

Robert Schuman Centre

The Malleable *Homo Sovieticus*:
Transnational Entrepreneurs
in Post-Communist East Europe

EWA MORAWSKA

RSC No. 98/53

EUI WORKING PAPERS



EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE

European University Institute



3 0001 0032 8988 3



© The Author(s). European University Institute.

Digitised version produced by the EUI Library in 2020. Available Open Access on Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository.

WP
321.0209
4 EUR



EUI Working Paper RSC No. 98/53

Morawska: *The Malleable 'Homo Sovieticus':
Transnational Entrepreneurs in
Post-Communist East Europe*

The Robert Schuman Centre was set up by the High Council of the EUI in 1993 to carry out disciplinary and interdisciplinary research in the areas of European integration and public policy in Europe. While developing its own research projects, the Centre works in close relation with the four departments of the Institute and supports the specialized working groups organized by the researchers.

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE

ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE

**The Malleable *Homo Sovieticus*:
Transnational Entrepreneurs
in Post-Communist East Europe**

EWA MORAWSKA

University of Pennsylvania and
Jean Monnet Fellow European Forum 1997-98

EUI Working Paper RSC No. 98/53

BADIA FIESOLANA, SAN DOMENICO (FI)

All rights reserved.
No part of this paper may be reproduced in any form
without permission of the author.

© 1998 Ewa Morawska
Printed in Italy in December 1998
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50016 San Domenico (FI)
Italy

Among the many worries of the observers of post-communist transformation processes in East Europe has been the concern that the entrenched popular mindsets and coping strategies formed under the previous regime and known as the "*homo sovieticus* syndrome" might undermine an effective transition to liberal-democratic capitalism (see, e.g., Kennedy and Gianoplus 1994; Linz and Stepan 1996; Kovacs 1994; *Entrepreneurship in Transition Economies* 1996). Thus threatened capitalism as the end-goal of East European reforms has been implicitly understood by the concerned commentators in the classical, Weberian sense as the encompassing system of sociopolitical institutions, cultural norms, and legal regulations that facilitate and control the rational pursuit of sustained economic growth and financial profit.

Contrary to this viewpoint, I argue that the post-industrial global capitalism into which post-communist East Europe is being "dependently incorporated" (Berend 1996; Sik 1994a), that is, capitalism based on transnational, decentralized, flexible production of consumer services in areas/sectors of the economy unregulated by legal-institutional frameworks, renders some features of the accustomed *homo sovieticus* syndrome into effective strategies of economic action in the new situation. The centralized political management combined with the notorious inefficiency of the state-socialist economies in the providing and distributing consumer goods fostered in the citizenry entrepreneurial spirit of the opportunistic-debrouillard (rather than modern-rational) kind forcing it to use "unofficial" (informal/extra-legal) means to make everyday life possible and turning this behavior into the social norm (Los 1990; Grossman 1989; Gabor 1994; Sik 1994a, 1994b, 1994c; for excellent ethnographic studies of state-socialist "shadow economy" see Kenedi 1985; Wedel 1986; Pawlik 1992). Three basic resources of the Soviet-style debrouillard entrepreneurship - a democratized variant of the Weberian "booty capitalism" for everyone - "fit" very well the conditions of late capitalism:

- (1) deeply habituated beat-the-system/bend-the-rules (rather than legal-institutional) modes of operation in the pursuit of desired purposes;
- (2) accustomed reliance on patronage and informal networks (rather than on individual skills and formal infrastructure); and
- (3) consumption- (rather than production-) oriented capital accumulation whereby immediate or short-term rewards take priority over long-term deferred gratification.

The focus of this discussion are small to midscale transnational or cross-border migrant entrepreneurs who are part of the emergent socioeconomic stratum thus far much less investigated than the top level economic elite in post-communist East Europe,¹ namely, the propertied middle class and potential local elite in small to midsize cities. The consideration here of the operations of

transnational East European entrepreneurs who dwell, as it were, in-between the post-communist world with its "baggage" of accustomed outlooks and behaviors that represent at the same time characteristic features of the dependent late-capitalist development of (semi-)peripheral regions and the technologically and economically advanced core countries provides a good occasion to consider jointly the macroscopic, political and economic, and micro-social mechanisms and ambiguous consequences of these informal/illegal activities. Such discussion will contribute, I hope, to a closer intellectual exchange between specialists on post-communist transition in East Europe and students of unregulated economic activities in other parts of the world.

My primary aim is to identify the *common features* of the macro- and micro-level contexts and mechanisms that sustain the informal/illegal ways of the now internationalized operation of these debrouillard entrepreneurs from across the region. Within the limited scope of this paper, and to the extent the unsystematic data permit, when relevant for the issues under consideration here, the differences between East Central Europeans (ECE) and East East Europeans (EEE) and between particular countries are noted. The data used in this discussion come from scholarly and press reports on post-1989-90 transformation in the region and, in particular, the informal/illegal sphere in the economy and the socioeconomic restructuring of post-communist societies, and from the social survey and ethnographic studies of current international migrations of East Europeans. I have included data from my own ongoing comparative investigation of these (im)migrants in Berlin, Germany, and Philadelphia, United States, and from my conversations with the authors of these studies concerning specific problems related to the subject matter of this paper.

Macro-level Mechanisms of EE Migrants'"Informal Entrepreneurship"

Although the collapse of the Soviet regime in Eastern Europe opened the door for the accelerated incorporation of that region into the global system, the long-term processes of capitalist perestroika to overhaul and bring up to date unproductive state-socialist economies have not thus far diminished the long-standing gap in economic development between the eastern and western parts of the Continent. Measured by the per capita GNP, the economic performance of East Central Europe in 1995 was only 32% of that of Western Europe and the United States combined (a minimal improvement since 1910 when it was 28%), whereas the ratio of (average) wages between these two parts of the world was 1:5 to 10 (in 1910 it was 1:4-6). In East Eastern Europe these

comparisons are even more dramatic: the East-West per capita GNP ratio in 1995 was 1:20 and that of wages 1:25 to 40 (Berend 1996; Chirot 1989; Berend and Ranki 1982²). This enduring East-West disequilibrium in economic performance has sustained or, more precisely, revived with the post-1989/90 lifting of international travel restrictions in East Europe of the early twentieth century geographic pattern of income-seeking migrations from that region and reflecting the worldwide "compass" or (semi-)periphery-to-core, SE-NW population flows. East European governments have recognized and tacitly approved of (ECEs uneasily in view of their pending inclusion into the European Union) these income-seeking circular migrations of their citizenry as a "safety valve" deflating possible outbreaks of popular discontent resulting from the painful perestroika experience.

The most common types of post-1989-90 income-seeking E-W international migrations have been short-term and back-and-forth "shuttling" cross-border travels of *Arbeits-* and *Handelstouristen* or quasi-tourists who remain abroad and engage in work without appropriate immigration documents or who circumvent customs regulations by hiding or misrepresenting the kind and/or quantity of merchandise they smuggle or carry. The available data reveal the typical sociodemographic profile of these migrants as mostly (65%-70%) of urban origin and, within this category, primarily from small-to-middle-size cities; more commonly (55%-65%) male than female; concentrated in 25-to-40 age and (55%-60%) middle-level educational categories; and frequently (20%-35%) unemployed at the time of migration (compiled from Fassmann 1996; Maresova 1996; Morokvasic 1996; Okolski 1996; Slany 1997; Sik 1995; Sipaviciene 1997; Dornis 1994; Bodrova and Regent 1995; Belozor 1996; Pyrozkhov et al. 1996).

This discussion is concerned with cross-border entrepreneurs in these two groups - between 30% and 40% of the total migratory flows - who have undertaken international income-seeking endeavors not merely to survive economically but to elevate considerably their own and their families' socioeconomic status at home and, in the perceptions of the migrants themselves and their local communities, have actually succeeded in this purpose. International *Arbeitstouristen* in this group are treated as entrepreneurs because organizing and managing their undertakings requires *dojscia* (ins) and *kombinacje* (informal or shady arrangements as in wheeling and dealing) for which they use both the familiar language (the terms above are Polish) and methods of the Soviet-style debrouillard entrepreneurship, and because a large discrepancy between home- and host-country wages permits the international worker-tourists who are success-motivated and resourceful in *dojscia* and *kombinacje* to accrue savings that permit upward socioeconomic mobility at home.

