Chapter One

Domesticating Neo-Liberalism and the Spaces of Post-Socialism

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Domesticating Neo-Liberalism

In February 2004, three months before Slovakia was due to join the European Union, the Slovak government mobilized 20,000 extra police and 1,000 soldiers to quell a revolt by members of the Roma community in the east of the country. The revolt involved, primarily, the looting of basic provisions from food stores and was a reaction to the dramatic scaling back of the social welfare system. As the then Minister for Labour, the Family and Social Affairs and architect of a radical overhaul of the social assistance system, L'udovít Kaník, was quoted as saying 'Cuts in benefits are needed to end a culture of dependence among Roma' (Burgermeister, 2004). This series of events emerged out of a much larger-scale state initiative, which originated in the political economy of the collapse of state socialism in 1989 and intensified after the 1998 election of a centre-right coalition government, to dramatically overhaul the nature of political and economic life, modelled strongly on neo-liberal principles (Smith & Rochovská, 2007; Fisher, et al., 2007). The events of February 2004 represented, then, part of a popular reaction against neo-liberalism, which culminated in the election – after eight years of neo-liberal policies – of a more centre-left coalition government in June 2006.

Three years after these events in Slovakia, in the summer of 2007, 'Poland … witnessed one of the biggest waves of social protests in healthcare in many years' (Czarzasty, 2007) – the so-called 'white protests' – as thousands of Polish nurses and doctors expressed in different ways their own discontent with the neo-liberalization of Poland's health care sector. After weeks of strikes (*Warsaw Voice*, 20 June 2007), a demonstration outside the Prime Minister's chancellery suffered a disproportionate response from the authorities as nurses, doctors and their supporters were attacked

by riot police. Refused a meeting with the Prime Minister, four of the nurses' leaders launched a sit-in of the chancellery and some 1,500 of their supporters camped out in solidarity in nearby Lazienki Park, creating the so-called 'White Village', a 'tent city' with kitchens, lectures, clinics and its own newspaper, which was maintained for over four weeks, with the support of miners, steelworkers and others who shared the nurses' concerns. These protests emerged against a backdrop of repeated strikes and protests (Stenning & Hardy, 2005) through which nurses, in particular, contested ongoing reforms to the health sector. Their particular concerns were 'inadequate financial expenditure on the public healthcare system in general and … insufficient pay levels in particular' (Czarzasty 2007), which their leaders argued resulted from the commercialization of the health service, and the creation of health care funds which introduced internal markets into health care provision. These – and the chronic underfunding which ensued – were, in turn, the result of pressures to reduce government debt, in the hope of Poland's entry into the Eurozone. In contrasting ways, then, the nurses' protests of summer 2007 echoed the earlier contestation of neo-liberalization in Slovakia, and a growing wave of concern about its effects across East Central Europe (ECE).

The key elements of the reforms contested by the Slovak Roma and the Polish health care workers – benefits cuts, attacks on 'dependence', public sector rationalization, fiscal austerity – sit at the heart of the project of neo-liberalism. Indeed, the 'transition' from communism to capitalism in ECE represents perhaps one of the boldest experiments with neo-liberal ideas in the world today, demonstrating vividly the policies and practices associated with this market-led ideology.[1] The project of neo-liberalism (or neo-liberalization), as we discuss in more detail in Chapter Two, rests on a theory of political economy which promotes markets, enterprise and private property, restructures regulation into more limited forms, and reduces the role of the public sector and welfare (Harvey, 2005; Peck & Tickell, 2002; Larner, 2003; J. Clarke, 2004). But it is more than a political-economic project; neo-liberalization is a social project too. It is predicated on a rejection of 'society' and on a promotion of the individual – most particularly, the entrepreneurial self (du Gay, 1996) – and of an idealized notion of the family. Neo-liberalism remakes the familial spaces of the household and of social reproduction as it remakes the economy. In all of these ways, the neo-liberal projects adopted and struggled over around the world have very real and often negative consequences, especially for the poor, the socially excluded and the marginalized (Smith et al., 2008a).

Domesticating Neo-Liberalism examines the remaking of household economic practices and social reproduction in Poland and Slovakia in the context of these neo-liberal transformations. In short, it asks how Polish and Slovak households work to ensure that their basic needs for income, housing,

food and care are met as wider political economies are neo-liberalized. Through this focus, *Domesticating Neo-Liberalism* seeks to understand how the processes of neo-liberalization are promoted, received, lived, negotiated and resisted in Poland and Slovakia.

In order to explore the articulations between everyday economic practices, social reproduction and the construction of neo-liberal worlds, we take inspiration from Creed's (1998) argument that state socialism could only be understood within the context of its *domestication*, as it was negotiated, constituted and made possible through the practices of everyday life and social reproduction. For Creed, domestication involves envisioning 'big' political-economic projects not simply as 'out there' and all-powerful, but as always already particular, domestic, and local phenomena too.

Building on Creed (1998) and others who work with the notion of domestication (see Chapter Three), we intertwine two versions of domestication. On the one hand, we explore the ways in which politicians, academics, think tanks and social institutions at the national, regional and international scales have 'domesticated' the dissemination of neo-liberal policies in Poland and Slovakia in ways which query the idea of neo-liberalism as a singular, top-down political-economic project. This perspective builds on accounts of neo-liberalism that characterize it as a geographically differentiated, locally complex process (invariably called 'neo-liberalization') (Barnett, 2005; Castree, 2006; Harvey, 2005; Larner, 2003; Leitner et al., 2007; Smith et al., 2008; Ward & England, 2007).

On the other hand, we read neo-liberalism as a process that is domesticated not only by the actions of national elites but also by the everyday economic practices of individuals, households and communities. This interpretation follows Creed (1998) more closely and presents domestication as an everyday and ongoing set of practices that at times destabilizes neo-liberalism but at other times articulates the neo-liberal with its others. As a result, domestication entails much more than explicit attempts at resistance, as Creed (1998: 3) explains in the context of socialism:

> By simply doing what they could to improve their difficult circumstances, without any grand design of resistance, villagers forced concessions from central planners and administrators that eventually transformed an oppressive, intrusive system into a tolerable one. In short, through their mundane actions villagers domesticated the socialist revolution.

In *Domesticating Neo-Liberalism*, this second reading itself folds in three key claims. We argue that a focus on the mundane practices of economic life enables a detailed understanding of how neo-liberalism is understood, negotiated, contested and made tolerable in homes, communities

and workplaces; how neo-liberalism is lived in articulation with a host of economic, political and social others; and how those practices are themselves involved in the remaking of neo-liberalism.

Domesticating Neo-Liberalism, then, connects two interrelated concerns. Empirically, we are concerned to document and explain the 'violence of the economy' (Pickles, 2004b; see also Žižek, 2006, 2008) in post-socialist East Central Europe and to build an account of the ways in which Polish and Slovak households have negotiated – or domesticated – the dislocations and exclusions that have emerged since 1989. Conceptually, we seek to employ these analyses of 'domestication' to think again about neo-liberalism in general and its post-socialist form in particular, by considering how neo-liberalism has been made and remade in Poland and Slovakia, at a variety of scales from national policy debates, through the work of think tanks, firms and charities, to the household and individual.

The research for this book took place in 2005 and 2006, before the global economic crisis of 2008/9, which has begun to transform neo-liberalism and the landscape of global economic policy-making in important ways. As we discuss more fully in the concluding chapter, the extent and nature of these transformations and their impact on both national political economies and everyday economic practices in Poland and Slovakia remains an open question.

