Paper Abstracts

SESSION 1: THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF GLOBALIZATION'S FRAMES

Here we begin by rethinking how globalization's discussion has been framed, especially around sociology (our principal discipline for this workshop), politics, culture, economics, gender/sexuality, history, and empire/military alliances, in order that we anticipate the knowledge cultures we seek to influence.

1A. CULTURAL INFRASTRUCTURES

Goodness Is Elsewhere: The Rule of European Difference
József Böröcz, Rutgers University
jborocz@rci.rutgers.edu

If—as Aimé Césaire pointed out at the time of the birth of the EU's predecessor—"Europe is morally, spiritually indefensible," what were 36 leading Hungarian writers, social scientists and human rights activists doing in March 2001 when, in denouncing the widely noted presence of racism in Hungary, they thanked France for the its profound, longue-durée goodness as an essential European feature? Is a misplaced praise of European goodness necessary to denounce racism? How is it possible to denounce racism by referring to 'Europe,' the main historic source and seemingly inexhaustible supplier of "modern" racism, as the source of goodness? This paper aims to understand the signatories' project by making visible the West as an idea at work in east-central Europe. It also draws upon some basic themes from the liberal-nationalist register of Hungarian literary history and augments conceptual work by Guha, Chakrabarty and Chatterjee, in an attempt to reveal some dynamics of the ongoing construction of the trope of the east European as the West's poor relative—a cognitive activity in which west and east European intellectuals are engaged, with more or less equal verve (and goodness).

'Culturespeak' in the Identity Politics of Globalizations and Communities
Marian Kempny, Warsaw University
mkempny@ifispan.waw.pl

Culturespeak is everywhere, not only in academia but also 'in the streets', and now is being used to promote all kinds of interests but especially identity politics. It is connected with essentialist versions of culture gaining upper hand and popular grip in political and media rhetoric. Eric Wolf wrote in the 80s about 'perilous concepts' - race, nation and culture, it seems that nowadays the last category has replaced the rest in the rhetoric of exclusion and belonging to the community. This is why I plan to focus my analyses on the confusing usages of the culture concept among social scientists and in society at large. To my mind, the comparison of Eastern/Western European discourses might help in understanding some new global ways in which socio-political exclusions are rationalized and legitimized ideologically. In terms of setting a broader agenda it might signal the problem of social scientific reifications that have run astray and might become an effective tool for cultural politics that takes place outside the academic world in so-called real life.

Sexuality and the Cultural Politics of Globalization
Joane Nagel, University of Kansas
nagel@ku.edu

There is an intimate substructure that underlies the global system that operates beneath the surface, is generally ignored or winked at, but that emerges from time to time in the form of scandals or moral crises. Sexuality is a frequently ignored or hidden aspect of cultural political economies. Sex is major site of ethnic, national, and international commerce, regulation, and exploitation; sexual respectability and disreputability are potent components of all ethnic and national imaginaries; sexual transactions provide both intimate connections among ethnic groups and nations as well as volatile violations of ethnic and national boundaries. The territories that lie at the intersections of sexual, ethnic, and national boundaries are ethnosexual frontiers--erotic locations and exotic destinations that are surveilled and supervised, patrolled and policed, regulated and restricted, but that are constantly penetrated by individuals forging sexual links with Others across ethnic and/or national borders. Ethnosexual frontiers constitute symbolic and physical sensual spaces where sexual imaginings and sexual contact occur between members of different racial, ethnic, and national groups. Some of this sexual contact is by "ethnosexual settlers" who establish long-term liaisons, join and/or form families, and become members of ethnic communities "on the other side." Some sexual contact is by "ethnosexual sojourners" who arrange for a brief or extended stay, enter into sexual liaisons, but eventually return to their home communities. Some sexual contact is by "ethnosexual entrepreneurs" who operate criminal or commercial enterprises that traffic and sell erotically commodified Others to sex consumers in local and global libidinal markets. Some sexual contact is by "ethnosexual adventurers" who undertake expeditions across ethnic or national divides for recreational, casual, or "exotic" sexual encounters, often more than once, but who return to their sexual home bases after each excursion. Some sexual contact is by "ethnosexual invaders" who launch sexual assaults across ethnic or national boundaries, inside alien ethnic territory, seducing, raping, and sexually enslaving Others as a means of sexual domination and colonization. Ethnosexual frontiers are sites where ethnicity and nationality are sexualized, and where sexuality is racialized, ethnicized, and nationalized. This paper examines the activities of various categories of ethnosexual travelers in several ethnosexual frontiers in East Central Europe and other parts of the global system to show how sexuality and globalization are intertwined processes crucially involved in defining and defending ethnic boundaries inside states and national boundaries between states in the global system. The paper concludes with a discussion of the importance of sexual cultural politics in state formation in nation building.

