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ABSTRACTS

Neoliberal ideologies of intensive mothering in post-socialist contexts: the case of Russian attachment parenting

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My presentation provides an analysis of how originally Western (Anglo-Saxon) form of intensive mothering — *attachment parenting* — frames and organises mothers' experiences and care for children in the context of post-socialist after-«egalitarian» Russia. By looking at the ways in which attachment parenting is implemented, rationalised and grounded in the everyday life of Russian women I intend to show how «imported» ideologies of care and motherhood are localised within and challenged by specificity of Russian neoliberal postsocialism.

Attachment parenting emphasises the fundamental importance of close attachment between a mother and a child and declares mother to be the most important caregiver, who has an innate, instinctive knowledge and resources for childcare. In order to create and sustain tight emotional bond with a child «attached» mother is supposed to be constantly focused on child's needs and practice long-breastfeeding on child's demand, co-sleeping, and carrying her in a sling. Its emergence was tightly connected to the modern discourse on a child as an absolute and implicit value, which had finally taken its dominant position in the Western societies right after the WWII, where reproduction had become both the target and the tool of politics.

According to Western researchers, intensive mothering as well as its most radical form — attachment parenting could be considered as a mode of cultural opposition to the rationale of market societies and the dominant political rhetoric of self-interested gain, and as a tool for middle-class women to achieve and sustain higher social status through the professionalization and intensification of mothering. Yet, the case of Russia problematises this assumption and the very idea of straightforward transfer of the practices, ideas and their meanings. Characterised by the official dominance of neoliberalism and New Familialism Russian society still indicates the strong commitment to the inheritance of socialist era and in particular «working mother» gender contract. In other words, while attachment parenting seems to accommodate and extractivate the neo-conservative turn in state ideology, its implementation is challenged by the continuing arrangements of previous gender order.

In my presentation I aim to show through the case of Russia how attachment parenting becomes a response to social and political changes of conceptualizations of individual freedom and social constraint, citizen and the state actuated by post-socialist turn from universalism and welfare to neoconservative familialism. I reveal what attachment parenting as a particular type of maternal care has to do with more general organisation of care and gender in the context of multiple discrepancies of official ideology and actual practices.

Central and Eastern Europe: The Subaltern is Talking Back

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In my paper, I would like to present Central and Eastern Europe's subaltern position in relation to the Western liberal hegemony as key to understand current events, such as regional reactions to the refugee crisis and wider anti-liberal tendencies. As I will argue, the rise of such ideas in post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) can be looked through the lens of postcolonial studies as the subaltern talking back (Spivak, 1988).

CEE has been historically labelled as 'Eastern' and backward, in opposition to a progressive, 'Western' Europe (Wolff, 1994). The Cold War only reinforced this division in the second half of the 20th century and post-1989 changes were seen by many, both in Western Europe and in CEE, as 'catching up'. CEE's drive to join Euro-Atlantic institutions was thus based on power dynamics in which Western Europe acted in a paternalistic way and CEE adopted a 'claimant attitude' (Domanski, 2004). Discussing LGBT rights, scholar Robert Kulpa coined this relationship 'leveraged pedagogy', i.e. "a didactical and cultural hegemonic relation of power, where the CEE figures as an object of West/European pedagogy. This discourse frames CEE as permanently 'post-communist', 'in transition' (i.e. not liberal, yet, enough), and, last but not least, homophobic" (Kulpa, 2014). As many scholars have underlined and denounced, CEE countries are thus 'orientalised' in the West, including through the current use of 'postsocialism' (Said 1978, Wolff 1994, Cervinkova 2012). Furthermore, as Polish anthropologist Micha Buchowski argues, local elites adopted similar discourses by internally orientalising and blaming their own fellow citizens for failing to adapt to the post-1989 transformation (2006).

In my paper, I will analyse current anti-liberal discourses in Poland, Czechia, Slovakia and Hungary, especially the challenge to liberal democracy in Hungary and Poland, and the refugee issue, through the lens of postcolonialism and power dynamics underlying 'postsocialism'. Indeed, discourses and practices on refugees in CEE, such as Central-European claims of being the 'true (white, Christian) Europe', have to be analysed as CEE's 'talking back' to the hegemonic Western liberal model. I will argue that this angle corresponds to dominant regional moods, as confirmed by the recent Czech presidential election and the most recent ethnographic study in Poland, in which right-wing voters emphasised their sense of recovered dignity (Gdula, 2018). As Western Europe (and the Global North) is increasingly doubting its liberal model in face of neo-liberal changes, homegrown Islamic terrorism, the refugee crisis, Brexit and Donald Trump's election, CEE has a unique opportunity to turn the tables. While CEE is losing on socio-economic terms, recent questions of multiculturalism, migration, terrorism, gender and sexuality have enabled politicians and social movements in the region to reclaim some sort of moral superiority. As the Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán unabashedly admitted, his illiberal project draws its inspiration from global challengers to

liberal democracy such as authoritarian China, Putin's Russia, Erdogan's Turkey and, lately, Trump's U.S.A. (Orbán, 2014). I will thus show how CEE's regional and global position matters for the (re)construction of national identities at the intersection of race, class, gender and sexuality.

