PROOF COVER SHEET

Author(s):	Sonia Hirt, Christian Sellar & Craig Young
Article title:	Neoliberal Doctrine Meets the Eastern Bloc: Resistance, Appropriation and Purification in Post-Socialist Spaces
Article no:	822711
Enclosures:	1) Query sheet 2) Article proofs

Dear Author,

1. Please check these proofs carefully. It is the responsibility of the corresponding author to check these and approve or amend them. A second proof is not normally provided. Taylor & Francis cannot be held responsible for uncorrected errors, even if introduced during the production process. Once your corrections have been added to the article, it will be considered ready for publication.

Please limit changes at this stage to the correction of errors. You should not make insignificant changes, improve prose style, add new material, or delete existing material at this stage. Making a large number of small, non-essential corrections can lead to errors being introduced. We therefore reserve the right not to make such corrections.

For detailed guidance on how to check your proofs, please see http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/production/checkingproofs.asp.

2. Please review the table of contributors below and confirm that the first and last names are structured correctly and that the authors are listed in the correct order of contribution. This check is to ensure that your name will appear correctly online and when the article is indexed.

Sequence	Prefix	Given name(s)	Surname	Suffix
1		Sonia	Hirt	
2		Christian	Sellar	
3		Craig	Young	

Queries are marked in the margins of the proofs.

AUTHOR QUERIES

General query: You have warranted that you have secured the necessary written permission from the appropriate copyright owner for the reproduction of any text, illustration, or other material in your article. (Please see http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/preparation/permission.asp.) Please check that any required acknowledgements have been included to reflect this.

Q1 Blanchard et al (1994) could not be found in ref list. Please check and add full publication details to list/delete citation from text as appropriate.

Q2 Aslund (2002) could not be found in ref list. Please check and add full publication details to list/delete citation from text as appropriate.

Q3 Kuus (2008) could not be found in ref list. Please check and add full publication details to list/delete citation from text as appropriate.

Q4 Swain (2006) could not be found in ref list. Please check and add full publication details to list/delete citation from text as appropriate.

Q5 Gibson and Klocker (2005) here but Gibson and Kong (2005) in ref list. Please check and alter citation to match correct entry in ref list, adding full publication details for Gibson and Klocker reference to list if necessary.

Q6 Bakić-Hayden (1995) could not be found in ref list. Please check and add full publication details to list/delete citation from text as appropriate.

Q7 Sellar et al (2009a) and (2009b) appear to be the same reference. Please check if both are necessary – add relevant page numbers for particular paper as opposed to larger edited section if this is the difference, to ensure clarity for the reader.

How to make corrections to your proofs using Adobe Acrobat

Taylor & Francis now offer you a choice of options to help you make corrections to your proofs. Your PDF proof file has been enabled so that you can edit the proof directly using Adobe Acrobat. This is the simplest and best way for you to ensure that your corrections will be incorporated. If you wish to do this, please follow these instructions:

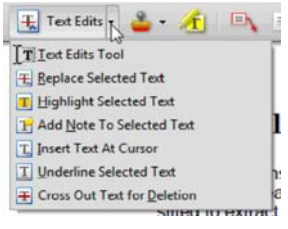
1. Save the file to your hard disk.

2. Check which version of Adobe Acrobat you have on your computer. You can do this by clicking on the "Help" tab, and then "About."

If Adobe Reader is not installed, you can get the latest version free from http://get.adobe.com/reader/.

- If you have Adobe Reader 8 (or a later version), go to "Tools"/ "Comments & Markup"/ "Show Comments & Markup."
- If you have Acrobat Professional 7, go to "Tools"/ "Commenting"/ "Show Commenting Toolbar."

3. Click "Text Edits." You can then select any text and delete it, replace it, or insert new text as you need to. If you need to include new sections of text, it is also possible to add a comment to the proofs. To do this, use the Sticky Note tool in the task bar. Please also see our FAQs here: http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/production/index.asp.



4. Make sure that you save the file when you close the document before uploading it to CATS using the "Upload File" button on the online correction form. A full list of the comments and edits you have made can be viewed by clicking on the "Comments" tab in the bottom left-hand corner of the PDF.

If you prefer, you can make your corrections using the CATS online correction form.

EUROPE-ASIA STUDIES
Vol. 00, No. 0, 2013, 1–12

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Neoliberal Doctrine Meets the Eastern Bloc: Resistance, Appropriation and Purification in Post-Socialist Spaces

SONIA HIRT, CHRISTIAN SELLAR & CRAIG YOUNG

THIS COLLECTION EXPLORES HOW NEOLIBERAL IDEOLOGY—AND RELATED economic policies—have been implemented in the once-socialist countries of East Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. Specifically, it argues that this ideology undergoes deep modifications as it meets post-socialist conditions: sometimes it is creatively appropriated, sometimes resisted and sometimes 'purified' (in that it is implemented more thoroughly than in the Western nations where neoliberalism as an ideology was developed). Thus, the collection illustrates how 'actually existing neoliberalism', to use Brenner and Theodore's (2002) terminology, occurs 'on the ground'. It argues that the 'actually existing neoliberalisms', which have developed in a variety of post-socialist contexts, can differ profoundly from the theoretical constructs propagated by neoliberalism's supporters, including the major international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. As recent literature on policy mobility makes clear 'It is already widely recognized that it is rarely possible to transfer policies directly, precisely because they emerge from and are responses to particular "local" sets of social and political conditions which are not replicated in the places to which they are transplanted' (Cochrane & Ward 2012, p. 5).

