

Markets and Moralities
Ethnographies of Postsocialism

Edited by
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The Market in Everyday Life: Ethnographies of Postsocialism

Caroline Humphrey and Ruth Mandel

During the socialist period in Eastern Europe and Russia, making profits from marketing was illegal in most circumstances and state ideologies branded private trading activities as immoral.¹ Such judgements were widely, though of course not universally, shared by ordinary people (Pine 1996; Stewart 1996; Humphrey 1999a). From 1991 postsocialist governments, however, moved rapidly toward market reform. Ten years on, having survived Western market-oriented 'shock therapy,' taken on IMF and World Bank loans, and entered the global marketplace, the postsocialist societies still struggle to come to terms with the clash between deeply ingrained moralities and the daily pressures, opportunities and inequalities posed by market penetration. 'The market' confronts people in diverse contexts and is not experienced as a purely economic phenomenon: it might appear as a rural privatization programme, advertisements for Western cigarettes, daily observation of growing inequalities in poverty and nouveau wealth, or the sudden visibility of prostitution. Attitudes and practices even within one region are by no means uniform, yet we need to try to understand what patterns are emerging in the groundswell of everyday activities. It is just such confrontations, ambiguities and compromises concerning 'the market' that are described and analysed in this volume.

This collection represents original research, echoing in its variety and freshness the diversity of quotidian market activities of the people living in the new states and regions of the former Soviet Union and its eastern European satellites. Though not representative by any measure, the range of material assembled here covers a span of countries and continents, regions and topics, and collectively demonstrates the specificities of local responses to the introduction of market activities in the tumultuous last decade of the twentieth century. It is this broad span, combined with the focus specifically on 'the market', that differentiates this volume from the

other collections on postsocialism that have appeared in recent years (Buckley 1997; Burawoy and Verdery 1999; Berdahl et al. 2000). Furthermore, unlike the literature in political science (e.g. Mau 1996; Urban 1997), sociology (e.g. Stark and Bruszt 1998; Szelenyi and Costello 1996) or economics (e.g. Boycko et al. 1995; Sachs 1993), this book takes an anthropological approach, and therefore differs in its contribution from the kinds of works that have dominated in Soviet and post-Soviet studies. Anthropologists specialize in long-term, on-the-ground, multi-stranded and reflexive research. Rather than analysis of statistics, mass surveys or interviews with elites, anthropologists tend to deal with the ordinary people in a wide variety of walks of life, including the marginal and dispossessed, and the resulting research confirms the rich insights this intensive, context-sensitive approach is able to offer (e.g. Mandel 2001; Hann 2001).

In this introduction we have placed 'the market' in inverted commas because a simple and common understanding of this concept cannot be taken for granted. There is no 'market' that exists outside and beyond the particular forms of it that appear in historical circumstances in particular countries and cultures (Dillely 1992). The specific version of the market introduced in the early 1990s, under the influence not only of American but also of indigenous economists attracted to Western liberalism (Lloyd 1996) became known as 'shock-therapy'. This doctrine emphasized rapid privatization, the freeing of prices, withdrawal of subsidies, and free trade, as distinct from state-supported and more regulated varieties of capitalism. What is often forgotten, however, is that this version of 'the market' did not land on unoccupied ground. In all the former-socialist countries, including even remote areas of the former Soviet Union, the 'market' was introduced into societies where there were already a variety of entrepreneurial or profit-oriented practices of one kind or another. Some of these were legal and had had a long-standing existence within the overarching state-run economy, as in Hungary (Lampland 1995). Others were illegal, like the underground workshops and racketeering activities that operated in Russia (Humphrey 1999b). And Gorbachev's *perestroika*, which began in the mid-1980s and enabled the emergence of a widespread, rapaciously commercial cooperative movement, also created a foreground of everyday economic practices that 'the market' had to encounter. In other words, we are not dealing simply with the clash of two mutually alien economic systems, 'the market' and 'the socialist planned economy', but with a much more complex encounter of a number of specific, culturally-embedded, and practical organizational forms.