The bulk of these clandestine income-seeking international travels from ECE has been directed to Western Europe (85%), especially to nearby Germany and Austria, and then to Scandinavia, France, and, increasingly, Italy and Greece; and across the Atlantic to North America (15%). In 1995 alone an estimated 25-30 million "crossings" nearly equalled the volume of international economic migrations from that region during the thirty years preceding World War I. From EEE, excepting German *Aussiedler* and former Soviet Jews who emigrate permanently to the West or (the latter) to Israel, most of the semi- and illegal *marchands ambulants* and *travailleurs pendulaires* come to ECE. (For estimates of international migrations of ECEs see Frejka 1996; *Trends in International Migration/SOPEMI* 1996; *Tourism in Central and Eastern Europe/ECC* 1995; Morokvasic and de Tinguy 1995; Fassman and Munz 1995; Morokvasic 1996; for EEE migrants see Arditis 1995; Pyrozkhov et al., 1995; Sik 1995; Markiewicz 1997; Iglicka 1997; Frejka 1996; Stola 1997; Sipaviciene 1997; Vishnevsky and Zayontchkovskaya 1994³)

The majority of westbound *Handels-* and *Arbeitstouristen* have been born between 1955 and 1975. The oldest among them have been socialized and worked for 15-20 years under state-socialist regime; the youngest shared the primary families' experience and received most of their public education in the late "crony communism." Since the early 1990s all of them have lived in a world in which several everyday stratagems - in particular, the informal/illicit coping strategies - bear a close resemblance to the accustomed ways of the old regime. As a number of observers of post-communist East Europe's affairs have argued, several features of the transformation processes have actually made these strategies even more pervasive. A combination of the following factors has been of greatest consequence: a weak legal-institutional infrastructure and, in particular, absent or frequently changing and ineffectively executed regulations and unavailability of adequate information and financial assistance for registered private business combined with the unsettling of the old economic structures and significantly increased consumer appetites modelled after the Western images on the one hand, and, on the other, expanded profit-making opportunities accompanying the internationalization of post-communist economies and, at the same time and reflecting the latter, the "informalization" of East European economies as the result of decentralization, sub-contracting and cost-cutting in production and labor (Sik 1994a, 1994b; Korzhov 1997; *Entrepreneurship in Transition Economies* 1996; see also Sztompka 1995).

In this situation, considering that the coping resources from the previous regime are readily available, citizens' involvement in informal/illicit pursuits either to make or to better their livelihoods has been all-pervasive regardless of their economic status. According to labor department statistics and public opinion surveys, the involvement of East Europeans in the mid-1990s in their

countries' informal economies, including unregistered business, undocumented employment, and gray/black marketeering, ranged between 25% (for ECE) and 60% (EEE) of the adult employed population. (These figures, it should be noted, do not include either the unemployed population at home among whom the proportions of *indocumentados* have been considerably larger or international "tourists" illicitly occupied abroad.) Current losses to the state treasury in each ECE country from unreported earnings and unpaid or falsified taxes have been estimated at billions of dollars annually; this disrespect for the law and the ensuing losses to the state are much greater in the easternmore nation-states that are former Soviet Republics.⁴

Corruption and clientelism have been widespread and, as suggested by the matter-of-factness with which the respondents in public opinion surveys admit to relying on these strategies in the pursuit of their purposes, have retained their old-regime popular normative acceptance. Between 35%-40% (for ECE) and 70%-80% (EEE) of the respondents in national representative samples say either they or their friends have used informal "connections" and have relied on reciprocal "favors" and between 25% (ECE) and 60% (EEE) admit they have used bribes to "get things" (such as consumer goods, medicine, housing, job-related and children's education advantages, etc). (These and above figures have been averaged from data provided by Sik 1994a; Graczyk 1997; Pumpianski 1998; *Szara Gospodarka w Polsce* 1996; Roberts and Jung 1995; *Praca Nierejestrowana* 1996; Rose and Maley 1994; Okolski 1996; Witkowski 1995; Grabowski 1994; Handelman 1995; Konstantinov 1997; Dawisha and Parrott 1997.)

Not surprising in view of the noted legal and economic circumstances, studies of new private businesses - the hoped-for perestroika force in capitalist development - reveal the "beat the system" strategies to be even more ubiquitous than in the general population. The conclusion from a 1993 ethnographic study of the economic transformation in a small town of Suwalki in northeastern Poland is typical for the rest of the region: "It appeared from everyone's accounts that virtually all small private businesses were breaking or circumventing the law in some way or another" (Roberts and Jung 1995: 73). Another, more recent study of the channels used by new entrepreneurs to manage their businesses has shown the predominance of informal "crony" over (available in this case) legal-institutional avenues (Frieske 1997). (The customarily friendly informal way of dealing with their clients by Western NGOs, a number of which are present in post-communist East Europe assisting in the transition, has had the unintended consequence of reinforcing rather than modifying the old ways of the natives - see Wedel 1992).

Such has been the home environment from which the international *Handels-* and *Arbeitstouristen* originate and to which they return after their sojourns abroad. Their experience during these sojourns not only does not modify their homebred debrouillard strategies of crony-communist/post-communist provenance but, to the contrary, rewards and thus enhances them as the effective means for the realization of migrants' purposes. In the case of ECE income-seeking travelers to the West, this enhancement is intensified by the "demonstration effect" of the hands-on realization that the role-model Western ways are not much different from the orientations and practices prevalent in migrants' home countries.

The core Western economies have already nearly completed what the post-communist ones have only begun, that is, postindustrial restructuring, or a shift to short-term production of services based on small and versatile companies, and the accompanying rapid growth of an informal sector offering variable, usually substandard, wages and no employment security, and unattached to the legal-institutional structures of the fiscal and welfare systems (see Gershuny 1978; Piore and Sabel 1987; Portes, Castells, and Benton 1989; Sassen 1991). (Im)migrants from (semi-)peripheral SE parts of the world have provided the bulk of the labor force in Western informal economies. Such has also been the location of *Arbeits-* and *Handelstouristen* from post-communist East Central Europe. Shuttling between their permanent homes and temporary habitats in the West, quiescent because unattached to the receiver states' labor protective systems and because, translated into home-country currencies, their Western earnings appear enormous, they fit very well the requirements of the informal sectors of Western economies.

The majority of *indocumentado* male tourist-workers in the West find employment primarily in construction, agriculture, and in a wide variety of service trades.⁵ Women on tourist visas without work permits are most commonly occupied in domestic services (as maids and housekeepers, babysitters, caregivers to the elderly), as seamstresses in "underground" garment shops, and, in increasing numbers especially in Germany, Austria, and Scandinavia, as prostitutes. "Staffed" by young and middle-aged (often married) women, *Prostitutiontourismus* takes the form of shuttle travels in the border regions. Clearly conducive to this income-earning activity has been 40% to 50% female unemployment along the borders between ECE countries and their Western neighbors. Working twelve hours per day on "busy" weekends can double an average monthly salary at home.⁶

Trading migrants on short-term tourist visas can be divided into so-called ants and *jumacze*. Border-region peddlers or ants, men and women who shuttle back-and-forth, are bazaar-type marketeers trading in consumer items

differently priced on two (sometimes three) sides of borders. The goods are then sold to the wholesalers or traded for goods lacking at the moment at home, mostly by "ants" from EEE where consumer shortages, including basic foods, are still very common. *Jumacze* (a new Polish term for cross-border thieves) represent a criminal (rather than "gray" variety of cross-border traders who operate on a somewhat larger financial scale. These mostly young men steal better-quality bulk merchandise in host-country department stores, homes, and cars, and move it across the border.⁷

The politicization of contemporary international migrations by NW receiver-countries/regions - that is, of the decisions who can enter, how long they can stay, what activities they can undertake - has created in Western destination countries a large army of marginalized "illegal" migrants from (semi-)peripheral parts of the world, including East Europe (see Kritz and Zlotnik 1992; Goodwin-Gill 1993; Hollifield 1996; Cornelius, Martin, and Hollifield 1994; Weiner 1995). This insecure indocumentado political status, combined with what Wayne Cornelius et al. (1994) call *the gap* between the goals of national/regional (im)migration policies of receiver countries and the actual outcomes of policies in this area resulting from multiple, often contradictory concerns and interests of the different groups and lobbies involved in deciding the volume, composition, and specific entitlements of international migrants, have had an added effect of reinforcing the *homo sovieticus*-derived strategies of "beating the (now host liberal-democratic) system" by operating in the political "gray area" and relying on the familiar old-regime tactic of "dissimulation" (Jowitt 1992; see also Kharkhodin 1994) and informal networks of illicit assistance.

The foregoing discussion of the circumstances on the receiving side of westbound income-seeking flows from post-communist East Europe that have sustained migrants' accustomed outlooks and behaviors applies primarily to East Central European travelers. The economic mechanisms precipitating flows into East Central Europe of trade- and worker-tourists from Eastern East Europe have been by and large similar on both the sending and the receiving sides of the migration circuit in that those income-seeking migrants, very much in demand by new capitalist enterprises in Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, especially in agriculture, handicrafts, and services, work for considerably lower remuneration than that received by the natives for comparable work and are unprotected by union agreements or any other social coverage. Combined with widespread corruption of state officials, the yet unformed immigration policies in these ECE countries that have been caught legally (or otherwise) unprepared by the rising tide of (im)migrants from the easternmore parts of the region provide effective loopholes for these visitors to (re)enter and sojourn in these countries as they please (Frejka 1996; Sik 1995; Pyrozkhov et al. 1996; Mozolowski 1996; Hars 1997; Mizerski 1997).

Transmigrants' *Kombinacje* and Their Outcomes

Income-seeking transnational tourists have been maneuvering within the larger economic and political structures sketched above by appropriating the openings and loopholes in the receiving societies toward their purposes through ingeniously used *dojscia*, arrangements, and *kombinacje*.

