there? Well, that monster looked scary to me. Those two staring eyes. It is very scary to me. And then London, where people are waiting for a bus: eeh, everyone is for themselves – everyone is busy with their own thing, with their own life…

She is moving from the memories of her childhood to this monster which is evoked by the mountain.[57] It is a childhood monster, with two staring eyes and looks very scary. But, it is more than that: she seems to be talking about the monstrousness of the world, the monstrousness of London, 'a kind of world monster.' It is something about the scary monstrosities beyond her childhood. Somehow this monstrousness is evoked by the fact that in London "everyone is for themselves," "everyone is busy

[57] In a slide of the painting 'Tranquillity' by Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis, 1904–1905 (Appendix H, image No 10).

with their own thing, with their own life." To some extent this reflects the contrast between village and city. And there appears to be something monstrous to her about that.

Another participant even uses the language of conquest when mentioning the monster:

> I saw that monster […]. After… after Vilnius, where [the slide] was of the Town Hall Square, I thought: well, a demonstration, a demonstration, we had gathered together… We will defeat everything.

One must defeat everything: there is a possibility of victory. What is she defeating? She may well be speaking of things in the past and the present: it is the monster of childhood fantasies and the monster of London that she had to tame in order to live here after a rural village childhood, and then – lurking in the background – is the monstrous world and the historical battle being waged. And, it needs to be defeated in some way:

> And I think I'll definitely defeat what I need to defeat, and I'll fix it all this week. […] We have defeated that: we've already suffered so much, we've come [a long way] since that day, since the year 1991, and everything will be sorted out, a beautiful morning will dawn. And that farmstead [in the slide] (Appendix H, image No 8) – we'll return, here we are, to this day, I came here free, any time you can… I came [to London], no one compelled me; I came, I'll stay as long as I want, and will leave as many times as I wish. I'll remember my childhood again, my past years in that farmstead, I'll pick apples. Especially that apple-laden tree [in the slide]…

Čiurlionis' painting (Appendix H, image No 10) in the slideshow has a ghostly, monstrous quality; it depicts a spirit of nature. The painting is mysterious: some see tranquillity, others – a monster, according to their own state of mind, to what is relevant at the time.

What is this monster she has to defeat? The monster seems either to be the candidate for defeat, or evokes in her mind the need to defeat. Is the monster doing double work: is it also in some way representative of the Russian army? In this kind of situation, it is hard to conceive that what people think and feel is not overlaid by the enormity of the war. This seems to be expressed even in her choice of combative language. (In passing, it is noteworthy that in the FANI interviews, completed before the invasion of Ukraine, there were no such energy-laden statements, nor any mention of 'monstrous' imagery.)

Maybe in times of such uncertainty one feels further away from home, or senses the distance. Hence these images of childhood, farmsteads. Another 'code' is about freedom: "I came here free, […] I came,

I'll stay as long as I want, and will leave as many times as I wish." This statement about freedom to come and go seems to contain a coded reference to totalitarianism and the constraints of living in such a situation, where this freedom is stolen.[58]

Her point about coming to London through her own free will is a way of saying: "I had my spirit and resources to do it – it was my own decision, I pick my own battles, I fight my own battles and I will triumph." It feels as though one wants a resolution, one wants to be able to resolve the situation. To return is the resolve made on achieving victory – the return is to the land that has been treasured and saved.

The following association returns to the countryside:

> For me, the apples [in one of the slides] (Appendix H, image No 8) are also very… very evocative of my childhood, because I grew up in a village, in fact on a remote farm. […] That house by a lake [in one of the slides] is a dream house, my dream is to live in a house like that some time. To have some water close by, nature, a lot of nature.

Participants are attached to nature, to the countryside, are dreaming of returning there. They seem not to find nature in London (or even in England as a whole): parks are no substitute for wilderness. It is a nostalgia for what is not there and what has been lost, what is missing from experience. "A dream house" is an ideal.

Although the harking back to a rural idyll of a Lithuanian village of their childhood seems, to the panel's eyes, somewhat stereotypical and predictable, nevertheless like most things it is double-sided. On the other side lies a very sensuous imagery of rural life, the apples in particular. Apples are rich symbols in religious and other forms of literature. An apple symbolises the fall of Eve: it contains the seeds of her undoing and it is the eating of the apple that brings about both knowledge and her fall from grace. Apples also feature in children's fiction, such as the poisoned apple of Snow White.

Then, in the association with the apples, the (UK) Queen reappears, this time as a "beautiful woman." Lithuania's only experience of queenship is from fairy tales, but now the participant actually sees the Queen as a human, a woman. The Queen is perceived not as a Head of State, but as an ideal of beauty.

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[58] There is a historical context common to those in this Visual Matrix group: in the Soviet Union, travel to the West was forbidden.

The emotional radiance, the charisma of the leader's image has an impact. Aesthetics of appearance are important.

There is a split appearing between Britain and Lithuania: beautiful seasons, rural Lithuania – land of fecundity, apples and forests – and London, where everyone is for themselves. What the participants are not able to do, or are unwilling to do, is to actually make distinctions about and within Lithuania. So, even when there is talk of Vilnius, it is enfolded in the same idealised vision:

> We left beautiful Lithuania, we emigrated to England. In England: the queues, the endless number of people, the chaos and... and it turns out that we have left such a beautiful country, such beautiful forests and farmsteads, we have moved to live in such a chaotic London. Aah... I saw the Palace of the Great Dukes in Vilnius (Appendix H, image No 4). For me... because I am from Vilnius, it is very painful for me… when I return to Vilnius, I go to the Old Town all the time, every stone reminds me of... of my home town, I know every stone in Vilnius.

During the Visual Matrix session the participants are all highly invested in an idealised sensuous phantasy of Lithuania, so they would not do too much to puncture that. They can do so in the post-matrix phase, when the relationship of one to another changes: in this phase their satisfactions and dissatisfactions are much more located in themselves as individuals. In the post-matrix discussion, the group acknowledges that "it was bad in Lithuania": a complete turning away from the idyll they were trying to paint. They also admitted that remembering the farmhouses and childhood was "somehow doleful," "it won't return, it's not there, it won't be."

There is a duality: their relationship to Lithuania is almost that of tourists – tourists visiting their home, it is a holiday place – and then we get into the mundane reality of living in London: taxes and jobs. Also, the sense of real friendship, relatives, the graves of one's forebears, the roots – the rootedness of one's relationships – are the strongest in Lithuania and always will be:

> Here we have friends, we have friends, but still, remember – for example – I am attracted by real friends, relatives and graves.

Then the group discusses earning their living. The participants remember coming over to London at the age of 45, as they were made redundant and were unable to get any work in Lithuania. They note that here one can afford to travel more. In the middle of the associations about travel, there is a tragic interlude – the image of a son's body rent apart:

> Fifteen [or] sixteen years ago my son came to visit me here in London. And he went to work for three days in construction […]. Well, a disaster befell him: eeh, the main blood vessel in his head burst. […] We stayed up all night [in the hospital] with my son; I gave him massages, eeh his blood pressure was fluctuating, yet no one told me that he couldn't be resuscitated. And… and they waited for his wife and son, who flew here. And we were asked to leave [the room] and then – and then I realised that, eeh, he was dead, [all our efforts had been] only to make him a donor. We saved six people, w_ didn't give all the organs away: I didn't allow his eyes to be removed, or his nails, or genitalia, only his heart, liver, kidneys, lungs and pancreas, and also cells of some sort.

The incident is presented in much detail, with many specifics. There is a desire to preserve dignity: some organs – those that give the person who has died integrity and recognisability – are not given away. The idea might be conveyed here that Lithuanians / Lithuanian bodies are being cut up (or cut, severed in some way) and put to use for other people. Like the trees, the organs are severed from the body to be given to others. The trees are used to make furniture and the body parts are used to save other people – English people, as it all takes place in London. Somehow there is a problem of retaining one's own integrity in that situation, if they – migrants – are constantly being put to use for others. Personal integrity is an extension of the idea of the integrity of a queen, the righteousness of a queen; the integrity of the body that is pulled apart to help others, but which retains those particular features that have to be preserved. There is a great suddenness about it all: things were taken away in a very sudden and violent way. Is that a reference to their experience of migration and what it does to them? The severance means that they are put to use by and for others rather than maintaining a living link – the living link with their roots and with their bodily integrity.

What work is this story doing, and what is the mother trying to say? It is a very graphic image of an immensely important personal event. This is not just a personal narrative, this is also about her relationship as a Lithuanian to the wider context.

A dismembered son is a new 'image'. One feature of this Visual Matrix is that the members mostly play with the imagery they are given, rather than bringing their own – there are not many places where they develop any new imagery. This is one place where they distinctly do so and it is a sign that the matrix is working, that it produces something new in a potent imagistic form.

The Visual Matrix is working in order for the thought to take shape. The function of the matrix is to enable a thought to emerge in the collective setting, because instead of simply following one's own

biographical circumstances, one's own line of thought, one is in a social setting, which is receptive to a set of influences that participants share.

In a receptively collective situation, it becomes possible to articulate a thought which has 'ripened' in the context of the matrix. It is akin to Bion's (2013 [1962]) conception of thoughts without a thinker finding the possibility of symbolisation. Many of the associations in this Visual Matrix resemble a romantic idyll, but there was a sense of pain present too: the pain of being dismembered, the pain of being rent apart from what is so much a part of one and one's heritage, the motherland that one is attached to.

The theme of dismemberment is too painful to articulate and maybe the participants have never articulated it to themselves. The Visual Matrix provides a context in which they can relate to that loss – symbolised by farmsteads and forests – which overtly they describe as idyllic. In the matrix they can describe a darker side which accompanies that imagery. The matrix provides the context in which that thought can develop and it finally comes into the open – it finds expression in the imagery of the dismembered son.

This imagery is related to a number of threats, one of them obviously being – impressing itself strongly onto everybody's imagination – the war in Ukraine. The war injures Ukrainian bodies and dismembers Ukraine. Parts of the country are dismembered from the integrity of the national body. Dismemberment, by definition, is about cutting limbs and bodies, but is also about partitioning land, states and territories. This speaks historically to the East/West border. Ukraine is Lithuania's 'neighbour'; the current events are close geographically and historically. Lithuanians are watching the situation very closely and it is affecting them: they imagine it as a portrayal of their own possible fate.

The group does not wish to pick up on the theme of a dismembered body, one that they cannot actually maintain: this is too intense, too painful, too much, unbearable – particularly in the situation of war where sons are sacrificed for the sake of others, for the wider cause, the 'greater good.' All this is then countered by the next matrix contributor in the form of a spurious, almost manic, optimism:

> Girls! We have arms, legs – what would make us sad here, we travel where we want! We do what we want!
>
> * * *
>
> You can afford much more here, and – when back in Lithuania – you can afford more [there] too. Here… here you don't allow yourself as much. We don't allow ourselves as much here as

> we can afford in Lithuania: here, we live and save – I am talking about myself. And when I return to Lithuania, I don't calculate – whatever I want, I do; if I want to – I go to a massage, if I want to – I eat sweets or chocolate, or drink coffee; it doesn't matter how much money it costs. Sure, you won't spend millions there, but you don't count [your pennies] there.

These comments feel like the consolations of migrant life: you can go wherever you want. You can afford much more both here, and in Lithuania too, where you no longer have to count pennies. All of these are in a sense correctives to the participants' difficult narrative. They are here to work and save.

They talk about their children and grandchildren. It is family that gives them a point of stability and reference. They have embraced in their imaginations and in their reality a nomadic existence where family and health are firm points of reference. The group talks a lot about wandering and flying, travel and movement. One of the advantages of being here seems to be that they can get away from here:

> I liked that from here you could travel anywhere you wanted. This is probably the biggest plus.

However, there is a sense of ambiguity as they too have been cut from their roots and put for others to use. Being a cleaner is probably an experience of being put to use by others to enhance their lives, their homes or their offices, hotels, or whatever it may be. One is cleaning others' dirt. It is a service industry, and at the lowest end of that industry. And, those who do this work are effectively invisible due to the hours they work. The compensation, though, is being given the ability to go back to the land from which one has been severed, and enjoy this other kind of life – a café culture, a taste of cosmopolitanism.

Whilst there is something materialistic and consumerist there, it is not so much that, but the fact that now they can afford a lifestyle, a sociability and a form of consumption that probably they would never have had if they had stayed in Lithuania. They are benefiting not just from the coffee and chocolate, but from this cosmopolitan 'self' they have acquired. There is a positive will to see good (and not focus on any bad) in their situation. This story about returning home, consuming coffee and chocolate, reveals that even if these women are cleaners in London, when they go back home, they can indulge themselves like queens.

The tourist speaks to the attainment of a certain degree of consumerism; one has to have an income to be a tourist. Tourism is a social practice that has intensified in the postmodern era: people have more disposable income, are avid consumers and can afford to go places. Bauman (1996) writes about vagabonds and tourists: the tourist is the person authentically integrated in a mobile culture of

postmodernity, always on the move, not overly attached to a place of origin, and able to appreciate what other cultures have to offer. The tourist is less concerned with enduring attachments, and benefits from what capitalist consumer wealth offers.

In a way, for working-class women who are cleaners, who have been uprooted from their country of origin, the benefit is that they taste the privileged lifestyle of postmodernity: they can afford café coffee and chocolate, they can appreciate new places, they can savour new experiences which their wealth has rendered accessible. And this is a genuine gain, if the alternative is to remain in a constant state of loss.

Gradually, the group gets into a somewhat mechanical account of their 'achievements' and then an energy-laden question arises: "Why was the Queen in one photo with red lips,[59] in the other, not [so] – what do you think?" The participants seized on the image of the Queen: for them, this "righteous" and "beautiful woman" with red lips is one of the seminal images – they return to it repeatedly, it really plays on their imaginations.

There is something slightly duplicitous about the red lipstick, contrasting with a queen's honesty. This queen contains within herself this tension: she is upright, honest and independent, but she is also a beautiful woman who wears red lipstick. Red lipstick is an ultimate symbol of female sensuality. It is an ambiguous image: the queen is righteous, but a righteous queen surely does not wear a red lipstick. There is something disreputable and subversive about this red lipstick. It speaks to the participants' reality: here they are, all respectable Lithuanian grandmothers, all settled with their respective families – they apparently lead very conventional lives. However, they had these extraordinary stories of migration, which were terrible stories of suffering and hardship. But there is also a spirit of adventure in them, an ability to fly, to travel, to get away, to taste new things, to do things which are not the life of a settled grandmother.

The red lipstick speaks to the spirit of something disreputable and adventurous within their experience. The theme of travel is interleaved in this Visual Matrix: it is one of the things that gives life to the participants, and they intend to continue doing it. Despite the hardship of their circumstances it was not purely compulsion, it seemed that the world was opening up:

[59] The slide of Andy Warhol's two 1985 prints of Queen Elizabeth II features her wearing red lipstick in one of them (Appendix H, image No 2).

> I say, I came for three months to a farm. "No," I thought, "I won't work on the farm any more, I need to go to America" *[laughing].* Jesus, it was so cool there – I strolled around New York, whistled…

In a similar vein, the subsequent associations were to the Palanga pier (Appendix H, image No 3):

> And the Baltic Sea, the pier is very evocative: every year, when we return, we go to Palanga, onto the pier...

* * *

> Here a little span of life is shown: the Baltic way[60]... for example, for me: you have already lived so much, and the rest [of your life] extends before you; to me, for example, it seems like this. Balt_ The pier evoked the association. And the Queen, I think… here, you [the Queen] are fresh – I'm so dark/dull, I will now defeat that… and I'll be bright [light], with bright [vivid] lips.

The pier leads away from the land, into the sea,[61] into the beyond, towards the horizon. On the one hand there is this outward looking toward other horizons and the West, on the other, there is a common cause that the Baltics had of moving away from the Soviet Union. Through the pier, the participant is moving away from what Soviet occupation represented – the closure of horizons. She is introducing a new 'image', of the Baltic Way – likely evoked by the slide[62] (which the group named "demonstration"). After the Baltic Way, new vistas were opening, symbolised by the bright and vivid Queen. The association speaks of migrant horizons, how they change and expand.

The association also encapsulates a wish for change, as if there is something that is dragging the participant back: the darkness and dullness needs to be defeated. The participant contrasts herself – a dark and faded person – with this light and bright, vibrant and vivid Queen. There is a tension between being constrained and moving out into something different. Is it that Baltic souls feel chained

[60] A Freudian slip: as per footnote 23, the Baltic Way was an event in 1989, when people joined hands to form a human chain spanning across the three Baltic states.

[61] The pier faces Sweden.

[62] Re-consecration of Vilnius Cathedral, 5 February 1989.

to the Soviet past? Thus the migrant is carrying a lot of baggage. There is something in this past that holds the participant back, and the Queen represents something more exciting.

The associations show that the group is emotionally in touch with the complexities of the darker and more burdensome aspects of the past. Despite the farmsteads – how wonderful it was in the pre-industrial Lithuania – they are excited by this scandalous image of the Queen. The participants move away from an exclusive concentration on romanticisation and idealisation of Lithuania to something more complex in relation to history and memory.

In mentioning the pier, the Baltic Way and the Queen, the participant is connecting horizons, a historic moment of affect and change, and the way she construes the English character.[63] She is bringing these three images together. She presents the pier with a sense of wistfulness (looking out to wider horizons), the Baltic Way as celebration (the triumph of being together), and the Queen with excitement.

These ideas also link to the generational experience of fighting for freedom and then not managing to earn one's living in the freed country, expecting an improvement in one's life and a widening of horizons. Most participants in this Visual Matrix had been unable to find out how to live in the newly-freed country. It is a very ambiguous position to be in.

The group then returns to the associations on travel and on being attracted by Lithuania. The pensions of Lithuania are questioned: could they have afforded anything more than grain if they had stayed? The group distinguishes working from living. Many of them came here to work, but "on a tour," on a tourist bus, yet "living has already begun."

The Lithuanian panel noted that these associations reflect a very important stage in the cultural history of how people strived to reach rich Western civilisation. They were running to the land of happiness, moving towards a better life. In Soviet times it was like that: one went on a tour, and ran

[63] The English cultural imaginary can be summed up as 'we do it our way.' And the Queen represents this 'our way.' But the Queen has two faces: one which is conventional, more muted, staid, understated – a respectable Queen. And then there is this other Queen, who represents something subversive and almost outrageous. These two images are exemplars of a tension in the cultural imaginary of who the English are.

away, or even jumped off a ship.[64] This is a legacy of Soviet traditions: the scheme has already been worked out in Soviet times. At the beginning of independence, people could not move abroad on their own, but only through a tourist agency: it was very difficult to reach the West, that paradise-like, dreamed-of land, where one could not get in. That land which was closed, that reflected the sweetness of the forbidden fruit and the great desire to come close to it. This is a reflection of a *homo sovieticus*, of the post-Soviet mentality.

These economic migrants are the result of an economic crisis in post-Soviet Lithuania (qv Section 2.3.4). One had to understand what one could do, where and how one could go, where one's talents lay, what the opportunities were. There were no job centres. All was at the level of rumour, and somehow one tried to manage. One imagined that in Lithuania there were no jobs and neither would there be any. It was difficult in those days for people to understand where to go next, what work to do, how to build a career. They left because they could not find a job, and there was no clear way to look for one. The Lithuanian panel noted that those who came by (tourist) bus – one can easily imagine – came as they were standing, like refugees. And even the currency: a pound's worth was 'the cosmos' for Lithuanians at the time. So: no money, no belongings, nothing.

There is then more discussion about Lithuanian pensions, with an acknowledgement that "the most important thing is health." The Visual Matrix ends with 'scenes' of discovering and appreciating the beauty of London:

> Well, that street was walked [by me] many times already, we went there, and there, but looked under our feet, maybe somewhere straight ahead, but now I was looking up! What an amazing archi_ architecture! How beautiful it is there! I was just amazed because I was walking… Well, I say, I went for a [proper] walk (on that occasion). Well, I enjoyed that walk…

One can live in London and not see where one lives, and only remember the countryside of one's childhood. When one lifts one's eyes, one realises that there is something to see and enjoy. And there are many streets, not just a few like in a village. When one cleans, one looks down – one is looking for the dust and dirt – rather than up at the beautiful buildings. This reflects the migrant's life: one works

[64] 'The Jump': a 2020 documentary presents the story of a Lithuanian (Simas Kudirka) who in 1970 jumped from a Soviet to an American ship and requested asylum.

and does not have time to lift one's eyes. But when one does: it is London! – indeed one of the most impressive cities in the world.

There is a real hopefulness in that imagery (especially after the severing and dismembering), and it is about discovery, about everything that is opposed to nostalgic and unrealistic attachment. It is about curiosity, raising the eyes to things bigger than oneself, discovering beauty in the iconic buildings of another culture – which is the place where one now lives. It suggests the process of taking ownership of a new environment, forming a new relationship to a place.

There is a realisation of that beauty – like London architecture it has always been there – but they could not partake in it, as they were not in a tourist *modus operandi*. They talk about a shift from working to living. The loading of the word 'live' is three-fold. Firstly, 'this is a place where one lives' – a factual statement about being based in a place in order to go on living for all one's basic needs to be met, living in a sense of just continuing to exist. 'To live!' has another sense: to come alive, to enjoy oneself. But, given the context of the war (operating in the hinterlands of consciousness), 'living' can mean staying alive. It is a semiotically dense word.

The recurring "I" in this participant's account might seem to be disconnected from other people. This is all about the 'I' in relation to the buildings. She was a mother, a grandmother, a cleaner… here – finally – there is space for herself. It is a reassertion of 'I' after a lifetime of giving to others and giving life quite literally to others, giving one's body to others.

This Visual Matrix starts from trees – upright, then severed from their roots that nourished them and enabled them to grow – and ends with moving, finding one's own agency and motion and ability to move under one's own impulse in this new space.

5.1.2.4 On scenic composition

The scenic composition is an expression, in poetic form, of my 'countertransference'[65] to the Visual Matrix: the composition (Section 5.1.2.1) is a self-reflective response. Although I wrote it as an expression of the impact the matrix had on me, and of what resonated with me, it is also a reflection of the matrix itself.

[65] Countertransference concerns the feelings that are evoked in the researcher toward the group.

The participants recalled their arrival in London when they were in their mid-40s, when most of them had lost their jobs in Lithuania. This was echoing with my own situation (as it was when the matrix took place), my being of a similar age and about to lose my job. I was wondering whether my presence evoked their memories of that particular time. Also, the group saw me as "a student" – someone of their children's age. When leaving the venue, they commented proudly: "We helped the student."

Their underlying questioning about the purpose or meaning of being in London also resonated with me. There was a tension in the room, an apparent guilt or ambivalence about leaving Lithuania. There was also uneasiness in the group, expressed by the idea that one should not complain if one stays here. I felt sad that they had lost their jobs and had had to leave. The stories of their beginnings in London, shared in the post-matrix discussion, felt devastating: "The first year was nothing but tears."

I felt a very strong emotion of an overwhelming and tremendous sadness during the Visual Matrix, similar to that during the first days of the war in Ukraine. The son's death and the fate of his organs seemed to be the core story. The graphic naming of the organs was quite astounding. It seemed a very big loss in order for others to live, a sacrifice of one's own future. One was not left feeling certain that the doctors had done everything to save the son. The darkest phantasy was that they wanted him to die so they could have his body parts. The harvesting of his organs seemed to compound my feeling that his was an expendable life.

After the event I was in a state of some excitement, experiencing a roller-coaster of feelings. Whilst I had a sense of satisfaction of having grasped the reality of this generation of Lithuanian migrants, I was also worried that the group may not have functioned in the expected manner. My other concern was about the delicate personal sharing potentially being dissected and disparaged in the analysis process.

5.1.2.5 In place of a conclusion

Two significant image clusters to emerge in this Visual Matrix are, firstly, the cut trees and dismembered body, and secondly, the duplicitous image of the Queen – a righteous woman who wears red lipstick. The former cluster of images portrays the uprooted existence of the migrants and their feeling of being used for others. The latter injects an aspect of (almost disreputable) adventure into the participants' conventional and somewhat 'wretched' lives.

5.1.3 Visual Matrix 2 (with participants in their 20s)

5.1.3.1 Scenic Composition

There is so much silence and not knowing,

bright voices and abundant life.

Farmsteads, cows, hens;

Three little aunties from beyond,

and the early morning

when it's so long to wait till evening comes.

Many first times,

and absence of rhythm...

Red, blue,

a smell of fume,

and a child's drear eyes...

Something maybe hasn't happened,

or maybe yet will sound through?

5.1.3.2 The Visual Matrix scene

This Visual Matrix had eight participants – seven men and one woman – aged 21–29, who had arrived in London between 2007 and 2019. The majority of them had come from cities and a few from small towns. Some of them had come here as children with their parents – others, after finishing school, to study. They were either studying or working, or both. None of them were yet married.

The Visual Matrix session was held via the video conferencing platform, Zoom. All eight participants joined the call promptly and took it very seriously.

5.1.3.3 Clusters of imagery

The first association offered was as follows:

> Ah, I don't know, maybe, maybe the Palanga Pier (Appendix H, image No 3), such a very iconic object in Lithuania. I don't know, maybe it reminded me – there is a song by Mamontovas about... about the sea: "My love drowned in the sea of Palanga."[66] Ah, it reminded me of my childhood by the sea, hmm, reminded… It's truly beautiful, because we have the western part of the sea, so the sun is setting by the sea. Hmm, to walk on the pier. I somehow had an association in my head not so much to the pier, but to the whole coast and the whole hmm Baltic Sea, and… and… and to the whole region of Klaipėda and Palanga. A little bit, yes, wider… Especially, I think there was a photo [in the slideshow] of a pine forest (Appendix H, image No 1): for me, all that entwined into one.

The participant starts with an iconic image and then comes this evocative line: "My love drowned in the sea of Palanga." He continues speaking about the beauty of that region – the sun setting by the sea – then pans out to an expansive seascape, the whole Baltic Sea. Something about the unbounded nature of thinking in reverie is evocative of the sea. There is something very expansive and relaxing about the image. The first contribution operates as an invitation and a model for others to continue in that mode: it sets a good frame – and provides performative cues – for the rest of the group.

Regarding the movement in this matrix, the trajectory starts from the participants being back in their childhood and its associations – they were firmly and securely in rural Lithuania, with grandmothers and the family, and the forest. The forest is always there: it is obviously deeply important for Lithuanians. There is an attachment and a nostalgia for a rural idyll (though nevertheless, they refer to the farmsteads as the absence of rhythm and a place of holiday).

Then, their associations are from the paintings (in the slideshow) to school and textbooks. Next, there seems to be a turning point, prefaced by an association to the historical events related to "the renaissance of freedom," to "the 1980s, and… and towards the end of the 1980s, to… to the years of

[66] The song 'In the Sea of Palanga' by Andrius Mamontovas (2000), based on the original by Danielius Dolskis (1931).

Sąjūdis,[67] and… and… and also the rock revolution."[68] This contribution is followed by the first long silence, of some three minutes. The group appears to stay with these thoughts – thoughts about the historical 'fight' for the country's freedom (albeit their not having experienced this personally).

The deportations to Siberia are evoked in the next association, as follows:

> I also remembered there was a photo with… with the wagons (Appendix H, image No 13), and… and… aah, and one can probably interpret it either… either [sighs] either as deportation to Siberia, or… or maybe umm umm the Jewish genocide, umm, but, probably, if it's about Lithuania, it's probably of the deportations, it's eeh, personally my umm, grandad and some family members had been deported, but somehow, at the moment, I think I don't know much, probably I know too little, of that history, […] I don't remember them properly because… because there's a rule – as far as I know – or… or… or part of a rule, that if your grandparents or great-grandparents had been deported, then you can get a second citizenship.[69] […] So… so when I get a chance to talk to family members, we keep talking about how we need to find out who was deported and when, we have to do it, but I don't do it.

The participants have not experienced deportation themselves, and historically are quite distant from it, but it is deeply embedded in the cultural memory of the family, even though they seem to be vague about the details. The participant who speaks of it has a very broken and stumbling pattern of speech. He says, "probably I know too little of that history," just after saying, "personally my umm, grandad and some family members had been deported." It suggests that there is something unmentionable – in the hinterlands of the memory – and it is obviously important within the cross-generational experience of the family. But he has not asked much about it, does not know the details, and becomes notably vague. He finds it a real struggle: he acknowledges it, but finds it very difficult to bring to mind.

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[67] The reform movement, born on 3rd June 1988 (which led the struggle for Lithuanian independence).

[68] 'Rock March' was a music festival, held between 1987 and 1989 in various Lithuanian towns. It spread the idea of Lithuanian independence amongst the youth and belonged to the 'singing revolution' (which took place between 1988 and 1991). The latter name derives from the numerous demonstrations that took place at the time, where various songs were sung.

[69] As a result of the independence regained in 1991, deportees were rehabilitated, and appropriate compensations and privileges were granted. The laws he mentions were passed before he was born.

In the first part of the association there seems to be notable discomfort and uncertainty: "I don't know much." There is a lot of interjection. He does not know his family's history well, because the matter is almost unmentionable and the family avoids it. And then he inverts it – for on the other hand, he can get a second citizenship. It is as if he has taken himself to the brink of a really dark and distressing family experience, and then returns from it with relief at the "compensation" on offer. The family keeps talking about how they need to find out who was deported and when, but they take no action. There seems to be a need not to know; the family colludes with one another (as opposed to the families of Holocaust survivors who choose to reconstruct as well as they can the details of what happened and to whom (Gilbert, 1990)). Here, there seems to be a striking ambivalence about uncovering this history: this is particularly noteworthy as it would be highly significant to have such knowledge in one's family history.

And then, as if to affirm how big a thing this stumbling-block of a theme is, and to wonder what to do with the discomfort: the longest silence of the whole group process ensues – for 4½ minutes. Their staying with it means they must have a commitment to working through it – which is all the more significant given they are referring to events outside of their lifetime. The panel wondered whether they were trying to process what sense of fear, loss or shock would follow such a deportation, and what the repercussions for the family would be. One needs time to think about it, because this is not an experience close to one's experience and yet one knows that the legacy of such event would be substantial. And then, when someone finally breaks the silence, the mood is one of gloom – "a gloomy village," "a difficult life of an elderly person." It is a kind of acknowledgement that for the older generation in Lithuania, there is a dark history. Life might be difficult because of the hardship of being a farmer, but there is something else going on:

> There was one photo of such a gloomy village (Appendix H, image No 6). At least that's how I saw it. So the association was with – aah – such a difficult life of an elderly person.

There is a real overturning of the romantic imagery of farmsteads because in the face of this history such imagery cannot be sustained – as endorsed by an association to "a weeping hurricane," bringing to mind "depression and… and gloom." This introduction of new imagery suggests something very active happening in the group.

The group turns away from the nostalgic idyll of rural farmsteads. The words gloom and gloomy emerge. Also, in the post-matrix discussion, Lithuanian saleswomen are gloomy, or at least not friendly – you have to work hard to get a smile out of them. Then, there is this assertion: at least they are authentic. The group notes the polite and superficial – indeed 'fake' – UK culture, a result of

Americanisation. As these themes emerge, a more contemporary experience of living in London is revealed, compared with Lithuania, where the ties are loosening. There is a certain realism in this; they might go back, or might not.

Following this, there is a brief return to village memories:

> I remember when I was about five or six years old and my, aah, grandfather's sisters – we called them 'little aunties' – they were three, errm, three sisters who never got married – errm, they lived together in an old farmstead […] I have a memory that, errm, […] I very much wanted to get up with them in the summer at 4 or 5 o'clock, when dawn had just broken, so I could go to milk the cows. […] I remember that day being very long, because when you get up at four in the morning, then to wait for… to reach the evening, takes a very long time, errm.
>
> * * *
>
> Talking about all the villages, farmsteads […] I have a lot of personal memories – all kinds are surfacing – how there, I don't know, you used to spend time with your grandparents, […] or how for the first time you've learned to ride a bike, […] there're many such… such – I don't know – first times, or summers and so on.
>
> [almost 1½ minutes of silence]

Lithuania is associated with participants' childhoods – they share such poetic heartfelt memories. The Lithuanian panel noted that despite the fact that it is so wonderful, one somehow cannot remain; the beauty, the attraction of the heart, the pleasure, do not draw one to go back; one has still chosen an exile, one has left voluntarily. Lithuania is not attractive enough to retain, it is seen like a colony, a province. This forms Lithuanians' colonial mentality – that they are backward, it is always worse there and will always be, or there is a threat of war, or something else. There are opportunities everywhere, just not in Lithuania. However, the Lithuanian panel pointed out that Lithuania is not a province, it is progressive in many areas (for example, it is a leader in IT and laser manufacturing).

For this younger group – in contrast to the oldest group – farmsteads reminded them of their childhood and many "first times;" there was a lighter approach to them than was the case with the oldest generation. They can go to Spain, they can go back to Lithuania; there is no big loss, no burden. Thus, a very different strength and nature of the attachment. Even if they start with a similar imagery as the oldest group, there seems to be a much weaker attachment to Lithuania as a homeland. This is a more mobile, more educated, less rooted generation – one which seems to be at ease with its

migration, with its own history of migration. They are still young: they are all still mobile, they are still open to change and opportunity; unlike the older women, they are not 'stuck' in their romantic idyll. They start with something stereotypical, but they move quite quickly on to a more complex view, as if they were working something through for themselves.

Subsequently there was a sense of synchronicity (Jung, 1995 [1952]) in the group as three participants wanted to speak about the same photo (that of the red bus (Appendix H, image No 5)) at the same time; all needing to do so after the farmsteads and silence. There is a marked contrast between farmsteads and red buses. It is as if there is a group mind developing, one which says: "Right, that's enough of that now, let's get to the present and the London bus!" The group shared associations with "diversity,"[70] "the din, the people, people crossing the street on red," "the fumes or some specific smell" – a wide sensory range of London.

The Lithuanian panel noted that one participant captures the biggest differences between Lithuania and London: after London, even Vilnius feels empty – and it is the biggest city in the country! The participant does not add any emotion as to whether he likes London, dislikes it, or whether it is even acceptable to him. The panel also noted that in London people cross the street when the pedestrian lights are at red (because the rules say that the pedestrian is always right). In Lithuania, if you try to cross on red you will appear suicidal and may well get run over; on green you run quickly whilst looking around to see if the cars have stopped. (It is worth noting that this may indicate a distinction between an internalised self-regulation and externally imposed rules.)

Then followed memories of departure from Lithuania. A black and white photograph of a child "with sad eyes" (versus a bright photograph of Big Ben (Appendix H, images No 15 and 16)), was associated with England being perceived as the land of opportunities. However, one participant remembers how he "very much didn't want to come here! […] Before that I lived for two years with… with my aunt."[71]

[70] This is particularly noteworthy in relation to (all) my participants, as they are an exclusively white group (as reflects the make-up of Lithuanian society).

[71] It is obvious that this participant had lived without his parents: his parents had been in London and had left him in Lithuania. This was a common occurrence in Lithuania once the opportunities to leave the country opened up after regaining independence: children were left to be looked after by aunts, grandmothers or neighbours, whilst the parents were trying to make a living abroad. There were many such children.

The group acknowledges the difficulty in transitioning from one country to another: going "into a total unknown" and the related stress.

After four minutes of silence, the group shares associations between Queen Elizabeth and a banknote. One participant points to the artificiality of the image of the Queen (Appendix H, image No 2): it was seen as a kind of abstraction; he felt the other images in the slideshow were more real, more substantial. This image appears more transactional and makes him think about money. That is London for you: money! For the older women this image was almost like an expression of femininity, which is audacious, probably disreputable; for the younger men it's an image they associate with consumerism, success, and material acquisition. (Also, with cash – which they no longer use.)

The participants were interested in each other, intrigued, lively, still wanting to discover something. And this is why there is such a sense of movement in this Visual Matrix: because they are listening to each other – there was a genuine 'conversation' going on. (This is in marked contrast to the initial lengthy silences in the group.)

However, there is also something unresolved; there is a consciousness of the unresolved in their family histories. It is almost as if they are saying: "Well, I suppose we have to confront that one, but – in a sense – we can keep it in its place." They seemed to have 'moved on.'

The deportation comes back at the end of the matrix – one participant links the deportation photo to his moving to London:

> I maybe had more associations with that photo of deportation. I remember (I've recently been back to Lithuania) a person, who when he was taking me to the airport [in Lithuania], asked if I was going on holiday or to work – I simply replied that I was going (there) to live! […] Life just happens here! There is no longer a kind of 'deportation' or something, it just feels good here and here is home. There is some stress, and happiness, and misfortunes, but still life is here.