One phenomenon that emerges from the research presented here is a common set of complaints and reactions to the new economic and social challenges. These focus on the unfairness of economic differentiation and anger directed at 'the state' for its inability to provide services taken for granted in socialist times. Interestingly however, despite these common reactions, the countries that once shared a single socio-economic template are increasingly coming to diverge from one another (Kandiyoti 1996, 1998, and forthcoming). For example, some of the new Central Asian states have assumed highly authoritarian forms, complete with a near absence of civil rights or press freedom, and beset by new and widespread impoverishment, rising mortality rates, pervasive corruption and, in some cases, personality cults of their presidents. On the other hand, many of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe have experienced the vicissitudes of struggling proto-democracies. They face profound economic and political challenges, to be sure, but all the same have moved in an unambiguously 'Western' direction, so much so that they are applying for membership in the European Union. It is likely that the candidacies of Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic will be considered seriously in the near future.

Given these contrasting directions a persistent and implicit question necessarily arises from all these chapters: how long will it be tenable to speak of, write of, think of a category called 'postsocialism'? Given the quite substantively differing paths these countries took during the 1990s, the time has come already when to speak of 'postsocialist' processes and practices one must carefully qualify the context and content in question.

Despite these uncertain future trajectories, we feel that the 1990s represented a critical period that does have a certain unity. It was during this period that people living in these new states experienced the withdrawal of state surveillance and the collapse of accustomed social (as well as economic) institutions, while at the same time being brought face-to-face with the exigencies of a hard-edged variety of 'the market'. Of course, they were not alone in this. It was not just in the postsocialist countries that new junctures of globalization, the accountancy culture, and down-sizing took drastic effect. This is why the particular trajectories of the former socialist societies are so relevant for social scientists concerned with the pasts, presents and futures of political economies in general. It is with the aim of contributing to such discussions that these chapters have been brought together, illuminating as they do certain common themes emanating from postsocialist social spaces, despite the perhaps increasingly disparate realities these fascinatingly different places represent.

Thematic concerns

The chapters in this book address the priorities iterated endlessly by international development agencies and organizations active in the region (e.g. IMF, World Bank, USAID, DFID, EBRD, Soros), the multinational investors (e.g. international oil and gas companies), and myriad observers (media, academic, OSCE). These include privatization and decollectivization, inflation, unemployment, poverty, and alternative economic employment (notably in Chapters 9–11 by Perotta, Sneath and Shreeves, respectively), new work ethics (Czeglédy in Chapter 8 and Kaneff in Chapter 3), civil society and new patterns of consumption (Rausing in Chapter 7 and Drazin in Chapter 6), and entrepreneurship (Heyat in Chapter 2 and Pine in Chapter 5). However, anthropological insights on these exacting issues and processes depart in important ways from the macro-levels of analysis and description normally found in media, grey-literature reports, and the like. Furthermore, they introduce other themes not generally considered in the development literature, such as the ways in which ethnic identity and national affiliations can have an impact on economic activity (Rausing; also Watts in Chapter 4).

The anthropological contribution can upend commonly expressed and explained economic relations. Instead of studies of transactional outcomes abstracted from historical time and social context, an anthropological perspective may point out the importance of long-standing and culturally specific patterns of economic activity. Existing socially-constituted practices, such as the sexual division of labour, ethnic work specialization, or local entrepreneurial traditions, may significantly affect the way in which the postsocialist 'market' is encountered and engaged with. Our first four chapters take this approach, with each individually also touching upon other issues.

Deema Kaneff's Chapter 3 shows the explicitly ideological nature of market activity. Engagement in the market is not a moral-free activity but given value through the political-economic context in which it operates. In contrasting two women, Maria and Grigora, Kaneff looks at different ways in which sellers view their own participation in market trading – as either a shameful practice or one conferring pride. These different moral positions expressed by kin engaged in the same activity are rooted in an individual's location with respect to 'production' and 'work' – both terms having undergone revalorization since the 1989 postsocialist reforms. For Maria, once an official who upheld a work ethic grounded in state production, market trading was a shameful act with which she still does not feel totally comfortable, though one in which she engages as a coping

strategy – her state pension no longer is sufficient. Her mother, never involved in political life to the same degree as her daughter, finds engagement in the market a cause for pride, as household production is much more central to her own identity.