Neoliberalism comprises the policy applications of neoclassical economic theory. Academic critiques such as that of Harvey (2003, 2005) highlight the connections between these policies, the reinstatement of class power and the emergence of the current phase of globalisation. The narrative of Harvey and others describes a revival of neoclassical ideology in the US and the UK in the midst of the 1970s crisis of the Fordist mode of production and the Keynesian political economy model (Lipietz 2001; Harvey 2010). In the 1980s, arguably in reaction to this crisis, the Reagan administration in the US and the Thatcher government in the UK adopted policies that curtailed welfare programmes and other redistributive policies; lifted barriers to trade, especially in the financial sector; reduced state intervention in the economy; and privatised many public assets. The vacuum created by the 'rolling back of the welfare state' was filled by an increasing reliance on unregulated capitalist enterprise and public–private partnerships (Harvey 2005, p. 113). Since the 1990s, the US government, along with the International Monetary Fund and the

ISSN 0966-8136 print; ISSN 1465-3427 online/13/000001–12 © 2013 University of Glasgow
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2013.822711

World Bank, have exerted pressure on developing and developed countries alike to adopt similar reforms (often referred to collectively as 'the Washington Consensus'). Simultaneously, the Chinese government adopted aspects of the free-market economy, marrying neoliberalism and Communist Party rule (Harvey 2005). The EU also contributed to this process, although many of its founding members have long social democratic traditions, thus leading EU institutions to promote a medley of neoliberal and Keynesian policies in their sphere of influence.[1]

Building upon this story of the progressive transformation of the world economy in the image of Anglo-American neoliberalism, a vast literature has discussed the multi-scalar modifications of—and resistance to—the neoliberal project. The works of Pierre Bourdieu, Jean and John Comaroff, Jacques Derrida, Gustava Esteva and others have examined the exploitative character and sharpening class warfare that were brought about by neoliberally minded globalisation (Derrida 1994; Esteva & Prakash 1998; Bourdieu 1999, 2003; Comaroff & Comaroff 2001). Scholarly criticism aside, however, from the early 1990s to the beginning of the 2000s, the influence of neoliberal ideology over policy makers increased globally, to the point that its most vocal supporters claimed that viable alternatives to Western liberalism have been exhausted and the world is witnessing the 'end of history' (Fukuyama 1992). Indeed, the demise of Soviet-style socialism, the crisis of Western Keynesianism, and the adoption of elements of a capitalist economy in China all seemed to lend support to this conclusion, even as citizens (and scholars) around the world struggled to find alternatives.

Critics of neoliberalism have challenged many of its fundamental philosophical assumptions, including notions concerning the rationality of markets and their ability to distribute resources in an optimal manner (Comaroff & Comaroff 2001). Some scholars advocate the reorganisation of the state against the marketisation of society (Bourdieu 1999, 2003) and argue that there is still vitality in the communist utopia (Derrida 1994). Others directly engage with social movements and anti-globalisation groups, and produce more accessible, programme-oriented writings that aim to provide a basis from which to challenge the neoliberal process from the 'bottom up' (Esteva & Prakash 1998; Klein 2000; Bircham & Charlton 2001; Danaher 2001; George 2004). The neoliberal project has been challenged not only by bottom-up social movements but also by local and transnational elites, albeit in very different ways. The literature has shown that elites have extensive powers to mould neoliberal ideology to fit their own agenda. For example, Aihwa Ong investigated the 'revisiting' of neoliberalism by mainland Chinese elites, while Henry Yeung and Katherine Mitchell showed how the Chinese diaspora skilfully reinterpreted pre-modern social linkages and family networks to thrive in the relatively open-border, free-trade environments of the Pacific Rim since the 1990s (Ong 1999, 2006; Yeung 2002; Mitchell 2004).

In the former Eastern Bloc, the appropriation of neoliberal ideology by new elites has also been documented, starting with the work of Anders Aslund and Jeffrey Sachs—authors of academic work and top-level consultants who influenced how governments in Russia, Poland, Ukraine and other nations managed their transition (Blanchard *et al.* 1994; Aslund

[Q1]

[1]For example, the EU Regional and Cohesion policies backed by the EU Regional Development Funds on occasion push for competitiveness and spreading neoliberal 'best practices'; yet at other times they aim to respect differences and overcome inequalities between nations and between regions (McEwen 2011; Sellar & McEwen 2011).

[Q2] 2002). Later, Merje Kuus developed a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which 'Western' consulting and ideas were shaped, directed and manipulated by 'Eastern' elites
95 [Q3] (Kuus 2004, 2008). Through a 'ritual of listening to foreigners', these elites skilfully directed Western aid, thus influencing both the implementation and the design of aid programmes:

> Western officials relied heavily on a handful of local partners, whom they depicted as particularly
100 competent and reformist, largely because of these partners' Western experience, 'Western' dress code and mannerisms … [these] local officials swayed not only the administration of Western aid in the recipient states but also influenced the design of aid programs in the donor states. (Kuus 2004, pp. 478–79)

[Q4] Furthermore, Adam Swain (2006) showed how the interplay between Western academics,
105 consultants and donors, and local political elites led to the emergence of a network of institutions, dedicated to the neoliberalisation of post-socialist Europe and Eurasia. He termed this alliance the 'transition industry'.[2]

