

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.

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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),

and have either strengthened (Zaremba's focus on defense capacity) or weakened (Worschech on democratization) state development. The chapters by Pishchikova and Romanova along with Parandii and Jarábik look at how civil society has influenced the actions and behavior of various levels of the Ukrainian government. These analyses examine the impact of civil society campaigns that pressured the Ukrainian national government to advance reforms (Parandii and Jarábik); the effectiveness of civil society activists appointed to regional government positions (Romanova); and the often competitive, and sometimes oppressive, dynamic between civil society and the state (Pishchikova).

Bazilo and Bosse together with Parandii and Jarábik are the stand-out contributions in the first part of this volume. Through interviews with Ukrainian NGOs, Bazilo and Bosse reveal important insights on the state-centric positions of civil society, with many placing their hope for a resolution of the war in Donbass in the dialogue between the Ukrainian and Russian governments. This surprising focus on a "top-down narrative" (p. 175) of conflict resolution by civil society is juxtaposed with research that has illustrated how NGOs and ordinary Ukrainians have been vital in local peacemaking. It strikes the reader that civil society members may not have a clear sense of their own importance to wider Ukraine, and their potential for creating a sustainable peace through civic engagement and mobilization.

Parandii and Jarábik examine the advocacy influence of a civil society coalition in advancing economic and governance reform in the Ukrainian government. This interesting contribution outlines the initial outstanding success of this movement, and the slowing of the reform movement in recent years. However, these authors do not critique the obvious lack of grassroots engagement by NGOs in setting this agenda, especially in the immediate aftermath of the Euromaidan, and barely touch on the impact that austerity programs have had on many segments of the Ukrainian population. This is also a wider shortcoming of the book, where the position of many of the NGOs, typically staffed by professionals and "reformers," is

situated as “above” the concerns of regular Ukrainian people and oriented purely to dealing with the state. This approach stands in contrast to my own field research in Ukraine, which has revealed a dynamic and interconnected NGO sector that was deeply embedded with the concerns of Ukrainians in need, especially in the context of the provision of services to those affected by conflict and austerity (Dolan-Evans 2018). A more rigorous consideration of these “smaller” actors in civil society would have revealed the many intricacies of a richly engaged support network and given strength to the analytical contributions here.

Part Two of the volume continues with a focus on the internal configurational changes stimulated within civil society in the face of the Euromaidan and ongoing conflict. Several of these contributions address different catalyzing agents and their impact on the internal structure and dynamic of NGOs, such as international funding (Axyonova and Schöppner), social mobilization and violence (Kyselova, Budivska and Orlova), fluctuating volunteer engagement (Bohdanova and Moroz), sectarian conflict (Cherenkov, Kalenychenko, and Antoshevskyy), and virulent nationalism (Shevtsova).

The final chapter in this volume, by Shevtsova, is a significant contribution to the literature. This contribution discusses the early weaponization of homosexuality by pro-Russian groups as an argument against association with the European Union, and then the subsequent mobilization of homophobic tropes by pro-Ukrainian right-wing civil society for the same purpose. Shevtsova details the construction of an “acceptable” homosexual citizen in Ukraine through the concept of “Ukrainian homonormative patriotism” (p. 352). This concept refers to the discursive practice of constituting such “acceptable” homosexual citizens as those who are male, masculine, and militaristic.

The strength of this volume is in contributing a myriad of varying perspectives to the vital work of Ukrainian civil society post-Euromaidan in a time of war. However, the roundness of this work could have been enhanced further with a summary from the editors at the end of the volume, to help the reader tie-in and

consolidate the diverse narratives explored. Finally, I was surprised by the absence of a focus on women's specific involvement in many of the civil society organizations that provide "care labor" services, such as social support, housing, food, and clothing provision. In my own experience, these NGOs are poorly funded, take up much of "the slack" from a retreating Ukrainian state, and are almost entirely staffed by women. A gender perspective integrated in this work would have ensured an improved and well-rounded volume that did not miss the real "invisible" peacemakers, care laborers, and volunteers.

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