Three kinds of *dojscia* or "ins" for shuttle and short-term international migrants trying to "arrange" for illicit employment abroad, working conditions, and remuneration have been most popular among East European *Arbeitstouristen*. First is family and friends, either in the home or the destination country. As studies show, depending on the vitality of migratory traditions in the region, which often stretch back to the beginning of the century, between 33% and 66% of such travelers have relied on assistance from family members or friends in the home country who either had already worked in the West themselves or had "connections" there that could be used to help others. Between 40% and 70% have been helped by kin or acquaintances sojourning abroad as temporary indocumentado workers or residing there permanently. (Particularly "rich" in the latter resource are Poles and also Hungarians, Czechs, and Lithuanians whose national groups participated en masse in turn-of-the-twentieth-century westbound economic migrations and then in political exoduses during the post-World War II era. For example, every third Polish family today reportedly has either family or friends living abroad and a total of about 18 million members of [non-Jewish] national minorities in the European part of the CIS have family or ethnic ties abroad. "A friend's uncle lived [...] in Detroit. He invited me to come; he told me he had some work for me. So I left for Detroit." This Lithuanian woman worked first as a kitchen helper in a restaurant in an ethnic community and then, recommended by an acquaintance, in a team of fellow nationals (all undocumented like herself) cleaning offices at night, a much more extorting job that, nevertheless, paid better (Jazwinska and Okolski 1996: 141-53; Drbohlav 1997; Siewiera 1995; Karpiuk 1997; Morkovasic and Rudolph 1995; Poplawski 1995; quote after Sipaviciene 1997, 213).

Ethnic parishes and foreign-language newspapers in the host country have also served as a popular source of employment information, contacts, and references for *Arbeitstouristen*. "Work wanted" and "seeking workers" ads are placed on parochial announcement boards or in papers. "Seeking two experienced carpenters. Call evenings at..., " Waitress for a cafe needed. [English, German,...] not required," "Seamstress seeking work. Does not have to be in my profession..., " "I'll buy work for a man..." Such announcements are checked and "job contracts" negotiated and signed after mass on Sundays or in bars frequented by immigrants in the neighborhood. If not family members or

friends, fellow nationals from the neighborhood, a local bar, or an ethnic parish serve as paid intermediaries-referees in these contacts and negotiations. "Good references," whether from acquaintances or from *posrednicy*, paid intermediaries, are "the key for finding a good, well-paying job" - the *dojscia* of East European tourist-workers in Vienna operate in a similar way in the rest of Europe and the United States. (Quotes from an announcement board in a Polish church in Vienna announcement board and about necessary references after Mydel and Fassmann 1997, 72-73, 69; I have seen similar advertisements in East European churches and newspapers and have witnessed informal work negotiations in Berlin and Philadelphia; see also Siewiera 1995; Karpiuk 1997; Sipaviciene 1997.)

The presence in the destination localities abroad of established colonies of fellow nationals and, among them, of large numbers of fellow indocumentado migrants effectively using - and openly talking about - well-tested resources to "beat the system" in pursuit of their objectives reproduces across the border the familiar home-country ambiance of crony opportunism and debrouillard entrepreneurship. Host native employers have collaborated in sustaining these orientations. Direct connections to host-country native employers have been the third most common *dojscia* and way to arrange illegal work for *Arbeitstouristen* from the East. The products of and at the same time contributors to the expansion of informal economies in the migration-receiving countries, native employers have been actively seeking cheap and dispensable labor for construction work, personal services, and small shops. When satisfied with the performance of their workers, those employers often form an informal hiring network on their own as they recommend "their" *Arbeitstouristen* and, upon request, their fellow nationals, to friends and acquaintances in need of repairmen, carpenters, waiters and waitresses, seamstresses, babysitters, and so on (Cyrus 1995a, 1995b; Cyrus and Helias 1996; Miera 1997; Mydel and Fassmann 1997; Karpiuk 1997; Siewiera 1995; Romaniszyn 1997; and this author's personal interviews, summer 1997⁸). In Germany and Austria East European undocumented workers are often sought and hired by earlier and now well-established Italian, Turkish, and Yugoslav emigres from the *Gastarbeiter* era, especially for their "ethnic niches" in food and restaurant services and small repair shops in the large cities (Mydel and Fassmann 1997; Hillmann and Rudolph 1997; this author's interviews in Berlin, summer 1997).

Migrants from East Eastern Europe who come to ECE countries for short-term undocumented work - estimates of shuttle and short-term illegal EEE workers in Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic combined put their number at 700,000-750,000 in 1996⁹ - have relied primarily on *dojscia* through the mediation of their fellow nationals previously or currently employed in ECE or through direct connections to native employers. Tourist entry visas, if

required, are arranged from specialized agents in the border regions who for a fee prepare "private invitations." (At several checkpoints along Poland's eastern border I observed kiosks selling such documents in the summer of 1997.) They then organize cross-border "tourist" buses (*Biuro Kontroli Legalnosci Zatrudnienia* 1997; Pyrozkhov et al. 1996; Sipaviciene 1997; this author's field observations and interviews, summer 1997).

Dojscia and kombinacje are the sine qua non strategies for migrant tourist-workers not only to find employment abroad but, as importantly, to "organize" a better one somewhere else or to arrange for a replacement when the time comes to return home. Such an arrangement can be done either by a personal agreement with a friend to whom later a reciprocal "favor" will be due or, in a more "businesslike" way (although still informally), by selling it to someone else for *odstepne*, an agreed-on sum of money to be paid upon the assumption of the position. Thus, a tourist-worker can maintain the right connections for the next sojourn. In all these kombinacje, as several migrants interviewed in different projects pointed out, not the law or the "real contract" but mutual trust, "sticking by one's word" for fair play or from the fear of group ostracism, are of crucial importance (Mydel and Fassmann 1997; Poplawski 1995, Siwiera 1995; Sipaviciene 1997; Karpiuk 1997; this author's ongoing project).

Greatly facilitated by quick and easy transportation and by the fact that the majority of transnational *Arbeitstouristen* from East Europe seek work in the countries neighboring their own has been the use of yet another coping device, that is, "situational shuttling" between the receiver and home countries. When despite the application of all available resources there is momentarily no satisfactory employment or when there have been warnings from neighbors or informal-sector employers about police raids on apartments known to house illegal (over)stayers of visas, or when their families need them for some reason, migrants return home and come back as soon as the situation in the destination place abroad looks more promising.

Blending tourism with illicit trading in Eastern Europe dates back to the early 1970s when communist welfare state-sponsored international vacation travels inside the Soviet bloc became a mass phenomenon. In an innovative adjustment to Soviet-style shortage economies intrabloc tourism was used as an opportunity for a huge-scale unofficial, in fact illegal, commercial traffic between the vacationing member nationals of Soviet-bloc countries. (The volume of this exchange was estimated in the 1980s at 25%-30% of the entire COMECON trade; see Los 1990.) In the circumstances of profound economic and legal-institutional instabilities accompanying capitalist transformation and, especially, widespread structural relocations combined with the opening of

money-making opportunities, the "domestication" of passports after the collapse of communist regimes in the region (in the previous era they had to be applied for on the basis of specific reasons and surrendered upon return to state authorities) and the abolition of visa requirements for East European tourists in most Western countries have made for the "natural" expansion - globalization, actually - of this *Handelstourismus* outside of the region.

Like that of the international tourist-workers, the success of the operations of cross-border "ants," "jumacze," and, less numerous but as effective longer-distance transnational operators depends on the skillfull use of dojscia, arrangements, and kombinacje. The cross-border travels of ants are prearranged very well. The ants have wholesale "contacts" nearby on the other side of the border, often fellow nationals or well-trusted natives who play the role of intermediaries. The merchandise they bring back is bought, within a hundred-meter radius of the border, by "their" wholesalers waiting by trucks and smaller buyers with private cars who then take it inside the (home-) country where it is "laundered" by inaccurately recorded sales, either to individual stores or in the giant international "bazaars." The quintessence of the post-communist "entrepreneurial spirit" these open-illicit markets have since the early 1990s mushroomed across East Europe (Mizerski 1997; Solska 1998). The longer-distance commercial travelers - especially the most common dealers in wrecked and stolen cars that are disassembled, smuggled to Eastern Europe, and put reassembled to be sold - have their contacts and "special arrangements" at each juncture of the operation: the suppliers in the West, at the points still on the Western side, where the cars can be discretely disassembled, at the border pass, and, in the home-country, car mechanics and, finally, the buyers of the imported merchandise. As they expand their experience in *Handeltourismus* under capitalist conditions and (semi-)open borders, migrants develop professional know-how about the particulars and changes of cross-border consumer demand and supply, price differentials, traffic flows at specific border crossings, customs regulations and, more important, customary checks and strategies to circumvent them, and crossing points at which border officials accept "favors" (bribes) and the amounts/kinds thereof. (On widespread corruption among customs officials in post-communist East Europe, see Urbanek 1996; Grzeszak 1996; 1997; Wilk 1996; Balicka 1997¹⁰.)