Similarly, contrasting ideologies and moralities are at the root of Pine's study of the Górale of southeast Poland. A population tracing their roots to transhumant Vlachs, they operated as petty traders and international migrants in the socialist period. Their understanding of money, value and labour contrasts with that of their more sedentary neighbours. Money per se is not viewed negatively by Górale; rather, it is the provenance of money that is valorized. For the Górale the salient distinction is shown to be between different types of labour and exchange, producing differently valorized types of money. Pine describes how during the socialist period money and labour articulated with Górale beliefs about the primacy of the household and their hostility to the state. Earnings from entrepreneurial practices or from economic migration were liable to be displayed proudly; on the other hand, earnings associated with waged labour, dependency and inequality – all characteristic of state-related labour – were disvalued. A tension emerges in Górale ideology, namely the opposition between a collective morality of the house and community, and individual autonomy and individualism. In a persuasive account, Pine suggests a parallel in the contrast between capitalism and communism and how those of the Górale community integrate the two in practice if not in ideology. However, the situation shifted, and after a period in the early 1990s 'when everything seemed to be out of focus, in reverse or slightly wrong' the Górale have changed their attitude toward the state and money. Always politically charged, money, and the commodities for which they can be exchanged, now have assumed a new inflection. Instead of the state, the new focus of their hostility has become the Western business and governments operating in Poland. Foreign money, once prized, has assumed negative associations, and Polish zloty are explicitly preferred, still reflecting an anxiety about autonomy, but at a different level and scale from earlier. Now fears expressed are concerned with economic and cultural encroachment from the West. Thus for Górale, money, always heavily social, has also become national.

As with Pine's case, Watts's study describes a group who maintained an alternative, viable value and moral system throughout the socialist period. In Watts's analysis of new entrepreneurs in Archangelsk in northern Russia, a region inhabited by a distinctive group of Russians known as Pomors, he demonstrates precisely the unique perspective and insights an anthropological study can offer. Disputing the findings of

standard political accounts and opinion surveys on the one hand, and the dead end of culturalist-reductionism on the other, he shows that a more nuanced understanding of indigenous notions, symbols and practices of entrepreneurship, historically contextualized, can lead to quite different conclusions. Drawing on historical studies of the region, he traces the mytho-ethnogenesis adhered to by the Pomors and seen not only in their own expressive culture but also in works written about them over the past centuries. The Pomors, having achieved a reputation as self-sufficient fishermen and entrepreneurs in Tsarist times, experienced a devastating transformation of their way of life with the Soviet Revolution. Condemned as 'primitive' on the one hand, and 'petty bourgeois' and 'kulak exploiters' on the other, they, like so many others, suffered appallingly under Stalinism. After their rehabilitation under Gorbachev they, along with the rest of the country, experienced the shocks of post-Communist Party rule.

Again, as in pre-Revolutionary times, a new entrepreneurialism has taken hold in the region. However, unlike the imagery of the pre-Revolutionary pomor entrepreneurs, whose pride derived from their industrious independence, having 'pulled themselves up by their own bootstraps', the postsocialist entrepreneurial variant has been the notorious New Russians. Their entrepreneurial success derives not from hard work, but from the social capital accumulated during the Soviet period – their already existing networks and connections. The former Party and State nomenklatura, undaunted by the new market order, instead exploited it, capturing for themselves the state resources in the privatization sweepstakes. In some regions of the former Soviet Union, this practice has been cynically termed *prikhvatizatsia* (from the Russian word *prikhvatit* 'to grab'), a play on the Russian word for privatization, *privatizatsia*. Watts describes the negative popular reactions to the instant windfalls gained by an elite few, an attitude informed partially by a perception that the nouveau wealth was not *productive* – the pre-Revolutionary local magnates had given back to the region with their mills, factories, shipping fleets and railroads. Thus, not totally unlike the Gorale analysed by Pine, wealth was differentially valorized depending on its source and the labour associated with it. Meanwhile, the term and concept *khozyain* has undergone redefinition. An interesting polysemy has taken hold, as it refers both to literal ownership in a privatized sense and also to valued personal qualities, such as wisdom, fairness and stewardship – the very things denied the new *khozyains*.

