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Sudarytoja VIDA SAVONIAKAITĖ

THE ROOTS OF THE STUDY OF PEOPLE AND
NATIONS AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Edited by VIDA SAVONIAKAITĖ

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Lietuvos etnologija: socialinės antropologijos ir etnologijos studijos – mokslinis etnologijos ir socialinės ir kultūrinės antropologijos žurnalas. Jame spausdinami recenzuojami straipsniai, konferencijų pristatymai, knygų recenzijos ir apžvalgos, kurių temos pirmiausia apima Lietuvą ir Vidurio/Rytų Europą. Žurnalas pristato mokslo aktualijas ir skatina teorines bei metodines diskusijas. Tekstai skelbiami lietuvių arba anglų kalba.

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Recenzijos ir apžvalgos

Ethnologie française. Lituanie. Une anthropologie face à l'Histoire. Vytis Čiubrinskas (éd.), Martine Segalen et al. (réd.). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2018, 2. 384 p.: illustr.

This is not the first time that *Ethnologie française* covers the state of affairs of ethnology/social anthropology in one of the European nations. The topic is regularly reserved for the second of the four annual issues of the journal.

The present issue, devoted to Lithuania, has been edited by Vytis Čiubrinskas as a guest editor, who also happens to be the driving force behind the development of social anthropology in this country.

The volume opens with a tribute to the late French anthropologist Françoise Héritier, an Africanist and an expert in kinship and gender studies. It also contains the usual *varia*, i.e. a couple of articles on French ethno-historical subjects, urban slums and cremation practices, as well as reviews of recent publications.

Lithuania

After a detailed introductory review of the history and development of social anthropology in Lithuania, ten articles, mainly written by female anthropologists, deal with a number of current topics in social anthropology. The emphasis is put clearly on the anthropology of memory and history (seven contributions). Two of them deal with the fate of the Jewish community in Lithuania, and four with the memory of communism during the Soviet occupation. One article concerns the partisan war,

seen from a woman's point of view. Two contributions analyse 'gift' practices in two different contexts: schools and medical clinics. The last contribution is devoted to political anthropology and Lithuanian transnationalism between Lithuania and the USA.

In their introduction 'Challenges and Resilience', Vytis Čiubrinskas (Kaunas) and Carole Lemée (Bordeaux) describe how social anthropological studies in Lithuania have become what they are today. Starting in the 1930s with the German tradition of *Volkskunde*, the emerging Lithuanian ethnography quickly gave way to the new dominant ideology in history, the 'Leninist methodology'. Those who resisted took refuge in the 'nationalist methodology' i.e. neutral or descriptive ethnography and folklore within a national framework.

Despite the development of social anthropology as a discipline at the Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas, thanks to collaboration with Lithuanian anthropologists established in the USA (1989–1992), social anthropology was again subject to ideological pressure, this time coming from the national renaissance movement that followed independence. It fell into the trap of ethno-nationalism, and was soon relegated to the backyard of history. However, through the building of new networks with north European nations and European exchange programmes (1992–1996), Vilnius University became a focal point for the development of social anthropology. A couple of newly trained anthropologists became active (1991–2003), but because of continued mistrust from the academic authorities, the rejuvenated discipline had to

take refuge in the Department of Sociology at the Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas. It was there that an MA curriculum opened in 2004. Post-socialism, post-colonialism, identity politics, migration and Eastern and Central Europe are the main focus of this programme. Thanks to an agreement with Southern Illinois University, it enjoys international recognition. The journal *Lithuanian Ethnology* has been published since 2001. The new generation of doctoral students are carrying out research in two main fields: national identity, minorities and borders on one hand, and political anthropology and post-communist studies on the other.

Anthropology of Memory and History

The conflicts of memories described in the articles are devoted to the memory of the Lithuanian Jewish community. Violeta Davoliūtė, from the Lithuanian Culture Institute in Vilnius, analyses how the deportation of Lithuanian Jews by the Soviets nourished the memory of Lithuanian society, following a series of publications by deportees in the 1980s. Carole Lemée writes about the memory of Yiddish-Lithuanian spaces. Lithuanian Jews, like their fellow Lithuanians, were victims of Stalin's deportations. They were also victims of the Holocaust. This conflict of memory reflects well what Jean-Michel Chaumont (2002. *La concurrence des victimes: génocide, identité, reconnaissance*. Paris: La Découverte) called the 'competition of victims' (author's comment). Based on interviews, these articles show the obstacles that the reconciliation of memories has to overcome in Lithuania today.

