

a crucial factor in understanding these processes is the dominant public discourse about nationhood. In Latvia, which is an electoral democracy governed by a closed ideological paradigm that preserves the Latvian nation, elites who challenge or diverge from this view fail politically. In Kazakhstan, which is not an electoral democracy, elites who challenge or diverge from the personalistic reign of Nazarbaev fail politically. Kudaibergenova finds this to be the case even after Nazarbaev's voluntary resignation.

I found Kudaibergenova's analysis of Harmony and Lad most interesting. These case studies demonstrate how regime type influences the extent to which ethnic Russians in Latvia and Kazakhstan are excluded from the political arena. When I was in Latvia researching the Russian minority question years ago, Harmony represented Russians; that was its objective. Kudaibergenova shows that Harmony's political objectives had to shift in order to win seats in parliament: "Harmony needed to shift its ideological program toward a more Latvianized and thus dominant discourse" in order to be accepted (113). Elites in Kazakhstan were not only less nationalizing than elites in Latvia but also more pluralistic in their attitudes towards ethnicity. Kudaibergenova argues that elites in Kazakhstan were not as aggressive about protecting the rights of the core nation and were thus able to adopt "compartmentalized ideology," or a "reshuffling the content of nationalist and state building rhetoric" on an as-needed basis (104). Lad, a public organization rather than a political party, was not under the same pressure as Harmony to influence formal policies affecting Russians because they, for the most part, accommodated ethnic Russians. When I was in Kazakhstan researching the Russian minority question years ago, Lad represented ethnic Russians within the confines of Nazarbaev's dictates. In other words, it worked with rather than against the political establishment.

A discussion of the literature on nation building in the Baltics and Central Asia would have strengthened Kudaibergenova's analysis because it would have clarified in stark terms her original contributions to existing scholarship. Nevertheless, *Toward Nationalizing Regimes* is a must read for anyone interested in the relationship between elite competition and nation building in Eurasia. It is also a model for future scholarship based on field research.

MICHELE E. COMMERCIO
University of Vermont

Institutionalised Dreams: The Art of Managing Foreign Aid. By Elżbieta Drażkiewicz. New York: Berghahn Books, 2020. ix, 238 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Photographs. \$120.00, hard bound.
doi: 10.1017/slr.2021.188

This brilliant, engaging book opens with a personal story about the "humiliation of the gift." The scene is 1980s communist Poland and author Drażkiewicz is a preschooler. Complete strangers enthusiastically approach her family on an excursion in the countryside. These are not just any unknown people; they are from the west, that faraway, fairytale land of riches. They offer candy to our preschooler-protagonist. In a foreign language, her mother kindly tells them this is not necessary, while allowing her daughter to accept the candy. The gift is puzzling to the child, for it is not given to befriend her or reward good behavior. That day, she grasps the essence of west and east as separate, unequal worlds. She has a priceless insight into "why they were giving me goodies: [B]ecause they could" (2).

Where does the impetus to give aid come from? How do countries become aid donors and build their aid institutions? And why do their citizens engage with distant others through foreign assistance? Through the experience of Poland, and employing original empirical contributions gleaned from her impressive fieldwork over a decade among key parties involved in aid efforts in multiple sites and countries, *Institutionalised Dreams* addresses these questions. In showing how actors and institutions respond to international and domestic incentives, constraints, and worldviews, Drażkiewicz demonstrates how globalization happens. Poland provides a revealing lens for this study because it has been on both sides of the aid relationship: first, under communism, as a “Second World” donor to the “Third World”; then, after the fall of communism, as an aid recipient beginning in the early 1990s; and, most recently, as an aid donor.

Institutionalised Dreams makes key contributions by detailing the interplay between foreign assistance and national identity, always shaped in relation to other nations, and how the foreign aid of donor countries at once reflects and reinforces their national ideologies. Donors may harbor feelings of pride and superiority, while recipients are characterized as underdeveloped and needing assistance. Yet very little attention has been paid to how aid relationships help configure a donor country’s external image, national identity, or ideology. Drażkiewicz shows that, while the aid industry’s stated aim is to rectify global inequality, its “hidden curriculum” instead frequently fosters inequality by nurturing particular images about both donor and recipient societies. Living in Ireland as an academic, she observes that her daughter’s nursery still participates in a “collection for the needy in ‘Eastern Europe’”—fifteen years after Poland’s accession to the EU. One of many such initiatives, it “help[s] to cement the Irish identity as the most charitable in Europe,” she writes (7).