Entrepreneurialism is again the theme in Farideh Heyat's Chapter 2, a historically informed portrayal of current market opportunities in the

context of an Islamic society. Heyat analyses the activities of women entrepreneurs in post-Soviet Azerbaijan and the changing social values that surround them. Women had always played some role in Azeri trade, which was a respected profession in pre-Revolutionary times, usually as assistants to the male members of their families. During the Soviet period, however, trade was ideologically associated with 'speculation', and became a despised activity, especially by contrast with the high value then accorded to the intellectual professions. This meant that petty trade, which was mostly located in the market area of Kubinka in the capital city of Baku, was denigrated and hidden, carried out largely by women in nearby private apartments. This pattern continues in post-Soviet times. It is still dominated by women and still considered somewhat shameful, while the more prestigious sphere of large-scale business (i.e., well-capitalized and multinational concerns linked to government interests) is dominated by men. Yet this division of 'the market' into two gendered spheres may change, as some women are now penetrating into big business and there is a growing mid-level of market activity (street stalls, services such as hairdressing, etc.) in which Azeri women are visible. Condemnation of economically-active Azeri women is lessening, for a number of reasons, such as the absence of many Azeri men searching for jobs elsewhere, the impact of Western media portrayals of independent women, and the growing social acknowledgement of the importance of women's incomes to family budgets.

The advent of 'the market' has brought sudden changes in the field of consumption, and this is the theme of our second section. Not only what is consumed, but also people's attitudes to the whole set of activities that comprise consumption are in the process of transformation. These range from urban shoppers' strategies concerning price and value to the decisions of the poor about whether to buy something or produce it oneself. With the end of socialist distributional methods, in which consumption was closely aligned to allocation (Humphrey 1995), people are now suddenly presented with far greater choice, and here the shift in the values and signification of iconic markers of goods has been particularly evident. This is not simply a matter of the 'reading' of brand names along with the fantasies displayed by advertisers, but involves the active articulation of such signs with the pre-existing (and new) social practices that are involved in the encounter with marketed goods.

Adam Drazin (Chapter 6) and Sigrid Rausing (Chapter 7) focus on this aspect of consumption, the former in a provincial Romanian town, the latter on a former collective farm in Estonia. Drazin's study of Romanian domesticity brings together themes of gender relations as well as the

gendering of the materiality of the home itself. The ethnographic analysis addresses the deeper cultural meanings attached to the ideal of the household, for example in hunting for pernicious invading domestic moths which symbolize dirt and disorder attacking from outside and threatening the home. Yet the changes in postsocialist attitudes to, and practices of, cleaning and decorating the home are also shown to be related to international markets and influences. The direct-selling organization Amway, peddling a range of hitherto unseen cleaning products – both personal and household – has penetrated into provincial Romania, along with foreign magazines and catalogues. Drazin demonstrates how such products and ideas, associated with modernity and progress, can be understood in one sense as transforming the domestic interior but in another as still related to the socialist period, when similar practices were employed but using different products and with different symbolic connotations. He shows thus that the work of cleaning is historically and socially situated, and he argues that it ‘works’ in provincial Romania today as a re-interpretation of the past. The symbol of cleanliness is explored in its full polysemic range of meanings and, as these meanings shift, we learn how public and private techniques of cleanliness are transmitted intergenerationally.