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Limits to participation in urban rehabilitation: Unsatisfied social needs and the entrepreneurial spirit

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With the occurrence of the global financial crisis in 2007-2008, debates focused on how and if neoliberalism has been questioned, transformed, or have become immune to criticism. As a corollary of the crisis, 'vacancy' has become once again a visible and politically significant issue, playing a key role in determining how cities respond to local problems and wider global challenges. However, scholars argued that "concepts such as equality or social justice are replaced by an emphasis on belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition, legitimacy, governance, absence of conflict or co-responsibility" (Eizaguirre et al., 2012: 2007), which discourses have permeated both the West and the post-socialist regions of Europe. Taking Budapest as an example, from 2007 onwards (the beginning of the EU structural funds phase), policy-makers have recognised 'social urban renewal' (the official term for a holistic approach on urban regeneration) as a major issue, focussing on the "integration of deprived neighbourhoods through diverse social, economic and cultural programmes" (Keresztély and Scott, 2012: 1123). Along with the emergence of socio-cultural aspects in urban rehabilitation, the city first embraced the notion of citizen inclusion in vacant municipal space reuse when a new chief architect became head of the Urban Planning Department of the city from 2012 onwards, and initiated programmes that were based on the input of civil groups and NGOs. In the following I will argue for a deeper theorisation of citizen participation in vacant space reuses that has been absent in former researches and also for the allocation of these practices in a wider political context. Taking the outburst of the 2008 crisis, I will look into discourses that shape the various reuses of vacant spaces, understanding the crisis as a path-shaping moment for capitalist restructuring. Hence, the aim of this paper is to locate whether discourses deploy (counter)hegemonic imaginaries and how these are attached to socio-economic development (Sum, 2006). In doing so, I will rely on the book of Boltanski and Chiapello (2005), who argued that the next crisis that capitalism will suffer has to be followed by a 'social critique' for its injustices, rather than for its inauthenticity, which entails the 'artistic critique'. Methodologically, this study emerges from a qualitative study, based on semi-structured interviews and non-participatory observation of city council policies that offer a public competition for citizen initiatives to reuse vacant and underused sites. The paper aims to reveal the practices that emerged from the public competitions for vacant and underused municipal spaces in Budapest, and the underlying imaginaries that are the driving forces for civic initiatives and organisations participating in the projects. The role of local citizens in urban transformations thus can be understood as a result of the tendency that 'the civil society concept has come to represent less rights-oriented democratic politics than merely an anti-statist appendage for the 'compassionate' side of market society' (Somers, 2005: 17), adjusting to entrepreneurial discourses.

Keywords: Urban rehabilitation, Citizen participation, Alternative imaginaries, Budapest

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Transformations of housing provision in Romania – organizations of subtle violence

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Our case study starts from exploring changes in national housing policies in Romania since 1989, looking at the recent legislative history facilitating the ongoing property retrocession, the sale of state-owned flats to their tenants and on the growing real-estate market, the emergence of mortgage programs backed by the state, the development of state-financed building and renovation programs benefiting the better-off, and, at the same time, the persistence of evictions without relocation, the even sharply under-budgeted and inaccessible social housing programs. We also explore changes in the interconnected labour, fiscal, urban development, poverty-reduction policies, and in the mainstream public discourses about housing/ housing needs. We contextualize these changes within the wider historical processes, structures of EU accession and its conditions, international trade and loan agreements, as well as the intensified financialization of the global economy – in which housing, real estate investments and urban development are key aspects (at the intersection of global, regional, national, local scales).

The case study follows how, legitimized by the "transition", reformed public organizations transpose responsibility (for housing provision) from the state towards the individuals, through both policies and discourses/ideology, while advancing the interests of the more affluent at the cost of the impoverished. This process is sometimes openly and sometimes subtly violent. A key role in this process was/is granted to the non-profit non-governmental organizations legitimized as charities – for individuals perceived as isolated cases who are not able to take responsibility for themselves. Through our case, we describe those non-profit private organizations that are part of mechanisms of physical and symbolic resource transfers, taking up an important role in the privatization of housing and social provision – re-framed as charity, while those in need of affordable housing are re-framed as charity-clients.

We want to detail these mechanisms of subtle violence and the non-profit NGOs that operate within them in the field of housing in Romania, legitimized by the transition, enabled and limited by wider structural conditions.

We are also looking at the development of community organizations, grassroots groups and alliances that oppose and challenge the mechanisms of physical and symbolic violence in the housing field, in the last decade. The contention of these emerging actors pressures the private NGOs to clarify their positions, to acknowledge or reflect on the symbolic violence they are involved in (with diverse results). Thus, we are also exploring emancipatory possibilities beyond transition-legitimized violence.