This mentioning of deportation suggests that something about the very process of moving – of changing countries – still evokes this particular aspect of history. (If you choose to engage with it – which, of course, the participants seem to be ambivalent about, given their age group.) When the

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Thus, till his early teens, the participant had grown up in his original cultural environment. It was hard to leave, to detach. From his account it seemed that when he had left Lithuania, he had done so once and for all; he uses the language of a deportee.

participant was asked why he was going to London, he replied that he was going to live. It is significant that the participants feel they have to come to a position on why they are in London, the position being that they are here to live! (not to die in the gulags, for example). The participant is trying to convey emotionally what it is like to feel when one's home is somewhere else (with its misfortunes and its happiness), how normal it is, and that he feels good living here. The group works its way to a very positive ending note. The ending feels very upbeat.

There seems to be a real journey: from the past, through the middle ground, to the present; and, of course, that means embracing the city, the traffic, the fumes, the chaos, the movement. By the end of the matrix the farmsteads and the forest have completely disappeared. It's the street, Big Ben, buses, the Queen, the money. They end up securely and positively in London.

This is thematically a very consistent Visual Matrix: it has progression – it starts in rural farmsteads and the forest and childhood, and ends up with London, in the here and now; there is a distinct change. That journey seems to be undertaken by the group as a whole. There are almost no interjections that significantly changed its course, or came from nowhere.

5.1.3.4 On the scenic composition

The scenic composition (Section 5.1.3.1) is an expression of my 'countertransference' to the Visual Matrix: my poem is a self-reflective response. Although I wrote it as an expression of the matrix's impact and of what resonated with me, it is also a reflection of the matrix itself.

The Visual Matrix was punctuated by silence. I felt that the participants could have said more – the Visual Matrix could have been filled with more words – I was surprised by the silence and the participants' ability to stay in it. There was a contrast between their youthfulness, vivid energy, and those silent pauses. Such long silences were a form of reverie in themselves. The participants seemed very comfortable with them. They appreciated and made use of the silence which was afforded (and, obviously, enjoyed it). The silences were an opportunity for them to get lost in their own thoughts – as indeed they later said in the post-matrix discussion.

After each silence the participants spoke vividly. They were at a stage in their lives when they had no family 'burdens' and many hopes. The group was very friendly, despite their mostly not knowing each other. There was an extraordinary sense of vitality.

Hearing soft gentle male voices talking about aunties and grandmothers was very touching. Their mention of "little aunties" was very arresting: even the phrase itself was quite evocative.

After the event I was left with a feeling of lightness and hope. It was noteworthy how the group used the silences: it stayed in them and came through to progress to a different frame of mind. Participants appeared to gain something profound from the group as the experienced vitality had expressed. While I was transcribing the Visual Matrix, it felt like a postmodern play.

5.1.3.5 In place of a conclusion

The strongest clusters to emerge in this Visual Matrix are of a childhood in the Lithuanian countryside ("three little aunties," "many first times") and of streets in London (din, fumes, buses). In their own way, the participants are inhabiting these two worlds in their cultural imaginary: the memories of childhood and the impressions of London.

5.1.4 Visual Matrix 3 (with participants in their 40s – first group)

5.1.4.1 Scenic Composition

Wandering in virtual space,

everything slips out of the hands,

but doesn't get lost.

Time is short

but the story is long.

Lithuania is the cold.

Glass eyes gaze into the distance…

Old scarred trees weep from bitterness.

So much was awaited.

5.1.4.2 The Visual Matrix scene

This Visual Matrix had five participants: four women and one man, all aged 41–49, who had arrived in London between 2002 and 2014. Four of them had come from cities, although three of the four had grown up in small towns. Four had a University-level education and were working (or between jobs), the fifth was a student. Three of the five were married. Three participants had children.

The Visual Matrix session was held on Zoom. The Zoom call had been set up by the University without granting me the necessary permission to show slides. After thirty minutes of my trying to resolve the issue, we decided to move to another (time-limited) Zoom call venue. As a result, the Visual Matrix associative part lasted 35 minutes and the post-matrix session lasted 40 minutes.[72]

[72] In the other Visual Matrices so far, the associative part had lasted 45 minutes and the post-matrix discussion more than 45 minutes.

5.1.4.3 Clusters of imagery

The first associations offered were as follows:

> So, if I may, I'll start, it's possible to start with something, yeah? I think, you know, well, of course, straight away with the first slides, many emotions arose, you know. […] The palette of emotions is very large.

* * *

> Slides with Lithuanian vistas are more... that struggle for freedom… such memories. For freedom, for... for independence. What... what is related to London vistas, for me is linked to my dreams, to my hope.

* * *

> For me London is only positive! […] I don't want to live in a village's little hut. Aah, in that sense, it's very familiar to me, but I... I chose not to live... aah... in such an environment. […] For me, maybe, they're just different stages of life that all... all have their own emotions attached. But, I don_ I don't feel better about one or the other: they're just different stages for me.

The Lithuanian panel thought that maybe in the last association the participant is escaping from the countryside to a place where something bigger is happening. Till relatively recently, Lithuanians would move from the countryside to the big cities (essentially Vilnius and Kaunas); now they are moving to other countries, where there is more action, more new impressions, the infrastructure is there, life is booming – all this is now more important than apple orchards and a farmstead. The participant did not like living in the provinces; she probably comes from a farmstead, where the apples are. It is often the case: for city dwellers the exotic is the countryside, and for countryside dwellers the exotic is the city or the megalopolis – the big city with its noise, its multitude of people, its colours, its technology. In Lithuania, it is typical that some people want such 'civilisation' – they are bored with their roots in their homeland, and they do not want to live as they used to live.

The Lithuanian panel also considered that maybe there were some traumatic experiences back home in the provinces, more loneliness, something they did not like there. This could be hiding some kind of unconscious nostalgia or an unconscious attraction to one's origins: it is something that one loves to some extent, but that one has betrayed, that one has given up, and it is better not to even remember it, because then the guilt starts to gnaw, or one starts to long for it. So, in order to avoid

the longing, there is a psychological reaction: one just gets bored with it on principle, one internally rejects it. According to the Lithuanian panel, it is a very Lithuanian position: if one experiences too much of something, one gets bored or annoyed with it. One wants the greatness that does not exist in Lithuania – there is no city, civilisation, or technology there such as exists in the UK. London exerts a certain fascination. (It would not be abnormal to like both: to live there, but go somewhere else – somewhere natural – to relax.)

The group repeatedly uses the language of 'positive' versus 'negative.' Positive feelings are expressed about London. They claim they are really comfortable with their migration status – "migration is not bad (after all)!" – and one can access Lithuania so easily:

> You board the plane and in two hours or three, and... and (you are) in Lithuania. And it's not such a big separation anymore, I'd say.

This association demonstrates globalisation in action. (How some things have become simpler: moving from the countryside to the city in Lithuania used to be such a big change; now, whether one is moving from the countryside to Vilnius or London, there is relatively little difference.) The participants appear settled and accomplished in navigating between these places and at ease with doing so. They are urban nomads: they have come here, they have settled. They have not severed their ties with Lithuania and appear to be comfortable with their Lithuanian identity and are perfectly happy to be living in London and enjoying what it offers. If at some point it does not work out, they will go back or move somewhere else:

> And if the decision has to be made to be in one place or another: you pack your things and get on a plane, and... and... and... continue living elsewhere.

It is possible to be a hybrid self: to be a Lithuanian and to live in London. You can be the one and the other and it does not have to be a final decision:

> I don't feel somehow... somehow... somehow having emigrated, or being permanently separated. […] I feel like a person of both cultures. Ermm, I can live here, and there, very comfortably.

* * *

> I don't like the word "emigrant" as such... You currently live somewhere where you chose to live: if you choose to live elsewhere – you will live elsewhere. Errm, in that sense, I don't see a need for that to be kind of a final situation.

The physical ease of traveling between the two countries seems to capture the ease of moving between the two cultures mentally without needing to choose. This generational state of mind seems to be represented by the image of the boy with glass eyes:

> That boy with glass eyes probably stood out (Appendix H, image No 15) […] he was looking into the distance, with such, well, very large, glass eyes.

This is an association of a traveller: one sees horizons. Here one has a figure of a boy – an iconographic image – but what is so arresting about it is that the eyes are unfocused: they are beautiful eyes, but ethereal. They are unseeing eyes, but they appear to be looking into the distance. Similarly in the group there is some lack of focus on the particular details of who one is and where one is, and the resulting ability of this generation to scan a wider horizon. So they are comfortable in and with their Lithuanian identities living in London (which they like), or living in Lithuania, or living somewhere else if they had to move. Travel is important to them, the migration experience is fine. It is as if they are always scanning their horizon wherever they happen to be.

The above association was followed by three minutes of silence: there was a sense of a losing the reverie, until one participant insisted, "Maybe you want to ask us something, for example, Asta?" At face value, the participants are settled and have found an accommodation that works for them. However, this settled relationship to migration might also contain a degree of denial or disavowal. A discomfort with the silence is suggestive of something unresolved.

The next association was as follows:

> Yeah, such a strange feeling, truly, those images with small huts, with those old vistas from Lithuania: if I'm honest, for me they associate with the cold. My memories are not so... not so positive, errm. For example, the Queen's photo (Appendix H, image No 2) immediately associated for me, with my seeing the Queen... As a woman, I probably feel safe here in London, I feel that here I have my rights – it doesn't matter if I'm an emigrant [sic], or which country I am from, but here I feel accepted as I am! […] And another photo struck me: those trees (Appendix H, image No 1). I suspect *[grins]* that those trees are from Lithuania. Though I'm not sure. But, somehow I thought: yes, in Lithuania the trees are young... and young, so straight...

> And somehow that struck me. Straight trees... Here, I photograph trees myself in London, they're so... so scarred, so old. They are already deeply rooted in the ground.

It is true that Lithuania is colder than London; in winter the temperature drops to -30°C. Also, the cold may not wholly be climate-related, but also emotion-related. In Lithuania, maybe the participant experienced the cold of feelings, and feels more understood and accepted in London. The Lithuanian panel noted that the culture in England is more pleasant than in Lithuania: everyone is respectful ("excuse me, could you, please") and people tend not to use imperatives.

However, the association is somewhat double-edged: on the one hand the participant is happy with England, having escaped Lithuania, but on the other, senses a duty to remember something good from her life in Lithuania. The Lithuanian panel noted that it is very typical for a Lithuanian to love nature, and that her mention of trees shows she longs for nature. Trees are very important for Lithuanian identity; Lithuanians are inhabitants of the forest region: if one does not cultivate a patch of land, it soon reverts to forest.

The Lithuanian panel noted that old trees are like old history – their roots extend way back – this 'rootedness' and the ensuing long-established democracy are felt in the UK and confer a sense of security. Whereas, the participant adds, for her, the trees in Lithuania are young; Lithuania is a young country (rebuilding itself after occupation). In some ways, trees are like people. As for the trees being "so straight": the panel also noted that this could link to the Soviet era where everything was levelled, both people and land, and were made orderly and well-ordered – there was no freedom of choice, everyone and everything had to be similar.

The Lithuanian panel also noted that nowadays old trees are being cut down in Lithuania. And, in Vilnius, new German linden trees were planted: these were like an invasion, as the species is alien to Lithuania; unsurprisingly, they all became desiccated, not being adapted to the Lithuanian climate. These new trees were indeed straight; lean and very young. When the 1,000-year anniversary of Lithuania was celebrated (in 2009), the cutting-down of trees began in earnest all over the country, which had decided to renew itself. On the occasion of its millennium the country chose to 'forget' history and to renew and rejuvenate itself.

Wherever there are kings, history of a royal family, the king's genealogy with its family tree and its roots, there is a strong historical thinking: this has implications for the whole country. In England, such a tradition is stronger than in contemporary Lithuania. In Lithuania, whilst it is declared that "from the

past your sons will draw strength,"[73] the Lithuanian panel noted that the practice is nowadays very different, indeed revolutionary: everything should be renewed, modernised, innovated.

The next association was as follows:

> I also wanted to say that... that all those slides are – I don't even know how to name them – errm, like iconographic images. […] So that struck me the most from those slides: "Oh! A bus!" (Appendix H, image No 5). And I remembered, when I arrived, I – I think once – boarded without queueing, and then I understood very quickly that Britons like very much… well, how to say… like queueing nicely. I wouldn't say that it is popular in my Lithuanian culture, which I brought with me.

This association registers the difference in cultures: one where one has to climb on others' heads to survive and fit in, and the other where it is orderly, calm, everyone queues neatly for a bus. An important cultural phenomenon has been revealed: those queues reflect the government's ability to organise and spread order in the culture. Lithuania has more of a non-queuing culture, though it is unclear when this started; it is a bit animalistic, but easier – one rushes to board. It takes willpower to stand in a queue. The participant remarks on this cultural difference in public life. (As in Section 5.1.3.3, this may again indicate a distinction between an internalised self-regulation and externally imposed rules.) However, Lithuania is changing – queues and orderliness are on the rise. The participant is comparing London life to her memory of Lithuania as it was when she left, as if it has not changed. The panel wondered whether queues were an indication of a stable public realm (such a realm providing a sense of safety and containment.) and a manifestation of civic responsibility. The latter takes time to develop and tends to be associated with mature democracies. In Lithuania there is still a struggle, arising from the Soviet era (and subsequent) deficits and shortages: if you were not first, you would not fit in and would get nothing.

The Visual Matrix ends with participants commenting that some landscapes in the slideshow could be from either of the two countries. In the post-matrix discussion the participants revisit the Lithuanian climate ("six or eight months of snow and mud") and share their experiences of living in other countries (including provincial England) where they felt isolated by language, which they do not in

[73] A quote from the national anthem.

London. The researcher is questioned as to what she is 'trying to find out?' and about the selection of images (qv Chapter 4, Methodology).

It was a well-educated middle class group. The participants came to London, got jobs, some of them found partners and had children here: they have a relatively stable situation. They have a fair degree of financial security and have been here long enough to settle and maintain their lives here. At their stage in life they have a sense of who they are. They have left something behind, which presents in some sense a loss, but for those situational reasons it may be much less likely to affect them. A number of participants have lived in several countries – they are quite cosmopolitan in their outlook.

Nostalgia – apparent in other groups – did not feature in this Visual Matrix, likely due in part to the life stage the participants were at, but also due to the fact that the Visual Matrix was disrupted, or – more precisely – because the reverie was much harder to achieve due to the technical difficulties at the outset. It seems the participants were very much living in the present and in the future. They were not inclined to nostalgia (or historical consciousness) – it has little place in their lives, but, at the same time, they might have some nostalgic tendencies, given the right circumstances. However, such circumstances were not so likely to arise in this particular instance. It is possible that under the right conditions the same group would have connected with the melancholia/nostalgia within themselves.

Because of the pressure – the foreshortened time – the group did not attain a very imagistically-rich flow. The associations were much more biographical: participants started talking about their experiences.

5.1.4.4 On the scenic composition

The scenic composition (Section 5.1.4.1) left the panel with a profound sense of emptiness. In a way it is a counterpart to the scenic composition of the second Visual Matrix (Section 5.1.5.1) with this age group (in which we do not know where we are, and are effectively in limbo). This scenic composition is much bleaker than the following one – it is like the reverse side, where things become bleak and empty. I was in tears after the group, partly because the technology was not working, but it was also a profound reaction to what was not said in the group. The scenic composition is about those things that had not been said.

5.1.4.5 In place of a conclusion

The strongest images that emerge in this Visual Matrix are the boy with glass eyes staring into the distance, the London bus with a queue, and old scarred trees. The image of the boy relates to lack of

focus on the particular details of who one is and where one is, and to scanning a wider horizon. The London bus and the old scarred trees represent, respectively, the new cultural norms of orderliness and queueing, and the perceived deep roots of the UK's democracy.

5.1.4.6 Why two Visual Matrices for the cohort in their 40s?

As the first Visual Matrix with participants in their 40s was unconventional due to technical problems, I decided to undertake an additional Visual Matrix with different participants of this age group in order to ascertain the nature, extent and ramifications of the disruption.

I chose to test the hypothesis that people in this middle age group, who are financially-secure professionals and settled in their lives, are much less inclined to think back to their childhood and to images of Lithuania that are somewhat idealised. I had to consider whether the group was influenced by the fact that the process did not go according to plan due to the technical problems; for example, whether these interrupted the reverie and possibly the receptivity to melancholia.

However, and as will soon be seen, both Visual Matrices with participants in their 40s were unconventional. Both groups struggled to enter into reverie and were shorter than planned. Nevertheless, the fact that there were similarities emerging in these two groups inspired confidence in the integrity of the data.

5.1.5 Visual Matrix 4 (with participants in their 40s – second group)

5.1.5.1 Scenic Composition

Fragile,

The huts, grandmother's hay,

a treasure island.

The flow extinguishes in the anxiety

and name-calling clichés.

A heavy theme – better stay silent.

And emptiness.

Paintings will disappear.

Bent airplane lane.

Are we going down – who knows –

or are we rising?

5.1.5.2 The Visual Matrix scene

This Visual Matrix had five participants: three women and two men, all aged 41–48, who had arrived in London between 1995 and 2010. Three of them had come from cities and two from small towns. All had completed secondary-level education; two had also completed University; all were working. All had children and four were married. The Visual Matrix session was held on Zoom.

5.1.5.3 Clusters of imagery

The first associations offered were as follows:

> For me, the biggest association and memory was of the village of my childhood, I'd say, where the farmstead was with a pond, with a hay bales in a cart, and the like (Appendix H, image No 8). […] I was brought back to my youth, to my childhood. To... to... to the village, at my grandmother's, when I had to load hay. And, maybe another big association: Big Ben (Appendix

> H, image No 16), where tomorrow we Lithuanians will all gather to sing 'Tautiška giesmė.'[74] So all is from the past[75] to the future. Well. Of course: the Cathedral (Appendix H, image No 11), the Gediminas Castle, the Palace of the Great Dukes (Appendix H, image No 4), almost seen it all. So much fun!
>
> * * *
>
> What I noticed was: I was struck by a draw_ a drawing (Appendix H, image No 10). A cover of a book! I don't remember what it was – maybe the 'Treasure Island' book or something like that. The cover. […] I remember that cover from somewhere. And I think the book was called 'Treasure Island.' I think so. And I don't know why, maybe because I haven't read it.

In the first association, the participant lives in London and rejoices, but also likes Lithuania. This suggests that the person has not been traumatised and is happy to remember beautiful things from the past, from the motherland. And there is no tension in living here, no conflicts arise in England from something being missing. In England there are other pleasures too. Both places are pleasant. This all reflects the psychological state of a person for whom life is proceeding smoothly. And there is no complaining that Lithuania is far away. Everything is in its place, and the participant enjoys everything.

In the second association, the participant saw an island (worthy of note, given Britain is an island). Perhaps Britain is the treasure island identified by the speaker. Also, the participant remembers a book from his childhood. It is unclear how many books he read, but the memory is of a book, a book as an object, with its cover and the title on that cover. Not that he has read this book, it is the book as an object possibly evoking positive childhood memories. It seems to be an association of his home with books. The Lithuanian panel noted that when he was growing up, it was good etiquette in Lithuania to have a library at home. It did not matter whether one read or not, whether one needed it or not, but a book was valued.

However, the emerging reverie was then dissolved by the following contribution:

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[74] Lithuanians around the world sing 'Tautiška giesmė' – the Lithuanian national anthem – on 6th July, the Statehood Day, commemorating the coronation of King Mindaugas in 1253.

[75] "From the past" is a phrase in the national anthem.

> For me an association is such – thoughts, to be precise – aah, that you're trying to lead us to associations with clichéd images. And I think: 'Why, without swearing, all the time such clichéd images are being used? […] Čiurlionis, the refugees – are they war refugees or economic ones? It's not clear, probably war refugees, so my associations are like sparks – short connections. And then... that... that feeling of discomfort due to... such postcard images. [Pause] I understood that Asta will, on purpose, be silent while we're silent. Somebody speak up.

It is tempting to speculate about why the participant enters into a disruptive dynamic and a power struggle with the researcher; however, the research focus is on what can be extrapolated about the shared experience. The last association starts with a comment on 'clichéd' images, then moves onto refugees. The participant's feeling of discomfort is due, she says, to the 'postcard' images. There is something important that has been substantively registered here, beyond the irritation. What is that discomfort about? Even if she is saying it is about the images, it might also be about something else, as she says that the researcher is being silent "on purpose," allowing her to sit with her discomfort. The images are working on her and she feels uncomfortable.

The panel noted that often a Visual Matrix starts with short clipped contributions in terms of links and associations and then, over time, edges towards vignettes or stories. Here, though, there is quite a long sharing early on, which suggests that there is something quite excessive in the way the images are working.

The evocation of farmsteads and "Treasure Island" could have been a really powerful starting point for the Visual Matrix, but this participant is not having it: in she comes and successfully diverts it. But the theme remains, the possibility persists. Is it a treasure that we have found here? Is this our treasure? Is this a treasure at all? (By definition not everyone finds it.)

The idea of the image of a postcard is interesting in itself, aside from the surrounding dynamic. What does this image of a postcard evoke and produce as a metaphor? Postcards are sent when one is somewhere else. What sort of things are said on a postcard? What does a postcard itself say?

A degree of suspiciousness may be understandable for a migrant: fearing that the environment is not very friendly, that one is being manipulated. Perhaps all migrants have that feeling of insecurity – to some extent one is always travelling into the unknown. The insecurity of a migrant is felt in what she says.

Maybe her contribution also reveals the following: she did not like it in Lithuania so she went further away, but everywhere she is dissatisfied. There may also be a traumatic experience indicated here by a certain pretentious claim on the world. In this case, it is a claim against the researcher – it is as if she is saying "I agree to take part in the research, but, you know, I have a valid claim that you are not researching me in the right way."

The trauma may be related to her having grown up in a non-democratic country, in a traumatic environment. Her insecurity would seem to confirm this. (This is explored further in Chapter 4, Methodology.)

Following this, the group brings more imagery: "the pine forest with the sun's rays" (Appendix H, image No 1), reminiscent of good times and "the village: the little hut and the apple orchard," reminiscent of one's childhood when one used to "spend a lot of time at one's grandmother's." There is a hint here of an archetypal Lithuanian grandmother who dwells in the countryside, who has a hut and an apple orchard, which symbolises that world which has been lost, that world which they have decisively moved away from. But also a world to which they have an attachment. A grandmother represents a romantic attachment to the motherland and to the maternal – the continuity of maternal goodness. And, the grandmother is also easily romanticised because one does not have to have conflicts with her the same way as one would with one's mother.

Then the 'anxious' voice returns:

> You, Asta, do you have some kind of a goal that we should start discussing or something, because I'm serious, I'm going to turn off the cameras [sic] and go, and will go and eat, you know.

When asked, the participant does not suggest any images of her own, but instead voices her suspicion about the research target and adds her associations to "a postcard shop," "postcard stands," "books, postcards, a bookshop."

Other participants then add their thoughts on similarities between the two countries:

> Somehow I don't see such a big difference, I don't feel… whether London is shown or Lithuania, because the Lithuanian landscape, it... it looks to me like the English landscape. […] Maybe I've been here for too long... I don't feel a big difference.

Some memories from Scout camp in the pine forest follow – evoking feelings of relaxing – and memories of first impressions of London. Then the group plunges into silence. After almost five minutes, two questions manage to surface:

> Are we going to be silent now until half past eight?[76]
>
> What are we silent about? *[laughing]*

Ten minutes of silence ensues.[77] It becomes clear that the reverie is not working: I suggest moving in to the review mode (ten minutes earlier than planned) – to which the group eagerly agrees.

In the matrix part, the group is preoccupied with process, and – atypically – leaves 'reverie mode' (and drifts into 'group mode').[78] In hindsight, this may have been because the participants might have felt vulnerable being in reverie – open to attack by the 'anti-reverie' person.

In the post-matrix part, the anxiety around the task dissipates and the participants start doing some work, now feeling moved to associate. Nevertheless, these associations are still triggered by the initial invitation. The post-matrix discussion allows the influx of all the emotions the participants had been defending against in the first part.

The first contribution in the post-matrix session was as follows:

> As for what struck me, that drawing struck me. That book cover. If it was a book cover. And, I say, the others somehow… there was a fake Banksy – maybe from Vilnius? *[laughing]* Then, from those... what else has struck me... eeh... of the deportation – there was that photo: where they were deporting people, beside the trains. Such eeh... A painful subject. Directly related personally. Eeh, and others such, like [name of participant] said, they're very... those London

[76] The end of the time allocated to the matrix part.

[77] The reverie drops and the group 'freezes': on reflection a shift to 'group mode' (qv footnote 78) has happened – specifically to the 'non-working' form of it – and to what Bion (2012 [1968]) calls a 'basic assumption' group. This is expressed by the group being stuck, seemingly due to its dependency on a 'leader' (expecting the researcher or the anti-reverie person to 'intervene').

[78] In group mode the dynamics between individuals are at play, whereas in reverie mode the group works as a whole.

> photos were cheesy[79] *[laughing]*. […] Or that airplane, photographed from the back… (Appendix H, image No 9) It was that very wobbly line which caught my eye. A very bent line there: I don't know how the plane goes there [i.e. manages to follow it]. *[laughing]*

What follows the silence sheds some light on it. The first contribution[80] of the post-matrix discussion following this silence starts from the "book cover" and a "fake Banksy." (The participant refers to the slideshow image of 'The Sage' – from the project 'The Walls Remember' (Appendix H, image No 12) – which was unremarked on by the oldest and youngest Visual Matrix groups.) It appears like a figure of haunting. In the image a figure of an old man, dressed in coat and hat, is coming out of the wall. He advances towards the viewer as if one won't be able to deny him any more. This is history returning to challenge one to remember.

'The Sage' – the "fake Banksy" – is an image of strength, assertiveness, survival and endurance, and also signifies hardship in the cold. He is looking directly at the viewer. It is as if the participant is debasing the image and denying its importance by dismissing it as a "fake Banksy."[81] Paradoxically, the image is so powerful that one has to despoil it. And, here he is advancing towards us, demanding recognition, looking one in the eye, arms folded, with a strong stride, tall and enduring.

The participant mentions the "fake Banksy" and then quickly needs to move away from the image. He is unwilling or uncomfortable to pursue it, because it is too difficult to bring out, or he does not think the setting is appropriate.

After the "fake Banksy" the participant briefly mentions the deportations:

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[79] Uses the English word.

[80] The comment was showing to the 'anti-reverie' person that the group can be as suspicious of 'fakes' as she is, perhaps warding off attack by being sophisticated.

[81] Banksy is very good at detecting iconic cultural symbols and using them quite deftly to convey the historical-political situation of the moment. He is often an oblique and ironic 'commentator' on human affairs. There is something intentionally fake about Banksy's art in some ways, because he uses fakery to bring things to people's attention. So, a "fake Banksy" is a fake fakery. The whole power of the image is debunked, not explored.

> What else has struck me... eeh... of the deportation – there was that photo: where they were deporting people, beside the trains. Such eeh... A painful subject. Directly related personally.

A brief reference to deportation is noted with a genuine feeling of pain: "it is a painful subject." The participant is unwilling or too uncomfortable to pursue this, or is getting close to some material that needs to be disavowed, because it is too difficult to enunciate. There is something powerful coming out of this history of deportation, a history one knows but poorly, because the history itself has been suppressed. Also, the fate of the deportees was often unknown; as Etkind (2009, p. 187) states, "[t]he Gulag did not provide reality checks for either hope or mourning. What it did provide was fertile ground for ghost-making." 'The Sage' portrays such a ghost which haunts the present. Furthermore, 'The Sage,' being a depiction of an old Jew from the Vilnius Ghetto,[82] represents the reluctance to explore the layers of history, dreading to reach the Holocaust and Lithuanian involvement in it (Sužiedėlis, 2022).

The participant goes over this very rapidly; he gives a list of things that struck him, he is questioning the authenticity of all those particular images. He doesn't reveal why the "fake Banksy" image struck him. The point about a ghost is that you don't know whether it's real or not real. It does indeed raise questions of authenticity – where does it come from, what does it represent, is it a figment of one's imagination, did it really exist, how seriously should we take it?

This switch into history, stimulated by the graffiti and the deportation slides, began but was then soon curtailed by moving quickly onto the London photographs and the 'bent' airplane runway. The history theme was too painful, so the turn is to 'cheesiness' – the postcards, artificial, tourist-inspired pictures of London, and to the wobbly runways. The whole association seems to be an attack on authenticity, as if there is something unauthentic or insubstantial about this imagery that arouses the historical memory, which – as such – has to be quickly quelled. (Another facet is that revealing an unguarded emotional side renders one vulnerable to attack by the 'anti-reverie' element.)

[82] 'The Sage' is a stencilled 'neofresco' (2019) in Vilnius' former Jewish quarter, which was transformed into a Jewish Ghetto (from 6 September 1941 to 24 September 1943), during the Nazi occupation. This is a very powerful reminder that this is an area of the city which was eviscerated of its original population. 'The Sage' and other figures of the Jews who lived in the area, as now depicted on the walls, are there to bring back to life, to reanimate, the ghosts of the city.

The “cheesy” London photographs are the ‘safe ground’ where one can easily dismiss something because of the obvious fakery, or because of its obvious appeal to a fairly superficial aesthetic. Even planes don’t go in a straight line! So, all this changes the tone, changes the affect in the matrix, keeping it on an even plane, not venturing into dark places. It is as if the participant is closing the book. (It is noteworthy that in the Visual Matrix the participant alludes to the cover of a ‘Treasure Island’ book he hasn’t read.)

The group discusses the airplane, the liminal space. (“I was trying to discern, is it landing or is it taking off?” “It’s at the terminal.” “I didn’t find any sign with any city or airport on it.”) Then the group comments on the images of villages and London, which “in real life are much more beautiful and more wonderful.” The group brings in the views of London from the rooftops, the bridges, the docks, and the Palanga Pier. The panel noted that one significance of Palanga Pier is what one does at a pier – one stands at its end, looks at the horizon and wonders what lies beyond. A pier offers a long perspective view – travelling into the distance, meeting the horizon. This image makes sense in the context of migration and travel, which is about ever-extending horizons or different horizons.

The participants note that they are “not disconnected from Lithuania that much, […] and there’s absolutely no... no... no barrier to flying back.” One wonders if they do not want to think about barriers that might be there – ‘absolutely no barrier’ is a strong statement.

A participant introduces the fragility of the paintings that will disappear, as will those little huts. She brings up the theme of the ephemeral. She is working on a sense of cultural loss; this is her melancholic stream emerging:

> When I see Čiurlionis, I always think that his paintings will disappear. The most tragic thing for me is that due to their being painted on paper… again, you know, such... What makes Čiurlionis so wonderful: it’s his temporality. Yeah, *[sighing]* they won’t be there one day. […] All those little Lithuanian huts are maybe... disappearing, like that painting by Čiurlionis. Because they’re diminishing [in numbers]! – those huts in Lithuania.

That fragility might mean that Lithuania is retreating into the past, into her memories and is disappearing, it is being forgotten. Just as the paintings on paper by Čiurlionis fade and disappear, so the little huts are fading away, fading into the past. Inevitably the participants are moving away from Lithuania; it is already the past that is disappearing.

However, the group is very much rooted in images of the Lithuanian countryside: the farmstead keeps reoccurring (and is ubiquitous across all the Visual Matrices). Then the group shifts to discussion of outdoor toilets:

> If we still have outdoo_ lots of outdoor toilets, we are leading in Europe, so there are still huts too. *[laughing]* […] It's a pity, it's sad, but there are still poor people who live like that.

One participant is a follower of Lithuanian statistics, and knows that Lithuania is the European country with the most outdoor toilets. The Lithuanian panel noted that a problem arises in that there are too many such toilets: it is difficult to eliminate them despite fines now being levied for them.

The outdoor toilet belongs to a different era. The group goes on to say that "Maybe our great-grandchildren will look at how we lived and will say, 'Jesus Christ!'" The participants have a historical perspective: there is an irony here – we are commenting how backward Lithuania is, but our offspring will deem us equally backward.

One participant wants to buy a little hut in Lithuania: this attitude is a heritage-preserving one and shows an emigrant attitude and at the same time an aesthetic, artistic one. The fact that she wants to buy one, shows that Lithuania is not so distant. The Lithuanian panel noted that some people in Lithuania also feel that heritage is in decline and want to retain what is precious and valuable for longer. This is a concern of identity culture, a concern for spatial signs. Maybe she cares even more than the locals do, or maybe it is more difficult for her – because she is further away – to maintain the connection with her homeland and its culture. Culture is history, it is what connects the past and the present.

Maybe one can see something here of the emigrant's psychology: when one leaves one's home, one still wants to keep it, even though it is only in the summer that one would be going back there. She is concerned about the link with the past, not so much with Lithuania per se, but with its past, with the roots that are in the heritage, which means that the roots are already under the ground. In truth, Lithuanians constitute a small nation that is disappearing, and needs to guard its heritage. By contrast, the English are a large nation: perhaps they do not feel the need to protect themselves in the same way.

The Lithuanian panel noted that there were no negative associations in this group: the participant who was critical, appears to be revolutionary in principle and just needs to pick a fight. One participant remembered the countryside and the hay, but what she voiced was not a memory as such: "I can't

even think of those summers, because there was no joy, only the hay to be loaded." There were no negative memories, which is somewhat strange because – as the panel noted – Lithuanians like to moan. However, there were reasons why the participants left Lithuania – it was not very good there, or maybe they were looking for something better.

5.1.5.4 On the scenic composition

There was a participant in this Visual Matrix who was subversive of the process; the panel was not sure where this group was situated emotionally with regards to their migration experience. On the surface, it seemed that all had gone well for them, but there was an irritation, an awkwardness, a truculence that came from one individual: this piqued the group, generating a sense of unresolved issues. They were in a somewhat uncomfortable in-between position, which is evoked by the final line in the poem (Section 5.1.5.1): "Are we going down – who knows – or are we rising?" (And, if we are rising, we are not rising in a straight line.) The scenic composition echoes the flow of the Visual Matrix: it starts with the images and then it deals with the feelings and the politics of the group, the anxiety, the clichés, the need to stay silent.

The panel were unclear how dissatisfied the group felt with what they have lost or left behind. Perhaps there was an element of failed mourning – that they have not yet processed what they have lost and therefore can only be dismissive and contemptuous towards what they have left behind. There was some confusion regarding romanticising: on the one hand it was dismissed as an idealistic flight from reality, but on the other hand it was embraced. A failed mourning could arise from the subject being too painful, or the group's mindset being unable to approach it as it is too pervaded by the contradictions of the present.

The panel wondered what was the selected fact[83] (Bion, 1987 [1967]) in this Visual Matrix? – it considered that the selected fact might well be the image of 'The Sage,' and the way it is derided as a "fake Banksy." It is as if the group is saying that this is an antidote to the romanticising, this is the reality of Lithuanian history. 'The Sage' – the old Jew – is representative of the Nazi and Soviet occupations, and the elimination of vast numbers of the population, with the attendant oppression and suffering. The aforementioned romanticising should be viewed in this context. This is too painful

[83] The fact that stands out as lending coherence to the whole.

for the group to think about. So, the solution is to occupy a limbo where we are neither going down nor rising, and certainly not moving in a straight line.

5.1.5.5 In place of a conclusion

The strongest cluster of imagery to emerge in this Visual Matrix is one of 'fakery': the "fake Banksy" and a bent airplane runway – which represent something inauthentic as well as a discomfort related to the present and to the history that cannot be spoken about.

5.2 Visual Matrices – comparison

In this section I will compare the data arising across the three generational cohorts as discerned from the Visual Matrices. I will review the dominant imagery produced in each generation, paying particular attention to how each generation presented it, with what affect, and with what collective shared 'generational consciousness' (Bollas, 1997) and resources.

Both of the methodologies used in this research are free-associative in nature and their findings can be distilled into distinct clusters of ideas (as opposed to clear thematic areas) which have a rhizomatic quality; they overlap and connect with other clusters. The headings in the following section reflect these clusters.

My analysis is image-led: therefore in this section I will explore how imagery works in my data. Images are a symbolic resource and here I consider those images that participants present in order to help them to establish who they are in the context of migration, who they imagine themselves to be. These images are stimulated by those slides in my Visual Matrix presentation which appeared – to the participants – to be the most significant.[84] Some groups romanticised and idealised certain slide images, whereas other groups ignored certain images completely. The latter arose either because the images were irrelevant to the participants or because something was being disavowed; in some groups particular slide images were rejected and denigrated.

Undertaking analysis through images is synergistic with the image-led process of the methodology. It allows me to work with metaphor and allusion, and the succession of imagery. Each slideshow image is treated as a signifier rather than a referent. The chains of signification allow me to follow the paths through the data and make sense of it in that way. The images become evocative objects (Bollas, 2009): each one evokes much more than itself.

