"Russian Republic" (33) also looks misleading—there is simply no such object. Some of the arguments are unclear—for example, why do "*oblasts* have no relevance as a unit type in the free-market federal democracy" (22)? Some other claims are overgeneralized: "the Russian people identify with and support the office and the powers of the federation president as a national leader. . .but have little or no loyalty to, or identification with, the regional subject regime" (24). Foley confounds domestic federalism with what he enigmatically dubs "Slavic-Russian expansion" (26) to the neighboring countries. His claim that "Soviet institutions of governance were never deeply institutionalized" (40) is highly contestable. Some of the statements are wishful projections of western visions of Russia: "Democratization is the preferred and ultimate outcome for the Russian people" (53), followed by such self-evident statements as "a market economy cannot be built without a free-market infrastructure" (17). Lack of contextualization lead Foley to strident conclusions, such as "Moscow is the cultural center of the nation" (54)—a statement that many in St. Petersburg would question.

Another huge omission of the book is the way the author uses concepts—the building blocs of any scholarship. In the introduction, he emphasizes his interest in studying the regional dimension of Russian domestic politics, which is, by the way, not clear from the book title. What is more, the author avoids giving a definition of regionalism and fails to explain its distinction from federalism. Again, the addition to the analysis of multiple Russian debates, particularly vibrant in the 1990s, would certainly upgrade the value of the book.

Andrey Makarychev
Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies University of Tartu, Estonia

The Politics of Unfree Labour in Russia: Human Trafficking and Labour Migration. By Mary Buckley. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 2018. xviii, 331 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Glossary. Index. Figures. Tables. Maps. $99.99, hard bound; $34.99, paper.
doi: 10.1017/slr.2020.149

This book results from Mary Buckley's impressive, more than ten-year long sustained mixed-methods inquiry into the politics of human trafficking and unfree labor in Russia. Methodologically, it is based on two large-scale quantitative surveys conducted seven years apart (2007 and 2014), four focus groups (in Moscow in 2007 and 2014, Vladimir in 2007, and Yaroslavl in 2014), in-depth interviews with NGOs, researchers, and diaspora activists, as well as analysis of print and online media articles relating to human trafficking in and out of Russia. The book consists of two distinctive parts. The first is devoted to human trafficking while the second tackles the topic of labor migration in Russia. I will return to this important structural characteristic in the final part of my review.

The initial six chapters deal solely with human trafficking and present this phenomenon from different angles. Chapter 1 provides an authoritative history of the varied categories of unfree labor such as slavery, serfdom, or penal servitude (*katorga*). Chapter 2 tackles the politics of getting human trafficking onto legislative agendas, spearheaded by the continued mobilization around this issue by civil society and NGOs. This finally led to important legal amendments and the criminalization of human trafficking. Chapter 3 presents the fluctuating "moral panic" around the issue of human trafficking through "representative examples" (94) of articles in the mainstream print media. Chapters 3 and 4 document *what* and *how* the Russians think of human trafficking by triangulating the results of the large-scale opinion

polls with the description of the focus groups' data. The sequence of these two chapters enables the reader to see the general trends and supplement them with "thick descriptions" of the focus groups' discussions, rich in detail and conveying the meanings, understandings, but also emotions around human trafficking. The overall image I had was that the issue of human trafficking figures rather at the margins of public consciousness, however, when invoked it provoked heated debates and emotional responses. The full picture is complemented by Chapter 6, which analyzes the interviews with human trafficking experts, demonstrating the complexity of bringing this phenomenon under a proper law enforcement scrutiny—an observation that echoes Lauren A. McCarthy's excellent book *Trafficking Justice: How Russian Police Enforce New Laws, from Crime to Courtroom* (Cornell, 2015).

The remaining four chapters are devoted to the analysis of the politics of unfree labor within the context of labor migration to Russia—the third largest destination for migrants globally (after the United States and Germany). Chapter 7 situates the cases of slave migrant labor within the wider trends and characteristics of contemporary labor migration to Russia. Chapter 8 deals with the policy and legislative changes concerning labor migration from 2002 until 2017, and the institutional rearrangements that accompanied them (such as the disbandment of the Federal Migration Service). Chapter 9 is devoted to expert narratives on migration, especially around the issues of migrant adaptation, migration policy changes and their impacts on the migrant population, and corruption within the migration governance sphere. Chapter 10 brings together the surveys and the focus groups illustrating how Russian attitudes toward labor migration have hardened across the 2000s: the public openly supports restrictions on new arrivals and backs deportations. These discussions very much reminded me of the ones held in the United Kingdom around "British jobs for British workers" and a tendency to "hold on to fixed stereotypes about migrants" (292). The Conclusion presents an interesting analysis of "enabled citizenship" (297) and leaves the reader with a poignant question: "what more should be done globally to make life less cheap today?" (302).

One reservation I have of this otherwise excellent and illuminating analysis is that the author potentially tried to do too much. While it was repeatedly explained that not all labor migration to Russia can be characterized as forced or bonded labor (2, 188, 198), the title of the monograph perhaps unintentionally subsumed trafficking and labor migration under the wider conceptual umbrella of unfree labor. This specific focus on "unfree labor" is not necessarily sustained in the second part of the book, where the expert analysis, opinion polls, and focus groups quite often discuss the phenomenon of labor migration per se. This casts the net of "unfree labor" far too wide and potentially contributes to a misconception that most of contemporary labor migration to Russia could be framed through the politics of unfree labor. In conclusion, I wholeheartedly recommend this book to all the students and scholars of human trafficking and migration to Russia.

Agnieszka Kubal
School of Slavonic and East European Studies University College London

Marketing Hope: Get-Rich-Quick Schemes in Siberia. By Leonie Schiffauer. New York: Berghahn Books, 2019. ix, 175 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Figures. $120.00, hard bound.
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Marketing Hope tells the story of how people in the majority Buryat town of Aginskoe, located in a Siberian district east of Lake Baikal, engaged in the immensely popular