

unfold through a combination of multiple modes although each form of autocratization is systematically linked to one “core” mode. Finally, in-depth case studies shed light on the type of actors that initiate the process of autocratization.

To sum up, in this book, Andrea Cassani and Luca Tomini successfully answer the following questions: What is autocratization? And how does autocratization unfold in post-Cold War political regimes? The authors develop a new theoretical framework, one which builds on classical studies of political regimes but distances itself from the dichotomous typology of regime types. By using the term “autocratization” as an overarching concept, they provide evidence of the relation between forms and modes of autocratization in a very comprehensive and concise way. In the empirical analysis however, the authors simply relate the presence of modes of autocratization to the distinct forms without taking into account that each mode is characterized by a combination of actions that may be different in magnitude.

Overall, *Autocratization in Post-Cold War Political Regimes* provides significant contributions to the literature on comparative political regime studies and the debate on the state of democracy. Hopefully, the book will pave the way for future research on patterns of regime transition using an authoritarian perspective.

**ANGELO VITO PANARO**  
Scuola Normale Superiore

Petar Cholakov, *Ethnic Entrepreneurs Unmasked: Political Institutions and Ethnic Conflicts in Contemporary Bulgaria*. Stuttgart: *ibidem*-Verlag, 2018. 223 pp.

In our post-democratic times, the challenges faced by democracy, including the rise of populism and the reappearance of nationalism, are placing political institutions under rising

pressure. As nationalism has re-emerged, especially in the new democracies, it has contributed to strengthening the internal ethnic conflicts between the dominant and the minority population groups. That is the frame that Petar Cholakov has attempted to implement in his research. By focusing on Bulgaria, his monograph sets out to observe the relationship between ethnic conflicts and political institutions, and the effects those conflicts have on Bulgaria's ethnic relations. The book employs a unique approach to the role of a particular part of the political elites, to whom Cholakov refers as "ethnic entrepreneurs."

The book is divided into five parts. The Introduction provides an overview of the study and definitions of key terms and concepts. While political institutions can be recognized as the result of the democratic transition, "ethnic entrepreneurs" seem to resemble political agitators, as they capitalize on the interests and fears of the ethnic groups they represent, under the banner of a specific cause. The first chapter entitled "An Institutional Approach to Ethnic Conflicts" provides a fresh overview of the field of ethnic conflicts, as Cholakov compares the fates of the ethnic relations in Bulgaria with those in the Yugoslav federation. After sketching the leading approaches to ethnic conflicts, the author turns to Fukuyama's theory. According to Fukuyama, the "velvet revolutions" in post-communist countries promulgate the triumphant victory of liberal democracies, highlighting the retreat of nationalism, and, eventually, "the end of history." Bulgaria is viewed as a remarkably successful example of Fukuyama's theory; nevertheless, Cholakov, taking into consideration the effects of economic inequalities in multiethnic societies, acknowledges the theory's limitations.

Cholakov devotes some space to presenting Yugoslavia's path to decay and decomposition, as an example of the institutionalists' approach to ethnic conflicts. Cholakov examines Bulgaria and the Yugoslav federation in a comparative historical perspective, as he presents four models of ethnic relations in Bulgaria after the state's creation. More specifically, he argues that the Yugoslav federation's collapse can be better understood through the prism of the conflicts which were triggered by the

politicization of ethnic identities. That was the situation in Bulgaria under the first three models. The first model, “the archetype,” dates to the period from 1878 until 1944. Cholakov identifies two models during the totalitarian regime: the “Dimitrov-Chervenkov” model (1944–56), and the “second model” (1956–89). The transition to democracy in 1989 signalled the appearance of a fourth model, which is still active. Cholakov’s models of ethnic relations in Bulgaria offer us the ability to understand how ethnic identity has been politicized since the end of World War II. That politicization became achievable when identity became comprehensible as: a) an “entry ticket” for ethnic minority groups to claim political rights and economic benefits; b) a vehicle for political mobilization, in order to awaken the targeted ethnic group and make it aware of its identity; and c) a result of a clash between state institutions and those non-governmental organizations which defend ethnic minorities. Understanding the politicization of ethnic identity offers us the opportunity to interpret the challenges for ethnic relations today: the demographic crisis, the rise of discrimination against ethnic minorities, the decline of social tolerance, the rise of anti-establishment attitudes and nationalism, and the effects of malfunctions inside the democratic political system.