Post-Socialism

In the Polish and Slovak contexts, which form the focus of *Domesticating Neo-Liberalism*, these analyses of both the particular policy circuits and environments as well as the lived experiences of neo-liberalism demonstrate the importance of both the legacies of socialism and the particular political economies of the post-1989 period. Thus, we also explore the particularities of post-socialist neo-liberalism, seeking to understand the difference that post-socialism makes to the processes of neo-liberalization.

Since the collapse of state socialism, debates about post-socialism have been centred in large part on the discursive power and political economy of neo-liberalism. While the early debates revolved around the distinction between 'shock therapy' and 'gradualism' (Sachs, 1990; Popov, 2000, 2007; see also Chapter Two), the perceived 'failure' of the state to effectively manage political-economic life refracted earlier concerns over state intervention and the likelihood for some that it would lead to a 'road to serfdom' (Hayek, 1994; for a critical review, see Peck, 2008). Different models of economic transformation emerged across the region, but each was committed in various ways to neo-liberalism: to the primacy of market relations; to the establishment of the social relations of capitalism based

on private production, appropriation and redistribution of the economic and social surplus; to re-configurations of property ownership relations and class power; to a transformation of the state in the support of the development of market economies and capitalist social relations; and to the establishment of an ethic and subjectivity of individual responsibility. This 'transition culture' (Kennedy, 2002) left little space for debate or for alternatives. Policy prescriptions were frequently teleological, modernizing and reductionist (see Chapter Two) and placed an overwhelming emphasis on the changes that needed to be implemented for the post-socialist states to reach the 'standards and performance norms of advanced industrial economies' (EBRD, 1996: 11–12; see also Smith, 2002b; Stenning & Bradshaw, 1999). To meet these norms, four 'pillars' were identified – privatization, stabilization, liberalization and internationalization – whose correct and successful implementation would lead, it was argued, to the emergence of a market economy. This orthodox prescription sits within the wider notion of the 'Washington Consensus' (Williamson, 1990; Stiglitz, 2002), derived from the policies of international financial institutions, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). In these ways, the 'transition to capitalism' in ECE has been experienced as a thoroughly neo-liberalizing process. However, as we explore here in detail, the neo-liberal transition has been articulated with a host of 'others', economic and social relations which were not reducible to the market but were connected to it in complex ways (Smith & Stenning, 2006; Smith & Rochovská, 2007).

As the 1990s progressed, and as the policy focus shifted away from establishing the building blocks of market capitalism across the region, the possibility of wider geo-political and geo-economic integration with the European Union (EU) further consolidated a commitment to the primacy of capitalist and neo-liberal social relations (Gowan, 1995; Rainnie et al., 2002a; Smith, 2002b). The EU had, of course, by this time – following the introduction of the single currency, the extension of the single market and the Lisbon agenda on competitiveness – become thoroughly committed to a neo-liberal framework, despite the attempt to balance this with a continuing commitment to social cohesion. The prospect of EU membership and the imposition of the *aquis communautaire* (the European Community's complete legislative framework) enabled a process of West–East policy transfer. In this way, policies to secure the primacy of the market and the legal basis for competition policy were adopted across the candidate countries as the basis for approval of their accession to the Union. Such was the power of this discursive and material framing of neo-liberal transformation in the run-up to EU enlargement that several commentators argued that accession represented the effective end of 'post-socialism' as the

countries of the region became 'normalized' into the European family of nations (for a critique, see Stenning & Hörschelmann, 2008).

The notion of domestication, and the attention we draw to other sets of social relations that articulate with neo-liberalism, echo a conceptualization of post-socialism which is marked by a diversity of social forms, by continuity and change, and by an appreciation of the ways in which 'actually existing' state socialism continues to reverberate through the cultural and political economy of ECE (Stenning & Hörschelmann, 2008). As Hann et al. (2002: 10) suggest, 'the everyday moral communities of socialism have been undermined but not replaced', such that the experiences of post-socialism continue to be distinctively shaped by 'the socialist past and narratives of the past' (Hemment, 2003). The narratives and legacies of the past – including those that hark back to the era before socialism – articulate with contemporary processes of globalization and neo-liberalization. They do so in their particular incarnation as 'transition', but also in their other more universal manifestations, with the passage of European Union enlargement and with wider experiences of restructuring and development, with which post-socialism shares both discursive and material features (Pickles & Smith, 1998; Stenning & Bradshaw, 1999).

Everyday Life in Post-Socialist Poland and Slovakia

As this account of post-socialist transformation suggests, the collapse of communism in ECE in 1989 heralded a set of political, economic, social and cultural transformations which radically remade the landscapes of everyday life. In the spheres of work and labour markets, home and housing, community and social networks, and consumption, amongst others, the lives of post-socialist citizens shifted dramatically. These everyday transformations have attracted increasing attention in studies of post-socialism, as geographers, sociologists and anthropologists seek to document and understand the lived experiences of post-1989 transformations (Burawoy & Verdery, 1999; Bridger & Pine, 1998; Shevchenko, 2009). In part this reflects a renewed interest in the everyday across the social sciences (Bennett & Watson, 2002; Moran, 2005; see also Chapter Three), but it also reflects the particularities of post-socialism. Not only was the 'transition to capitalism' in East Central Europe and the former Soviet Union one of the boldest projects of social, political and economic reform of recent times, but the very nature of the political economy of state socialism meant that many of the spheres of everyday life were particularly interconnected, and thus their transformation particularly complex.

Domesticating Neo-Liberalism focuses on the spheres of work, housing, food, and care, all of which have been dramatically transformed in the years

since 1989. In the sphere of work, redundancy and unemployment have been coupled with the emergence of new forms of work in new sectors of the economy, and with the remaking of pay and conditions across the labour market. In housing, the rapid development of markets has promoted owner occupation, and has fed the construction of new forms of residential space, the stigmatization of socialized housing and the polarization of housing outcomes. Through the home, housing transformations have been connected to wider transformations in relationships and family life, as marital, sexual and domestic politics have shifted, and phenomena such as alcoholism, homelessness and depression have grown and/or become more visible. These shifts themselves have remade social networks, communities, and institutions, positively and negatively, as some have been eroded by poverty and inequality and others have emerged from new opportunities and new connections. Rising poverty and inequality have also structured access to post-socialist spheres of consumption, marked above all by the diversification of retail provision as large transnational corporations enter the market alongside a multiplication of domestic retailers, marking out a complex geography of provision.

Together, these transformations have radically remade the everyday lives of post-socialist citizens and their geographies. The complexity of these everyday transformations has been increasingly recognized,[2] but much of this work has focused on the question of 'survival strategies'. In *Domesticating Neo-Liberalism*, as we discuss in more detail in Chapter Three, we shift the focus away from survival towards social reproduction. The focus on survival strategies, we argue, delimits the breadth and complexity of household economic practices; it suggests that such practices are responsive acts, constructed in conditions of austerity to achieve survival, rejecting the possibility that such practices may be planned, creative, rooted in family and community cultures, and oriented towards pleasure, thriving and flourishing. In focusing instead on social reproduction, we echo the necessity of economy – that is, as Lee (2006) has argued, economic practices must be 'life-sustaining' – but expand our focus to reflect a recognition that social reproduction demands the satisfaction of more than material basic needs, to include care, comfort, pleasure and community.

