

and bribe-seeking. Powerful private businesses responded by trying to influence the state by various means from outside to guarantee favorable treatment. Yet, since the early 2000s, the preferred method for big business holders has been to seek access to the state directly through holding influential political positions of power. Holding public office per se does not guarantee success, as Spector shows, for it is dependent on continuing negotiations and networking. Nonetheless, evidence from the post-Soviet experience suggests that this strategy is more likely to succeed if pursued from within the state rather than by attempting to influence state policies from outside.

A final question that inevitably comes to mind relates to the long-term sustainability of the bazaar economy. What can be seen in recent years, especially following Kyrgyzstan's joining the Eurasian Economic Union in 2015, is a significant decline in trade at the Dordoi bazaar. In early 2017, the Kyrgyz government announced that 6,000 out of total 18,000 shipping containers at Dordoi had decommissioned as a result of declining trade. This decline in trade does not overly concern Spector, however. Invoking a parallel communicated via interviewee that Dordoi is like "a spring that feeds and gives life to an entire river" (18), she sees this as a process of adaptation to changing tariff regimes and new supply and demand dynamics. Many of the traders have shifted to new businesses, primarily the textile industry, thus making the bazaar a source of new businesses. That said, it would be interesting to understand whether the specific experiences in collective organization derived from the bazaars could be transferred to the emerging textile industry.

In conclusion, *Order at the Bazaar* is a rich causal story of the bottom-up processes enabling collective action even in challenging environments. It holds relevance for multiple disciplines, including political science, development economics, sociology, and anthropology. The study also represents a welcome contribution to understanding how Soviet legacies mattered in forming new political, economic, and social institutions. In the process, it lends intriguing insights into how certain institutions and organizations—for example trade unions and the legislature—combine formal and informal responsibilities. Rather than assuming particular functions of various institutions, Spector's work reveals how they are constituted in the first place, thereby giving them real-life meaning that extends considerably from what was formally stipulated.

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***Dzieci modernizmu: Świadomość, kultura i socjalizacja polityczna młodzieży żydowskiej w II Rzeczypospolitej.*** By Kamil Kijek. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2017. xvi, 464 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Zł 45.00, hard bound.

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In 1932, 1934, and again in 1938, the Wilno-based *Yidisher visnshaftlikher institut* (which at the time rendered its name in English, somewhat problematically, as the Yiddish Scientific Institute) issued calls to young Jews, aged

sixteen through twenty-two, to compose their autobiographies and enter them in a competition, with cash prizes offered the winners. The contests yielded 627 submissions from twelve different countries in Europe, Asia, and the Americas, the large majority coming from Poland. Three hundred two of the compositions were recovered after the Holocaust; today they are housed at the sponsoring institution's New York heir, the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

Intended originally to assist Jewish leaders in formulating social policy in their communities, the autobiographies have attracted the attention of scholars over the past two decades for the unique window they offer onto the lived experience of a generation of Jews that came of age in the independent national states of east central Europe between the two world wars. Initial studies of the works employed the life stories largely as a counterweight to the "lenses tinted by nostalgia or horror, personal or familial loyalty, political or religious commitment" that have often served post-Holocaust representations to flatten "the intense and often fractious vitality of interwar Polish Jewry" or to idealize an imagined world suddenly and violently destroyed forever.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, they tended to highlight the most richly-descriptive autobiographies, ones that added complexity and nuance to stereotypic views of what was often called synecdochically "the *shtetl*." It is only of late that scholars have begun to mine the corpus analytically, turning to it less as a fountain of compelling personal stories and more as a database from which to infer answers to historical questions.<sup>2</sup> Kamil Kijek's fine work, *Dzieci modernizmu*, meticulously researched and elegantly written, is arguably the most extensive and the most ambitious of these latter-day investigations.