1B. CULTURAL ARTICULATIONS

The Avant-Garde Artists and the Fall of State Socialism: What Was Global Before the Era of Globalization(s)?
Jan Kubik, Rutgers University
kubik@rci.rutgers.edu

Much writing on globalization is predicated on the assumption that there is a threshold in the world's history; it separates the pre-globalized condition of the world from the globalized one. I want to probe the usefulness of this binary, examine closely several run-of-the-mill propositions about globalization, and to investigate whether and to what degree they apply to at least some arenas of social and political life well before the phenomenon of globalization is usually said to have commenced. We know that in such domains as the arts or sciences, many forms of inter-and supra-national connections and influences have emerged much earlier than elsewhere. If so, it is imperative to investigate the exact nature of such partial (domain-bound) globalizations and their *impact on those sectors of social/cultural/political life that have been globalized at a slower pace*. Such an exercise should help us pinpoint with greater precision the exact features of globalization and sort out what is old and new in the phenomena this term covers.

On the other hand, my project should contribute to a better understanding of the phenomena of asynchrony and the differential pace of change and their political implications. The concept of asynchrony is used to capture the fact that various domains of social life may and usually do begin to change at different points in time. Since they also tend to be changing at different speeds, I will try to investigate the political consequences of this phenomenon.

My main theoretical frame comes from the theory of social movements. Most of the work in this area does not deal explicitly with the differential development of counter-hegemonic cultures and mobilizational structures. Massive movements, usually composed of various sectors, are often treated as unitary collective actors. The fact that various individual and collective actors, who eventually come to constitute a united (more or less) movement, get "activated" and mobilized at different times, at different speeds, and according to different mobilizational logics (some influenced by "global factors," some not), is understudied.

The key empirical example will the Krakow avant-garde painter and theater personality, Tadeusz Kantor, and his work as both an artistic innovator and an (inadvertent) social/political activist.

Localization as Risk-Reducing Strategy: Antiglobalizationist Social Movements and the Specter of Community, State and Socialism
Judit Bodnár, Central European University
bodnarj@ceu.edu

This paper explores the social meaning of risk and political strategies to reduce the sense of uncertainty in a fluid, globalized world. Risk assumes a bundle of meanings, and has been an accompanying feature of modernity. There is still something specific about the increased sense of uncertainty and the proliferation of risk talk under the process we refer to as globalization. Current social movements react precisely to this predicament and use localization as a risk-reducing strategy. The paper examines the socialist nostalgia in this context as well as the postsocialist localization of antiglobalizationist rhetoric, the peculiarities of which show only through a historical perspective on eastern Europe's place in global modernity.

'National' as a Cultural Resource in Response to 'Global'
Nina Bandelj, University of California, Irvine
nbandelj@uci.edu

How do different communities in post-socialist Europe respond to globalization? I use the case of foreign direct investment in Slovenia as a strategic research site to examine how economic events stimulate cultural debates. I find that in these polemics invoking issues of 'national' and 'national interest' provides key cultural resources to either resist or welcome foreign investment in domestic banks and companies. Thus, while responses to economic globalization can be substantively varied, the lens through which this process is understood is largely similar. Following the logic of binary opposites, welcoming or resisting foreign direct investment attempts is interpreted through the frame of 'national' which is multivocal and rhetorically potent because possible interpretations about consequences of globalization are multiple. In addition, the kinds of justifications brought to bear are influenced by identities and hence interests of actors who ground legitimacy of their arguments in several different, often contradictory, institutional logics which are concurrently available in the changing Central and East European landscape.

The Cultural Politics of Military Alliances and Energy Security
Michael D. Kennedy, University of Michigan
midake@umich.edu

I discuss two broad dimensions of the cultural politics of military alliances. First, energy security underlies the new geopolitical contest, with the control over oil production and distribution becoming an increasingly central, and volatile, element of global, regional, and national security. However, this growing importance of energy in security is not easily discussed in public given the illegitimacy of exercising military force on behalf of control over oil. The role of military alliances and trade networks in assuring national influence over the global flow of oil is a particularly sensitive issue, and one that is subject to exceptional manipulation and inflammation in public discussions. For that reason, I believe the discussion of energy security and military alliances is a particularly important problem for those interested in the ways publics might more effectively influence the conditions and trajectories of social transformation within communities, but in articulation with global forces. I focus on parliamentary investigations of refinery sales to Russians and public disregard for American military equipment purchases in Poland for much of my substantive discussion, but begin with something better known and perhaps more important for considering the cultural politics of globalization and community. Namely, how might the Rose and Orange Revolutions be understood beyond freedom's march if we consider their contributions to European energy diversity and American hegemony in its provision?