One of the concerns, however, that the literature on survival strategies does highlight is that of growing poverty in post-socialism. While poverty was relatively 'hidden' prior to the collapse of state socialism (Golinowska, 2000; Tarkowska, 1999), in many of the new EU member states levels of poverty (defined in relation to the standard of 60% of national median income) remain close to, or above, the EU average (Table 1.1). Poland stands out as having among the highest levels of poverty and the geography of poverty at the sub-national level in both Poland and Slovakia is very uneven, with many geographically concentrated 'pockets' of immiserised peoples (Michálek 2004, 2005; Rochovská, 2004; Kusá & Džambazovič, 2006;

Table 1.1 Poverty risk in East Central Europe (% of households below 60% of median income)

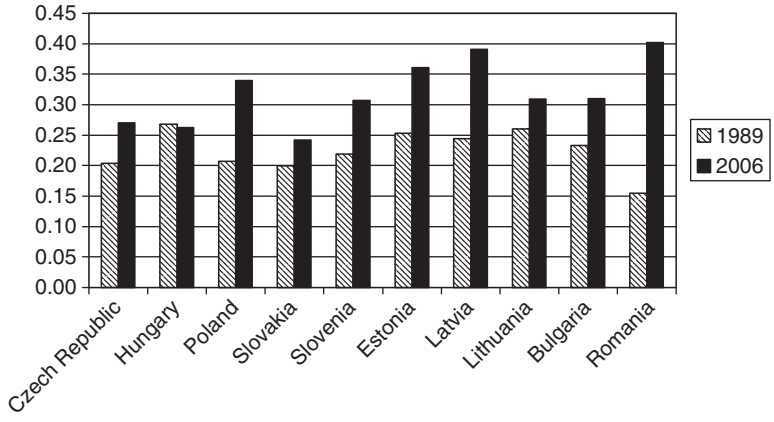
	Risk of poverty after social transfers	*Risk of poverty before social transfers*	*Risk of poverty for those in work*
EU25	16	23	8
EU15	16	22	7
Bulgaria	14	–	–
Czech Republic	10	16	3
Estonia	18	28	8
Latvia	23	35	11
Lithuania	20	30	10
Hungary	16	25	7
Poland	19	28	13
Romania	19	–	–
Slovenia	12	15	5
Slovakia	12	18	6

Source: Extracted from Eurostat online database 2007

Džambazovič, 2007; Tarkowska, 1999; Warzywoda-Kruszyńska, 1999). In both Poland and Slovakia, high concentrations of poverty are found in rural regions dominated by former state and collective farms, on the eastern and western borders, and in urban regions experiencing industrial decline (Danglová, 1998; Smith, 1998; Stenning et al., 2007; Stenning, 2005a).

Patterns of poverty are uneven not only spatially but also socially. In institutional (Alam et al., 2005) and academic accounts of poverty in post-socialism, the most vulnerable groups are regularly identified as children and young people, women, pensioners, minority ethnic households, those living in households headed by people out of work (as a result of unemployment, disability or ill-health) and by those with low levels of education. Yet whilst poverty levels amongst many of these groups are disturbingly high, increasingly large numbers of those living in poverty fit none of these categories; these are the working poor – a new phenomenon in ECE (which we explore in more detail in Chapter Four).

The costs of 'transition' can be measured not only in rising poverty, but also in increasing inequality. Before 1989, many of the countries of ECE (and the former Soviet Union) recorded some of the lowest levels of income inequality in the world. Since 1989, however, indicators suggest that there has been a rapid increase in inequality (see Figure 1.1).[3] This rising income inequality is a result partly of 'top-end' shifts as the decompression of wages, the rewarding of entrepreneurship, the appearance of some well-paid jobs



Notes : 2005 data: Czech Republic, Estonia; 2004 data: Latvia, Lithuania

Figure 1.1 Income inequality in Central and Eastern Europe, 1989 and 2006 (Gini coefficient)
Source: Elaborated from UNICEF TRANSMONEE database

in global corporations and the 'windfalls' of post-socialist privatizations enable the emergence of the wealthy and even 'super-rich' in ECE. However, it is the simultaneous negative shifts at the 'bottom' end of the income continuum which account for most of the polarization of income; job loss, wage decline and arrears, and the reliance of some on informal labour markets have led to marked impoverishment for many. Income inequality is, moreover, reinforced by the erosion of other material assets (such as housing, land and equipment), by the poverty of social networks, by the absence of opportunity (for work, education, consumption and leisure), and by exclusion from mainstream spaces and institutions. Inequalities reflect asymmetries of both economic and socio-cultural power and draw attention to the ways in which the neo-liberal commitment to individualized responsibility both rests on and remakes gender, class, generation, and ethnicity.[4]

The uneven experience of post-socialist neo-liberalization suggests that the domestication of post-1989 transformations will play out in particular ways in large cities. Much of the research on poverty and inequality in post-socialism has been focused on marginal, rural regions, and has avoided serious analyses of these issues in diverse, dynamic urban centres. As the emergence of in-work poverty suggests, however, these are important issues in large urban spaces too. Although poverty in cities tends to remain hidden within the overall context of economic growth, inequality has become increasingly visible as employment, income and access to work have become more and more polarized, not least because cities have been at the forefront of post-socialist transformations (Andrusz et al., 1996; Bodnár, 2001; Stenning,

2004). This centrality is connected to positive transformations, such as high rates of economic growth, low levels of unemployment, and increasingly diversified economies (in production and consumption), at least until the 2008 economic crisis. But these positive indicators are also suggestive of rapid transformation – and thus the need for adaptation and negotiation – and conceal the uneven development of post-socialism. These questions become all the more acute when the focus shifts away from the globalized city centres towards the peripheral, state socialist housing estates where the majority of post-socialist urban populations live. These large estates became an essential element of the housing system and urban fabric of societies in ECE, home to largely in-migrating populations of relatively young families, often with roots in rural society. During state socialism, as we discuss in more detail in Chapter Five, the estates tended to be socially mixed, housing both working- and middle-class households, but since the collapse of communism there has been an expectation that they would become increasingly divided, echoing patterns in Western European cities (Sýkora, 2000). *Domesticating Neo-Liberalism* interrogates this idea in detail, focusing as it does on the remaking of everyday life in such districts since 1989.

Transforming Post-Socialist Cities and Neighbourhoods: Kraków and Bratislava

The empirical focus of this book, then, is the everyday economic practices of individuals, households and communities in two districts in two large cities: Nowa Huta in Kraków, Poland, and Petržalka in Bratislava, Slovakia. By focusing on these two districts in two cities in two countries, we examine the differentiated practices of domesticating neo-liberalism at a variety of scales, attentive to the specificities of place and to articulations with wider urban, national and international cultures and political economies. In this context, the comparison between Poland and Slovakia is not the book's primary analytic; instead we seek to explore the many ways in which geography makes a difference, from the scale of the household, through the housing block and neighbourhood, to the city and beyond. As we discuss in Chapter Three, the idea of practices and the concept of domestication explicitly focus on the weaving together of places and scales in the everyday. Our research design, explored below, was constructed explicitly to enable us to develop each of these comparative aspects and was structured in and around certain neighbourhoods in the two districts in the two cities. Because the particular geographies of our case studies are critical to understanding the differential experiences of post-socialist neo-liberalization, and its domestication, what follows provides an introduction to the cities, districts and neighbourhoods.

Bratislava and Kraków

In many ways, Bratislava and Kraków represent some fairly typical post-socialist urban transformations. Both cities have been radically remade since 1989 and are now fully inserted into global circuits of capital, travel, culture and politics. Beyond the visible symbols of capitalism, ubiquitous not only in their city centres but in their neighbourhoods too, the two cities' economies have been liberalized and internationalized, with impacts on patterns of ownership, on the shape of local labour markets, and on patterns and levels of growth in the economy. As a result of both Bratislava and Kraków being at the heart of their countries' economic dynamism, unemployment rates stood at just 2% and 7% respectively in 2007, compared to national rates of between 8% and 11%.[5] Alongside the restructuring of labour markets, the cities have experienced significant housing market transformations (Chapter Five) and expanded and increasingly differentiated retail provision (Chapter Six; see also Stenning et al., 2009), which have added to the costs of living for households and individuals within both cities. Kraków and Bratislava are increasingly recognized as high-cost cities; in 2006, Bratislava was ranked higher than Prague, Warsaw and Budapest in an index of city living costs[6] and Kraków was identified as having the highest increase in property prices in Europe (Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors, 2007). In this context, as in other large post-socialist cities, labour market segmentation, the emergence of 'bad jobs' (which offer low pay and insecure conditions) and rising living costs raise critical questions about the connection between employment, a living wage and the ability to secure household social reproduction.