As in the case of informal sector employment, however, all such gray-area or underground commercial operations require mutual trust among those involved: "There are no [legal] contracts in this business [cross-border commercial traffic]. Everything is based on one's word, on oral agreement [with the person dealt with] (Sipaviciene 1997, 212). Because of a widespread lack of confidence in state authority and institutions under the communist regime, personal trust rather than civic-legal guarantees served as the basis of social

interactions. The internalization and thus legitimation by default, as it were, of the informal economy that have been integral to the incorporation into global capitalist system of post-communist societies have retained personal trust rather than legal-institutional guarantees as the basic resource of economic action. The huge volume of international cargo moved illicitly by *Handelstouristen* and their trusted "contacts" by circumventing customs regulations and state fiscal authorities with falsified acquisition records for merchandise distributed inside the country testifies to the effectiveness of well-tested old-regime coping strategies used in new circumstances.

Willingness to work very hard at these undocumented activities has been a personal resource without which neither macrostructural nor microsocial facilitators would have had an effect (just like hard work alone would not have brought the desired results either). Illegal worker migrants from Eastern Europe, men and women, have been reported by the media in their host countries to labor "docilely" for 12-14 hours a day in conditions no native worker would tolerate while the industrious ants accomplish between 5 and 10 "loaded" border crossings per day. The combination of "old"-capitalism commitment to hard work in conditions promising good rewards (the incentive absent in the state-communist system, even its informal sphere that served survival rather than enrichment purposes) with the strategies adequate for coping with "new"-capitalism structural features permits the majority of East European international income-seekers to realize the goals that take them across the border. Provided their "connections" permit them to obtain and keep a good job with long hours or to move smoothly between well "organized" sellers and buyers with appropriate merchandise, the readiness to work very hard allows *Handels-* and *Arbeitstouristen* to earn four to six times their home country average monthly wage.

Most of it is saved to be taken back home. As studies show, short- to middle-term tourist-workers' willingness to share the inconveniences of overcrowded, often substandard quarters with fellow-nationals and to save drastically on food to lower the costs of living and to increase savings allows ECE and EEE income-seeking international migrants alike to save up to 70% of their average monthly wages. Some additional money-saving strategies augment those savings even more. Undocumented Ukrainian workers in southeastern Poland, for example, have been reported to return home near Lviv, one at a time, every ten days or so to buy much cheaper food there for the whole group and then to return to work. (Data about migrants' earnings and savings from Mydel and Fassmann 1997; Siewiera 1995; Jazwinska and Okolski 1996; Pyrozkhov et al. 1996; Karpiuk 1997; Sipaviciene 1997; this author's interviews in Warsaw, Berlin, and Philadelphia.¹¹)

When asked about the purposes of their international travels, nearly all respondents in studies of westbound *Arbeits-* and *Handelstouristen* conducted during the 1990s, returned and potential migrants, point either to the necessity to make additional money to "make ends meet" or - the category of concern here - to the desire of *dorobic sie* (Polish), to elevate their economic status or, more precisely, to accumulate material goods. And indeed, this is what 85% to 95% of those who left with the latter purpose actually do with their savings from incomes earned abroad. The most commonly purchased items include houses/apartments (under the communist regime rented apartments were the most common form of housing) and their furnishings, garden furniture, cars, color TVs (with satellite dishes) and stereo systems, computers, electronic kitchen equipment, fashionable clothing, and so on. To satisfy status requirements as measures of success for the new middle-class in post-communist East Europe, these objects should be Western-made and ostentatiously displayed. (Information from Mydel and Fassmann 1997; Domaradzka 1996; Karpiuk 1997, Siewiera 1995; Jazwinska and Okolski 1996; Sipaviciene 1997, Pyrozkhov et al. 1996.)

A minority, about 15%, of income-seeking international tourists have invested their savings in establishing in (small) businesses. Most of the trade of these enterprises has been with (in the case of ECEs) or within (EEES) the former Soviet Union and, next in volume, with Western merchants, especially in Germany and Austria, often with EE fellow nationals who are permanently established in these countries. In both cases, however, the main purpose of business activity has thus far been to increase the material consumption of the owners and their families rather than - very much needed if the national- and local-level transformation processes in these new businessmen's home-countries are to progress - further investment and the expansion of trade. In trade with the former Soviet Union as a rule, and with Western merchants commonly, the accustomed "under-the-counter" rather than legal-institutionalized methods of entrepreneurship have predominated (*Entrepreneurship in Transition Economies* 1996; Green 1998; Grzeszak 1997; Solska 1998; Doomernik 1997; Fijalkowski 1992; Kessner 1997; this author's interviews in Warsaw, Poznan, and Berlin, summer 1997).

Some ethnosurvey and ethnographic studies of international migrations in post-communist East Europe have also asked non-migrant residents of migrants' hometowns about the effects of these income-seeking travels for the local community. The evaluations have been generally positive but, like those of the migrants themselves, almost exclusively in material terms: the amounts of monies coming into the community (the latter understood as an aggregate of individuals/families rather than as a collective with common purposes), visible improvements in the appearance of houses/apartments and their residents or -

this, in my interpretation - the welcome transfers of Western patterns of material culture and lifestyles to the East. The following description of the small town of Siemiatycze in northeastern Poland, one of the active *Arbeitstourismus* centers in that region, is fairly typical of other reports: "The very appearance of Siemiatycze shows the improvement. The architecture is becoming prettier. By looking at the houses one notices not only practical but also esthetic elements. These are no more simple gray houses. The Western influence is obvious. During their sojourns in Brussels (the customary destination of income migrations), the Siemiatycze residents see the looks of the houses there and then want to live in similar houses at home. Regarding even little gardens around the houses, there has been a considerable change. Before they served mainly for planting some vegetables. Now one can see well-kept lawn, decorative tables, chairs, a grill" (Karpiuk 1997, 61; the insides of the houses also resemble Western middle-class patterns; see also Jazwinska and Okolski 1996; Siewiera 1995; Cieslinska 1992).

Ownership of middle-class status symbol-objects in migrant and non-migrant households in the localities studies differ, on the average, by a tangible 25%-30% in favor of the former in ECE and 35%-45% in EEE countries. Some of the technologically most advanced paraphernalia is found only in migrants' homes. (after Jazwinska and Okolski 1996; Sipavciene 1997). This difference in the "aquisition pace," not to mention the quality of purchased goods, between the households of income-seeking international migrants and those who did not go is, of course, noticed by local residents - the migrants themselves make sure of that - and it evokes appreciation among their neighbors, but also envy. The demonstration effect sets in, stimulating more people to look for and find possibilities for travel abroad. Supported by the avidly watched Westernized media and the display of new (and newer) gadgets by just-returned migrants, the "logic of late capitalism" (Jameson 1984) makes sure these consumer needs keep growing which in (semi-)peripheries of the global system that includes East Europe in the grips of transition, perpetuates the the back-and forth income-seeking international migrations of millions of people. The same logic demonstrates, and demonstrates again, the effectiveness of the crony-debrouillard strategies toward the desired - now much "enriched" - objectives East Europeans learned very well under the state-socialist regime.

Conclusion

The overall effects of the activities of transnational migrants who make "work in motion" into their occupation (Salt 1997) have been ambiguous. Their "gray" or illegal income-earning abroad, or what Robert Merton (1968) calls structurally induced "innovative" behavior - bending-and-breaking of the rules in order to achieve (culturally approved) objectives by those whose opportunities are structurally constrained from within their own societies and by the (semi-)peripheral position of their countries/regions in the global system - permits large segments of East European populations not only to supplement livelihoods threatened by structural relocations accompanying the capitalist transformation of their home-countries but also to elevate the socioeconomic status of their families.

In view of the large volume and the "democratic composition" of present-day income-seeking international migrations of East Europeans, the elevation of the social position of a considerable proportion of these travelers through the accumulation of capital and acquisition of material possessions contributes to the socioeconomic restratification of post-communist societies and, specifically of concern here, of small-to-medium-size urban communities from which most migrants originate. A new, locally recognized middle-class replaces or at least significantly dilutes the influence of the old-regime *nomenklatura* stratum.

The material symbols of new middle-class status and Westernized lifestyles publicly displayed by returned migrants improve, in the appreciative local opinion, the previously dull and monotonous appearance of their towns and residents and diffuses these patterns through the demonstration effect.

Some other outcomes of the intense international traffic of "innovative" income-seekers, already observable today or foreseeable in the future, have been ominous for the success of the "multitrack" transformation of East European post-communist societies. Three such effects appear to be of particular consequence.

First, the general increase of capital and changes in its social distribution in local communities with intense back-and-forth flows of income-seeking international migrants have not thus far become a foundation of self-sustained economic restructuring of these towns and cities. With few exceptions, the savings accrued abroad by *Arbeits-* and *handels-touristen* are expended on ever-expanding individual/family material consumption rather than on productive investments. While it is certainly in accord with the "cultural logic" of the postindustrial capitalism into which East Europe is being incorporated, such use of capital by the few who possess it does not contribute to the restructuring

and setting on the developmental track of backward and inefficient regional economies.