SESSION 2: TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES IN GLOBALIZATION'S SHADOWS
Here we wish to consider how various conventional classes and familiar communities of differing scales and locales are transformed by, and attempt to influence, global transformations.

Splintering Narratives of Nationhood: Race, Culture, and National Belonging in Germany
Cynthia Miller-Idriss, New York University
Cmi1@nyu.edu

Popular as well as scholarly conceptions of German national belonging and citizenship argue that Germanness is based on 'blood,' or principles of jus sanguinis, frequently comparing the German case to the French or American contexts, in which national belonging and citizenship are determined by birthplace, or jus solis principles. The author argues here that by extrapolating legal policies and citizenship laws to the conceptions of national belonging among ordinary individuals, however, scholars have inappropriately ascribed a static, uniform, and essentialized version of Germanness to the conceptions of national belonging experienced by all Germans. Drawing on an analysis of interviews with 60 working-class youth conducted during ethnographic research in three German vocational schools between 2000 and 2002, the author demonstrates that this population of Germans constructs their understanding of citizenship and national belonging based primarily on cultural rather than racial or "blood-based" criteria. These findings radically redefine the dominant narrative that characterizes Germans' understandings of citizenship and national belonging as "blood-based." The range of beliefs and constructions of citizenship and national belonging among these Germans, however, also reveals that it is problematic to assume a uniform conception of citizenship and national belonging for all the members of a single nation, as has been done in the German case. The paper also discusses implications of the failure to recognize the extent to which cultural, rather than racial, criteria are used to justify racist and exclusionary beliefs and practices, particularly among a population of students who are at risk for participation in right-wing extremist groups and organizations.

The Traditional Symbolic Resources of the Polish Intelligentsia Facing the Challenges of Globalization
Tomasz Zarycki, Warsaw University
t.zarycki@uw.edu.pl

The paper will analyze the debates over the traditional symbolic resources of the Polish intelligentsia during the last fifteen years, the period of increasing opening of Poland to foreign, in particular Western influences and gradual inclusion of the country into the logic of globalization. Intelligentsia will be seen here as a group attempting to base its status aspiring to the role of cultural mediators between its own nation and the outside word (especially "the West"). From such perspective, the intelligentsia is faced with twofold task: to modify its symbolic resources and strategies in a way which would allow to maintain it its role of exclusive experts (on Poland to the Westerners and on the West to the Poles) and guardians of civic and national values both in the eyes of Polish people as well as Western elite. This task becomes particularly difficult in view of the deepening divisions in 'the West', which until recently has been perceived in Poland as a single and relatively uniform political and cultural entity.

The particular, but not exclusive, focus of the paper will be the discourse of the intelligentsia circles linked to *Gazeta Wyborcza* daily and the Freedom Union party. Among the intelligentsia resources of particular interest in the context of the paper one could mention the heritage of the "Solidarity" trade union, heritage of which is claimed by different political actors and which is gradually becoming an object of academic deconstruction. Other debates to be analyzed form the point of view of the evolution of the intelligentsia status in effect of globalization processes will include the role of the intelligentsia in the introduction of 'Western' standards of civil society and market economy in post-communist Poland. On the other hand the question of redefinition of the national identity and the debate role of the Polish historical heritage as a national resource will be discussed as key current intelligentsia problems.

A Community of Believers? Catholic Visions and Divisions in Postcommunist Poland
Geneviève Zubrzycki, University of Michigan
genez@umich.edu

In the summer and fall of 1998, self-defined "Poles-Catholics" erected hundreds of crosses just outside Auschwitz. What came to be called the "war of the crosses" provoked tensions and conflict far beyond the crosses' immediate surroundings, involving a myriad of individuals, groups and organizations at the local, national, trans-national and supra-national levels. Within the nation itself, the controversy brought several lines of conflict: between civic-secular and ethno-religious nationalists, between Church and State, and perhaps most surprisingly, between members of the Catholic community. Indeed, the controversy divided members of the hierarchy and clergy who supported the action and those who did not, as well as the institutional church, Catholics planting crosses, and a schismatic group celebrating religious services at the site. It is on this last line of cleavages, among Catholics, that I focus in the paper.

I analyze the plurality of Catholic discourses on the nation in post-communist Poland and identify the growing tensions and fissures within the Polish Catholic Church. These fissures became especially apparent during the "war of the crosses" at Auschwitz. The Auschwitz controversy serves as a window into major transformations in the Catholic and national landscape since the fall of communism. It highlights shifts in strategy as monolithic authority in the hierarchical Church eroded and as the Church lost control over the discursive and practical use of religious symbols. It also illustrates how ultra-nationalist Catholics are becoming reconfigured as marginal and dissident "sectarian movements," though they still retain the capacity to focus national attention and debate.