In her suggestive study, Rausing’s keen eye is turned on the local symbols of the West, the concept of ‘normality’, and its relation with Western consumer goods. She analyses the pivotal role played by Western consumer products in the process of what the people of this depressed region of Estonia envision as a ‘return to normality’. An explanation is needed for the patterns of consumption Rausing discovers, as people are spending far beyond their means in order to acquire a brand name and foreign packaging. The concept of the ‘normal’, she argues, is related to the very notion of ‘Estonian-ness’, which with all its attendant characteristics is situated in direct opposition to ‘Russian-ness’. In other words, consumption is shown here not to be simply a matter of the satisfaction of individual desire, but is implicated in issues of collective identity and national aspiration. Importantly, Rausing criticizes the simplistic conclusions others so easily proffer, namely that a certain deliberate agency on the part of Estonians either located them in a newly achieved post-modernity or, simply by virtue of their equation of ‘normality’ with Western goods, guided their trajectory automatically towards neo-globalization. Rather, their pattern of consumption reflected a very conscious articulation with their Russian/Soviet past; this is the source animating the complex layers of normalcy, normative, and normalizing practice in this region.

Czeglédy's Chapter 8, by contrast, presents an account of the basically outward-looking orientation of people involved in the introduction of a Western-type institution into Hungary, the fast-food restaurant. One useful aspect of this chapter is that it analyses market innovation not only from the point of view of consumers but also from that of the people involved in manufacturing and selling the new products. Czeglédy shows that there was a traditional concept of fast-food in Hungary, which, although it was produced domestically rather than industrially, may have facilitated the acceptance of the new Americanized variants. The Yankee Chicken chain allowed its licensees to adopt deep-fried, breaded recipes that suited existing local tastes. The transformative effect of 'the market' in this case was more evident in social organization than in eating habits. Notably, the new restaurants changed labour practices and attitudes to customer service. By circulating work tasks in the kitchen and service areas, not only was it possible to relieve the stress and boredom of repetitive, high-pressure work, but also the restaurants were able to counteract the tendency to establish status hierarchies of labour. So, despite the persistence of earlier gender stereotypes (men in production, women in customer service), the chain was able to generate new attitudes to employer-employee relations and a certain enthusiasm for internationalized commercial enterprise as a way of earning a living. This success, Czeglédy suggests, is related to the popular imagination of 'Amerika', and the way that fast-food – both in its status-signifying packaging and in its ability to become emblematic of a more youthful and democratic society – directs Hungarians' gaze outward, toward the arena of international shared culture.

With the final section of the book, the chapters take on the issues raised by the institutional transformations brought about by, or necessary to, the operation of 'the market'. The debate on whether 'shock therapy' has succeeded or failed, whether it is a species of 'economic vandalism' and 'soft imperialism' or a necessary painful transition to an economic turnaround, may not be quite over.² But it is generally acknowledged that even where it has been undertaken only partially, as in the Ukraine and Russia, the result has been immensely increased poverty in agricultural regions (for regional comparisons see Bridger 1997; Humphrey 1999a). The introduction of 'the market' in its shock-therapy guise crucially involved the elimination of collective and state-funded institutions and their replacement with privatized variants, and this involved not only shops and services, but also institutions in social life, from clubs to crèches. It is because none of these institutions can be seen simply as economic units that anthropological insights into the ways they constituted

social relations and intertwined with local values is so important. The ways in which people now engage with their market replacements, and deal with the gaps where there are no replacements, are the direct consequence of such involvements.