The persistent conflict between popular scepticism and resistance towards (neoliberal)
110 globalisation and what may be described as elites' manipulation of neoliberal ideology to fit their own interests raises a series of questions regarding the very nature of neoliberalism. What is neoliberalism after all? What does it mean in different parts of the world? How do its conceptual building blocks, like 'property' or 'market', translate into different contexts? Is neoliberalism truly an Anglo-American model exported abroad? How does it 'travel'
115 around the world? Why do different groups, different citizen organisations and different elites see it, practise it or adapt to it differently? Whereas there is consensus on neoliberalism's main components, evidence for its locally specific manifestations have led scholars to propose that there is no single, 'one-size-fits-all' neoliberalism (Larner 2003; Cochrane & Ward 2012); rather, there is a myriad of 'actually existing neoliberalisms'
120 (Brenner & Theodore 2002) or a process of 'neoliberalisation' (Peck & Tickell 2002; [Q5] Gibson & Klocker 2005) or a 'variegated neoliberalisation' (Brenner *et al.* 2010).

These terms highlight that neoliberalism does not 'trickle down' to the local context and then, 'once it hits the ground', work following a clearly pre-determined pathway. Rather, its specific trajectory depends on a rich variety of national and local responses, which modify
125 the mainstream theory and convert it into 'actually existing', context-dependent realities. These realities are produced by the intersection of the neoliberal credo with local, inherited and path-dependent institutional structures, regulatory regimes and cultures (Brenner *et al.* 2010; McCann & Ward 2011). Cochrane and Ward (2012, p. 6) highlight this intersection of the local and the global, stating that 'policy networks with extensive geographical reach
130 are central to the construction of apparently local responses, while at the same time apparently global phenomena … are capable of realization only in particular, grounded and localized ways'.

In a special issue of *Geographical Research* on Antipodean neoliberalism, Donald McNeill warned against 'the power of this theory to travel unruffled' (McNeill 2005, p. 113). Policy 'travels' globally in complex ways during which its core meanings can
135 be altered through the mundane actions of those implementing it (Brenner *et al.* 2010;

[2]Swain specifically described the transformation of a whole array of institutional structures emerging from the interactions between foreign consultants and local leaders in the restructuring of Ukraine's energy sector.

Cook & Ward 2011; McCann 2011; McCann & Ward 2011; Peck 2011; Cochrane & Ward 2012). As Peck and Theodore (2001, p. 427) suggest, policy is rarely literally transferred in a uniform manner, rather 'the form and function of … policies is prone to change as they are translated and re-embedded within and between different institutional, economic and political contexts'. O'Neill and Argent (2005) argue that Australia, for example, has experienced neoliberalism in multiple ways in different domains: in some cases, there have been tendencies towards embracing neoliberal doctrine, and in others, towards either resisting it or actively constructing or reconstructing it. In her study of Sydney's metropolitan planning, McGuirk (2005, p. 67) argues that the planning agenda shows a willingness to 'engage state agency in a complex and hybrid manner that is neither predetermined by any neoliberalist prescription nor unequivocally neoliberalist. … [As a result] [s]omething more complex, partial and hybrid has been enacted'. Of particular relevance to the study of how neoliberalism 'touches down' in the Central Asian republics, a number of studies have highlighted the locally contingent nature of neoliberalisation in a variety of rural developing-world contexts (Igoe 2007; Büscher & Dressler 2012; Duffy & Moore 2010).

Besides highlighting the local specificities, the term 'actually existing neoliberalisms' indicates the tension between the ideology and the actual practices, partially because 'neoliberal ideology systematically misrepresents the real effects of such policies upon macro-institutional structures' and omits the extraordinary variety of local responses (Brenner & Theodore 2002, p. 353). This variety warrants investigation not so much of some imaginary single, global evolutionary history of neoliberalism but, rather, an analysis of the complex, varied geographies of neoliberalisms (Brenner *et al.* 2010).

It can be argued that neoliberalism is far from a unifying factor in the socioeconomic and institutional make-up of the world, regardless of the claims of Fukuyama and Friedman (Fukuyama 1992; Friedman 2005). Rather, the multiplicity of 'actually existing neoliberalisms' have territorial specificities, partially because by nominally embracing neoliberal ideology, elites and other social groups with different access to power have modified existing institutional arrangements at multiple scales and reconstructed them to suit their own purposes (Peck & Tickell 2002). Transformations in the relationship between power and territory (territoriality) are among the most visible changes in contemporary political geographies. In particular, the new institutions which are emerging as a consequence of neoliberalisation have changed the ways in which states use territories as a source of control and management (Cox 2003; Agnew 2005a; Bialasiewicz *et al.* 2005; Gilbert 2007; Jessop *et al.* 2008). In doing so, they have brought about processes of de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation, or the reorganisation of territories under new structures conceptualised and dominated by non-state (whether sub-national or supra-national) actors (Toal & Luke 1994; Shore 2000; Sparke 2006; Jones 2008). Simultaneously, (neoliberal) globalisation has transformed sovereignty resulting in the 'unlimited and indivisible rule by state over a territory and the people in it' (Agnew 2005b), including the ways in which sovereignty is territorialised (Murphy 1996; Sidaway 2003; Agnew 2005b; Antonsich 2009). These changes shape the trajectory of neoliberalisms in multiple ways. To begin with, without a redefinition of territoriality and sovereignty, a single ideology such as neoliberalism could not have become so globally influential. At the same time, however, robust challenges to this ideology are now becoming possible partially because of the formation of social movements and

capital alliances that could not exist under traditional notions of territoriality and sovereignty.

