Shame and the Experience of Ambivalence on the Margins of the Global: Pathologizing the Past and Present in Romania's Industrial Wastelands

Jack R. Friedman

Abstract This article examines shame in a context of political–economic decline (Jiu Valley, Romania). I argue that shame, which is traditionally associated with a "shrinking" feeling and social control, can take on a dual resonance for people situated in socioeconomic conditions of moral disorder. Shame can act as both a personal experience of self-defeat as well as acting as a medium for critiquing the very system of socioeconomic norms and cultural values that work to make one feel ashamed. Using data drawn from research among coal miners in post-state socialist Romania, this article illustrates how discourses associated with shame can be viewed as a critical understanding of the culturally meaningful experience of marginalization from and the ambivalence of global processes. [shame, culture critique, ambivalence, Romania, Jiu Valley]

Wrestling with the meaning of Communism and *timpul lui Ceauşescu*—the "time of Ceauşescu"—can be a shame-inducing part of post-1989 life in Romania. When people see images of pensioners hovered over the grave of communist dictator Nicolae Ceauşescu in Bucharest, when statistics suggest that up to 40 percent of Romanians, over a decade after the fall of communism, think that life is worse than it was during the harsh conditions under Ceauşescu, it gives reformers, intellectuals, urbanites, and cosmopolitans in this northern Balkan country pause and a certain embarrassment. Still, many people who have suffered a declining life and the experience of downward mobility since the fall of state socialism view current conditions in Romania in terms that recall comparisons and contrasts with the dark days of Communist Party rule (cf. Boym 2001).

ETHOS Vol. 35, Issue 2, pp. 235–264, ISSN 0091-2131 online ISSN 1548-1352. DOI: 10.1525/ETH.2007.35.2.235.

However, no one, not even the most rabidly nostalgic, can look back on the state socialist period with unmitigated delight. It is, instead, the mixture of ambiguity and ambivalence toward the past, the present, and the future (cf. Humphrey 2001; Volkan 1997) that colors much of the talk I encountered in the research that I conducted in the economically declining coal-mining regions of Romania's Jiu Valley.[1] In particular, much of this ambiguity and ambivalence was framed in what I call "shame talk," expressing the shame of having to send one's children to school with threadbare clothes or being unable to attend to the expectations of Romanian hospitality for a visiting guest.

Regardless, the shame I observed during my fieldwork failed to unproblematically take on the characteristic feature that has become a central theme in the literature on shame: the shrinking into the self caused by, at its very core, what Richard Shweder calls "the deeply felt and highly motivating experience of the fear of being judged defective" (2003:1115). To say that the shame that I heard in the Jiu Valley bears on a global vision of the "whole self," something that some have argued is the core feature that distinguishes "shame" from "guilt" (Baumli 1995; Gilbert 2003; Ikonen et al. 1993; Lynd 1958; Pines 1987)—does not seem to hold up. Rather than being "paralyzed" or "muted" (Macdonald 1998) by shame or shamed into "sinking" away (Tomkins 1987)—common metaphors for the experience of shame—my interviewees seemed capable of both feeling shame (as a defective self) and simultaneously framing that shame as a critique of contemporary political, economic, and social forces arrayed against them (seeing the world as a profoundly flawed moral [dis]order).

Shame has tended to be viewed as a form of social control in psychological anthropology (Epstein 1984; Nachman 1984). In these functional models, shame emerges from the Durkheimian (1964) tradition that emphasizes how social facts work to constrain the individual to maintain order in the society (e.g., Fajans 1983). These constraints are embodied either through the internalization of a self-regulating emotion (guilt) or a self-regulating emotion that emerges from fear of social repercussions for deviant acts (shame) (Benedict 1934, 1946; Levy 1973; Spiro 1987:135–139). Shame, however, is also frequently viewed as a social fact that does more than provide a series of negative sanctions and constraints, but also functions as a positive motivation for individuals (Fajans 1983). In this regard, shame is frequently bound to literature on honor, taking form as a virtue (Levy 1983) that protects people from being seen as "shameless" (Abu-Lughod 1985, 1986). Michelle Rosaldo challenges the

received wisdom regarding the social control function of shame among the Ilongot, although, by arguing that shame does not so much rest in a "moral affect" (1983:136) but, rather, is associated with a more global understanding of the self in society. In each case, shame reflects deeply held cultural values and can, in this sense, be seen as regulating behavior through "moral anxiety" (Spiro 1965:399–422).

In Romanian, the word *ruşine* is traditionally translated into the English "shame."[2] *Ruşine* takes two constructions. In the nominative case—*este/e/i ruşine*, "it is shameful"—it carries a significantly reduced emotional weight because it is associated with general propriety, social, and ethical norms. When it is in the dative case—*îmi/îţi/îi este/e/i ruşine*, "it shames me/you/one"—*ruşine* carries a greater and more self-directed emotional weight since it is an explicit expression of one's personal position within the world of cultural norms. At the same time, shame-talk in Romanian shares many qualities with the use of the word in English (Cohen 2003). The strong psychocultural threat to the self that occurs with the expression of shame tempts people to use the weaker nominative form of *ruşine* rather than the dative form. As in English, admitting the strong sense of personal shame is avoided because it also can evoke shame in the listener. In conversational Romanian it is more frequent, then, to find people talking about a shameful situation (nominative) than about being shamed (dative).

While not as well developed and hypercognized (Levy 1973) as in some other cultures (e.g., Abu-Lughod 1986), shame is reinforced by accusations of "shamelessness." Accusations of shamelessness—*neruşinare/neruşinat* ("shamelessness") or *fără ruşine* (lit. "without shame")—can be found in many contexts where moral norms are important, especially norms of propriety, respect, and hierarchy. It is not uncommon to hear people who violate these norms referred to as *obraznic* (lit. "cheeky") and, even more strongly, *neobraznare/neobrazat* (lit. "without cheek" and implying someone who is shameless, lacking honor, and untrustworthy). A related term, *şmecher(a)*, is similar to the American English ideas of a "player" or a "cool operator," someone who gets over on the system, who can flout traditional cultural norms frequently to get something accomplished in the face of social, legal, or bureaucratic constraints. *Şmecher(a)*, however, is problematic because it is going through semantic change or what Geoffrey Hughes calls "amelioration" (1989). For older Romanians, being a şmecher(a) is generally derogatory, suggesting a strong sense of deviance from moral norms and shamelessness. For younger

Romanians who view "bucking the system" as the only way of succeeding, being a şmecher(a) tends to imply a respectful, often playful sense of a person's resistance to and capacity to excel at the margins of the hostile and highly corrupt Romanian economy and bureaucracy. Regardless, given certain contexts, any of these words can function to shame a person.

As in many societies, the Romanian concept of "ruşine" works to exert social control. However, as some anthropologists have suggested, there are also social spaces and cultural mediums in which normally shameful behavior or feelings can be expressed in a socially sanctioned manner and that they can function as a form of resistance to the moral order. Abu-Lughod's (1985, 1986) discussion of the ways in which Bedouin poetic expression in circumscribed spaces can give voice to personal feelings that might otherwise deviate from moral norms of gendered propriety can be seen as a type of "discourse of antistructure" or "antimorality," giving shape to opposition and defiance emerging from ambivalence toward the macronarratives of honor that define much of Bedouin society. Similarly, Steven Parish (1996), without explicitly using the language of emotions, illustrates the ways in which lower-caste Newars express resistance to higher-caste members through stories involving acts of shaming. The morality tales that Newars tell reveal the ways in which high caste members are shamed into recognizing the common humanity and, frequently, the moral superiority of lower-caste people. Parish views this critical, "antihierarchical" function of shame as a sign of a deeper ambivalence toward caste that works to show that the "conditions of life, practices, and ideology that create and sustain caste hierarchy are locked in perpetual conflict with the impulse to escape and alter that hierarchy" (Parish 1996:135).

