Šiuolaikiniai migracijos procesai


Summary. This research explores the cultural resilience and transnational connections of Lithuanian Americans against a backdrop of shifting geopolitical landscapes. The nearly 600 thousand Lithuanian Americans living in the United States represent a notable demographic within the broader Lithuanian diaspora. Contrary to the assimilation narrative often associated with the United States “melting pot”, Lithuanian Americans have maintained a distinct and resilient cultural identity despite the fact that the significant majority (94%) were born in the United States.

The authors sought to explore individual and collective perspectives of Lithuanian Americans on the topics of dual national identity, family history, traditional practices, and geopolitical events. Recognizing the potential diversity of experiences shaped through multiple waves of emigration over time, the researchers recruited fifteen Lithuanian Americans across different emigration waves and age groups with strong family ties to the Midwest United States region and conducted semi-structured interviews in 2022–2023.

The authors compare and contrast the perspectives of research participants across emigration waves and generational distance. Ultimately, they present a nuanced view into how a group of Lithuanian Americans cultivated and expressed their distinctive cultural identity, pride, and connection with Lithuania despite the passage of time. As researchers continue to explore the evolving mosaic of the modern Lithuanian diaspora, this study may contribute valuable insights into the multifaceted nature of cultural preservation and adaptation within diasporic communities.

Keywords: Lithuanian Americans, Lithuanian diaspora, ethnic identity, transnational practices.
# Introduction

According to the 2021 United States census, almost six hundred thousand of three hundred and thirty-one million United States residents (1.7 out of 1,000) claimed Lithuanian ancestry. There are more Lithuanian Americans than Swiss Americans or Canadian Americans, and one tenth as many Lithuanian Americans as there are Polish Americans or German Americans. The United States has long been described as a “melting pot” that welds cultures together and extinguishes differences over time. However, perhaps surprisingly, almost 96% of those identifying as Lithuanian in the 2021 census listed a single ethnic ancestry (respondents were allowed to list up to three) and 94% were born in the United States.¹

What is this devotion that Lithuanian Americans have to the homeland and how are they passing it through generations? How does that devotion shape their worldviews and practices within the US and with Lithuania? Do their dual-nationality connections benefit their host and homeland countries? These questions sparked our curiosity and prompted this inquiry into how Lithuanian Americans thought about, practiced, and shared their ethnic and cultural identity across cohorts, generations, geographies, and geopolitical events.

This paper covers the results of semi-structured interviews conducted in 2022–2023 with fifteen Lithuanian Americans of varying emigration waves and ages with strong family and community connections in the Midwest United States. It also draws from prior (1997–1999) interviews and focus group conversations on the ethnic/cultural identity and transnational practices of 69 Wave 3 Lithuanian immigrants and other Lithuanian Americans living in the Chicago area.² The present research, although situated in a different geopolitical context and conducted with a different methodology, smaller population, and broader representation across immigrant waves and generations, might be treated as a continuing long-term ethnographic study with new insights from an emic perspective.

## Lithuanian Emigration Waves

The first known arrival of a Lithuanian in America was in the late 1600s and the first significant wave of Lithuanian immigrants arrived in the late 1900s.³ Historians have documented three significant emigration waves⁴ (Figure 1).

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⁴ Some researchers add a fourth wave (1920–1940) (“Global Lithuania”, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania, 3 March 2022, https://urm.lt/default/en/global-lithuania). However, the three-wave model is extensively used in Lithuanian emigration research and sufficient for our purposes.
Figure 1. Three significant waves of Lithuanian emigration

- 1831–1940. Around the turn of the 20th century, difficult conditions inside of the country (including famine, depressed economy, and increased Russian repression) prompted many to seek better lives elsewhere.5
- 1940–1945. During and just after World War II, many Lithuanians fled to escape the Russian reoccupation.6
- 1988–today. A new wave of emigration began just prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Many Lithuanians left for economic reasons, taking refuge in more stable environments. Others left because they were finally free to pursue other opportunities. This modern wave is already the largest of the three waves.7


The Lithuanian Diaspora in the United States

Early Lithuanian Americans built vibrant, multi-generational communities in the United States that included parishes, schools, and organizations. While the diaspora was expanding in the United States, according to American historian Professor Alfred Erich Senn and Lithuanian diplomat Alfonsas Eidintas, it did not attract much interest from either American or Lithuanian historians.