'Actually existing neoliberalisms' under post-socialism

The aim of this collection is to advance understanding of 'actually existing neoliberalisms' by focusing on the meanings, implementations and modifications of neoliberal doctrine in the context of the formerly communist-ruled Eastern Europe and Soviet Union. This is done through a series of essays analysing the reception of the key elements of neoliberalism in two East Central European nations and five countries in the former Soviet Union. The post-socialist world of Eurasia represents a particularly intriguing locus for investigating the 'travels' of neoliberalism. For several decades, of course, this vast region was the home of neoliberalism's arch-enemy—'actually existing socialism'. This Brezhnev-era term was meant to distinguish the 'real' socialist countries from the ideal communist society of the future but also, more subtly perhaps, from the 'fake' social democracies of 1970s Western Europe such as those in Scandinavia. The collapse of 'actually existing' socialist regimes in 1989–1991 put this region into prolonged economic and political turmoil. Arguably, the region may be described as undergoing systemic transformation along three chief socioeconomic and ideological axes: neoliberal globalisation, post-socialism and Europeanisation (although the latter term loses relevance as we move closer to Central Asia (Tsenkova & Nedovic-Budic 2006)). Because of the real and perceived failures of 'actually existing socialism' (which included the economic stagnation of the 1980s and the economic meltdown of the early 1990s), the former Eastern Bloc became viewed as an especially ripe recipient of neoliberal 'shock therapy' meant to 'transfuse the spirit of [neo-liberal] capitalism' (Andrusz *et al.* 1996, p. 11) to East European and Eurasian soil. These strategies, inspired by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, aimed to quickly establish or reinstitute private property regimes, remove barriers to multinational trade, eliminate state dominance over the economy and dismantle existing social safety nets—all in order to 'jump-start' this particular form of capitalism regardless of its many negative side effects such as sharply increased poverty and social stratification (Elliott & Hall 1999; Hirt & Stanilov 2009). It would, however, be a mistake to see these efforts as exercises in the straightforward adoption of Western neoliberalism. As the essays in this volume suggest, the neoliberal credo has made a rather complex rendezvous with post-socialism.

The very term 'post-socialism' is a complex construct. It typically indicates the multiple social, economic and political changes experienced in East Central Europe and the former Soviet Union after the collapse of communist regimes in 1989–1991. The term was developed to challenge the assumption, implicit in the work of neoliberal scholars and in the publications of international financial institutions, of a linear transition from an ideal-type command economy to an ideal-type market economy, from state socialism to neoliberal capitalism (Lipton & Sachs 1990; EBRD 1997). Neoliberal policies, comprising privatisation, liberalisation and stabilisation, were to be achieved by immediate and comprehensive reforms—'shock therapy' (Lipton & Sachs 1990). However, not all countries adopted this approach and even in those which nominally did, the institutional and cultural legacies of the past prevented a straightforward substitution of one model with another. Scholars performing microanalyses of property and inter-firm networks, for instance, found that personal and group relations that were built during the socialist period

prevented the simplistic imposition of a capitalist society comprising profit-maximising 'rational' market actors operating within a 'pure' property regime (Pickles & Smith 1998; Stark & Bruszt 1998; Bandelj 2008). In one of the earliest challenges to the conventional view of transition, Stark (1990) defined post-socialism not as a shift 'from plan to market' (World Bank 1996) but from 'plan to clan'. On their way to becoming 'properly' capitalist, post-socialist elites creatively embraced and manipulated both capitalism and, in some cases 'Europeanness', to suit their own agendas (Bakić-Hayden 1995; Kuus 2004; Sellar *et al.* 2009a, 2009b). Whereas international institutions such as the European Commission were busy 'teaching' their own mix of Keynesian and neoliberal policies to the new EU member states via the Structural and Cohesion funds (Sellar & McEwen 2011), post-socialist political and business leaders, positioned as 'learners', had other ideas of what these policies meant. Furthermore, the policies themselves have not been widely popular. In fact, there is evidence across the region that free-market scepticism and socialist nostalgia are common among many segments of European and Eurasian post-socialist society (Ghodsee & Henry 2010), feeding into subtle and not-so-subtle ways of resisting and, in some cases, transforming the basic neoliberal credo.

Scholars have provided several examples of key neoliberal policies and their underlying concepts that were manipulated by local elites when imported from the West. The ambiguity of the concept of 'property' in post-socialist Romania, for example, has been convincingly demonstrated by Verdery (2003). From neighbouring Bulgaria, we have several examples that challenge the straightforward meaning and seamless importation of apparently fundamental concepts such as civil society (Staddon & Cellarius 2002), industry and development (Creed 1997), and regionalism and public participation (Hirt 2005, 2007). Sellar *et al.* (2011) analysed the implementation of specific industrial policies—the so-called 'cluster policies'—and showed that the legacy of socialism, relations among policy stakeholders and contextual aspects such as macroeconomic policies, fundamentally transformed the intent of the EU policies when they were implemented in Bulgaria.

These studies suggest that 'actually existing neoliberalisms' are deeply embedded into local contexts in which the meanings of basic neoliberal terms can become 'lost in translation' (though not necessarily for the worse). This collection explores these processes in the post-socialist context, analysing how exactly neoliberal ideology becomes integrated into and modulated by existing belief systems and economic and institutional traditions. How do the abstract concepts of neoliberalism become intertwined with local practices and how are they modified in the process? We propose several overlapping modulations of neoliberalism in the Eurasian post-socialist region, including resistance, appropriation and purification. Below, we introduce how these themes are explored in the individual essays.