Steven Nachman illustrates a different way in which shame functions as resistance on the Nissan Atoll, pointing out how some members of the community will publicly perform their shame as an act of indirect "moral aggression" to shame those who have shamed them (1984:352–354). Geoffrey White similarly shows how the rhetoric of shame in conflict resolution rituals of "disentanglement" among the A'ara can be used to recontextualize acts of "anger" to rationalize personal acts of conflict in ways that "mend minor tears in the social fabric before relations unravel further," working to "bring conditions of divisiveness and individuated 'anger' more in line with models of solidarity" (1990:63). In this vein, I will argue that Romanian ruşine can work as a tool for social justice.

Here, I insist on a way of reading shame as an analytic for understanding the closely entwined nature of both the personal and the political. Shame has been treated as a monolithic system that provides a frame for the judgment of the (defective) self. What has been central and unchallenged in this view of shame, though, is the assumption that the individual subject *treats the moral order as unproblematic, given, or unchallengeable.* Instead, what I will emphasize is the need to see shame in certain contexts—especially contexts of profound cultural change and contexts of dramatic political economic upheaval—as dually marked both (1) by a social–personal experience of a defective self and (2) as a reflection of a critical political understanding (Jameson 1981; Parish 1996) of problems, contradictions, inconsistencies, and tensions in the moral (dis)order—a world experienced as turned upside down. The personal experience of shame—the personal feeling of a defective self—is marked by the predictable feelings of "shrinking into the self" and a desire to disappear, to melt away in the face of the recognition that the self is profoundly out-of-sorts with a set of expected cultural norms. The critical function of shame is marked by feelings of profound anger and righteous indignation in response to a perceived world-out-of-sorts. This dual nature of the experience of shame is, in short, the experience of *ambivalence* in the face of a moral order in upheaval—a moral order that is changing, but about which there is little consensus or agreement.

Here, I briefly illustrate the contrast that I am making between different "classic" personal experiences of shame and critical functions of shame in the Romanian context. Problems with alcohol and the culture of alcohol are intimately woven into daily life in the Jiu Valley. Drinking at a *birt*—a lower-class pub—was a central part of the miners' lives until economic conditions made it prohibitively expensive starting in the late 1990s (Kideckel 2004). Public drinking, while generally discouraged, was a fact of life and it was socially normalized when it occurred among groups of miners. Miners insisted that, given the horrifying conditions in which they spent their working hours, they deserved to drink. In most cases the wives and families of these miners tolerated this drinking using the same tropes of deservedness. However, when drink led to public displays of deviance and neglect of the family, tropes of deservedness transformed into shame that reflected not only the weakness of the miner but also shamed the honor of the family.

One miner who I met while conducting interviews in a psychiatric ward in the Jiu Valley illustrated this decline from social drinking into the shame of alcoholism.

Petru had been hospitalized for treatment for alcohol dependency.[3] He explained that he had started drinking too much when he worked at the mine because there had been a series of accidents at his mine that had shaken him. This was not unusual since miners frequently brought small bottles of *ţuica*—plum brandy—down into the mines with them because it gave them "strength" to get through the difficult work. In Petru's case, though, his drinking escalated to the point where he lost his job. Eventually, his wife and daughter left him and he fell into poverty. Petru described the shame he felt in the face of these events:

> it destroyed me, because my wife left me when. . . . You know how, when you have a need, and there is someone close to you, and you need her. . . . I was depressed then, I didn't know anything. You are alone, because you can no longer go to your father and mother to cry [complain], because you are older, it shames you [*ţi-e ruşine*], you have your pride [*ai mândri*] as a man and. . . . So I didn't go [to them] and then I left and drank and drank and drank and drank.[4]

Petru went on to say,

> My wife was, she didn't ever understand why I drank, never. So she didn't communicate, didn't communicate with me, and I, as a man, would curse at her . . . the pride of a man [*mândria de bărbat*] . . . and it would shame me [*mi-era şi ruşine*] to speak like this to her, and maybe she didn't understand me, maybe she laughed at me. [2005]

In the process of telling me his stories about the consequences of his alcohol dependency Petru showed classic bodily signs of shame. He averted his gaze and he seemed to bodily "sink into himself." From a sociological standpoint, Petru expressed an understanding of the cultural norms of drinking in Romanian society as well as how he had deviated from these norms. In addition, Petru understood the social proscriptions—the judgments of deficiency related to his failures as an adult, a man, a husband—as well as the sociological mechanisms of public chastisement and mockery that enforced these proscriptions. In short, Petru's narrative of alcoholism seemed to show all of the classic signs of shame.

One can contrast Petru's experience of shame with another moment in my fieldwork in which shame takes on a very different valence. A little over a month into my stay in the Jiu Valley city of Lupeni, my neighbors invited me to visit. The husband, Pavel, was a miner in the neighboring city of Vulcan and

his wife worked during the nightshift at the coal processing plant in Lupeni. During the day she was part of a network of women who looked after each other's children while the parents worked the odd, and sometimes changing, shifts during the round-the-clock running of the mines. As we talked and ate we also drank copious quantities of ţuica and beer and Pavel's questions about life in America became increasingly pointed. We ended up comparing household expenses and incomes and he insisted that his wife bring us copies of old bills to prove his point: Pavel needed to "perform" the ways in which life in the Jiu Valley was becoming miserable and why it was the fault of those "bastards" who wanted to close the mines. Pavel sat there and bared his soul, exposing himself to the judgment of being defective as a poor provider for his family. As a father and husband he could not pay the bills, he could not have a beer at the bar with his co-workers (cf. Kideckel 2004), he could not afford basic amenities in the apartment without risking a total slide into poverty. I had been in situations like this before during my research in Romania—listening to this shameful unburdening of the self through the litanies of personal hardship and failure[5]—but one thing made this experience more powerful than others I had been in. The thing that I clearly remember was this strong man insisting, over and over as we drank more and more, "Nu-i ruşine! Nu-i ruşine! Nu-i ruşine!" (It's not shameful! It's not shameful! It's not shameful!)

* * *

The remainder of this article is divided into three parts. In the first I will explore the historical and social foundations of life in the Jiu Valley. In the second part, drawing on psychoanalytic literature, I will examine some of the theoretical foundations and implications for thinking about shame as a component in the critique of a political–economic and moral order that is perceived to be unjust. In the third part I will consider three different examples of the complexity of shame in the Jiu Valley drawn from interviews and participant-observation in the region. The three examples—gender and childrearing, the home and the social obligation of hospitality, and working conditions—are not meant to be comprehensive but, rather, illustrative of the dual nature of shame in the Jiu Valley. These domains were chosen because each was once taken for granted and experienced as stable and hopeful. As such, they provide examples of highly charged emotional experiences that work well to illustrate the dual nature of contemporary shame in the Jiu Valley.