Furthermore, in the study as a whole, I have two different types of case: individual and group ones. I think of each Visual Matrix as an entity. Each participant's association is seen as belonging to the group. What is said in the Visual Matrix, is said by an individual, and to that extent draws on the experiences of a particular individual and their subjectivity, but it is also a property of the matrix as a whole, because it comes out of what has been shared. And it immediately becomes again shareable,

[84] My approach to visual images differs from that of Froggett, Manley and Roy (2015), in that images (those presented to the participants) play a more significant role in my account.

the group's common property. What matters is that it was an utterance that resonated in the matrix. The participants draw on an affective environment that they are creating. The images have content but they also have affect associated with them and do things in and for the groups. (As emerged in my analysis, presented later in this chapter.)

The Visual Matrix was developed from the Social Dreaming Matrix, a method for working with dreams invented (in the Bion tradition) at the Tavistock Institute by Gordon Lawrence (1998). In order to emphasise the interconnectedness between participants, the setting in which social dreaming took place was called a 'matrix,' not a 'group.' As a process, a matrix is the system or web of emotions and thinking that occurs in any group setting.

5.2.1 Rural Lithuania and the forest[85]

Fig. 5.1 – Piliakalniai village, Lithuania; photograph by Gintautas Survila, 2010

Fig. 5.2 – A view from Lopaičiai mound, Lithuania; photograph by Gintautas Survila, 2020

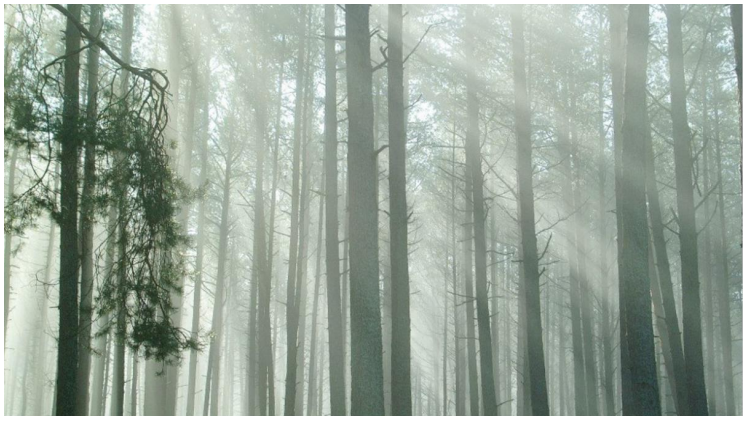

Fig. 5.3 – Lithuanian forest; photograph by Gintautas Survila, 2003 (cropped)

[85] For the Visual Matrix images in this and subsequent sections, larger versions are provided in Appendix H.

5.2.1.1 The oldest generation

The cohort in their 60s presents an idealised vision of the Lithuanian countryside. The nostalgic memories of childhood in the countryside are very present in the oldest generation's Visual Matrix (qv Section 5.1.2).

Just as restorative nostalgia proposes to rebuild the lost home (Boym, 2001), so the group expressed a wish to return to childhood, 'to live like this again.' (Only in the post-matrix discussion is the group able to turn away from the idyll by acknowledging that they came to London because "it was bad in Lithuania.")

The trees (in the slideshow) remind participants about the need to be "strong, not give up, and be as righteous as a queen." But also a theme of loss gets injected: of forests being cut down in Lithuania, and everything "being taken abroad, the wood is no longer in Lithuania." Overall, and unlike the younger generations, participants in the oldest generation express the experiences of being uprooted, being used. An association is also shared of how a son's body was dismembered by doctors after a fatal accident in London. Just as trees in Lithuanian forests are being cut down, likewise the participant's son was 'cut down' – things cut down that were in the process of growing are very present. Beyond that very personal allusion, there is something of Lithuania which is being cut down; for example the forest is no longer treasured as it once was. There are also many other things that have been cut down historically, such as the lives that perished during the deportations and the Holocaust.

There is a motif, a chain of signification: the cut trees, the dismembered son, the Lithuanian migrants cut off from their roots and origins, cut off from family and culture, leaving parts of themselves behind. Participants came here mostly out of economic need. The problem of retaining one's own integrity seems to be raised as the migrants are constantly being put to use by employers and put to use for others. The group's nostalgia seems to reflect the "discontents of the present rather than the contents of the past" (Gabriel, 2020, p. 589).

Although the participants express nostalgia about Lithuania, the return to Lithuania seems to be both desired and difficult – difficult in part (as they say) due to family and work commitments. Also, at some level they may recognise that the places they are nostalgic about are gone (as they knew them) and live on only in their memories (Pierson, 2006; Schmidt, 2016).

5.2.1.2 The youngest generation

The Visual Matrix with participants in their 20s starts with nostalgia for their childhood by the sea and the rural idyll (yet they also refer to the forest as merely the absence of rhythm and a place of holiday). Their associations to historical events coming after those to the pine forest, are suggestive of the forest representing continuity in time, and the perseverance – and ultimately invincibility – of the State. Given the background of much occupation and trauma, there is (for all the generations) something stabilising and grounding in the trees and the landscape. Also, the group noted that it is not so much the forest, but "one's family pulls (one back) to Lithuania. […] If no one is waiting for you, let's say, then why go back to Lithuania? – you'll be sitting alone in the woods!"

The group also shares associations of "a gloomy village," a difficult life of an old person, and "a weeping hurricane:" in the face of the country's history the romantic imagery of the countryside cannot be sustained. Also, despite the heartfelt childhood memories, the participants had chosen to leave and are open to opportunities that the future holds. The group recognises their tendency in the matrix to identify Lithuania as a village despite its having "unicorn start-ups and other companies." This group does not rule out the possibility of returning to Lithuania.[86] They can go back there (or elsewhere): there is no burden.

In this group the nostalgia is not as strong as in the oldest group, and the attachment to Lithuania as a homeland seems to be much weaker. This generation is the one that comes closest to Bauman's (2011b) idea of liquid modernity. It has wider opportunities and is a more mobile generation which seems to be at ease with its migration. They are still young: they are all still mobile, they are still open to change and opportunity (unlike the oldest group); they are not 'stuck' in their romantic idyll. The Visual Matrix ends up with London, in the here and now: as the group says, it is where home is, with its misfortunes and its happiness.

5.2.1.3 The middle generation

In the first Visual Matrix with participants in their 40s there was a statement of not wanting "to live in a village's little hut" – a deliberate contrast to London – and old Lithuanian vistas were linked to the cold. In the post-matrix discussion, the group revisits the Lithuanian climate ("six or eight months of snow and mud"). The cold in the associations is climate- and emotionally-related (qv Section 5.1.4). Also, an association is shared to the young and straight trees in Lithuania, and the old and scarred

[86] As an aside, to my knowledge one participant has since returned to Lithuania.

trees in London, which “are already deeply rooted in the ground.” Old trees are like old history and the long-established democracy in the UK; Lithuania is a ‘young’ country.

The second Visual Matrix with participants in their 40s starts with the childhood village and the farmstead with hay bales in a cart. Then, one participant perceives the countryside images (a village, a little hut) as clichés. The “forest with the sun’s rays” is mentioned after this ‘attack’ on the imagery. As in the youngest group, the memory of the forest appears as a place of safety in a moment of distress. Later, in the post-matrix discussion, the fragility of little huts is introduced (qv Section 5.1.5). Nostalgia too features in this Visual Matrix (as in other generational groups). It did not feature in the first group of this generation, due to the reverie being much harder to achieve because of the technical difficulties encountered.

Both groups in their 40s shared a non-romanticised view on the Lithuanian countryside. The second group spoke about the outside toilets and people living poorly. Both groups were positive about the UK and London – the “inexhaustible beauty.” They also acknowledged that Lithuania is not far away and it is easy to fly back. Both groups commented that some slideshow vistas could equally well be either in the UK or Lithuania; they could not place them.

Although there are distinctions between the two groups, they are – in their different ways – expressing the same generational experience. Both groups present as fine with migration and XXIc. urban nomadism and are quite cosmopolitan in their outlook. The participants present as settled, they have learnt to navigate the cultural gaps, they are at ease with being cultural nomads. They are professionals and it seems that some had made a positive decision to come. However, something in Lithuania was not enough, something was unfulfilled inside. Are the participants in their 40s genuinely content as a group? Or is this a screen, a sticking-plaster of denial or disavowal over a historical trauma? The FANIs were helpful in illuminating this aspect (qv Section 5.4).

5.2.2 The Baltic Sea

Fig. 5.4 – Palanga Pier, Lithuania; photograph by Balys Binkauskas, 2018 (cropped)

5.2.2.1 The oldest generation

The participants in the oldest generation's Visual Matrix group share associations to their annual return to Palanga and visiting the pier (originally built in 1589 by the English). One participant shares an association to the pier as 'a little span of life' and 'the Baltic Way.' She then addresses the Queen: "here, you are fresh – I'm so dark/dull, I will now defeat that… and I'll be bright [light], with bright [vivid] lips."

In mentioning the pier (leading toward new horizons and the West), the Baltic Way (a forerunner of the Baltics moving away from the Soviet Union), and the Queen (new vistas opening), the participant is connecting horizons, a historic moment of change, and the new (now current) place. These ideas link to the generational experience (unique to the oldest group) of fighting for freedom and then not managing to earn one's living in the freed country, and – hence – moving.

5.2.2.2 The youngest generation

Palanga Pier appears in the first association offered by the youngest group (qv Section 5.1.3), expanding to the seaside region, mentioning a song based on a 'schlager' song from the 1930s, and expressing a nostalgia for childhood by the sea. This is their sole association to the pier, and – as with other of their associations – is expressing a lighter approach to the past in Lithuania than is expressed by the oldest and middle groups.

5.2.2.3 The middle generation

The first Visual Matrix with participants in their 40s questions whether the slide is of the Palanga Pier. The group notes that there are similar piers in England – "here there are maaany piers!" and "here

the seaside is all around England." However, the second of the middle generation's Visual Matrix groups ponders whether there is such a pier in England, and decides probably not. There is also an association offered that for someone coming from the coastal region, Palanga Pier evokes only negative emotions as it lacks peace and quiet (as one can't escape people on the pier). When referring to this image, both groups struggle to stay in the reverie mode and instead produce a cognitive response to the image, rather than an emotional one: they are emotionally detached (and defensively so), in contrast to the other generational groups.

5.2.3 Urban London

Fig. 5.5 – Bus stop near London Bridge station, London; photographer and date unknown (accessed via Google)

Fig. 5.6 – Westminster Bridge and Big Ben, London; photographer and date unknown (accessed via Google)

5.2.3.1 The oldest generation

The group's first association to London vistas follows an association to a monster, represented by a mountain. It is noted that when people are waiting for a bus, "everyone is for themselves." This

reflects the contrast between village and city, and there is something monstrous to the group about the city and the contrast. It is something to do with the isolation and alienation that accompanies living in an urban environment like London. London is indeed monstrous in a way:[87] it is huge, it is packed, it is full of people busy with their own lives. There is an implicit reference to a Lithuania in which people were more connected with one another, and connected with nature.

Village life is referenced by sociology's concept of organic societies (Durkheim, 1998 [1893]): a village is in a sense an organic community – a community that grows together like an organism, in which people have their part in the whole – a living, breathing whole. And, like an organism, should something happen to part of it, it happens to the whole body, the whole village community. The organic community trope is associated with pre-modern life, in which people lived to a greater extent in villages and in smaller, interconnected and interdependent communities. (Whereas in an urban environment, everyone lives in a disconnected state, and there is an experience of anomie – of living without common values and norms. Maybe that is what the Visual Matrix group finds monstrous about the city.[88]) Although some people feel interconnected in cities, my participants portray the city solely as a place of alienation.

The very next association: "We have defeated that: we've already suffered so much, we've come [a long way] since that day, since the year 1991, and everything will be sorted out, a beautiful morning will dawn." In this association, the random group of people waiting for a bus (who seem heedless of

[87] The panel noted that in London, half of the time one is on autopilot and doesn't necessarily notice what is in one's environment – in part because one can easily become overwhelmed by the presence of so many people. But when one does start taking notice, one of the things that is so striking is how cosmopolitan London is, how culturally mixed it is.

[88] It could be that the landscapes in the slideshow and the (rural) way of living are also monstrous: there are threatening aspects to them. (There is duality here, like in Čiurlionis' painting.) Is the experience of London monstrous, or is the monstrousness inherent in the depicted Lithuanian landscapes (because that's where the pre-modern spirit resides)? In the pre-modern – and hence pre-scientific – imaginary, monsters were everywhere, especially for rural communities, which were full of ghosts and witches; modern societies would see – and dismiss – all this as mere superstition. Modern urban Lithuania is something different. Vilnius is a city on a civilised scale; London is a great mass of disconnected humanity.

anything), are included. “That day” could be an allusion to the Lithuanian ‘Bloody Sunday’[89]: by contrast, people waiting for a bus seem carefree, with no thought of needing to fight for their freedom.

There is a split appearing between London and Lithuania: London is presented as “queues, the endless number of people, the chaos,” and rural Lithuania as a beautiful country of farmsteads and forests. Big Ben appears to evoke memories of their first moments of hardship. In the post-matrix discussion, the participants admit that “the first year was nothing but tears. It was very difficult, very…,” “we came with nothing: a towel was my pillow.”

The oldest generation lives ‘between’ Lithuania and Britain. Their lives are isolated from the local culture. To an extent, an external mobility (such as migration and subsequent travels) is facing the internal immobility within the participants’ psyche.

Also, to an extent, this generation has embraced in their imaginations and in their reality a nomadic existence where family and health are firm points of reference. The group talks a lot about wandering and flying, travel and movement. One of the advantages of being here seems to be that they can get away from here.

The Visual Matrix ends with ‘scenes’ of discovering and appreciating the beauty of London, with associations of lifting one’s head and looking up. A sense of wonder when wandering in central London is shared. The Visual Matrix ends with moving, finding one’s own agency in the new space.

5.2.3.2 The youngest generation

In the associations of this group, Big Ben feels like home, a local place which one sees quite often, and “part of everyday life.” Associations to a wide sensory range of London (and capturing its movement through references to its din and fumes and buses), are shared after the associations about the farmsteads. A contrast between the two countries is noted: a big city versus emptiness and quiet.

[89] Lithuania’s ‘Bloody Sunday,’ when on the night of 13th January 1991, Soviet troops attempted to seize power; fourteen people died.

The youngest group present with a loss of sense of belonging, which echoes Račiūnaitė-Paužuolienė's (2019) research of Lithuanian students in England: the students felt they were suspended between several continents, feeling at home everywhere and nowhere.

5.2.3.3 The middle generation

In the first Visual Matrix with participants in their 40s, London vistas are associated to dreams, to hopes, to having "always wanted to live only in London" – London being "only positive" (but the photos chosen for the slideshow are seen as "old" and "not necessarily very beautiful"). A split between Lithuania (not wanting to live in a village hut) and London is presented: the opposite stance to that of the older group.

In the second Visual Matrix with participants in their 40s, an association to Big Ben appears (after the childhood village), as a place of Lithuanians gathering to sing their national anthem. Further associations about the past follow: to the book cover of "Treasure Island" and a film from their youth. These nostalgic thoughts are cut short by a participant who protests against the 'clichéd images' of London. (As the participant then mentions the "refugees"[90] – and wonders if they are war refugees or economic ones – and thinks they are running from a war, it is suggestive that the anxiety about the war in Ukraine surfaces in the protest about the images.)

The group notes that such London clichés are "for tourists," and are also associated with the textbooks from which they used to learn English at school. I wondered whether the participants felt I was treating them like tourists, by showing them 'postcards.' Regardless of whether the images are clichés, they are certainly the subject of many postcards. Whilst their interpretation is dependent on one's point of view (iconic on the one hand or clichés on the other), they inevitably present a 'postcard' version of reality.

If one feels that one is not fully in one place, that one belongs at least in part elsewhere, then does that also lead to a sense of inauthenticity? The group was saying that the slideshow imagery was inauthentic. However, behind that lies their own struggle with authenticity. This is surely always an issue for any migrant: "Do I belong?" and, if so, "How do I belong? What part of me does not belong? To what form of Britishness could I aspire if I wanted to? Is there a part of me that is not totally accepted? Is there a part of me that I don't accept myself?" A clichéd image is divested of its living link

[90] An association to the slide of one of the mass deportations of the Lithuanian population to Siberia.

– in this case the link to participants' lives. Another interpretation could be that "I don't want you to present clichés because this is a place to which I have a living link. I *do* have a living link: don't sum it up in clichés!"

As an "impressive" and "a lot more fun" image of London, one participant brings a view from the rooftops, where "when you look to one side – little houses to the horizon, and to the other side – little houses to the horizon." Little houses evoke familiar, manageable size (as opposed to the big buildings such as Big Ben). The other participant likes the Docklands, where "there are the most amazing views: the bridges, the docks."

Both groups were positive about the UK and London – the "inexhaustible beauty." They also acknowledged that Lithuania is not so far away and it is easy to fly back. Both groups are quite cosmopolitan in their outlook.

5.2.4 The Queen

Fig. 5.7 – 'Reigning Queens: Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom';
silkscreen print by Andy Warhol, 1985 (cropped)

5.2.4.1 The oldest generation

The Queen appears multiple times in the oldest generation's Visual Matrix associations. One has to retain one's integrity and do so proudly in order to bear what is coming and to bear the original migration – to remain as 'resilient,' honest and righteous as the Queen. Also (in the association with apples and childhood) the Queen appears as a "beautiful woman." The group pays great attention to the Queen's "red lips." The tension between being upright, honest and independent, and also a beautiful woman, speaks to the participants' reality: there is something adventurous within their otherwise conventional lives. This speaks to their ability to fly, to travel, to get away, to taste new things, to do things which are not typically part of the life of a settled grandmother.

The Queen also appears in an association about the Baltic Sea, indicative of the opening of new horizons after the fight for freedom. The new vistas opening up with Lithuania's independence are symbolised by the bright and vivid Queen. The association contains a wish for change, because something (possibly from the past) is dragging one back: the darkness and dullness needs to be defeated.

In the post-matrix discussion one participant shares her achievement: moving on from the hardship experienced on her arrival to now, where she "sleeps in her own bed." She adds: "The Queen gave me, so I have… The Queen gave me somewhere to live, that's what I have." The Queen represents provision and (maternal) care.

5.2.4.2 The youngest generation

The youngest group associates the Queen with a banknote: consumerism, success, and material acquisition (and links to London as a place of money-making). They are urban nomads with no sense of strong attachment to a place.

5.2.4.3 The middle generation

The first Visual Matrix with participants in their 40s also has references to the Queen. One participant, in the context of talking about the ease of travel nowadays, reasons that in the past "even for the queen, it probably took weeks to go to France with her carriages." He adds that "now we are very privileged."

The other participant associates the Queen with her viewing the Queen as a woman. She explains that she feels safe in London, she has her rights and feels accepted. "No matter how weird the crowd is," she feels safer in London than she felt in Lithuania. The Queen is seen as an icon of justice and safety.

5.2.5 The aeroplane

Fig. 5.8 – Vilnius Airport; photograph, 2015 (©Vilnius Airport)

5.2.5.1 The oldest generation

In the older group, the aeroplane represented a transition point between two worlds: “rural farmsteads, forests, there... the beauty such as is of Lithuania, and then a plane and emigration.” It was assumed that the slide was of Palanga Airport as it was small; this led the group into the aforementioned associations about Palanga Pier (qv Section 5.2.2).

5.2.5.2 The youngest generation

For the youngest group, the aeroplane evoked the memories of going abroad for the first time, to England. Some “very bad” associations are evoked by the aeroplane: leaving “a lot of fun” and many friends behind, or leaving “to live in another country, without my parents, where there were no acquaintances, no friends. Such a boarding of an aeroplane, completely alone, into a total unknown.”

The flights to Lithuania are also associated with a feeling of “a big contrast when one returns from Lithuania to London, leaving behind lots of greenery and lots of forests. In London – traffic, red buses.” The aeroplane evokes “a little bit of nostalgia” too: leaving the motherland and trying to become rooted “in a new country.”

5.2.5.3 The middle generation

The first group presented as very comfortable with their migration status: they find moving between the countries easy – “migration is not bad (after all)!” – and one can access Lithuania so easily by aeroplane (qv Section 5.1.4). This conveys the pathos of the situation of young migrants. A mobile – nomadic – existence is willingly and cheerfully adopted by certain groups, such as those in their 20s, 30s, and 40s, who realise that modern travel provides ‘hypermobility’ – so they can live and work, mix and match, as they wish. But in my research findings we have a very different scenario: yes, they are part of the generation that can do that, and it might make sense to think of their hypermobility in those terms, because they are part of the European generation of the digital age. However, for them, given their particular history, hypermobility carries other meanings, because it comes with migration from a traumatised culture (qv Section 6.3.3). Often people use certain aspects of cultural life to justify – and avoid overt recognition of – some of their deeper motivations. Despite this, they can of course still derive pleasure (or success or money) from migrating.

The “bent” aeroplane runway is mentioned in the second Visual Matrix group with participants in their 40s after the difficult history of Lithuania and the “cheesy” London photographs. The “bent aeroplane runway” follows mention of fakery: we have fakery and then the straight lines of a runway become bent – one can’t trust anything to be straight and true any more.

5.2.6 'The Sage' and mass deportations

Fig. 5.9 – 'The Walls Remember: The Sage'; stencilled 'neofresco' (in Vilnius' former Jewish quarter) by Lina Šlipavičiūtė-Černiauskienė and Lauryna Kiškytė, 2019; unknown photographer

Fig. 5.10 – A mass deportation of Lithuania's population to Siberia; unknown photographer, 1941

'The Sage' was unremarked on by the oldest and youngest Visual Matrix groups (suggesting the possibility of haunting).

5.2.6.1 The oldest generation

In the oldest generation the difficult history appears to be an unmentionable and taboo subject. The deportation image remained unremarked on in the associative part by this group's Visual Matrix. The only comment about the deportation image came in the post-matrix discussion: one participant noted that there were people in one of the slides "after the war or during the war, a bustle… maybe after the war." She also noted that things were hard then – and even when Lithuania regained independence. She then linked this memory to the current reality, where "we are all going through that now too," referring to the war in Ukraine.

5.2.6.2 The youngest generation

In the youngest group an association to the photograph depicting the (railway) wagons is shared, their wondering if it portrays deportation to Siberia or the Jewish genocide, and concluding that it is of the deportations. It is spoken about in a very broken and stumbling pattern of speech (qv Section 5.1.3). The association reflects a particular state of mind that is probably held by the Lithuanian population as a whole: vague about the details… broken pattern of speech… unmentionable… struggle (qv Section 5.1.3.3). The group has a partial handle on historical detail. There is something unmentionable – in the hinterlands of the memory – and it is very difficult to bring to mind. This history is almost unspeakable: is it not well recorded, or is it some sort of sense of not wanting to delve too deeply into that chapter of history?[91]

This association is followed by the longest silence of the whole group process, so affirming its significance. And, at the end of the Matrix, an association to the deportation comes back – the deportation photograph is linked to moving to London. Something about the very process of moving – of changing countries – still evokes this history.

5.2.6.3 The middle generation

In the first Visual Matrix with participants in their 40s, the image of deportation evokes the association "about travelling, about migration from one place to another," how it was "much harder for people to travel in the past" and "it was a huge decision to change where they lived." The participant states that nowadays it is "not such a big separation any more."

The panel wondered whether those who say the photograph depicts refugees simply don't want to see deportations? To what extent do they not recognise the scene or not want to recognise it? (What a group doesn't produce in relation to such a history is as significant as what it does produce.)

A comment (on the deportation slide) that it was much harder for people to travel in the past suggests an unwillingness to see things for how they really were – a most optimistic gloss is put on it. There seems to be some disavowal occurring, which is diverting attention from the issue: it was not about

[91] Lithuanians now have an online resource where one can find the date and place of deportation for most of one's relatives, and their ultimate fate. The names and fates of all deportees are read aloud on 14th June – the annual Day of Hope and Mourning – in the Lithuanian Parliament, the Lithuanian embassy in London, and elsewhere.

the availability of means of travel or the lack of it, it was forced deportation, something completely different.

In the second Visual Matrix with participants in their 40s, the same image of deportation evokes the war refugees. This association comes accompanied by a disturbance regarding the images being 'clichéd,' which ultimately plunges the group into a protracted silence. Silence is not always an indication of embarrassment and discomfort, but in this instance it is. In this case it is clear that it indicates the participants are not knowing what to do with the material.

A "fake Banksy"[92] appears – like a figure of haunting – in the first contribution following the silence (qv Section 5.1.5). The point about the fake Banksy and the notion that there is something manufactured, something inauthentic, something contrived about the image, could be an avoidant mechanism. It's almost as if the group does not want to be manipulated by this fake image which is trying to get them back to a particular point of history with which they absolutely refuse to engage. Therefore, by defining it as a fake, as a pretence, they need not engage with it.

The association feels like an expression of embarrassment, a desire 'not to go there,' but also a recognition that one can't completely avoid it. It reflects a real unease, something that has not been processed. It may have been processed by some individuals, but not culturally.

After the "fake Banksy" the deportations are briefly mentioned, where "they were deporting people, beside the trains. Such eeh... A painful subject. Directly related personally." The group is unwilling to pursue this (and shifts to the London photographs). The history is known poorly, as it has been suppressed, and – again – seems to be unsayable.

Furthermore, both groups in their 40s questioned the use of silence in the session and the imagery chosen – they had some uneasiness with it – and the researcher's 'agenda.' This seemed to be indicative of possible haunting from the Soviet past.

[92] The participant is referring to the slideshow image of 'The Sage' – from the project 'The Walls Remember.'

5.2.7 'The Blind Pioneer'

Fig. 5.11 – 'The Blind Pioneer'; photograph by Antanas Sutkus, 1962 (cropped)

Hitherto, I have portrayed all the material on ambivalence as being an intentional not-knowing, a reluctance to know, avoidance, discomfort; now I present an image of a boy with glass eyes – the boy who appears to see in the sense that he has eyes, yet cannot see because they are not real eyes but made of glass, fake eyes.

Regarding this issue of seeing: are the participants willing to look at Lithuania's history, and if they do, are they really willing to see it? They do not necessarily realise the origin of the Blind Pioneer image, nor even the fact that the boy is blind: the unconscious leads them to not seeing.

5.2.7.1 The oldest generation

This image remained unremarked on in the associative part by this group's Visual Matrix. Only at the very end of the review part, does a participant mention that the boy caught her attention: "Yes, the glass eyes of that boy. Why?, I was intending to ask." The photograph appears to have stayed in the group's mind and is possibly echoed in the association to the dismantled body of a son where the participant mentioned not allowing his eyes to be removed by London doctors.

5.2.7.2 The youngest generation

In the youngest group, a participant talks about a photograph of a child "with sad eyes." He links it with the photograph of Big Ben which followed. The participant perceives "a striking contrast." He thinks of those who came to London as children, whose parents regarded it as coming to the land of opportunities.

5.2.7.3 The middle generation

In the first Visual Matrix with participants in their 40s, a participant speaks about the boy "with glass eyes" that gaze into the distance. The participant ponders how big a challenge it would have been for the boy to travel, "or simply to live." This generation's state of mind seems to be represented by the image of this boy with glass eyes: the ethereal, unseeing eyes appear to be looking into the distance. The eyes are airy because they are unfocused. In this group there is something about a lack of focus on the particular details of who one is and where one is, and the resulting ability to scan a wider horizon. Thus they claim they are comfortable with their Lithuanian identities living anywhere (be it London or Lithuania or elsewhere).

5.2.8 Re-consecration of Vilnius Cathedral

Fig. 5.12 – Re-consecration of Vilnius Cathedral;
photograph by Virgilijus Usinavičius, 5 February 1989 (cropped)

5.2.8.1 The oldest generation

In the oldest generation's group a participant shares an association to a "demonstration" and affirms that "We have defeated that […] we've come [a long way] since that day, since the year 1991." This photograph likely evokes the Baltic Way association (as mentioned in Section 5.1.2.3).

The photograph, of 1989, features a Lithuanian flag, which it was already permitted to display at that time. (Later, in one of the interviews (FANIs), Nida gives a dynamic account of an incident from the Soviet era, in which a Lithuanian flag was secretly raised on the local government building. The Security Services (KGB) began investigating the case.) This generation lived through the Soviet era and the fight for freedom is vivid in their imaginary (more so than in the middle generation, and unlike in the youngest one).

5.2.8.2 The youngest generation

In the youngest group, a participant refers to the slide "with a tricolour at the Cathedral." He shares having seen documentaries and having heard stories from family members about the renaissance of freedom in 1980s.

5.2.8.3 The middle generation

The only (brief) reference by this generation to the slides of the Lithuanian struggle for freedom and independence appears in their first Visual Matrix. One participant notes that "If it weren't for Lithuania's independence, we probably wouldn't be in London, would we?" This generation views the benefit of the freedom as being the chance to leave the country.

5.2.9 'Tranquillity'

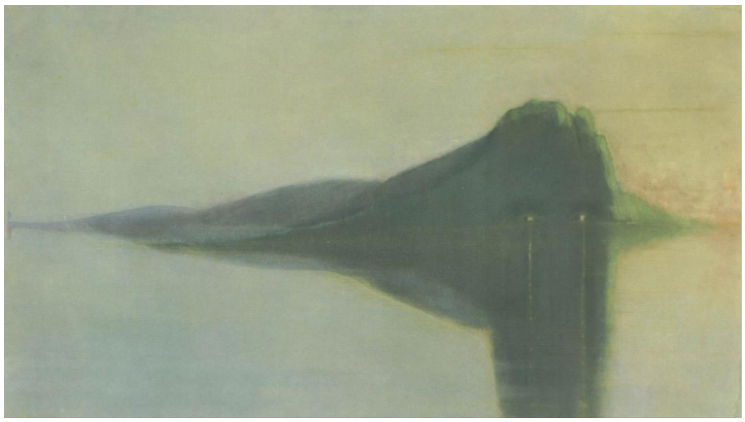

Fig. 5.13 – 'Ramybė' [Tranquillity/Serenity]; tempera painting
by Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis, 1904–1905

5.2.9.1 The oldest generation

In the oldest generation's Visual Matrix group, Čiurlionis' painting evokes the image of a "monster," which appears in the midst of a strong affirmation of the participants' origin (qv Section 5.1.2.3). The origin of the monster is questioned. It could, for example, be the monster of childhood fantasies or the monster of London that one had to tame.

The group uses the language of conquest – "We will defeat everything" – when mentioning the monster, linking it to the slide of the demonstration (reminding them of historical events). This monster that one has to defeat, appearing in the Visual Matrix (which – as it happens – is being held in the first weeks of the Russian invasion of Ukraine), could also be regarded as representative of the Russian army.

It is not clear whether the haunting – represented by the monster – is from the past or the future. “Fear is, after all, usually directed towards what may happen, not what has already come to pass – that is more likely to be a matter for *regret*. Though the fear that one may discover something about the past that will put the future in jeopardy is, surely enough, a haunting fear” (Frosh, 2012, p. 224). The scariness of the monster and the fear are suggestive of the haunting which is threatening the future.

5.2.9.2 The youngest generation

In the Visual Matrix with participants in their 20s, the mountain is perceived as a gloomy image of “a weeping hurricane,” “almost like a cross.” This alludes to the country’s difficult history.

5.2.9.3 The middle generation

In the second Visual Matrix with the middle generation there was an association to the image with “a cover of a book […] maybe the ‘Treasure Island’ book,” perhaps alluding to Britain as the treasure island. Also, the book might evoke positive childhood memories. In another association, the fragility and impermanence of the Čiurlionis paintings is mentioned; the theme of the ephemeral and of cultural loss – and hence melancholia – is brought up.

5.2.10 In summary

Having finished comparing the experiences of the participants across the three generational cohorts as discerned from the Visual Matrices (by focusing on the dominant imagery produced and the main ideas that emerged), I will now present the FANI case studies.

5.3 FANIs – case studies

5.3.1 Introduction

The six FANI case studies will now be presented in turn. The interviews with the middle generation were conducted first (starting with Evita's interview), then the youngest and the oldest generation interviews followed. However, in order to mirror the case studies' presentations of the Visual Matrices in this thesis, I will start here with the case studies of the oldest generation – the youngest and middle generations will follow.

Each case study will begin with a scenic composition (Froggett *et al.*, 2014). I will then paint the interview scene and the clusters of imagery: using Lorenzerian (1986) thinking, each interview will be presented as a sequence of (unfolding) scenes.[93] A comment on the scenic composition will follow. The conclusion will be focused on the salient image for each case.

For each interview, the extracts and scenic composition were used for the panel discussions (qv Section 4.4.6.1). The panel discussions on an extract – like those on a scenic composition – do not confine themselves to the content of the scenes, but encompass the gestalt of the whole interview.

[93] There is a distinction to be made between the Lorenzerian conception of a scene and the conventional use of the word (though there is an overlap). The Lorenzerian scene discloses the 'interaction forms' as its actors enact their reality in particular ways (culturally embedded and learnt through socialisation at both conscious and unconscious levels). These forms help the researcher to understand the socio-historical context that enables them to take shape (qv Section 4.2.1).

5.3.2 FANI 1 (Marija – 60s)

5.3.2.1 Scenic composition

A minibus rolls towards Vilnius.

Happiness is closed into a little flat like into a little box.

I won't give my blood this stupid year.

The most important thing is to survive.

I'm acting at life.

Sold my Saturdays and Sundays.

We eat meat and cakes.

What more do I need?

Arm-in-arm with romance I stroll through the forest,

and I day-dream

and, still, today I go,

my feet still carry me.

But I won't go for a test.

5.3.2.2 The interview scene

Marija is a woman in her late sixties, born in the early '50s in a small Lithuanian town; she worked as a secretary in Lithuania and moved here in the early 2000s. She is widowed (after being divorced) and has a daughter and grandchildren here – her son lives abroad too. She worked here as a hotel chambermaid, and is now retired.

The interview takes place by video call. I am of her children's age and we have in common some aspects of life experience. Her opening statement, prefaced by laughter:

> Oh ho ho ho, you know… You know, I like everything here. Here is "Sorry, sorry,"[94] listen, right. You get on a bus, or you're somehow out on the street. It's different in Lithuania. […] In Lithuania they would push past you, so as to go first; here – you see yourself – the culture is different.

[94] Uses the English words.

> Whether they know you or not, right. So, everything is dealt with in a human way. Even if they think badly of you, they're still goodies, aren't they – such is their culture…

Marija says she likes it here. She feels nostalgia only for her childhood, the village she lived in, not for contemporary Lithuania: thus she "doesn't strain" to go back – she has "nothing there." She compares interactions with people in liminal spaces in England and in Lithuania. There is a sense of displacement: she merely observes England and lives with her memories. She establishes the frame and later circles back to it.

5.3.2.3 Clusters of imagery

The second 'scene' presents her memories of London when she still worked and had a degree of social life:

> Well, we have gone dancing once or twice. Very cute. […] With English! Yeees.

Her memories of working in one of the two hotels are rather unpleasant, namely being checked up on by Lithuanian housekeepers and needing to "watch out!" She then moves into presenting her current preoccupations – the 'scene' of her life in her "little flat." She gives an extensive account of her medication – the ordering process and her worry and uncertainty over her blood test being due. (This narrative reminds me of my late grandmother when in her late 80s.) Television plays a significant part in Marija's life too; she mostly watches Lithuanian and Russian channels, which doubtless give her a homely feeling.[95]

The subsequent 'scene' is on her past in Lithuania. With a sense of boredom, she reels off a list: "There was my work, home, my allotments, our villages…" Then she remembers the times when she was still single:

> I used to sing! I sang in both the choir and the ensemble. […] I used to sing, sing and then what, what else did I do? As a schoolgirl I won first place in a poetry reading competition! […] I really enjoyed reading. *[She slows down and says the following sentence quietly – as if a thing very*

[95] This reminded the panel of 'Good Bye Lenin!' – a 2003 German tragicomedy film, directed by Wolfgang Becker. The story follows a family in East Germany; the mother falls into a coma in October 1989, shortly before the November revolution. When she awakens eight months later, her son attempts to protect her from what he fears could be a fatal shock by concealing the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism.

> *precious:]* I wanted to become an actress… I was such a fool. When I think about it now. […] Well, there was no means, you understand. My parents weren't rich in those years. […] I am a bit inclined to romance, *[laughing]* we can say. I like going for a walk; I sometimes daydream on my own. When I was young, I was very much so: I used to read that many books. We didn't have a television. Listen, I read books and strolled through the forest.

Marija's slowing down before she quietly reveals her former ambition is a Lorenzerian 'provocation.' She explains this as being foolish in terms of her parents' lowly economic status (which had limited her career choices). Her mention of "romance" evokes something about the significance of migration which might also have been a romance (for her, and maybe for others of her generation). This is endorsed by her mention of dancing with the English in her early days in London. However, as with her dream of acting, this romance too has not been borne out by reality.