Implementing neoliberalism in the former Eastern Bloc

The essays in this collection explore how various social groups, state institutions, enterprises and individuals use neoliberal constructs—concepts, ideals and models—'on the ground' in the post-socialist context. Local responses include scepticism towards and resistance to these neoliberal constructs. In other cases, the constructs are embraced, exaggerated and even mythologised in locally contingent ways in order to support specific policies and actions. Powerful groups clearly have greater capacity to mould and appropriate these constructs for their own ends, whereas weaker ones may be forced to adapt to them in their

daily lives, though this does not necessarily make them simply the 'victims' of an imposed neoliberalism. How various groups use or modify neoliberal constructs depends as much on social status as on national and cultural context. Neoliberalism's perceived 'Westernness' provides legitimacy in some cases (as we observe in the East Central European countries discussed below) but in others it only contributes toward scepticism and rejection (as we observe in Russia and Central Asia). Finally, the very idea of neoliberalism as a Western ideology that is being 'taught' to the 'East' may need some rethinking.

The first essay, by Grigory Ioffe, describes the outright scepticism of post-Soviet elites toward the importation of neoliberalism under the guise of US-driven (and, to a lesser extent, EU-driven) democracy promotion. The piece sets up the provocative tone of the collection by examining how a concept which is central to neoliberalism—democracy—is in fact constructed and mobilised in very different ways by both Western and post-socialist elites. By carefully exposing the US government's 'doublespeak' on 'democracy', a term used selectively to endorse its geopolitical allies and penalise its enemies, Ioffe posits that Western constructs are bound to meet resistance if injected so hypocritically. This type of selective democracy exportation is, of course, not limited to the post-socialist world and there are many examples from Latin America and the Middle East of cases where political 'realism' rather than democracy-promotion has been the backbone of US policies. In a similar vein, Ioffe argues that the American vision of Belarus and the Ukraine changed over time (without a substantive regime change in either country) in response to whether they were seen as US allies or enemies in the struggle to constrain Russia's dominance in the region. Along similar lines, it also argues that, while the West (the US and the EU) actively condemned actions by the Belarusian regime, it 'busily embraced' similarly authoritarian governments in Central Asia 'because of new and exciting natural gas agreements' (Ioffe, in this collection). One way of thinking about Ioffe's contribution is to consider it as a call for an 'actually existing geopolitical realism', a geopolitical realism that is not perpetually trying to sell itself under the cover of democracy, whatever this elusive term may mean.

Peter Lindner's essay provides an anthropological account of how former workers in five Soviet collective farms (*kolhozy*) adjusted their daily lives—and their selfhoods—to the introduction of notions of 'private property'. Lindner explores the dominant nature of such concepts as 'property' and 'market' while questioning their universality, much as Ioffe questions the implementation of notions of 'democracy'. This essay investigates the political goals of establishing property rights, the resulting policy outcomes and their impacts on everyday life. It focuses on the mechanisms leading to the divergence between the formal adoption of property rights and their actual implementation, which results in hybrid forms of private and collective property. This divergence is produced partially by the fact that some aspects of neoliberal notions of 'pure' private property are completely foreign to the local population.

In a similar vein to Lindner's essay, Marianna Pavlovskaya explores the establishment of private property in Russia in two contrasting locations: central Moscow and the Russian Far East, where the local economy is based on Arctic reindeer herding. Pavlovskaya's cases (as with Lindner's) demonstrate that neoliberal concepts such as private property regimes undergo significant modifications when they meet the ground. In downtown Moscow, the author shows how Russian capitalist enterprises appeared to take off precisely in the urban spaces which were inhabited by socialist-era mega-institutions like the *Komsomol* (the organisation of the Soviet communist youth). This example illustrates how attempts to

start capitalism from scratch through rapid urban land and real-estate privatisation actually led to quite unexpected outcomes. Burgeoning small private businesses quickly found that obtaining office space in Moscow in the early 1990s was logistically difficult and prohibitively expensive. There were similar problems with acquiring qualified staff and other resources. The 'market' was skewed in favour of the various Soviet-era agencies, whose leaders quickly learned to become entrepreneurs combining their state and private roles (much as they were combining state and private office space). Russia's capitalism was thus incubated on the state's grounds—that is, not according to neoliberal prescription. *Privatizatsiya* was the word of the day, but it did not take place the way neoliberal advocates suggested: state resources were not sold to private parties but were used to generate private profits. Pavlovskaya's story of the Far East is both different and complementary. There, private property did not exist (thus making both Soviet collectivisation and post-Soviet privatisation seem nonsensical, practically and symbolically). Under the threat of the giant Russian and multinational oil and other resource-extraction private mega-industries, indigenous communities have struggled to establish communal ownership in order to resist post-Soviet privatisation.