Workers in a Postworker State: Romanian Industrialism—From Pride to Pariah

The Jiu Valley, with a population of about 200,000, is a narrow, 40-kilometer long strip of land that cuts east to west through the southern Carpathian Mountains on the border that separates Transylvania from the southern, agricultural regions of Romania. Before the mid–19th century the population in the region was sparse because there was almost no arable land because of the harsh mountainous terrain. Beginning in the 1860s, however, industrialists from Austria discovered the rich coal reserves of the region. Within a few decades, the population had grown by almost 400 percent as the landscape was transformed into a series of coal-mining towns. With the growth of the coal-mining industry in the region also came the costs of early industry—terrible living conditions for workers and their families, exploitative labor practices, dangerous working conditions, and an ever-growing police and military presence to quell the growing labor unrest. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, this labor unrest spilled over into a series of spectacular and bloody strikes that seemed to cement the unity of the miners of the region.

After World War II and the rise of the party–state in 1947 (see Tismaneanu 2003), the Romanian Workers' Party (later Romanian Communist Party) hoped to use the Jiu Valley to build support for the party since the region was seen as one of the few pockets of genuine proletarian consciousness in a nation that was primarily made up of a peasantry that was proving resistant to the state socialist project of collectivization (Verdery 2003). Unfortunately for the party, the Jiu Valley's militant resistance to anything that would lead to costly and painful exploitation of workers proved to be a thorn in its side (Friedman 2005). By 1977, labor resistance spilled over into the first major public struggle against the dictator Nicolae Ceauşescu (who ruled Romania from 1965 until his execution in 1989) when a general strike was called throughout the Jiu Valley. While a truce was reached between the party and the miners, it was one that was shot through with distrust on both sides. Regardless, the centrality of Jiu Valley coal to the goals of the party—the need for coal in their plans to go forward with massive, heavy industrial development (see Jowitt 1971; Montias 1967; Tsantis and Pepper 1979)—meant that the party–state was forced to negotiate with the miners rather than impose its will on them as it did in most sectors of Romanian society.

Under state socialism, coal mining had two very appealing benefits that drew many people to the Jiu Valley, especially during the 1970s and 1980s. First, while miners were paid better than workers in almost any other industry in the country under state socialism, the really significant boon to being a miner was that mining regions tended to have better access to consumer goods than almost any other part of the country. To get a job in the Jiu Valley before 1989 meant being able to provide for one's family in a way that was almost impossible anywhere else in Romania. The second benefit to working in the mines was that being a coal miner was seen as a patriotic and highly respected job under state socialism. Symbolic capital attached to the class identity of being a miner was invaluable in securing intergenerational upward mobility, especially in assuring the miners' children opportunities for better employment and education. All of this began to change in the years after 1989.

While most of Central Europe benefited from political support and capital influx in the first several years after 1989, Romania suffered what might be called the "delayed shock therapy" of economic reform in the late 1990s (Ibrahim and Galt 2002). Romania remained burdened with a political leadership mostly made up of former party apparatchiks between 1990 and 1996. This meant that Romania lagged behind the rest of Central Europe in terms of real economic reforms, making it a pariah in the eyes of many sources of global capital. It was also during this early period after 1989 that the Jiu Valley coal miners came into public consciousness. In 1990 they were enticed to Bucharest to violently break-up a massive student protest in the heart of the city. These events—known in Romanian as *mineriade*—lead to many deaths, shutting down the city for several days, and sending cultural shockwaves through the urban elite and landscape that can still be felt today (Gledhill 2005; Granqvist 1999; Vasi 2004). In the 1991 *mineriadă*, the miners came back to the capital under the direction of their union leader, Miron Cozma, and, after another violent strike, succeeded in bringing down then–Prime Minister, Petre Roman, who, it was rumored, was planning to close down the mines in his attempt to reform the economy. Following these events, the socialists were able to consolidate their power by appealing to the mass of the population that still relied on communist-era heavy industry for their livelihoods, emphasizing the dismal future that rapid privatization and unchecked capitalism would engender for them. And at the forefront of the popular support for the socialists were the miners of the Jiu Valley.

In the 1996 national elections a center–right coalition called the Democratic Convention (DC) was formed on the promise of moving beyond what many Romanians saw as the stagnation into which the country was sinking.[6] The dreams behind these reforms began to unravel almost immediately, though. The reform coalition was under pressure from three different directions: a populace that had unrealistic expectations for rapid and dramatic improvements in standard of living; a bureaucracy that remained entrenched and resistant to reforms; and pressures from international lending organizations—the IMF and the World Bank—which demanded structural changes in the economy that would mean massive unemployment and the closure or selling off of formerly state-protected heavy industries. The DC ultimately chose to align its policies with the demands of the international lending organizations at all costs. Foremost in their reforms, the DC worked to close and privatize many of the formerly protected state-owned industries that had remained a massive drain on the national economy because of inefficient production, the loss of markets, and the almost complete lack of capital investment to maintain or modernize industry.

Pivotal to these reforms was key legislation meant to soften the impact of plant closures and downsizing on unemployment. Tens of thousands of miners chose to sign-up for severance pay programs and "voluntary redundancy." By 1997, just before these reforms took place, there were over 42,000 people still working in mining. By 2000, this number had dwindled to just over 17,000 workers (by 2005 this stood at 10,000). Those who did not choose these "voluntary redundancy measures" hoped that this would be the end of the reforms; however, these hopes were dashed late in 1998 when the first mine closures were announced. By January 1999, the rage in the Jiu Valley spilled over into another mineriadă: a march on Bucharest, some 350 kilometers away, marked by running battles between state security forces and over 10,000 miners. The mineriadă was resolved before the miners reached Bucharest, but the violence made the message clear: The miners would not sit back and accept their fate without resistance.

The threat to one's employment and the economic base of the community had profound implications for both families who did and did not leave the industry. Many people who had left the coal mines had hoped to transition into new jobs or start their own small businesses. However, few who found themselves out of work made the leap into new employment. Investing capital in the region was prohibitive because the region is physically isolated and does not

have the kind of infrastructure that is easily converted to new production. Foreign investors remained wary of going to the region because of the militant labor history of the coal miners and the region's poor infrastructure. Small business opportunities were limited since few people left in the region would have the money necessary to buy anything, a fact confirmed by the World Bank in a community-wide "livability" study published in 2004 (World Bank 2004). A "return to the land" was out of the question because there was little or no arable land and agricultural land was highly contested elsewhere in the country (Verdery 2003). In fact, during the late 1990s there were frequent stories of miners who had tried to return to farming areas where they had either been born or where they had extended family only to be beaten up and driven out of town by local farmers. Other stories were about miners being offered plots of essentially worthless land—lacking irrigation or in areas prone to flooding or in areas that were contaminated by toxic waste—in an attempt to bilk them out of their severance pay money.

In addition to the economic upheaval, people in the Jiu Valley felt a profound blow to their self-esteem. Under state socialism they had been made to feel important and they were treated with enough privilege and dignity—despite the dehumanizing horrors of the working conditions in the mining industry—that they developed a core sense of identity around their work (Kideckel et al. 2000). Even those not directly working in the mining industry—children (Friedman 2003), the elderly, and most women (although women did frequently work in other industries in the Jiu Valley and many women worked in the coal industry in jobs above ground) (Friedman 2003; Kideckel 2004)—felt their identities and futures tied to the mines and mining. Despite all of the changes in the postsocialist symbolic economy of Romania after 1989—especially the backlash against labor—many in the Jiu Valley continued to feel important and valuable to the national patrimony even in the face of the threats that they perceived from Bucharest-based politicians and ideologues. While many reformers and liberalizers demonized the coal miners for the mineriade in 1990 and 1991, few would have said that the Jiu Valley did not provide a valuable commodity for the betterment of the Romanian people. It was for this reason that a grudging recognition always accompanied any condemnation of the Jiu Valley miners. The miners had felt that, even when they seemed to be resisting popular sentiments during their strikes in 1990 and 1991, they were still doing work that was essential

and highly valued by the nation. With the announcement of the closure of mines in 1998, they were confronted with a changing reality and a changing sense of values, a profound disruption of the moral order, and a feeling that they were being cast out of their privileged place in the Romanian national ideology.