The goals of this empirical exercise are three-fold: 1. To show how formerly relatively bounded communities are now increasingly reshaped following Poland's entry into a globalized world and its

cultural politics; 2. To highlight the role discourse and symbols play in the contest for the redefinition of national identity in a post-communist country; 3. To show how Jews act as internal and external others through, and against which, Poles define themsleves.

A Cultural Civics: Mumming and Community in Rural Bulgaria
Gerald Creed, Hunter College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York
gcreed@hunter.cuny.edu

Each winter the seasonally quiescent countryside of Bulgaria is assailed by menacing masked figures. Dressed in flamboyant costumes, including a collection of heavy bells that produce a deafening accompaniment, these "mummers" invade the yards of villagers to banish evil and invite abundance. According to participants, such "fertility rituals" have been performed "continuously since Thracian times,"—an antiquity that is difficult to confirm historically, but potently affirmed experientially. While many urbanites assured me that such "primitive rites" were rare in "modern" Bulgaria, my own field research in the late 1990s documented an increasing popularity of mumming in several villages.

I believe we can use these cultural expressions as an alternative lens through which to reexamine standard interpretations of the (post)socialist condition. For the conference I will focus on the notion of civil society, canonized by political scientists and politicians as a basic building block of democracy. Even under socialism mumming rituals and festivals exhibited parallels to organizations and activities commonly subsumed within the civil society rubric, and since 1989 these affinities have expanded. For example, in villages suffering depopulation these rituals often constitute quasi-expatriate organizations among former villagers who return annually to participate in mumming and provide assistance to remaining villagers. Yet, mumming and similar folk practices are never considered in evaluations of east European democracy using the civil society criterion. This is because such models tend to emphasize formal rather than informal arrangements, which immediately disadvantages areas of eastern Europe where the latter continue to hold sway. Exposing a cultural civics will contribute to the already substantial critique of civil society as an ethnocentric notion and further the growing interdisciplinary insistence on the significance and utility of socialism's informal sector in postsocialist development. In so doing the analysis confirms the need to recognize particular local understandings of community vis-à-vis standardized global models.

Workers Identities after the Worker's State
Lawrence King, Yale University
lawrence.king@yale.edu

How do workers, especially its core proletariat, experience the transition from socialist redistributive economy to market capitalism? Manual laborers were the backbone of socialist society. As socialism was coming to a close the workers, though perhaps not an organized class, appeared increasingly mobilized. It was only reasonable to expect they'd organize and act politically after socialism. Anticipating broadening inequalities and an increased burden on manual workers, analysts in particular anticipated extensive labor protests. They never happened.

Despite that great surprise, workers' experiences and understandings have not been a major focus of much comparative social science. Having only anecdotal evidence as to how workers recall the living and working conditions under socialism, we can only speculate as to how we might theorize their experience. In this paper designed to become a proposal for more systematic comparative ethnographic study, which in turn will inform a larger quantitative study, I will elaborate a conceptual scheme, series of questions, and rationale for selection to answer why workers have been so quiescent in capitalism's making.

I take off from Crowley and Ost, while appreciating their hypothesis that working class mobilization is likely to be triggered "primarily" by "nationalism or other illiberal programs", more rigorous and systematic comparative analysis might be done, especially by linking these questions of mobilization to forms of political economy in which that mobilization might take place. I will develop preliminary hypotheses organized around a comparison of four countries -- Bulgaria, Hungary Slovakia and the Ukraine for their varying locations between liberal and patrimonial post-socialist political economies.

SESSION 3: GLOBALIZATION'S COMMUNITIES OF CONSUMPTION
Here we wish to consider how these communities become not only means of expression, but agents of change vis-à-vis deeper and more enduring power relations.

Local Hero, National Crook: "Doc Schneider" and the Spectacle of Finance Capital
Daphne Berdahl, University of Minnesota
Berda004@tc.umn.edu

In the early 1990's, Juergen ("Doc") Schneider was Germany's biggest real estate investor, known and praised for turning some of Germany's major city centers into "gleaming temples." By 1994, his empire in ruins, he had become the nation's largest property sector creditor and was under investigation for fraud; after a year on the run and much media speculation, he was arrested in Miami and later sentenced to nearly seven years in prison. This paper draws upon the property tycoon's story to examine what Anna Tsing has termed the "economy of appearances", in which "scale-making" projects at the regional, national, and global levels entail both economic and dramatic performances. Schneider's projects were enabled by both regionally and nationally specific cultural imaginations and narratives. In the eastern German city of Leipzig, where Schneider's investments helped rebuild its dilapidated city center after German re-unification, the drama has unfolded and been appropriated in a post-socialist context, in which the real estate tycoon symbolized not only an initial encounter with the spectacle of western finance capital, but has taken on a legendary status as a Robin Hood-like cult figure. In different ways, the story of "Doc" Schneider reflects both the dreams and disappointments of re-unification, capitalism, and globalization at the local and national levels.