The intensity of feeling seems to be in Marija's youthful years in Lithuania. This 'scene' is followed by one on her present, with her current focus on her basic needs and her offspring: at her age "possessions are needed only so much;" most important is that her children and grandchildren are healthy. There is also a wish for the grandchildren to get educated – with, possibly, a hope that they will have more opportunities. Her present in London seems unaspiring – and for herself uninspiring. She says she likes English villages, but she has seen them only on television. This pondering over villages feels melancholic. (Both landscapes and cultures – past and present – currently come to her only through the screen.) The subsequent 'scene' pictures a somewhat paradoxical image of Lithuania nowadays:

> Lithuanian villages are drinking a lot. Drinking *[laughing]*. In Soviet times they drank a lot too, I remember. […] Unlike how it was before, [when] we didn't have mandarins. Now Lithuania lives: wow!

Marija says that she has nothing to tell me as she is "not a public person," she hasn't been anywhere for many years, nor did she go anywhere when younger. Then she remembers going to the cinema in London, and proceeds to paint a lively historical 'scene' of her trips with colleagues:

> We also went a few times to the Vilnius opera, still in Soviet… my children were still young. The Vilnius Opera and Ballet Theatre! We would go by a minibus! As employees! […] We would leave

> during working hours. Then we would party on our way, oh Jesus! Well, those were the Soviet times.[96]

She also mentions their staying in hotels when visiting Minsk and Kiev. (This contrasts with her later working in London hotels.) She then shares her hopes about the new generation. She sold her flat in Lithuania in order to support her offspring. The next 'scene' – about her grandchildren – was chosen for panel discussion:

> Such is life. Well… My granddaughter was born here […]. God help us – she still speaks Lithuanian. Her accent is already English. […] God help us, he [grandson] speaks Lithuanian, though sometimes he doesn't know – you understand – that Lithuanian… You say a word: he doesn't know its meaning. […] It's hard to explain what it means. They don't know.

The panel noted that this is more than simply not knowing certain words, but about what it means to be a Lithuanian. Her repetition of "God help us" is an unwittingly meaningful 'provocation' as the whole following 'scene', works as a pivot on which turn multiple layers of personal and social meaning. She is pretty dissatisfied with her life here and that dissatisfaction is to do with a loss of both Lithuanian identity and language by her grandchildren. There is a mis-communication between Marija and them, creating a rift. In the extract she focuses on the issue of language and the way her grandchildren are escaping from her grasp, despite her best efforts; they just reach automatically for English friends – despite their parents' efforts speaking to them in Lithuanian they still end up speaking English.

In one sense there is a generational exasperation, which is semi-universal: a lack of comprehension in which the younger generations will do what they will, despite one's best efforts to pull them back to the 'straight path' and the 'good life,' and the culture 'that matters.' There is generational regret about not understanding the young. The other part of the matter is a much sharper sense of real loss: that these young people are so heedlessly abandoning the Lithuanian language and are showing so little interest in their heritage. The language stands in for the whole culture. There is a sense of disappointment as roots are important:

[96] This presents the complexity of the multi-faceted Soviet era (qv Section 2.3.3) where ordinary life still continued, with its joys as well as sorrows.

> It's bad like this, nevertheless, we're Lithuanians, and you're not going to get away. You don't need to… you don't need to throw your roots aside.

The Lithuanian panel noted that her identity – both cultural and national – is very much linked to her language, as is very commonly found in Lithuania given the repeated suppression of the language by successive invaders (qv Section 2.3, History). In the history of Lithuanian culture, people were often faced with loss of national heritage due to emigration or cultural colonisation. One's children not speaking Lithuanian is a typical phenomenon in both the past and present.

There is something about the mother tongue being the language of the mother. There is a sense of severance from the maternal when connection with the language of origin is lost. Her grandchildren aren't extending her Lithuanian-ness; they aren't the hoped-for investment in the future. As something so precious and important has been lost, it can be a heavy burden to carry and could leave one disconsolate and bereft.

Lithuania is still her country, even if she's been here for 16 years. The panel thought there was a unhealed wound here – a trauma of separation – and worried that it will never heal. It's sad that she is destined to live out the rest of her life in England regretting the loss of her family's Lithuanian language and identity.

The fact she came here because of her grandchildren shows their significance to her both then and now. You follow them around the world, they determine how you live your life, you sacrifice yourself for them – and then they don't even hold onto the language that you tried to instil in them. She thinks that her role as a grandmother is to maintain this kind of strict identification with Lithuanian-ness.

The following 'scene' presents Marija's family celebrations – Christmas Eve and Easter. The family decorates eggs and does "everything in a Lithuanian way." They also celebrate birthdays with cakes and grilled meat. She shows a photo 'album' that her granddaughter made, with its dedication: "To the best grandmother in the world." The latter introduces a more hopeful note, and Marija goes as far as admitting:

> I love my grandchildren better than my children. Because when I raised my kids, for example, there just wasn't time for that. Everything… years were passing by… well. Now, I see everything: how they grew, how they grew up […]. So, how not to love them!

She finishes the interview talking about "a very stupid year, 2020," where her main preoccupation is to "not get sick, to survive." (This is a significant change of mood from the romance and partying she

portrayed of her early days.) Soviet times are very present in her mind – as she talks about Covid-19, she expresses her annoyance with the Lithuanian media: "So why do they raise such things? Yes: just as in Soviet times they stuffed us with communism."[97]

5.3.2.4 On the scenic composition

The scenic composition (Section 5.3.2.1) came to me in the form of a short poem as I drew out from the interview those images holding a strong meaning.

A minibus is a safe, enclosed, rather homely form of vehicle. You usually go on a minibus if you are going on a little outing with a small group of people you know. There is something socially safe about a minibus: small and contained. This is the conveyance in which she rolls towards Vilnius. It captures a small community outing towards a big city, in this safe conveyance. It's reinforced by the second line because "happiness is closed into a little flat," into a small, contained comfortable space, "like into a little box." There is something very domestic and safety-seeking about these images. It doesn't matter that there is a big wide world and that London offers a lot of opportunities, a person wants to enclose themselves in a simple space of their own.

And then comes a significant emotional leap: "I won't give my blood this stupid year" – a statement which seems to be really angry and annoyed – whatever is attached to giving blood, things are not as they should be, so she won't be giving her blood. She is so fed up with the world: the year has not turned out as she would have wished. And then: "The most important thing is to survive" – coming down from this image of an adventure – a small safe domestic adventure and now we are into survival, and the affect becomes flatter: "I'm acting at life." I "sold my Saturdays and Sundays" sounds pretty depressing. The Saturdays and Sundays are when you do things for yourself – not the working – but time for you, time for pleasure. She felt so little about these, that she "sold" them.

"We eat meat and cakes. What more do I need?" – her horizons came down to meat and cakes. The idea of eating meat and cakes is somewhat decadent, revealing an unbalanced life. Then there seems to be a change of mood again, because "arm-in-arm with romance I stroll through the forest, and I day-dream." She has a degree of prosperity – she can buy meat and cakes – but in her heart she wants to stroll through the forest. This is associated with a sudden shift back to an affectionate nostalgia: the Lithuanian forest – the essential Lithuania, the Lithuanian forest of all our childhoods. A Lithuanian

[97] She notes the similarity between Covid-19 and communism as both phenomena – in her experience – were disproportionately dominating the media, 'force-fed' to the populace to the point of their being 'stuffed.'

dream is to stroll through the forest: as Lithuanians live in a forest zone, their identity and forests are very connected. And that's the place for dreaming. And "my feet still carry me. But I won't go for a test" – she turns back to the present. There are quite a few shifts in the scenic composition, as she talks about many things in the interview and she shifts very rapidly from one to another.

Her heart lives in the forest, but in her real life there is some kind of emigration. There is contradiction in life between aspirations and realities: she perceives the drama of life and survival. Life is like a struggle and like a dream. The tragedy is in that absurdity, inadequacy and incoherence of everything. There is a painful conflict between inner meaning and external life, the latter being depicted as a mistake or a disease.

The scenic composition puts into opposition the external and internal worlds. It shows the richness of depth of her internal world. We get a glimpse into that internal world to begin with, then it's about the external world, and then she says: "What more do I need?" And then we see what she needs: it's her internal world again, it's "arm-in-arm with romance… in the forest." I am still day-dreaming, my feet are still carrying me through that world. And then: "I won't go for a test" – which is quite closed-down in terms of the physical world around her. But her internal world is rich enough and has to sustain her.

The scenic composition is dramatic: she is living, but not really living, just acting at life. There is bleeding and suffering everywhere. Death feels near, perhaps especially given the current pandemic. There is a variety of food, but the combination is unhealthy. Life is very fragmented. Marija loses sense of meaning as she lives a very close, socially-disconnected life: she feels lonely in this world – left alone to fight in the larger waves of life. She lives in order to survive, to not die. Everything has become survival.

The scenic composition contains few references to other things, it's very much about her.[98] She seems to live in her own world with her television, a window onto the world. She likes being in a little happy box: a minibus, a small flat. The problem with little boxes is that they don't challenge you. A little box shuts out challenges and maintains your safe boundaries: this, in the panel's view, could easily lead to a rather closed mind. The television too can be seen as a little happy box connecting her to Lithuania, but screening out the world rather than being a window onto it. It was a late stage in life to undertake

[98] Though she speaks about herself, she unknowingly discloses much more about her situation, understood in a Lorenzerian way as a generational experience of migration.

a permanent migration. She worked illegally for a few years – which was perhaps enough risk for one lifetime, so now she is going to stay safe in her little "box."

5.3.2.5 On reflective subjectivity

Because Marija had been ambivalent about being interviewed and we have never met face to face, I find myself being carried away – saying more than in most of the previous interviews.[99] She presents relatively short accounts followed by pauses – possibly I feel like I need to help her continue. I surprise myself by using some words adapted to her background. She initially uses the formal (plural) form of 'you,' but then switches to the singular form for the remainder of the interview, which suggests a transition into a more relaxed mode of conversation. She talks warmly, there is a sense of her feeling maternal towards me, calling me "little child," "little one," "Astule."[100]

The panel felt very sorry for Marija but also irritated with her as the extract portrayed a very single-minded story about Lithuanian identity and its loss. The old hanging onto the past and to their conception of language and identity, and the young throwing it all away – sounded somewhat stereotypical (though not denying it was deeply felt). This powerful (countertransference) irritation the panel had might reflect the antagonism Marija is experiencing in her life.

5.3.2.6 In place of a conclusion

The metaphor of the little box speaks powerfully about Marija's state of mind and presentation. She lives in a big city in her little flat – her little world with her television. She likes it small, domestic: she has a defensively-constructed identity that allows her to live with a fair degree of comfort.

[99] Although Marija's interview case study comes first in my thesis, it was not undertaken first. (The actual order of interviews was Evita, Tomas, Fausta, Lukas, Marija, Nida.)

[100] A diminutive form of Asta.

5.3.3 FANI 2 (Nida – 60s)

5.3.3.1 Scenic composition

You won't move me,
I'm sitting.
I tell a fairy tale about a cemetery hill,
an approaching lake
and a gold ring
with a defect
because not from the heart…

I come and I go, I don't move.

School throws one out,
but one is destined to live a lot.

5.3.3.2 The interview scene

Nida is a woman in her early sixties, born in the late '50s in a small Lithuanian town; she worked as a teacher in Lithuania and moved here in the early 2000s. She is widowed (after being divorced) and has a daughter and grandchildren here. She works in a relative's jewellery shop.

The interview takes place by video call. As we're both women with about 20 years difference between us, we have in common some aspects of life experience. I have a slight feeling of unease interviewing a former teacher, as if my performance is under scrutiny. Nida is well-spoken, has mastery over her language, and speaks calmly. Her opening statement:

> Aha, now I've been living here for 16 years, for 16 years, and I worked all that time in the Lithuanian shop. I communicate very little with the English, but my… my daughter, my son-in-law, children, they have friends, English neighbours, you know. They, as far as I understood, they are so very polite, very correct, but so closed, you know, people. Well, yes… I don't even know what to tell you here? About what, eee… How do I live here? Isn't it? How am I here? And why did I come here? I worked at Seirijai Secondary School in Lithuania, such a very beautiful little town surrounded by lakes. I worked in the school for 28 years. I worked as a history teacher.

Nida then mentions writing a history book at the end of her career. Her roots and her past are very important to her. In her opening statement she identifies as purely Lithuanian and says she has little

contact with English people. She will expand on this in her interview – she establishes the frame and later circles back to it.

5.3.3.3 Clusters of imagery

The second 'scene' shows her arrival here – summoned by her daughter for childcare – and her failed hopes for her granddaughters to be "true Lithuanians," despite all her efforts (even dedicating a Lithuanian history book to them).

Nida then returns to describing the English people. She presents a dichotomy between the English and Lithuanians. She exalts the English as having "normal relationships," being a "believing nation" with spiritual values, "so polite, correct," knowing what they're doing and thinking about the consequences. Her linguistic barrier seems to allow her to idealise them: to see them in an unrealistically positive light – "people live and rejoice," "here there are no grumbling people." On the other hand, Lithuanians have lived under an atheistic regime, they are "superficial," "foolishly proud," and adapt and carry out all the orders of any incoming government, without thinking about the consequences. Nida also mentions her futile battle on social media trying to reconcile Lithuanians with Jews.[101]

She relates her own transformation of values: a former atheist club leader joining an Evangelical church here and surrendering everything to God. A religious/moralising narrative weaves through the remaining interview as she evaluates her current and past life in the new light. She gives an example of a wrongdoing: selling someone a gold ring with a defect. (The ring makes me think of her marriage: "It was terribly difficult. Because my husband was a drinking policeman, militiaman.")

Nida remembers she brought the books she has written and shows them to me. Her own past seems more glorious than her present. In the interview she keeps referring to herself as a teacher. Teaching and learning seem important in her life. Significantly, she says: "Although I studied the English language a lot, I haven't learnt anything." Her current situation is quite humble: she works in a shop and has "primitive" exchanges with those of her customers who are English. She proceeds to share her wish of returning home and shares an old dream, both 'scenes' chosen for panel discussion.

[101] Although Nida does not explain, she is possibly referring to certain social media posts related to where the blame for the Holocaust lies.

> I think if I reach the pension age here, isn't it, and, maybe, something… I sold my property in Seirijai. Now, I think, somewhere by the sea I will buy a small flat and will return to Lithuania. Somehow home attracts everyone. Where your roots are. However things would be, whatever would be, somehow, one still wants to return home. Regardless of how good it would be here. It's really good for us here. As I reached 60, I can travel for free. Yes, you know how much one saves on one's pensio_ as such a person. If you get ill, if you get ill, your doctor prescribes medication and you get that medication for free. […] Nevertheless, the majority leaves… leaves, goes back. […] I am fine here. But my goal, my dream, is to go back.

The panel noted that this dream of return is a very settled fatalistic part of life. It's a generational thing: one is inseparable from one's roots. The only thing in life is to return whence one came, and one's life's work is done when one has completed the circle. Even if life is worse there, the need to return to those roots overrides everything else.

Nida is fine here, but her dream has something much stronger about it. What she omits to say is significant: she doesn't present any real vision of what's good here. She mentions getting free prescriptions and travel, as if that's the best she can come up with: life is tolerable, it's easy, she is taken care of, but what makes it worthwhile – that deep sense of attachment to one's roots – hugely outweighs those things.

She doesn't say what will be good in Lithuania either – maybe it goes without saying. However – and this is a 'provocation' (Lorenzer, 1986) – she doesn't want to return to her native home (she sold it), but rather somewhere by the sea. Lithuania for her is not connected with a specific place or people – it's just the common language and culture. Maybe she has no intimates left in Seirijai. The climate by the sea is pleasant in summer, but less so in winter; it's wet there – maybe in England she got used to the humidity. Seirijai remains in her old dream (and suddenly she draws me into it[102]):

> Since my childhood I had a recurring dream. A strange one. I had it very often. Some time passes, and I dream that I am standing on the cemetery hill. We have a cemetery on a hill. And here, below, is a lake. Our lake is very big. Eee… and no… it just looks like the lake is so close to me; although there is a hill there, I'm standing on that hill. And the dream has repeated and repeated

[102] This moment, where the coherence of the scene and the rest of the interview appears to break down, is one of the places which open up the text for interpretation (Lorenzer, 1986). (The shift into an old dream makes me wonder whether she still has any dreams.)

> and repeated itself. And later I realised that, when… I realised that I had to accomplish a mission, the one given to me by God. God gives every person some kind of… some kind of important things, and a mission to accomplish, you know. And when I… that book, once we had presented it, I stopped dreaming that dream. And I understood that I'd accomplished my mission for that area. I… the people of that area, while standing in the cemetery, as if I raised up people sleep_ lying, sleeping in that cemetery, their history.

The Lithuanian panel noted that Nida has an idealistic missionary vision of life, as well as a 'shamanic' view. The latter is typically Lithuanian: attention to graves and the dead, the cult of ancestors. The hill where the ancestors are buried is an archetypal image. In Lithuanian legends, the ancestors are usually giants who watch over their own tribe. Maybe dukes and nobles are buried there and her book was about them?

It's almost as if she brought the people to life by writing her book. Once she had done her book presentation, she understood her mission was done. The (English) panel noted that one's capacity to tell the story, to let the story work through to its end, helps one articulate the lament of the dead. Her capacity to tell the story seems to have had the effect of stopping the recurrences of the dream.

Where she is now: she is standing on a cemetery hill, gazing at the lake – and it's a lake, it's the return to the oceanic. In some way this is the attraction of a return to one's roots, to the original state. Where she is standing is in a place of death. The lake: its closeness felt slightly threatening. It was as if the lake was approaching her, even flying towards her.[103] The lake is very large; the hill is not necessarily offering protection from it.

The panel further noted that the book enables her to keep her ancestors at rest, so that she can live her life in the present. She has reckoned with her past by writing the book; this has a great bearing on her present life in London. Just as the dream represented something unresolved, and ceased once she wrote a book about the history of her region, she needed to put Lithuania to rest in order to be able to answer my question about her life in London.

In the following 'scene' Nida expands on writing her book, giving a dynamic account of an incident from the Soviet era, where a Lithuanian flag was secretly raised on the local government building:

[103] Lithuanians have a mythology of flying lakes: they fly and then drop onto the land.

> The Security Services [KGB] came, […] My husband was a policeman, and he too was running everywhere, with the Security Services, searching. They even looked, even… the people who were suspected, they even checked their sewing machines, you know, the pattern of their stiches. Even in such detail and, imagine, they still didn't find the person.

And, Nida has revealed the long-awaited answer to this mystery in her book! She then returns to sharing her wisdom: telling how schools fail to prepare people for life and throw them out at 18. She continues 'preaching':

> We… we lived in slavery, really… We must be free, free from the past, free from forgive… we must… we must forgive, be free from anger. So we are taught by… Holy Scripture.

There is increasingly a sense of filling the time and of emotional disconnection: she talks on changing – learning to dance and doing sports – and again about how religion resolves everything. She ends the interview with her future plans, making it all look like a well-planned story.

5.3.3.4 On the scenic composition

The scenic composition (Section 5.3.3.1) came to me in the form of a short poem as I drew out form the interview the key images holding a strong inner meaning. The gold ring in the scenic composition brings to the panel's mind Wagner's 'Ring Cycle,' where the world's gold is recovered from the bottom of the Rhine and then stolen, and heaven and earth begin to fall apart until – at the end of the cycle – the ring is returned to the water and becomes the end of time, the end of history. The story contains a gold ring and a body of water.

The ring has to go into the lake. But, instead of the return to perfection, it is a defective ring "because it's not from the heart." There is no return to peace and perfection, nor to the bliss of the origin. What one is taking back is defective, because it's not from the heart. The return is not a return to the whole and perfect. The return is not a wholehearted one, as it should be.

The Lithuanian panel noted that maybe this is what her life in the UK is like – a gold ring with a defect ("not from the heart") – as if she is deceiving herself in some way. Her internal drama is between some kind of love or happiness and –perhaps – being materially richer (but false, as any real inner warmth is absent).

The composition seems to end with the beginning: "School throws one out, but one is destined to live a lot." It feels like the start of a new story. The remark about school seems to be a lament against

distraction. We have a binary setup: purity (roots, God's purpose, the return to the perfection of the lake) and impurity (the corruption and distraction of the world, whether in the form of bus passes, the defective ring, or all the kind of complexity that school and education bring). The latter confound the purity of one's vision.

In terms of what Nida does, there is a substantial temptation to return, but in a sense she has already been corrupted and therefore she stays, she doesn't move. She can't bring herself to do it, hence the "I come and I go," but actually she doesn't move, she's still sat here.

"I come and I go, I don't move": how does one come and go without moving? It suggests an internal coming and going that actually leaves her sitting in the same place. She could go back to Lithuania, to her roots, but actually she doesn't move: she comes and goes in her mind – to and fro, for and against, here and there, but in reality she doesn't move.

She gives the impression of being very distanced from the culture in which she has chosen to live – or maybe didn't exactly choose. It does sound as if she has never found her own purpose of being here. She fails to express any internal motivation for staying here. But she can't find the energy to do anything about it: she comes and she goes – she is always in the same place.

Or perhaps she has been thrown out of school – out of the school of life. As if she is being forced to move… but doesn't. Maybe she moves outwardly and doesn't move internally? At her stage of life she can't move forwards. She left her intellectual work; she is sitting in one place as she's not learning any more. She feels that something has become frozen, as if she is not living. Possibly she no longer has a place at home, which is why she remains in a foreign country. Her career in Lithuania is over, but she is "destined to live a lot." Perhaps in Lithuania there is no more substance to fill her life with – there she might feel unneeded.

In reality, though, she moves more than others, because she emigrates: she dares to move to another country at a mature age. However, her emotional state doesn't move – she hasn't changed, she still remains with her roots and her dream of returning home. Maybe that immobility somehow indicates her inner state – a bit depressed, dispirited, despondent, a bit pessimistic: life moves on, everything changes, but she sits and doesn't move, as if fossilised.

There is a surrender to fate in her religious mindset. In the UK, religion is unpopular in public life, and so too is a traditional fairy tale. There is something out of place and out of time about Nida's story.

5.3.3.5 On reflective subjectivity

Nida is a confident storyteller, at times sounding as if she were recounting a fairy tale. Her narrative often feels didactic – as if she is transmitting her wisdom to a younger person. After talking quite rapidly, and recounting what sound like genuine stories, she suddenly stops, as if exiting the speaker's role and asks: "Should we still stretch out our call?" This possibly reveals a passive-aggressive undercurrent and suggests that some detached part of her has remained in control of her 'performance.' (Or, she fears she has let go more and relaxed more than she intended to.) Throughout the interview she shifts between the formal and informal forms of 'you.' Once the interview is finished, she asks from which little town I come, which suggests she has situated me as someone of similar background.

Her mentioning her book was as if she was telling me: "I'm somebody who wrote a book. I was somebody – look at my life now though – but I'm still that somebody." It is also a bid for recognition from me and for equality in the relationship: I am writing a thesis, she wrote a book.

The panel struggled with this interviewee's extract because she seems so tenaciously attached to the world in which mythological origins – the archetypal fairy tale – have a strong cultural purchase. It was difficult for the panel to find Nida interesting, as her mindset was so 'uni-directional,' her narrative rehearsed and polished – it was hard to find any 'cracks' (Lorenzer, 1986). Nida had brought with her who she was and she was sticking to it: her defensively-constructed identity allowed her to live with a fair degree of comfort. She may live in London, but she is not open to its postmodernity.

The image of the defective ring says something important about her: her search for perfection and purity, whether this is the perfection of ancient mythology or the perfection of a utopian Soviet state, or of religion. It seems that her life is about a search for perfection, a return to origins. Yet, everything is persistently imperfect and broken, there is always this fraud, a fraud of her own humanity.

The source of her immobility could be a synchrony between a totalitarian mindset, a religious mindset, and a mindset that is anchored in ancient Lithuanian mythology. In that immobility there is a huge ambivalence; in effect she is saying: "Of course, I should go back to Lithuania, everybody returns." And yet, she is making no attempt to do so (and even if she were to, she would go to the sea rather than to her home town).

5.3.3.6 In place of a conclusion

The metaphor of a gold ring with a defect speaks powerfully about Nida's state of mind and life-history: the alliance at the core of her life is a non-wholehearted one. Her stay here is as a gold ring with a defect; her return to the roots she longs for is deferred. She might be defensively invested in staying here because, to her, the alternative could be frightening. (As in Wagner's opera, once the ring returns to the Rhine, the home of the gods is engulfed in flames.) She likes to be settled. In all essentials her life has been very settled (encouraging her to maintain this position), and yet there is a sense of yearning for something else.

5.3.4 FANI 3 (Fausta – 20s)

5.3.4.1 Scenic composition

Humble roots, what are you?

Called by my strange name.

The Queen: of opportunities.

A wandering lost language…

Am I weird or interesting,

holding *kūčiukas* and a certificate?

5.3.4.2 The interview scene

Fausta is a woman in her early twenties, born in the early 2000s in one of the larger Lithuanian towns; she moved here with her parents when she was six years old. She has a boyfriend and studies Psychology.

The interview takes place by video call. Fausta is in her garden, the gentle sound of wind chimes surfaces from the background. I am of her parents' generation; we have in common some aspects of our life experience. However, unlike when talking to her parents, Fausta chooses to speak solely in English as that is the language she has mastered. Her opening statement:

> Um, well, I would say, um because I left Lithuania when I was so young, um, the biggest sort of cultural take-aways, I think is… I get from my parents. Because they're the biggest Lithuanian influences in my life… Everything else, all my friends and school, and university, has all been in the UK. Um, what I've kept a lot, I think, um from Lithuanian culture is definitely food.

She mentions her "humble roots": her parents having had difficult childhoods and having had less than she has now. She speaks of her "sort of" love for nature that she gets from Lithuania and states: "But, I'd say in… in most other ways I think my personality has been shaped by… very much by English culture." Lithuania doesn't feel like home any more as she really wanted to be as British as possible, but now she'd like to get back to her roots. This account ends by her feeling out of place in both countries – so she introduces her preoccupation with belonging. She establishes the frame and later circles back to it.

5.3.4.3 Clusters of imagery

The second 'scene' draws on her childhood memories in London. This 'scene' and the following one – on her current thinking – were chosen for panel discussion:

> Even if I moved here when I was six-years-old, and I learned English when I was seven, um, I feel that I was still very young and I have the accent and everything, eeeh, I still felt like a bit of an outsider. Um I've never really felt English, because I was from Lithuania and, as a child, it really upset me. Um, I didn't want to be Lithuanian, because I don't know if it's… it's my fault, or whether it's just my school, but I felt uncomfortable and less accepted, and less liked because I was foreign. […] [I] very much wanted to get rid of Lithuanian culture – or… or… or that side of myself – and just keep it for at home, and at school always [wanted to] seem English, have English mannerisms and, eeeh, be as British as possible.

The narrative – which she presents hesitantly (her paralanguage includes many eeeh's, and um's) – evokes a feeling of sadness. The panel considered that this sadness is rooted in the intolerance of difference in UK society[104]. This forces Fausta to have two personalities and to try to present herself as English as possible. There is also regret and longing; she is looking back at her past with confusion and uncertainty. She sounds a little bit lost and evokes in the panel feelings of pity.

Fausta says that with time she has surrounded herself with accepting people and found a way to integrate her "two personalities." Nowadays she appreciates Lithuania and is hoping to visit soon:

> I do love the country so much more, I think, than I used to… because aaah, I associated it with a lot of negative emotions, um because I had difficulties with family living there, um. And everything I'd heard from people around me, you know, that it's not a good country, it always rains, horrible weather, it's really difficult to live there and I had lots of relatives who weren't very nice. So, it felt that it was a good thing to escape, but now – the last time I went – it was beautiful, and I think it was such a shame that I've left um a lot of the Lithuanian side of me go: I've lost the language, the ability to speak the language, um, as well as I used to.

She hasn't yet entered a strong sensory universe. Her sensory attachment to Lithuania is so weakened that it feels like a loss which she is trying to fill but cannot quite grasp, so she is grasping for more

[104] This contrasts with the politeness and tolerance of the English, noted by the oldest generation interviewees (Sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3) as well as by the Lithuanian panel.

obvious entities: food and language – the most easily acquired cultural aspects of identity. Food can be seen as part of the maternal order and language part of the paternal[105]. Father is not mentioned in the interview; mother and parents (plural) are.

There appears to be quite an attempt to distance herself from her Lithuanian family. She talks about people around her who filled her head with negative ideas about Lithuania. The panel noted that in a possible falling-out between her mother and the remaining family in Lithuania, a lot of putting-down and disparagement seems to be happening: this would be extremely painful for a child who was already feeling odd, disconnected, and different at school – and rejected because of that difference. How does she find her bearings?

> I've tried to be English, English, English, but that's not who I am – my blood is 100% Lithuanian! […] [A]s a child I just felt super-weird, you know. Um my name, everything included. Ah, which now, thinking back, seems so bizarre.

"My blood is 100% Lithuanian" – this mention of blood (a 'provocation' in Lorenzerian terms) is when speaking about reconciliation with herself, her own experiences and the decisions that she feels were forced on her by trying to belong and trying to be English. Appealing to one's blood-line used to be very prevalent in the UK: the panel noted that nowadays this tends to be associated with nationalism. It is perceived as a racialised conception of who you are and your identity. It does feel like a language of a different era which sits uncomfortably with a contemporary account of a contemporary Londoner, where there is a cosmopolitan identity at work. The idea of London as cosmopolitan and multicultural does not meet the reality of her experience.

The panel initially thought the interview's subject was a young man, before her gender was revealed. There is something strangely unfeminine about Fausta's account. Her coming across as masculine reveals a sense of disconnect. There is a resistance on her part toward allowing herself to become really vulnerable. The blood metaphor she uses is associated with masculinity. As a response to an exclusion that she experienced as very powerful, she brings to the interview the parts of herself that appear stable, strong, and well-grounded in a particular set of cultural identifications.

[105] Introducing a child to language is one of the main paternal functions for Lacan (2006).

Some of her reflections sound like those of someone older than her twenty years. She sounds older than she is because so much feels ingrained, in some sense unresolvable. She has made herself determined to 'pass as English.' She is thinking about her children-to-be:

> I very much want my kids to go to Lithuania, and I wanna teach them the language if I… I'm able to practise it and keep hold of it. And teach them how to make the garlic bread, and the little things you get on Christmas Eve – *kūčiukai*[106] *[laughing]*. But that's… that's all I sort of have left of that culture, I think. Um, I wouldn't… I wouldn't know that much about it anymore. But… maybe there'll come a time to educate myself and visit Lithuania for a month, or work there, or something like that.

Kūčiukai – little pastries, associated with an annual family ritual – are the only actual cultural objects mentioned as a connection to Lithuania, and represent intergenerational transmission. She has all but lost this connection. There do not seem to be any other cultural elements, except the horrible weather (though it was other people who had told her about this). She has lost the rich metaphors and allusions to the environment: this is somehow haunting her. It feels as if she has managed to get rid of Lithuania in her internal world. This reminded the panel of a line from a Martin Shaw podcast: "If you don't have ancestors then you have ghosts."[107]

She is very unsure about her identity and is trying, in adulthood, to recreate something she deliberately sought to erase in her childhood. The panel considered whether she was experiencing the false promises of postmodern identity – choosing for herself her own identity. There is also a confusion between being something and being able to obtain something from outside – as if culture is external and can be easily acquired. As a psychologist she thinks she can become a Lithuanian. The panel noted that she is looking for a sure footing, she has chosen to study psychology. It is as if she believes she can learn scientifically how to be a good Lithuanian. Is she unconsciously seeking to heal herself through her chosen discipline? The interview is so overwhelmed by the central life tension or dilemma about belonging, that – in a way – everything else fades into insignificance.

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[106] Pronounced 'koo-choo-kay'; small Lithuanian pastries, which are part of the Christmas Eve (*Kūčios*) family ritual, shared during the festival meal; some kūčiukai are left on the table overnight for the family ancestors.

[107] https://emergencemagazine.org/interview/mud-and-antler-bone/ (accessed on 12/10/2022)

The following brief 'scene' is of her studies abroad in the Low Countries, which she presents as having enabled her to accept herself. She then returns to her efforts to integrate into Britain where "a lot of foreign people feel somehow a kind of lack of belongingness." Fausta then relates how hard it is to elaborate on the topic, and asks – rather strictly – for more specific questions. She challenges me by telling me how I should run the interview. It is possibly a sign of her age: when one is 20, one knows everything – or at least one thinks one does. She also studies the discipline that 'knows everything.' She does not feel particularly comfortable with a free-associative style of interviewing: it's not how a psychologist would go about it.

Her reaction could be an attempt to control the dangerous world where people ask questions that provoke difficult feelings, such as open-ended questions. When she feels threatened, she pushes for a different question: as if, panicked, she is trying to avoid pain she espies on the horizon. She comes across as very anxious about things not going the way she wants and expects; she has to tell me that I am not doing it right by her standards. This is understandable, as she is a migrant child in a strange country – she needs to be able to predict what she is asked to do. If you do something different, she panics, tries to stop you from doing it and tries to change it. Also, an interviewee is in a dependant/vulnerable position with regards to an interviewer. She is unable to maintain the easy-going side of her personality: she has to exert authority over me to restore her balance.

She proceeds with a 'scene' of acquiring her British passport – a joy with a shade of ambivalence:

> Finally! I… I completed it, I'm English now, so people can't make fun of me, they can't make me feel like I'm not welcome here, because I've earned the passport, I did [sic] an oath in front of the Queen. And I have a loyalty to this… this country and it's my home, um, but there will never stop being a feeling of 'Do I really belong here? Am I really um accepted?' Ah, so… That's just something you have to fight… you know.

In the next 'scene' she imagines a return to Lithuania. Maybe this flow of narrative arises from guilt over her act of 'betrayal,' in that obtaining a British passport requires renouncing her Lithuanian one. This also reflects how nationality is framed in the UK. The panel noted that Norman Tebbit had his

'cricket test,'[108] now we have Brexit – it is as if you have to choose and commit, you can't belong to two places and love them equally.

> I think now, if I would be to go back to Lithuania, I'd feel like an outsider completely. […] I feel embarrassed, even that I've let that part of myself go, especially in front of my grandparents. I don't want… I feel maybe they're a bit disappointed that we don't have more of Lithuanian culture in us, annnd, but I think, living in… in London, I had to let that part of myself go to… to… to be a Londoner and to be who I am. Which is a shame.

There is a sense of feeling embarrassed in front of her disappointed grandparents and a degree of shame involved regarding what she has let go. She so much wanted to fit in, that she deliberately pursued that goal. In so doing, it hasn't fully delivered on its promises, and she feels she has lost something important of herself.

Her grandparents are disappointed (or so she imagines): that matters to her and is quite painful. There is something powerful about the grandparents' disappointment. One might be used to one's parents' daily disappointment (daily battles as part of separation/individuation dynamics), whereas grand-parents' disappointment is less ingrained in the everyday and is more profound. (And, disappointment is a powerful form of judgement.) Often, grandparents are remote, yet an illusion is maintained that they are all-loving, all-giving, all-nurturing figures.

If you have lost your mother-tongue, you have severed some connection with your mother, with the maternal. There is something a bit painful about losing the first language you ever had. There is a sense of something primal and very precious which she hasn't valued enough, which she has allowed to slip through her fingers. Maybe what is lost is not only language, but a sense of connection to a different set of values associated with it, exemplified by her grandparents. Despite all her best attempts and all her hard work trying to fit in, there is still an ambivalent sense of belonging in both countries:

> I've always struggled with my identity and really finding who I am because of it. Because I['ve] never felt that I fit in anywhere.

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[108] The phrase 'cricket test' originates from the British Conservative politician Norman Tebbit, who in 1990 suggested that those South Asian and Caribbean immigrants who supported the cricket teams of their countries of origin rather than England's, were not significantly integrated into Great Britain.

She talks about being confronted by her foreignness every time she tells people her name, then shares her siblings' struggles which are similar to her own. She mentions not having any Lithuanian friends and tells more about receiving her British passport, about being 'technically' British. She closes the interview by suggesting that all my interviewees would feel the discomfort of living abroad and adds how she forces herself to fit in, once again stressing her main – in a way overwhelming – preoccupation with belonging.

5.3.4.4 On the scenic composition

The scenic composition (Section 5.3.4.1) emerged as a short poem, representing the longing and search for something lost (for the roots, for the language), and a feeling of being somewhat inadequate, trying to hold onto the dichotomy of two different worlds. The composition echoes Fausta's feeling of being unsure of herself. "Humble roots" refers to a (fairytale-like) family story – the fairy story: we came from these humble origins, from Lithuania. And the family there are not only poor, they are not very nice. Here we have all this fabulous life, incredible education, material goods. There is a strong family narrative against Lithuania. The panel considered that her desired recovery of Lithuanian identity won't be an easy road.