Adopting a gender perspective, Dovilė Budrytė, from Georgia Gwinnett College in the USA, proposes to compare partisan war heroism, celebrated in the years preceding independence, with the every-

day life and sufferings of women at that time. To do so, she confronts the published memoirs of one particular woman ('memory entrepreneur') and the narratives told by other women resistance fighters.

Taking a different approach, that of the ethnography of the material culture based on secret handicrafts produced in deportation camps, Auksuolė Čepaitienė, of the Lithuanian Institute of History in Vilnius, restores the memory and resistance survival strategies of women deportees.

Gediminas Lankauskas, from the University of Regina in Canada, addresses the problem of nostalgia for socialism, a classic issue for East European studies, by presenting a dramatisation of socialism through an animated visit to a bunker. Is this enough to 'forget Lenin'? By the same token, Eglė Rindzevičiūtė, of Kingston University in London, analyses the 'Soviet past' in three Lithuanian museums, and how exhibits can and should be interpreted, or even appropriated differently by different groups.

With the help of oral history, Ainė Ramonaitė and Jūratė Kavaliauskaitė, of the Institute of International Relations and Political Sciences in Vilnius, try to trace the social genealogy of the *Sąjūdis* movement, which brought about 'liberation' or 'revolution' against the Soviet regime. The point, however, is not only a historical one. Instead, the authors aim to establish a social typology of the actors in this revolution. Based on a systematic discussion of the various theories about what motivates people to act socially (under the umbrella of Bourdieu), they propose five ideal-types or profiles of actors: the non-Soviet professional, the silent civil servant, the counter-cultural artist, the progressive Komsomol, and the fearful intellectual. With this result, the authors challenge the hypothesis that the movement was launched by deportees, resistance fighters of the postwar period, and stowaways.

Gift Strategies

Be it at school (Kristina Šliavaite, Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas), or at the doctor's clinic (Rima Praspaliauskiene, University of California, USA), the practice of giving money to a teacher or a doctor is still alive. Dating back to the socialist period, it is seen differently today, depending on the person interviewed. In the second case, the gift allows the author to analyse the complex relationship between the patient and his healer (which is not far from the pilgrim and his saint [author's comment]).

Political Anthropology

Under the title 'Transnationalism and Fragmentation of Belonging. Cultural Citizenship and Post-Socialist Social Capital among Lithuanian Immigrants in the USA', Vytis Čiubrinskas (see above) analyses how emigres tend to play a political role in their home country. This is enhanced by the type of multi-culturalism or communitarianism that has reigned in the USA for the last six decades. Another aspect of the research relates to the social skills acquired under socialism that allow emigres to survive in their new environment, while keeping their contacts with the motherland, a common feature for migrants today, facilitated by mobility and means of communication. On one hand, Lithuanian emigres tend to stay close to their Lithuanian compatriots. On the other hand, particularly for new generations of emigres, they aim first and foremost to find a better life by enlarging their networks with other migrants from Eastern Europe (Poles and Russians) with whom they share social capital acquired at home, mainly in survival strategies (*blat*). There is, however, a generational conflict over ethnic identity and allegiance between emigres who came during communism and newcomers. According to the old-timers, who are more

strictly attached to and linked to their national community, the new generation of Lithuanian immigrants has been contaminated by communism and its bad habits. The older immigrants do not approve of the fact that the newcomers practise inter-ethnic resourcefulness directed more at individual gain than at the benefit of the Lithuanian community as a whole.

Conclusions

This issue of *Ethnologie française* is centred on Lithuania and Lithuanians facing their recent history. Its purpose is to establish the state of ethnology in this country. In doing so, it also provides an overview of the main concerns of scholars from different affiliations, in Lithuania or abroad, dealing with ethnology. Following the tradition of national ethnology, the volume does not address the question of 'exotic' social anthropology, even practised within Europe. No Lithuanian anthropologists dealing with a non-Lithuanian society are mentioned. Is this because of the trend, issuing from Subaltern studies, to limit oneself to *anthropology at home* can be a good pretext for not looking outside one's own tribe? Among the authors, all are Lithuanians, except for one; three are based in North America, and one in London. Among those based in Lithuania, only two are from Kaunas' Vytautas Magnus University, where there is a department of social anthropology. The recent efforts by anthropologists to develop the social anthropology curriculum in Lithuania are clearly opposed by the Lithuanian academic world. Interestingly, this is the case in most post-socialist countries.