Second, neither of the two simultaneous and closely interlinked transformations in post-communist East Europe - the economic and the political - can successfully progress without the consolidation of what Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan (1996) call "the economic society," or a set of politically crafted and socially accepted regulations, policies, and institutions based on respect for the law, which mediate between the state and the market. Unlike the LDCs and, especially, South America with whose recent political and economic developments it has been often compared, East Europe's pre-transition (communist) heritage has not contained either the institutions or orientations supportive of the economic society as defined above. (On comparisons of post-communist East Europe's transformations with those in Latin America, see Linz and Stepan 1996; Linz, Stepan, and Gunther 1995; Levine 1994; Nelson 1994; Przeworski 1991; Killick and Stevens 1991.)

Instead, the "economic society" pervasive under the previous regime that has survived its demise and thrives in the perestroika has been based on the bend-the-law/corrupt-its-officials syndrome of orientations and practices. International migrants whose reliance in their illicit activities abroad on the familiar *dojścia* and *kombinacje* is rewarded by incomes several times larger than their home-country wages, upon their return to their local communities, reimplant these reward-winning resources as the suitable tools for coping in a Western democratic capitalist system - the "role model" for East European political leader-reformers and rank-and-file citizens alike.

And third, should income-earning in the informal sectors of higher developed economies abroad and in growing domestic ones over time remain the primary means of capital accumulation for large segments of post-communist societies, a real danger exists that rather than "moving closer to Europe" on increasingly partnerlike terms as the region's reformers expect, in the eastern parts of the Continent incorporation into global capitalism will consolidate at the semi- (ECE) and peripheral (EEE) levels.

I generally agree with those among the "transitologists" who argue, like Linz and Stepan (1996) that, although evidently important, it is not the accustomed *Weltanschauungen* of individuals but the institutionalized situations - economic, legal, and political - in which they operate that are the primary triggers and sustainers of longer-dure structural change. Therefore, the alteration of these situations, in this case, the construction of functional "partial regimes" (Schmitter 1995) or the economic, political, and civil societies founded on reasonable and stable legal systems in post-communist countries

should eventually modify also the popular worldviews and practices they guide. The big problem is that because the communist regime destroyed or, more accurately, replaced with its own distortions all these basic infrastructures, building them anew simultaneously presents an enormous difficulty, particularly because many an old arrangement "fit" very well the global-capitalist conditions in which East Europe now finds itself.

Endnotes

1. For good reviews of studies of the origins and pursuits of the emerging top-level economic elite in post-communist East Europe, including big-scale mafia operators, see Hanley et al., 1995; Best and Becker 1997.

2. It should be noted, however, that there exist considerable differences between countries in the level of economic development within East Central Europe: the 1995 per capita GNP, for example, in the Czech Republic was 46% and in Poland 30% of the average figure for Western Europe and North America combined (figures compiled from compiled Hamilton (1990); Biffi (1997); Berend (1996).

3. Of the three ECE countries: Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic and in proportion to the total number of international migrants from each of them, Poles have engaged in such *indocumentado* work and unreported commercial trade during their sojourns abroad considerably more often than have either Czechs or Hungarians. Between-country differences in the migration plans correspond to those in the volume of actual travels. According to 1994-95 surveys of ECE's intentions to migrate temporarily to Western countries to earn money, between 35% and 60% of Poles, 33% and 48% of Czechs, but only 10%-15% of Hungarians reported having such plans (after Juhasz 1996; Slany 1997; Maresova 1996; Fassmann 1996; Uhlirova 1997). No comparable data exist for EEE income-seeking migrations to ECE.

4. According to a recent report (Gordon 1998), only one million Russians or one-eighth of the adult population in this country, filed tax returns in 1997.

5. Cyrus (1995a, 1995b); Cyrus and Helias (1995); survey and ethnographic studies of westbound migrations of East Central Europeans marked with an (*) in the bibliography at the end of this paper; American, German, and Polish press reports, 1992-97; the author's interviews with Wladyslaw Misiak about Polish border migrations to-and-from Germany, with the representatives of Polnischer Sozialrat in Berlin about illegal employment of East Europeans in Berlin; with Polish, Jewish, Russian, and Ukrainian recent (im)migrants in Philadelphia.

6. On female migrants' employment in domestic/nurturing occupations, see bibliographic references to survey and ethnographic studies of contemporary westbound migrations of East Europeans marked with an asterisks in the bibliography. Information about migrant prostitution from Cyrus (1997); Hummel (1993); Schenk (1993);

series of reportages on cross-border prostitution in East Central Europe in *Wprost*, April-July, 1997; the author's interviews with women's counselors at the Polisher Socialrat, Berlin.

Figures on female unemployment from E. Buchajer and B.Kortus (1995), pp. 231-38; and the author's interview with the legal counselor in the Ukrainian Embassy in Warsaw (summer 1997). During my research in Berlin in the summer of 1997 I was told, and my inspection of the site confirmed what I heard, that there "camp" at the Berlin Banhoff Zoo underage boys from western Poland who come there--it takes a few hours by train--to prostitute themselves in order to earn monies for consumer goods.

7. Information from Polish and German press reports, 1995-97, and from author's interviews with border guards along Poland's borders (summer 1997). The origin of new Polish colloquialisms for things stolen abroad and migrant-thieves: *juma* and *jumacze*, is not really known--they may have derived from the American western "15.10 to Yuma" depicting a lawless

town and its normless residents--cf. J.Kurzepa (1997). Kurzepa, the author of a sociological study of young *jumacze* in a borderland town in western Poland, ascribes their illegal activities to the generalized sense of deprivation (see also in the same volume W. Misiak's article on social pathologies in border towns).

8. The author's interviews included scholars studying present-day East European migrants in Poland, Hungary, Germany, Belgium, and the United States included Andrzej Sadowski, Grzegorz Babinski, Wladyslaw Misiak, Leszek Goldyka, Judith Juhasz, Hedwig Rudolph, and Norbert Cyrus; government officials dealing with issues of (in and out) migration and ethnic-group representatives in Germany, United States, Poland, and Ukraine.

9. Calculated on the basis of information obtained by the author from the legal counselor at the Ukrainian Embassy in Warsaw and border guards at check-points along Polish-Ukrainian border (summer 1997); Drbohlav and Sykora (1995), pp. 225-26; Dovenyi and Vukovich (1996), pp. 263-84; Sipaviciene (1997), statistical appendix; Pyrozkhov et al. (1996), statistical appendix.

10. Also this author's observations at Poland's eastern, southern, and western border-crossing points, and interviews with border guards, tourist-traders, and their sending or receiving connections in Poland and Germany (summer 1997).

11. Information about Ukrainian *Arbeitstouristen* traveling home for food supplies from the legal counselor at the Ukrainian Embassy in Warsaw, Poland, (July 1997).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ardittis, Solon (ed.) (1994) *The Politics of East-West Migration*, London, St. Martin's Press.

Bairoch, Paul (1982) "International Industrialization Levels from 1750 to 1980", *Journal of European Economic History*, 11, 263-312.

Balicka, Mariola (1997) "Przemyt bez granic", *Polityka*, January 4, 61-5.

Belozor, Vladimir (1996) "Belarus" in Thomas Frejka (ed.) *International Migration in Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States*, New York and Geneva, United Nations, 29-36.

Berend, Ivan (1996) *Central and Eastern Europe, 1944-1993. Detour from the Periphery to the Periphery*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Berend, Ivan and Gyorgi Ranki (1982) *The European Periphery and Industrialization 1780-1914*, New York, Columbia University Press.

Best, Heinrich and Ulrike Becker (eds) (1997) *Elites in Transition. Elite Research in Central and Eastern Europe*, Opladen, Leske & Budrich.

Biffi, Gudrun (ed.) (1997) *Migration, Free Trade and Regional Integration in Central and Eastern Europe*, Wien, Verlag Österreich.

Biuro Kontroli Legalnosci Zatrudnienia (1997) Warsaw, Department Pracy Sprawozdanie Roczne.

Bodrova, Valentina and Tatjana Regent (1994) "Russia and the CIS" in Solon Ardittis (ed.) *The Politics of East-West Migration*, London, St. Martin's Press, 98-110.

Buchajer, E. and B.Kortus (eds) (1995) *Polska i Niemcy. Geografia Sasiedztwa w Nowej Europie*, Krakow, Uniwersitas.

Chickering, A. Lawrence and Mohamed Salahdine (eds) (1991) *The Silent Revolution. The Informal Sector in Five Asian and Near Eastern Countries*, San Francisco, ICS Press.

Chiot, Daniel (ed.) (1989) *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe*, Berkeley, University of California Press.

Cieslinska, Barbara (1992) *Male miasto w procesie przemian w latach 1988-1994. Monografia socjologiczna Moniek* (Small town in the process of change, 1988-1994), Bialystok, Wydawnictwo FUW.

Cornelius, Wayne, Philip Martin, and James Hollifield (eds) (1994) *Controlling Immigration, A Global Perspective*, Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Cyrus, Norbert (1997) "Zur Situation irregularer polnischer Zuwanderinnen in Berlin", *Bericht der Berliner Fachkommission "Frauenhandel"*, Berlin, 13-19.