For all their similarities, however, Bratislava and Kraków have distinct histories and geographies, which play a significant role in shaping their contemporary economies. Kraków was capital of Poland from 1038 to 1596, when the seat of the Polish monarchs was moved to Warsaw (Carter, 1994). It remained a key city throughout Poland's early modern and modern history, even during the Partitions (1772–1918), when Poland was occupied by the Prussians, Russians and Austrians and disappeared as a territorial entity from the map of Europe. Indeed, from 1815 to 1846, Kraków was established as a free city by the Congress of Vienna and became a hub both of Polish intellectual and political life and of economic liberalism. During this period, and under the later Grand Duchy of Kraków when the city continued to be afforded more economic, political and cultural freedom than the rest of occupied Poland, Kraków attracted traders, immigrants, entrepreneurs, artists and activists from across the occupied territories. In all this time, Kraków was also the capital of the wider region, Małopolska (or Little Poland). As a result of this history, the city is endowed with a range of historic national monuments and a wealth of cultural, architectural,

and intellectual resources. It also inherited, on independence in 1918, an economy largely oriented to trade and science, rather than to industry. Although some industries did exist in pre-war Kraków (including, for example, tobacco, pharmaceuticals and confectionary), the major dynamic of industrial growth in the city was the construction of socialism after World War II, and in particular the establishment of the Lenin Steelworks and Nowa Huta, to the east of the historic city centre (Hardy and Rainnie, 1996; Pounds et al., 1985). In some ways, this phase of industrial development can be seen as a detour in Kraków's economic history; since 1989, the focus of much economic activity has returned to historic spheres, incarnated in post-socialism through an expansion of tourism, a boom in retail and commercial services, and high levels of foreign investment in high-tech sectors (such as software engineering) and in research and development. In 2008, Kraków overtook Łódź to become Poland's second largest city,[7] with a population of 756,441,[8] and a total of approximately 1,200,000 in the conurbation as a whole (OECD, 2008b: 51).

During the majority of the twentieth century, Bratislava occupied a key role in both Czechoslovakia and as capital of the independent Slovak Republic during the Second World War, returning to that role following the division of Czechoslovakia in 1993. Prior to this, Pressburg, as Bratislava was then known (or Pozsony in Hungarian), was the capital of the Hungarian monarchy between the 1500s and 1783 when – following Turkish invasion of the Hungarian Empire – the capital city was relocated there. As such, despite its relatively small size for a capital city (the current population is nearly 430,000), the city has been a political, economic and cultural centre for many centuries and continues to play a key role as the political and economic core of today's independent Slovakia. The economic dominance of the Slovak capital is underlined by the fact that its GDP per capita placed it in 2006 at 149% of the EU27 average, among the highest for the new EU Member States (see also Dunford & Smith, 2000).[9] The sectorally diverse nature of the city's economy has been underlined by the growth of tertiary sectors over the past 15 years, particularly in finance and information technology-related activity (see Chapter Four), and Bratislava has become home to the headquarters of many of the country's foreign investors. Industrial activity remains important; its overall significance has declined relatively, but major foreign investment projects in the automotive sector, centred on Volkswagen, as well as the major oil refinery Slovnaft, are based in the city and remain key employers (Sokol, 2007). Alongside industrial and service sector activity, Bratislava's centrality in political and administrative structures also means that employment in central government and public administration is important. The city boasts five major higher education institutions and large parts of the population have high levels of educational attainment. In addition to these features, Bratislava has also seen its

geographical location become a major factor in the city's transformation over the past 20 years. It is the only capital city to border another state (Austria) and Bratislava is only 60 km from Vienna, with both cities being considered as part of the 'golden triangle' of Vienna–Bratislava–Györ (Smith, 1998). This location has meant that Bratislava has been the main regional focus for foreign investment in Slovakia, with 68% of FDI located in the city region in 2007,[10] and significant pressure for land, property and commercial development has resulted, as we discuss in later chapters.

Nowa Huta and Petržalka

Within these cities, patterns of economic transformation have been differentiated, as the processes of post-socialist transformation have played out unevenly in homes and communities. The focus of this book is on two particular districts of Kraków and Bratislava – Nowa Huta and Petržalka (Figures 1.2 and 1.3). Petržalka is one of 17 urban districts of Bratislava and Nowa Huta comprises five of Kraków's 18 urban districts (Nowa Huta, Bieńczyce, Mistrzejowice, Czyżyny and Wzgórza Krzesławickie). Petržalka is the largest district of Bratislava in terms of both its area and population and, like Nowa Huta, is one of the largest housing estates in Central Europe. In 2005, Petržalka was home to 115,000 residents, comprising 27% of the population of the capital. Nowa Huta houses 220,000 people, a similar proportion of Kraków's population. The two districts are located on the periphery of their respective cities and were largely constructed at the height of state socialist urbanization. However, notwithstanding their commonalities, Nowa Huta and Petržalka possessed different starting points in their experience of post-socialist transformation. Petržalka forms part of the diverse urban economy of a capital city, characterized by a range of employment opportunities across different economic sectors. Nowa Huta, by contrast, was constructed on the edge of Kraków to serve a single workplace (the Lenin Steelworks), locked into the industrial economy but closely connected to the persistent peasant economy. Both districts are currently experiencing a re-articulation of their relationship with the wider cities in which they are located.

Nowa Huta was created as a settlement primarily housing workers for the newly built steelworks from the late 1940s (Stenning, 2000). The first three- and four-storey brick-built blocks of flats were constructed in 1949 on the area of three villages – Mogiła, Pleszów and Krzesławice. Initially the district provided accommodation for construction workers employed to build the then Lenin Steelworks, who migrated from mainly rural and old industrial areas of Poland. As late as 1970, 74% of Nowa Huta's population were of 'peasant' origin (Stenning, 2000). Once the steelworks opened, Nowa