Lithuanians have received relatively little attention in the growing literature studying ethnic groups in American history. American immigration historians have focused on the Lithuanians as aliens in a new land, and Lithuanian historians have considered them as part of the national movement, making important contributions but at the same time facing the threat of denationalization.

Senn and Eidintas observed that when American and Lithuanian historians did study the Lithuanian diaspora, they wrote from different vantage points. Americans asked questions about how many aliens (“užsieniečiai”) had arrived, where they settled, and what they were doing. Lithuanian historians asked questions about how many Lithuanians (“diplomatai”) had departed the country, where they went, and how they were helping Lithuania (e.g., soliciting support from other countries, and/or contributing money to the homeland) (Figure 2). Indeed, Lithuanians have a long history of helping the homeland. Lithuanian Americans were instrumental in helping Lithuania achieve independence and establish self-governance in 1918 and again in 1990.

In more recent years (particularly post 1990 as Lithuanian academics were freed to research and retell the history of the nation), interest in the Lithuanian diaspora has grown. Academic texts have been written by historians, social scientists, and theologians. Other

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10 Ibid., 1.

11 Ibid.


texts have been written by genealogy devotees, history buffs, and immigrant offspring. The result is an impressive number of English- and Lithuanian-language texts documenting the migratory paths, experiences, and activities of Lithuanian immigrants and their offspring.

Many authors observed a strong Lithuanian national identity, powerful and communal culture, and shared values bond. They also pointed out that the Lithuanian ethnic culture inside the United States is a distinct blend of Lithuanian and American traditions and values; neither fully one nor the other. Despite the common themes, the texts also produce incontrovertible evidence that there is no singular sense of a Lithuanian American.

Present-day Russian expansionism has significantly heightened geopolitical tensions. The war in Ukraine poses a palpable threat to the modern reincarnation of the Baltic nations. Lithuanian leaders and citizens have courageously responded to the invasion of Ukraine with substantive policy measures such as increasing the national military budget, disengaging from Russian resources, limiting Russian movement within Lithuanian

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**Figure 2. American and Lithuanian historians on the Lithuanian diaspora**

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15 There are many prominent Lithuanian Americans and individuals with Lithuanian ancestry across a wide range of professions. Some well-known Lithuanian Americans include actors Charles Bronson, Jason Sudeikis, and Robert Downey Jr., musicians Bob Dylan and Pink, and athletes Johnny Unitas, Dick Butkus, and Vitas Gerulaitis.


borders, and extending humanitarian support to Ukrainian refugees. The previously unthinkable threat to Lithuanian sovereignty is reawakening past traumas among Lithuanians both within the homeland and abroad.

In this troubled time, an updated view of the culture, world views, and intra- and transnational connections of Lithuanian American immigrants and their families might be helpful in bolstering connectivity with Lithuanian diaspora as well as between the diaspora and Lithuanian residents. Additionally, a fresh perspective might offer insights into the viewpoints and experiences of Ukrainian refugees as they integrate into host societies.

The Study

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of Lithuanian Americans: how they share, shape, and pass on their ethnic identity and in what ways they compose their transnational actions across cohorts and generations. We were curious about their sense of ethnic culture, practices, communities, and transnational connections. We wanted to learn how elders engaged subsequent generations. Given recent Russian expansionist moves, we were interested in their worldviews and the potential tensions that might (naturally) be triggered by deep bonds with two countries (dualism). In addition, we wanted to be open to hearing multiple distinct answers to our questions.

Key questions included:

- How do Lithuanian Americans perceive their Lithuanian identity? How does their dual national consciousness influence their world views?
- How do Lithuanian Americans practice and teach their sense of national identity?
- What connections with US Lithuanian communities do they have (if any) and what do those connections mean to them?
- What transnational connections with Lithuania do they have (if any) and what do those connections mean to them?
- Are there notable differences across waves and generations?

Theoretical Underpinnings

In planning the study and crafting research questions, we leaned on the works of eminent researchers in several areas: Lithuanian emigration, national identity, and transnationalism.