This state of affairs is why Poland’s effort to shed its yoke as an underdeveloped aid recipient is intertwined with its emergence as a donor country, Drażkiewicz documents, drawing on a wealth of experience working across the aid industry (including Poland’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where foreign aid is managed; a Polish government agency charged with democracy promotion; UNDP; and several NGOs). To build its identity as an aid donor, on par with established western donors like Germany and France, Poland must fashion its own aid regime after those in the established club. To this end, Poland’s aid officials seek to show that their cadre is professionalizing and continually expanding the sites of foreign assistance. To this end, too, Poland must forget its Second World experience as a Soviet satellite donor and exchange partner with certain Third World countries. That does not count in the coveted donors’ club. At the same time, however, for domestic consumption, Polish aid actors leverage the country’s Second World past. In building support for aid to Africa, for instance, the aid community builds on the legacy of eminent Poles’ Cold War-era Africa encounters. In operations to Poland’s east, the aid regime deploys historical and cultural affinities connecting it to former fellow Second World members. Thus, vis-à-vis Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, and other eastern neighbors, Poland emerges as a mature democracy helping to bolster democracy.

Drażkiewicz illustrates key points through gripping stories and main characters who come up throughout the book. Each chapter is replete with the author’s and others’ lived experiences, exposing real-world realities, and keen theoretical insights. Unfortunately, inadequate final copyediting and an over-use of acronyms detract from the narrative in places.

Institutionalised Dreams marks a timely response to debates about the changing landscape of central Europe, globalization, the aid industry, and the emergence of

new donors. The book is required reading for anyone concerned with foreign aid or development policy, efforts or projects, and with questions of national identity. It is a valuable resource for those seeking to understand globalization, foreign relations, and society more generally. And, of course, for students of the gift.

JANINE R. WEDEL
George Mason University
Hertie School of Governance, Berlin

Gendering Postsocialism: Old Legacies and New Hierarchies. Eds. Yulia Gradskova and Ildikó Asztalos Morell. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2018. xx, 246 pp. Notes. Index. Figures. Tables. \$155.00, hard bound.
doi: 10.1017/slr.2021.189

The political and economic transitions in the former Soviet bloc ushered in momentous change, some welcome, some not. Alongside political and civil rights, citizens (ostensibly) enjoy expanded educational, professional, and travel opportunities. At the same time, cuts in state entitlements and rising unemployment have produced new inequalities and increased poverty rates, especially among women, minorities, and marginalized groups. The process has also given rise to new forms of exploitation and discrimination, as well as efforts, in some countries, to return to a more conservative gender order. *Gendering Postsocialism* explores the continuities, ruptures, and ambiguities of transition in eastern Europe and Eurasia, analyzing the nexus between gender and postsocialist citizenship, governance, and marketization. Of particular concern are everyday experiences, because “In the turbulence of competing, postsocialist winds of change—socioeconomic liberalisation, political transformation, and an ideological clash of values—it is worth remembering that the lives of real women and men are impacted” (xv).

Composed of thirteen chapters by scholars primarily from the region, the book is organized around four major themes: “New gendered geographies”; “Neoliberal governance and the gendered enterprising self”; “Resilient legacies of state socialism”; and “Postsocialist societies between marketisation, democratization, and retraditionalisation.” As employed in the volume, “postsocialism” is both a spatial and temporal marker—and also ideally suited to underscoring continuities between the pre and post-1989/91. By examining how the inequalities, hierarchies, and uncertainties associated with marketization shape the lived realities, practices, and expectations of ordinary people, the chapters challenge triumphalist discourses that emerged after socialism’s collapse. Accordingly, the emancipating effects of postsocialism have been unevenly felt, and are a function of gender, among other identifiers such as class, educational level, ethnicity, and religion.

The chapters incorporate quantitative and qualitative sources including statistics, surveys, interviews, internet posts, and travelogues, and cover a range of topics, including elderly care work in Russia, failed masculinities in Lithuania, promoting conservative gender norms in Poland, and combatting social exclusion of Roma women in Hungary. Collectively, they analyze how politics, institutions, the market, individual memories, and cultural ideals about gender, from longstanding and locally specific ones to newer, globally-inflected ones, shape discourses about women and men as well as their everyday lives.

The transition to marketization affected the nature of employment and the employee. Accordingly, postsocialist workers, particularly in the private sector,