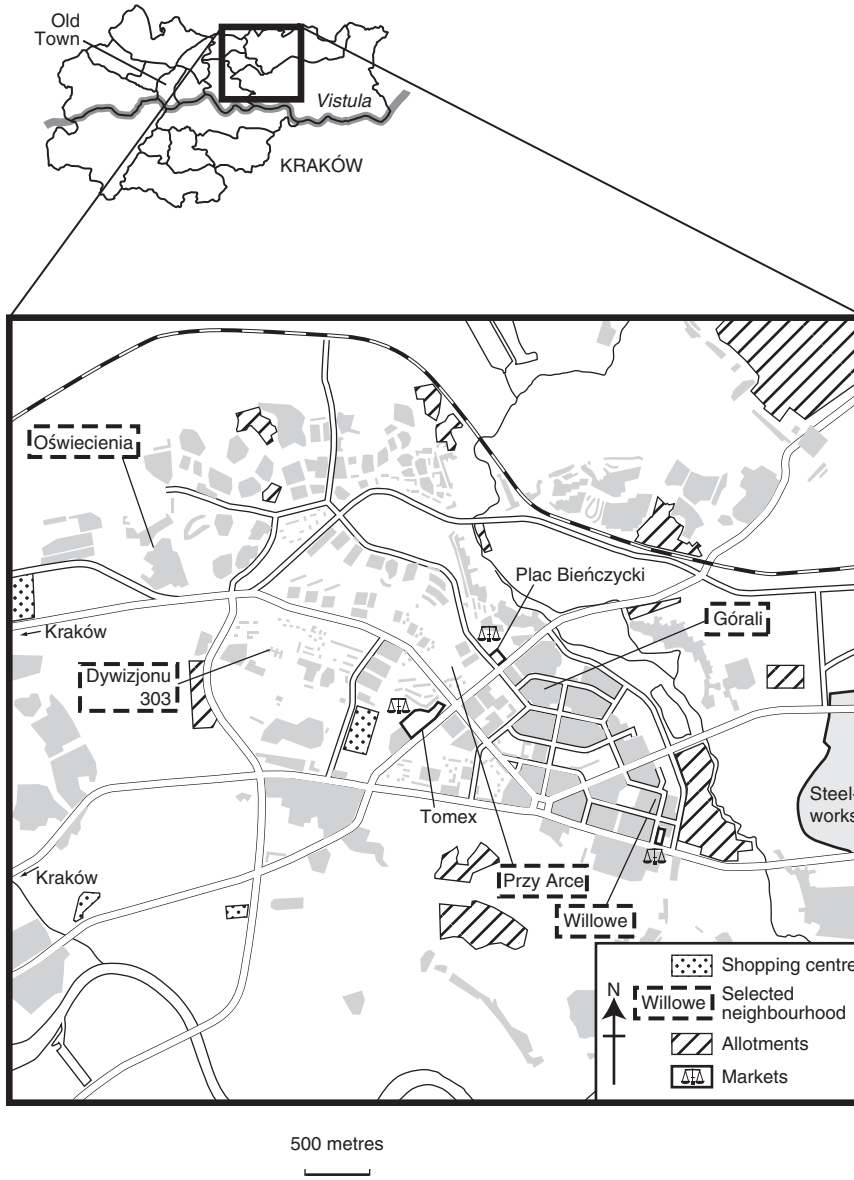


Figure 1.2 Map of Nowa Huta

Huta provided accommodation for new workers and increasing demand for accommodation, particularly in the 1960s, led to a further expansion of Nowa Huta towards the north and the villages of Bieńczyce and Mistrzejowice (Table 1.2). A third phase of development rested on the introduction of

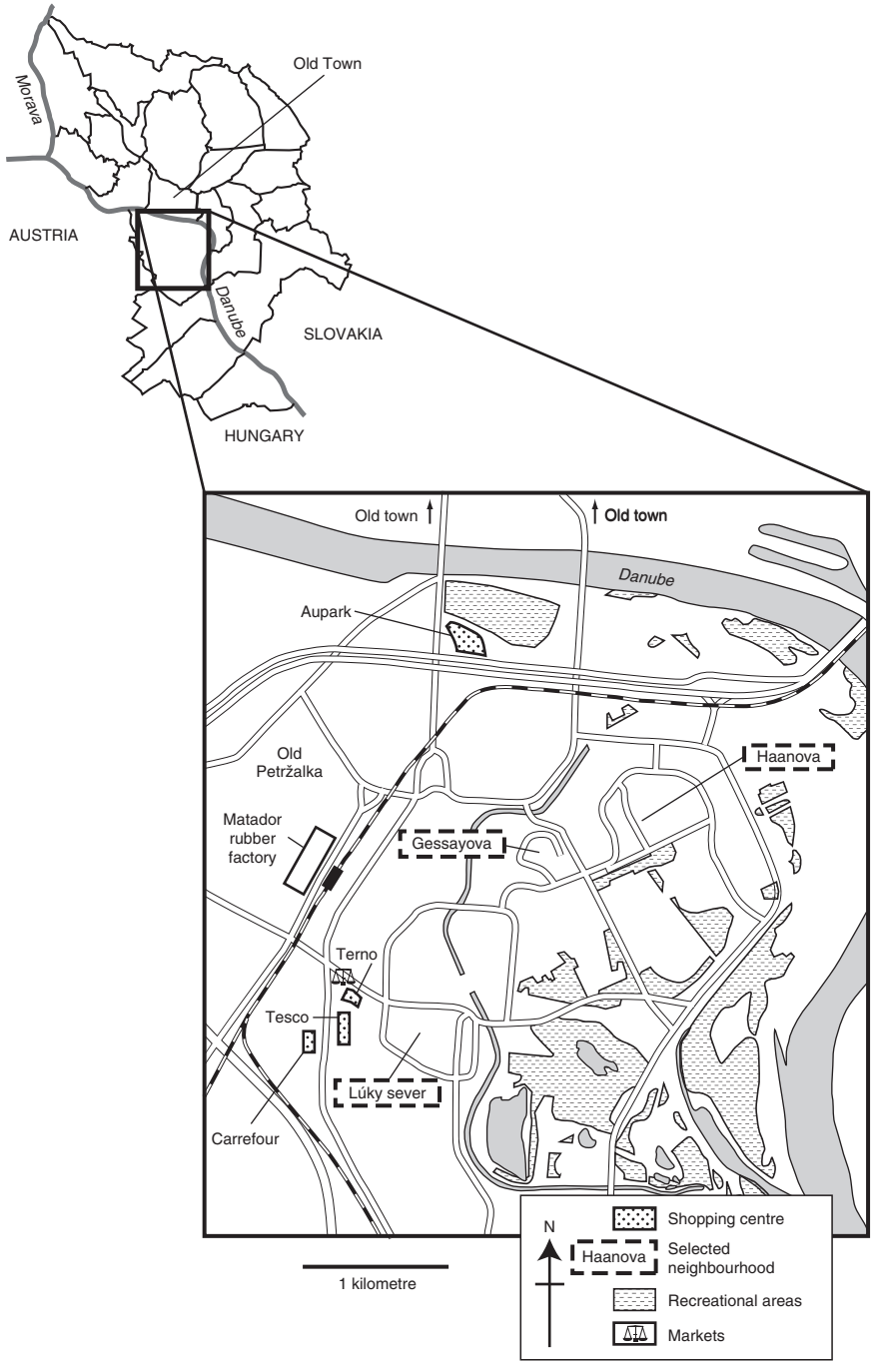


Figure 1.3 Map of Petržalka

Table 1.2 Population of Nowa Huta, Kraków and Poland, 1950–2002

	1950	*1960*	*1970*	*1978*	*1988*	*2002*
Poland	25,008,000	29,776,000	32,642,000	35,061,000	37,879,000	38,218,531
Kraków	343,600	481,300	588,000	693,600	746,600	738,544
Nowa Huta	18,800	101,900	164,548	207,467	222,558	216,027

Source: Polish National Censuses 1950, 1960, 1970, 1978, 1988, 2002 (NB: figures for some years are rounded)

panel-built high-rise blocks, which were still under construction until the late 1990s. Nowa Huta was originally planned for 100,000 residents but between 1950 and 1985 the population of Nowa Huta actually increased to 223,000, and growth there accounted for much of Kraków's overall demographic and territorial growth (Soja, 1990). Nowa Huta's population was, for many years, younger, more male, less educated, and more dependent on industrial employment than the rest of Kraków, but demographic and economic shifts since 1989, in particular, have narrowed the gap. The Lenin Steelworks employed over 40,000 workers at their height, the majority of whom lived in Nowa Huta, and, like many major industrial enterprises under socialism, the steelworks supported a range of social and cultural facilities in the town (B. Domański, 1997; Stenning, 2000). The rhythm of life in Nowa Huta was shaped by the rhythms of the steelworks and many were drawn to the new town in search of the work that might offer stability and security for their families (Stenning, 2005c). There were, however, other important employers, including not only the extensive public sector (health, education, administration) but also other industrial enterprises, such as ZPT Kraków, a major cigarette factory now owned by Philip Morris (Hardy & Rainnie, 1996).

