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nei pilietiniu identitetu, o tapatinasi greičiau kaip su *vieta*, pasitelkdami gyvenimo stiliaus, įvardinto J. Freedmano (1996) kategorijomis, ir sukurdami specifinius socialinių sąveikų ryšius (p. 62). Antros kartos (taip pat 1980–1990 m. gimę žmonės, tačiau Anglijoje užaugę ir atvykę į šalį su tėvais) lietuvių kilmės emigrantai turi pakankamai ryškų kosmopolitinį požiūrį į valstybinius ir nacionalinius saistymus, kadangi tautinę tapatybę jie suvokia ir kaip priskirtą, ir kaip pasirenkamą, ir kartu pasikeičiamą (p. 62–63).

Naujųjų lietuvių imigrantų Čikagoje identitetas įvardintas kaip labai fragmentuotas, kadangi užuot dalyvavę etninėse bendruomenėse, etniniuose tinkluose, telkiančiuose senuosius ir naujuosius migrantus, užsidaro į „savųjų ratus“, neretai transetninius (p. 83). Manoma, kad būtent transnacionalizmas, kaip identiteto ir veikimo modelis, kartu įveiksmia ir įpraktina globalizaciją ir atskleidžia „globalizacijos paveiktą pačių migrantų socialinę fragmentaciją“ (p. 83).

Savas ir kitas šiuolaikiniais požiūriais. Contemporary Approaches to the Self and the Other. Vida Savoniakaitė (sud.). Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2014. 444 p.: iliustr.

This volume aims to position Lithuanian research on culture and identity into a broader anthropological and ethnological landscape. Looking from the outside, the humanities in Lithuania seem to be captured between its historically conditioned otherness and the desire to find and reach equality with the Other, blending into 'neoliberal' and 'postmodern' Western anth-

ropology. However, the legacy adopted remains rather controversial. For example, Vida Savoniakaitė (p. 17) sees theoretical and methodological differences between the disciplines of anthropology and ethnology as an intergenerational problem resulting in different paradigms of research among Lithuanian scholars. Additionally, the authors of the first chapter of the book present differing accounts of anthropology (of the self and the other) resulting from their diverse theoretical and methodological premises.

Vytis Čiubrinskas offers his analysis of the field, exploring the epistemologies of current research on culture and identity.

Monika Frėjutė-Rakauskienė
Lietuvos socialinių tyrimų centras

Mano manymu, ši mokslo studija skirta ne tik akademinės srities atstovams, studentams, besigilinantiems į nacionalizmo paradigmas, pilietinius ir politinius tapatumus, etninę identitetą, migracijos procesus ir jos pasekmes, bet taip pat ir plačiajai publikai, besidominčiai etniškumo ir migracijos klausimais šiuolaikinėje visuomenėje.

Apibendrinant galima teigti, kad knygoje atsakoma į autorių iškeltus klausimus ir studija ne tik padeda visuomenei geriau suvokti etninių grupių nacionalinius, etninius tapatumus, parodyti jų kismą, konstavimą veikiant globalizacijos ir kitiems socialiniams procesams, bet taip pat yra pravarti politikams, atsižvelgiant į empirinius duomenis, tiek siekti, plėtoti darnios, tolerantiškos, daugiakultūrės Lietuvos visuomenės idėją akcentuojant bendrapiliečių sambūvį, tiek ir toliau stengtis įtraukti emigravusius Lietuvos piliečius į Lietuvos valstybės gyvenimą, o gal net susigrąžinti juos atgal.

He builds his argument from the bottom up, pointing out that Lithuanian ethnology is based upon paradigms of tradition, identity, and ethnicity and warns against the unquestioned and unproblematized use of these terms. Similarly, Auksuolė Čepaitienė offers a deep and critical insight into the relationship between ethnography and its theory and methodology. Employing an analysis of Lithuanian ethnographic and ethnologic writings from the first part of the twentieth century, she shows the formation of a Lithuanian ethnographic tradition as applied practice with underlying theoretical reasoning. She traces its connections to a Western and Russian ethnological, folkloristic, and anthropological tradition. Her discussion of the formation of the discipline is not simply a historical inquiry but a contribution to conceptualizing and theorizing ethnography and ethnology at its roots, thus demythologizing the disciplines and their endeavors. Both chapters rely on evidence-based analyses and put Lithuanian research in a broader social and historical context.