A postsocialist perspective on audit culture: Changing practices and subjectivities of school teachers in a Russian region

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In this paper we discuss the reactions of Russian schools and teachers to the new quality assurance system. Embarking on a sociology of the actual and localized audit culture we ask How the introduction of novel quality assurance principles and measurement tools influences subjectivities and observable practices of teachers in schools. We are interested in the audit culture as it is implemented in and exerts influence over particular contexts - "incompletely, in modified ways, and in the face of resistance, transformation, subversion by those who are its objects" (Dunn, 2004, p. 23). Inspired by a question posed by Domenic Boyer (2013, p. 212) "What does late socialism teach us about late liberalism?", we also explore How concepts and theories first developed in the context of socialist societies can be of use to understand the recontextualizations and effects of audit cultures after socialism.

Studies on audit cultures across different sectoral and geographic contexts have emphasized their deeply political and personal consequences. This is because evaluation processes that rely on the quantification and ranking of complex qualitative phenomena make remote control possible through surveillance and access to the inner world of an organization (Shore & Wright 2015, p. 23). The ostensibly benign, liberal policy of promoting public accountability through transparency functions as "illiberal governance" and fosters authoritarian forms of control, echoing non-democratic regimes (Shore & Wright 2015), and thus interrupting the dichotomy between East and West or liberal and authoritarian.

Research on the influence of expanding audits and performance management on the subjectivities of school teachers points to the damaging effects of performance-based accountability on teachers' autonomy and professional identity, and documents a predominantly negative attitude of teachers towards accountability reforms (Ball, 2003). Scholarly accounts of post-socialist transformations show how professions, practices and personalities have been affected by the introduction of audit cultures to different spheres of life. However, existing research sheds light on how post-socialist and even pre-socialist practices and mentalities also help to construct forms of resistance to and isolation from performance metrics (e.g. Dunn, 2004).

We argue that some teachers' reactions, such as fabrications or formalism, are reminiscent of responses to socialist plans and communist bureaucratic controls (see also Aydarova, Millei, Piattoeva & Silova, 2016). In addition, Yurchak's (1997) concepts help to map teachers' reactions from a different perspective - as both normalization and "lack of interest in power". For instance,

our research documents how conflict between policy, its tools, and profession becomes normalized in two ways. First, teachers accept and work within the incompatibility between the interests and needs of the students and the authorities. Second, normalization means not taking the official policies at face value, but pretending to do so, to live a "normal life" (Yurchak, 1997). Normalization thus implies how teachers strive to reconcile practical decisions and moral choices in a manner that would allow them to benefit from the system and make a life that is satisfactory, that is, normal, morally and materially.

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Past/s and future/s of socialist higher education

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This talk draws on extended fieldwork in multiple higher education settings across the socialist and post-socialist world, broadly defined (Eastern Europe, Venezuela, Ireland, South Africa). Switching between structural analysis of the current predicaments facing the university institution and the dissolution of higher education alternatives, and ethnographic narratives of generational and individual experiences thereof, the presentation asks two interrelated questions: What have been the lessons of some socialist experiments of higher education that current reformers and social movements in the sector need to learn from? What are the potentials and perils before the use of the university institution as a locus of social change, and university-educated individuals, in general, and academics, in specific, as its agents?

Self-Management as Property Disruption: Challenges and Possibilities of Worker-Ownership in Postsocialist Croatia

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In 2007, the workers of ITAS Prvomajska, a Croatian machine tool company, managed to take over the enterprise from its private owners. Like most other Croatian companies, ITAS had gone through the gradual process of property transformation and privatization, in which Yugoslav social ownership (dru tveno vlasni tvo) had been transformed into state and private property. An individual had become the majority shareholder in 2001. The workers were accusing the owner and management of destroying the enterprise by selling off its assets to make a quick profit. They entered into a protracted battle in which they successfully combined protests, a hunger strike, and a factory occupation with distinctly capitalist behavior, such as performing a debt to equity swap to convert their unpaid salaries into ownership or using the bankruptcy process to avoid liquidation and restart production in 2007. ITAS has been developing a viable economic model since then as the only enterprise in the country owned and run by its workers. The survival of the ITAS model of worker-ownership in adverse conditions of the Croatian economy has created the possibility for the expansion of workers' access to resources and their inclusion in decision-making structures. ITAS workers now foster political alliances with other workers and activists in Croatia and abroad to pass on their model to other settings. Over time, the narrative about their struggle evolved from the focus on the defensive aspects of their actions (under the slogan "the factory is defended from within") to positive aspects of workers' shareholding (radni ko dioni arstvo) or, sometimes, "self-management for the 21st century" (samoupravljanje za 21. stoljec e). The latter two have been framed as having to do with both the managerial success of beleaguered companies and the dignity of workers.

Drawing on my ongoing long-term research in ITAS, I aim to ethnographically unpack the contemporary meanings of self-management in this enterprise. How is the period of Yugoslav self-management remembered and how is it appropriated and repurposed in the present moment? What are the legal challenges of maintaining worker-ownership in postsocialist Croatia? Is labor in the company organized differently than in the socialist period? How are those changes related to the new economic policy and investment priorities of the Croatian state and the new conditions of international market competition in manufacturing? What are the possibilities that the ITAS model of "self-management for the 21st century" offers for political action aimed at challenging the dominant scenarios of postsocialist transformation, characterized by dispossession and the erosion of the basis for working class politics?