What has emerged from this shift is the creation of a new, increasingly marginalized social identity. Those Romanians, like the Jiu Valley miners who have remained fixated on an older, more narrowly defined understanding of Romanian national identity grounded in the pursuit of the independent modernist ideals of industrial might, are increasingly characterized as obsolete by those who have strived to bind the new Romania to an increasingly global vision. As a result of this new identity politics, they have been met with ambivalence by those both within Romania's national politics and in the international community, an ambivalence that is experienced as a lack of recognition of their concerns. The concerns of the people of the Jiu Valley are now seen to be the concerns of a past best discarded and demoted in the rush to move Romania into a new world order. It is from this background and the recognition of the historically and culturally situated nature of the experience of this ambivalent gaze that one can see how powerful feelings of personal shame also function to map the fault lines of the pathological nature of Romania's struggle with the demands of the new global (dis)order.

Personal and Critical Functions of Shame

I follow Melvin Lansky and Andrew Morrison's (1997) discussion of shame as "signal anxiety," seeing the critical form of shame as a kind of "signal shame." The shame that many of the people I interviewed in the Jiu Valley articulated is one that is both *experienced* as "internal," self-referential shame (a "sinking into the self") as well as situated outside the self in an unjust relation with the world—a relation of nonrecognition of an increasingly obsolete moral order that has marginalized and, ultimately, "abjected" (Ferguson 1999) the self-in-conditions-of-decline from a productive place in an otherwise idealized global economy.[7] What this means is that the critical power of shame among an abject population like that in the Jiu Valley can be seen as an in-the-world struggle to challenge a perceived-as-unjust moral (dis)order. This critique is not simply a deflection of and projection of the negative affects connected to

the experience of shame. Indeed, I would argue that the critical consciousness associated with shame in my fieldwork was rarely a "defensive script" (Nathanson 1992) at all. Rather, shame is a signal anxiety that is understood by many in the Jiu Valley as a response to profound injustice in the world and the ambivalence of national policy-makers and international financial organizations to their plight. The people of the Jiu Valley feel both personal shame in their increasing sense that they are out-of-sorts within their own cultural norms as well as feeling anger toward a world-out-of-sorts in which the moral order of the political economy is perceived to have collapsed.

Heinz Kohut (1996) argues, in a psychodynamic developmental context, that the holistic sense of the self is deeply implicated in feelings of shame. For Kohut it is when the self is projected into the world but fails to be recognized that shame is felt. Shame, for Kohut, "means that the external surroundings of the child . . . do not respond" (1996:250). The Scandinavian psychoanalysts Pentti Ikonen et al. put it in even stronger terms when they discuss the need for "reciprocity" between self and other: "When the expressing of aspirations of reciprocity collides with a lack of reciprocity on the part of the other, the consequence is an immediate collapse" (1993:106–107). I show that, akin to Kohut's work (1996), it is in the moment of experiencing the nonrecognition of the other that one can see a different kind of shame in the Jiu Valley, shame as a marker of broader political economic disruptions and the experience of the clash between and erosion of moral orders. This is the shame felt when the world changes, making what had once been central to one's sense of self, self-esteem, and personal power and agency obsolete. This is a terrifying moment, the feeling of obsolescence and the sense that one no longer fits into the world in which one was a privileged and special member in the recent past. Helen Lynd sees shame as the

> sudden awareness of incongruity between oneself and the social situation, of exposure, in which an unexpected light is thrown on who one is. . . . Values, ways of life that one has accepted without question may appear in this new light to be cruel, hypocritical, destructive of the individual freedoms and possibilities they proclaim. If this is my society, my country, then the world is not good, I do not belong here, I want none of it—this, as well as self-insight may be the revelation of shame. . . . The questioning of certain dominant values presented by society can for some people be more disquieting than the questioning of one's own adequacy in living up to these values. [1958:215]

For each of these authors, then, shame is less a function of failing to meet some standard set by the superego (Freud 1961) or society but, rather, emerges from the feeling of a loss of agency in the world and a nonrecognition by the world, precisely the feelings of many who experience decline.

How to make sense of this distinction between different emphases in the literature on shame, though? Pavel, in the example above, declares "It's not shameful!" Despite this, he spoke with embarrassment and humiliation when he talked about his growing list of expenses and how this made it impossible for him to perform his role as a good husband and father. At the same time, though, his declaration—"It's not shameful!"—reflected his growing understanding that, although the moral order in which he understood his self might judge him defective, he was no longer able to perform these expected roles as a coal miner. As the political–economic processes abjected the coal miners of the Jiu Valley, Pavel's shame at failing to meet the expected norms of a husband and father fell out of his control for reasons that he could not control. In this vein, I will argue, similar to Carl Ratner (2000, 2001), for not merely a culturally informed understanding of shame in Romania's Jiu Valley but one that intimately binds political economic conditions and social structure to the workings of the mind.

Unlike Nancy Scheper-Hughes's (1992) work on human suffering in Brazil, I do not stress the emergence of a normalized "culture of shame" in the Jiu Valley but, rather, the ambivalent nature of shame associated with the dramatic upheavals that took place in the region during the late 1990s. While Scheper-Hughes sees the responses of the Brazilian women of the Alto do Cruzeiro as emerging from "the violence of everyday life in Brazil," the people of Romania's Jiu Valley during this period had not yet accepted the profound decline they were seeing and experiencing around them as a function of the "everyday." They had not accepted their decline in terms of a new moral order or set of cultural norms through which to view their lives. What I am suggesting, then, is that there is something about the experience of decline—the experience of "falling from grace" (Newman 1999)—that marks out a special relationship between the self and the political economy that is, in turn, marked out by a special experience and phenomenology of shame. At its most fundamental, the experience of the ambivalence of national and global decision makers toward people in decline leads us to an understanding of how political economic injustice can frame the subjective experience of shame. Ambivalence in the face of clashing moral orders can allow shame to take on dual roles, functioning to both

reveal the personal anxiety emerging from the fear of being judged defective as well as functioning as a "signal anxiety" (Freud 1959, 1964; Lansky and Morrison 1997:26–27). In this function as a "signal anxiety," shame is a reaction meant to both avoid and reveal something about conflict and disequilibrium in both the self and the broader sociocultural context.

Interview Data

The core interviews for this paper are drawn from 58 recorded person-centered interviews and almost 100 less-formal interviews conducted between 1998–2005 in the city of Lupeni (population approximately 32,000 in 1999). The primary data that I will use in this article emerge from a 1999 recorded interview with the Popescu family—husband Ion and wife Mariana—and one other mine worker, Andrei, who was a workmate of Ion's. I supplement the themes that emerged in the discussion at the Popescus' home with observations and interviews done with others with whom I talked during my fieldwork. Ion, Mariana, and Andrei were in their mid-thirties at the time of this interview. I met Ion during a focus group discussion at the Lupeni mining complex the week before. After chatting with him following the group discussion, I asked if I could conduct a more formal, recorded interview with him and he agreed, inviting me to his home that weekend.