The next essay, by Martin Sokol on economic policies in Eastern Slovakia, shows the far-reaching consequences of neoliberal model making and its impact on regional governance. The author demonstrates how neoliberal myths are made, glorified and appropriated. He tells the story of Slovakia's Košice region, where various local public and private agencies have established cooperative relationships, thus changing the way they manage their territory, in an attempt to imitate the development model of the famous Silicon Valley, California—a model which has long served as an inspiration for capitalism's proponents. Sokol argues that contrary to the commonly held view of Silicon Valley as competitive capitalism at its best, its emergence and long-term success were to a great extent the product of US federal intervention, especially heavy military investment during the Cold War. The author points to the irony that Silicon Valley holds such an ideological appeal for free-market advocates even though it was not the result of the successful operation of the free market. Paradoxically, the advent of neoliberalism in Slovakia constrained the possibility of a local Silicon Valley, because state resources became severely limited. Importantly for the purposes of this collection, however, the essay shows how neoliberal models or, more specifically, representations of idealised types of neoliberalism, can be appropriated and used as legitimation tools in order to initiate specific forms of action. Echoing Pavlovskaya's analysis, Sokol's essay reminds us that thriving capitalism requires serious state investment, something which post-socialist Slovakia seems to lack.

Ulrich Ermann's essay on the fashion industry in Bulgaria demonstrates both a different type of appropriation and the development of alternative (but hybrid) strategies. Building on Bulgarians' long-standing sense of being backward and thus permanently struggling to become 'European' (Todorova 1997), the emerging Bulgarian fashion enterprises appropriated Western names, images and styles in order to present themselves as desirable by those Bulgarians who aspired to be Europeans. These names, images and styles were also used as means of disassociation from the backward, 'unfashionable', ostensibly 'non-European' socialist past. However, the business strategies developed by these firms also demonstrate alternative and more nuanced approaches to marketing. One of the most successful fashion firms is owned by the grand-daughter of the last Bulgarian socialist dictator, Todor Zhivkov. Proudly using her grandfather's name, the firm's energetic owner,

Zheni Zhivkova, has managed to capitalise not only on Western style, nomenclature and imagery but also on the socialist nostalgia that exists among a sizable portion of the Bulgarian population. Success in the new market economy has thus been based on combining Western approaches to marketing with local memories and perceptions of the socialist past, a development which would not have been foreseen by orthodox neoliberal theorists.

The collection ends with a thought-provoking piece on corruption in Russia by Irina Olimpieva and Oleg Pachenkov. The authors refute some of the most popular axioms behind neoliberally minded globalisation: that corruption is a sign of an imperfect free-market system and that the phenomenon is common in post-socialist societies because they have not yet developed in a satisfactory neoliberal manner. Olimpieva and Pachenkov build on the work of Holmes, among others, in providing a detailed examination of the causes of corruption in post-socialist societies. Holmes (2006) argues that with its lack of transparency and power structures which distributed access to resources based on clan-like connections, the socialist system set up the stage for corruption. Furthermore, the collapse of communist ideology contributed to a legitimacy crisis of the state which in turn made it socially acceptable to see public assets as a source of private gain. (In Venelin Ganev's (2007, p. 168) words, the post-socialist state became viewed by its subjects as an 'object of extraction'.) However, this is more than another example of post-socialist path-dependency. The neoliberal transformation of East European and Eurasian societies (the mass privatisation of public resources) created exceptional opportunities for corruption, especially in an environment where public employees at all levels lived in an environment of heightened job insecurity and reduced incomes. Expanding on this line of thought, Olimpieva and Pachenkov argue that 'real' neoliberal transformation is not incompatible with corruption but is in fact conducive to it. 'Corruption' does not happen in Russia, the authors note 'because Russia is not "neoliberal enough"'; rather, it happens 'because Russia is more "neoliberal" than the countries where neoliberal ideas originated—because in these countries (in the "West") neoliberalism is tempered by other traditions' (Olimpieva & Pachenkov, in this collection). These traditions include transparency and long-term social-democratic institutions. The authors suggest that if corruption is the use of public resources for private gain, then corruption does not necessarily clash with neoliberalism but may be a legitimate neoliberal business practice. In advancing this thesis of post-socialism as neoliberalism's 'purification',[3] Olimpieva and Pachenkov implicitly propose what was simply unthinkable on either side of the Iron Curtain: that what was once the land of 'actually existing socialism' has become the land of 'actually existing neoliberalism', neoliberalism in its purest, cleanest, most unmediated form.

The collection, thus, explores various instances of how the 'rolling-out' of neoliberalism is being modified into differing forms of 'neoliberalisation' or 'actually existing neoliberalisms' as it encounters the post-socialist context. The essays reveal a complex geography to this process. It highlights that rather than a single, monolithic 'neoliberalism' imposing itself upon these localities, the processes of neoliberalisation are inflected by local contingencies combining the legacies inherited from the socialist and Soviet (or even pre-socialist and Soviet) era with the forces of globalisation and, in some cases,

[3]A related thesis of post-socialism as the purified version of 'post-modern' neoliberalism has been advanced in cultural anthropology by Kharkhordin (1995, 1997) and in cultural geography by Hirt (2008).