It is not surprising that in Lithuania, a post-communist nation, ethnology has been and still is mainly focused on its own national people, identity, history and memory. During the communist period in Central and Eastern Europe, outside the

Soviet Union, ethnography and folklore were cultivated, but they were also made instruments for national-communist purposes. A splendid illustration of this phenomenon is given by the recent Polish film *Cold War*. This sort of very clearly politically oriented ethnology corresponds with the 'nationalist methodology' evoked in

the introduction to the volume by Vytis Čiubrinskas. Such an orientation partly explains why ethnographers are again pushed, in the aftermath of socialism, to participate in the mythical reconstruction of the freed nation, but also why, if they follow another path, they are considered as potentially dangerous troublemakers.

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Monika Frėjutė-Rakauskienė, Nerin-ga Klumbytė, Andrius Marcinkevičius, Kristina Šliavaitė. **Socialinis ir istorinis teisingumas daugiaetninėje Lietuvos visuomenėje: sampratos, patirtys ir kontekstai.** Vilnius: Lietuvos socialinių tyrimų centras, 2018. 319 p.: iliustr.

Šios monografijos autoriai, remdamiesi įvairių mokslinių disciplinų (sociologijos, antropologijos, politologijos, ekonomikos ir kt.) įžvalgomis, analizuoja įvairius klausimus, susijusius su istoriniu ir socialiniu teisingumu: „Kaip individai dalyvauja socialinio ir istorinio teisingumo procesuose ir kokios yra jų socialinio ir istorinio teisingumo patirtys bei sampratos? Kada istorinis ir socialinis teisingumas vienos grupės atžvilgiu tampa neteisybe kitai grupei? Kieno balsai pripažįstami, o kieno nutildomi? Kokį vaidmenį istorinio teisingumo procesai vaidina formuojant socialinį teisingumą?“ (p. 9) Istorinio teisingumo (t. y. kaip besikeičiančios valstybės ir visuomenės tvarkosi su praeities žaizdomis ir neteisybėmis) klausimai plačiai nagrinėjami mokslinėse studijose, skirtose pereinamojo laikotarpio teisingumo analizei, tačiau šioje literatūroje dažnai lieka nepalieti klausimai apie skirtingas etninių ir socialinių grupių patirtis. Socialinis teisingumas bei

su juo susiję galios klausimai, tokie kaip valstybių įtaka resursų paskirstymui, socialinė nelygybė, dažnai analizuojami studijose apie ekonominę gerovę, lyčių lygybę ir lygias galimybes, tačiau šios studijos paprastai ignoroja klausimus, susijusius su istorinėmis patirtimis ir istoriniu teisingumu. Didelis šios monografijos autorių laimėjimas – tai šių dviejų laukų sintezė, jų sugebėjimas teoriškai ir empiriškai įrodyti, kad šios dvi sąvokos (socialinis teisingumas ir istorinis teisingumas) yra glaudžiai susijusios ir reikalingos siekiant geriau pažinti daugiaetninę Lietuvos visuomenę.

Pirmame veikalo skyriuje „Teorinės ir metodologinės tyrimo priegios“ Monika Frėjutė-Rakauskienė, Nerin-ga Klumbytė, Andrius Marcinkevičius, Kristina Šliavaitė išryškina sankirtas tarp socialinio ir istorinio teisingumo sąvokų. Jie remiasi Iris Marion Young and Nancy Fraser teorinėmis priegomis, kuriose socialinis teisingumas apibrėžiamas kaip apimantis skirtingus, bet tuo pat metu tarpusavyje susijusius dalykus, tokius kaip ekonominė gerovė, galios santykiai ir socialinės struktūros, tarp kurių yra klasė, lytis, rasė ir seksualumas. Remiantis šiomis teorinėmis priegomis, socialinis teisingumas neatsiejamas nuo „struktūrinių sąlygų, kuriomis reiškiasi neteisingumas“ (p. 18) bei kasdinių galios santykių, kurie marginalizuoja tam tikras

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