The Tale of the Toxic Paprika: The Hungarian Taste of Euro-Globalization
Zsuzsa Gille, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
gille@uiuc.edu

In the Fall of 2004, paprika, the hallmark national spice was banned from the grocery stores and restaurants of Hungary. As it turned out, a carcinogenic mold was found in this pride of Hungarian cuisine. This came as a shock not only because such a microtoxin could only survive in pepper products from the Mediterranean and Latin-America, thus questioning just how Hungarian the paprika that is sold all over the world as a "Hungaricum" is, but also because the elaborate quality and hygiene standards food producers had to adopt already two years before accession to the European Union were thought to prevent exactly these types of dangers to public health. The case exemplifies the tug of war between two opposing tendencies of Euro-globalization: the race to the bottom (the unchecked flow of goods in the name of free trade and producers' preference for the cheapest raw materials) and the race to the top (the imposition of newer and newer standards on EU-constituent producers and consumers as a way to protect domestic markets and local and regional brands). In this paper, I will analyze the role culture (especially the project of establishing a transcendental and postnational European identity) plays in interpreting this struggle and in being an arbiter between the rationalities these two forces engender. I will pay special attention to the cultural claims differently positioned professionals (in authorities, in academia, in corporations) use to bolster their views. This inquiry is informed by the sociology of consumption and theories of globalization but in its conceptualization relies on social studies of science and the sociology

of knowledge as it is concerned with the relationship between freedom and rationality, knowledge and culture. The research for this paper is based on interviews with auditors, food producers and consumers and the analysis of expert studies, newspaper accounts and official documents.

The Dubious Notions and Experiences of Transition – and after: Some Examples from Slovenia and Poland
Rajko Muršič, University of Ljubljana
Rajko.mursic@guest.arnes.si

The author will discuss the terms of transition and transformation as deliberately used undefined notions. The only rationale he can see in use of these terms is to cover some really important shifts in international policy. Well, for the countries of Eastern Europe, the author has long ago claimed that the process of "transition" denoted the "cleansing" of Central and Eastern European countries before entering the heaven of the European Union.

The first issue that needs discussion is liberalism. If liberal democracy as a system of ruling indeed won the game, what has happened to the ideals of liberty? The author will present an example of moral panic that accompanied a provocative artist action with the cover of the CD by the group Strelnikoff in 1998. After almost six years, the authors of the cover which supposedly offended religious sentiments were dismissed of the charges at the court.

If the limits of freedom are freedoms of "the Other", then we have to ask finally who is "the Other" that might pose such a limit to us. Is "the Other" the no-more-existing working class? Or is it dispersed, deterritorialised and displaced poor in Europe and beyond. Or is "the Other" incoming capital or incoming migrants? And what if there is no "Other" at all? Then a liberal economy is a self-standing miracle that gives people an opportunity to make their world a Garden of Eden.

The author will try to understand what has changed in Poland confronting the photographs taken in 1988 and 2001 in some regions of the country. He will as well use his ethnographic material from Cracowian popular music venues to discuss the miracle of the self-inductive liberal capitalism.

The Price of a Respectable Life: Middle Class Fashioning and the Family House in Postsocialist Hungary
Krisztina Fehérváry, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
kefeherv@uchicago.edu

In the working class 'new town' of Dunaújváros, the measure for a 'respectable' standard of living had once been an estate apartment, fashionably furnished and outfitted with home appliances and entertainment technology, a weekend cottage, and if possible, a car. By the mid-1990s when I did my ethnographic research there, these socialist-era aspirations had given way to expectations for standards of living imagined to be "normal" for middle class citizens of western Europe, most notably a detached family house in the emerging 'suburbs'. These new domestic spaces, while normalized in discourse, were nonetheless extraordinary in their local context. The struggle to achieve such upscale environments put enormous strain on emotional, physical and financial resources, and many families who had once identified themselves as members of the nation's "middle stratum" could not keep up. Thus, emerging middle classes in postsocialist Hungary can be identified as "agents of change" less by their participation in a civil society than by propagating a domestic consumer culture that is redefining and limiting who can belong to the ranks of 'respectable' society.

