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rope does not fit in West European memory narratives which, for instance, focus too much on the liberation of the west and narrate differently about the Holocaust. Therefore, they ignore the fourteen million people deliberately killed in what Snyder calls the 'Bloodlands': modern-day Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, Russia, and the Baltic states.

The fourth part geographically joins the focus of Snyder's 'Bloodlands' because it focuses on Eastern Europe. Its chapters form an interesting collection. Thematically, the first chapter, about Catholic-Jewish relations in Poland, is the odd man out: it focuses on religious ideologies of the Polish Catholic Church instead of political ideologies. In addition, the other chapters about Lithuania, Romania, and Bulgaria fit more in the arguments put forward in the rest of the book. In his chapter, Bogdan Iacob's focus is again on the Romanian Commission, but by taking a different perspective, in which he analyzes the content of the report that was produced by the commission and its rejection in different ways, Iacob adds important insights about why Romania has failed to deal with its communist past.

Overall, the volume has a strong international and comparative approach, which makes it a diverse and interesting read. In their introduction, the editors claim to be innovative because of their scope going beyond Europe. The last part's focus on Eastern Europe might call this claim into question. It is true that chapters about, for example, South Africa and Cuba are included, but such chapters are few. It is also true that some chapters, such as Chirrot's article about Germany and Japan, have a comparative perspective, but because they prioritize the European side of the story, comparisons with non-European countries principally serve to understand European memory practices.

Notwithstanding this Europe-oriented perspective, *Remembrance, History, and Justice* completely fulfils the promises of thematic and methodological innovativeness. The volume has an impressive thematic and methodological variety and a strong interdisciplinary character. It is refreshing that many authors not only write from an academic point of view but also integrate their own experiences—for instance, in truth and reconciliation commissions—in their contributions. On a methodological level, one might question the strive for objectivity of some of those contributions. Nonetheless, they give interesting insights into and reflections on the practices of dealing with authoritarian pasts in democratic societies.

Susan Scherpenisse (Nijmegen)

Sebastian Goll / Martin Mlinarić / Johannes Gold, eds, *Minorities under Attack. Othering and Right-Wing Extremism in Southeast European Societies*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2016 (Forschungen zu Südosteuropa. Sprache – Kultur – Literatur). 298 pp., ISBN 978-3-447-10553-8, €58.00

The anthology *Minorities under Attack. Othering and Right-Wing Extremism in Southeast European Societies* is an impressive collection of scholarly works that conducts a thorough analysis of the status of minorities in the region in changing political landscapes. During a time in which right-wing extremism and nationalism have once again gained salience in our political, economic, and sociocultural relations, works such as this anthology remind us that now is the time more than ever to draw attention to the impacts of these broader trends on

the framing of identity as well as on markers of belonging and exclusion.

This volume makes a sophisticated and balanced contribution by discussing the above-mentioned themes in a way that is heterogeneous, multidisciplinary, and pluralistic, despite focusing on a particular geographical unit as its main case study. It is precisely its focus on southeastern Europe that highlights the ways in which historically marginalized societies, informed by specific sociocultural and institutional experiences and historical legacies, see themselves in a way that produces a form of 'self-mirrored othering' (11). Additionally, the strength of this volume is in its ability to convey the diversity of experiences and differing notions of othering present throughout the region. At the same time, the authors ground the larger significance of othering and experiences within the broader debates on ethnocentrism and homophobia against a backdrop of rising right-wing movements.

In terms of organizational structure and methodological approach, the book comprises thirteen empirical case studies that explore instances of othering across the different countries of southeastern Europe. As highlighted by the volume's editors, taken together, the articles provide a multilayered perspective utilizing a broad scope of academic schools of thought, including historiographic perspectives, memory studies, post-structuralist discourse analysis, network and social movements studies, societal comparison, and anthropology. Some of the authors have also contributed to intersectional feminist and queer research. For consistency, the editors have chosen to conceptualize right-wing extremism in a way that allows for a more comprehensive study of the phenomenon across the different national cases. Therefore, the subsequent chapters fall into one of the two

of Richard Stöss's analytical frameworks: right-wing attitudes (authoritarianism, chauvinism, racism, pro-fascism) or right-wing extremist behaviours (voting habits, membership in organizations, hate crimes, and demonstrations).