Exploring the real and the ideal in post socialist thinking and its apparent contestation

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In this paper we attempt to draw together the work of Slavoj Zizek and Graham Harman in order to explore what insight they each and together can offer us into the contemporary politics and problematics of organising. Whilst they differ markedly in their topics of concern and their mode or interrogation of those topics, they both seem to us to share an avowed turn towards matters ontological at precisely the historical juncture when questions of epistemology no longer seem worth asking.

To rehearse briefly, Harman's speculative realism or object oriented ontology is a position developed on a somewhat idiosyncratic reading of Heidegger, and in particular the account of the hammer from Being and Time. Harman ubiquitises Heidegger's insight into the distinction between the ready-to-hand and the present-at-hand hammer, to postulate a world made up of objects of two sides: one ever ready to go out and engage with its cousins; another that forever and cryptically retreats.

On the other hand, Zizek seeks to supplement Lacan's Imaginary-Symbolic-Real triad with a reading of Hegel's account of the operation of the Absolute; itself a combine in and through which Subjective illusion is included in Objective truth. In this reading of Hegel, Zizek seeks to elucidate how an approach to the world from the absolute standpoint can enable 'us [to] see how reality includes fiction (or fantasy), how the right choice only emerges after the wrong one' (Zizek, 2015: 186). Zizek's recent pursuits of less than nothing and absolute recoil, via the guidance he derives from idiosyncratic readings of the odd bedfellows of Hegel and Lacan, are, our view, surprisingly complementary to the turn that Harman is taking. It is to further exploration and explication of the similarities and differences between their emerging positions that this paper is devoted.

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Bucharest's New Civilizing Gentry: An approach for decolonizing gentrification and comparative gentrification theory for the post-socialist city

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Comparative urban studies are on the rise, raising new questions about translation, fungibility, and transit. How can we study the material effects of global capital in various urban spaces without conflating the spatial struggles and transformations of one space upon another? How can superimposing Western understandings of gentrification upon non-Western places impose onto-epistemological violence? In this paper we share more about Bucharest's histories of postsocialist (neo)liberal housing restitution laws that have incited current Romanian spatial and racial struggles. Also, we discuss a growing call to think both global capital formations and comparative urbanism in Romania through decolonial analytics. In doing both, we draw attention to the manifestations of anti-communist liberalism in contemporary Romania as it shapes aspirational politics of both becoming Western and of thinking urban struggles through a Western lense.

In recent years, anti-communist liberalism has increasingly contoured Romanian urbanscapes, most brazenly in the "Light Revolution" protests of 2017 in which thousands of the aspirational middle-class gather to oust the corrupt "red plague" from the ruling government. As they alleged, by expunging the last remnants of its communist past, Romania can finally become European - a longstanding colonial trope. Importantly, these protests, publicly manifesting as the self-ascribed true representatives of both the city and Romanian society as a whole, defines postsocialist urbanism as a catching up to the West by restoring Bucharest's interwar triumph, postulating the long-lost bourgeoisie as today's moral compass.

This urban longing for interbellism is intimately tied to the pro-heritage movement emergent in the early 2000s, which posited Bucharest as a city of heritage under siege. The movement has mobilized the "right to the city" discourse, but instead of understanding the city for poor and working-classes, it prioritizes pre-Communist architecture and heirs. The movement supports postsocialist property restitution processes, which return properties nationalized under socialism to the descendents of their former owners. This places thousands of key properties from the city center in the hands of real-estate speculators, inciting a new wave or racialized evictions, a process that many would call gentrification and antithetical to any kind of "right to the city" type of struggle.

Meanwhile, gentrification as an analytic is increasingly being taken up in Bucharest, Romania, and all over the world for that matter, largely rooted in

Western frameworks and temporalities. Of concern to us is that, by taking up a Western understanding of gentrification to combat the heritage "right to the city" movement, we are attempting to fight one set of Western influences with another. As we argue, to create a version of gentrification theory that doesn't reproduce epistemological Western desires of becoming; we need to understand "gentrification" and/or other process of contemporary urban transformation from the theoretical geography of Romania. This approach is aligned with calls to both decolonize postsocialist theory, and to fight racialized racialized dispossession within Romania. In doing so, we believe that rather than seeing processes such as racialized restitution, the heritage movement, and anti-corruption protests as separate instances from gentrification, we need to understand them as the very foundation from which "gentrification" needs to be theorized.