Petržalka, by contrast, was for many centuries an independent, rural settlement outside of the city of Bratislava, and divided from the main city by the natural boundary of the Danube River to its north and east. Similarly to Nowa Huta, but some 20 years later, the rural character of Petržalka was dramatically transformed by the construction of low- and high-rise housing blocks, resulting in a dramatic growth of population (Table 1.3) (for further details, see Mládek, 1994, and Mládek et al., 1998). In the same way as Nowa Huta, Petržalka was established to provide mass housing for workers to meet burgeoning labour requirements in the city. But unlike Nowa Huta, Petržalka provided worker housing for a much wider employment base – the diverse economy of what became a capital city region. The construction of Petržalka was (like Nowa Huta and other Central European cities) designed to try to deal with the significant under-investment in housing under state socialism, what Szelényi (1983) has called under-urbanization. Between the

Table 1.3 Population of Petržalka, Bratislava and Slovakia, 1950–2001

	1950	*1961*	*1970*	*1980*	*1991*	*2001*
Slovakia	3,486,000	4,174,046	4,537,290	4,991,168	5,274,335	5,379,455
Bratislava	209,397	241,796	305,932	380,259	442,197	428,672
Petržalka	15,966	12,666	14,056	48,755	128,251	117,227

Source: Slovak National Censuses 1950, 1960, 1970, 1978, 1988, 2002

1970s and 1980s, 36,498 flats were built, and the resident population increased to nearly 130,000, largely as a result of significant in-migration from elsewhere in Bratislava, but also from across what was then Czechoslovakia. The new residents were generally characterized as having a high level of economic activity, good levels of education and qualifications (more than half of inhabitants had secondary- and university-level education), and a relatively young age structure (70% of residents were in economically active age groups and only 5% were in 'post-productive' age groups). Through this process of urban development Petržalka has been transformed into a high-density urban district, with a relatively young population, many of whom commute to work in other parts of Bratislava. This has created a distinct set of transport, employment and social connections with the wider city and partially limited the development of social and retail infrastructure within the district itself (Miškolci & Mládek, 1994; Mládek, 1994; Mládek et al., 1998).

While both Nowa Huta and Petržalka saw different periods of population growth – the main periods of expansion occurring about 20 years earlier in Nowa Huta – both districts continued to see a growth in population until the last decade of twentieth century, when the first signs of population loss were evident (the population of Petržalka reduced by 11,000 and that of Nowa Huta by 6,500) (Tables 1.2 and 1.3). Both districts are also witnessing an overall ageing of the population and these demographic shifts have taken place alongside wider social and economic developments. These are documented in more detail in Chapters Four to Seven, but recent years have seen a diversification of land use and population in both Nowa Huta and Petržalka. In Petržalka, the 1990s saw a dynamic construction boom with development of new, private housing blocks, office space, shopping centres and hypermarkets. Once known as the dormitory housing estate for the wider city of Bratislava, Petržalka has today been transformed into a much more multi-functional space. Petržalka's location as part of the capital city and its proximity to the border with Austria have meant that pressures for growth have been somewhat more significant than in Nowa Huta, but Kraków's booming economy – and available space – have fed major changes in Nowa Huta too. Many new hypermarkets have been

Table 1.4 'Risk of poverty' and social exclusion in Nowa Huta and Petržalka

		Below 60% median	*61–100% median*	*101–140% median*	*Above 140% median*
% of survey households by median income category	Nowa Huta	10	18	25	48
	Petržalka	15	36	19	30

Note: Rounded figures may add up to more than 100
Source: Household survey

constructed in Nowa Huta and vast new estates of private housing have also been developed. Much of this development has taken place on Nowa Huta's western and north-western edges, eroding the belt of land which lay undeveloped between Nowa Huta and Kraków for 50 years.

The social situation of households and poverty in Nowa Huta and Petržalka

In Chapters Four to Seven we focus on the range of social and economic practices developed and adopted by individuals and households in Nowa Huta and Petržalka. These attempts to sustain social reproduction in neo-liberalizing cities are, of course, situated in a context of increasing poverty and inequality in the two districts as the uneven social and economic transformations impact on resident households. Using equivalized household per capita income relative to regional median income levels, 10% of surveyed households in Nowa Huta and 15% of those in Petržalka fell below the 'at risk of poverty' level (Table 1.4).[11] In total, 28% of surveyed households in Nowa Huta and 51% of those in Petržalka received incomes placing them below the regional median income. At the same time, over 40% of surveyed households in Nowa Huta and 30% of Petržalka households received incomes placing them above 140% of the median, reflecting the growing polarization of household income in the two cities.

Looking at overall household structure and levels of social exclusion in Nowa Huta, approximately half of adult-only households (one adult, 44%; two adults, 55%) were concentrated in the highest income category of 140% of the median income, while the worst income situation was found in single-parent households, with 60% of these surveyed households falling below 60% of the median income, echoing national patterns. The proportion of surveyed households which were 'at risk' of poverty was much lower for

households without children. Levels of educational attainment were also very closely connected to risk of poverty: households comprised of university graduates were far more likely to appear in the wealthier categories and those with a basic education or less were concentrated in the very low income category.

In Petržalka, there was a clear connection between the likelihood of surveyed households being at risk of poverty and the number of children present: 36% of surveyed households without children were found below the median income, whilst 79% of surveyed households with children were below this level. The proportion of surveyed households which were 'at risk' of poverty was much lower for households without children. For example, around 40% of all surveyed households with just one or two adult members were concentrated in the highest income category. All single-parent households with children were below the median income. For households with children, higher levels of poverty risk were found in households with younger children; older dependent children were likely to be university-level students, who may also have been working and contributing to household income. There was also a positive relationship between education level and the extent of 'risk of poverty' among households: surveyed individuals with higher education were more likely to be living in households with the highest incomes.

Neighbourhoods

Within Nowa Huta and Petržalka, *Domesticating Neo-Liberalism* focuses on the economic practices and social reproduction of households in particular neighbourhoods chosen to reflect a range of socio-economic characteristics and to enable us to capture the diversity of economic life. Neighbourhoods were selected on the basis of a range of criteria, including relative levels of poverty and social exclusion (judged from preliminary analysis of census data in Petržalka, data on housing debt in Nowa Huta and detailed field observation), location and accessibility in relation to the main city, period of construction and types of blocks. In choosing the neighbourhoods in each community, we also considered issues such as the history of the neighbourhood, flat and block size, as well as proximity to markets, allotment gardens and public transport. Within each neighbourhood, individual housing blocks – which were the primary unit through which we accessed respondents – were again chosen to reflect the range of socio-economic situations, including levels of poverty, block size, and demographic composition (see Tables 1.5 and 1.6).