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19 Private conversations in Lithuania, April 2022; Private conversations in Lithuania, October 2022; Private conversations in the United States, April–May 2023.
The short history of Lithuanian migration, introduced at the beginning of this article, is treated as an important context for how national identity and transnational connections emerge among Lithuanian emigrees and their descendants.

**National Identity Model**

Historians and political scientists have long used a simple, two dimensional civic/ethnic model to distinguish national identity, defining nations according to civic identity (civic, political, or territorial lines) or ethnic identity (a people group). Civic identity is characterized as attachment to a common territory, citizenship, belief in the same political principles or ideology, respect for political institutions, enjoyment of equal political rights, and will to be a part of the nation. Ethnic national identity is characterized by shared ancestry and race. Researchers have asserted that the predominant identities of Western European nations and the United States are civic, whereas in Central and Eastern Europe national identities tend to be more aligned with ethnicity. Stephen Shulman[^20] challenged this commonly held two-dimensional civic/ethnic, east/west model of national identity as being only weakly true when true at all. He explained that, particularly in scenarios of cross-border assimilation and migration, a third dimension, cultural identity, was important to understanding national membership. Shulman described cultural identity as including non-political factors such as language, religion, and traditions (Figure 3). While there are other models that we could have chosen, Shulman’s model was adequately robust for our purpose (and not overly complex).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content of National Identity</th>
<th>Key Components</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td>territory, citizenship, will and consent, political ideology, political institutions and rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>religion, language, traditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>ancestry, race</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Shulman, 2002)

**Figure 3. Alternative contents of national identity (Shulman’s model)**

Transnational Connections

Transnationalism and identity need to be considered together because the formation of transnational relationships and transnational exchanges of resources and information are grounded in a common perception of identity.\textsuperscript{21} Steven Vertovec defined transnationalism as a level of exchange across borders between private individuals (not government officials acting in official capacity) that is sustained over time.\textsuperscript{22} Vertovec’s elements of transnationalism added dimension to our pursuit to understand the transnational connections of Lithuanian Americans\textsuperscript{23} (Figure 4).

\begin{quote}
When actual exchanges of resources or information, or marriages, or visits, take place across borders between members of a diaspora themselves or with people in the homeland, we can say these are transnational activities.

... to be transnational means to belong to two or more societies at the same time. At that moment, the diaspora functions as a transnational community.

... When such exchanges do not take place [...] but people maintain identification with the homeland and co-ethnics elsewhere, there is only a diaspora.

... In this way, not all diasporas are transnational communities, but transnational communities arise within diasporas.
\end{quote}

(Vertovec, 2005)

Figure 4. Transnational connections (Vertovec)

In addition, we used multinational research on the cultures and values of world societies as background.\textsuperscript{24} This research was useful in composing interview questions and interpreting the answers.

Study Approach

Because Lithuanian diaspora(s) in the United States have been formed through several distinct waves of emigration over time, there is likely no single unifying sense of a Lithuanian American consciousness. We decided it would be best to pursue a phenomenological approach and developed a simple model to organize our interviews and findings (Figure 5). The model was formed against two beliefs: the national identity of an individual is formed and expressed through experiences and relationships; and an individual’s sense of national identity is by definition, “individual”.

\textsuperscript{22} Vertovec, Steven, Transnationalism. London and New York: Routledge, 2009.
To create some form of a normalized view across individuals, we needed both summative and formative views of personal narratives. In other words, we needed to learn not just about the intensity of an individual’s sense of dual national identity but also about their emigration story (personal or ancestors), upbringing, and traditions. We needed to learn not just about the breadth of relationships with family, extended family and Lithuanian American communities in the United States, and extended family and others in Lithuania but also how those relationships were maintained and valued. We needed a sufficiently broad set of data-points to generalize and draw observations across the group. And finally, to gain insight into how devotion to Lithuania was surviving across generations in the United States, we needed to interview a cross-section of Lithuanians, representing the three emigration waves and multiple generations (preferably multi-generational family relationships).

We reached out to groups in Wisconsin and Illinois as well as our own family members and found 15 volunteers representing a cross-section of waves, generations, and age groups (Figure 6). The volunteers included four family descendent chains (two parent-child pairs and two grandparent-grandchild pairs).