Coming Together by Forming a Marketplace – A Neglected Stream of Thought in Post-Socialist Democratization

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Marketization is regarded as the core element of post-socialist transition that equally facilitated economic adjustment and democratic rule. The modernizing consensus that dominated the Hungarian ideological landscape for a long time, embraced the market as the fundamental principle of the Western model. Marketization however is a politically shaped process of self-institution. Following Claude Lefort, I suggest that the process of post-socialist democratization has to be understood as a political institution of the social via symbolic integration after the dissolution of the old markers of certainty. Marketization should be regarded in the light this outstanding symbolic power. It is an element of a self-generated decomposition of the old regime, but also the institution of the new one. We cannot reduce the role of the market to its economic transactions or to a theoretical blueprint for institutional change. Market has its role in establishing the 'real' for the members of the society by giving it a shape, instituting its meanings and staging the society for itself. For Lefort, this symbolic institution manifests itself through the political debates among the different conceptions of the democratic project, around rendering and keeping the symbolic place of power empty by fighting the illegitimate pretenders.

Through the study of a peculiar contention around the role of the market in the early 90's Hungary, I intend to introduce a case, where the political role of the market can be grasped. The history of the MDF markets is now seen as a symptom of the transition era. The MDF markets (named after the then ruling political party) were organized by a far-right MP, Gyula Zacsek as a campaign against monopolistic wholesale trade in agricultural produce. Here, farmers could sell their products directly to urban customers (without VAT or quality regulations). More than being simply a transitional institutional solution for the demand of lower-income consumers and the vulnerable local producers used for political purposes, these markets as institutions had a clear political dimension. When a liberal mayor in Budapest decided to close one of the markets, producers and vendors organized a demonstration and continued selling by referring to the freedom of assembly. Zacsek blamed the dictatorial rule of the old-new „liberal mafia", the self-perpetuating elite for seizing the democratic space that has been opened. For the liberals, the people of the MDF markets were seen as an obstructing force: prolos, costermongers, transitory byproducts. The exclusion of their concept of the community (convene society around the immediateness of the market transactions) from the pure civil society created ambivalence. The democratic regime was based on the abolition of the socialist „dictatorship over needs", but at the end of the day, it eliminated the uncontrolled, informal economic activity that formerly promised liberation from the state-socialist oppression. By retracing this neglected underground stream of the post-socialist politics, my goal is to reveal some crucial issues of democratization in the post-socialist context.

Mutual dependencies: Offshoring labour and family organisation

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Existing studies of offshoring have extensively concentrated on the managerial and economic aspects of the offshoring process, with particular attention paid to addressing such topics as worker management, the workplace, and employment relations. Using the political economy approach and drawing on critical studies in the fields of human geography and anthropology, this paper contributes to the current literature by proposing that a new lens be applied to the study of offshoring – the family. By using the empirical example from Romania, this paper demonstrates the relationship between the offshoring investment in destination countries and the household, depicting family organisation as the enabling mechanism for offshoring labour. The empirical evidence demonstrates how the multigenerational family fosters the process of joining the workforce, how it compensates for low salaries, and provides intergenerational support to its members who are at the same time workers. This support is based on the mechanism of "mutual dependency" between the family and worker, which I conceptualise as a series beneficial interrelations based not only on financial gains and social protection from offshoring work, but also a worker's reliance on familial resilience and support. As I demonstrate, taking up relatively underpaid work in offshored manufacturing facilities might not have been otherwise possible without the existence of these dependencies. In my analysis I identify the emancipatory forces emerging from this relationship: (1) familial support serves as a means of social advancement that responds to the structural limitations in the region and work conditions offered by the investment, which allow for an experience that would otherwise be out of reach for local populations; (2) the intergenerational dimension of this process, which serves as a mechanism of economic advancement for the next generation; and (3) the gender-specific outcomes of this process.

'If Brussels says Poland is bad, people believe it': EU dependency and post-colonial resistance

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For activism in Poland, patterns of dependency have undergone significant changes in the last three decades since the country's transition to democracy and later, the accession to the EU. This has resulted in an unprecedented access to, but also dependency on, the West.

My talk will look at 'epistemic dependence' in Poland among activist groups and non-governmental organisations that work on issues of gender and women's rights. It will map out ways in which EU's developmental mission towards Poland is reaffirmed but also challenged on the ground and discuss what impacts it has on current politics and on the Polish civil society at large.

This talk is informed by fieldwork that I conducted in Warsaw in 2011-2012. Drawing mainly on interviews with pro-choice and pro-life activists and organisations in Warsaw, the talk explores the impacts of economic and epistemic dependence on the West. I analyse ways in which pro-choice groups rely on the EU and other Western organisations to legitimise their struggle and how the pro-life movement, in contrast, capitalise on this dependency to further their activism through their appropriation of post-coloniality.

Theoretically, this talk will sketch out how epistemological asymmetries between the West and Central and Eastern European play out in the activist spaces of sexual politics in Poland. I will discuss possibilities of the creation of third spaces of resistance as a way to critically approach post-socialist dependency on the West and challenge right-wing appropriation of this discussion.

Liminal Ecologies: Post-Socialism and a Disappearing Mining Community in Romania

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Through ethnographies of postsocialism anthropology contributes meaningfully to the interdisciplinary endeavour that studies of postsocialism are, questioning the understanding of postsocialism as a transitory state, characterised by a complete break from a socialist past, and closing up on a "Western" type of liberal democracy and capitalism (Buyandelgeriyn 2008). The former socialist states share the sense of imminent change (vis-a-vis socialist times) in the way they conceptualise everyday social, political and economic problems. Their local responses to processes of globalisation, however, vary greatly (Eriksen 2016).