In the paper, I will touch on a related phenomenon often described by western observers with the misnomer of "socialist nostalgia." Hungarian cultural elites – film makers, artists, historians, museum curators, magazine editors and even advertisers – have taken advantage of the contemporary "retro" genre to counter perceptions of socialist consumer society as dowdy and cheap, instead (re)constructing it as fashion-savvy, quality-conscious and fetishizing of home technologies. In so doing, they are serving up a material culture history of the socialist period that, instead of being marked as aberrational or abject compared to the western European case, seems to parallel its "normal" trajectory. Such projects, while seemingly empowering, also reinforce the legitimacy of consumer-based middle classes.

SESSION 4: GLOBALIZATION'S PROTECTIONS
Here we wish to focus on how various groups or communities, typically unprotected and disempowered by local communities and national cultures, find rights and empowerment in association with globalization.

Capitalism = Liberation: Czech Female Factory Workers' Sense-Making of Marketization
Elaine Weiner, McGill University
Elaine.weiner@mcgill.ca

While vulnerability, victimization and loss characterized the assessments of most Western feminist scholars about "gender in transition," many Central and East European social scientists refuted these depictions, charging Western feminist scholars with misapprehending gender identities and interests – both past and present – in the post-socialist world. Although this debate was founded in the systemic "transition," i.e. from socialism to capitalism (and democracy), its importance (and implications) extends beyond transition's temporal confines. In this paper, I lay out two of my interventions into this debate – the former, my doctoral work, "*Liberalization and Liberation: Gender, Class and the Market in the Czech Republic*" and the latter, my most recent research project, "*Equal Opportunity and East-West Differences: Gender Policies and Politics in the European Union's Eastward Expansion,*" presently underway. While the West-East debate underlies both of these projects, the site of inquiry shifts from ideology to practice. In my dissertation, I detail the ideological prowess of a neoliberally-infused capitalism (of global dissemination and inculcation) and its consequent hegemonies in configuring Czech women's gender identities and interests. In my current research, I am exploring how "harmonization" of West and East gender agendas is, or is not transpiring, in the European Union's (EU) eastward expansion as a consequence of the Central and East European accessor states' adoption of the EU's equal opportunity *acquis*. Ultimately, my endeavor is to consider how Central and East European women's empowerment and disempowerment are rendered in such global engagements.

The Uses and Abuses of Gender Policy
Evá Fodor, Central European University
fodore@ceu.hu

In the past decade both Hungarian and European politicians reconsidered and reconstructed women's role in the labor force. Only they did so in completely opposite directions. Hungary moved from a state mandated full-time employment for all women until 1990 to having one of the lowest rates of female labor force participation in all of Europe by the turn of the century. In the same decade women have become increasingly integrated into the labor markets of western European countries, and the directives and political initiatives of the European Union intensively seek to further this development.

This paper will explore and contrast two issues. First, how policy makers have reconstructed the concept of women's work in post-state socialist Hungary in the above described paradoxical situation. Specifically, I will be concerned with how Hungarian policy makers "gender" the notion of the worker:

by seemingly adopting (or rejecting) European directives while adapting them to their own political goals and ideological commitments.

Second, I investigate how this conceptualization clashes with European formulations of the gender of the post-state socialist worker. European agencies have initiated, financed, and commented on policy and legislative plans which address the issue of women and work. What are the assumptions and evaluations these agencies offer? How does their conceptualization of the gender of the Hungarian worker differ from that of local policy makers and what is the relationship between the two?

In order to answer these questions I will interview Hungarian politicians to get at the mental map they use to conceptualize women and work. I will also study transcripts of policy debates and parliamentary sessions where these or related issues were discussed in the past decade. In addition, I will analyze policy evaluations and initiatives by European Union agencies to gain a deeper understand of their "message" on the work of women.

Violence and Gender in a Globalized World: The Role of International Organisations
Vesna Nikolić-Ristanović, Belgrade University
vnikolic@eunet.yu

The paper explores the role of international organizations which are implementing different projects regarding violence against women in the Balkans. The focus of the analyses will be on the role of international organizations in development of different strategies for prevention and suppression of trafficking in people in general, and in sex trafficking in women in particular. The role of international organizations and international experts as "agents of change" or "enlighteners" will be analyzed having in mind both the economic and intellectual impact of their actions in strengthening dependent development of developing countries.

My analyses will be based on the case study of the projects I myself have being involved over past years as well as on available data about fund allocation for projects related to trafficking in women, concrete project activities, their impact and human rights standards applied. I will specifically look at the procedures, requests and human rights expertise/approach of both international donor organizations and those who appear as partners of organizations from developing countries.

I will argue that international organizations contribute to deepening of (economic and intellectual) global inequalities and thus to the increase rather then to the prevention of violence against women. This is because international contribution toward development of mechanisms for suppression and prevention of violence does not offer substantial support for development of sustainable options and institutional frameworks from which women will benefit on longer run. Thus, international actors do not act toward decreasing but rather contribute to the increasing of global inequalities, which is one of the most significant structural causes of violence against women in general, and of trafficking in women in particular.