Volunteers were sent an overview of the study with the request that they give express permission to participate in a recorded interview. They were also asked to prepare and share information in advance of the interview including demographic background, emigration story (personal or ancestor/s), an assessment of the importance of Lithuanian ancestry to their personal identity and worldviews, their sense of belonging to a US Lithuanian American community, and their transnational activities. The information request was followed up with a recorded video interview. Interviews lasted 30–90 minutes. Interview recordings were transcribed, and the transcripts loaded into a qualitative research tool (MAXQDA) where conversation sections were coded by topic and annotated with emerging themes, concepts, and quotes.
Figure 6. Study participants and key demographics

It was clear early into the process that a strong sense of Lithuanian identity persisted across generations. The durability surprised us. We did not see an easy explanation for the phenomenon and wondered if a different analysis approach might provide additional insight. We exported the coded segments from MAXQDA into an Excel workbook (second analysis stage) and further coded the data to indicate whether participants shared stories in the interview that demonstrated actions (for example, answering a simple question such as: “did the participant share a story about teaching their Lithuanian identity to a family member?” with “yes”, “no”, or “to some degree”). After assembling the answers to these specific questions into a master worksheet, we used a marketing research technique (Personas) to search for and interpret patterns in the data.

Several participants were contacted with follow up questions. Some were contacted to discuss their reactions to the observations.

Findings

We compared and contrasted the perspectives of research participants across emigrations waves and generations. In the process, we discovered several fascinating points that might contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the Lithuanian Americans.
Four Lithuanian American “Personas”

The stories of participants explaining what their Lithuanian identity meant to them and how they shared their Lithuanian identity and perspectives with family, friends, colleagues, and others could be interpreted in the spirit of Senn and Eidintas25 as the actions of “diplomatai” (diplomats). However, there was variety in the expressed motivations, interests, and actions of participants when asked about their relationships in the United States and Lithuania.

When answers to questions about connections with family, friends, and others in the United States and Lithuania were coded according to the Shulman’s26 model of national identity and Vertovec’s27 definition of transnational exchanges, patterns of common motivations and actions were visible. Motivations were expressed in terms of a primary focus on country of Lithuania (homeland) or a primary focus on the US-Lithuanian community (and/or extended family) in which the individual felt a strong sense of belonging. Actions were expressed in terms of reaching others with information (to persuade or teach) or reaching others to with the primary intention of connecting with them (Figure 7).

The quadrants can be characterized as four distinct “Personas” (archetypes) (Figure 8).

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While most individuals shared characteristics of all Personas to some degree, Personas were assigned by how the individual led their personal narrative. For example, “Warriors” shared strong world views and told stories that displayed a sense of duty towards Lithuania and preserving Lithuanian culture. “Extended Family” led with descriptions of family relationships and talked about shared values and the sense of community with people in their network (Lithuanian Americans and Lithuanians in the homeland). “Family Historians” traced the footsteps of ancestors and events of the past and told stories of that connected experiences of the past with people they cared for in the present. “Global Explorers” led with stories of current connections to family and friends in the homeland and the importance of a community of family and friends in the United States in which they could feel comfortable. Two of the Personas crossed waves, three crossed generations (Figure 9).
We hasten to add that the Persona construct is a product of our imagination, a structural concept. We offer this construct as a potential tool for the singular purpose of expanding the understanding of Lithuanian Americans, but caution that it is only a hypothesis. The underlying dataset was biased and limited.

**Ethnic/Cultural Identity, Community, and Pride Are Correlated**

Participants were asked about their membership in US-based Lithuanian American groups (Figure 10).

Some participants felt a close connection with one or several Lithuanian American groups and shared that, in the past when they moved from one city to another, they sought out a Lithuanian American group in their new community. Some described their Lithuanian American group members as “my closest friends” and “extended family”. When asked why the bonds were so tight, individuals explained that they just “felt more comfortable” with those who understood their experiences and shared world views.

Some generously volunteered time and resources to Lithuanian causes. Some researched history and ancestors, retelling the stories to family and communities. Some were more connected with communities in the United States, others with communities in Lithuania. Some were more active in leading activities and events while others were happy to join and participate (Figure 11).
While preferred activities varied by Persona, almost all individuals offered stories of how they shared their Lithuanian American identity with work colleagues and other non-Lithuanians in the United States (Figure 12).