How does a person from a historic, semi-urban (former?) mining village in Romania make sense of their post-socialist economic and socio-cultural reality? How do they make sense of it in the context of a mining dispute, in an environment where a Canadian company proposed in 1997 to open Europe's largest open-pit cyanide goldmine and where the community has been at a standstill ever since. How do former miners and their families re-examine their future prospects with the sudden and drastic loss of social and economic status compared to the former regime (Kideckel 2004; Vasi 2004)? How do they understand community when social and familial ties have been severed due to the unresolvable conflict between the necessity but impossibility to secure both socio-cultural and economic integrity in the context of the mining plans? How do they resolve their limbo between unfulfilled promises of prosperity brought by the free market and the sense of loss of a socialist economic and social security?

In my research I concentrate on Roșia Montană, the focus of the largest environmental movement in Romania since the fall of communism. Part of my analysis considers the ecological transition apparent in the discourses of the various types of actors, who understand the role of the socialist state or the company very differently, according to their personal stance regarding the proposed mining project. I argue, that in the grey zone of Roșia Montană environmental discourse is deeply intertwined with a postsocialist reality that is shaped by local socio-economic needs, personal aspirations, processes of globalisation, international environmental activism and ever-present superstitions and the local religious worldview.

From kolkhozes to cooperatives: Restoring legitimacy of collective organizations. A Lithuanian case

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The idea of cooperatives in Lithuania is overshadowed by traumatized experiences of coercive cooperation in the stalinist regime, when after the Second World War individual farmers and private landowners were crudely forced by the Soviet regime to join newly founded cooperatives ("kolkhoz") and to give up their possession. The crude conditions of joining kolkhozes is illustrated by a cynical-morbid joke from this time: „Kolkhoz is an issue of a free will: if you want – join it, if not – you'll be shot". The recent notion of cooperatives in Lithuania mainly remains linked with forced collectivization and cooperative stigma persists as they are considered as residuals of the communist thinking.

After Lithuania became member of the EU in 2007, it was subjected to several support programs from the EU, among them also formats declaring cooperatives as one of the organizational forms particularly eligible to the financial aid. "The Lithuanian rural development program 2007-2013" that was launched just 2007 by the Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic of Lithuania and founded by the EU, explicitly aimed at financial support for cooperatives or associations of cooperatives. How organizational actors (politicians, representatives of agricultural sector) deal with these conflicting institutional pressures is the main theme of the paper. Particularly, I will empirically explore rhetorical methods as used to re-legitimize the idea of cooperatives in Lithuania.

I mainly draw on the neo-institutional theory (e.g. Meyer & Rowan 1977). With organizational legitimacy being the core concept of this theoretical tradition, the neo-institutional research provides numerous insights on legitimacy creation, maintaining and restoration in organizations (e.g. Suddaby & Greenwood 2005; Greenwood et al. 2011). However, legitimacy is considered here mainly in the context of new organizations or organization change. The processes of losing organizational legitimacy, organizational stigmatization or restoring legitimacy have received considerable less attention. As a result, the conceptual links between organizational stigma and legitimacy remain under-researched so far. The case of cooperatives in the postsocialist Lithuania provides an instructive example of how stigma and legitimacy interlink from the background of normative, value-based and political breaks.

The paper empirically deals with rhetoric strategies of restoring legitimacy of cooperatives in Lithuania after 2007, while primarily drawing on video-typed material from a political conference on cooperatives. Three rhetorical framings are figured out as serving re-legitimation of cooperatives: the movement framing, the historical framing and the economic framing. These framings strongly link cooperatives and the political movement towards independency of Lithuania in the 1990s, whereas the communist legacy of the cooperatives - the main source of stigmatization - is mainly silenced. Following the dominant

neoliberal regime, collective features of cooperatives in contrast to the private property also remain marginalized. This rhetorical strategy of silencing period of stigmatization and re-connecting current situation to historical events with a high social legitimacy, here the period of the 1st independence of Lithuania in 1918, can be considered as a historical (dis)association. The link between social myths ("political independency", "economic prosperity", "individualism") and organizational stigma or legitimacy will be the main theme of conceptual discussion.

Beyond Postsocialist Neoliberalism

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The anthropological literature on postsocialism has significantly contributed to the debates on neoliberalism as "a process of globalization" as substantially different in the "postsocialist" context of Eastern Europe and the Balkans than elsewhere (Rogers and Verdery 2013: 441, Kalb 2002, Duijzings 2010; Smith and Rachovská 2007, Chelcea and Druta 2017). Yet the research on neoliberalism in these "postsocialist" states has been critiqued for using the concept of neoliberalism as a blanket term (Enders and Hann 2017: 5), or as the normative analyses derived from primarily economic perspectives, which taint the understanding of the "postsocialist otherness" as economically deficient (Thelen 2011: 54). It reproduced the template of the neoliberalism as the "big Leviathan" (Collier 2012, Wacquant 2012), conceptualizing the place as grounding of the neoliberal forces and blurring the particular historical trajectories of society in question through the concepts of the "postsocialism" and neoliberalism. Such undertaking also undermines the critical potential of the postsocialist scholarship and postcolonial intersection (Chari and Verdery 2009), and of the changes and particularities of the societies deemed as postsocialist.