Johannes Gold opens the volume with a quantitative analysis measuring interethnic relations between Albanians and Serbs during the first six years of Kosovo's post-independence period (2008-2014). By asking how Albanians and Serbs get along in a post-conflict society, Gold sheds light on how ethnicity is enacted to produce a sense of persisting otherness, long after the end of violent conflict. Gold conducts an ethnographical overview by focusing on the Serb community in various Kosovar municipalities, using a range of indicators such as soft to hard incidences of interethnic contact (in form of protest, vandalism, attacks on property or physical violence) and resettlement opportunities for Serbian populations. He discovers that the structure and nature of interethnic relations in the newly independent state are primarily dictated by a visible Albanian-Serbian divide.

Zhidas Daskalovski's chapter, 'Skopje as an Ethnocentric Nation-Building Project', situates the meaning of the recent reconstruction of the Skopje city centre within the larger historical context of Macedonia's ethnocentricity and exclusion of national minorities. In an attempt to explore the government-led efforts to reconstruct the capital, Daskalovski focuses on the project 'Skopje 2014' and the ways in which it has evoked ethnocentric aspects that have direct, long-term repercussions for Macedonia's future as a multiethnic state. The project has perpetuated an exclusion of ethnic minorities living within the state (e.g. Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Serbs, Roma, and Bosniaks) by projecting a dominant Macedonian identity. Daskalovski reminds read-

ers to utilize a critical lens when thinking about the project: the ways in which it has emerged as a tool used by the government to participate in the making of identity in urban space. 'Skopje 2014', therefore, mainly articulates the interests of ethnic Macedonians at the expense of other ethnic groups in the country. Even more significantly, it further distances the country from any form of liberal nation building or multiculturalism in the future.

Claudia Lichnofsky continues on this theme of identity formation processes and how they are constructed to exclude particular minorities. In her chapter, she focuses on the exclusion of the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian people in Kosovo. What is unique about her analysis is that she simultaneously asks how these minorities are excluded during settings of conflict and post-conflict. Her contribution is an analysis of these groups against the larger backdrop of conflictual relations between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo.

The second part of the collection, with chapters by Jelena Tunić and Željana Kisić, Dragan Šljivić and Martin Mlinarić, as well as Sanja Đurin, focus on how the (re-)creation of national discourse through the making of ideology and remembrance-inspired movements can be crucial sources of exclusion for minorities. Tunić and Kisić analyze how the Croatian nationalist salute 'Za dom – spremni' ('For the homeland – ready!') used by Croatia's Ustasha regime in the Second World War had been recreated and adopted as an expression of patriotism as well as an affirmative Croat identity during the 1990s conflicts. Šljivić and Mlinarić compare how two prominent Christian movements, *Dveri* ('Doorways' – Serbia) and *U ime obitelji* ('In the Name of the Family' – Croatia) have othered homosexuals as a threat to what traditionally constitutes the 'normal' family. The authors

remind us that this process of othering isolates sexual minorities and makes them more vulnerable to be targeted as scapegoats in times of crisis. Đurin builds further on this argument by examining how Croatian national discourse during the 1990s, more generally, condemned homosexuality and proliferated a homophobia rhetoric in schools. Đurin makes a strong argument for the impacts of the politics of sexuality of the 1990s on laying the foundation for the present-day conservative and homophobic atmosphere in Croatia.