Kūčiukas[109] and a certificate: these are the worlds she is trying to hold together. It's about the maternal and the paternal. *Kūčiukas* signifies an important thing in her life that has been lost and has to be rediscovered. A certificate represents a procedural key to the wider world of opportunities and entitlement. It can refer to the system, bureaucracy, instrumental necessities of life. A certificate can also relate to achievements of life, such as one's level of education, one's entitlements, and one's nationality. However, in the end, all this falls short of the nourishment (cultural, physical, affective) that *kūčiukas* represents. *Kūčiukas* – a link to her family back in Lithuania – is the one thing that transcends class – everyone shares them on Christmas Eve.

5.3.4.5 On reflective subjectivity

There is no dream in Fausta's account – she doesn't give a hint of a dream world. She has a sense of what she wants and she has a sense where a lack might be, but she hasn't yet learned to dream. If you are unsafe, you can't play (Winnicott, 1971). There is no play in her interview, it is quite dry; she is

[109] *Kūčiukas* is the singular form, *kūčiukai* (mentioned in the interview) is the plural.

merely functioning. She left her birth country, culture, extended family early in her pre-latency[110] phase of development. Maybe her issues at school stemmed from her inability to play with children?

The interviewee speaks eloquently but somewhat artificially – I have a sense that she is making an effort to control what gets revealed. Perhaps this is her *modus operandi* in life, a way to get by. There is an underlying tension and worry throughout the interview. Afterwards, I was left with a feeling of tremendous sadness. Her challenging of my interviewing style showed that perhaps in transference she perceived me as being like her mother, whom she possibly felt angry with for bringing her to London (or even into this difficult world).

5.3.4.6 In place of a conclusion

The metaphor of *kūčiukai* speaks of Fausta's state of mind and presentation. Belonging is a powerful undercurrent in her interview, which starts with her mentioning Lithuanian food and her later introducing the *kūčiukai* (a ceremonial bread shared with family members). When all falls short of the needful nourishment, slipping through Fausta's fingers and leaving her with a sense of loss and sadness, *kūčiukai* represents a mere grain of belonging.

[110] She lived in France for two years before coming to London at the age of 6.

5.3.5 FANI 4 (Lukas – 20s)

5.3.5.1 Scenic composition

Gang music sounds

… keep to myself,

my goals, my friends…

No, I don't believe in wars –

I want a better future.

I know where not to go.

I don't belong to countries

or to anyone.

I have another vision.

If someone has a better start

it's easier for them.

Five minutes or two hours?

A sea to see.

My parents, grandparents

and me.

5.3.5.2 The interview scene

Lukas is a man in his early twenties, born in the early 2000s in one of the larger Lithuanian towns; he moved to London with his parents when he was two years old. He has a girlfriend and is self-educating.

The interview is held via video call; Lukas is staying in Lithuania (during the Covid-19 'lockdown'). I have a sense of confusion as to whether he lives in Lithuania or in East London: he seems to live in between the two countries. He chooses to speak in English. He is a little bit lost, handsome, sweet, needing guidance. I am of the generation of his parents; we have in common some aspects of our life experience. I have quite a maternal response to him; I feel as if I need to 'look after' him, to say more than I did in previous interviews, to add further comments or questions. His opening statement:

> Mmm. I can't list [myself] as a Lithuanian. This is more… The way I hold myself – let's say as a person – is, I don't belong to anyone, neither to Lithuania [n]or England. But I would say I am more English than Lithuanian. So I enjoy English life a bit more. And if we move on to the next question: Lithuania provides freedom and a sort of nature, and… and when you're in London (or England, let's say) where I come from, it's more confined and you're more in a hustle…

Lithuania represents a "family culture" and a place "to relax," London embodies "money culture" and a "work vibe." Although Lukas doesn't feel he belongs to any country, he compares Lithuania and London: an apparent in-between-ness at the core of his life. He establishes the frame and later circles back to it.

5.3.5.3 Clusters of imagery

The second 'scene' is about the army and his rejection of the Lithuanian requirement to join it:

> I don't say I don't like… I don't like being Lithuanian, but there are some complications being a Lithuanian… […] They force you to go into the army. So that's a big 'No' for me, in a sense. I want to rule my life the way I want it.

He then returns to painting the 'scene' of his stay in Lithuania and comparing it to his life in London. This part was chosen for panel discussion:

> I just feel I'm here to be free. So I'm not connected to anything. But you're sort of in a rush when you're in London, when you… Yeah, here you sort of… I get to relax. […] I don't attach myself to countries. Because of the army, let's put it that way. Because I don't want it. I get forced to do things, based on your citizenship.

He is not attaching himself to countries, he is questioning what it really means to be English or to be Lithuanian. The army is a link to a form of power exerted on the world. Given the history of Lithuania, the issue of the Army[111] is very important. He is deliberately distancing himself from these expected relationships to nation and citizenship. Citizenship seems like a burden as it forces you to serve in the army. He perceives the state and one's cultural-territorial roots as mechanisms of coercion, some kind

[111] The current geopolitical situation requires strengthening the Lithuanian military forces. The decision to bring back compulsory military service was made in 2015 as a result of the increased threat from Russia. https://www.kariuomene.lt/kontaktai/duk/23 (accessed on 13/10/22)

of constraints that hinder his personal freedom and growth. He then moves onto the 'scene' of London:

> For English, I'd say the sports is a nice culture to have, but then I don't like the… We have a lot of gang culture in England and London. About… sort of like millennials – my age – which come up with the music, the rhyme, and different types of music culture which sort of influence a bit more violence. Mmm, you have more gang wars sort of, comparing [it] to Lithuania where it's safe. There [London], it's just really unsafe. So I know where not to go […]. I have been robbed when I was young, twice, by… So… so… You have to be… you have to be sort of aware of yourself, even if you… even… Like I live in East London. So it's like not the best living conditions…

What does he like about England's culture? Sports. "A nice culture to have" is a fairly lukewarm endorsement. But then, understandably, he doesn't like gang culture. These are very visibly- and audibly-present features of East London: sports (Olympics, football) and gangs – all in a way melted down and overlapping. In London he needs to look after himself, as opposed to Lithuania where it's safe. "It's safe" is said with no particular relish or longing: it just happens to be safe as opposed to the unsafe environment of East London. Although it's safe in Lithuania and not safe in the streets of London, he is not expressing any great desire to be there – other than the fact that it's more relaxing, useful as a kind of interlude.

Sports comprise his sole positive observation about England's culture. Football is thriving here and is an important part of everyday culture that connects different generations. (Also, football has its gangs or tribes.) This is a significant cultural difference because there is no such thing in Lithuania (where although there is basketball, it receives nowhere near the same 'devotion' from the populace).

However, Lukas mainly mentions the negatives about both countries: England is unsafe, Lithuania wants something from him. He rejects both societies and makes no mention of anything they give him. In Lithuania it is calm, in England it is busy: these are rather neutral evaluations to come from a 20-year-old. Also, his mentioning of the Lithuanian army makes it sound like he is caught between fighting on the 'battlefield' and fighting on the streets – a very embattled situation to be in. So he is in hiding:

> I tend to sort of stay away from everything, I'm sort of a person who… I just focus on my goals, I stay at home, educate [myself], I do my sports and just stay with my friends. Even gaming, gaming, but gaming goes on around everywhere.

He is a bit of a loner, self-motivated, looks after himself. Lukas is pretty much dissociated from strong attachment generally – certainly from either the UK or Lithuania. Given he has been robbed twice, it is noteworthy (and this is one of the 'provocations') that he neglects to say that the experiences were traumatic. He simply states that this is how things are and (as for himself) you have to watch yourself (as he does) and stay with people you know, your friends. But one doesn't gain the impression that these are very deeply meaningful friendships, or that his gaming is a meaningful way of maintaining contact with other people or with culture. Gaming can also be a very solipsistic activity. Even networked gaming is disconnected, given that other players can be spread all around the world.

Through gaming he possibly tries to establish himself as a cosmopolitan digital nomad. The states of un-belonging that might manifest as discomfort in other migrants, actually suit mobile young people in some ways.

The panel observed that millennials tend to be footloose, they don't care much and tend toward disavowal of strong attachments, alongside which go vulnerabilities. But in Lukas' case, you have a sense that he is fairly settled in a self-motivating, self-directing, self-caring kind of mode.

In Lithuania he is "here to be free." The panel wondered: free from what? Belonging is all about ties – things that bind us to other people. In his sense, freedom is the opposite of belonging. Whilst belonging is certainly important, it is also annoying: it obliges one to do all sorts of things. Freedom loosens one from everything. In his case he experiences freedom, though not in any sense of liberation – he is a person of few attachments.

He doesn't tell where his freedom lies, nor how he lives it out. It's like a pose, a self-centred attitude – just living for oneself. Egocentrism is perceived as freedom: he has an attitude of egocentric hedonism to life. The Lithuanian panel noted that when a person lives only for himself, he likely contributes little to society and his life can lose its meaning.

The following 'scene' portrays his growing up in London in a Lithuanian family with its traditions and the weight of parental expectations:

> When you grow up with your parents in London, what happens – they tend to bring Lithuanian culture back to England, so you have to celebrate, let's say, Christmas – *Kūčios.*[112] Mmm then

[112] A Lithuanian Christmas Eve celebration.

> you have to go to – my mum always insists on going to the church for Christmas. […] I've never found any purpose from there, just a waste of time.

Also, his parents have mainly Lithuanian friends. Nevertheless, Lukas doesn't "identify [himself] as English or Lithuanian" and this causes friction with his grandparents:

> I have problems with my grandparents: not problems, but that sort of bickering – they always, sort of – 'Are you…? You're born in Lithuania: you have to be a strong patriot of Lithuania.'

Lukas observes that this doesn't help him in "finding peace and community in the world." (Currently, whilst in Lithuania, Lukas is staying only five minutes away from his grandparents and "it's comfortable in a sense of distances to be in Lithuania.")

Lukas "dropped out of Uni" and is "sort of self-educating." Was being in university also an experience of the expectations and control by others? Lukas reports that he started studying not what he wanted to (due to restrictions at school). In parallel, he was pursuing something else which he is still working on now: "outside of everything in university and they don't teach it anywhere. It's trading, stocks…" So, he is studying it by himself, finds his own courses and has a mentor.

He feels "quite distant" from his parents who are "quite relaxed" and more flexible than his grandparents. The latter "are quite strict on how you have to do your education: the university route."

In the following 'scene' Lukas remembers his years in a boys' school in East London, and his efforts to position himself there so as to stop being bullied. He proceeds with a 'scene' of education in Lithuania, where "the education system is quite thorough"[113] and therefore:

> Lithuanians have a really well sophisticated rhetoric[al] mind, in a sense. […] But then… if we were to compare me to a person living in Lithuania and studying here [in Lithuania], most likely the difference would be: I know what I'm doing with my life, and they don't. In a sense they still

[113] Having grown up in the British system, Lukas has a conflict in certain sets of values, such as education. Whilst here education is instrumental in gaining employment and earning money, in Lithuania there is a more classical understanding of the purpose of education. Lithuanian culture is slightly less imbued with the neo-liberal ideology of success and succeeding and making it and making money. This is a very anglophone viewpoint: like Britain, the US, Canada and Australia also have this focus on success, which is less prominent in mainland Europe, where education is still more attached to the idea of living a rounded life.

> try to find a purpose. While I have already figured it out, because we're forced to do that at a very young age.

Lukas states that he has "way more Lithuanian friends" than English ones, and then specifies: "I don't have an English friend: I have a Filipino friend and then a Russian friend." The panel noted that children who are not regular or mainstream tend to find each other. Their friendships are born from a need to make themselves comfortable. Therefore, they are not as carefree, nor are their friendships as durable as those which feel easy and relaxed and create a natural sense of belonging.

Lukas says he is drawn to Lithuanians "from Lithuania" as he sees them as "more educated" and "really hard-working." (Perhaps he identifies with his grandparents' views more than he realises.) At the same time, Lithuanian education doesn't seem to be "directed well for the future": Lukas mentions his mum, who hasn't used her university studies in England. "[I]t looks sort of that a lot of Lithuanians, they get that education, but there is no action behind it, they can't make it real."

Language is very important – how one acquires it, how it eases one's way into social networks. From a very early age Lukas learns Lithuanian, but learns it from his parents – from adults. Not having an opportunity to practise it with Lithuanian children, no natural peer group develops to which he can belong. On the other hand, he learns English here – presumably with English children – but maybe, because of the language spoken in the family, it is just never quite the same, it marks him out as being slightly different. And he seems to defend against that difference by (in a way) dissociating and keeping himself to himself.

He ends the interview with his thoughts about my research and debriefing me about his experience – so escaping from the dependent position of the interviewee:

> I think there'll be some clear distinctions of thought between 20 to 40 and 60. […] I'm trying to see a 60-year-old and a 40-year-old. […] I wanna know whether they're adapting to the 'new' age culture in a sense, the change, and what do they think of that, sort of.

Initially he found my question difficult to answer, but then felt that he got into talking and felt "quite normal," it was "good." He thought others "would worry about [being] spontaneous" and "make a fool of themselves."

5.3.5.4 On the scenic composition

The scenic composition (Section 5.3.5.1) came to me in the form of a short poem – as my emotional response to the interview. I experienced the interview as rather robotic and disconnected from feelings. Lukas appears somewhat uprooted and distant: in his own world with his goals, his "friends." He has no sense of belonging to any particular place, yet at the same time he was talking about his parents and grandparents, and the composition reflects Lukas' wandering between Lithuania and England.

5.3.5.5 On reflective subjectivity

Lukas sounds like a 'cool guy.' He talks in a laid-back manner, with a stable affect and little emotion – showing neither excitement nor disappointment with things. He sounds like a remote observer, looking at his life from a distance.

Maybe my questions didn't help him open up. Possibly he is still maturing: adolescence can be defined by a protest against everything. He demonstrated his oppositional attitude, showing me that he was completely different from what older generations might expect. However, my interpretation may in part be coloured by maternal countertransference.

The excerpt used for the panel was experienced as a bit tantalising – Lukas never gets to the punch-line. Is the real 'him' hiding somehow behind all this? The panel did not really warm to him and felt somewhat disconnected from him, yet felt sad for him as he seemed not to belong anywhere.

5.3.5.6 In place of a conclusion

His gaming is metaphorical as well as literal, it speaks about Lukas' state of mind and presentation: remote unlocated interaction. He is a bit nerdy, a bit sporty – which are non-specific in terms of cultural affiliation. He finds safety in video games, which are truly international and again – in a way – are not specific in their ethnic origin. He is trying to construct himself through the cyberworld and the result is that he seems disconnected, apparently void of emotion.

5.3.6 FANI 5 (Evita – 40s)

5.3.6.1 Scenic composition

It is snowing with cherry blossoms through the triangle of a lead window.

Mother's dress. Chafing shoe.

Am I a Lithuanian? Who are those Lithuanians?

I'm far away, I'm remote.

That steel sky.

When, God, when?

Strawberries with milk. Zeppelin-coloured sky.

Where are those long hours: of talking, talking, talking?

Where is that smell of pines, where is it snowing?

It's already snowing! It's already snowing!

Mum, where are you? Lithuania, where are you?

I am walking barefoot as my shoes pinch.

I am walking barefoot through the moss.

I am walking through the forest.

That theatre, that opera.

Everything is so low-lying.

Who will hear?

5.3.6.2 The interview scene

Evita is a woman in her mid-forties, born in the mid-'70s in a small Lithuanian town; she had worked in the Lithuanian media and moved to London in 2010. She has a partner and a daughter and works in sales.

It is my first interview, and Evita appears calmer than I am – possibly I hold some of her anxieties. We are of a similar age and have in common some aspects of life experience. It does feel like welcoming her story from a distance – there is a physical remoteness between us, the interview is held on Zoom. Often she is not looking at me. Her opening statement:

> As a Lithuanian – this is quite complicated, because, you know, with the passing years there is less and less of that Lithuanian, a smaller and smaller percentage. Now how many years have I been here? In November it will be ten. That, umm, I think that I don't look at everything as a Lithuanian any more. You just live and umm, I don't even know that 'Lithuanian,' as a Lithuanian, it would be difficult for me probably *[nervous laughter].* Because when you return to Lithuania, you realise how much you are no longer like a Lithuanian.

She introduces her sense of being lost and then proceeds to lose herself, her 'paragraphs' usually ending by trailing into what she describes as nonsense. She establishes the frame and later circles back to it.

5.3.6.3 Clusters of imagery

Expanding on the introductory statement, Evita lists a number of aspects of Lithuanian culture: she doesn't celebrate any Lithuanian feasts, tries to transmit the language and history to her daughter, and appreciates Lithuanian theatre performances in London. She then paints a Lithuanian forest 'scene':

> What I miss, for example: the beautiful nature, the beautiful Lithuanian forests. I compare that all the time when we go somewhere natural, all the time you see it: in Lithuania, here would be a lot of moss, na na na na na.[114] For me, Lithuanian forests are probably the most beautiful: those pine forests, those mosses. Here in England, it is probably quite different: those forests, such scrublands, you can't pass through, only by tracks.

She returns to the forest 'scene' after comparing Lithuanian and British friends and seasons – these latter two 'scenes' were chosen for panel discussion. Evita has "Lithuanian friends, not English ones" as:

> When communicating with the English, you still have to speak English and you have to consider the cultural difference and meanwhile (one's brain) works a lot, a lot more of the brain. And it's not relaxing.

She draws binary polarities of distance and closeness: she feels distant from England, closer to Lithuania. Living in England is about this cognitive, linguistic effort to communicate, with all efforts

[114] This is an unusual repetition, a possible equivalent to the English 'la la la la la.'

going astray. You can never quite relax: you have to have your brain switched on. She is making a brain/body distinction. The body is about Lithuania (not only its landscapes and nature, but also sensory experiences and the maternal).[115] She is looking back nostalgically at the quality of relationships in the motherland:

> Those friends who are in Lithuania, you probably grew up with them, you have known them for some 20, 30 years, isn't it. And you have been through, you know, both through crises and through all kinds of life. And you have seen their children grow up […] but again there is in Lithuania – maybe it is from the socialism – in Lithuania everyone is approximately equal, isn't it. And that middle class, there is no such gap [there]. Here in England, that middle class is very… if you take the middle class at the lowest level and the highest one, there is a very large gap. Umm, but it's still the middle class, isn't it, and in that gap there are certain rules, probably. And either you follow them or you don't.

She talks about old friends, children growing up, and then makes a ('provocational') remark: "Maybe it's from the socialism?" After a relationally rich backdrop in Lithuania, the socialism comes in and then something about equality. Then she moves into sociology: in Lithuania there is less of a social gradient, less of a range, than in England (where there are rules in the gap). She moves from the comfort of old friendships to an arena of rules, very differentiated for people, complicated, in uncertain territory. Possibly seeing much wealthier people around could explain her introducing the equality theme.

She grew up in the context of Eastern European socialism and is facing capitalism. She feels excluded by not grasping the social rules. In Lithuania she felt 'in'; but in London she doesn't know the rules of how to get 'in.' As if there is a fantasy of something really good here that she is not allowed to access. "In Lithuania everyone is roughly equal": perhaps there is something good there, and that is what she feels but cannot articulate because she does not allow herself to want to 'go back there.' The Lorenzerian provocation illustrated here is in the in-between-ness. From a Lorenzerian perspective, the migrants take their interaction forms (here described as social rules) from more than one culture

[115] In this context 'the maternal' refers to the mother-child relational attachment which provides a feeling of being held together and of being safe. Bion (1970) states that the mother acts for the child as a container, allowing the child to see the world and itself in terms of meaning.

and hence are 'condemned' to navigate between them or to feel the strain – always in some sense an outsider to each. One can either embrace this state of in-between-ness, or defend against it.

Evita shifts into comparing the British and Lithuanian climates, using a metaphor of the weather to say something about her life:

> Here, there is a very good climate, I like it. I like long springs and long autumns. The most beautiful seasons. And here, probably the spring lasts a half year and a half year – the autumn. […] I especially remember when I worked in the Lithuanian media […] I could only see the sky between other buildings – just a triangle of such a sky. And I was there all the time through those long… when the sky was not visible through the clouds; there was no clear sky for two weeks… I looked at that triangle and thought, God, when, when? And when I would see the blue sky, it was, 'Oh, finally!' Because there was that, it really affects me that grey, like lead, sky.

In the narrative of nature there is pleasure, but also much paradox. The imagery of blue sky, lead-like sky, and blossoms is striking. There is ambivalence about the climate: the glimpse of Lithuanian sky, the repetition of grey; it ends with something remarkable – finally you have these seasons that are sharply demarcated. Here there is an eternal spring followed by an eternal autumn. She likes it here. What is there here to like?

> In Lithuania we'd always be really looking forward to spring, we'd really look forward to summer. And when winter starts: it's already snowing! It's already snowing! It's going to snow and the forecasts are everywhere, you already know here… There's no such difference between the seasons here. And there in Lithuania, apple-trees have already blossomed, cherry-trees have already blossomed. Everyone's happy, goes to take photos. Here: they've blossomed – blossomed. Some have blossomed, others have blossomed: magnolias, cherries; blossom – well, here they blossom all the time *[laughing]*: there's not the joy [that there is in Lithuania]. I think in Lithuania, after that grey winter you're happy with anything, with any little flower and with any signal of the spring. So yes; here, this is a little simpler. *[laughing]*

The attachment to people, place and nature seems important. In the UK people are not so good, in Lithuania people are good, but the climate is a bit tough. The complexity here seems to be in social rules and convictions; in Lithuania everyone is roughly equal, the complexity – and a degree of dynamism – is with weather. "There is no such joy here" suggests there is no such intensity of feeling, of happiness, as in Lithuania. In England the weather does not change that much: it is either a bit warmer or a bit colder, with no joy of a real winter, or real spring where you get the miracle of blossom.

There is a sense of loss, registering the absence of an intensity. Spring and autumn last forever here, it is not dynamic. In Lithuania it is dynamic. She seems to try to find explanations for her loss: she says something good about the UK but ends up saying something great about Lithuania.

You look back at your past: the excitement of the seasons. Here – unchanging present. She says she likes it here, but is not entirely convincing. Here it is fruitful, constant bounty, a profusion of good things, blossoms all the time: like Christmas every day. Lithuania has a grey moment but an exciting succession that she is looking forward to – a mounting crescendo.

She cannot grieve Lithuania. However much she tries to rip up the image of this brilliant climate and these brilliant old friends, reality always kicks in again. She has to live with this tension: it is a bit uncomfortable, not desperately bad, but – like the English seasons – it just goes on and on with no particular turning point in sight.

Like a mere triangle of sky, we can take a very narrow view of anything, we can focus on the blossom, we can take this or that extreme, but overall, it is the same game. You are happy in Lithuania with anything, but actually here it is the same. There is a sense of a disappointment, no excitement. She works hard, has no real friends. Life is not good enough: neither there nor here. She tries to draw very sharp contrasts: the weather allows her to do that, but the effect is very similar – neither of the countries is really satisfactory.

The weather is such a strong theme in the interview that it must signify something beyond itself. In the end she doesn't come to a conclusion regarding the weather in the two countries: she isn't siding with one or the other, she can't state with any conviction which is better, or even which one she prefers. However, both exert quite a powerful pull on her. This might be emblematic of her general position of in-between-ness that affects other areas of her life.

Metaphors are used to elide weather with landscape, with people, and with her life experience. Blossom – a metaphor – lasts but a short time. Blossom – an ephemeral change in a tree that can bring fruit – is here today and gone tomorrow. She talks of the literal blossoming of the trees and – by implication – the metaphorical blossoming of people, including herself.

In Lithuania – unlike the UK – the blossom seems to be noticed and appreciated. Lithuanian weather – although tough at times, requiring patience – seems to be a familiar (maternal and holding) environment. She chooses to romanticise Lithuania, but the truth keeps on seeping through that it is not that simple. It is not that simple to identify what she is saying because she keeps turning it around.

There is ambivalence about life in London: at times she seems to be reaching an image of Lithuania that is quite nostalgic, but when she tries to romanticise Lithuania, it does not seem to hold up very well, because ultimately (at least thus far) she is choosing to live in London.

She then introduces the next 'scene':

> I've spent all my childhood in the forest. You cross the street and you are in the forest. And you go there either to pick blueberries, […]. Then you go to the meadows to pick up some flowers, […]. Well, everything is very interconnected, and because of that I emphasise it here, and it's so different and I compare it all the time.

Childhood is used as a metaphor for what she is missing. She is returning not to the complexities of living in Lithuania which she didn't like, not to the things that contributed to her reasons for leaving, not to her preferences in relationships she formed, but to her sensory landscape of forests and moss, strawberries and milk, cherry blossom and snow. It is a kind of landscape of her early childhood that she carries with her.

She romanticises her notion of childhood in the forest. She does not project forward, she is all past-looking. However, her daughter might represent the future – a great deal of emphasis is on her daughter. She might be here only for her daughter – wanting a better life for her. She tells the story of a migrant who is caught between two cultures and the confusion of being caught in between. The integration into the UK appears difficult; it seems that life here is not as satisfactory as expected.

Living as an immigrant is hard: it is like an attempt to balance all of what she said – but one that does not really work. She is attempting to romanticise her Lithuanian childhood, but as she hears herself saying it, she seems to realise that it is really a rather futile quest, so she deflates it and moves into a 'scene' of visiting Lithuania:

> When you return to Lithuania, you realise that yes, where is my Lithuanian part, where is it? You attempt, you know, to try it on like a kind of shoe, you know. It, you know, pinches a bit, but never mind, it's all the same. […] [Y]ou get used to it, you put on that Lithuanian mas_ – no, not a [performer's] mask – I'm talking nonsense – you just get into that role.

There is much in her interview about performance and role (her role as a mother, or her "wearing a mask" when visiting Lithuania). As she 'slips' into free-association (about wearing a mask), she quickly pulls herself out by saying "I'm talking nonsense." In her narrative she also refers to opera and theatre – traditions which are strong in Lithuania. At the end of the interview Evita talks about food, and about

an absence of long conversations (such as ours) in her life nowadays. Also, she questions why she is here:

> I am thinking what I like in London the most. Why do I live here? – say, isn't it. But then I thought there are probably no such things.

She tells me at the end of the interview: "You can turn off that [recorder] there."

5.3.6.4 On the scenic composition

The scenic composition (Section 5.3.6.1) sounds like a soulful lament for something elusive if not lost. "It's already snowing!" – it is an excited child coming through. She seems to inhabit a sensory universe of her childhood; she is longing for the Lithuania of her childhood, now long lost, leaving her with encapsulated sadness. The scenic composition captures a strong pull to the maternal in the iconography. She leaves her motherland, mother tongue – for whatever reason – but the pull to the maternal is strong.

The composition merges the past and the present, the former appearing more vivid and lively. The image of a pinching and chafing shoe associates with a feeling of effort, constraint, rootless living in London. You can still get your foot into the shoe, you can still walk, but you do it with a degree of pain and irritation. The walk is no longer fluid and peaceful. You first experience the pinching shoe in your childhood, when your feet are growing, you are outgrowing your shoes and you need another pair. Each successive pair is a signal, a sign of maturation. The styles get progressively more grown-up. And it becomes less to do with your mother's choice and more to do with your own.

5.3.6.5 On reflective subjectivity

Initially Evita states that it would be difficult to talk about herself as a Lithuanian – the linking (Bion, 1959) proves difficult – she seems to show a defence, a difficulty thinking about herself, avoiding reaching out to those feelings that are hard to contain. In her narrative she keeps on getting lost; she seems very lost. She trails off, denigrating her own 'paragraphs.' She talks herself into a corner where she is not clear about what she is saying; because she is 'wearing this shoe which doesn't fit' she loses a sense of freedom and fluidity, and ends up repeatedly saying "I'm talking nonsense." She loses the momentum.

She is talking as if to a friend, whom at times she is ambivalent about trusting. There is an attempt to produce a structured intellectual account – showing a possible power dynamic in the interview – the interviewee employing such terms as "mercantilism." Evita appears to feel some restraint and

responsibility to say the 'right' or correct thing – perhaps partly for the sake of the recording – consciously avoiding very personal areas. However, she does seem to plunge into a free association mode in the process of the interview, even to the point of admitting that the encounter has become intimate. Once the interview is finished, she says she feels it was right that I did not give her any guidance – even though she had repeatedly asked for it.

5.3.6.6 In place of a conclusion

The metaphor of the wearing of the pinching shoe speaks powerfully about Evita's state of mind and is illustrated by her interview presentation. Her life in London and her returns to Lithuania are experienced not as fitting comfortably but as pinching – a persistent low-level annoyance. It is as if she feels out of place, and effort is required to try and fit in: a constrained and uprooted existence. One can still get one's foot into the pinching shoe and walk, but one does so with a degree of irritation.

5.3.7 FANI 6 (Tomas – 40s)

5.3.7.1 Scenic composition

The head is so heavy...
Pigeons rise above the Trafalgar Square.
There were portraits, there were clowns,
berries, cider there was, and artists.
And I hadn't yet buried hope
of returning to the calm ground,
of calming down.

You know, there is an island with a lot of rain and little sun.
And such a chaos... under construction.

And sometimes I just want to run away.

5.3.7.2 The interview scene

Tomas is a man in his late forties, born in the early '70s in a small Lithuanian town; he studied architecture in Lithuania and moved to London in the late '90s. He is single and works as a self-employed builder in the construction industry.

The interview takes place by video call. Tomas is using his phone and at times moves around his house: at such moments I can see fragments of his face and the ceiling – the process reminds me of watching an *avant-garde* film where the camera moves fast with no clear focus. He's both performing his liminality and telling it.

Although beforehand, Tomas had been reluctant to engage in the interview, he straightaway starts talking about his life. I am ready to take control with my carefully thought-through question and he is already taking off. I squeeze in my question and he carries on.

We're of a similar generation, we have in common some aspects of our life experience. Whether or not it was transference, I had a sense that he wanted to impress me in some way; this was amplified by his comments on how he looks and how his voice sounds, and by his being hyper-excited and unable to stop talking. His opening statement:

> Oh, I don't know how, dammit, how Lithuanian and British, eeh mmm mmm mmm, I would say we are not very… we haven't come down from another moon [sic], we are Europeans. Of

course, a lot depends on the mentality of each person, of course depends on the situation you are in: on how you are doing or not doing, where you have found yourself.

Tomas is telling me that there's going to be an attempt of comparing Lithuanians and Britons. He is unable to do this in a systematic way, but, nevertheless, that's his intention. His speech is very halting, he trembles, he can't hold onto his thoughts. The first coherent thought he presents is "we haven't come down from another moon" – as if there were several moons. He chooses the Moon – the creature of the night – as if alluding to the nightlife he will talk about later. Then he gives an example of a homeless person – comparing a British one with a Lithuanian one – how they are dressed differently, but are essentially the same.

What he is telling me becomes clearer in the course of the interview: he doesn't identify as predominantly Lithuanian or British. He lives in this in-between state and it's uncomfortable for him, it escapes his grasp. He establishes the frame and later circles back to it – as if it's a preoccupation. After his first 'scene' he worries about the sound of his voice being recorded and then introduces his next 'scene': "At the very beginning, somehow, I liked it here more [than I do now]."

5.3.7.3 Clusters of imagery

The second 'scene' is of his past in London – a lively scene about illicit substances, late nights, living on the edge – an urban 'hobo' lifestyle. Alcohol looms large in his account. The pub scene fades into a bar which fades into a club scene – becoming ever more hectic, but it is still some sort of sociability he is seeking. And he also talks about drinking in Lithuania – once the country became independent, there was a shift from domestic alcoholism to a more socialised drinking culture.

He obviously enjoyed the clubbing scene and the nightlife in London, being young and footloose: "And that club, yes, club cult_ culture is here at a very high level; but it's Britain here!" He meets up with Australians: the young Australians in London are carefree, they lead a sociable life, hanging out, smoking dope, listening to music. He "really wanted to taste a lot of that city." He slows down before telling me something really important to him: "For example [at that time] I hadn't yet buried hope that, you know, I won't [sic] return to Lithuania." He expands on this later, with a 'scene' of his attempt to return to Lithuanian soil.

Then comes an interlude about London nowadays: "Here is such a meat mincer machine […] Those people, you understand, are sometimes so different that I want to run away from everything – indeed.

[…] from Gypsies[116] to all the Latinos[117] – […] some kind of salad…" Here, there is an overwhelming – almost visceral – sense of hopelessness in an image of a meat mincer machine. A meat mincer takes anything it is given, regardless of what it is, and what emerges is a homogenous and unrecognisable mass. No one really cares where you come from, everything is forced in together.

The thought of the overwhelming mix of people makes him 'run away': he retreats into (associations to) his past memories of provincial (predominantly rural) England. There is something that seems to pull him towards landscape and land. As he is not overly-identified with Lithuania, he returns to the experiences of rural provincial Britain. In an almost idealised provincial English pub, people meet for cider and apple pie and make conversation. It's a very benign image of a pub – a centre of provincial village life:

> People gather in the pub not necessarily in order to get drunk, just for this or that or the other. And there was there… a pie was brought, you know, to taste there. Or one talks, talks, talks…

London has proved illusory, he has buried hope, and instead acquired a fantasised connection to rural England (as if a non-metropolitan alternative to going back to Lithuania). The former Prime Minister John Major had a fantasy about Britain[118] that speaks to the interviewee's fantasy – that it will endure in all its essentials.

Tomas also talks readily about his fruit picking: the vitality of the young people is shown by glorious healthy heedlessness – they're just having a great time in the physicality of the sunshine and the countryside.

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[116] Uses the English word.

[117] Uses the English word.

[118] "Fifty years from now, said the Prime Minister, Britain 'will still be the country of long shadows on county (cricket) grounds, warm beer, invincible green suburbs, dog lovers and pools fillers.' [Mr Major] derived his lyrical certainties […] [from] George Orwell (*The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius*, which was published in 1941, post-Dunkirk and pre-Pearl Harbour, when Britain stood alone against Germany). Orwell pondered the unique attributes of 'English civilisation' and concluded that it was 'somehow bound up with solid breakfasts and gloomy Sundays, smoky towns and winding roads, green fields and red pillar-boxes.'" https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/leading-article-what-a-lot-of-tosh-1457335.html (accessed on 11/01/2022)

> You see, I came here, you know, to do some work in agriculture, and so… la la la, to pick those berries, you know. And… and we didn't earn anything there, but it was a lot of fun there. […] The company was good. We had Spanish people, there was a Spanish girl, English people, French, and there were a very few of us Eastern Europeans.

The cluster of images about rural Britain – the rural provincial pub and the fruit-picking experience – present bucolic scenes, which are somewhat romanticised. In the middle of these scenes he presents an episode of London in the past, and an account of his return to Lithuania, both chosen for panel discussion:

> Oh! And one more thing! In the beginning… and this was very important – there were a lot of artists in Leicester Square in the summer. They were there all the time, but their numbers would go up in the summer. Everyone was drawing portraits, weren't they? Yes. There were so many of them – like those pigeons, dammit, in Trafalgar Square. So many, so that they had conflicts over the space.

The 'provocational' extract used by the panel starts with intense irritability depicting artists in Leicester Square. Irritability is expressed by the presence of the pigeons: an invasive annoyance, not terribly bad, an irritating fact of life. They fill the space, but they command unwanted attention, they are just a ubiquitous presence in the city.

At first it was interesting here: a lively scene, enjoyable, a slightly bohemian nomadic community of people who just show up and make use of public space, inhabit it because it's available, because they're artists. The unrooted nomadic form of existence that was quite ephemeral is now lost:

> Later, of course, building works started there… were banned, licenses were needed, and so on. But then somehow it was very interesting – it used to be fun, you know. A different kind of art centre… Somehow, I don't know. Less of that… Maybe less commercial, I don't know how to say it. So, life in London… oh God, God.

There was a kind of anchor in that enjoyment: when the enjoyment goes, then one is also bereft of anchors, feeling adrift without the enjoyment. Irritability is the major affect conveyed. Also, the street artists' portraits are immediate, crude and 'thin': that might say something about the satisfaction of this situation – the satisfaction of thin relationships rather than thick ones.

Once upon a time it was interesting. Irritability is born out of the fact that something has been lost. It was fun: it is not so much fun any more. The sense of chaos: public space for enjoyment now had

descended into building works and restrictive regulations. That's not too bad – it became annoying, exasperating, but not that bad. Then the story descends into the exasperation of an architect's work, when he tries to "calm down" on Lithuanian soil:

> I had to… I had to return [to Lithuania] two years later and had to calm down, I had to come down as much as possible on the Lithuanian soil, yes. I had to come down on that calm ground. And maybe to try… there, you know, maybe… somehow, but I… it was very difficult for me to 'land,' you know, to calm down somehow. I didn't manage [to deal with] myself [even] a little bit and, once I graduated, I had to come back here again, you know, and it happened… […] And, of course, finances were a problem in Lithuania, you know… to understand where… from. There, of course, aah, I was offered a job by an architect, I worked there for one half of a day, I spat at everything and left there, dammit, well. It's a kindergarten, dammit, there. Money is so small, I don't understand, you know. […] Why did I study that architecture there, you know? Yes, really quite interesting, interesting. *[laughing]* Interesting, the actual profession is interesting, you know, but… Oh, I'm talking nonsense already…

A sense of rootedness; calm ground is compared with ground in Trafalgar and Leicester Squares: pigeons are like people, people are behaving like pigeons. Street art is an immediate type of activity as opposed to the solidity of the architecture in Lithuania. However, he works for half a day, spits it out, and leaves. He doesn't find what he is looking for – a calm ground – on Lithuanian soil. He is lost in not being able to land when going back to Lithuania.