Europeanisation. The result is the emergence of a highly differentiated set of 'varieties of capitalism' in which many of the basic tenets of neoliberalism are resisted, challenged, mutated or adopted in a purified form as a part of post-socialist transformation. Through exploring these emerging 'varieties of neoliberalisation' we hope that this collection demonstrates how post-socialist Europe, Russia and Central Asia contribute further important insights into the impacts of the Anglo-American neoliberal project.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
University of Mississippi
Manchester Metropolitan University

References

Agnew, J. (2005a) 'Bounding the European Project', *Geopolitics*, 10, 3.
Agnew, J. (2005b) 'Sovereignty Regimes: Territoriality and State Authority in Contemporary World Politics', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 95, 2.
Andrusz, G., Harloe, M. & Szelenyi, I. (1996) *Cities after Socialism: Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-Socialist Societies* (Oxford, Blackwell).
Antonsich, M. (2009) 'On Territory, the Nation-State and the Crisis of the Hyphen', *Progress in Human Geography*, 33, 6.
Bandelj, N. (2008) *From Communists to Foreign Capitalists: The Social Foundations of Foreign Direct Investment in Postsocialist Europe* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press).
Bialasiewicz, L., Elden, S. & Painter, J. (2005) 'The Best Defense of Our Security Lies in the Spread of Our Values: Europe, America and the Question of Values', *Environment and Planning D*, 23, 2.
Bircham, E. & Charlton, J. (2001) *Anti-Capitalism: A Guide to the Movement* (London, Bookmark Publications).
Bourdieu, P. (1999) *Acts of Resistance: Against the Tyranny of Markets* (Cambridge, Politi Press).
Bourdieu, P. (2003) *Firing Back: Against the Tyranny of Markets 2* (New York, New Press).
Brenner, N., Peck, J. & Theodore, N. (2010) 'Variegated Neoliberalization: Geographies, Modalities, Pathways', *Global Networks*, 10.
Brenner, N. & Theodore, N. (2002) 'Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism"', *Antipode*, 34, 3.
Büscher, B. & Dressler, W. (2012) 'Commodity Conservation. The Restructuring of Community Conservation in South Africa and the Philippines', *Geoforum*, 43, 3.
Cochrane, A. & Ward, K. (2012) 'Researching the Geographies of Policy Mobility: Confronting the Methodological Challenges', *Environment and Planning A*, 44.
Comaroff, J. & Comaroff, J. (eds) (2001) *Millenial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism* (Durham, NC, Duke University Press).
Cook, I. & Ward, K. (2011) 'Trans-Urban Networks of Learning, Mega-Events and Policy Tourism: The Case of Manchester's Commonwealth and Olympic Games Projects', *Urban Studies*, 48.
Cox, K. R. (2003) 'Political Geography and the Territorial', *Political Geography*, 22, 4.
Creed, G. (1997) *Domesticating Revolution* (State College, PA, Penn State University Press).
Danaher, K. (ed.) (2001) *Democratizing the Global Economy: The Battle Against the World Bank and IMF* (Monroe, ME & Philadelphia, PA, Common Courage Press).
Derrida, J. (1994) *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International* (London, Routledge).
Duffy, R. & Moore, L. (2010) 'Neoliberalising Nature? Elephant-Back Tourism in Thailand and Botswana', *Antipode*, 42, 3.
EBRD (1997) *Transition Report* (London, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development).
Elliott, T. & Hall, J. (1999) 'Boris Yeltsin and Russia's Rocky Road to Capitalism: The Early Years', *International Journal of Social Economics*, 26, 12.
Esteva, G. & Suri Prakash, M. (1998) *Grassroots Post-Modernism: Remaking the Soil of Cultures* (New York, Zed Books).
Friedman, T. (2005) *The World is Flat. A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century* (New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux).
Fukuyama, F. (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York, Free Press).