While shame ran through any number of themes and discussions in this interview setting, I will limit my discussion here to three themes: (1) gender and childrearing, (2) sociality and the home, and (3) working conditions. Each of these themes framed moments of "shame talk" within a broader network of cultural and personal understandings, bringing contemporary and historical experiences to bear on making sense of shame within and for the self.

Case 1: Shame, Gender, and the Care of Children

During my conversations at the Popescus' home they discussed the many ways in which life was becoming "impossible" in the Jiu Valley. Among these topics they mentioned a common concern echoed by many other people: the difficulty of young people starting a family given the impact of economic constraints and the vanishing future of the region. However, whenever this lament emerged it inevitably and immediately shifted to a discussion of the challenges involved in raising a child in the current economic climate. When this topic came up in my conversation at the Popescus' home, the men

seemed to take the lead in decrying the impossibility of "getting by" when one had to support a child. Ion said that getting married would "finish you off" and Andrei responded:

Andrei: And even more so if you have a child, more so if you have a child because, it's said, if he does something you don't want him to do you're ashamed [*îţi e ruşine*] to go out on the street with him and . . . [he tells you to] go to hell, man! You offer him this and that and everything that he needs, you send him to school, you buy him a sweet, something, you need money, [everything] costs and you can't do it! Rather than having a child to . . .

Ion: You're so shamed [*îţi e ruşine*] by him, it's better not to [have a child]. I have the one and he is always crying to us to have another child, but no more, we don't need more, because it's difficult, it's very difficult. The school year starts for a child, a salary is small, one salary, so, in September when school starts you have what money you can and you say that you couldn't get [everything]. You need to get a uniform, books, notebook, shoes, gym clothes, and this and that, [everything that is] needed.

Andrei: Notebooks . . .

Ion: You can't send the child to school like . . . well, really it's an institute in which . . . there are 40 children in a class [and] if all of them are unwashed or . . . it's not clean . . . you have illness and this and that. No, it's not worth it to you . . . for you to better ground your family today it is difficult, difficult for everyone. [1999]

Andrei and Ion's concerns here illustrate the levels of disruption that families are experiencing in the Jiu Valley. Their discussion of the everyday difficulties of providing "correctly" for the needs of their children is an index of both cultural norms and person-centered positions within these norms. Andrei, in the quote above, stresses the impact of privation on a child but begins his framing of this concern by mentioning the shame that it brings on a generalized "you." Indeed, the unfolding of this conversation—the specificity of his story of the child who tells "you" to "go to hell, man!"—suggests that this generalized "you" is probably a reference to an experience-near occurrence. However, Ion's comments about the difficulties of caring for a child are framed, after an initial agreement with Andrei about the potential of being "shamed" by a child, in terms of the needs of the child rather than seeming rebelliousness.

Here one can see two distinct, but complementary, ways in which Ion and Andrei framed their own anxiety over the difficulties of caring for children. For Andrei, a child's "complaints" are framed as a discourse that challenges the traditional masculinity of the miner-provider. Andrei is ashamed by not being able to provide for his child. At the same time, he frames this shame as antagonism, "[he tells you to] go to hell, man!" He feels this antagonism because he senses that the threat to his own role as provider is also a threat to his role as a man. "Shame," in this case, is marked as an assault on a gendered self, a moment in which Andrei seems to have projected his own feeling of shame, converting it into an angry attack against his disrespectful child.

One can contrast Andrei's response to shame with Ion's "shame talk." Although Ion initially frames his difficulty to provide for his child as something that shames him, one does not get the sense of a deeper antagonism or threat to Ion's gendered self. Rather, Ion is deeply empathic when he discusses his child's needs, so much so that he seems to run together and confuse the agents and objects of desire when he goes from saying that his son is "always crying to us to have another child" to saying that it is hard to face up to your child and tell him that you cannot buy him everything that he needs for school. His empathic understanding of the experience of his child's privation becomes even more profoundly felt in his concerns about matters of health. In framing his concerns for the cleanliness of his son's fellow students, Ion runs his empathic feelings for his son together with both his own feelings of anxiety over his son's privation and his feelings of anxiety about the impact of economic collapse on the broader community. Illness born of poverty threatens the very institution—education—that is hoped will pull the children of the miners out of the bleak future that is imagined for the Jiu Valley. And, that his concerns about his child eventually circle back to the difficulty of the "ground[ing of] your family today"—providing for the family—suggests that Ion is deeply impacted in his thinking and in his self-understanding by a view of the gendered self as intimately tied to an empathic (rather than antagonistic) relationship to the domestic sphere.

These concerns and sentiments were echoed in many other interviews that I conducted during my fieldwork, including Anca, a woman who works with her husband in the coal processing plant at the Lupeni mine. Anca described her concerns for the declining economy like this:

Anca: It's very difficult. I don't know how people with 4 or 5 children can make ends meet. Because they are . . . they were the majority who can no longer send their children to school, to attend school, because one doesn't have the basic living conditions, doesn't have heat, doesn't have clothes or the possibility of buying them a book or notebook. I don't think that any of us will have much soon. More of them will leave and be without a job, how will it [?] or get by on unemployment . . . what future can you offer a child? And, as the parent, when one asks you "Give me [some money], please, because I need to buy myself a book, it costs 30,000 [lei (about $2 at the time)]" or "I need to buy who knows what for school" and I, as the parent, knowing how much salary I've received and knowing the things that I have [say:] "Heah, child, I would offer you my life if . . . but I can't, I don't have anything [to give you]." As the parent, this hurts you, no? It hurts you to the soul to say something like that. And [during] the time when we were children, the parents—only my father, because my mother was a housewife—they raised us, three children, they also built a house from the ground up, a new house, with a single salary. And now we get two salaries and we've got to the point where we can't [make it and] you work only to put food on the table for the children. Because, you can't do anything other than that. It's shameful [*e ruşine*] [when] you say in a rich country that we are poor, it is very shameful [*e ruşine*]! [1999]

Anca, like Ion and Andrei, intertwines levels of concern, critique, and anxiety in this discursive fragment. She begins by discussing her concerns about caring for children in the region through the distancing comment about other people "with 4 or 5 children." She expresses the incomprehensibility of how these families can make ends meet. In doing so, she both distances herself from the immediacy of her concerns for her own child and creates a discursive solidarity with these experience-near others. However, this positioning of her self in light of this distant discourse of solidarity soon shows the cracks of Anca's own anxieties. She is drawn to her own feelings and experiences, giving voice to these personal anxieties through the reported voice of a child's pleas to the parent. She expresses her own pain at not being able to care for her child's needs. At the same time, though, she is also commenting on her perceived role—her gendered role—as mother in her comparison and contrast with her own mother. Her parents, even during the years of state socialism, were able to raise a happy, healthy family. Her mother was able to play the role of the devoted housewife. Now, Anca cannot reconcile her own situation—two salaries rather than just one still are not enough—with her own experiences in childhood and

her empathic feelings for the needs of her child. The shame, here, is not only a personalized shame—a shame about how the raising of her child reflects on her—but is a condemnation of the circumstances. Anca realizes that her child's unhappiness is not really the fault of her and her husband but, rather, that of the government that has thrust her into this shameful, tenuous position. While she is ashamed of her self, she also deflects this shame back onto the "country" that caused her to feel this way.