Vytautas Tumėnas attempts to explore a more focused theoretical outlook on interpretations of signs in folk culture and traditions. Like Čepaitienė, he juxtaposes emic and etic approaches to explain the use of the two interpretative modes. The discussion leads Tumėnas to an analysis of the interpretation of the swastika in wider regional research. Tumėnas manages to get to the politics of scientific interest in the symbol, but this potentially beneficial analytic strand is unfortunately neutralized by a return to the emic/etic divide, which regrettably does not contribute much to interpretation. Turning his argument around, the lack of a local context in interpreting artifacts contributes to an etic mode of analysis, as emic analysis is no longer possible. Ironically, his description of the politics of research on the swas-

tika offers a wonderful emic description of scientific interpretations and national appropriations of the symbol.

Christian Giordano and Vida Savoniakaitė offer two accounts of the development in anthropology in general and in the Lithuanian context, respectively, using broad theoretical paradigms. Giordano exposes the epistemological consequences of the 'reflexive turn' in anthropology, which he critically relates to the rise of 'anthropological conformism.' He calls for its replacement with a 'skeptical anthropology that distances itself from all moralizing conceptions' (p. 46) and calls us back to the beginnings of anthropology, when anthropologists did not identify with the 'other.' Savoniakaitė situates developments in the humanities in Lithuania, placing them within the broader concepts of postmodernity and neoliberalism. Her article offers an image of anthropology and postmodernity as revealed from a Lithuanian perspective.

In several case studies, the cross-fertilization of Lithuanian research with Western theoretical approaches contributes to research on identity. Inga Zemblienė deals with the ambivalent normative definition of the family in Lithuania and seeks guidance in scientific literature, thus blurring the empirical and theoretical. Arvydas Griškus places the identities of the military air force community within the domain of broader sociological theory. These articles lack an emic perspective and interpret the evidence according to the pre-given theoretical schemes. Although Griškus mentions the post-Soviet context and gives a valuable illustration of the fluidity of identity, for example, in the language of pilots, these do not serve as the starting point of his exploration but rather as the conclusions of his theoretical quest. Vita Ivanauskaitė-Šeibutienė explores dreams as a possible locus for cultural studies and offers a rich overview of the study of dreams. She

convincingly criticizes the perception of dreams as an individual form of cultural expression but fails to offer guidance as to what this would mean or imply in relation to Lithuania.

Ethnic relationships dominate in the book when imagining the Other, and those are examined from various perspectives and case studies. Predominately, the eastern and southeastern regions of Lithuania – those being the most ethnically mixed and controversial areas of Lithuania – serve as a laboratory for inquiries into identity. Vitalija Stravinskienė charts the story of complexity of such relations in the post-war period, based on archival materials and a literature review of Soviet ethnic policy. Jurijus Unukovičius looks at the region from the perspective of Slavic-speaking inhabitants in the twentieth century. According to Unukovičius, the history of interethnic relations is deeply embedded in language terms and past experience passed through the generations. Daiva Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė makes a similar point: ethnic relations are expressed not only through narratives but also various genres of folklore and music. Moreover, she shows how the politics of ethnicity and community values influence the very process of the collection and evaluation of folklore material. The final two articles also pose an interesting question about the impact of locality in identity formation: whether history and the experience of ethnicity can become unmade and destabilized at the local level and thus oppose the perception of ethnic groups as stable and distinct units.

The family offers another context in which to look at identities. Inga Zemblienė and Rasa Paukštytė-Šaknienė attempt to conceptualize and explain the changes in the Lithuanian family. Inga Zemblienė

looks at ethnically mixed families as a place for potential identity-based study but avoids discussing this perspective in detail. Paukštytė-Šaknienė describes the local understandings of family across generations of Vilnius inhabitants, finding a more relaxed attitude towards marriage in the younger generation but noting that there are many more commonalities than differences in the perception of the family between generations. This allows the author to conclude that self/other differentiation (between generations) in relation to the understanding of family is not valid.

Egidija Ramanauskaitė's and Rimas Vaišnys's attempts at exploring the methodological aspects of computer-based system analysis of environmental impact on individual behavior and which compare individual profiles (of Lithuanian hippies in the 1960s) suggests that the environment (Soviet regime institutions and the family) does not directly influence the individual activity of the persons researched. The chapter largely stands out, placed at the end as an open question with regard to further developments in the humanities.

In general, this book is useful material for fostering interdisciplinary debate in the humanities in Lithuania and offers a valuable cross-section of the rapidly evolving approaches to identity and culture. This is a period in the humanities which is marked, on the one hand, by the efforts to dismantle the borders between ethnology, folkloristics, anthropology, and their subject matter – and differing theoretical approaches, understandings, and methodologies despite the perceived sameness, on the other. As a concluding point, I find it noteworthy that sociology is still largely missing from the debate. Its silence, perhaps ironically, contributes to the picture of Lithuanian science the book generously provides.

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