Moreover despite the focus on the political organization since the beginning of the anthropological interest in the socialist contexts (Humphrey 1983, Burawoy 1985, Verdery 1991) the scholarship on the "postsocialist" political organization focused on the state in the narrow terms, and its embrace of capitalism as the sole governing technic which immersed socialist state structures and practices to its benefits. How can we analyze the conceptions of the state in order to properly grasp the changing forces and capitalist projects in the so called "postsocialist" contexts? Furthermore I ask how can we account for the governing technics (Foucault 1991, 1994, 2000) being deployed to run and reform the state sectors, and what does it reveal about the governing in once socialist states and neoliberalism?

In order to grasp an increasing trend of privatization of the state services, dispossession, changing class, identity and citizenship politics, the focus ought to be aimed at the public and private partnerships in which government enters and transfers state services to private companies (Newman and Clarke 2009: 77), using the fieldwork and grounded theory as the critical tools to avoid overextending neoliberal metanarrative, while focusing on the capitalist projects. Not only do market based partnerships influence how the public is being conceptualized, but such analysis aims at the biopolitics, and governing as a broader political project which exceeds the state in narrow terms (Lemke 2011).

Based on my research on the reforms and policies of the health system in Montenegro, I tackle these questions, going beyond the trope of neoliberalism. I present an analytical perspective that could be of use to grasp the changes in

a political organization of a "postsocialist" society, in order to analyze the changing construction of the public, and rights and duties of the citizens, creating new biopolitics (Rose 1999, Rose 2001, Inda 2005, Miller and Rose 2008, Petryna 2005), offering an analysis of political trajectory in a "postsocialist" society, which opens the questions of the utility of comparison between "postsocialisms" and neoliberalisms. Such an approach also invites for critical re-assessment of the analytical use of spatial and political designations of the concepts such "postsocialist," the Balkans and neoliberalism, enriching our analytical understanding of the political organizations in once socialist countries thirty years later.

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Haiti of Europe: Sex Work, Police Reform, and Structural Violence in Ukraine

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The idea of the transition of the post-soviet countries into "normal states" with "market economy" is well known to be criticized as ideological. Despite the fact of a delay in "real capitalism" arrival that Ukrainian society has experienced - delay as long as a quarter of the century - the idea still thrives. Mass political participation and Reforms that are intended to trigger the "Change" of the whole society are framed within this idea. Based on our studies of sex-work and media-representation of the police reform in Ukraine, we will show how the discourse of transition still survives in a state that more and more firmly establishes itself on the agrarian periphery of the world-system and at the top of the charts of HIV, tuberculosis, as well as other preventable diseases. In other words, we will show how a place transfixed by structural violence and defined by individual suffering maintains its illusion of transition despite all the evidence that contradicts the former.

(Post)Socialist Heritage and Frontier Capitalism: the Case of Nature Conservation and Development in Transcarpathia

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This paper proposal is based on my ethnographic fieldwork, conducted between 2014-2016 in Rakhiv region, western Ukraine. The aim of my research was to apply ethnographic method in order to better understand relations between local dwellers and environment and hopefully contribute to improvement of conservation and sustainable development strategies both in the region and in general.

"Postsocialism" seemed to obvious category for my research since Carpathian Biosphere Reserve (CBR), a key organization for nature conservation in Rakhiv region, is both connected with global programmes for nature protection and development and deeply embedded in its soviet past as state founded strict reserve (Zapovidnik).

While socialist heritage was (and still is) very important context for older generations of my interlocutors I found it less relevant for my younger research partners. Sole category of postsocialism proved to be not very useful in analysing environmental problems faced by the local population and the CBR amidst 2014 political and economic crisis in the Ukraine.

In the proposed paper I will show, using my fieldwork examples, how and why I decided not to use category of postsocialism as explanatory one. Surprisingly the most fitting theory to grasp my fieldwork experience I found in books by Anna Lowenthaupt Tsing based on her fieldwork in Indonesia. I will elaborate more on concepts of marginality, frontier capitalism and spectacular accumulation which I found particularly useful. I want to pinpoint some similarities between Ukraine and Indonesia to show that some relations I observed in the field cannot be explained only by blaming it on soviet past.

On the other hand my aim is also to advocate for the term "posocialism", however used rather as historical category connecting landscape, memories, and personal stories of my informants than term reflecting their current condition.