The privatized market variants also are the subject of Rosamund Shreeves's Chapter 11. She casts her eye on the effects of decollectivization of a former *kolkhoz* on gendered practices, showing that women and men are apt to stand in different positions in relation to the retraction of the state and the advent of the market. Through careful historical and ethnographic attention Shreeves shows precisely the ways in which women have become particularly vulnerable, as market reform in the agricultural sector has forced them out of the labour market and into the domestic domain. Moreover, she describes how Kazakh family obligations and expectations come into sharp conflict with new bottom-line priorities, further disadvantaging women, who are discouraged from active participation in new economic ventures. But the new market order and its celebration of the new 'hero-entrepreneurs' who are supposed to conquer the market proves traumatic for men, as it is an all but unachievable fantasy, nurtured in part by local media (Mandel, in press). This creates a situation where rural men are unable to perform the expected masculinity. Ironically, unexpected continuities emerge, stemming from the socialist modes of rural economy to today. The 'rural gender contract' associates men with the 'outside' and women with the 'inside' economy, linking men with market production and women with subsistence and the domestic domain. Finally, Shreeves illustrates how the macro-economic and local models misrecognize the value of women's work, in terms of both their actual contribution to production and the added value of their reproductive labour, raising critical questions concerning women's property rights, the formal recognition of their labour, and access to resources. Along with other recent work considering implications for gender of postsocialist transformations (e.g. Gal and Kligman 2000a and 2000b; Pine 1998; Buckley 1997; Kandiyoti 2001) Shreeves's research begins to address what until recently has been a lacuna in the study of postsocialist societies.

Chapter 10 by David Sneath, 'Mongolia in the "Age of the Market"', addresses the Euro-American concepts and values underlying the market reforms and development discourse. He contrasts these ideas (for example, that the economy should be separate from political structures, that it is necessary to introduce private property, and that economic actors should be envisaged as individuals rather than collectivities) with the concepts of the Mongols. The latter are more holistic and combine

economic and political categories. Sneath demonstrates how the Mongolian concepts (for example about custodial property) were related to the pastoral political-economy at different historical periods. He argues that pastoralism operates best with common, as distinct from private, rights to land, and that this fact makes it difficult – and even in many situations inadvisable – for Mongolians to adopt a private property regime. During the Soviet-dominated period the merging of political and economic structures and the presence of common property were maintained, so the present ‘age of the market’ is attempting to overturn deeply ingrained practices that have worked reasonably well in different political regimes. Sneath explains in detail why the market reforms have resulted in widespread poverty and unemployment in Mongolia. Importantly, he shows how the reforms were undertaken without regard for the non-market state-organized institutional structures that had sustained the transfer of agricultural and pastoral products to the large urban population. ‘The market’ has not managed to create viable alternatives either for these crucial links or for the large-scale (recently collective) organizations that enabled the production of a sufficient amount of meat, grain, etc. to feed the population as a whole. Mongolia is now dependent on aid and imports in spheres where it was earlier self-sufficient.

If Sneath’s work addresses the disjunction between ‘shock therapy’ and indigenous concepts of economic life, Louise Perrotta in Chapter 9 provides a detailed study of its effects on rural society in the Ukraine. Perrotta’s work is a rare example of a study that attempts both quantitative and qualitative analysis. In some ways her message is the opposite of that found in Sneath, since she documents the inadequacy of maintaining large-scale collectives in the current economic situation. Focusing on household incomes, she shows that the attempt to retain collective-type farms with large workforces has resulted in the insolvency of these enterprises, and consequently their inability to pay wages and the unwillingness of people to provide labour in them. Households suffer at the same time from the problems described by Sneath (drastic price rises, debt, and the difficulty of marketing small surpluses). Perrotta describes the retreat to subsistence farming on small plots, and shows how and why it is almost impossible for households to develop new small businesses, a ploy which might otherwise have been a solution. The present situation in many agricultural regions of the Ukraine is unsustainable, she argues. There is a disaster waiting to happen, possibly even threatening famine unless there are significant changes in policy and practice.

Conclusion

This volume explores some common experiences of the market and reactions to it. From these discussions, as well as earlier publications (Humphrey 1999a, 1999b; Bruno 1998), we can see how the category called 'the market' has in practice differentiated into spheres of different scale (international chains and joint ventures; large indigenous businesses; wholesale and mid-range retail shops; kiosks and shuttle trade; street selling and reselling by non-professionals). Such marketing patterns mirror the economic differentiation of the population, which has markedly increased throughout the former socialist world. At the same time, though in different degree in various countries, market enterprises are involved with 'protection' and racket businesses, to the extent that state security has declined. All of this has given rise to common anxieties and (in many places) anger, as accustomed channels of provision to ordinary people have melted away.