It was important to go back to Lithuania to find calm ground, but this was much more of a problem than had initially seemed. It was not easy to find it in Lithuania either: life is full of inconveniences and irritation. He didn't find what he was looking for in Lithuania. He doesn't really know what he is doing in the one place or the other.

He seems vacant: not anxious, but unsure how he feels about what he is describing. He presents with an unclear, foggy, lost, illusory sense of being. There is a pleasant aspect to the part of story in Leicester Square: it's a nice picture, a nice sociable and lively image, but also the sense of something having been lost. He is ungrounded: the issue of territorial grounded-ness – or the lack of it – appears to frame the whole experience. His deliberate discounting – "I'm talking nonsense already" – shows he is not ashamed of his not making sense; there is no sense of despair about it.

He is fiery: he spits it out and leaves; he has no great store of patience. The panel noted that this person is like an annoyed pigeon with a pigeon-like existence in London, annoyed with not being

‘allowed’ to hang around in Leicester Square any more. He is thinking of the time when he had to go home, back to Lithuania: he tried to land, but that didn’t work – he had to come back again. He is annoyed with the false promises of both London and Lithuania: they are depicted as incidental societies that are somehow less than mature. In the case of London, it is pigeons; in Lithuania, the kindergarten. The choice between the two is quite unsatisfactory. The little bit of fun that there used to be: it all started to be regulated. There is no resolution – an unsatisfactory situation of being caught between two places, neither of which seem to hold much promise: even where the job and stability are offered, the money is too little. You get treated as cheap labour – “it’s a kindergarten.” The picture that has been painted is pretty bleak.

Nomadic rootlessness has become the form of existence with which he feels most familiar. Therefore it has, in a way, become a mode of life: somehow being offered a job, working there for half a day, throwing it all up in the air and leaving – none of this is dramatic. (Just as in his interview he gets into a line of irritated expression, says a few sentences, and then throws it all up in the air – “I’m talking nonsense” – and ‘leaves’…) Something has happened in the course of his life that enables him to experience spontaneous negative feelings in such a way that allows him to do something like that.

5.3.7.4 On the scenic composition

The scenic composition (Section 5.3.7.1) emerged as a short poem, composed from those words in the interview that held a strong emotion. It also holds the overall feeling of the interview. Reflecting this, the composition has a surrealistic quality.

The scenic composition captures the contrast between the past in Britain (which appeared as a temporary attraction) and the disillusioned present where the head is heavy, and the interviewee just wants to run away. The composition is very sensory: the head is so heavy, pigeons rise. The rising of the pigeons can be seen as opposed to his own experience: whilst the pigeons rise, he has not. Rising and falling: in the realm of hedonism, what goes up must come down.

He rises into a height of nostalgia for the experiences he valued of youth: a vividly sensory rural universe, as well as bohemian London with its bars and nightlife. All of that becomes blended together in this glorious sensory nostalgia. The natural ordering of things changes and they melt into one another when one is ‘high.’

There is a powerful feeling of desperation that this glorious and romanticised bohemian youth has now gone for good and he is left with neither bearings nor pleasure. The imagined past of his youth is not so much the good object as a kind of compulsive one, because ultimately it doesn’t nourish him,

it still leaves him in this place of irritability, with a sense of un-mourned loss and confusion. The promises of a 'hedonised' connection to England and its global club culture turned out to be false.

The idea of burying hope is very different from losing hope – it suggests an almost deliberate, intentional, act. There is something about burying – getting into the soil – and about his experience of rootlessness. The promises of routes and the loss of roots is portrayed: routes have not been walked and roots have been lost. Another paradoxical idea of intent – in "chaos under construction" – makes one think of his younger days as a kind of intentional chaos.

There can be something deathly in the way in which people come down from a drug-fuelled euphoria: the latter is then revealed as illusory and, in the end, incapable of being sustaining. That leaves him with only one option: to run away. The idea of running away is a childlike response, but not only that: when we can't cope with something – really can't find a way to deal with things – we run away.

Trafalgar Square is full of rich potential in terms of reading the relationship of the UK with the rest of the world. Its name celebrates the battle of Trafalgar, it houses Nelson's column – a huge erection with a statue atop. The Square holds a number of other plinths, including the 'fourth plinth' which has had many and varied uses. The place is also famous for often being the chosen site for protests and, of course, is a prime tourist destination. The Square's pigeons were once celebrated and fed, viewed as an attraction; later they became seen as a peril and all sorts of measures were introduced to drive them away.

5.3.7.5 On reflective subjectivity

Tomas' mind is like his existence: he just loses track. There is a lack of clarity in his narrative: sometimes there are entire 'paragraphs' where not a single thought is completed. I am struggling to follow his line of thinking. Everything he says trails off – either it leads nowhere, or he turns round and contradicts himself, or accuses himself of speaking nonsense, or invokes Jesus and God. This call to the Deity might be self-directed – a kind of frustration and exasperation: he is losing himself and then losing patience with himself for doing so. The imprecations also sound desperate, as if even God has forsaken him.

He is an observer. In a psychoanalytic sense, the observing position is the third position, where one is able to hold self and other in relation (Ogden, 1994). It is almost as if he is in an incomplete third position. He makes observations, but can't find a stable place to situate his lens.

Mostly his narrative plunges into concrete immediacy, particular events. This phenomenon might be seen as an attack on linking (Bion, 1959), in an almost pathological sense: this is why he struggles to complete his thoughts. As a whole, his narrative is tied to specific incidents that he remembers. He can only live in the particular, he can't take a step back and take an overall view of his life. Or, he avoids doing so because he knows it will be uncomfortable.

The irritability I identify might also be mine. As we both share the experience of migration and are of the same generation, I catch the elements that resonate (at times painfully), such as the sense of un-belonging.

Although Tomas is so lost, his material provoked a considerable and important discussion in the panel: there is something very charismatic about him; his vulnerability makes him attractive and highly approachable.

5.3.7.6 In place of a conclusion

The metaphor of the pigeon speaks powerfully about the state of mind, presentation and life-history of the interviewee. The pigeon is unwanted vermin and a scavenger that gets chased away, yet is everywhere, always on the move, picking up, living off people's scraps. The predominant affect of the interview is one of irritability: the irritable randomness and nomadism of the pigeon – a pigeon-like existence. There is a sense of being lost, of losing the sense to one's life.

5.4 FANIs – comparison

The selection of cases was structured in a generational way. There are certainly similarities and distinct common themes between what emerged in the interviews of the same generation. There are particular structural conditions that a generation lives through and hence possesses a 'generational consciousness' (Bollas, 1997). The interviewees also produce their own imagery because the free-associative mode favours thinking in visual metaphor and some of this overlaps with the imagery in the Visual Matrices. In this section I will present an overview of the clusters of ideas that have emerged from the FANI interviews: in-between-ness (both as a socio-cultural location and a state of mind), a loss of sense of belonging, longing for grounded-ness and nostalgia, haunting, and external mobility (social and physical) vs internal (psychological) immobility.

Although the interview sample is relatively small and so does not allow generalising on a generational basis, I will nevertheless be able to say more about generations when I combine the interview findings with those from the Visual Matrices (qv Chapter 6).

5.4.1 In-between-ness / loss of sense of belonging

5.4.1.1 The oldest generation

In her interview Marija (in her 60s) 'moves' backwards and forwards between Lithuania and Britain. In her life she seems to be seeking to return to a small space of comfort and belonging (like her parental home in the village), which her little flat now represents. She has not managed to develop a sense of belonging in London to a larger group, one not just restricted to her family and a few Lithuanian acquaintances.

5.4.1.2 The youngest generation

The interviewees in their 20s present with a strong sense of disconnectedness. Fausta is preoccupied with her search for belonging. She presents her life abroad as a struggle to find her identity; her interview exudes an overwhelming feeling of not fitting in: "I['ve] never felt that I fit in anywhere." Formally, she is English – no one questions that – but she wonders about her own belonging to England, and Lithuania.

The image of the Queen appears in Fausta's interview: she presents a 'scene' of acquiring her British passport and "taking an oath in front of the Queen." She swears her oath in front of the Queen's photograph, the face of the country which opened "so many opportunities" for Fausta and her family.

London is idealised as a place of a radically better life. Lithuania was presented to her by others as "not a good country, it always rains, horrible weather, it's really difficult to live there." Together with "lots of relatives who weren't very nice," this points to a background of hardship and a degree of intergenerational haunting in the family history. Her comment identifying Lithuania as a place where 'it always rains' is cognitively dissonant for anyone who knows London. This splitting (between Lithuania and London) is a way of ridding herself of the intergenerational haunting, which sounds very uncomfortable for her.

Fausta seems much more troubled and aware of her losses than Lukas, even though she has not articulated them very well to herself. Lukas is highly defended, tends to come across as rather superficial and presents as a cultural nomad (Peters, 1999). He remains apparently untroubled by his non-belonging – no conflict has yet arisen. (Or possibly conflict has arisen and his whole way of life is, and is presented as, highly defended against a conflict he does not want to face.)

Lukas is floating in-between two countries. His parents – certainly his mother – are much invested in Lithuania (the church, the language) and want to pass that on. He is ambivalent about this (at least in relation to the church and army) and yet he has a Lithuanian girlfriend (who lives in Lithuania).

He speaks about Lithuania and England – he mentions only these two countries – the narrative moves between the two. He says that neither England nor Lithuania is important to him. The Lithuanian panel noted that maybe nothing binds him to either culture: Lithuania is neither understandable nor attractive, and England doesn't own him.

The Lithuanian panel also noted that he is neither English nor Lithuanian, nor a cosmopolitan; there is still the local dimension. When a person becomes detached from their culture, the culture itself in them (therefore) decreases. The millennia-old cultural experience, transmitted through customs, cultural codes, and language, is no longer understood. The connection with Lithuania is torn and the connection with England and its culture has not yet taken form. Such a person could be seen like a 'mankurt'[119] – a person with a narrow culture and no roots. However, unconsciously formative cultural elements are retained: from a Lorenzerian (1986) perspective, the cultural norms and tropes are unconsciously embedded in the interaction forms with which one navigates one's relationship with

[119] The term used in the Kyrgyz legend (Epic of Manas) and employed by Chinghiz Aitmatov in his novel 'The Day Lasts More than a Hundred Years.'

the world. One's becoming part of another culture is a process. Lukas could also be seen as constructing his own version of hybridity.

5.4.1.3 The middle generation

The 40-year-old interviewees – like the ones in their 20s – are liminal characters and conform to a paradigm of individualisation (their narratives greatly differ). They are also much more engaged in the UK than their 60-year-old counterparts, but much more conflicted.

The story Evita tells is of a migrant who is caught between two cultures and the ensuing confusion. There are certain images that anchor her: what the Lithuania of her childhood was. As if she feels inadequate everywhere, life is no longer whole/integrated. Maybe she doesn't have a very clear cultural imaginary of her life in London. Maybe she is still overwhelmingly invaded by her sensory experience of her past, of her childhood. The maternal principle is at work within her cultural imaginary. The complexity in London seems to be in the realm of social rules and convictions; in Lithuania, as – according to Evita – everyone is roughly equal, the complexity is regarding the weather (and its dynamic and distinct seasons).

In turn, Tomas is conflicted about his state and expresses his struggles in trying to navigate this uncomfortable in-between existence. (Also, he is reaching that stage in life when not being settled can be problematic.[120]) He seems to be stuck in a psychic no-man's land between memories of an idealised past and his rather unsatisfactory present in London.

He finds the present in London overwhelming and sometimes wants "to run away from everything – indeed." He shares with the other interviewees the pull to the landscape and land. As he is not overly identified with Lithuania, he feels pulled back to provincial Britain: he recalls his times in a rather idealised provincial English pub, where people meet for cider and apple pie and make conversation.

[120] He is entering middle age, usually characterised by having evolved one's own stable structures (such as relational, habitational, and occupational). His defence against societal expectations is to cultivate a persona which is cultured and intellectual. When he is in London, he is an émigré – he is a nomad – there is something exotic about his status and situation, the exoticism of the migrant. When he goes back to Lithuania, he is simply an ageing guy who is missing the markers of a mature male. In his late 40s he is still living a life normally associated with much younger people, the life he lived in his 20s when he first came here. He is in a state of permanent rootlessness: there is no country for this particular old man.

Tomas is lost somewhere in between, he is not grounded in his own life. He is caught not only between two cultures and two countries, but also in not knowing if he is a professional or a worker. (Or, he knows he is not a professional and avoids being definitive and facing a disappointment.) By allowing in-between-ness to become his mode of existence, he has also accepted a sense of being marginalised – living on the margins. (Maybe he would always have been a bit bohemian, inclined not to persevere.) In-between-ness is the third position that he has to create as any migrant does: neither one nor the other, but living in a whole new reality that has to be construed, actively constructed, and managed.

In-between-ness and liminality in my data is experienced as leaving my interviewees in an uncomfortable state. (To clarify, these are vernacular uses of the terms rather than psychoanalytical.) Lorenzer (1986) regards in-between-ness as indicative of a fluidity in interaction forms and Winnicott (1971) regards liminality as a place of creativity; it is the potentially creative (or immobilising) position.

5.4.1.4 In summary

My interviewees seem to be immobilised by unresolved tension, stuck between an idealised or stereotyped Lithuania and their life in London which is unsatisfactory as none of them – in any stable way – have made London their own. If we examine my interviewees' accounts, we find they encapsulate a *modus vivendi* which would not lead to a particularly satisfying life. This can be regarded as evidence of an insecure (avoidant) attachment (Bowlby, 2005 [1979]). The interviewees have developed an avoidant attachment to their homeland, which is possibly played out towards the UK. I will return to this in Section 6.2.4.

My research participants have lived in London for a considerable period of time and yet still remain relatively marginalised from the local culture. The ways they have assimilated – or have been assimilated (Yuval-Davis, 2006) – into the local culture are relatively incomplete, sometimes leaving them in situations of isolation. Although there are other ways of making a place your home, they have not pursued these either.

There seems to be a common thread in the interviews, namely that any return to Lithuania proves to be difficult, rather than a pleasurable or comforting experience. One doesn't feel one truly belongs there, one feels one doesn't quite fit in – one of the interviewees (in her 40s) uses the illustrative metaphor of a pinching shoe. The participants are stuck in-between, with neither place properly accessible: akin to purgatory.

However, despite in-between-ness not being experienced as comfortable, it is the potentially creative position. That the interviewees have this potential is apparent (from their ability to free-associate and produce imagery), but my data does not show any significant actualising of this potential.

5.4.2 Longing for grounded-ness and nostalgia

5.4.2.1 The oldest generation

There is a longing for grounded-ness in the oldest generation's interviews – in Marija's return to strolling through the forest in her youth, and in Nida's wish of returning to the home country and to the 'origin.' Also, a cemetery hill and a lake from Nida's native place are mentioned in a recurring dream (qv Section 5.3.3.3). A nostalgia for the past in the Lithuanian countryside is present in both interviews. This nostalgia is attached to the narrative of the decline of everything (Lawler, 2014), presenting everything in the past as having been much better and more grounded. It is perhaps associated with an inability to come to terms with change and postmodernity. There is contradiction in life between aspirations and realities. Both interviewees contrast the jobs they had in Lithuania with their lower-status ones here.

5.4.2.2 The youngest generation

My sample does not show enough evidence to suggest that longing for grounded-ness and nostalgia would be the case for the youngest generation. The interviewees were in their early 20s, they were still significantly forming, in process. The only element could be seen in Fausta's search for belonging as representing a search for a deep grounded-ness (which being part of a specific culture can give one). However, it is problematic to make a claim based on so little data.

5.4.2.3 The middle generation

An element of self-deprecation – of denigrating what they say – is common to the interviewees in their 40s, who repeatedly say they're talking nonsense. Neither of them is able to quite complete their thoughts, nor entirely own them, nor ground them. The loss of the stable relation to the maternal (whether that be the motherland or the mother) somehow makes it hard for one to ground one's thoughts or to allow them to come to rest in some way.

There is a tension between the longing for grounded-ness and – a fate of the migrant – the inevitability of mobility. My data reveal this longing for grounded-ness (even for the literal physical ground and landscape): in Tomas' words, "I had to come down as much as possible on the Lithuanian soil, yes. I had to come down on that calm ground." This idea of the "calm ground" is not just a reference to a

romanticised native land, it is the finding of calm ground within oneself that comes from feeling rooted and stabilised, and which the attachment to place and culture gives one.

Evita is longing for proximity with nature, the forest. (As in the Visual Matrices, the forest features in her interview.) She is returning to a romanticised sensory landscape of her childhood. She compares Lithuanian and British seasons: what a joy the blossom brings in Lithuania, and how indifferent she feels to the "blossom all the time" here. Evita grew up in the Eastern European 'social-ism' of a small rural community in Lithuania and moved to – and is plunged into – the large 'capital-ism' of London, an 'evolution' towards a less enchanted and less enchanting "mercantilism" and "pragmatism."

5.4.2.4 In summary

The story my interviewees seem to be telling is one in which the nomadic state of mind would be – if it were realised – an escape from this immobility, from this sense of stuck-ness. However, they are neither fully nor in a stable way 'occupying' that mental state. They sometimes do in part, but then are pulled back into the past and the location and the ground which they feel they belong to, but – in effect – are severed from. Thus, they do not have the mental freedom to wander into their new space. This is less so for the younger generations, but for the oldest generation the experience of migration has certainly immobilised them.

In all my interviews there is a sense of something lost, and so of something to return to: a romanticised native land or a feeling of being rooted and stabilised. The dream of return is present in some sense in all the interviews, even if the interviewees could not envisage living in Lithuania.

5.4.3 Haunting

5.4.3.1 The oldest generation

In the oldest generation interviews, haunting is most vividly represented by a reoccurring daunting dream in Nida's account: she is standing on a cemetery hill with a big lake next to her. In her account she presents glimpses of what that haunting may be, such as her mentioning the KGB's investigation (including her husband's participation) and her brief mention of the Jews. Nida talks about the type of online comments Lithuanians make on social media posts.

5.4.3.2 The youngest generation

No traits of being haunted by the past are apparent in the interviews of those in their 20s. There is an uneasiness though, passed down from generation to generation. Although they do not have as strong an attachment to Lithuania as the older generations, they do not appear to be strongly attached to

London either. Furthermore, drifting away from the Lithuanian cultural heritage entails intergenerational disappointment, as expressed by those in their 20s and 60s. (Both the interviewees in their 20s mention their grandparents being disappointed with them, and those in their 60s mirror this, expressing disappointment with their own grandchildren.)

5.4.3.3 The middle generation

There is a level of haunting in Evita's interview, as borne out by certain historical elements occasionally surfacing in her narrative: when her daughter enters the room and crawls around on the bed, Evita comments that "she's crawling like a partisan." The mention of 'a partisan' is suggestive that the anti-Soviet resistance movement is very present in Evita's imaginary. A crawling partisan would be one in action, on a mission, risking his life. As the partisans resided in the forests (and were called 'forest brothers'), this 'haunting' association was possibly evoked by the memory of the forest.

Another aspect of note is the element of suspicion and mistrust apparent in the middle generation interviews, with regard to their being recorded. This suspicion as a cultural tendency has specific historical roots (qv Section 2.3.4). Possibly this is related to a shared experience of surveillance during the Soviet era. That note of anxiety about the recording is particularly marked in Tomas' interview, and Evita tells me at the end of the interview: "You can turn off that [recorder] there."

5.4.3.4 In summary

Most of my interviewees are unable to grieve Lithuania and remain gazing at their past. The fact that Lithuania, the 'lost object,' is tantalisingly accessible, means that the mourning process cannot happen, which leaves them in a state of melancholia (Freud, 1917). Melancholia seems to permeate continuity into the future, in tensions between holding on and moving forward, being left behind and unable to move on. Butler (1997) calls this state – of being stuck in the problem of surviving with loss – a 'melancholic existence.'

Overall, though, there was surprisingly little reference to history in the interviews. What are the things one cannot talk about? They still remain present as a haunting. The wariness over the recording, and the mentioning of the KGB and of a partisan, gives some glimpses of what that haunting could be. Also, only one interviewee, a former history teacher, mentioned the Jews – possibly her professional background gave her enough courage to venture onto such difficult ground. The interviewees in their 40s and 60s are to some extent haunted by Lithuania's socialist past and allude to it in different ways.

5.4.4 External mobility vs internal immobility

5.4.4.1 The oldest generation

Out of all my generational groups, it is the interviewees in their 60s who most strongly express external mobility and internal immobility. These interviewees are more isolated, more entrenched in their Lithuanian-ness than the younger ones. They bring their Lithuanian culture here and hold on to it, they have it preserved in the state it was when they first arrived. This can include an idealised vision of a homeland (including its hills, lakes and forests) to which they will probably never return, but it nevertheless remains as an internal good object and nourishes their sense of identity.

The interviewees in their 60s are stuck in a protective bubble of their journey through time; something is missing, but is missing in a very settled and stereotypical way. It maps onto a very stereotypical view of old age: you have given up, you have sorted out your life's narrative, it might not be perfect, but you've settled with it. You just tell the same old story again and again, there is no innovation or progression. In Lithuania such people would possibly be open to a variety of new influences – challenged by the postmodernity and a continually-changing society.

This generation in London seems to be encased within an enclave which fails to move on: the people self-protect by approximating themselves to the society of origin as it was when they left it, and by enclosing themselves in the community in which that (particular) sense of Lithuanian-ness is preserved. Also, both interviewees undertook a permanent migration at a late stage in life; both came here in order to be closer to their grandchildren.

Although for the interviewees in the oldest generation the content of their attachment is of course Lithuanian, the particular cultural articulation of their situation (such as difficulties of settlement) is one which they share with older migrant groups from other countries. For example, the literature on UK Poles provides numerous examples of the older generation preserving the 'ancient' sense of cultural identity (Temple and Koterba, 2009; Galasińska, 2010; Bielewska, 2012). Moreover, the return to places of origin at retirement is a prominent theme in the literature on older migrants (Ciobanu and Ramos, 2016).

Also, both the interviewees in their 60s presented virtually the same topics, such as their grandchildren, medication, and hope for a youthful government; they both shared stories from Soviet times too. The two interviewees do not know each other, had different educations and different cultural resources at their disposal, yet nevertheless they have a strikingly similar mindset. They are very focused on their homeland, as if they have not gained very much from the experience of living in

London for quite a few years. Because of the nature of the Soviet regime they lived under[121] and the expectations the regime laid on their lives, they are exhibiting a fair degree of predictability and standardisation in the way they live out their experience of migration. They may have internalised there being a particular way of 'doing' things: there is a particular way of living under Soviet domination and a particular way of 'doing' migration (cleaving to the original identity, the myth and place of origin, and living one's life as an exile, separated from those origins).

5.4.4.2 The youngest generation

My sample-derived data does not suggest that the phenomenon of external mobility vs internal immobility would be present in the case of the youngest generation. It is difficult to discern the identity choice in the youngest generation interviewees, as their reflective capacity still is forming.

5.4.4.3 The middle generation

External mobility and internal immobility is somewhat apparent in the middle generation. For example, Evita presents a strong attachment to the landscape of her childhood in the forest and to the Lithuanian snow and blossom; Tomas shows attachment to the past in the English countryside (and to the search for "calm ground" in Lithuania).

According to attachment theory (Bowlby, 2005 [1979]), a secure attachment is the foundation for achieving independence and the confidence to explore the world. As will be further explored in Section 6.2.4, in the case of my cohort the attachment to aspects of Lithuania – the homeland and the culture – signifies internal immobility as their attachment is not secure.

5.4.4.4 In summary

What most of the interviewees have in common is that despite their physically mobile lives – after all, all of them have left their country of origin – they are stuck between living in this historical (physical) mobility and a contemporary (psychic) immobility in their lives.

[121] This alludes to the previously mentioned notion of *homo sovieticus*.

The increased social and physical mobility of Lithuania's population is partly related to an immobility within the 'cultural psyche,' related to the country's exposure to repeated historical trauma. The trauma seems to provoke both freezing (internal immobility) and fleeing (external mobility).[122]

Also, my participants face the ongoing strains and rewards of constantly having to reconcile or reject aspects of Lithuanian-ness and Britishness. In the case of the older generation the effort is mostly abandoned, in both the other it is ongoing.

The interviewees live with hybridity and in some cases the perpetual (partly embraced, partly resisted) mobility of the nomad. They are constantly trying to cut and slice selections from the cultural imaginaries available to them to assemble that which enables them to locate themselves – to live with the in-between-ness.

5.4.5 In summary

The Free Association Narrative Interviews revealed the tension between external mobility (social and physical) and internal (psychological) immobility and – hence – participants not having the mental freedom to wander into their new space (unlike migrants with 'nomadic' mindsets (McCaig, 1996)). In one way or another all my interviews point to the importance of this tension, which the interviewees respond to in slightly different ways, but always uneasy ones. However, my interviewees' in-between-ness is also indicative of a fluidity in interaction forms and a potentially creative third position. My data also reveal the interviewees' loss of sense of belonging, and a longing for grounded-ness (holding not only to a romanticised version of home, but also seeking a 'calm ground' within themselves).

There are also elements of historical trauma and haunting: the interviewees are haunted by their past and the cultural trauma, and never manage to either settle or return. This haunting is lived very differently, according to generational experience. The haunting manifests itself by the unsaid (a trait of secrecy) and a few allusions to Lithuanian history (by the interviewees in their 60s and 40s), as well as by the suspicion and mistrust toward the researcher (by the interviewees in their 40s).

[122] The notion of 'fight or flight' – describing key behaviours occurring in the context of perceived threat – was coined by Cannon (1915). Subsequently a related freeze reaction/response was identified.

5.5 Similarities and differences between generations (in Visual Matrices and FANIs)

I am using the description and analysis of Visual Matrices and FANIs as the basis for my remarks on similarities and differences between generations. Regardless of which group my participants are from, or what experience of urban London they have had, in every case it seems that the urge to default to the idea of pre-modern rural community is very much alive. The imagery of the forest and the countryside is present both in the Visual Matrices and in the interviews. Tomas would be the exception, but he has simply displaced it from Lithuania to the UK.

In the oldest generation, nostalgia is predominant; in the youngest generation – nomadic rootlessness; in the middle generation neither predominates. The middle group is finding a viable accommodation with their migrant situation. This generation is more complicated than the other two, though they do not present as such (other than in the interviews, where they are less defended than in the Visual Matrices). The middle generation is in that phase of life when people generally – whether happily or unhappily – do stabilise the conditions of their lives. However, my participants have not fully found that stability because there is a fundamental existential instability that arises from their having migrated from a traumatised culture.

6 Discussion

6.1 Introduction

Starting from a more general analysis of each generational group through the Visual Matrices, my study moves into particular stories of migrants narrated in the interviews, thus – through this process – answering my research questions:-

- How is the cultural imaginary of Lithuanians (in their 60s, 40s and 20s) currently living in London configured?
- How do Lithuanians in London imagine their relationship to Lithuania and to the UK (specifically London)?
- How is the cultural imaginary played out in individuals' lives?

As with the Visual Matrices comparison chapter (Chapter 5.2), this discussion chapter will be based on images. I choose to remain with the imagery in order to render this analysis in a manner organically linked to my research. I will structure the discussion based on the image metaphors: my imagistic metaphors are landscape, cityscape, escape and inscape, hence this chapter will be divided into four such parts.[123] I will also present a loose etymology of these terms which I will adapt and interpret in relation to my study.

'Landscape' represents the 'home' country and associated scenery, 'cityscape' stands for the imaginary related to London, 'escape' is the container for migration, and 'inscape' is the container for those states of mind which are generated by the migration experience. I will start with landscape and cityscape (and the contrast between these two different metaphors). Then will follow the escape: the migration with its motivation and the experience of being caught between two cultures and negotiating that differently according to generational and other social dimensions. And then will come inscape: what has all this meant for my research participants, what kind of states of mind, relationship to country (past and present), what sense of loss or opportunity have they been left with?

The four imagistic metaphors also represent the cross-disciplinary nature of my study; they draw on psychoanalytic thinking, psychosocial studies, cultural geography, and migration studies. The four

[123] The four categories have been separated out for exploratory and presentational purposes, but in reality are all entangled with each other.

notions could also be seen as elements in the configuration of a cultural imaginary. I argue that cultural imaginary involves a relation to the material environment, as well as a symbolic representation of that material environment through the imagery that I have used in my study; it also involves what people use to give symbolic shape to their situation. Cultural imaginary is also laden with affect and arouses distinct emotions. A cultural imaginary comprises all these elements, including some of the more conflicted feelings (which are represented by the escape motif, as escape brings with it a constellation of defensive behaviours, including fight and flight, disavowal, denial).

6.2 Landscape[124]

Fig. 6.1 – Landscape; sketch by Asta Binkauskaitė

This drawing is inspired by the scenic composition written for one of the interviews, and essentially depicts the interviewee's account of her past experience of Lithuania.[125] The sketch presents a dreamy landscape of falling snow, cherry blossoms, triangular lead window, mother's dress, chafing shoe, forest, and strawberries with milk.

[124] The word 'landscape' is formed from 'land' (a word of Germanic origin) – which may be understood in its sense of something to which people belong – and the suffix 'scape,' equivalent to 'ship' in its sense of relationship, kinship, and suchlike. The roots of 'ship' are akin to the Old English word meaning 'to shape' (Olwig, 2005). The modern form of the word 'landscape,' with its connotations of scenery, appeared in the late XVIc. and was borrowed from a Dutch painters' term (meaning paintings of inland natural or rural scenery).

[125] I sketched an image for each 'scape.' I used my scenic compositions as inspiration, the sketches thus being a distillation of ideas presented therein. At first glance, there is little obvious distinction between the sketches, as thinking about the 'scapes' non-representationally, they are interlinked and do overlap. The sketches are spontaneous and emergent, and reflect the complexity and mutual entanglement of my data.

In my discussion, landscape comprises both presented and internally-produced imagery. Landscape encompasses belonging, home, attachment and rootedness. I will present not only how landscape appears in the Visual Matrices and the interviews, but also landscape-related theoretical concepts of place, belonging and attachment (the type of attachments that seem to be at play for different groups in my data).

6.2.1 Nostalgia

I have already documented 'Nostalgia' as being one of the themes present in all of my Visual Matrices and in most of my interviews. In my data, nostalgia is expressed through symbolic resources, largely – for both rural and urban dwellers – in the form of visual and other sensory memories of orchards, forests, farmsteads, and suchlike. As we have seen in Section 5.1.5.3, those sites are associated with grandmothers, representing an unconditional love, as well as a sense of perseverance and stability beyond all the historical changes.

There is a sliding scale in the intensity of nostalgia through the generations: the younger the people are, the less nostalgic is their presentation. Furthermore, the type of nostalgia differs between generations. There is an overtly-stated nostalgia, and the related images are of the Lithuanian countryside, the landscape. Nostalgia also works at a level that is much less tangible, which is a sense of either an attachment to the past that cannot be restored (Hart, 1973; Schmidt, 2016), or a sense of 'possessing' something good that continues to nourish one's life. By constructing a past that is antithetical to current discontents, nostalgia provides a consolation and is linked to an effort to maintain the integrity of identity (Gabriel, 2020). For the oldest generation, certain historical events (such as "a demonstration") bestow a degree of self-worth on them (Davis, 1979); enabling them to take heart from earlier glories.

Considering Boym's (2001) distinction between 'restorative' and 'reflective' nostalgia, it is the former which is seen in participants in their 60s – a nostalgia which is about a return to origins. Although Boym states that it is reflective nostalgia which thrives in 'algia' (which she interprets as 'longing'), I would argue that it is restorative nostalgia which abides in 'algia' (interpreted as 'pain'). This feeling of pain was permeating the oldest generation's Visual Matrix, taking various imagistic forms such as cut trees and the dismembered body of a son, expressing a 'catastrophic' and violent severing of an organic connection.

It is apparent from the Visual Matrix that the majority of the group had fled Lithuania as they had struggled to adjust to the new economic conditions when the country became independent (Švedas,

2014; Maslauskaitė, 2021); but the group stays with an idealised vision of Lithuania. As noted in Section 5.2.1.1, the group presents a powerful nostalgic attachment to the rural idyll of a Lithuanian village. Nostalgia is one of the factors holding the participants back from making better use of their current reality, such as accessing the cultural richness of London. Essentially, nostalgia is a defence against the pain of loss and the changes brought by postmodernity.

Furthermore, it is important to factor in the historical trauma that the oldest generation has experienced. The effect of trauma is generally considered from a psychoanalytic viewpoint to favour – behaviourally – repetition, compulsion and an inhibition of new learning. As the devastation of the Soviet occupation is part of the generational experience and a driver of migration, the participants remain prone to nostalgic idealisation. Nostalgia manifests as an indispensable means of survival, and retaining a good object (Winnicott, 1971), albeit one that ultimately 'traps' them in the past. (This will be further explored in the next section.)

'Reflective' nostalgia (Boym, 2001) appears in the accounts of the younger groups. It dwells "on the ambivalence of human longing and belonging and does not shy away from the contradictions of modernity" (ibid, p. XVIII). Although there is an attachment and a nostalgia for a rural idyll in the youngest generation, the participants acknowledge a dark history; this more educated and less rooted generation is moving on.

In the middle age group there is much ambivalence regarding nostalgia: it treads quite a fine line between the impulse towards nostalgia and rejection of it (qv Section 5.2.1.3). Although this generation presents with more ambivalence, even unease, in its relationship to the Lithuanian landscape, yet for them the forest remains reminiscent of their childhood. There is more nostalgia present in the interviews than in the groups for this generation. (This may in part be because the interviewees are more at ease: in the Visual Matrices the participants tend to self-censor.)

Regardless of the distinction between 'restorative' and 'reflective' nostalgia, it is evident that nostalgia for the countryside persists: for almost everyone, even town-dwellers, their roots are essentially in a village.[126] Nostalgia is less present in the younger generations than in the oldest one. Even so, looking at the past still outweighs the appreciation of the present. There is more affect and warmth in the participants when talking about the past, more emotional engagement. (This could have been

[126] This is consistent with Davoliūtė's (2013) writings about the post-war influx from the countryside to the cities.

compounded by the fact that the participants experienced that they were linked through their past to one another and to the researcher.)

6.2.2 The idealised landscape

The question is, what purposes has this idealised countryside for each of the three generational groups individually? This relates to the idealised (or to the denigrating defensive) relationship to the Lithuanian past, but it also relates to their social experience because of the generation they are and the opportunities they have had and how easy or difficult travel has been for them. It is an intertwining of their material circumstances (the social part of it) with the reason for this need to hold onto the idealised Lithuanian countryside (which is the 'psycho-' part).

A rural past represents not only the participants' experience, it is also the place that holds a sense of the past, a sense of the integrity of rural Lithuania. The countryside does not change at the same pace and to the same extent as cities, it has a sense of endurance that is very quickly disrupted and erased in urban environments. In the participants' imaginary the countryside provides a sense of continuity, a sense of safety, and also an ideal to which they can never return. As mentioned before, given the background of much occupation and trauma, one can see that there is something stabilising and grounding – and fundamentally important – in the trees and the landscape.

From a psychoanalytic perspective this idealised countryside serves a function, such as being a container for participants' anxieties about their relation to the place they have left and to the place they are currently in, that resolves into this tranquil and very sensorially-rich image. There is a defence mechanism (splitting) at work, such as the idealising of old cultural objects (Lijtmaer, 2001). Additionally it may play a role in relation to the participants' processes of identification with the good object. Winnicott (1971) makes a distinction between 'object relating' and 'object use.' In object relating, one uses the object for one's own needs; in object use, one internalises what one needs from the object, so that it is secure within oneself and then one lets the actual object go.

There is something melancholic about this relationship to the Lithuanian countryside, as it has not been worked through, they cannot let it go, it remains as an identification object, it defines who they are, it defines the aspects of the good life that they feel they have lost. In Winnicott's terms, if they were able to 'use' it, then it would continue to nourish them: they could let it go and look for sources of satisfaction in what they have in the here and now. So, the past would become less important to identity, and identity could be reconstructed on the basis of the present (yet with some accommodation of the past).

All three generational groups are using Lithuanian landscape to largely define their identity – more so in the case of the older group, much less so in the case of the younger groups. And, for those who use it less, they have not just abandoned it or ceased to think of it as part of who they are (the kind of inner landscape), or banished it from their inscape. They are able to use it to the extent that they have internalised it (Winnicott, 1971), so that – now internalised – it belongs to them and is part of their heritage.