Unlike Andrei, who seems most deeply impacted by his shame at the level of the self, both Ion and Anca recognize that their own shame is really a reflection of the political–economic conditions foisted on them by forces beyond their control, but not beyond their capacity to imagine and critique. The shame expressed by Ion and Anca carries a dual resonance, working to both express a personal feeling state as well as critique the conditions that brought this sense of shame into being. This critique, moreover, is not the complaint of someone who feels merely treated unfairly, but rather a more profound critique of an entire life world, a critique of a world that seems to have gone off the tracks of an established moral order. It is not only that Ion and Anca feel that the state should be ashamed of itself, but it is that the state should feel ashamed of itself because it has made them feel such deep, personal shame.

Case 2: Shame and the Home as a Social Space

In the Jiu Valley, the home occupied an important place as a stage for creating social bonds within and outside of the family as well as being a space for acting out the markers of reputation and prestige (Drazin 2002; Kideckel 2004). Indeed, the domestic space was one of the most immediate objects of concern during my visit to the Popescus' home. Concern for their presentation to me prompted them to consider some of the changes that had taken place over the previous decade. In this fragment of our discussion, they had been comparing the way that life had seemed to decline for them in the years after 1989. These kinds of comparisons with timpul lui Ceauşescu were always spaces of danger in one's self-presentation. The state socialist period was viewed as deeply problematic and was something that people in the Jiu Valley were happy to see end because they thought that life would get better afterward. Instead, life became, for many, significantly worse, leaving them to ponder their ambivalent relationship to the Ceauşescu regime. At the same time, though, they explicitly worked to avoid idealizing the state socialist period. They were forced to walk a fine line between these rhetorical pitfalls. Ultimately, there was a sense of

imagined nostalgia for a time when things were more domestically ideal and a time when the home was a place for both the pursuit of security as well as the space for social–public play through the extension of the hospitality of the home to others in the community.

Ion: I don't know, and there were also holidays and who knows what . . . it was different, a different life, it was . . . I don't know, when Christmas came and . . . and other . . . holidays, Easter was completely different compared to now. Now, when Easter comes or some other holiday you need money to buy something, you need to . . . it is to you, how should I say this? [It] disgusts [you] [*Lehamite*]. It disgusts me [*Mi-e scîrbă*] that you need to spend so much money and you know that others will come to your house, because you need to prepare yourself because if someone else comes to your house, you need to serve him with something that . . . [stated with sarcasm] it makes you laugh.

Andrei: It's always been that way for the Romanian—hospitality.

Ion: That's the way it was, things were all like that before, it didn't matter that 50 people came or 30 people were in your house, it was . . . each week some festivity would be done like that and now . . . everybody has . . . its like its suffocating you, no, you have to just get by to [. . .]. [stated with resignation and embarrassment] Many, many cry out for Ceauşescu, many people. [1999]

In talking about the domestic sphere it was not uncommon for people in the Jiu Valley to look unfavorably on the current situation and, at the same time, to reluctantly admit that things might have been better for them under state socialism. The shameful struggle with the ambivalence toward the past and present frames much of the discussion around their self-consciousness about their sense of collapsing norms in the domestic sphere.

And, yet, as one can see from this discussion, it would be highly problematic to reduce their discussion of the domestic sphere to some sort of private, personal shame. Rather, the domestic sphere also played host—both during and after state socialism—to the broader social community as miners and their families would entertain each other in rotating parties and dinners. Now, as Ion notes, people are constantly worried that they cannot provide for guests who might drop by during the holidays. He is "disgusted" by this worry, since, as Andrei insists, "hospitality" is an essential feature of being Romanian. But now, the economic conditions have trapped people in their homes and barred the doors from

guests—"it's like its suffocating you"—isolating families from one another, severing the domestic sphere from wider social ties by making the obligations of festivities—the food and the alcohol—unachievable. Ion concludes by returning to the trope that he started with and brings the implicitly comparative discourse to the surface: "Many, many cry out for Ceauşescu, many people."[8]

The failure to maintain social networks and the collapse of the domestic sphere framed the shame evoked by this decline as an issue of memory, evoking feelings of ambivalence toward the Communist past. Unlike Jennifer Cole's accounts of Betsimisaraka performances of "a kind of mnemonic manipulation or strategic remembering" (2001:277) to "produce a quasi suppression of colonial memories" (2001:281) when making sense of French colonial legacies in Madagascar, Ion and Andrei express a deep ambivalence toward the time of Ceauşescu: Life was more social at the same time as it was deeply implicated in the atrocities of the party. In having to look back on that period with fondness they (as well as many others with whom I spoke) express both shame through their association with that past as well as a critique of the current conditions that have forced that comparison.

Case 3: Shame and the Misrecognition of the Self: The Bestial in the Mine

There was also a deeper sense in which the coal miners felt like something more than their income and jobs and family security had been lost. The people of the Jiu Valley with whom I talked also sensed that with the coming decline they would slip back into what they characterized as a savage and primitive earlier stage of existence, a return to the worst animal existence of the premodern industrial age, a slippage out of civilization entirely. Consider this exchange at the Popescus' home:

Ion: During the time of Ceauşescu, I mean, about this I tell you [the interviewer] that I'm not nostalgic, there is nobody who is . . . nothing pleases me about communism, nothing, well, nothing about communism. Nowadays, everybody wanted it when it was over . . . we will get better, when he [Ceauşescu] died, so, when communism ended it was said that things would get better . . . but [it's gone] to hell! [Things now are] Worse!

Mariana: Bit by bit more difficult.

Ion: Bit by bit worse. Because before it was mechanized, it was complex, you had everything that you needed, well, everything, it was . . .

Now we go there [to the mine] with a wooden shovel, exactly as it was when . . . if the person who started the mine [in the 19th century] could see us, I think he would laugh at us. It's worse than then, much, much worse.

Andrei: They get rid of the horses and wagons in the mine and with that we were . . . we have a job. We have got back to the way exploration was done before, in the past. There were horses in the mines, the stables, and the horses did the hauling, the coal car [wagon] was pulled by the horse. It's all disappearing for us now and we're heading toward an epoch . . .

Ion: A primitive epoch.

Andrei: Like [when] it was first begun. [1999]

On the surface, this fragment from our conversation can be seen as a continuation of their concerns about how things have gone bad since the "time of Ceauşescu." A caveat I got used to hearing marks the opening of the frame of this conversational fragment: Things are worse now than during state socialism, but I do not long to go back to the time of Ceauşescu. This is a terrible recognition for them. Ceauşescu represented the problems of the past: the political and economic symptoms of modernity gone wrong. People like Ion and Andrei and Mariana had instead hoped that they could continue to pursue the modernist path in the years after 1989 without having to carry along the weight of the gulag and the blood soaked wings of the Angel of History that marked the state socialist industrialization of Romania. Instead what they saw in the mines was a return to an even worse state of shameful abjection that they characterized as a misrecognition of the self-as-bestial.

In the popular imaginings of the miners, their bestial nature comes through in the frequent images of the half-naked, coal dust and muck encrusted miner seen on television news reports and in the print media. Even more explicit is the image put forth in Lucian Pintilie's 1996 film *Prea Tîrziu* (Too Late). The film follows a murder investigation in the Jiu Valley in which the murderer is revealed to be a miner who has become feral, living deep in the mines. The murderer has been transformed by the conditions underground into a shambling mockery of a man, a green moss-coated creature who preys on the workers in the mines for their food. Pintilie's (and Razvan Popescu's, whose book [1996] the movie is based on) message is not hard to understand: "See," they seem to proclaim, "Here are the monsters created by Ceauşescu and the folly of communism!"