_____ (1995a) *Polnische Pendler/innen in Berlin*, unpublished ms.

_____ (1995b) "In Deutschland arbeiten und in Polen leben. Was die neuen WanderarbeiterInnen aus Polen bewegt" in *Zwischen Flucht und Arbeit. Neue Migration und Legalisierungs debatte. Herausgegen von Buro Arbeitsschwerpunkt Rassismus und Fluchtlings politik*, Hamburg, Verlag Libertore Assoziation.

Cyrus, Norbert and Ewa Helias (1993) *'Es ist möglich, die Baukosten zu senken'. Zu Problematik der Werkvertragsvereinbarungen mit osteuropaischen Staaten seit 1991*, Berlin, Edition Parabolis.

Dawisha, Karen and Bruce Parrott (eds) (1997) *Democratic Changes and Authoritarian Reactions in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova*, New York, Cambridge University Press.

De Soto, Hernando (1989) *The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World*, New York, Harper & Row.

Domaradzka, Ewa (1996) "Polacy Zatrudnieni Zagranica i Cudzoziemcy Pracujacy w Polsce", *Polityka Spoleczna* 274/275 (11-12), 16-18.

Doomernik, Jeroen (1997) *Going West. Soviet Jewish Immigrants in Berlin since 1990*, Aldershot, Avebury.

Dornis, Christian (1994) "Migration von und nach Russland seit Mitte der 80er Jahr" in Heinz Fassmann and Rainer Munz (eds) *Migration in Europa*, Frankfurt, Campus Verlag, 323-65.

Drbohlay, Dusan (1997) "Ukrainian Workers Operating in the Czech Republic", Paper presented at the Conference Central and Eastern Europe: New Migration Space, Pultusk, Poland, December 11-13.

Drbohlav, Drusan and Ludek Sykora (1997) "Gateway Cities inn the Process of Regional Integration in Central and Eastern Europe: The Case of Prague" in Gudrun Biffl (ed.) *Migration, Free Trade, and Regional Integration in Central and Eastern Europe*, Wien, Verlag Osterreich, 215-38.

Dovenyi, Zoltan and Gabriella Vukovich (1994) "Ungarn und die internationale Migration" in Heinz Fassmann and Rainer Munz (eds) *Migration in Europa*, Frankfurt, Campus Verlag, 263-84.

Entrepreneurship and SMEs in Transition Economies (1996) OECD Proceedings, Leed, Local Economic and Employment Development.

Fassmann, Heinz (1996) "The emigration potential of Central Europe (survey results)," unpblished ms.

Fassmann, Heinz and Rainer Munz (1995) "La migration d'Est en Ouest en Europe," *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, 11 (3), 43-66.

Fijalkowski, Jurgen (1992) *Judische Emigranten aus den Landern der Ehemaligen Sowjetunion*, Berlin, Auftrag der Auslanderbeauftragten des Senats von Berlin.

Frejka, Tomas (ed.) (1996) *International Migration in Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States*, New York and Geneva, UN Economic Commission for Europe.

Frieske, Kazimierz (1997) "Instytucjonalny Pluralizm czy Personalne Wplywy?" (Institutional Pluralism or Personal Influences?), Working paper, Warsaw, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Gabor, Istvan (1994) "Modernity or a New Kind of Duality? Second Thoughts About the 'Second Economy'" in Janos Matyas Kovacs (ed.) *Transition to Capitalism?*, New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 3-20.

Gershuny, J.I (1978) *After Industrial Society? The Emerging Self-Service Economy*, Atlantic Highlands, Humanities Press.

Goodwin-Gill, Guy (1993) "International Law and Human Rights: Trends Concerning Migrants and Refugees" in Bruce Mazlish and Ralph Buultjens (eds) *Conceptualizing Global History*, 526-46.

Gordon, Michael (1998) "Brash Russian Tax Chief Takes on Land of Evasion", *New York Times*, July 4, A1-6.

Grabowski, Marek (1994) *Ukryte Dochody i Nierejestrowany Rynek Pracy w Polsce* (Hidden Incomes and Unregistered Labor Market in Poland) Gdansk-Warsaw, Instytut Badan nad Gospodarka Rynkowa.

Graczyk, Maria (1997) "Wybor Ukrainy", *Polityka*, May 25, 84.

Green, Peter (1998) "Poland's 'Ants' Decry Curb on Bazaars", *International Herald Tribune*, April 4-5, 9.

Grossman, Gregory (1989) "Informal Personal Incomes and Outlays of the Soviet Urban Population" in Alejandro Portes, Manuel Castells, and Lauren Benton (eds) *The Informal Economy*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 150-72.

Gunther, Richard, Nikiforos Diamandouros, and Hans-Jurgen Puhle (eds) (1995) *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation. Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Grzeszak, Adam (1996) "Trup na lawecie", *Polityka*, December 21, 32-3.

_____ (1997a) "Mrowki ze Spirytusem", *Polityka*, November 22, 76-78.

_____ (1997b) "Targi na Granicy", *Polityka*, July 19, 62.

Hamilton, Ian (1990) "A Global Region in the Melting-pot?" *Geoforum*, 21, 151-153.

Handelman, Stephen (1995) *Comrade Criminal*, New Haven, Yale University Press.

Hanley, Eric et al (1995) *The Making of Post-Communist Elites in Eastern Europe: A Comparison of Political and Economic Elites in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland*. A ms report from the project. Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic.

Hars, Agnes (1997) "The Labour Market and Migration in Hungary" in Maryellen Fullerton, Endre Sik, and Judit Toth (eds) *From Improvisation toward Awareness? Contemporary Migration Politics in Hungary*, Budapest: Institute for Political Science of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 72-88.

Hillmann, Felicitas and Hedwig Rudolph (1997) *Redistributing the Cake? Ethnicization Processes in the Berlin Food Sector*, Berlin, Social Science Research Center, FS I 97-101.

Hollifield, James (1996) "The Migration Crisis in Western Europe: The Search for a National Model" in Klaus Bade (ed.) *Migration-Ethnizität-Konflikt. Systemfragen und Fallstudien*, Osnabrueck, Universitätsverlag Rasch, 367-403.

Hummel, Diana (1993) "Lohende Geschäfte: Frauenhandel Osteuropaerinnen der EG-Binnenmarkt", *Beiträge zur Feministische Theorie und Praxis*, 34, 59-69.

Iglicka, Krystyna (1997) "Recent Immigration into Poland," Paper presented at the International Conference "Central and Eastern Europe--New Migration Space", Pultusk, Poland, December 11-13.

Jameson, Frederick (1984) "Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," *New Left Review*, 146, 52-92.

Jazwinska, Ewa and Marek Okolski (1996) *Causes and Consequences of Migration in Central and Eastern Europe*, Warsaw, Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw.

Jowitt, Kenneth (1992) *New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction*, Berkeley, University of California Press.

Juhász, Judit (1996) "Hungary" in Tomas Frejka (ed.) *International Migration in Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States*, New York and Geneva, UN Commission for Europe, 69-80.

Karpiuk, Bożena (1997) *Emigracje Zarobkowe Mieszkańców Siemiatycz do Brukseli*, Ph.D. dissertation, Filia Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Białymstoku.

Kenedi, Janos (1985) *Do It Yourself. Hungary's Hidden Economy*, London, Pluto Press.

Kennedy, Michael and Pauline Gianoplus (1994) "Entrepreneurs and Expertise: A Cultural Encounter in the Making of Post-Communist Capitalism in Poland", *East European Politics and Societies*, 8 (1) 58-93.

Kessler, Judith (1997) "Jüdische Immigration seit 1990", *Migration und Soziale Arbeit*, 1, 40-7.

Kharkhordin, Oleg (1994) "The Soviet Individual: Genealogy of a Dissimulating Animal" in Mike Featherstone et al.(eds) *Global Modernities*, London, Sage, 209-26.

Killick, Tony and Christopher Stevens (1991) "Eastern Europe: Lessons on Economic Adjustment from the Third World," *International Affairs*, 67 (4), 679-96.

Konstantinow, Andriej (1997) "Mafia bez Piramid" (Mafia without the Pyramids). *Polityka*, May 17, 44-6.

Korzhov, Gennadii (1997) "Strategies of Identification in Conditions of Systemic Social Transformation: The Case of Post-Socialist Entrepreneurs in Russia and Ukraine", *Polish Sociological Bulletin*, 120 (4): 333-52.

Kovacs, Janos Matyas (ed.) (1994) *Transition to Capitalism?*, New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers.

Kritz, Mary and Hania Zlotnik (1992) "Global Interactions: Migrations Systems, Processes, and Policies" in Mary Kritz et al. (eds) *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Kurzepa, Jacek (1997) "Deprywacja Współczesnej Młodzieży: Fenomen 'Jumy'" in Leszek Goldyka et al. (eds) *Transgraniczność w Perspektywie Socjologicznej*, Zielona Góra, Poligrafia Politechniki Zielonogorskiej, 233-52.