It is well known that during socialist times political and economic structures were indissolubly tied together. Now it seems that they may be splitting apart, in that the complex economic consequences of the reforms (for example of privatization) appear to be evolving in their own unpredicted directions. This is where the different countries studied here provide evidence of diverse trajectories. Poland, Hungary, Kazakhstan and Mongolia undertook similar policies in the 1990s (radical privatization, freeing of prices, withdrawal of state subsidies) yet the consequences have been very different. As Sneath's Chapter 10 indicates, changes of government in Mongolia, from socialist to democratic and back to a variant of socialist again, have been unable to halt the deepening economic crisis unleashed by the initial 'reforms'. Meanwhile, Perrotta's material shows that a different policy in the Ukraine, which retained collectives and preserved bankrupt enterprises through (minimal) state subsidies, has resulted in an equally disastrous growth of poverty. Undoubtedly any persuasive explanation for such unforeseen patterns would be extremely complex and would have to take account of macro-economic factors that lie beyond the scope of this book. Yet a part of the explanation must lie with the everyday practices of ordinary people participating in the economy according to their own priorities, social pressures and values. It is at this level that we hope this book can make a contribution. The studies presented here show that people take part in 'the market' as social persons, that they are already participating in a variety of relations (with families and household members, friends, workmates, bosses, administrators and officials, and so forth). In this sense, we cannot

support the idea that 'economics' has split away from 'politics', for relational persons are inevitably also political actors and subjects in whatever power relations surround them. As Kaneff argues, 'the market' itself may be experienced as having brought a reduction in economic freedom as compared with the state-dominated system of socialist times. In other words, a new economic system can appear as (and therefore in effect be) a regime of power. But as these chapters show, it is not only the politics that is involved in the practices that make up market actualities.

Thus we see from Heyat (Chapter 2) and Watts (Chapter 4) how locally specified historical identities, and also ethnicity, can be a factor in the social input to marketing. Closely linked to ethnicity is the way that *identity* is formed in contradistinction to other groups. Here Rausing (Chapter 7) paper argues that negative contrasts with Soviet Russians and positive identifications with Scandinavia have been central to the sense of identity of people in northeast Estonia that informs their consumption patterns. Sneath (Chapter 10) shows how Mongolian *indigenous concepts of property* have conflicted with those introduced by international economists, subverting privatization programmes. Meanwhile, Pine (Chapter 5), Kaneff (Chapter 3) and Czeglédy (Chapter 8) show how yet another 'cultural factor', *local understandings of labour as distinct from commerce*, have interacted positively or negatively as the case may be with 'the market' in those regions. It is clear from several of these chapters that *gender constructs* are deeply involved in each of these social spheres. Though some of the articles do not deal with gender directly, it is evident that it is an integral part of the social determination of who takes part in trading and in what manner (Heyat), on the ideational forms of identity (Watts) and common property (Sneath), and on labour hierarchies (Czeglédy). Finally, we could mention *areas of culture usually neglected in economic analyses*, such as ideas of privacy, cleanliness and idealized 'modernity' (Drazin, Chapter 6), ideas of 'a normal life' (Rausing), local conceptualizations of social distance (Kaneff), or the fantasy of 'Amerika' (Czeglédy), that interact with identity and gender to influence the ways in which ordinary people react and contribute to 'the market'. And perhaps we should be more specific, for that is the nature of ethnography. These 'cultural factors' influence how people set their prices (Kaneff), how they address customers (Czeglédy), what they choose to buy (Drazin), how they calculate what income consists of (Perrotta Chapter 9), and how they work in market settings (Heyat). A myriad of economic decisions and practices are influenced by such matters, and it behoves us to try to understand them as they contribute to the abstraction we call 'the postsocialist economy'.

Notes

1. For discussion of the situation in the various countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Russia, see Lampland 1995, Verdery 1996.
2. For an example of this debate, see John Lloyd's 1996 argument with Peter Gowan in *New Left Review*, 216, 119–40.

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