Global Contacts, Gendered Cultures, and Capitalism's Commodities: Women and the Risk of HIV/AIDS in Eastern Europe

Daina Stukuls Eglitis, George Washington University
dainas@gwu.edu

Does gender inequality in Eastern Europe foster a climate in which women are at greater risk of contracting HIV/AIDS, a disease increasingly spread by heterosexual sex and affecting a growing number

of young women in the region? How is this inequality manifested and how can it be addressed? These are the questions that guide this inquiry into the relationship between gender, inequality, and HIV/AIDS in East Europe. I take as a case study the state of Latvia, which has experienced a rapid rise in AIDS cases generally, as well as an increase in new infections among women. My research uses secondary statistical data and primary data, including interviews with experts, low- and high-risk young people, and activists to examine the relationship between gender, inequality, and the spread of HIV/AIDS. Understanding the spread of HIV/AIDS in East Europe is critical because the disease is not just an issue of health but, indeed, of social life, economics, politics, and security on a local, national, and global scale.

Europe's Roma Minority and the Culture of Globalization
Mitchell Orenstein and **Umut Ozkaleli**, Syracuse University
maorenst@maxwell.syr.edu

Roma (gypsy) poverty and social exclusion have risen dramatically since the end of communism. In response to this crisis, a growing list of global and transnational policy actors have focused programs and resources on improving Roma living conditions in Central and Eastern Europe. The recent accession of eight Central European countries to the European Union has thrust Roma issues further into the limelight, since Roma are now the largest and most vulnerable non-state minority group in Europe. Organizations involved in Roma issues now include the European Union, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, UNDP, UNICEF, OSCE, Council of Europe, Open Society Institute, Ford Foundation, Mott Foundation, and transnational NGOs such as European Roma Rights Centre and many others. This paper presents an overview of Roma social exclusion in Europe and analyzes the range of global policy actors' responses. It shows that these responses have focused on establishing Roma rights, both individually and as a group, as well as programs intended to produce socio-economic inclusion. It compares global policy actor statements with actual programs to better understand the nature of their policy emphasis and the culture of globalization's response to the special problems of this prominent ethnic minority group. It concludes by exploring three broad contradictions in global policy towards Roma: first, between political and economic liberalism, second, between policy statements and practice, and third, between global policy actors and national policy legacies. The paper explores these contradictions that characterize global policy actors' responses to Roma issues and argues that they are inherent features of the current policy regime.

SESSION 5: GLOBALIZATION'S PLACES
Here we wish to identify communities on borderlands or in transit that become different kinds of agents of change, challenging the cultural politics of more conventional communities.

The Fractal Geography of Cultural Politics in the Postcommunist Transition: How 9/11 Demolished United Germany's "Wall in the Mind"
Jeremy Brooke Straughn, Purdue University
jstraugh@soc.purdue.edu

Since 1989-91, cultural politics in postcommunist Europe has been shaped by what Michael Kennedy calls transition culture—a mobilizing culture whose dominant conceptual framework implements the basic oppositions of liberal anti-communism as a blueprint for postcommunist restructuring. In this paper, I explore how *symbolic geography* becomes a key stake in the cultural politics of postcommunist transition. My point of departure is the symbolic opposition between "East" and "West," read as a master signifier for the many other dualisms of the dominant framework (socialism/capitalism, state/market, coercion/consent, past/future, etc.). My argument is that the symbolic geography of postcommunism exhibits certain properties of a geometric *fractal* or "self-same structure"—a structure that "repeats a pattern within itself" (Abbott 2001, p. 9). In the present case, the self-same structure in question consists of a geographic division that reproduces itself as a (theoretically infinite) series of nested binaries at

successively lower spatial scales, thereby reproducing the stigma of eastern backwardness in microcosm at different spatial scales throughout postcommunist Europe. In the early parts of the paper, I examine various strategies adopted by postcommunist actors in response to their initially unfavorable symbolic terrain and assess their impact on the dominant geographic opposition.

In the empirical sections, I illustrate how one particular strategy—realignment—has begun to transform the symbolic terrain of cultural politics in reunified Germany in the wake of the 9/11 attacks. Whereas reunification in 1990 established the old Cold War boundary as a symbolic "Wall in the mind" between eastern and western Germans, the German response the U.S.-led "war on terror" reunited a winning plurality across the East-West divide just in time to re-elect Chancellor Schroeder's governing coalition in September 2002. Together with institutional and demographic changes, these events have effected a provisional realignment along the more "traditional" North-South axis—a development that may foreshadow the declining salience of the East-West cleavage in the years to come.