Petržalka is divided into 24 main neighbourhoods. The three neighbourhoods that were selected for this research each have a similar population

Table 1.5 Surveyed neighbourhoods in Nowa Huta

	Nowa Huta			*Willowe/Górali*		*Przy Arce*		*Dywizjonu 303*		*Oświecenia*	
	2002 census	*Survey*	*%*	*Survey*	*%*	*Survey*	*%*	*Survey*	*%*	*Survey*	*%*
Population	216027	611		147		139		155		170	
Economically active	140411 (65.0%)	304	50	60	41	72	52	75	48	97	57
Unemployment rate	18.3	42	14	19	32	12	17	3	4	8	8
% with university education	11.3	101	4	6	4	18	13	36	23	41	24
Period of construction				1947–1950		late 1960s		1970s		1970s/80s/90s	
Type of construction				Brick built, mostly low-storey. Smaller apartments		Large panel-built blocks, 8–12 storey with multiple stairways		Large panel-built blocks, 8–12 storey with multiple stairways		Large, multi-storey blocks, some single-family homes	
Location				'Old' Nowa Huta, closer to steelworks		Good communications, close to major markets		Closer to Krakow and close to major markets/ hypermarkets		Closer to Kraków, further from steelworks, good communications and close to major hypermarkets	

Source: Polish National Census, 2002; field observations and household survey

Table 1.6 Surveyed neighbourhoods in Petržalka

	Petržalka	*Gessayova*			*Haanova*			*Lúky-sever*		
	2001 census	*2001 census*	*Survey*	*%*	*2001 census*	*Survey*	*%*	*2001 census*	*Survey*	*%*
Population	117,227	4,548	140		4,532	183		5,361	183	
Economically active	71,127 (61%)	2,755 (61%)	91	65	2,976 (65.7%)	117	64	3,312 (61.8%)	118	65
Unemployment rate	10.6	12.2	9	10	10.1	8	7	11.4	24	20
% with university education	16.7	14.2	20	14	18.9	24	13	16.0	25	14
Period of construction		1971–80			1971–80			1981–90		
Type of construction		Single, wall-like 12-storey block			Many 4-storey blocks			Mixed		
Location		Close to the city centre			Close to the city centre			Quite distant from the city centre		

Source: Slovak census, 2001, field observations and household survey

Plate 1.1 Haanova, Petržalka

size, but reflect a range of social status positions. The **Haanova** neighbourhood, with a population just over 4,500, is located close to the city centre, just south of the River Danube, and has the most positive social characteristics among the three neighbourhoods in Petržalka (Plate 1.1). Unemployment rates were the lowest among all neighbourhoods in the district (10%)[12] and the proportion of the population with a university degree was 19%, which was the highest level for the whole of Petržalka. Haanova was one of the earliest developments of Petržalka in the 1970s and is dominated by smaller, four-storey blocks, which have more green space between them than in other parts of the district. Haanova is also close to the centre of Petržalka with good public transport connections.

The **Gessayova** neighbourhood, by contrast, is an area with a much poorer social structure (Plate 1.2). Like Haanova, Gessayova is located close to the city centre, and has a population of just over 4,500, but the built form and the social characteristics of the neighbourhood are very different. The unemployment rate was among the highest for Petržalka (12%); the area had the lowest proportion of population with university education (14%); and a relatively large young population (the highest in Petržalka at 12% of the total population of the neighbourhood). The neighbourhood

Plate 1.2 Gessayova, Petržalka

comprises a single, wall-like 12-storey block of apartments, a large proportion of which are small, one-bedroom flats that have experienced some rapid changes in ownership.

The **Lúky-sever** neighbourhood was selected as an 'average' Petržalka neighbourhood incorporating a range of both middle-status and poorer residents (Plate 1.3). The population in the neighbourhood was almost 5,400 and the unemployment rate was 11%. The housing structure consists mainly of blocks typically ranging from four to twelve floors, with the majority being eight-storey buildings. Lúky-sever is located further from the city centre and, like many neighbourhoods to the south of Petržalka, was built most recently (between 1981 and 1990). It is closest to the main centre of hypermarket development on the western arterial road of Petržalka and one of the main outdoor markets is very close.

In similar ways to Petržalka, the four neighbourhoods (*osiedla* in Polish) in Nowa Huta represent contrasting socio-economic fortunes. Osiedle **Willowe** and Osiedle **Górali** are two neighbourhoods located in so-called old Nowa Huta (Plates 1.4 and 1.5). Willowe is one of the two oldest neighbourhoods, located at the easternmost edge of Nowa Huta and constructed in the late 1940s for the first workers who were employed to build the steelworks. It

Plate 1.3 Lúky-sever, Petržalka

Plate 1.4 Osiedle Willowe, Nowa Huta

Plate 1.5 Osiedle Górali, Nowa Huta

consists of small brick-built blocks (three or four storeys) built around playgrounds and other green space, and is adjacent to Nowa Huta's two major allotments sites. The population is around 2,000 to 2,500, living in approximately 30 blocks and smaller (one- or two-room) flats predominate. The population here is older than the Nowa Huta average, with many resident since the 1950s. Not only does that mean that fewer are economically active, but also that social networks are more deeply rooted. Because of the smaller apartment size, households tend to be smaller. **Górali** is located fairly centrally, on the northern edge of old Nowa Huta, close to the first post-1960 developments. It is home to some of Nowa Huta's key cultural institutions (including Ośrodek Kultury im. Norwida, which leads the Partnerstwo Inicjatyw Nowohuckich [Partnership of Initiatives for Nowa Huta] and managed the EU-funded EQUAL project Nowa Huta Nowa Szansa). The neighbourhood dates from the late 1950s and has a mix of smaller blocks built around courtyards and a few taller (though not high-rise) blocks. Much of the area is slightly more run down than other parts of old Nowa Huta, and one part of the neighbourhood is home to a 'blok interwencyjny' (intervention block) which houses some particularly poor families. There is also a soup kitchen within the neighbourhood, but this serves people from beyond Górali too.

Plate 1.6 Osiedle Przy Arce, Nowa Huta

Osiedle **Przy Arce** is located in the geographical centre of Nowa Huta (Plate 1.6). It is a neighbourhood of large housing blocks dating from the late 1960s and is adjacent to Nowa Huta's first church (Arka Pana), from which it takes its name. There are about 20 blocks in total in the neighbourhood, two of which are so-called *mrówkowiec*,[13] and it has a total population of over 5,000. Przy Arce is a fairly 'average' neighbourhood in terms of its social and economic status, but the size of the blocks and the location mark it out as more unusual. The church, Arka Pana, was the centre of 'underground' activity during the Solidarity and martial law years and was the focus of a network of social support activities, providing food, money etc. for the families of imprisoned activists (Kenney, 2003), and remains a major community centre. Przy Arce also lies between two major outdoor markets – Tomex and Plac Bieńczycki – which are sites of both major employment and 'unofficial' sellers (of food, clothes (new and second-hand), home equipment, flowers, etc.) and it is adjacent to a major transport hub with trams and buses running across Nowa Huta and Kraków.

Osiedle **Dywizjonu 303** is on the western edge of Nowa Huta, and is closer to Kraków than the other neighbourhoods (Plate 1.7). The neighbourhood dates from the 1970s, and comprises mostly panel-built high-rise

Plate 1.7 Osiedle Dywizjonu 303, Nowa Huta

blocks. It is dissected by a defunct Second World War runway and adjacent to a park established on the site of the old airport. Dywizjonu 303 has a population of approximately 8,000 and consists of both high-rise and low-rise long blocks. There is a high proportion of families with many children, a significant Roma population, and high, if variable, levels of rent arrears. It is generally seen as a relatively poor neighbourhood, and though it has a few small shops, it is relatively under-serviced. It does, nevertheless, have reasonable access to hypermarkets and good links to Kraków city centre.

Osiedle **Oświecenia** is located in the north-western corner of Nowa Huta, to the north of Osiedle Dywizjonu 303, and dates from the latest period of the district's development (from the late 1970s and through the 1980s), when much new housing was built through cooperatives (see Chapter Five) (Plate 1.8). The neighbourhood is seen as relatively affluent, with a good physical location (it is located on a hill and the old town of Kraków is visible from most of the flats) and 'desirable' in the housing market. Flats are generally larger than those in some of the other districts, comprising three or four rooms. The neighbourhood is also close to Kraków and it has been the site of significant new development – both residential and commercial – since 1989; it is located immediately adjacent to one of

Plate 1.8 Osiedle Oświecenia, Nowa Huta

Kraków's major retail/leisure developments comprising a Geant, Obi, a multiplex cinema and an aqua-park.