The second chapter, “The Role of Political Parties,” deals with the party system in Bulgaria after 1989. Cholakov distinguishes two party systems: a bipolar one (1990–2001); and a system based on polycentrism, populism and nativism (2001–today). His broad-based analysis of the party politics in Bulgaria highlights the role of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF), the party that represents ethnic minorities, its role in the ethnic conflicts after 1989, and its links with civil society. Simultaneously, Cholakov analyzes the appearance and electoral success of populist radical right parties in Bulgaria, which have been the MRF’s primary opponents. What Cholakov investigates here is the ability of those parties to increase their influence in the political system, while social tolerance towards other ethnic groups, as studies in 2015–2016 have shown, is in decline. To complete the portrait of Bulgaria’s party system and how it affects

ethnic conflicts, Cholakov turns his interest to the Roma population, highlighting the use of statistics, which cover the period 1995–98. In this way, he attempts to demonstrate how ethnic entrepreneurs have embroiled significant percentages of Roma population in committing violent crimes, thereby instigating hate against that minority.

The third chapter, “Channeling Ethnic Conflicts,” is devoted to the role of political institutions in resolving ethnic conflicts, with a particular focus on integration policies, especially those aimed at the Roma population. Cholakov supports his research with case studies, which confirm the crucial role that state institutions play in supporting cohabitation in a multiethnic society. More specifically, Cholakov points out the challenges for ethnic relations. These challenges can be better understood when the discussion turns to issues around integration of and discrimination against the Roma.

In the concluding section, “A Story about Garbage Trucks,” the author retraces a story from his childhood in order to highlight the problem of slavery in Bulgaria nowadays, using the ghettoization of the Roma population and the lack of access to civil rights as his example. Holding that in mind, he indicates how the Bulgarian state’s diverse approach to ethnic groups and dominants develops an unknown future regarding the state’s ability to prevent ethnic conflict.

To summarize, the current volume is very pertinent as it succeeds in delving into the field of ethnic conflict, in a period in which nationalism and populism are on the rise, and minorities have gained a central position in the political agenda. Cholakov’s study is well-written and comprehensible. Its distinctive value lies in successfully combining a plethora of sources (both political and judicial in nature) and statistical data. The book’s shortcomings are acknowledged by the author himself in the first pages of the book. There are gaps regarding the impact of the refugee waves, the threat of terrorism, and how the media have become part of that new normalcy. Those topics could support other volumes focused on ethnic conflicts and ethnic entrepreneurs, placing the problem in a comparative framework,

both in relation to other Balkan states and other European countries. Having the above in mind, we can acknowledge that Cholakov has successfully filled an important gap in the study of political institutions and ethnic conflict and their interconnections.

**GEORGE KORDAS**

PhD Candidate

Department of Political Science and History  
Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences

Natalia Shapovalova and Olga Burlyuk (eds), *Civil Society in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine: From Revolution to Consolidation*. Stuttgart: *ibidem*-Verlag, 2018. 383 pp.

In this edited volume, Shapovalova and Burlyuk examine the state of Ukrainian civil society after the 2013–2014 Revolution of Dignity (referred to as Euromaidan in the book). The editors explore the changing relations between civil society and the state, as well as the internal evolution of civil society’s organization and structure following these dramatic events. The volume then proceeds to demonstrate, with a variety of case studies, and empirical and exploratory research, how non-government organizations (NGOs) in Ukraine have created an often-symbiotic dynamic with the Ukrainian state. The contributions detail how NGOs have often substituted for the state to provide services to citizens during the extended crisis created by the Euromaidan, the annexation of Crimea, and the ongoing war in Donbass, with some sectors of civil society also “sharing with the state the monopoly on violence” (p. 16) when the country was at its weakest.

Part One starts by analyzing the changes in the relations between civil society and the state. Contributions from Worschech and Zarembo along with Bazilo and Bosse mainly focus on how NGOs have taken on state-based services and security responsibilities, compensating for “state failure” (p. 91),