6.2.3 Search for the 'calm ground'

My main research question is regarding the cultural imaginary of Lithuanians. The cultural imaginary of middle and oldest generation participants predominantly comprises imagery from Lithuania, whereas for the youngest generation it is rather cosmopolitan. However, in the case of the youngest generation there is more emotional involvement, more connection to Lithuanian traditions (such as Christmas Eve celebrations).

The search for grounded-ness (for the "calm ground"), the nostalgia for the Lithuanian landscape and the difficulty in finding a new cultural imaginary that they can attach to and make their own in London, means that participants are constantly in an in-between situation. This relates to the fact that they still have not found a settled calm ground either outside or within.

Grounded-ness would be an escape from in-betweenness. As Antonsich (2010) states, absence of 'place-belongingness' is experienced as alienation and displacement. There is a tension between the longing for grounded-ness and – a fate of the migrant – the inevitability of mobility. My data reveal this longing for grounded-ness, even for the literal physical ground and landscape.

There is a yearning for the countryside: a place that is not a "meat mincer," where one has space, where one has civil encounters with people, and where one can experience some kind of connection. In all the interviews (except that of Lukas) and in all the Visual Matrices (except the first one with the middle age group[127]) there is a very strong pull towards this fantasy of rural living in landscapes and places where one can just be. There is a sense of something lost, and so of something to return to: a romanticised native land or a feeling of being rooted and stabilised. The dream of return is present in some sense in all the data, even if the participants could not envisage living in Lithuania. Some oldest-generation participants express a wish to return to Lithuania once they retire (a theme of return is

[127] Where reverie was difficult to establish due to certain technical issues.

prominent in the literature on older migrants (Ciobanu and Ramos, 2016)); the younger ones say it would be easy to return any time should the need arise. There are distinctions in grounded-ness between the generations: the younger ones present with an ease of moving between countries (to them a trivial matter), whereas the oldest generation essentially presents a longing for return. (This echoes Daukšas' (2021) research of Lithuanians in Norway, where the perception of home as being in Lithuania is partly related to age and social status and the level of integration into the new society.)

Some ambivalence was apparent too, such as Nida thinking of returning to the seaside in Lithuania, rather than to her native town (qv Section 5.3.3.3). The interviewee is clear that were she to return to Lithuania, it would not be to her native place: this suggests an uneasiness, compounded by her story about a KGB investigation held in her native town. In all three generations there was an element of not fitting in once back. Migrants in general often express an ambivalence about returning to their motherland, recognising that they have changed, as has the place they remembered as 'home' (Ní Laoire, 2008; Ralph, 2012). They "often feel they no longer belong in their home place. Thus, while seeking to stabilise an identity, they encounter the complex relationships between identity and belonging" (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011, p. 523). Furthermore, home can be far from being a private haven (Sibley, 1995; Wardhaugh, 1999), it can also be what one runs away from; migrants can feel as much outsiders here as there (Ibričević, 2021).

The longing for grounded-ness speaks directly to the research on belonging and rootedness and the importance of 'placing' people's lives, and is not well accommodated by the mobilities 'paradigm'. Such concepts as 'elective belonging' (Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst, 2005), where the feeling of belonging is not linked to historical roots, were not convincingly revealed by my data, especially in the case of the oldest generation. The youngest group has a much weaker attachment to Lithuania as a homeland; they are all still mobile and still open to change and opportunity. The middle generation has a relatively stable situation in London and the importance of historical roots is less pronounced.[128]

My data concur with the ideas of American ethnologist and behaviour researcher Calhoun (2003, p. 536) who argues that "[i]t is impossible not to belong to social groups, relations, or culture" and sees the idea of "escaping from social determinations into a realm of greater freedom, and of cultural

[128] However, there is a degree of variation: some participants stress the importance of the forest (qv Section 5.3.6) and others relativise their Lithuanian heritage by stating that here in England there are many more natural treasures (qv Section 5.1.4).

partiality into greater universalism" as unrealistic (ibid). Lithuanian culture is an important part of my participants' cultural imaginary, even if some of them are conflicted about it.

6.2.4 An avoidant attachment

There is a paradoxical relationship to Lithuania: on the one hand most participants fall into romantic idealisation (they hold fast to iconic cultural images) and develop a strong attachment to Lithuania. On the other hand, this does not amount to a sense of robust and enduring attachment (Bowlby, 2005 [1979]) or security, because they are unable to feel secure in their own country.[129]

There appears to be an insecure attachment to Lithuania. What are the psychological consequences at the individual level of such an attachment (Bowlby, 2005 [1979])? Insecure attachment leads to avoidant behaviours, as there is a mistrust toward the attachment figures and therefore a tendency to avoid attachment relationships. There is something avoidant in the mindset of the study's participants – this was very strongly apparent in the middle age cohort. On the one hand they are most definitely Lithuanian and quite critical of London, but on the other hand, the likelihood of their ever going back to settle in Lithuania is remote (albeit for a variety of reasons). There is some self-defensive avoidance occurring, because although Lithuania is loved, it still offers a very insecure base — doubtless the more so given the Russian invasion of Ukraine (qv footnote 24). Lack of a sense of safety and security (economic stability and predictability, and – compounded by the war in Ukraine – physical safety) in one's homeland is a consistent underlying theme.

Thinking historically about the oldest generation's experience, that generation has many reasons for developing an anxious avoidant attachment, because they have lived through the period of the Soviet occupation (with all the trauma I have described in the history section, 2.3). Though they are attached to Lithuania, it is to an ideal Lithuania: they cannot be attached to that part of Lithuania which has experienced catastrophic disruptions. So, they are attached to the forest, because it offers a return to nature, and beauty, stability, strength and shelter. It is a selective attachment; what they are avoiding is the Lithuania that was much more problematic for their generation. Hence we have an anxious avoidant attachment. A secure attachment gives one a basis for moving on and individuating. However, where attachment is compromised by feeling anxious or avoidant, people tend to cling more

[129] In the youngest group, the romance stops when the participants become aware of the country's difficult history (Gailienė, 2008, 2015), such as facing the image of deportation. One of the middle generation Visual Matrix groups is marked by a prolonged silence (followed by the images of deportations and of an old Jew).

to the attachment figure. In Bowlby's (2005) theory, insecurely-attached children find it much more difficult to separate and to achieve independence and to forge an authentic life path: this is echoed in the paths of the oldest generation.

The younger groups were (respectively) teenagers when the regime changed, or were born in a free country. What does attachment mean for them, given they have made a critical transition to being globals who travel easily across national borders (so modifying their nature of attachment to place)? The middle generation is ambivalent about Lithuania: 'a calm ground' is not found in Lithuania as expected (qv Tomas' case study, Section 5.3.7). The youngest group exhibits a weak attachment.

6.2.5 In summary

Landscape, in my discussion, includes both presented and internally-produced imagery, linked to belonging, home, attachment, and rootedness. The nostalgic attachment to the Lithuanian countryside persists, with varying degrees of ambivalence across generations: whilst the oldest group displays 'restorative' nostalgia, focused on returning to origins, the younger participants exhibit 'reflective' nostalgia, acknowledging the complexities of postmodernity (Boym, 2001). For the older generation, the countryside serves as an object of identification, as it relates to the countryside in a 'object relating' way rather than in an 'object use' way (Winnicott, 1971). While the younger generations still recognise the importance of the landscape as part of their heritage and identity, they have internalised it to a greater extent, enabling a more balanced engagement with the present.

6.3 Cityscape[130]

Fig. 6.2 – Cityscape; sketch by Asta Binkauskaitė

The sketch of an island in the fog depicts Trafalgar Square, pigeons, chaos, construction, and red buses. The rounded cartoonish buses look like those from a children's storybook, perhaps conveying the notion that there is something comforting about the red London bus; the iconography of the red London bus has a simple naive universal appeal to children and adults alike. By contrast, the construction in the background is ghostly and insubstantial.

Cityscape encompasses the phenomenon of rootlessness: mobility versus belonging; mobility includes the ability to distance oneself, or evolve a more pragmatic and modern relationship to one's origins. Cityscape represents the participants' positioning of themselves to where they live now – whether they are in retreat or are embracing what it offers and excited by it.

[130] The word cityscape originates, unsurprisingly, from the words city and landscape. I chose this word as it can be taken as a metaphor for the largeness of urban horizons and – specifically in London's case – for large masses of humanity.

6.3.1 Mobility

My youngest group exhibits mobility, but to some extent my middle group does too. The oldest group is emotionally and mentally attached to its place of origin; the younger groups have embraced the ethos of mobility and travel, and it affects their entire outlook. (However, the oldest generation too presents with an element of a tourist mode of being.) Mobile 'globals' (Elliott and Urry, 2010) can work for a few years in London, but then may well go somewhere else or back to Lithuania. Their outlook is not rooted – nor aspires to be; they do not need rootedness in the same way as the oldest group needs it, theirs is a mobile consciousness.

Although many of my participants do exhibit such a consciousness (as well as having led physically mobile lives), they do retain certain attachments. The most contradictory character who shows both these aspects is Tomas, who has a love of the English countryside and – at the same time – has enjoyed bars and city nightlife. This shows that some migrants transfer their provincial hedonistic identity to England and find an equivalent – a better one, such as more pubs and sophisticated clubs. They seek – and find – that which had formed their life model in Lithuania, they seek for what they had in their country of origin.

6.3.2 Politics of belonging

However, none of the participants appear to be deeply integrated into English culture. Kuznecovienė's (2014) study too reveals fragmented engagement of Lithuanian immigrants in London with the host society, with very few constructive practices of belonging to the place or even the local community. The question arises: what is needed for people to avail themselves of the cultural richness of a foreign land? Expressions of what the British are like – polite, queuing – indicate difference and cultural distance. Also, what does the cultural richness that is accessible to them actually comprise? In all the interviews with older generations, a distance with the British is expressed; living in a metropolis, the divide is segregating Lithuanian migrants from the local culture.

It is worth noting that the task of symbolising, of giving meaning, of developing and owning a sense of belonging, is not just a project of an individual: it is a psychosocial project which is located in the society. As such, it is related to the 'politics of belonging', including how the migrant is received by the local community (Hall, 1990; Yuval-Davis, 2011) – being a Lithuanian in London at a particular time in history (in 2020–2022). As Marija in her interview says, about British politeness, "even if they think badly of you, they're still goodies, aren't they? – such is their culture..." There is indeed a barrier, a double-sided relationship, cultural divides – local people are at the same time friendly and not. (An experience of exclusion is common in migrants' encounters with locals (Crowley, 1999; Yuval-Davis,

2006; Wessendorf, 2019)). Overall, the participants present with a distance from the local community, they seek security within their own circles; thinking about interviews, only the youngest generation choose friends from beyond their own background. Also, the UK leaving the EU made migrants feel less welcome: Tomas and Fausta mentioned Brexit and their feelings about being 'not from here.'

6.3.3 Nomadic rootlessness

Most of my data do not support the concept of nomadism as being an explanatory factor of Lithuanian migration, as the concept "denies the dream of a homeland, with the result that home, being portable, is available everywhere" (Peters, 1999, p. 31). The story my participants seem to be telling is one in which the nomadic state of mind would be – were it realised – an escape from this immobility, from this sense of stuck-ness. However, they are not 'occupying' such a mental state: they are actually constantly being pulled back into the past and the location and the ground which they feel they belong to, but – in effect – are separated from.

The youngest generation, at their age, at their stage of development in life, are much more in process: they are less formed, they are still more actively involved in identity work, they still have a whole life and set of opportunities before them, so they are trying to navigate the terrain of future possibilities. This does make them more elusive and difficult to characterise and situate. The ability to avoid the binaries in migration is about this active reconfiguring of the imaginary – a cultural work they have to do – which is in process, it is not settled.

For all three generations there is a tendency to alight – even dwell – on tourist iconography in the UK. The imagery that participants present of what it is to live in contemporary Britain is lacking in obvious affection, even though the participants might see their futures here. One would imagine that rootlessness frees, but in reality it can paradoxically be what causes freezing and immobility. This is consistent with the search for the calm ground and the constant harking back to landscape, with elements of idealisation and wistfulness.

Furthermore, participants present with nomadic elements and this too is generationally articulated. None of the three generational groups have a deep attachment to London, none mentioned anything significant in this respect from the local culture. They have an attachment to a different place and a different temporality. They are nomadic only to the (limited) extent that they are not fixed on things from the past.

The youngest generation happens to be in London, but would be equally content in Lithuania: it depends where the opportunities lie. They do not have a strong sense of attachment, either to the

country of origin or to the country of settlement, yet the land of origin remains important, as my data attests. They identify as Lithuanian, Lithuania remains one of their holiday destinations, and is where they also go to see their families. This is paradoxical given this generation's superficiality and their lack of attachment to either country (in the sense that they can easily move between the two). Alternatively, this can be seen as a multiple (synthesised) identity, and as 'compensatory' in that one culture is not enough (especially since Lithuania's is so small).

Overall, my youngest participants (as well as the middle generation ones) live rather successfully with this paradox, or with multiple identities. The oldest generation has shown elements of this being disabling and paralysing. However, as seen in the interviews, the migrants live with hybridity and in some cases the perpetual (partly embraced, partly resisted) mobility of the nomad (constantly trying to select from the cultural imaginaries available to them in order to assemble that which enables them to live with the in-between-ness).

6.3.4 In summary

The cityscape section presents the participants as balancing mobility with belonging, and captures their stance towards their current place, whether retreating or embracing its opportunities. The younger groups display a mobile mindset, unlike the oldest group which remains predominantly emotionally attached to their place of origin.

All the participants maintain a significant cultural distance from English culture, especially the older generations. While the youngest generation is more likely to form friendships outside their community, participants generally seek security within their own circles. Also, most of the participants identify with their homeland rather than embracing a nomadic state of mind.

6.4 Escape[131]

Fig. 6.3 – Escape; sketch by Asta Binkauskaitė

The sketch could be perceived as a view glimpsed at speed by a traveller, and the two coloured spots as a child's "sad eyes."

Regardless of where one escapes to, an inscape inevitably 'follows' one. What is it that people are separating themselves from? – the urge to migrate is to do with flight, but an escape from what? Escape from lack of opportunity? Escape from a traumatised past?

6.4.1 Migration as necessity versus migration as opportunity

Most of the oldest generation participants presented their migration as having been a matter of necessity – either for economic reasons ("Not out of a good life – it is apparent – we all came here,"

[131] Etymologically, 'escape' derives from the Middle English 'escapen,' from the Anglo-Norman and Old Northern French 'escaper,' in turn from the Latin excappāre (Oxford English Dictionary, 1999). The Latin verb means, literally, "to get out of one's cape, leave a pursuer with just one's cape" – which has a clear resonance with migration.

"debts were growing, I had to do something") or to support their children who had previously migrated to London ("My daughter said 'It's hard for me over here […]. Maybe you can come here?'") (Kumpikaitė-Valiūnienė, Lukauskas and Agoh, 2017). The middle and youngest generations presented their migration as being a response to the opening of new opportunities – "Leaving Lithuania opened so, so, so many opportunities for me and my family." However, in one case (that of Tomas) there was a sense in the interview of a profound unsettlement and discomfort, and of not finding a place in Lithuania. In this regard, his migration can be perceived as one of necessity too.

6.4.2 Migration as an expression of freedom

Whilst undoubtedly there were certain societal conditions that prompted people to migrate (Park, 2015), my data reveals the underlying and less conscious reasons. One theme running through the data is travelling, and the move being a matter of choice and its contrast with forced mobility ("I came here free," "There is no longer a kind of 'deportation.'"). Given that for such a small country there are so many Lithuanians who have migrated – particularly to London – it is very tempting to link that migration to the trauma of forced mobility. It is almost a reaction formation in search of freedom. Thematically, there is a significant suggestion that migration is a free choice. London might not be ideal – there are certain downsides to it – but at least now it is one's own free choice to move (unlike when under the Soviet regime). Here an ambivalence is presented, suggestive of taking a depressive position (Klein, 2017 [1921–1945]).[132]

6.4.3 In summary

Depending on their generation, participants' migration is about fleeing external or internal struggles and seeking new opportunities. Most of the oldest generation participants viewed migration as a necessity due to economic or family reasons. In contrast, the younger generations saw migration predominantly as the unfolding and pursuit of new prospects.

While societal conditions certainly influenced migration, my data highlight the less conscious reasons. A recurring theme is the contrast between a sense of freedom in migration and a forced mobility.

[132] According to Klein (2017 [1921–1945]), there are two polar 'mental life' positions that can be adopted: 'paranoid-schizoid' and 'depressive.' In the paranoid-schizoid position, objects are split into good and bad; in the depressive position the good and bad aspects are integrated in the object.

6.5 Inscape[133]

Fig. 6.4 – Inscape; sketch by Asta Binkauskaitė

The sketch depicts the imagery from several scenic compositions such as those including a flying lake (which in the drawing descends in the form of rain), a "cemetery hill," and a "path of blood drops."

Why is it that working out one's relationship to a sensory landscape (which is part of one's heritage) and indeed to the cityscape too (which is part of one's present), is such a complicated issue? It is complicated because of the 'escape' that affects the 'inscape.' How does an adaptation to a new place occur? What is it to long for something new, what is it to hold on to a past, what is it to relinquish that attachment?

[133] Inscape features in my thesis as the inner world, which is close to the meaning of the concept conceived by Gerard Manley Hopkins from the ideas of the medieval philosopher Duns Scotus. Inscape can be seen as the individual self, the inner nature of a person, an essence or embodied identity. Hopkins was convinced that everything in the universe is characterized by what he called 'inscape,' the distinctive design that constitutes individual identity (which is dynamic, not static) (Sobolev, 2011).

6.5.1 External mobility vs internal immobility

The participants, to varying degrees, balance the pursuit of new experiences with a deep attachment to the past. The oldest generation exhibits a profound internal immobility, remaining emotionally tied to their origins, which restricts adaptation to the present. This immobility is reflected by their failure to integrate into local culture. Some participants in the younger generations too face some tension between their past and present lives, but overall they demonstrate greater adaptability and engagement with their new environment.

To some extent, external mobility (such as migration and subsequent travels) confronts an internal immobility within the older participants' psyche. They are isolated and entrenched in their Lithuanian-ness. They seem to be encased within an enclave and fail to move on: they self-protect by approximating themselves to the society of origin as it was when they left it, and by enclosing themselves in the community in which that (particular) sense of Lithuanian-ness is preserved.

The oldest generation has not learned the local language. (Whilst most would have a basic familiarity with English, none of them could read a consent form in the language.[134]) Being able to use only one's mother tongue confines one within the orbit of the mother. There is no ability to elaborate from the mother tongue because the person has moved here, leaving behind the place where the necessary symbolic reserve, a symbolic repertoire, is alive and developing. In London the oldest generation is unable to elaborate their now ossified Lithuanian symbolic resources in a new context. This all restricts their ability to make use of the opportunities that open up in London.

Another possible contributing factor to the appearance of 'stuckness' in the oldest generation is the predictability and standardisation they experienced as part of everyday life during the Soviet era, and the expectations the regime laid on their lives (Davoliūtė, 2013); they are exhibiting a fair degree of predictability and standardisation in the way they live out their experience of migration. They may have internalised there being a particular way of 'doing' things: there is a particular way of living under Soviet domination and a particular way of 'doing' migration – cleaving to the original identity, the myth and place of origin, and living one's life as an exile, separated from those origins, uprooted like trees.

[134] Hence the forms were provided in Lithuanian when necessary.

This tension between the internal immobility and the external mobility is less pronounced in the younger generations. However, even the participants from the younger generations seem – to an extent – to be immobilised by unresolved tension, stuck between a stereotyped Lithuania and their life in London. But in many ways their life in London is unsatisfactory too – they have a foothold, but no more than that. None of them – in any stable way – has made London their own. The majority of the participants live between Lithuania and Britain, metaphorically speaking. This echoes Eng and Han's (2000) findings of 'suspended assimilation' – migrants feeling trapped between two worlds.

As mentioned in Section 5.4, the increased physical mobility of Lithuania's population is partly related to an immobility within the 'cultural psyche,' related to the country's exposure to repeated historical trauma. Due to this immobility, participants do not have the mental freedom to wander into their new space. This is less so for the younger generations, but for the oldest one the experience of migration has certainly immobilised them.[135]

What enables people to think, to process their experience, to move on, rather than to get repeatedly stuck? Bion (1959) offers a theory of 'linking' which is very pertinent to the state of being unable to think, which sheds light on my participants' inability to move on, not being able to use their experiences as a basis for moving forward, that state of stuckness. From Bion's perspective, there is a failure of linking and thus of symbolisation, hence a failure too in re-configuring a cultural imaginary.

There is a lack of linking in my participants' minds, but what is it that enables linking? The ability to link arises from the existence of the container (Bion, 1959). There is a significant psychosocial issue for anybody undergoing the experience of migration: what happens to the socio-cultural container in which one has grown and developed one's imaginary, has developed the way one is thinking about the world and one's responses to the world. It is a significant challenge for migrants to reconstitute a container in new circumstances, where the old security and stability are compromised and the previous consistency of the symbolic world is lost.

The older group has created a psychic retreat of safety, constructed out of the symbolic resources of the socio-cultural imaginary that they came with, but it leaves them in the position of the difficulty of

[135] Looking at the interviews, they all point to the importance of this tension, which the interviewees respond to in slightly different ways, but always uneasy ones. (This ranges from Fausta (in her 20s) overtly expressing uneasiness at never fitting in anywhere, to Marija (in her 60s) presenting her life as a mere focus on surviving, not dying.)

moving forward, of adapting, of taking in and constructing a new symbolic repertoire and even a good object world in these new circumstances.

My oldest group presents as being in a state of incomplete mourning.[136] However, this state is not one of arrested mourning because the participants are still producing imagery around the experience of loss, which demonstrates an ongoing effort to assimilate their experience. Also, they are constrained (by income and opportunity) from re-configuring their cultural imaginary to make space for a new and alternate sense of home and belonging. Yet, at the end of the Visual Matrix the oldest generation moves into 'tourist mode.' Hence it is important not to underplay the conflict and the dissonance, and to introduce some nuance, as no one is totally consistent in the way they express their attachments and their desires.

There is a generational variation in the lack of linking[137]: the youngest and middle generations, having adapted better than the oldest one, demonstrate a higher degree of linking. The youngest generation has a more fluid and dynamic process of linking (characterised by flexibility and openness to new opportunities) and the middle generation is more established and mature.[138]

6.5.2 Haunting

In my data a shadow of the traumatic past emerges. It is as though this shadow is hanging over what the participants are saying. In so far as melancholia involves being trapped in unprocessed loss (Freud, 1917), there is an unresolved cultural melancholia that continues to shadow participants in the present. Some of my participants, especially in the older generation, are unable to grieve Lithuania

[136] From the data it is apparent that there is an unprocessed loss (which theoretically can be interpreted in terms of haunting or incomplete mourning). The mourning is only complete when one has internalised the lost object (Freud, 1917). One internalises the goodness that one has lost and then one can let the object go. It also relates to the issue of haunting, as in haunting the ghost has not been laid to rest, so is always returning, always present in an uncomfortable way, always a source of unsettlement.

[137] According to Bion (1959), linking refers to the process whereby unprocessed emotional experiences, 'beta elements,' are transformed into 'alpha elements,' so enabling such experiences to be both thought about and acquire a sense of meaning (qv Section 4.2.2.1).

[138] Maturing in the Kleinian (Klein, 2017 [1921–1945]) sense is the ability to live with ambivalence and uncertainty and find the possibilities of creativity within it, therefore neither rejecting nor idealising the place of origin whilst developing an open and receptive curiosity towards the new.

and remain gazing at their past. This highlights the role of melancholic subjectivity (Frosh, 2013b) in shedding light on my data – it is part of the explanation of the mindset of those particular participants.

The data reveal a sense of unresolved cultural melancholia among the participants, particularly in the older generations, which manifests as a haunting, with participants often avoiding direct engagement with their traumatic history. Whilst the youngest generation shows less entanglement with historical trauma and maintains a cosmopolitan outlook, the older groups demonstrate a profound discomfort, highlighting a collective disavowal and ongoing struggle to symbolise and process their past.

The history of Lithuania in the XXc., specifically the elimination of vast numbers of its population through the deportations and the Holocaust (qv Section 2.3, History), is present as a trace in my data. That Visual Matrix imagery which relates to this history tended to remain unacknowledged by the participants or made them very uncomfortable. There seems to be a need not to see or know.[139]

There was a distinction between the generations in terms of how they responded to the research stimulus. That the oldest generation were not talking about the Soviet past in the Visual Matrix might indicate that internalised censorship from the Soviet period is still present in people's minds (Gailienė, 2008), given that in totalitarian regimes one has to say the 'right thing,' at least in public. As previously mentioned, these were people born in the Soviet regime and were in their 40s when the regime changed. (Also, this generation suffered from the change of regime (Sztompka, 2004; Švedas, 2014; Maslauskaitė, 2021).) The group 'produces' an image of the dismembered body of a son, which also acts as a metaphor to represent their reality.

Given a collective disavowal (Sužiedėlis, 2022), it is not surprising that there is little reference to history in the data. However, this does not mean that history is not doing its work. The things one cannot talk about still remain present as a haunting. The suspicion and mistrust concur with the findings presented in Lindy and Lifton's (2014) collection of therapy case studies 'Beyond Invisible Walls: The Psychological Legacy of Soviet Trauma, Eastern European Therapists and Their Patients.'

[139] Remarkably, 'The Sage' remains unnoticed by the oldest and the youngest groups. The middle generation group alludes to melancholic objects in their mention of deportations and calling 'The Sage' a "fake Banksy." This generation appears to be affected by the trauma lived in by previous generations. The oldest group – closest historically to the traumatic events – remains silent about the matter. The only exception is that in one interview of the oldest generation there is a brief mention of Jews.

These case studies demonstrate that on emerging from the Soviet era, people retain a suspicion and mistrust of others – and even (and as revealed in my middle generation's FANIs) of themselves.

My participants are haunted by the gaps left within them by the secrets of their forebears (Abraham and Torok, 1994, p. 171). The trauma of the Holocaust, and of Soviet persecution and deportations to Siberia, remains mostly unprocessed: it thus echoes for generations (Schwab, 2010; Frosh, 2013a), as if a 'crypt' (Abraham and Torok, 1994) – unprocessed trauma is unconsciously passed down through generations. As Williams (2021) notes, an event lost in transgenerational memory, can be represented in future generations as mass migration. The present is haunted both by the past and by the ghostly traces of lost futures (Derrida, 1996).

Much of what Lithuanian migrants experience in their daily lives is not consciously expressed in their overt discourse or behaviour, but is unconscious and contains a whole history of symbolisation, of traumatisation, of shared oppression. Traumatisation can hinder symbolisation (Abraham and Torok, 1994; Caruth, 1996; Davoine and Gaudilliere, 2004; Alford, 2019): there are places in the data where participants struggle to expand on certain images and their narrative becomes fragmented. This creates a situation in which there is much that is unspoken (and perhaps unspeakable) within the culture – and some unspoken elements are also unthought. These elements are not in everyday discourse and are beneath conscious awareness, but nevertheless emerge in the cultural lives of the research subjects. This phenomenon, given that it is informed by trauma of the past, is akin to haunting (Frosh, 2012).

In the academic literature in general, haunting is predominantly explored in relation to Holocaust survivors (ibid). In my research, haunting manifests itself most vividly through the imagery 'produced,' such as a "monster" or a "fake Banksy," as well as through the silence (reluctance to talk about the difficult history or being 'repelled' by it) and a feeling of insecurity and mistrust (of the research and of the event being recorded).

Frost and Hoggett (2008) explore the notion of social suffering within a psychosocial paradigm. Some experiences threaten to go beyond our capacity to digest them because we lack the resources to symbolise and give meaning to them. There are a significant number of examples in my data of the ways in which people do symbolise and give meaning to their situations, their lives and their forms of longing and belonging. Some of these ways are quite defended, but some are more productive and register a sense of ambivalence (such as the cut trees exported as wood).

While haunting and melancholia can inhibit play and creativity, affecting the ability to find new cultural containers, my data show that all generational groups retain a capacity for playfulness and creativity (as manifested in their ability to engage in free association and generate new imagery).

6.5.3 The location of cultural experience

As previously mentioned (qv Sections 3.4.1.2 and 4.2.2.2), the capacity for play emerges in the 'potential space' between infant and mother (Winnicott, 1971). There is a direct development from this playing to cultural experiences later in life, which occur in an area between the inner world and external reality. The potential space (where play and creativity occur) allows individuals to explore and create cultural experiences. Play is essential for both personal development and the engagement with culture throughout life.

Haunting and melancholia inhibit the capacity for play; so too does the immobility arising from both unresolved tension and the inability to find cultural containers in the new situation. Even if little realised in their lives, my participants have retained the capacity to play: in my data the ability to engage in free association and thereby generate new imagery is a remarkable manifestation of playfulness. And, there is evidence of this ability in all three generational groups. Hence, although melancholia and haunting are present, they do not overdetermine the participants' creativity.

What might be needed to enable the participants to move forward, enabling them to feel more settled and at home in London? I am describing three generational groups of people who in certain respects cannot move on with their lives. They can do it only in terms of finding jobs and making money, but there seems to be something missing. Theoretically it is equivalent to Winnicott's (1971) distinction between object relating and object use (qv Section 6.2.2). This 'congruence' between internal and external landscape, using landscape to stabilise identity, signifies that it remains – at different levels for different generations – as an identification object, it defines who the participants are, as they have not internalised what they need from the object and hence are not able to 'use' it (Winnicott, 1971). Articulating this psychosocially, there is an equivalence between the loss of the solid calm ground (as represented by the importance of landscape imagery), and the sense of a lack of such ground within the self.

Even though my participants may see their future as being in the UK, they are uncomfortably settled here, and are not currently in a position to form a creative integration. This is amplified by their being from a historically traumatised culture and having not worked through its legacy. As trauma hinders the symbolisation (Alford, 2019) which allows one to process and make meaning of experience, this

interferes with the reconfiguring of the cultural imaginary in the new environment and impairs the ability to deal with change and re-settlement. The issues of reception in London also play a part (qv Section 6.3.2). Maybe there is no way forward, maybe they are condemned forever to live in this twilight world in-between the 'scapes.' (I will return to this question in Section 7.2.1.)

6.5.4 In summary

The participants, to varying degrees, balance the pursuit of new experiences with a deep attachment to the past. The oldest generation exhibits a profound internal immobility, remaining emotionally tied to their origins, which restricts adaptation to the present. This immobility is reflected by their failure to integrate into local culture. Some participants in the younger generations too face some tension between their past and present lives, but overall they demonstrate greater adaptability and engagement with their new environment.

The data reveal a sense of unresolved cultural melancholia among the participants, particularly in the older generations, which manifests as a haunting, with participants often avoiding direct engagement with their traumatic history. Whilst the youngest generation shows less entanglement with historical trauma and maintains a cosmopolitan outlook, the older groups demonstrate a profound discomfort, highlighting a collective disavowal and ongoing struggle to symbolise and process their past.

While haunting and melancholia can inhibit play and creativity, affecting the ability to find new cultural containers, my data show that all generational groups retain a capacity for playfulness and creativity (as manifested in their ability to engage in free association and generate new imagery).

6.6 Brief summary

This chapter is summarised in the next section (7.1). However, it is important to note here that the participants' ability to escape the pitfalls of haunting and melancholia depends on how effectively they reconfigure their cultural imaginary, integrating their past and present attachments. Since cultural experience exists in a third space (Winnicott, 1971), it allows them to transcend binary polarities, such as Lithuania (and a traumatised past) versus London (and a future of capitalist opportunity). Cultural experience offers a solution to the problem of being stuck: it fosters a disposition to 'play' and opens new possibilities.

7 Conclusion

7.1 Answering my research questions

My research has led to new and original findings about Lithuanian migrants who have come to London since the early 1990s, and has given answers to my research questions. Migration is about place: it is literally a movement from one place to the other. For these particular migrants the imaginaries of place are largely articulated through a 'dialectic' of rural vs urban. (Whether they come from a city or not, their imaginary about Lithuania is a very rural one.) The way in which people imagine the place they are from is not necessarily tied entirely to their social circumstances.

There is a contrast between the 'landscape' and the 'cityscape': this is all about place and the way the participants think about place. Also, there is a contrast between the inner experience of movement (the 'inscape') and the outer experience (the 'escape'). This encapsulates my particular approach to the psychosocial. It is not just about physical movement between places, but about psychological movement between what is within themselves and what they are leaving behind or escaping from – how the physical place (and its character) they inhabit is internalised and held within. The movement between physical places (landscape/cityscape) and the movement between inner mental or emotional spaces and their outer manifestations (inscape/escape), are connected. The way in which those different components of the imaginary are working together in the lives of these different groups of people, is not enabling them to feel at home in any of these 'scapes.'

This sense of being not settled, not grounded, affects all three groups differently. The younger generations are more oriented to the 'cityscape.' The oldest generation is the most tenaciously attached to the 'landscape': the left-behind good object that it has lost and left behind forever.

The extent to which the participants escape the pitfalls of haunting and melancholia depends on how successfully they reconfigure their cultural imaginary, integrating what they value – including their attachments (both those from their past and those from the new situation).

Given that cultural experience is located in a third space (Winnicott, 1971), symbolically this gets them beyond the binary polarities[140] of Lithuania versus London, or a traumatised past and historical

[140] From a Kleinian perspective such polarities and stuckness mean that one is occupying a paranoid-schizoid position.

oppression versus mobility and a future of capitalist opportunity. A cultural experience is the solution to the problem of getting stuck: it opens up new windows and develops the disposition to 'play.'

We can reasonably envisage the cultural imaginary as holding out the potential for this new third area of experience: this 'area' (a mental space) which is neither Lithuania nor London, but a mix of the two. They can then make life choices in relation to it and do not need to renounce (or disavow) their attachments, nor remain rigidly attached. This means that they have integrated both places, which are thus available for 'object use' (Winnicott, 1971). This frees them to be available to new experiences and to make the most of the new opportunities. However, they can only do so if they have a symbolic capacity to represent their experiences. And that is where the cultural imaginary is vital.

Apart from shifts in perception of belonging and associated feelings of attachment, a re-configuration of the cultural imaginary is key. The two dimensions in interaction – attachment/belonging and the imaginary – are the kernel of a psychosocial approach. My participants are in a process of integrating – or least inter-relating – the two cultures (Grinberg and Grinberg, 1989). Coming back to Yoshizawa-Meaders' (1997) styles of adjustment to a new environment, my oldest generation present with the second style (of rigidly holding onto old traditions), while the younger groups flexibly express their own cultural identity, while also being receptive to new influences. Thus the younger groups can more readily get closer to embracing 'trans-cultural' identity, overcoming dichotomies, and integrating both cultures into their being.

7.2 Originality of my thesis

The originality of my research lies in both its substance and its methodology. My thesis sheds light on the way in which historical trauma transmits through communities of migration into the present, in essence shedding light on transhistorical psychosocial processes.

The original aspects of my thesis arise from its psychoanalytically-informed, psychosocial and aesthetic description and analysis of migration and associated states of mind. Other migration studies explore settlement and integration from a sociological or an economic perspective, whereas my study explores it through a psychosocial lens (which encompasses the interaction of personal biography and social context). For example, the theme of belonging is found in other work on migration, such as that of Babacan and Singh (2010), also Mansouri and Jamal Al-deen (2023). The former explores citizens' rights and responsibilities – how national frameworks co-exist within transnational contexts – and the latter investigates the relationship between transcultural capital and the negotiation of belonging within social and political challenges. In contrast, my thesis provides an understanding of the complex

psychic processes undergone by those who experience loss of the sense of belonging (and its re-constitution in another place and social milieu). Thus my thesis illuminates how a sense of belonging (or unbelonging) affects the state of mind, the ability to speak about oneself, the imaginary that one can call to mind, the particular ways in which one misses or doesn't miss one's country of origin, and the particular ways in which one settles in London.

My thesis documents the internal complexity of Lithuanian migrants, their cultural imaginary, and how they relate to Lithuania and London. Some of my findings are transferable to migration studies in general, such as those concerning the haunting experienced by migrants from totalitarian and post-totalitarian regimes. And, issues concerning nostalgia (Lijtmaer, 2001) and belonging (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011) apply to most if not all migrants. My study also contributes to a wider understanding of post-Soviet territorial mobility, providing generationally-specific articulations of migrant experience under changing socio-historical conditions, and how historical traumatisation at a population level impacts cultural symbolisation (Alford, 2019).