A Note on Method

These neighbourhoods provided the main empirical site for our research. However, the neighbourhoods were also part of a nested geography of spaces that frame the research approach at a variety of scales: neighbourhood, housing district, city and nation. In the chapters that follow, we draw out both the commonalities and differences arising at these different scales, both in relation to how neo-liberalization has been pursued and how the everyday economic practices of households and individuals have been reconfigured to negotiate these differentiated experiences of transformation.

Understanding the complexity of forms of household practices and social reproduction in Petržalka and Nowa Huta required the deployment of a multi-method approach, which involved five main elements: analysis of available data on poverty and social exclusion; a questionnaire survey of 350 households undertaken across the Nowa Huta and Petržalka

neighbourhoods; semi-structured, in-depth, follow-up interviews with 64 households in the neighbourhoods (Appendix 1); multi-sited ethnographies of a range of household and community economic practices and sites across Petržalka and Nowa Huta; and semi-structured interviews with close to 90 key informants in relevant institutions (Appendix 2). The majority of the qualitative and ethnographic work was undertaken during the late autumn and winter of 2005 and the spring of 2006.

While resources and accurate population records prevented the undertaking of a fully random representative sample survey of households, our approach was to select 'representative' neighbourhoods using the criteria already discussed. Within each neighbourhood, individual housing blocks were chosen to reflect the range of socio-economic situations, including levels of poverty, block size, and demographic composition (Tables 1.5 and 1.6). Within each selected block, households were surveyed randomly, ensuring that responses were received from at least two or three households in each staircase in each selected block. Thus, while the questionnaire survey research did not aim to provide a *statistically representative* profile of households, the research undertaken does provide a *structured purposive sample* of households from different neighbourhoods and housing blocks to enable an understanding of a range of socio-economic situations *and* the extent to which intra-neighbourhood and intra-block interactions existed and were important in the everyday economic practices of households. In Petržalka, the sample represents between 3% and 4% of the population of the selected neighbourhoods and the profile of surveyed residents was broadly the same as that in the 2001 census (Table 1.6). The absence of localized population census data for Nowa Huta limits the ability to make similar comparisons with the wider population, but given that the same sampling strategy was undertaken in both housing districts, the sampled population is likely to be broadly similar to the total population of each area. The questionnaires explored a wide range of economic practices and resulted in a body of empirical material which covers, amongst other issues, household incomes and expenditures, housing, employment, care work and consumption.

After initial analysis of the questionnaire data, households were identified for follow-up, in-depth interviews. A number of intersecting criteria were used to identify such households, starting with household income, to ensure a range of household material positions, but also including household size, employment status and location. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 2 hours and were conducted in Polish and Slovak, often with more than one household member present. All interviews were recorded and transcribed in Polish and Slovak, and later coded using a common coding frame, reflecting both the research questions and the experiences from interviews. The interviews explored in detail the changing shape of the household,

paying attention to the process of household formation, the importance of location and the size and shape of the home itself. The focus of each interview then switched to patterns of domestic work within the household, paying attention to gender and generational distinctions, to the role of friends and other family members in the domestic life of the household, and to the processes of decision-making. The links between the interviewed household and other households, of family, friends and neighbours, within and beyond the home location were also explored, as were the levels of acquaintance and assistance within these social networks and we paid particular attention to their geography. The sensitive topic of informal access to goods and services was also discussed. Other sections of the interviews focused on household activities, including the use of land for domestic food production and employment trajectories, including not only the 'main job' but also additional work, seasonal work and work overseas. These sections also explored the various state and social benefits accessed by the households. In the final section of each interview, household income, expenditure, and consumption practices were explored.

This questionnaire and interview work was complemented by broader ethnographic research, including observations in street markets, soup kitchens, homeless hostels, pensioners' clubs, allotments, playgrounds and other key community sites in the neighbourhoods. This work was coupled with 90 semi-structured interviews, carried out with key informants in a range of local, city and national state institutions and non-governmental organizations, to explore issues of social exclusion, policy measures, institutional responses and the identification of neighbourhoods. Towards the end of the data collection phase, a series of meetings and workshops were held with individuals and organizations in Nowa Huta and Petržalka to feedback and discuss preliminary findings. These discussions fed, in particular, into the exploration of public policy ideas in Nowa Huta and Petržalka, some of which we return to in Chapter Eight.

Plan of the Book

Understanding the changing fortunes of these individuals and households and how they attempt to create the conditions for their social reproduction in the context of rapidly changing economic circumstances and neo-liberalizing policy contexts is the key focus of *Domesticating Neo-Liberalism*. In the next two chapters we explore in more detail the key conceptual ideas relating to neo-liberalism and its formation in Poland and Slovakia, and to the frameworks of domestication, economic practices and social reproduction. Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven examine four sets of economic practices (in work and employment; in housing; in food

procurement and the use of land; and in care) with which households seek to domesticate neo-liberalism and ensure their social reproduction.

To a certain extent, Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven can be read on their own; each begins with a contextual introduction, outlining how the set of practices in question can be understood and highlighting the key transformations since 1989. Together, however, they form a more complete picture of the range of practices that households develop. In each of these four chapters, we establish the forms of neo-liberalization encountered by households and the diverse economic practices they employ to domesticate those transformations. We focus not only on the ways in which households negotiate and contest neo-liberalism but also on the ways they attempt to make it more tolerable. In each chapter, we seek to understand the histories of those practices, their articulations with other spheres and other practices, their geographies (both scales and spatialities), and the ways in which those geographies make a difference to the practices themselves, and to tease out important comparisons between the Nowa Huta and Petržalka cases, and between neighbourhoods and blocks within the two districts. Thus, as we discuss in more detail in Chapter Three, diversities, articulations, histories, geographies, contestations and, ultimately, domestications shape the analyses in these four chapters.

We begin, in Chapter Four, with a focus on employment, unemployment and the restructuring of labour markets. Notwithstanding our focus on the diversity of household economic practices and on the value of spheres beyond work, we stress, echoing Burawoy et al. (2000) and S. Clarke (2002), the critical importance of employment in the attempt to secure household social reproduction. For this reason, our exploration of work and households' negotiation of neo-liberalizing labour markets is the starting point for our analyses. In Chapter Five, we shift our attention to housing practices. Housing is the sphere in which market transformations are quite literally brought home, or domesticated. Housing sits at the heart of households' economic practices since it not only offers shelter and, for some, the potential for investment and income generation, but it also enables or constrains the potential to increase the size of the household and thus diversify both sources of income and of domestic labour and care. Chapter Six shifts the focus to food provisioning practices and the role that access to land, to economies of exchange, and to retail plays in domesticating the neo-liberalization of consumption.[14] In this chapter, we explore the importance of land to the domestic production of food, the transformations which threaten households' ability to produce food, the role of exchange and gift of food amongst households, and the ways in which households negotiate the rapid transformation of the food retail sector. Chapter Seven explores the place of care and caring practices within and between households in Nowa Huta and Petržalka, a set of practices that in many ways underpins

work, housing and consumption. This chapter documents and explores the place of family, kinship and friendship networks, of charitable organizations, and of the restructured welfare state in providing everyday support – for example, emotional, financial, practical – to households. The final chapter returns to the question of diversities, articulations, histories, geographies and contestations highlighted in each of the four preceding chapters, pulling these together to restate the central concerns of *Domesticating Neo-Liberalism*. Through these analyses, the concluding chapter connects back to our key concerns, drawing conclusions about the ways in which Polish and Slovak households have negotiated – or domesticated – the neo-liberal transformations of post-socialism and employing these analyses of 'domestication' to think again about neo-liberalism in general and its post-socialist form in particular.