Levine, Barry (1994) "Watching Eastern Europe, Thinking about Latin America", in Janos Matyas Kovacs (ed.) *Transition to Capitalism?*, New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 299-308.

Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan (1996) *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Linz, Juan, Alfred Stepan and Richard Gunther (1995) "Democratic Transition and Consolidation in Southern Europe, with Reflections on Latin America and Eastern Europe" in Richard Gunther, Nikiforos Diamandouros, and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (eds) *The Politics of Democratic Consolidations*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 77-123.

Los, Maria (ed) (1990) *The Second Economy in Marxist States*, London, Macmillan.

Maresova, Jarmila (1996) "Czech Republic" in Tomas Frejka (ed.) *International Migration in Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States*, New York and Geneva, UN Economic Commission for Europe, 49-56.

- Markiewicz, Wojciech (1997) "Kto i Po co Przyjeżdża do Polski? Miekkie Pazurki", *Polityka*, May 31, 75-7.
- Merton, Robert K (1968) "Social Structure and Anomie" in Robert Merton. *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 195-223.
- Misiak, Władysław (1997) "Zjawiska patologii społecznej w miastach przygranicznych" in Leszek Goldyka et al.(eds) *Transgraniczność w Perspektywie Socjologicznej*, Zielona Góra: Poligrafia Politechniki Zielonogorskiej, 117-128.
- Miera, Frauke (1997) "Are recent migrants to Berlin part of a Polish community?" Paper presented at the Conference Central and Eastern Europe: New Migration Space, Pultusk, Poland, December 11-13.
- Mizerski, Sławomir (1997) "Na Wschodzie bez Zmian," *Polityka*, March 8, 20-24.
- Morokvasic, Mirjana (1996) "Entre l'Est et l'Ouest, des migrations pendulaires" in Mirjana Morokvasic and Hedwig Rudolph (eds) *Migrants. Les nouvelles mobilités en Europe*, Paris, Editions L'Harmattan, 119-58.
- Morokvasic, Mirjana and Anne de Tinguy (1995) "Between East and West: A New Migratory Space in Hedwig Rudolph and Mirjana Morokvasic (eds) *Bridging States and Markets. International Migration in the Early 1990s*, Berlin, Edition Sigma.
- Mozolowski, Andrzej (1998) "Wielka Fala," *Polityka*, May 11, 20-22.
- Mydel, Rajmund and Heinz Fassmann (1997) *Nielegalni Robotnicy. Cudzoziemscy i Czarny Rynek Pracy*, Cracow, Institute of Geography of the Jagiellonian University.
- Nelson, Joan (ed.) (1994) *Intricate Links: Democratization and Market Reforms in Latin America and Eastern Europe*, New Brunswick, N.J., Transaction Publishers.
- Okolski, Marek (1996) "Poland" in Thomas Frejka (ed.) *International Migration in Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States*, New York and Geneva, United Nations.
- Pawlik, Wojciech (1992) "Intimate Commerce" in Janine Wedel (ed.) *The Unplanned Society. Poland During and After Communism*, New York, Columbia University Press, 78-94.

Piore, Michael and Christopher Sabel (1987) *The Second Industrial Divide*, New York, Basic Books.

Poplawski, Tadeusz (1995) *Strategie Migracyjne i Sieci Powiazan*, unpublished ms.

Portes, Alejandro, Manuel Castells, and Lauren Benton (eds) (1989) *The Informal Economy*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Praca Nierejestrowana w Polsce w 1995 Roku (1996) Warsaw, Glowny Urzadz Statystyczny, Department Pracy.

Przeworski, Adam (1991) *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Pumpianski, Aleksander (1998) "Wyplata pod Stolem", *Polityka*, March 14, 34-5.

Pyrozchkov, Serhyi et al. (1996) *Causes and Consequences of Emigration from Central and Eastern Europe: The Case of Ukraine*, Report to the UN Economic Commission for Europe.

Rakowski, Cathy, (ed.) (1994) *Contrapunto. The Informal Sector Debate in Latin America*, Albany, N.Y., SUNY Press.

Roberts, K. and Robert Jung (1995) *Poland's First Post-Communist Generation*, Aldershot, Avebury.

Romaniszyn, Krystyna (1997) "Wspolczesna Nielegalna Migracja Zarobkowa z Polski do Grecji w Perspektywie Procesu Integracji Europy", *Migracje i Spoleczenstwo*, 2, 153-64.

Rose, Richard and William Maley (1994) *Nationalities in the Baltic States. A Survey Study*, Glasgow, Centre for the Study of Public Policy.

Rudolph, Hedwig and Felicitas Hillman (1995) "Labour Migration Between Eastern and Western Europe", *East Germany*, March 1995, 3-7.

Salt, John (1997) "Reconceptualizing Migration and Migration Space", Paper presented at the Conference Central and Eastern Europe: New Migration Space, Pultusk, Poland, December 11-13.

Sassen, Saskia (1991) *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, Princeton,

Princeton University Press.

Schenk, Wiltrud (1993) "Grenzgegerinnen", *Beitrage zur Feministische Theorie und Praxis*, 34, 69-74.

Schmitter, Philippe (1995) "Organized Interests and Democratic Consolidation in Southern Europe" in Richard Gunther, Nikiforos Diamandouros, and Hans-Jurgen Puhle (eds) *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 284-314.

Siewiera, Beata (1995) "Les immigrés polonais sans documents" in Johan Leman (ed.) *Sans documents : les immigrés de l'ombre*, Bruxelles, DeBoeck Université, 71-112.

Sik, Endre (ed.) (1995) *Refugees and Migrants: Hungary at a Crossroads*, Budapest, Institute for Political Science of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

_____ (1994a) "From Multicolored to the Black and White Economy: The Hungarian Second Economy and the Transformation," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 18 (1), 46-68.

_____ (1994b) "Network capital in capitalist, communist and post-communist societies", *International Contributions to Labor Studies*, 4, 73-93.

_____ (1994c) "The Size of Unregistered Economy in Post-Communist Transformation", unpublished ms.

Simon, Carl and Ann Witte (1982) *Beating the System. The Underground Economy*, Boston, Ma., Auburn House Publishing Company.

Sipaviciene, Audra (1997) *International Migration in Lithuania: Causes and Consequences*, Report to the UN Economic Commission for Europe.

Slany, Krystyna (ed.) (1997) *Orientacje Emigracyjne Polakow*, Cracow, Uniwersytet Jagiellonski, Instytut Socjologii.

Solska, Joanna (1998) "Cnota za Pieniadze", *Polityka*, January 31, 25-6.

Stola, Dariusz (1997) "Income-seeking foreigners in Poland in the 1990s: quasi-migrants from the former USSR", Paper presented at the Conference Central and Eastern Europe: New Migration Space, Pultusk, Poland, December 11-13.

Szara Gospodarka w Polsce: Rozmiary, Przyczyny, Konsekwencje (The Gray Economy in Poland: Scope, Causes, Consequences) 1996, Warsaw, Studia i Prace Zakładu Badan Statyst.-Ekonom. GUS i PAN, zeszyt 233.

Sztompka, Piotr (1995) "Trust: The Missing Resource of Post-Communist Society", Paper delivered at the CEU, Prague, 23 February.

Tokman, Victor (ed.) (1992) *Beyond Regulation. The Informal Economy in Latin America*, Boulder, Co, Lynne Rienner Publishers,

Tourism in Central and Eastern Europe, 1995, Geneva, World Tourism Organization.

Trends in International Migration. Continuous Reporting System on Migration, 1996, Annual Report 1995, Paris, OECD/SOPEMI.

Uhlirova, Eva (1997) "Potential emigration from Prague after the 'Velvet Revolution'", Paper presented at the International Conference Central and Eastern Europe: New Migration Space, Pultusk, Poland, December 11-13.

Ulrich, Christopher (1994) "The Price of Freedom. The Criminal Threat in Russia, Eastern Europe and the Baltic Region", working paper in the Conflict Series, Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, October, 1-30.

Urbanek, Mariusz (1996) "Zagraniczny handel mrowek", *Polityka*, August 24, 50-1.

Vishnevsky, Anatoli und Zhanna Zayonchkovskaya (1994) "Auswanderung as der fruheren Sowjetunion und den GUS-Staaten" in Heinz Fassmann and Rainer Munz (eds) *Migration in Europa*, 365-390.

Ward, Peter (ed.) (1989) *Corruption, Development, and Inequality*, London and New York, Routledge.

Wedel, Janina (1992) "The Unintended Consequences of Western Aid to Post-Communist Europe", *Telos*, 92, Summer, 131-38.

_____ (1986) *Private Poland*, New York, Facts on File Publications.

Weiner, Myron (1995) *The Global Migration Crisis. Challenge to States and to Human Rights*, Cambridge, MA., MIT Press.

Wilk, Ewa (1996) "Turysta czyli Zawodowiec", *Polityka*, August 24, 52-3.

Witkowski, Janusz (1995) *Rynek Pracy w Polsce w 1994 roku. Nowe Tendencje. Stare Zagrozenia* (Labor Market in Poland in 1994: New tendencies. Old Problems), Warsaw, GUS, Departament Pracy i Dochodow Ludnosci.