Like most migration studies (Ahmed, 1999; Babacan and Singh, 2010; Ibričević, 2021), my research pays attention to the historical context (qv Section 2.3). This is important because it affects migrants' conscious sense of where they have come from and who they are. However, my study differs in that it focusses on the cultural imaginary, which is formed in the present but contains residues of historical consciousness as transgenerationally transmitted, and accommodates unconscious and unarticulated aspects of historical legacy. The historical context not only allows one to have a sight of the 'metadata,' such as the silences and metaphors used by participants, but also adds a layer of interpretive possibilities when accounting for experience in present time, to interpret meaning and ramifications.[141]

Moreover, acknowledging and understanding the culture of origin is important, as the stories and metaphors used by participants are culturally-specific. (Such stories create a link from the present to the past, and contain cultural codes: for example, a cemetery hill and a 'flying' lake.) Imagistic stories

[141] For example, the image of a monster brought by the oldest generation participants can be interpreted – in part – as representing a re-emergence of historically-waged battles and also as the Russian army. (Later, in the same Visual Matrix, the attaining of freedom – the country's independence – is mentioned, as well as the possibility of war coming to Lithuania; see Section 5.1.2.) Also, it can be interpreted as such because it has a place in a cultural imaginary 'haunted' by trans-generational memory of the 'monstrosity' of the Soviet occupation.

– further explored in the next section – have an important place in the Lithuanian cultural imaginary, as they allow one to communicate the unspeakable (Langer, 1979 [1942]), and incorporate an element of free association, which opens up deeper layers of the imaginary thus accessing the unconscious social processes and revealing any repressive defensiveness. As a Lithuanian myself, I have studied Lithuanian art, literature, tales and myths, folk and popular songs, and have a lived experience of ceremonies and rituals and of different social milieux, as well as the content of my school and university education (hence, the strength of emic[142] research (Mostowlansky and Rota, 2020)). In the 'Contemporary Lithuania' section (2.4) I have presented some of my experiences of contemporary Lithuania and its art (as visual iconography is important in composing Lithuanians' cultural imaginary and therefore is used in my methodology and in the organisation of my discussion).

Furthermore, the material I worked with does not just belong to the realm of discourse, it also belongs to the realm of sight and sound and other senses, and the affects that accompany the senses.[143] My methodology bridges the divide between the arts and the social sciences. In my study, art is used as a powerful tool in the form of a stimulus (such as the Visual Matrix imagery), as well as in the analysis (such as scenic compositions and the drawings). And in the same study, I investigate the dynamic interplay between individual choices and societal group belonging. I use a combination of group-based image-led analysis and individual-based narrative-led analysis.

Although image-based analyses have been used before (such as in Froggett, Manley and Roy, 2015; Froggett, Muller and Bennett, 2019), the originality of my thesis lies in the particular way I have combined different means of image-led analysis and used them in a study of migration. The Visual Matrix and FANI case studies were presented as a sequence of unfolding scenes. For cross-case analysis I used scenic compositions to generate the gestalt of the cases, drawing on my visual-artistic

[142] Emic (in contrast to etic) research is an approach in anthropology and social sciences that focuses on understanding a cultural phenomenon from the perspective of researchers who are part of the culture being studied.

[143] The study's participants shared their impressions and memories in a linguistic way, and such spoken language opens the door to the figurative universe they have in their minds. Rather than just relying on discursive data, my research methodology enables me to access the cultural imaginary (composed as it is of sensory and imagistic material). This way of overcoming the limitation of discursive approaches enables access to the unconscious social processes and hence the gaining of a deeper understanding of the cultural imaginary of Lithuanian migrants.

disposition. To strengthen the reliability of interpretations I used a depth-hermeneutic approach by engaging panel analysis in my research. Later, in the discussion, the findings were grouped into four sections (landscape, cityscape, escape and inscape), each accompanied by my associative drawing. (For further exploration of image use in my research see Chapter 4, Methodology.) My analysis is image-rich: such image-led and image-based analysis has not – to my knowledge – been undertaken hitherto by other psychosocial and migration studies. Thus in this respect my work contributes a methodological advance in these fields of study.

7.2.1 Metaphorical terrain

One of my study's distinctive contributions concerns the pivotal role of images in participants' psyches, as these – accessed through both the Visual Matrices and FANIs – reveal participants' affective investments and also aspects of lived experience that they are unable to articulate in words. The imagery helps participants make sense of and accommodate to their circumstances by providing a way of becoming aware of their experiences, naming them, and therefore being able to 'contain' them and give them a meaning. American philosopher Suzanne Langer (1979 [1942]) introduced a concept of 'presentational' symbolisation as opposed to a 'discursive' one. While discursive symbols such as language represent ideas in a linear fashion, presentational symbols such as art represent ideas in a holistic way. Such symbols form a different mode of (non-linguistic) symbolisation and go beyond linguistic expression, engaging the senses and imagination directly. Imagery offers a form in which the experience can be communicated non-linearly (for example, the cut trees exported as wood and the dismembered body of a son, both pointedly communicate the experience of migration).

As I am operating from a psychosocial perspective and with imagistic material, this gives me licence to venture onto metaphorical literary (and artistic) terrain, supported by my data and my carefully laid-out interpretation protocols (primarily panels, using a depth-hermeneutic approach).

Much of the cultural imaginary is metaphorical: stories and cultural symbols that are expressed and embodied into images, tropes, works of art and literature, together creating cultural material. In this thesis, I am drawing many inferences from the metaphors that participants use when they talk about their experiences. Participants' pain, loss, ambivalence, hopes, nostalgia, sources of attachment: all find expression in the imagery that the participants 'create.' But it is more than merely imagery, because images are affect-laden. My methodology is about affect-laden imagery and how participants deploy it in talking about their situation. I am dealing with symbolic metaphorical cultural material which as a whole composes participants' cultural imaginary. As the cultural imaginary is dynamic,

there are some elements it does not yet contain: it has not settled into a form that enables participants to live comfortably and hopefully in London.

Bollas (1997) suggests that free association can provide a transformative experience by liberating the intrinsic creativity of the unconscious: hence processing trauma can eventually result in the creation of 'genera'– generative and creative structures – leading to new conceptions of reality. These creative genera can arise if the right conditions of mental freedom are achieved. One gets an intimation of this when participants produce associations and imagery (qv Section 5.3.6.3): this is an instance of genera beginning to develop.

As noted in the Discussion chapter (qv Section 6.5.3), the participants' capacity for play – even if little realised in their lives – does emerge in the third space (Winnicott, 1971); there is evidence of the potential for play (and hence creativity) in their generating of new imagery. Despite haunting and melancholia, the creative inverse of those states of mind is present.

7.2.2 Territoriality in today's world

In view of today's increasingly de-territorialised and globalised mobile world (Bauman, 2011a), my research should be considered against the backdrop of the importance of territory: in such a world what happens to attachment to place? The theories of nomadism suggest that global mobility is the nature of postmodernity and that people are fine with this – belonging and identity simply do not matter. Bauman (ibid) explains contemporary identity using the terminology of an anchor that may be dropped with ease at many different (even distant) ports. Additionally, in 'elective belonging,' the feeling of belonging is not linked to historical roots at all (Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst, 2005). My data suggest a more nuanced view: that whilst people can live adequate globally-mobile lives, they remain with a sense of dislocation and lack a 'calm ground.' Parutis (2006) challenges the idea that modern migrants are placeless, and Calhoun (2003) states that it is impossible not to belong to a culture.

The importance of land came into sharp focus during my data-collection phase, in the face of the (partly) territorial war in Europe. Lithuania has a particular historical relationship to global geopolitics

given its proximity to Ukraine and Russia. The current war not only revives brutal memories for Lithuanians,[144] but the country feels threatened by the risk of the war escalating into its own territory.

Also, the war in Ukraine draws attention to post-Soviet cultures, which are currently not well represented in Western academic literature. My study illuminates an aspect of the post-Soviet world – which is still changing and unfolding – from the perspective of people who essentially have a foot in both camps, post-Soviet Lithuania and the UK (London). What is seen is that the participants do carry with them a legacy from the Soviet era (and from other XXc. historical experiences), a legacy that they experience as traumatic, and also apparent is how this affects their struggle to integrate into the UK.

7.3 Application of findings (including further research)

Emerging from the interviews (FANIs) were strong clusters of ideas on belonging, immobility, longing for grounded-ness, and haunting. The same ideas emerged in the Visual Matrices – but differently, as the latter were image-led. The Visual Matrices provide a more nuanced, vivid, embodied and symbolically-rich view of how these ideas play out in people's imaginaries, and hence enlarge and enrich our understanding.

The use of the panels in a depth-hermeneutics approach was supported, as the panel's discussion on extracts from the transcribed data and on scenic compositions was successful in generating a gestalt of each case as a whole. In contrast to a widespread tendency in even qualitative research to fragment data by using coding, the FANI and Visual Matrix pay attention to working with data as a whole, and explore the links and contradictions within that whole.

As mentioned in the Methodology chapter, I also set up some Lithuanian panels for a number of the interviews and Visual Matrix groups. I found there was a convergence: both English and Lithuanian panels understood the material in a very similar way. Although there are, inevitably, cultural differences, there is also much common ground. Thus whilst there are differences in preoccupation and different interpretations of particular concepts such as nationalism, nevertheless essentially the panels converge on a similar interpretation and understanding of the research participants' subjective states. This too demonstrates the strength of panel interpretation.

[144] Russia and Ukraine were founding members of the Soviet Union in 1922, which subsequently annexed Lithuania (qv Section 2.3, History).

In view of the above summary, showing the productiveness of the approach used in my research, a similar model could be adopted by subsequent researchers. The study's approach to exploring transgenerational trauma and cultural imaginaries could be applied in studying other post-Soviet/post-totalitarian communities. (More on further research can be found in Section 4.4.8.)

Additionally, my research can help Lithuanians in London understand themselves better in their particular situation, and give Lithuanians in Lithuania a more realistic insight into emigration. Further, it is relevant to migrants in general (for minorities moving into a different culture), and would provide a new set of similarities and differences to consider. Also, it offers an insight into cultural change occurring as part of life's journey, and into where one might be on the spectrum of assimilation versus isolation.

Moreover, my findings can be useful for those who create migrant integration strategies, namely the importance of paying attention to the reality of the migrants, who may well have had experience of trauma.

7.4 A postscript reflection

All data is gathered at a particular moment, and often the researcher is writing about it years afterwards, when the world has changed. I finished my data collection in 2022, and the political situation has been in a state of flux ever since. The war in Ukraine continues. Latterly, in May 2024, Russia threatened to redraw the borders in the Baltic Sea: Lithuania is one of the countries which has such a border with Russia. Furthermore, a significant military conflict started in the Middle East in October 2023.

Lithuania features in a recent article in 'The Guardian' as being the top country in the 2024 World Happiness Report's ranking for the under-30s.[145] The article also mentions the threat of the war upending the country's stability.

In the face of the current political and hence economic uncertainty, Lithuanians may well feel a need to retreat to nature and ancient traditions (folklore and mythology), which are pertinently portrayed in a stereoscopic film 'Twittering Soul' (2023) by the Lithuanian film director Deimantas Narkevičius. The film shows Lithuania at the end of the XIXc., in the times before the technological revolution, and

[145] https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/article/2024/jun/04/lithuania-happiest-place-in-the-world-young-people (accessed on 04/06/2024)

accesses the cosmogonical universe, setting aside the idea that one is in control of one's own life (Narkevičius, 2024[146]).

In this project I had the unique privilege of seeing the reality of Lithuanian migrants in London through the prism of their feelings, their inner world, their imaginary: this will remain deep in my heart. As a Lithuanian migrant I am taking away a broader understanding of my life situation as well as that of other Lithuanians in London. Also the study was an opportunity to re-connect to my roots and so has had a unifying effect on my life.

My experience of this research was coloured by the emerging realities as life happened. I started my research just before Brexit officially began, and so still benefitted from the University's 'local' fees. As mentioned before, the Covid-19 pandemic started in my first year and this affected my life by introducing isolation and the loss of a significant portion of my paid work. However, I am glad that despite this temporary hardship, and thanks to Professor Lynn Froggett's encouragement, I was able to persevere with the project.

My life in London inspired me and naturally led me to this academic experience: to do a research project and even combine it with the visual, connected to my artistic side. Also, this project revealed to me the existence of my poetic realm and gave me the confidence to write for publication. Hence a

[146] https://offscreen.com/view/poff-tallinn-black-nights-film-festival-interview-director-deimantas-narkeviaius-on-twittering-soul (accessed on 04/06/2024)

joint article with my fellow Tavistock Community members saw light in August 2024.[147] I am also intending to publish some of the material from this thesis and to pursue further research projects in the future.

[147] 'Many Wars, One Peace – Many Lands, One Home,' published in 'Kav OFEK,' the journal of The Israeli Association for the Study of Group and Organisational Processes, whose aim is to promote learning and change in individuals, groups, organisations and society. (They do so through the study and application of psychoanalytic and open systems theories, in the Tavistock tradition of Group Relations.) https://ofekgrouprelations.org/category/%D7%92%D7%99%D7%9C%D7%99%D7%95%D7%9F-%D7%9E%D7%A1-3/ (accessed on 05/08/2024)

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9 Appendices

9.1 Appendix A – Participant demographics

Table 1: Demographics of the FANI participants

'Name'	Age	Gender	Arrival	From	Family situation	Education	Occupation
Evita	44	F	2010	Small town	In a relationship, 1 child	University	Lithuania: media; London: sales
Tomas	47	M	1997	Small town	Single	University	Builder
Fausta	21	F	2004	City	Single	Undergrad.	Student
Lukas	20	M	2002	City	Single	Secondary	Self-educating
Marija	69	F	2003	Small town	Widowed (after divorce), 2 children, grandchildren	Secondary	Lithuania: secretary; London: retired hotel chambermaid
Nida	63	F	2004	Small town	Widowed (after divorce), 1 child, grandchildren	University	Lithuania: teacher; London: sales

Table 2: Demographics of the Visual Matrix participants in their 60s

Age	Gender	Arrival	From	Family situation	Education	Occupation
69	F	1997	City	Married, 2 children, 7 grandchildren, 1 great-grandchild	FE College	Lithuania: textiles industry; London: retired cleaner
64	F	2004	City	Married, 2 children, 2 grandchildren	University	Lithuania: dance teacher; London: disability allowance
65	F	2003	Small town	Partnership, 3 children, 3 grandchildren	FE College	Lithuania: unknown; London: retired hotel chambermaid
64	F	2003	Small town	Lives on her own, 2 children	FE College	Lithuania: accountant; London: nanny (former cleaner)
68	F	2002	Small town	Lives with her granddaughter, 2 children, 2 grandchildren	FE College	Lithuania: textile factory auditor; London: retired hotel chambermaid
64	F	2007	City	Lives with her son and his children, 1 child, 3 grandchildren, 2 great-grandchildren	University	Lithuania: shop manager; London: designer's assistant, cleaner

Table 3: Demographics of the Visual Matrix participants in their 20s

Age	Gender	Arrival	From	Family situation	Education	Occupation
21	F	2019	City	Single	Undergrad.	HR Dept
27	M	2008	Small town	Single	University	Economy analyst (FinTech)
26	M	2018	Small town	In a relationship	University	Sales
29	M	2011	City	Single	Secondary	Head of sales
21	M	2019	City	Single	Undergrad.	Student
24	M	2007	City	In a relationship	Undergrad.	Waiter
25	M	2015	City	Single	University	Software engineer
24	M	2019	City	Single	University	Podcast editor

Table 4: Demographics of the Visual Matrix participants in their 40s (first group)

Age	Gender	Arrival	From	Family situation	Education	Occupation
45	F	2002	City	Married	University	Administrator (between jobs)
41	F	2014	Small town	Single	Undergrad.	Administrator (between jobs)
43	M	2005	Small town / City	Single	University	IT engineer
43	F	2006	Small town / City	Married, has children	University	Marketing researcher
49	F	2014	City	Single, has a child	University	Environmental consultant

Table 5: Demographics of the Visual Matrix participants in their 40s (second group)

Age	Gender	Arrival	From	Family situation	Education	Occupation
45	F	1995	City	Married, has children	FE College	Facility manager
48	F	2010	City	Single, has children	University	Account manager
44	M	1998	Small town	Married, has children	FE College	Electrical engineer
42	F	2005	City	Married, has a child	FE College	Care worker
41	M	2004	Small town	Married, has a child	University	Contract manager

9.2 Appendix B – Ethics approval letter

15 May 2020

Lynn Froggett / Asta Binkauskaite
School of Social Work, Care and Community University of Central Lancashire

Dear Lynn and Asta

Re: BAHSS Ethics Committee Application Unique Reference Number: BAHSS2 0079

The BAHSS ethics committee has granted approval of your proposal application 'Landscapes of un/belonging: an empirical psychosocial study of Lithuanian migration to London since the early 1990s.' Approval is granted up to the end of project date.

It is your responsibility to ensure that

- the project is carried out in line with the information provided in the forms you have submitted
- you regularly re-consider the ethical issues that may be raised in generating and analysing your data
- any proposed amendments/changes to the project are raised with, and approved, by Committee
- you notify roffice@uclan.ac.uk if the end date changes or the project does not start
- serious adverse events that occur from the project are reported to Committee
- a closure report is submitted to complete the ethics governance procedures (Existing paperwork can be used for this purposes e.g. funder's end of grant report; abstract for student award or NRES final report. If none of these are available use e-Ethics Closure Report Proforma).

Yours sincerely

Kartina Choong
Deputy Vice-Chair **BAHSS Ethics Committee**

* for research degree students this will be the final lapse date

NB - Ethical approval is contingent on any health and safety checklists having been completed, and necessary approvals gained.

9.3 Appendix C – Participant information sheet

Title of Study:

LANDSCAPES OF UN/BELONGING: AN EMPIRICAL PSYCHOSOCIAL STUDY OF LITHUANIAN MIGRATION TO LONDON SINCE THE EARLY 1990s.

Version Number and Date: 1/ 04-05-2020

Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. I am happy to answer any questions you may have. Obviously you are under no obligation to take part!

What is the purpose of the study?

My research is part of a PhD project at the University of Central Lancashire. I am looking at Lithuanian migration to London since the early 1990s. In particular I will be focusing on psychological and sociological aspects, such as the ways Lithuanian migrants imagine their collective social life. The research should contribute to a deeper understanding of national identities.

Who can take part?

You can take part in the project if you are a Lithuanian in your 20s, 40s or 60s. Those in their 40s and 60s should have been born in Soviet Lithuania.

What will happen if you take part

- Some people will take part in groups (of up to 10 people), others will take part in individual interviews. Some of the latter will be conducted on-line during the coronavirus-related 'lockdown' period.
- The group event will last for about an hour and a half; the length of the interview may be similar, but will depend on individual needs.
- As the method values spontaneity, you do not need to be familiar with it or prepare anything beforehand.
- During the groups and interviews, the organisers will take notes and will make an audio recording of the session.

How your data would be used

- The University processes personal data as part of its research and teaching activities in accordance with the lawful basis of 'public task', and in accordance with the University's purpose of "advancing education, learning and research for the public benefit".
- Under UK data protection legislation, the University acts as the Data Controller for personal data collected as part of the University's research. The University privacy notice for research participants can be found on the University website, at https://www.uclan.ac.uk/data_protection/privacy-notice-research-participants.php.

Further information on how your data will be used can be found in the table below.

How will my data be collected?	The data collection methods used in the study are Free Association Narrative Interviews and Visual Matrix groups; these will be recorded with an audio recorder and brief handwritten notes may also be taken.
How will my data be stored?	The audio recordings and the subsequent transcripts will be stored digitally in encrypted files on a password-protected storage device. Any handwritten and other paper documents will be stored in an appropriate locked facility.
How long will my data be stored for?	The retention period for the data collected will be five years in the first instance, but this may be extended to ten years.
Will my data be anonymised?	The data collected in the sessions will be anonymised as soon as possible after collection – likely during the data analysis stages.
How will my data be used?	The data will be used for a research project, production of a PhD thesis and possibly as source material for academic articles and conference presentations.
Who will have access to my data?	Only the research team will have access to the data.
Will my data be archived for use in other research projects in the future?	No.

How will my data be destroyed?	The data will be securely destroyed in accordance with the University's relevant regulations. once the project is completed within 10 years of completion of the project.

- The ethical aspects of this project have been reviewed and approved by the University's "Committee for Ethics & Integrity".
- Confidentiality and privacy are very important to us. No names are included in the written notes we take. The convention is to code the names and keep any identifying digital information on an encrypted password-protected device. We will ask you for your contact details, so we can contact you regarding the dates and the venues for the group and individual sessions: we will of course keep this information confidential, separate and secure.
- The data will be retained for a period of five years, in the first instance; the audio recordings will be securely erased after being transcribed.

Are there any risks in taking part?

If you experience any emotional discomfort during a session, please let us know and we will offer appropriate support.

Are there any benefits from taking part?

The sessions provide a unique opportunity to have a reflective space, which people often find helpful. A de-brief will be offered after each interview, and a joint de-brief at the end of each group. If you want to raise a personal issue (related to the session), you will have the opportunity of talking to me personally. After we have completed our data analysis you can – if you wish – be sent a short summary of our findings.

What will happen to the results of the study?

I will use the collected data for my PhD research project. I may also write academic articles and deliver conference presentations, which may contain anonymised quotes from the sessions.

What will happen if you want to stop taking part

You can withdraw from the study at any time during a group or interview: simply let me know at the time. You will not be asked to give a reason. However, the data collected up to the point of withdrawal may be used.

If you become unhappy about the project…

If you become unhappy about the project or want to raise a concern, please feel free to let us know by contacting me or Lynn Froggett, Director of Studies (lfroggett@uclan.ac.uk). If this does not resolve the issue, or you have a complaint which you feel you cannot bring to us, then you should contact the University's Research Governance Unit by emailing them at OfficerForEthics@uclan.ac.uk.

The University strives to maintain the highest standards of rigour in the processing of your data. However, if you have any concerns about this, please discuss these with me or Lynn Froggett in the first instance. Alternatively you can approach the Research Governance Unit. If these routes fail to adequately address your concerns, then you can contact the Information Commissioner's Office (e.g. by telephoning 0303 123 1113).

Who to contact with any further questions

Asta Binkauskaite, by e-mail (abinkauskaite@uclan.ac.uk).

Thank you very much for taking the time to read this information.

9.4 Appendix D – Privacy notice

PRIVACY NOTICE

Why are we collecting your personal data?

We are collecting the data for research purposes and to document your consent to participate. We need a factual record of who informs our research so that we can understand how some characteristics may affect these differences. This data will be anonymised and thereafter referred to by a code.

What is the legal basis for collecting and processing my data?

Collection and processing is necessary to perform our public task as a public authority, for research purposes in the public interest. This can be found in GDPR 2018, Article 6 and Section 8 of the Data Protection Act 2018. However, you have no legal or contractual obligation to provide data.

What is UCLan's interest in processing my data?

UCLan is a University that carries out research.

Who will have access to this data?

Only named members of the research team will have access to personal data. It will not be transferred to anyone. The research will be published in a thesis and articles that will be publicly available. We do not intend to publish information which could identify individuals. On the consent form you will need to tell us whether or not to use anonymised quotes in these reports and articles.

How long will you keep my data for?

We will keep the data in a secure location for five years in the first instance, which should be long enough to ensure that it has been processed and that publications have been written. After this it will be disposed of safely through the university's confidential waste system.

What are my rights in relation to this data?

You may check that the personal data we hold is accurate by contacting the lead researcher. They will arrange secure access to it. You will then be able to object to or withdraw your data up until it is finally processed. Individual data can be erased if you wish. If you are involved in group-based research there are limitations to the extent that we can remove your contribution. However you will not be individually referred to or identified in any published material.

Can I withdraw my consent to the processing of my data?

Yes you may withdraw your consent in the fourteen days after data collection by contacting the lead researcher. After fourteen days the processing of the data may have begun, and in some instances (for example group-based data) it will have been aggregated with other data so it may not be possible to remove it entirely.

Can I complain to the regulatory authority if I have concerns over the use of my data?

Yes you can complain to the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO) in the UK https://ico.org.uk/. They have a live chat service via the website or their helpline number is 0303 123 1113. UCLan's ICO registration number is Z5512420.

What will be the consequences for me if I give, or refuse to give, data for the study?

There will be no adverse consequences for you. No decisions will be made on the basis of any data you give or do not give.

Our Information Governance Manager can be contacted DPFOIA@uclan.ac.uk

9.5 Appendix E – Consent forms

CONSENT FORM (GROUP)

Full title of Project: LANDSCAPES OF UN/BELONGING: AN EMPIRICAL PSYCHOSOCIAL STUDY OF LITHUANIAN MIGRATION TO LONDON SINCE THE EARLY 1990s.

Name, position and contact address of Researcher: Asta Binkauskaite, PhD candidate,
e-mail: abinkauskaite@uclan.ac.uk

Please read the following statements and initial the boxes to indicate your agreement

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet (dated 04-05-20), for the above study and have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions, and have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary. ☐

I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time but my data cannot be removed from the group record of the workshop activity. ☐

I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

I agree that my data gathered in this study may be stored (after it has been anonymised) in a specialist data centre and may be used for future research. ☐

I understand that any personal information collected about me that can identify me, such as my name, will not be shared outside the research team, and will be kept securely. ☐

I understand that the group is confidential: all information I learn or hear about others I will not share outside the group. ☐

I agree to the group being audio recorded. ☐

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications. ☐

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
Name of Researcher	Date	Signature

CONSENT FORM (INTERVIEW)

Full title of Project: LANDSCAPES OF UN/BELONGING: AN EMPIRICAL PSYCHOSOCIAL STUDY OF LITHUANIAN MIGRATION TO LONDON SINCE THE EARLY 1990s.

Name, position and contact address of Researcher: Asta Binkauskaite, PhD candidate,
e-mail: abinkauskaite@uclan.ac.uk

Please read the following statements and initial the boxes to indicate your agreement

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet (dated 04-05-20), for the above study and have the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions, and have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary. ☐

I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time. ☐

I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

I agree that my data gathered in this study may be stored (after it has been anonymised) in a specialist data centre and may be used for future research. ☐

I understand that any personal information collected about me that can identify me, such as my name, will not be shared outside the research team, and will be kept securely. ☐

I agree to the interview being audio recorded. ☐

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications. ☐

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
Name of Researcher	Date	Signature

9.6 Appendix F – Debriefing sheet

Debriefing Sheet

Project title: LANDSCAPES OF UN/BELONGING: AN EMPIRICAL PSYCHOSOCIAL STUDY OF LITHUANIAN MIGRATION TO LONDON SINCE THE EARLY 1990s.

Thank you for taking part in this study. As you already know, your individual data will not be available to anyone outside the research team, and when the study is being written up, all data will be anonymised.

If you would like further information about the study or would like to know what my findings are (once all the data have been collected and analysed), then please contact me at abinkauskaite@uclan.ac.uk.

If taking part in this study has raised any personal concerns then you could consider exploring these with 'Gera būsena' organisation (http://www.psyvirtual.lt).

9.7 Appendix G – My verbal introduction to the Visual Matrix session

The process we're going to go through has three parts to it. The first part is the visual stimulus: I'll be showing you a series of slides with images from Lithuania and England. The second part is associative – I'll explain more about that later. This part will last 45 min. After that we'll have a short break and then we'll move on to the third part, which is a review.

So now we're about to begin the first part. I'll show you 18 slides. Each slide will stay on screen for about half a minute. I'll be asking you to watch the slides in silence, so you may want to turn your microphones off.[148] I'm not asking you to think about the images, just let them sink in. Don't worry about what they mean or where they're leading or what you're going to say about them. Just let them be. Notice them, take them in and let them be as we pass onto the next one. After we've done that part, I'll be telling you what happens next. Does anyone have any questions?

SLIDE SHOW ~10 min

That's the first part over. Now we're going on to the second part. In this part I'll be asking you for any images and associated thoughts and feelings you have in relation to what you've just seen. For example, you might find that there is a particular image in the slideshow that comes vividly to your mind and sparks off another image. As we proceed we might continue to associate to the slideshow, or something that someone said might spark off an image or an association.

There is no turn-taking: we'll proceed at a pace that feels right. Please try not to talk over each other; just present your associations as they arise, if it feels comfortable, if it feels right. There are no right or wrong associations. As we proceed, you may find that your associations come from elsewhere – for example from life experiences, like scenes from your childhood, or from other cultural images such as books you've read or films or artwork you've seen. It doesn't matter where they come from, the key thing is simply that they came into your mind in the moment.

My role as a facilitator is not to lead this process, just to maintain the time boundaries and keep everything on track. The one thing we want to avoid is people drifting into analysis or interpretation. There'll be an opportunity for that later in the third part. So, if someone does start to analyse things, I'll gently remind you of the task. If nothing comes to mind, it's fine, we'll stay in silence until something does. Sometimes things will come to you in single words, or as an idea that you need a few sentences to express. As I've said, this part will last 45 minutes. Are there any questions? Who would like to start and offer an image?

VISUAL MATRIX 45min

Thank you very much. We'll stop the matrix here. Now we'll have a 15-minute break.

POST-MATRIX DISCUSSION 30-45 min

Now we'll move on to part three. Now we can speak and think in a much more conventional way. The first task is to ask you, the participants, what remains with you the most vividly and strongly from the experience you've just been through? You might want to comment on the imagery from the session or comment on the associated feelings. On the whiteboard we'll be drawing an image map of your strongest points of reference.

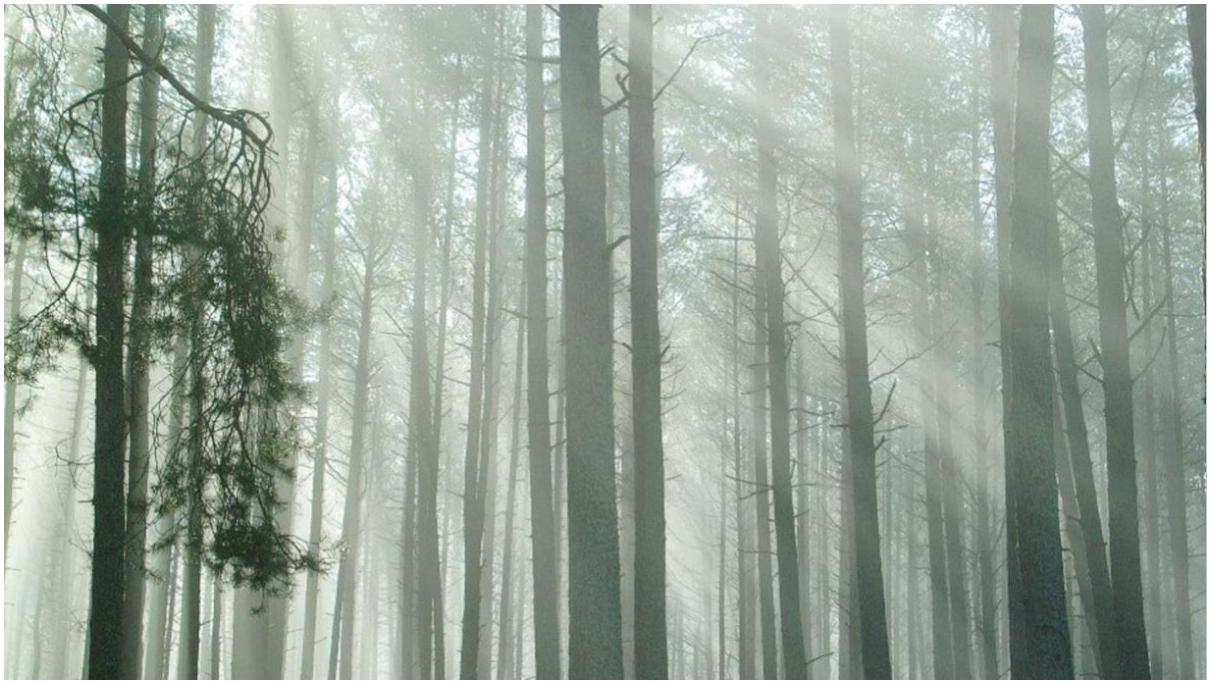
* * *

We'll stop here. Thank you all for taking part.

[148] For those Visual Matrices conducted online.

9.8 Appendix H – Images used in the Visual Matrix

1) Lithuanian forest – photograph by Gintautas Survila, 2003 (cropped)



2) ‘Reigning Queens: Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom’ – silkscreen print by Andy Warhol, 1985 (cropped)

3) Palanga Pier, Lithuania – photograph by Balys Binkauskas, 2018 (cropped)

4) Vilnius – photograph by Asta Binkauskaitė, 2018 (cropped)

5) Bus stop near London Bridge station, London; photographer and date unknown (accessed via Google)

6) Piliakalniai village, Lithuania – photograph by Gintautas Survila, 2010

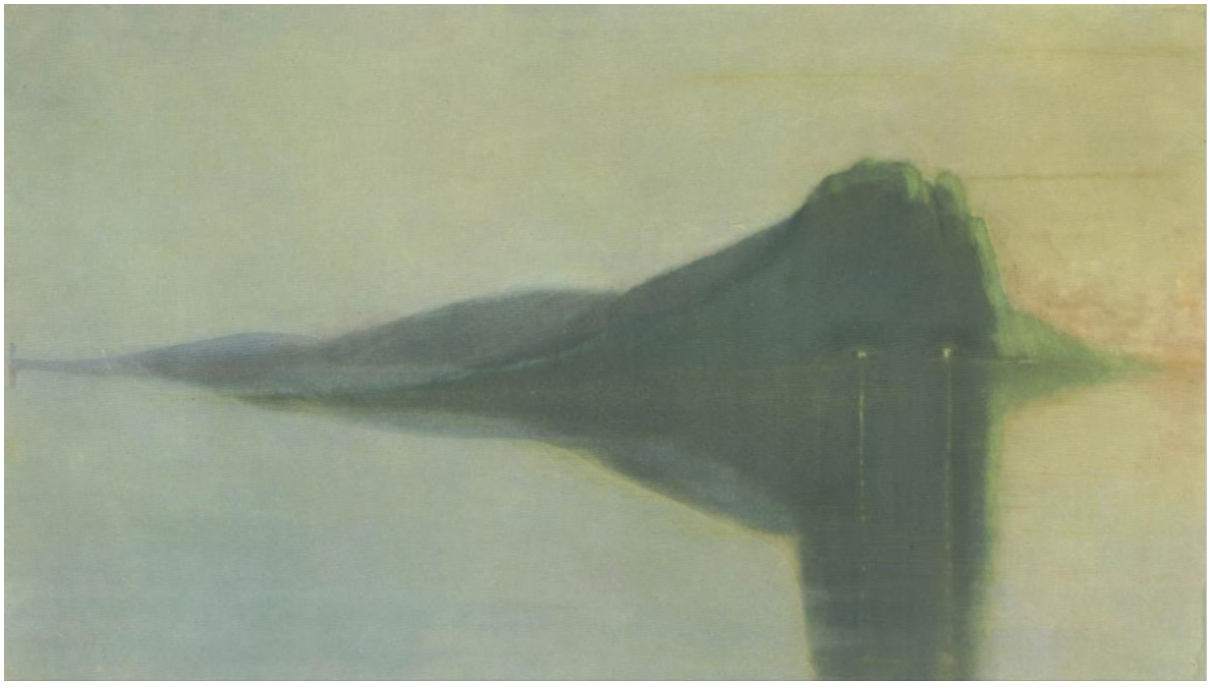
7) 'The Battle of Grunwald' – oil painting by Jan Mateiko, 1878[149]

8) A view from Lopaičiai mound, Lithuania – photograph by Gintautas Survila, 2020

[149] Battle fought on 15 July 1410: the Polish-Lithuanian alliance defeated the German Teutonic order.

9) Vilnius Airport – photograph, 2015 (©Vilnius Airport)

10) ‘Ramybė’ [Tranquillity/Serenity] – tempera painting by Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis, 1904–1905



11) Re-consecration of Vilnius Cathedral – photograph by Virgilijus Usinavičius, 5 February 1989[150] (cropped)

12) 'The Walls Remember: The Sage' – stencilled 'neofresco' (in Vilnius' former Jewish quarter) by Lina Šlipavičiūtė-Černiauskienė and Lauryna Kiškytė, 2019 – unknown photographer

[150] The Cathedral was closed in 1949, serving as the city's Art Gallery from 1956 until its return to the Roman Catholic Church in 1988.

13) A mass deportation of Lithuania's population to Siberia – unknown photographer, 1941

14) 'Operation Y and Shurik's Other Adventures: *Déjà Vu*,' a Soviet comedy (movie still), 1965[151]

[151] This slide was removed for the 20–29 year old cohort as it would not be meaningful to this age group.

15) ‘The Blind Pioneer’ – photograph by Antanas Sutkus, 1962 (cropped)

16) Westminster Bridge and Big Ben, London; photographer and date unknown (accessed via Google)

17) Paberžė village, Lithuania – photograph by Gintautas Survila, 2009 (cropped)