I almost expected this characterization of the miners from the urban elites because the miners are blamed for supporting the questionable political legitimacy of the former Communists who seized power in Romania after the execution of the Ceauşescus. What was less predictable was the way in which the miners themselves seemed to recognize their slip back into a kind of precivilization, a slide back into the "bad old days" of inhuman working conditions and terrible exploitation by mine owners. Other miners frequently mentioned their fear of dying alone in the mines because of the reductions in the overall work force as well as the erosion of the older work-team organization of labor, but some were more profoundly ashamed of their increasingly bestial state in relation to the rest of the nation and the world.

Ion and Andrei stress the regressive state of the working conditions in the mine, a kind of return to the primitive, dark days of the 19th and early 20th centuries before extensive mechanization in the mines, when the line between man and beast was blurred in the space for work. Indeed, Laszlo, another miner I knew drew the comparison between the declining life in the Jiu Valley and the bestial in more explicit terms when he noted that "here [in the Jiu Valley] it is at the stage of the animal, yeah, enough time has passed so that you can't pull me [up] from the level of the animal, you can no longer claim that I have control over myself/my life." Later in our discussion, he went on and insisted that "nothing can be done . . . yeah, we no longer move here, no . . . [now] we go about on four legs" (2000).

This sense of regressing in one's life-as-a-miner must be juxtaposed with the feeling of progress that most miners had experienced and expected to continue in their life course. The background of most of these miners could be traced to peasant or abjectly poor proletarian workers. They or their parents had been given the chance to embrace the state socialist project of industrial development in Romania. They imagined that their lives and their children's lives could only improve. It was a profound shock to them, then, when they were faced with the dramatic collapse or attenuation of their imagined life course. What made this even more terrifying was that the narrativity of life was not merely frozen in time but seemed to be running backward as they saw their fortunes eroded: the technology of the workplace rusting and broken; the household reduced to penny-pinching; the dreams of a comfortable retirement and a promising future for their children buried in the dark recesses of some now-abandoned mineshaft. The trope of the bestial nature of their lives was

shot through with the personal feelings of shameful loss as well as the sense that time itself had reversed course.

For over a century, the miners of the Jiu Valley had fought against exploitative conditions—first under the bourgeois mine owners then, later, under the party–state. With every victory they felt like they had assured another step forward, away from a "primitive" past and into a bright, modern future. The shame of the bestial regression that they now felt was as much connected to the decline in life as it was to the fact that the miners were becoming aware that there simply was no interest in exploiting them, that there was no interest in investing in the mines, and that they were actually facing a deeply disturbing experience of nonrecognition. As their work was no longer recognized, so too did many feel that their selves were no longer recognized. They could not actualize themselves through the recognition of their work and they could not project a sense of self-esteem into their self-presentations. Nonrecognition was experienced as a shameful misrecognition of the self—a culturally marked transformation of the self—in which the self was no longer perceived as entirely human, no longer entirely separate from the self of one's children, no longer part of the nation and the people and the community. The self was misrecognized as bestial and shamefully cast out of Romania's future, cast out of modernity, cast down from humanity.

Conclusion

While Freud (1961) argued that the overly harsh internalized superego could be viewed as a cause for the rise of guilt-based psychopathologies ("discontents") in late-19th- and early-20th-century Western "civilization," I am arguing that the emergence of new configurations of identity politics and "life politics" (Giddens 1991) that trap people between conflicting moral and socio-economic worlds have meant that contemporary late modernity is increasingly marked by pathologies of shame rather than guilt.

One is reminded of the "mundane trauma" described by Luhrmann (1996, 2000) in her writings on the Parsi communities in India. Luhrmann argues that Parsis feel deeply traumatized and humiliated by what they perceive as a "fall from grace" associated with the transition from their privileged place in India under British colonialism to a state of decline in the postcolonial world associated with feelings of both the loss of past glory and the taint of having been

complicit with the colonial system. Like the Parsis described by Luhrmann, the coal miners of Romania's Jiu Valley are conflicted over the meaning of their past. Sorin Antohi (2002) has suggested that it is in the nature of Romanian culture to maintain ambivalence in the face of its dual affiliation with the West and the Orient, with the Balkans and Europe. For Antohi, this ambivalence leads to swings between self-denigration–self-victimization and self-aggrandizement. In the Jiu Valley, these themes can be seen playing themselves out around shame as well as many other tropes. People in the Jiu Valley are proud of their role in Romania's march toward modernity and industrialism, yet they are ashamed of the close association of this modernist project with the atrocities of the state socialist period. To hearken back to their recent days of glory—a period that created a deeply entrenched feeling of value that was erased in less than a decade—also means being tainted by "the time of Ceauşescu." The ambivalence expressed in this "shame" signifies, then, something more than a new set of unmet idealized global norms and values. Instead, that shame is also functioning as a critique of the pathological nature of the global, as an in-the-world struggle to challenge a perceived-as-unjust moral (dis)order. This is a return to what I have suggested throughout: that shame can be seen as both a subjective experience of decline from the global and as a political critique of the fundamental problems of the global.

JACK R. FRIEDMAN is a Research Affiliate in the Department of Comparative Human Development at the University of Chicago

Notes

1. This research was conducted during 1997–2000 and 2005 with the support of the American Fulbright Program and U.S. Title 8 funding provided through IREX, ACLS, and the Woodrow Wilson Center. I wish to thank Nadina Vişan, Anca Sevceno, Ruxandra Vişan, Bambi Chapin, Katherine Frank, Tanya Luhrmann, Heather McCarthy, the University of Chicago's "Clinical Ethnography" workshop, and the two sets of anonymous reviewers of this paper for their valuable feedback.

2. The related word *jena* is a weaker form of *ruşine* in the way that *embarrassment* is a weaker form of *shame*. In this article, every use of the word *shame* will be a translation of *ruşine*.

3. All interviewees' names have been changed in this article.

4. All translations are my own from the original Romanian.

5. There is a structural similarity of these litanies to the linguistic form that Nancy Ries (1997) discusses in her work on perestroika era Soviet life in that they function to critique the powerful from the standpoint of the powerless through the language of the moral order.

6. See overviews of the run-up to and ultimate failures of the 1996–2000 period in Vladimir Tismaneanu and Gail Kligman (2001), Alina Murgiu-Pippidi and Sorin Ioniţă (2001), and Paul Aligica (2001).

7. See also Veena Das's (1997) work on the role of recognition–nonrecognition of suffering.

8. The added strain of my visit and the fact that this interview occurred close to Easter certainly made many of these issues .about the household even more immediate to the Popescus.

References Cited

Abu-Lughod, Lila
1985 Honor and the Sentiments of Loss in a Bedouin Society. American Ethnologist 12(2):245–261.
1986 Veiled Sentiments. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Aligica, Paul
2001 Romania's Economic Policy: Before and after the Elections. East European Constitutional Review 10(1):92–96.
Antohi, Sorin
2002 Romania and the Balkans: From Geocultural Bovarism to Ethnic Ontology. Tr@nsit—Europäische Revue 21. Electronic document, http://www.iwm.at, accessed April 10, 2006.
Baumli, Francis
1995 On Men, Guilt, and Shame. *In* Men Healing Shame. Roy Schenk and John Everingham, eds. Pp. 155–166. New York: Springer.
Benedict, Ruth
1934 Patterns of Culture. New York: Houghton Mifflin.
1946 Chrysanthemum and the Sword. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
Boym, Svetlana
2001 The Future of Nostalgia. New York: Basic.
Cohen, Dov
2003 The American National Conversation About (Everything But) Shame. Social Research 70(4):1075–1108.
Cole, Jennifer
2001 Forget Colonialism? Berkeley: University of California Press.
Das, Veena
1997 Language and Body: Transactions in the Construction of Pain. *In* Social Suffering. Arthur Kleinman, Veena Das, and Margaret Lock, eds. Pp. 67–91. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Drazin, Adam
2002 Chasing Moths: Cleanliness, Intimacy, and Progress in Romania. *In* Markets and Moralities: Ethnographies of Postsocialism. Ruth Mandel and Caroline Humphries, eds. Pp. 101–125. Oxford: Berg.