Ganev, V. (2007) *Preying on the State: The Transformation of Bulgaria after 1989* (Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press).
George, S. (2004) *Another World is Possible If* (London & New York, Verso).
Ghodsee, K. & Henry, L. (2010) 'Redefining the Common Good after Communism: Beyond Ideology', *Newsnet: News of the Association of Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies*, 50, 4.
Gibson, C. & Kong, L. (2005) 'Cultural Economy: A Critical Review', *Progress in Human Geography*, 29, 5.
Gilbert, E. (2007) 'Money, Citizenship, Territoriality and the Proposals for North American Monetary Union', *Political Geography*, 26, 2.
Harvey, D. (2003) *The New Imperialism* (Oxford, Oxford University Press).
Harvey, D. (2005) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford, Oxford University Press).
Harvey, D. (2010) *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism* (Oxford, Oxford University Press).
Hirt, S. (2005) 'Planning the Post-Communist City: Experiences from Sofia', *International Planning Studies*, 10, 3–4.
Hirt, S. (2007) 'The Compact versus the Dispersed City: History of Planning Ideas on Sofia's Urban Form', *Journal of Planning History*, 6, 2.
Hirt, S. (2008) 'Landscapes of Post-Modernity: Changes in the Built Fabric of Belgrade and Sofia since the End of Socialism', *Urban Geography*, 29, 8.
Hirt, S. & Stanilov, K. (2009) *Twenty Years of Transition: The Evolution of Urban Planning in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union, 1989–2009* (Nairobi, UN HABITAT).
Holmes, L. (2006) *Rotten States? Corruption, Post-Communism, and Neoliberalism* (Durham, NC, Duke University Press).
Igoe, J. (2007) 'Human Rights, Conservation and the Privatization of Sovereignty in Africa—A Discussion of Recent Changes in Tanzania', *Policy Matters*, 15, available at: http://cmsdata.iucn.org/downloads/pm15_section_4.pdf, accessed 28 December 2012.
Jessop, B., Brenner, N. & Jones, M. (2008) 'Theorizing Sociospatial Relations', *Environment and Planning D*, 26, 3.
Jones, R. (2008) 'Relocating Nationalism: On the Geographies of Reproducing Nations', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 33, 3.
Kharkhordin, O. (1995) 'The Soviet Individual: Geneology of a Dissimulating Animal', in Featherstone, M., Lash, S. & Robertson, R. (eds) *Global Modernities* (Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage).
Kharkhordin, O. (1997) 'Reveal and Dissimulate: A Geneology of Private Life in Russia', in Weintraub, J. & Kumar, K. (eds) *Public and Private in Theory and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy* (Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press).
Klein, N. (2000) *No Logo* (New York, Picador).
Kuus, M. (2004) 'Europe's Eastern Expansion and the Reinscription of Otherness in East-Central Europe', *Progress in Human Geography*, 18, 4.
Larner, W. (2003) 'Neoliberalism?', *Environment and Planning D*, 21, 5.
Lipietz, A. (2001) 'The Fortunes and Misfortunes of Post-Fordism', in Albritton, R., Itoh, M., Westra, R. & Zuege, A. (eds) *Phases of Capitalist Development: Booms, Crises and Globalization* (Basingstoke & New York, Palgrave).
Lipton, D. & Sachs, J. (1990) 'Creating a Market Economy in Eastern Europe. The Case of Poland', *Brooking Papers on Economic Activity*, 21, 1.
McCann, E. (2011) 'Urban Policy Mobilities and Global Circuits of Knowledge: Towards a Research Agenda', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 101, 1.
McCann, E. & Ward, K. (eds) (2011) *Mobile Urbanism: Cities and Policymaking in the Global Age* (Minneapolis, MN, Minnesota University Press).
McEwen, L. (2011) *An Interpretive Analysis of the Urban Territorial Dimension in European Union Regional Policy*, unpublished MA thesis, The American University of Paris.
McGuirk, P. M. (2005) 'Neoliberalist Planning? Re-thinking and Re-casting Sydney's Metropolitan Planning', *Geographical Research*, 43, 1.
McNeill, P. (2005) 'Narrating Neoliberalism', *Geographical Research*, 43, 1.
Mitchell, K. (2004) *Crossing the NeoLiberal Line: Pacific Rim Migration and the Metropolis* (Philadelphia, PA, Temple University Press).
Murphy, A. (1996) 'The Sovereign State System as Political–Territorial Ideal: Historical and Contemporary Considerations', in Biersteker, T. J. & Weber, C. (eds) *State Sovereignty as Social Construct* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).
O'Neill, P. & Argent, N. (2005) 'Neoliberalism in Antipodean Spaces and Times: An Introduction to the Special Theme Issue', *Geographical Research*, 43, 1.
Ong, A. (1999) *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham, NC, Duke University Press).

Ong, A. (2006) *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty* (Durham, NC, Duke University Press).
Peck, J. (2011) 'Geographies of Policy: From Transfer-Diffusion to Mobility-Mutation', *Progress in Human Geography*, 35, 6.
Peck, J. & Theodore, N. (2001) 'Exporting Workfare/Importing Welfare-to-Work: Exploring the Politics of Third Way Policy Transfer', *Political Geography*, 20, 4.
Peck, J. & Tickell, A. (2002) 'Neoliberalizing Space', *Antipode*, 34, 3.
Pickles, J. & Smith, A. (eds) (1998) *Theorising Transition* (London, Routledge).
Sellar, C., Emilova, M., Petkova-Tancheva, C. & McNeil, K. (2011) 'Cluster Policies in Bulgaria: European Integration, Post Socialist Dynamics, and Local Level Initiatives', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Studies*, 35, 2.
Sellar, C. & McEwen, L. (2011) 'Europeanization and the Virtue of Ambiguities', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 18, 3.
Sellar, C., Staddon, C. & Young, C. (2009a) 'Twenty Years After the Wall: Geographical Imaginaries of "Europe" during European Union Enlargement', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 26, 3.
Sellar, C., Staddon, C. & Young, C. (eds) (2009b) 'Twenty Years After the Wall: Geographical Imaginaries of "Europe" during European Union enlargement', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 26, 3.
Shore, C. (2000) *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration* (London, Routledge).
Sidaway, J. D. (2003) 'Sovereign Excesses? Portraying Postcolonial Sovereigntyscapes', *Political Geography*, 22, 2.
Sparke, M. (2006) 'Political Geographies of Globalization: (2) Governance', *Progress in Human Geography*, 30, 2.
Staddon, C. & Cellarius, B. (2002) 'Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations, Civil Society and Democratisation in Bulgaria', *Eastern European Politics and Societies*, 16, 1.
Stark, D. (1990) 'Privatization in Hungary: From Plan to Market or from Plan to Clan?', *East European Politics and Societies*, 4, 3.
Stark, D. & Bruszt, L. (1998) *Postsocialist Pathways* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).
Toal, G. & Luke, T. (1994) 'Present at (Dis)Integration: Deterritorialization and Reterritorialization in the New World Order', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 84, 3.
Todorova, M. (1997) *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford, Oxford University Press).
Tsenkova, S. & Nedovic-Budic, Z. (2006) *The Urban Mosaic of Post-Socialist Europe: Space, Institutions and Policy* (Heidelberg, Springer Physica).
Verdery, K. (2003) *The Vanishing Hectare: Property and Value in Post-Socialist Transylvania* (Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press).
Wolff, L. (1994) *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization in the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press).
World Bank (1996) *World Development Report 1996: From Plan to Market* (Washington, DC, World Bank).
Yeung, H. (2002) *Entrepreneurship and the Internationalisation of Asian Firms: An Institutional Perspective* (London, Edward Elgar).