

Forging Rights in a New Democracy by Anna Fournier.
Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. 214pp.
Notes. References. Index. Photographs. Hard bound.

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In *Forging Rights in a New Democracy*, Anna Fournier examines the civic coming of age of the first post-Soviet generation in Ukraine. Providing rich ethnographic detail from fieldwork in two schools in Kyiv, Fournier examines what she calls "pedagogies associated with citizenship" (2012:10) to better understand how youth understand their relationships to each other, the state, and authority. While much of the research takes place in schools, Fournier also examines the influence of informal pedagogies, such as political campaigns, the Orange Revolution, and the media to provide a multi-sited context for civic becoming.

In the first chapter, Fournier outlines theoretical discourses about youth, citizenship, and human rights in a global context, suggesting that youth appropriate and reconcile elements from a variety of discourses, such as those found in neoliberal capitalism--privileging political and civic rights--and those found in still-enduring influences of the Soviet system--privileging social and economic rights. The second chapter uses the theme of order and chaos to understand how Soviet and Ukrainian narratives construct conceptions of the "patriot," especially in school settings where students appropriate, reject, and perform varying manifestations of the patriot—sometimes simultaneously. The third chapter introduces a key theme found throughout the book, "performing the outlaw," in which some young school leaders contest what they see as arbitrary school rules by mobilizing a "bandit repertoire" (2012:89) that situates them outside of school rules to secure their "rights" within them. The fourth chapter moves us outside the boundaries of the formal classroom to examine how informal pedagogies "teach" students ways to relate to their rights through what Fournier calls "violent pedagogies of capitalism" (2012:104). In the fifth chapter, Fournier examines how youth articulate their rights during participation in the Orange Revolution, which is the kind of socially-defining event that anthropologists can only hope to experience during fieldwork. In the sixth chapter, Fournier examines the aftereffects of the Orange Revolution in strategies employed by students in school, observing that the revolution demonstrated how to agitate for school freedoms in a more direct manner, resulting in some students supplementing their bandit repertoire with "the revolution's repertoire" (2012:170).

Fournier's main focus is on youth articulations of civic self, but she includes perspectives of teachers and other adults in the "wider social context" (2012:11) to provide a more diverse picture of how relationships are established and re-established in times of social change. Within this context, Fournier nicely explores how developing civic consciousness does not always imply that students are immune to the antics of youth. For example, Fournier finds that while some students complain of feeling like slaves in a system that doesn't trust them with their rights, some students enact a bandit identity to achieve less than civic aims, such as locking the security guard out of the school building. In navigating the terrain between rights and desires after the revolution, Fournier also finds that some youth extrapolated the meaning of the Orange

Revolution to signify that mass disobedience can be used to secure whatever one *desires*, not just civic rights. Negotiating this important tension between rights and desires is present throughout her fieldwork, and Fournier observes that within her experiences, "this points to the challenge, for students *and* their teachers, in conceiving of freedom as *civic* freedom, or freedom *within* the rules rather than outside of them" (2012:98).

Admittedly, the tension that Fournier observes between youth being taught to take advantage of their rights while still being largely treated as civic neophytes not mature enough to handle them seems to be a fairly widespread condition, leaving one to wonder how much this represents a specifically post-Soviet phenomenon. Nonetheless, Fournier's work provides an especially interesting perspective of how youth both reproduce and reject violent social elements or "bandits" in relationship to the state. In so doing she expands post-Soviet studies that narrowly center on how state or transnational political bodies (such as the EU) primarily serve as the means for interpolating citizens or defining discourses about rights.

One of Fournier's strengths is that while many of the themes found within her book could easily be seen as oppositional binaries—childhood and maturity, order and chaos, violence and self-discipline, civic freedom (*svoboda*) and desires (*volia*), power and powerlessness—she rejects the rigidity of an either/or framework, suggesting instead that youth civic consciousness represents the creation of a new formulation of rights discourses and strategies that include both neoliberal self-regulation as well as Soviet-esque expectations for governmental care. Interviewing youth participating in the revolution, Fournier finds that they were "eager to point out that the Orange Revolution itself showed European democratic principles in action in Ukraine" (2012:136), while at the same time articulating "a desire for the restoration of some Soviet-style social protections" (2012:149). As a result, Fournier postulates that the first post-Soviet generation "will likely be neither nostalgic nor blindly West-centric" (2012:183).

One of the few critiques of an otherwise fascinating book is that there is such a wide inclusion of factors that it can sometimes feel overwhelming to connect them throughout the various sites and actors involved. However, this also serves as a reminder that coming of age in the revolutionary landscape might have indeed felt very much like a vast tapestry of discourses and expectations that led in sometimes unclear directions. However, Fournier's final conclusion elegantly brings these elements together.

Overall, the book is engaging, theoretically rich, and at times amusing in descriptions of student behavior, making it a resource that could serve a wide audience across disciplines and regions. This book would be particularly salient for those interested in the intersections of globalization, social change, and political reform, especially individuals who value the ethnographic depth provided by an anthropological case study highlighting how individuals can be agents of cultural change regardless of age or political position.