Durkheim, Emile
1964[1938] The Rules of the Sociological Method. New York: Free Press.
Epstein, Arnold Leonard
1984 The Experience of Shame in Melanesia: An Essay in the Anthropology of Affect. Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland Occasional Paper no. 40. London: Royal Anthropological Institute.
Fajans, Jane
1983 Shame, Social Action, and the Person among the Baining. Ethos 11(3): 166–180.
Ferguson, James
1999 Expectations of Modernity. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Freud, Sigmund
1959[1926] Inhibitions, Symptoms, and Anxiety. The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. 20. James Strachey, ed. London: Hogarth.
1961[1930] Civilization and Its Discontents. The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. 22. James Strachey, ed. London: Hogarth.
1964[1933] "Lecture XXXII: Anxiety and Instinctual Life" in The New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis. The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. 21. James Strachey, ed. London: Hogarth.
Friedman, Jack R.
2003 Ambiguous Transitions and Abjected Selves: Betrayal, Entitlement, and Globalization in Romania's Jiu Valley. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Cultural Anthropology, Duke University.
2005 Furtive Selves: Proletarian Contradictions, Self-Presentation, and the Party in 1950s Romania. Journal of International Labor and Working-Class History 68:9–23.
Giddens, Anthony
1991 Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Gilbert, Paul
2003 Evolution, Social Roles, and the Differences in Shame and Guilt. Social Research 70(4):1205–1230.
Gledhill, John
2005 States of Contention: Collective Violence in Post-Communist Romania. East European Politics and Societies 19(1):76–104.
Granqvist, Raoul
1999 Revolution's Urban Landscape: Bucharest Culture and Postcommunist Change. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
Hughes, Geoffrey
1989 Words in Time. Oxford: Blackwell.
Humphrey, Caroline
2001 Inequality and Exclusion. Anthropological Theory 1(3):331–353.
Ibrahim, Gamal, and Vaughan Galt
2002 Bye-Bye Central Planning, Hello Market Hiccups: Institutional Transition in Romania. Cambridge Journal of Economics 26(1):105–118.

Ikonen, Pentti, Phil Mag, and Eero Rechardt
1993 The Origin of Shame and Its Vicissitudes. Scandinavian Psychoanalytic Review 16(2):100–124.
Jameson, Frederic
1981 The Political Unconscious. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Jowitt, Kenneth
1971 Revolutionary Breakthroughs and National Development: The Case of Romania, 1944–1965. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Kideckel, David
2004 Miners and Wives in Romania's Jiu Valley: Perspectives on Postsocialist Class, Gender, and Social Change. Identities 11(1):39–63.
Kideckel, David, Bianca Botea, Raluca Nahorniac, and Vasile Şoflâu
2000 A New "Cult of Labor": Stress and Crisis among Romanian Workers. Sociologie Românească 1:142–161.
Kohut, Heinz
1996[1975] Pride, Shame, and Self-Regulation. *In* Heinz Kohut: The Chicago Institute Lectures. Paul Tolpin and Marian Tolpin, eds. Pp. 243–257. Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press.
Lansky, Melvin, and Andrew Morrison
1997 The Legacy of Freud's Writing on Shame. *In* The Widening Scope of Shame. Melvin Lansky and Andrew Morrison, eds. Pp. 3–40. Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press.
Levy, Robert I.
1973 Tahitians. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
1983 Introduction: Self and Emotion. Ethos 11(3):128–134.
Luhrmann, Tanya
1996 The Good Parsi. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
2000 The Traumatized Social Self: The Parsi Predicament in Modern Bombay. Cultures under Siege: Collective Violence and Trauma. Antonius Robben and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco, eds. Pp. 158–193. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Lynd, Helen
1958 On Shame and the Search for Identity. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
Macdonald, James
1998 Disclosing Shame. *In* Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and Culture. Paul Gilbert and Bernice Andrews, ed. Pp. 141–157. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Montias, John
1967 Economic Development in Communist Romania. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Murgiu-Pippidi, Alina, and Sorin Ioniţă
2001 Interpreting an Electoral Setback. East European Constitutional Review 10(1):86–91.
Nachman, Steven
1984 Shame and Moral Aggression on a Melanesian Atoll. Journal of Psychoanalytic Anthropology 7(4):335–365.
Nathanson, Donald
1992 Shame and Pride: Affect, Sex, and the Birth of the Self. New York: W. W. Norton.

Newman, Katherine
1999 Falling from Grace: Downward Mobility in the Age of Affluence. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Parish, Steven
1996 Hierarchy and Its Discontents. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Pines, Malcolm
1987 Shame—What Psychoanalysis Does and Does Not Say. Group Analysis 20(1): 16–31.
Pintilie, Lucian, dir.
1996 Prea Tîrziu [Too Late]. 104 min. MK2 Productions. Romania.
Popescu, Razvan
1996 Prea Tîrziu [Too Late]. Bucharest: Humanitas.
Ratner, Carl
2000 Agency and Culture. Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior 30(4):413–434.
2001 Activity Theory and Cultural Psychology. *In* The Psychology of Cultural Experience. Carmella Moore and Holly Mathews, eds. Pp. 68–80. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Ries, Nancy
1997 Russian Talk. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Rosaldo, Michelle
1983 The Shame of Headhunters and the Autonomy of the Self. Ethos 11(3): 135–151.
Scheper-Hughes, Nancy
1992 Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Shweder, Richard
2003 Toward a Deep Cultural Psychology of Shame. Social Research 70(4): 1109–1130.
Spiro, Melford
1965[1958] Children of the Kibbutz. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
1987[1961] Social Systems, Personality, and Functional Analysis. *In* Culture and Human Nature. Benjamin Kilbourne and L. L. Langness, eds. Pp. 109–144. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Tismaneanu, Vladimir
2003 Stalinism for All Seasons: A Political History of Romanian Communism. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Tismaneanu, Vladimir, and Gail Kligman
2001 Romania's First Postcommunist Decade: From Iliescu to Iliescu. East European Constitutional Review 10(1):78–85.
Tomkins, Silvan
1987 Shame. *In* The Many Faces of Shame. Donald Nathanson, ed. Pp. 133–161. New York: Guilford.
Tsantis, Andrea, and Roy Pepper
1979 Romania: The Industrialization of an Agrarian Economy under Socialist Planning. Washington: World Bank.
Vasi, Ion Bogdan
2004 The Fist of the Working Class: The Social Movements of Jiu Valley Miners in Post-Socialist Romania. East European Politics and Societies 18(1):132–157.

Verdery, Katherine
2003 The Vanishing Hectare: Property and Value in Postsocialist Transylvania. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Volkan, Vamik
1997 Bloodlines: From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terrorism. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
White, Geoffrey
1990 Moral Discourse and the Rhetoric of Emotions. *In* Language and the Politics of Emotion. Catherine Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod, eds. Pp. 46–68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
World Bank
2004 Jiu Valley Region Development, Romania. Analytical Advisory Assistance Report. Annex H: Livability. March 2004.