The activities of individuals were used to characterize the emerging Personas (Figure 13).
Strong Transnational Connections Persisted Across Generations and Waves (But Variety Faded)

All participants shared stories of transnational connections with Lithuania. There was an expected fade in the variety of connections across generations (Figure 14).

Most participants characterized their relationships with family and friends residing in Lithuania as “knowing each other well” and communicating either regularly or almost
constantly (four or five on a five-point scale). When asked about those relationships, some spoke of relationships that have lasted decades and transcended generations. Most of those who were married, chose partners who were also of Lithuanian heritage, so relationships crossed extended families in Lithuania and, to a lesser degree, regions. One couple adopted a Lithuanian-born orphaned child with help from people who have since become dear friends. All described being in contact with family and friends in Lithuania at least annually if not weekly or daily (Figures 15 and 16).

Select quotes

“[F]or 50-60 years [...] my grandmother maintained a connection with her relatives [in Lithuania]... They wrote back and forth... not all the letters, of course, went through.”

“We have a daughter that we did adopt from Lithuania.”

“Communication is fairly constant between friends, my attorney, etc. ... and that local community ... through email, Facebook, rarely fiber.”

“We’ve been corresponding for over 30 years.”

“[They] helped us ... and] we made was such good friends back then that we still even see today when we go visit Lithuania.”

All shared information in the form of emails, letters, and social media exchanges with family and friends at least annually. Most described more frequent communications
(monthly, weekly, or even “almost constant contact”). Most participants made some attempt to keep up with news and events in Lithuania. Some subscribed to Lithuanian-based or US-based Lithuanian news.

All had either visited Lithuania (some regularly) or hosted visitors from the country. All expressed strong feelings about the regions of their ancestors and some shared stories of the special places that they visit on family trips (Figures 17 and 18).

Figure 17. Traveling to Lithuania

Figure 18. Traveling to Lithuania

Most participants reported that they had given money to family, friends, Lithuanians in the United States, or Lithuanian causes at some point in their lives (Figure 19). Some currently own property in Lithuania.
Participants offered specific examples of how transnational relationships have influenced their worldviews in various ways. Many compared and contrasted Lithuanian and U.S. news reports on the Ukrainian war. Some talked about reaching out to Lithuanian connections to learn their thoughts on the war. Many mentioned how they felt they had a broader perspective on world events through reading Lithuanian news and exchanging information across borders. Participants talked about how Lithuanians residing in Lithuania view Lithuanian Americans and some lamented feeling like “užsieniečiai” (foreigners) in both lands (Figures 20 and 21).

**Figure 19. Contributions to Lithuanians (time and treasure)**

**Figure 20. Transnational connections have influenced world views**
Transnational connections have influenced world views

When participants were asked what transnational connections mean to them, without exception, participants expressed feelings of closeness that transcended geographical distance and gave them insight into their own offspring (Figures 22 and 23).

**Figure 21. Transnational connections have influenced world views**

**Figure 22. Importance of transnational connections**
Conclusions

We wanted to develop a better understanding of the connection Lithuanian Americans have with their homeland. To do that, we asked about their sense of national identity, world views, culture, practices, communities, and transnational connections. Many researchers have pointed out the distinctness of Lithuanian American culture.\footnote{Granquist, “Lithuanian Americans”; Kuzmickaitė, Between Two Worlds: Recent Lithuanian Immigrants in Chicago (1988–2000); Senn, “Lithuanians”; Senn and Eidintas, “Lithuanian Immigrants in America and the Lithuanian National Movement Before 1914”, 5–19.} It would be easy to make too much of the culture and values research produced by the Hofstede and World Values Survey organizations, but we found that the data served as an additional lens in understanding Lithuanian Americans and their world views.\footnote{Hofstede Insights, “National Culture”; WVS, “World Values Survey”, World Values Survey Association, n.d., https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSContents.jsp.}

We were surprised to observe the enduring strength of Lithuanian identity across generations. Digging deeper into the motivations, interests, and activities of the individuals helped explain the observed persistent intensity. The connections of individuals with their family, their extended Lithuanian community, and the country, along with their individual interests transcended generational distance.

We wanted to be sensitive about this time of geopolitical conflict in which Lithuanian Americans likely experience heightened tension. We kept the interview question on how their dual national identity influences their world view deliberately open and allowed participants the freedom of taking the conversation wherever they felt compelled and
comfortable. The result was variety in the expression of personal opinions and priorities but a consistent perspective on the value and importance of transnational understanding.