The remaining chapters of the collection all draw focus to the more structural factors that contribute to the processes of othering and exclusion, most especially the rise of right-wing parties. Sebastian Goll writes on the rise of right-wing attitudes in Romania, showing how organizational structures and strategies employed by particular extremist organizations of the fascist and socialist times have not only fuelled a strong ideology but have also translated ideology into behaviour, mobilizing strong bases of popular support. Philipp Karl makes a similar argument in his analysis on the successes of the right-wing party *Jobbik* in Hungary, attributing its rise as a political actor to its ability to create an online presence and utilize its subcultural networks on the Internet and social media outlets. The power and influence of party structures are also in play in Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia, as the authors Maik Fielitz, Antony Todorov, and Đorđe Tomić remind us. While the failures of neoliberal economic reforms to deliver contributed to the rise in prominence of the radical right in Serbia as a political contender, the rise of Greece's *Chrysi Avgi* ('Golden Dawn') party cannot only be attributed to economic distress but is rather a story of institutional outcomes and the party's active resource mobilization. Lastly, Antony Todorov's discussion

of the common ideological ground shared by Bulgaria's right-wing parties centered primarily on hostility towards minorities who 'threaten the unity of the nation' complements Henry Ludwig's examination of the right-wing opposition against LGBT issues conveyed through mass media in Albania.

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Rosanna Dom, *Fragile Loyalität zur Republik Moldau. Sowjetnostalgie und 'Heimatlosigkeit' unter den russischen und ukrainischen Minderheiten*, München: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2017 (Südost-europäische Arbeiten 156). 323 pp., ISBN 978-3-11-051906-8, €44.95

Western academic interest in the former Soviet republic of Moldova and its breakaway republic of Transnistria comes in waves. In the early 1990s, political scientists and (political) historians studied Moldova and Transnistria as spectacular and extreme cases of nation and state building, both in the interwar period as well as in the immediate post-Soviet years. This wave was followed by a low tide of more than a decade. Over the last few years, anthropologists, linguists, and (cultural and social) historians have taken over, combining issues of national (historical) identity with socioeconomic disparities. Rather than giving 'the state' and so-called 'ethnic entrepreneurs' centre stage, this next generation of 'Moldovanists' have adopted a bottom-up perspective, without recourse to a normative dichotomy between a repressive state and an authentic civil society.

Together with Stefan Ihrig, Dareg Zabarah, Jan Zofka, Elizabeth Anderson, and Jennifer Cash, Rosanna Dom and her

2015 PhD thesis from Regensburg belong to this second wave. For them, 'nationality' is no longer a distinct identity easily manipulated by politicians, historians, and other nation builders. 'Identity' is replaced by ambiguous and inconclusive processes of identification, thereby once again ascribing agency to the citizens in a context of multiple transitions (statehood, social fabric, economics). 'Nationality' as a fixed category is no longer used and, if at all, national identity is the resultant, not the determinant of a process. The tools of their trade are participatory observation and qualitative citizens' interviews rather than policy documents, statistics, and interviews with political leaders. Dom uses the concept of 'loyalty' (43-46), as it does not imply the exclusiveness of national identity and allows for overlapping loyalties to dissimilar groups: Moldovans, Russian-speakers, villagers, newcomers, and so forth. Loyalty as concept, moreover, she argues, sidesteps the connotation of emotion and irrationality. Correspondingly, these interviewees are no longer naïve victims who have their identities and political mobilization manipulated at will by devilish nationalists in Chişinău, Bucharest, Tiraspol', Kyiv, or Moscow. In Dom's cautionary words: 'In the study of Russians and Russian-speakers in the fourteen non-Russian post-Soviet republics, there is a notable tendency to reify ethnic groups as fixed entities or agents, to the detriment of actual actors and contexts' (41).

Laudably, the author has avoided the flaw of some other second-wave studies — ignoring the state and politicking altogether and focusing exclusively on citizens and their actions or sentiments. Dom first analyzes laws and policies by the Moldovan state as well as discourse by Russian and Ukrainian intellectuals in Moldova as 'loyalty propositions' (*Loyalitätsangebote*,