EUI WORKING PAPERS

EUI Working Papers are published and distributed by the
European University Institute, Florence

Copies can be obtained free of charge
– depending on the availability of stocks – from:

The Publications Officer
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I-50016 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy

Please use order form overleaf

Publications of the European University Institute

To The Publications Officer
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I-50016 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI) – Italy
Telefax No: +39/55/4685 636
e-mail: publish@datacomm.iue.it
<http://www.iue.it>

From Name
Address
.....
.....
.....
.....

- ☐ Please send me a complete list of EUI Working Papers
☐ Please send me a complete list of EUI book publications
☐ Please send me the EUI brochure Academic Year 1999/2000

Please send me the following EUI Working Paper(s):

No, Author
Title:
No, Author
Title:
No, Author
Title:
No, Author
Title:

Date

Signature



Working Papers of the Robert Schuman Centre

Published since 1998

RSC No. 98/1

Jonathan GOLUB
Global Competition and EU Environmental
Policy. *Global Competition and EU
Environmental Policy: An Overview*

RSC No. 98/2

Ian H. ROWLANDS
Global Competition and EU Environmental
Policy. *EU Policy for Ozone Layer
Protection*

RSC No. 98/3

Marc PALLEMAERTS
Global Competition and EU Environmental
Policy. *Regulating Exports of Hazardous
Chemicals: The EU's External Chemical
Safety Policy*

RSC No. 98/4

André NOLLKAEMPER
Global Competition and EU Environmental
Policy. *Improving Compliance with the
International Law of Marine Environmental
Protection: The Role of the European Union*

RSC No. 98/5

Thomas HELLER
Global Competition and EU Environmental
Policy. *The Path to EU Climate Change
Policy*

RSC No. 98/6

David VOGEL
Global Competition and EU Environmental
Policy. *EU Environmental Policy and the
GATT/WTO*

RSC No. 98/7

Andrea LENSCHOW
Global Competition and EU Environmental
Policy. *The World Trade Dimension of
"Greening" the EC's Common Agricultural
Policy*

RSC No. 98/8

Nick ROBINS
Global Competition and EU Environmental
Policy. *Competitiveness, Environmental
Sustainability and the Future of European
Community Development Cooperation*

RSC No. 98/9

Thomas RISSE (with Daniela
ENGELMANN-MARTIN/Hans-Joachim
KNOPF/Klaus ROSCHER)
To Euro or Not to Euro? The EMU and
Identity Politics in the European Union

RSC No. 98/10

Véronique PUJAS/Martin RHODES
Party Finance and Political Scandal in Latin
Europe

RSC No. 98/11

Renaud DEHOUSSE
European Institutional Architecture after
Amsterdam: Parliamentary System or
Regulatory Structure?

RSC No. 98/12

Jonathan GOLUB
New Instruments for Environmental Policy
in the EU. *New Instruments for
Environmental Policy in the EU: An
Overview*

RSC No. 98/13

Stephen TINDALE/Chris HEWETT
New Instruments for Environmental Policy
in the EU. *New Environmental Policy
Instruments in the UK*

RSC No. 98/14

Wolfram CREMER/Andreas FISAHN
New Instruments for Environmental Policy
in the EU. *New Environmental Policy
Instruments in Germany*

RSC No. 98/15

Duncan LIEFFERINK
New Instruments for Environmental Policy
in the EU. *New Environmental Policy
Instruments in the Netherlands*

RSC No. 98/16

Kurt DEKETELAERE
New Instruments for Environmental Policy
in the EU. *New Environmental Policy
Instruments in Belgium*

RSC No. 98/17

Susana AGULAR FERNÁNDEZ
New Instruments for Environmental Policy
in the EU. *New Environmental Policy
Instruments in Spain*

RSC No. 98/18

Alberto MAJOCCHI
New Instruments for Environmental Policy
in the EU. *New Environmental Policy
Instruments in Italy*

RSC No. 98/19

Jan Willem BIEKART
New Instruments for Environmental Policy
in the EU. *Negotiated Agreements in EU
Environmental Policy*

RSC No. 98/20

Eva EIDERSTRÖM
New Instruments for Environmental Policy
in the EU. *Ecolabels in EU Environmental
Policy*

RSC No. 98/21

Karola TASCHNER
New Instruments for Environmental Policy
in the EU. *Environmental Management
Systems: The European Regulation*

RSC No. 98/22

Jos DELBEKE/Hans BERGMAN
New Instruments for Environmental Policy
in the EU. *Environmental Taxes and
Charges in the EU*

RSC No. 98/23

Carol HARLOW
European Administrative Law and the
Global Challenge

RSC No. 98/24

Jørgen ELMESKOV
The Unemployment Problem in Europe:
Lessons from Implementing the OECD Jobs
Strategy

RSC No. 98/25

Paul ORMEROD
A Business Cycle Model with Keynesian
Micro-Foundations: The Policy Implications
for Unemployment

RSC No. 98/26

Richard CLAYTON/Jonas PONTUSSON
The New Politics of the Welfare State
Revisited: Welfare Reforms, Public-Sector
Restructuring and Inegalitarian Trends in
Advanced Capitalist Societies

RSC No. 98/27

Paul JOHNSON
The Measurement of Social Security
Convergence: The Case of European Public
Pension Systems since 1950

RSC No. 98/28

Claudio M. RADAELLI
Creating the International Tax Order:
Transfer Pricing and the Search for
Coordination in International Tax Policy

RSC No. 98/29

Wisla SURAZSKA
On Local Origins of Civil Society in Post-
Communist Transition

RSC No. 98/30

Louis CHARPENTIER
The European Court of Justice and the
Rhetoric of Affirmative Action

RSC No. 98/31

Arthur BENZ/Burkard EBERLEIN
Regions in European Governance: The
Logic of Multi-Level Interaction

RSC No. 98/32

Ewa MORAWSKA
International Migration and Consolidation of
Democracy in East Central Europe: A
Problematic Relationship in a Historical
Perspective

RSC No. 98/33

Martin MARCUSSEN
Central Bankers, the Ideational Life-Cycle
and the Social Construction of EMU

RSC No. 98/34

Claudio M. RADAELLI
Policy Narratives in the European Union:
The Case of Harmful Tax Competition

RSC No. 98/35

Antje WIENER
The Embedded *Acquis Communautaire*
Transmission Belt and Prism of New
Governance

RSC No. 98/36

Liesbet HOOGHE

Supranational Activists or Intergovernmental Agents? Explaining the Orientations of Senior Commission Officials Towards European Integration

RSC No. 98/37

Michael J. ARTIS/Wenda ZHANG

Core and Periphery in EMU: A Cluster Analysis

RSC No. 98/38

Beate KOHLER-KOCH

Territorial Politics in Europe - A Zero-Sum Game?

La renaissance de la dimension territoriale en Europe : entre illusion et réalité

RSC No. 98/39

Michael KEATING

Territorial Politics in Europe - A Zero-Sum Game?

The New Regionalism. Territorial Competition and Political Restructuring in Western Europe

RSC No. 98/40

Patrick LE GALÈS

Territorial Politics in Europe - A Zero-Sum Game?

Urban Governance in Europe: How Does Globalisation Matter?

RSC No. 98/41

Liesbet HOOGHE

Territorial Politics in Europe - A Zero-Sum Game?

EU Cohesion Policy and Competing Models of European Capitalism

RSC No. 98/42

Burkard EBERLEIN

Regulating Public Utilities in Europe: Mapping the Problem

RSC No. 98/43

Daniel VERDIER

Domestic Responses to Free Trade and Free Finance in OECD Countries

RSC No. 98/44

Amy VERDUN

The Role of the Delors Committee in the Creation of EMU: An Epistemic Community?

RSC No. 98/45

Yves SUREL

The Role of Cognitive and Normative Frames in Policy-Making

RSC No. 98/46

Douglas WEBBER

The Hard Core: The Franco-German Relationship and Agricultural Crisis Politics in the European Union

RSC No. 98/47

Henri SNEESSENS/Raquel FONSECA/B. MAILLARD

Structural Adjustment and Unemployment Persistence (With an Application to France and Spain)

RSC No. 98/48

Liesbet HOOGHE

Images of Europe. Orientations to European Integration among Senior Commission Officials

RSC No. 98/49

Andre LIEBICH

Ethnic Minorities and Long-Term Implications of EU Enlargement

RSC No. 98/50

Emil J. KIRCHNER

Transnational Border Cooperation Between Germany and the Czech Republic: Implications for Decentralization and European Integration

RSC No. 98/51

Susan SENIOR NELLO

The Economic Accession Criteria for EU Enlargement: Lessons from the Czech Experience

RSC No. 98/52

Michael J. ARTIS/Wenda ZHANG

Membership of EMU: A Fuzzy Clustering Analysis of Alternative Criteria

RSC No. 98/53

Ewa MORAWSKA

The Malleable *Homo Sovieticus*: Transnational Entrepreneurs in Post-Communist East Europe