We observed patterns in the motivations, interests, and actions of individuals that we mapped into an emerging hypothesis of four Lithuanian American Personas. Clearly more research is needed. Our dataset was tiny: a small sample of willing participants that was purposefully chosen and therefore deliberately biased. The Persona constructs and even the names should be considered “illustrative”. Additional data and testing will undoubtedly produce tighter definitions, improved names, and likely an additional Persona (or two). To say it differently, we would not (of course) bet a multi-million euro marketing campaign on these results.

That said, the patterns in the data (Personas) were fairly distinct and the concept looks promising. Because a Persona analysis seeks to characterize the differing perspectives and actions of Lithuanian Americans, it adds dimension to the scholarly perspectives of Lithuanian Americans as “užsienietis” or “diplomatas”. Insight into the enduring strength of Lithuanian identity in the US-based Lithuanian American population along with the variety of motivations, interests, and activities might be useful in efforts to strengthen and expand ties between Lithuanians in the United States and those in the homeland. Such insight might also be helpful to those leading Lithuanian American groups. The question of whether the activities of Lithuanian Americans are beneficial to the United States and/or Lithuania is unanswerable. However, we did learn that almost all study participants took some personal action to share their Lithuanian heritage, and better transnational understanding can only be beneficial.

The inspiring stories of these individuals have provoked even more questions. For example:

- What is so special about this small nation of three million people that motivates such enduring and devoted followership half-way around the world?
- Are Lithuanian diasporas in other countries similarly devoted or is there something special about the U.S.?
- What can we study and share that will help strengthen relationships between Lithuanians in the homeland and Lithuanian Americans in the US?
- How is the Russian invasion of Ukraine impacting the Lithuanian diaspora?

There is no question from our interviews that these Lithuanian Americans are strongly shaped by their experience in the United States. However, it is also clear that they are vis dar lietuviai (“still Lithuanians”).

References


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IMIGRANTŲ TAPATYBĖS RAIŠKA: TRANSNACIONALINĖS ŠIAURĖS AMERIKOS LIETUVIŲ PRAKTIKOS. „VIS DAR LIETUVIAI“

Santrauka. Straipsnis skirtas Amerikos lietuvių kultūrinio atsparumo ir transnacionalinių ryšių skliaudai kintančių geopolitinių aplinkybių fone parodyti. Beveik 600 tūkstančių JAV gyvenančių Amerikos lietuvių yra reikšminga platesnės lietuvių diasporos dalis. Priešingai asimiliacijos naratyvui, dažniausiai siejama su JAV lydymosi katilu, lietuviai Amerikoje išlaikė savitą ir atsparią kultūrės tapatybę, nors didžioji dauguma (94%) gimė Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose.  

Autorės siekė išsiaiškinti individualias ir kolektyvines Amerikos lietuvių perspektyvas dvigubos tautinių tapatybės, šeimos istorijos, tradicinių papročių ir geopolitinių įvykių temomis. Pripažindamos patirtių, susiformavusių per kelias migracijos bangas, įvairystę, tyrės atrinko penkiolika emigracijos bangų ir amžiaus grupių Amerikos lietuvių, pašalintių stiprius šeiminio ryšius su Jungtinės Amerikos Valstijų Vidurio Vakarų regionu, ir 2022–2023 m. atliko pusiau struktūruotus interviu.  

Straipsnyje palyginami ir sugretinami tyrimo dalyvių požiūriai į įvairias emigracijos bangas ir kartas. Tyrimo rezultatai atskleidžia, kad, nepaisydami laiko tėkmės, Amerikos lietuviai puoselėja ir išreiškia savo savitą kultūrės tapatybę, pasididžiavimą ir ryšį su Lietuva. Mokslininkams, kurie tyrinėja kintančią šiuolaikinės lietuvių diasporos mozaiką, ši studija gali būti vertinga dėl tyrimo dalyvių ir autorių įžvalgų apie kultūros išsaugojimo ir adaptycinės diasporos bendruomenės įvairiapusiškumą.

Raktažodžiai: Amerikos lietuviai, lietuvių diaspora, etninė tapatybė, transnacionalinės praktikos.