Holding your own in a liquidised normality: The sociological imaginations and society-shaping by new (extra)ordinary characters

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The world is on the move, regardless of whether individuals re-locate or remain, geographically, in the same place. Institutional changes, such as those brought about by the politico-economic transitions in Central Europe, the global financial crisis or the systemic shock caused by the Brexit referendum in the United Kingdom, unsettle and shift the broader structures within which lives unfold. They also underpin the emergence of new characters and new plots in individuals' stories. In my presentation, I will juxtapose the stories of two Central European entrepreneurs: a woman and a man; a person local to their place of origin and a person who has emigrated abroad. In juxtaposing these stories, I will discuss how individuals simultaneously seek to anchor themselves – for example, through their approach to work and the social relations they build and mobilise to construct their livelihoods – and yet move and stay afloat as they internalise the current liquidity of life's conditions as normal. I will reflect on what these stories tell us about social and organisational life, and on how these new (extra)ordinary characters and plots shape contemporary society.

On an Old Thesis Anew

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It has been repeatly asserted in the last two centuries that Eastern Europe is incapable of 'bourgeois democracy' with its usual accoutrements, for various reasons, such as the absence of a home-grown Third Estate, economic and cultural backwardness, authoritarian or 'feudal traditions' and the like. There have been conservative and radical versions of this, the first advising that 'modernisation' should take place only under the tutelage of aristocratic institutions (e. g., the monarchy and the church) slowly, gradually, keeping important elements of the past – while the latter proposing that as 'liberalism' or 'representative government' or 'parliamentary democracy' are plainly hopeless anyway here, we should jump over this transitional and transient solution and advance directly in the direction of socialism.

What with 1989 and all that, this old thesis came to be considered to be obsolete and anyhow in bad odour and is still regarded as a tasteless relic of an unsavoury past.

But observing carefully what is happening in Europe where the conflict between East and West is sharper and more perilous than during the last decades of the 'cold war' and where, in the Eastern part, political elites and popular opinion alike are passionately rejecting anything that might have originated in the Western half of the continent, esp. 'liberal democracy' and 'human rights' and 'the market', the old thesis seems to enjoy a second life. Quite apart from the question whether 'liberal democracy' is worth saving or not (even in the West it is accepted only with bad grace), the insight that it cannot be saved whatever anybody might wish, the question arises, 'what next?' The East European governments do have an answer (see your morning newspaper), but should we on the Left consider some sort of socialism in this part of the world as a historical-cultural feature of these societies rather than a theoretical hypothesis and a proletarian political programme?

Was the post-Stalinist (post-Twentieth Congress, 1956) version of Eastern Bloc planned/redistributive/egalitarian state capitalism the solution? Should people – not necessarily us who might have other tastes – embark on a work of rehabilitation, reformulation and reform? Because one thing is certain: Westminster-style parliamentarism and Belgian constitutionalism have failed here dismally, and things cannot (and in fact do not) go on as before.

Post/socialism in Hungarian women's reality

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Considering the history of the postsocialist Eastern-Central-Europe burdened with social and cultural dualisms from the perspective of women, we have to take into account another dichotomy: the double burden of history weighing on women. Part of this double burden is constituted by the patriarchal social order from before the WW2, which meant limited options in life choices and decision making for women, imposed traditional female ideals on them, and assigned secondary social place to women. The other part of this double burden, the communist ideology following the WW2 merely preserved and maintained the earlier patriarchal social system (Bollobás 1993). Nevertheless, the discourse on gender after the regime change during the 1990s stayed within the paradigm of transitology, which interpreted the system change from the socialist system to the capitalist system as a unilateral progressive development (Wessely 1996). By the 2000s, however, it became evident that the system change cannot be interpreted as a simple transition from socialism to capitalism in neither of the postsocialist states: it had to be acknowledged that the regime changes were the results of several simultaneous and paradoxically intertwined processes, during which the postsocialist states witnessed the simultaneous proceedings of modernization, globalization and re-traditionalization. The result of these paradoxical processes has become a semi-peripheral hybrid society consisting of premodern, modern and postmodern elements, bearing the marks of both centre and periphery, simultaneously struggling to catch up with the centre and to avoid merging into the periphery (Blagojevic 2009). On the one hand, from the perspective of the centre, the semi-periphery is continuously struggling with backwardness, it is always in need of improvement, and it constantly needs the transfer of new knowledges, skills and practices from the centre. On the other hand, from the viewpoint of the periphery, the semi-periphery seems to be "too white", too industrialized, too developed, and not enough postcolonial (Blagojevic 2009). What is demanded from the semi-peripheral society is the unilateral development of the Western nation-states, the social progress according to the Western models. This social hybridity can also be detected in the functioning of the gender regimes, in the double social and cultural burden weighing on women. In my presentation I would like to demonstrate the workings of this double burden in the reality of Hungarian women: how did the processes of socializing of private life, antipolitics of private life, homogenization of the sexes, emancipation of women, child benefit discourse (gyes-diszkurzus) and sex-discourse function alongside and against each other; how has the system shifted the responsibility of social problems (e.g. the crisis of traditional family, the problems of demographic policy, etc.) to women by the time of the regime change; and finally, how have we arrived to a society that returns to and strengthens traditional gender norms and values. In other words, I would like to present the process that Mária Adamik described as the definite headway of patriarchy within Hungarian society that has erased women's participation in decision making on a social scale (Adamik 1997).

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