Contentions on Nationhood of a Locality in the Process of Europeanization. The Case of Teschen Silesia
Jakub Grygar, Charles University
grygar@fhs.cuni.cz

The border that divided Teschen Silesia between Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1920, has never has been perceived among Czechoslovak/Czech Poles as something natural or rightful. The representation of the Poles living in Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic never agreed with the justification of its delineation. In the Interwar period, there were conflicts among Czechs and Poles concerning its existence, even to the extent of armed struggle. During the communist regime, however, the border became a taboo subject in public debates. After the fall of the Iron Curtain and the invitation of the post-communist Central European states to join the EU, new expectations have risen among the Poles in the Czech part of Teschen Silesia.

With reference to selected events from the last fifteen years, I will present how the representation of the Polish national minority in the Czech part of Teschen Silesia has connected the accession efforts of both states to the EU with expectations leading to confirmation their own interpretations of the past.

I will analyze the expectations and claims associated with the "fall" of state borders and strategies of Polish representation in detail in two examples:
1) on the establishment of the Euroregion Teschen Silesia and on the cultural politics accompanying the Euroregion`s activities;
2) on demanding a European convention on the protection of minority languages.

I will conclude by arguing that in both cases we are witness to an advocacy of cultural politics which seems to overlap and restrict the sphere of activity of the nation state. However, there emphasis should be placed on the fact that both the strategies are possible and allowable only in the space of nation states. The Euroregion is defined/delineated as a region that crosses the border – and thus at the same time/simultaneously reificates the nation states. Similarly, only in the milieu of the nation state does the demanding European convention on the protection of minority languages make sense. This is the reason why the goal of Polish representation is not and can not be an erasure, falling or new delineation of the state border, but only its weakening.

From National Inclusion to Economic Exclusion: Ethnic Hungarian Labour Migration to Hungary
Jon E. Fox, University of Bristol
Jon.fox@bristol.ac.uk

Cultural conceptions of the nation have enjoyed increased political currency in Eastern Europe since the transition from communism. No longer are nations contained by their states; now, so-called kin-state policies extend the state's reach beyond its political boundaries to the cultural frontiers of the ethno-nation. Hungary has been at the forefront of establishing and articulating a new political agenda for its co-ethnics in the diaspora. Shifting representations of a greater cultural nation of Hungarians have been enshrined in the constitution, enacted into legislation, put to a referendum, and realized, in part, through European Union enlargement. But these political representations of national unity are often at odds with the everyday experience of national disunity. The purpose of this paper is to show how deterritiorialized renderings of Hungarian national unity endorsed by the state are undermined by the (nationally) alienating experiences of labour migration. In the first part of the paper, I show how Hungary's vision of national unity tacitly obliges transborder Hungarians to remain in their countries of origin. Hungarian unity is to be enjoyed symbolically – not literally – from abroad. In the second part of the paper, I demonstrate how ethnic Hungarian labour migrants experience social, economic, and, by extension, national exclusion while working in Hungary. Labour migration has provided the context not for national reunification but rather the experience, expression, and construction of national difference. Migration has revealed the everyday limits to the political project to redefine the nation.

Unimaginable Communities: Mass-Mediated Political Epistemologies of the Foreign in Contemporary Germany
Andreas Glaeser, University of Chicago
a-glaeser@uchicago.edu

This paper analyzes the epistemic ideologies and practices surrounding the political processes concerned with Muslim (mostly Turkish) migration to Germany. These processes are currently most visible in the debates, research, alliance formation and legislation about, first, the permissibility of Muslim headscarves in state schools and other public service settings and, second, the membership of Turkey in the European Union. The key question of this investigation is how understandings about Muslim immigrants are first rhetorically plausibilized and then certified or subverted through the interaction of institutional arrangements, networks and cultural forms within the process in question. Asked somewhat differently: Why, for example do certain arguments about Muslims in Germany resonate with whom? How are these resonances translated into effective policy?

Striking features of the political processes focusing on issues of Muslim immigration are the similarities in the rhetorical forms between traditional anti-Semitism and current anti-Islamism, the apparent insignificance of right-left/conservative-liberal identifications of the political participants and finally the degree of emotional mobilization. The key to an understanding of these processes seems to lie on the one hand in the difficulties to imagine that equal participation in the same polity could proceed on terms other than aspectual substantive identity. On the other hand, it seems to have something to do with the temporal orientation of the political epistemology in question to its orientation towards imagined lessons from history rather than desires for the future. The wider significance of the political processes surrounding the issues of Muslim migration to Europe are obvious: without massive immigration from the Middle East, North Africa or other parts of the world, Europe's relative power position in global politics will dramatically decline towards the middle of the century.