Kijek, one of a notable corps of talented young Judaicists trained and teaching in Polish universities who have acquired command of Yiddish and Hebrew, has employed the autobiographies to help him understand a striking feature of the interwar Polish-Jewish landscape: the pervasive influence of ideological youth movements, many of them operated by or affiliated with ethnic or religious Jewish political parties, in the lives of young Jews. As he notes, "toward the end of the interwar period, belonging to one of the many political [Jewish] organizations was often, for the young Polish Jew, something natural, requiring no explanation" (14). What went without saying in that time and place, however, was actually quite unusual compared both synchronically with other diaspora Jewish communities and diachronically with earlier east European Jewish generations. Kijek begins, logically, with the hypothesis that the context of the Second Polish Republic must have helped mold this new mass behavioral pattern. Unlike their parents, who came of age

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1. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Marcus Moseley, and Michael Stanislawski, "Introduction," in Jeffrey Shandler, ed., *Awakening Lives: Autobiographies of Jewish Youth in Poland before the Holocaust* (New Haven, 2002), xii. Cf. Alina Cała, ed., *Ostatnie pokolenie: Autobiografie polskiej młodzieży żydowskiej okresu międzywojennego ze zbiorów YIVO Institute for Jewish Research w Nowym Jorku* (Warsaw, 2003); Ido Bassok, ed., *Alilot ne'urim: Otobiografijot shel benei no'ar yehudim mi Polin bein shetei milhamot ha-Olam* (Tel Aviv, 2011).

2. Examples include Ido Bassok, *Tehiyat ha-Ne'urim: Mishpahah veHinuch be-Yahadut Polin bein milhamot ha-Olam* (Jerusalem, 2015); Daniel Kupfert Heller, *Jabotinsky's Children: Polish Jews and the Rise of Right-Wing Zionism* (Princeton, 2017).

in the Romanov or Habsburg empires, the young Jews of whom Kijek writes were socialized in a Polish ethnocratic state that counted them as citizens and educated them to the national culture while simultaneously pushing them *de facto* toward the margins of its political and economic life. How, he wishes to know, did the ambivalent messages they received from the Polish state about the key values of Polish culture and about their place as Jews in Polish society affect their political socialization? To what extent can that combination of “symbolic acculturation” (218) and “symbolic exclusion” (250) account for a Jewish youth culture marked by notably high levels of participation in a broad spectrum of specifically Jewish political organizations that competed vigorously (sometimes even violently) with one another for hegemony in the Jewish community and that became a primary focus of identity for their members?

To answer these questions, Kijek notes, “party documents, leaflets, bulletins, the press, and the ideological announcements of party elites” are not sufficient, for they do not show “how the elements of the [various] political ideologies . . . functioned in the daily life of politically-engaged youth and whether and how they influenced their identity, self-assessment, world outlook, family life, and primary frame of reference” (15). The YIVO autobiographies, by contrast, offer him access to “the political meaning of the symbols, norms, values, and outlooks represented by” their authors (15). They also permit him to examine the influence of a range of additional variables not directly related to the environment of the Second Republic, including family dynamics, residential patterns, social class, occupation, religious orientation, reading habits, and awareness of broader European and world cultural trends. The last of these variables is especially important for Kijek, for its consideration suggests to him a modification of his initial hypothesis. He is aware that the youth culture he explores resembled the sort of “radical modernism”—a situation of “mass engagement, an enormous role for propaganda, polarization of positions, millenarian convictions about the inevitability of great social transformations, and explication of the contemporary world by means of totalizing concepts and complex programs for changing it” (13–14)—that characterized much of European political life during the 1930s. In the autobiographies he finds such a “radical habitus” — “the internalization of collective convictions . . . that reject the social order . . . and demonstrate affinity for political visions imagining radical change” (390) — to be a general feature of interwar Polish Jewish youth. This radical countercultural orientation, he claims, “came from the outside;” it “took an example from the modern mass political movements that had arisen in Europe from the second half of the nineteenth century” (420). It was also directed in significant measure toward traditional Jewish institutions as well as toward contemporary Polish realities. Hence ideological commitments and group loyalties appear to have been less important to young Polish Jews than was a vague but intensely burning desire for anything but the status quo. This amorphous vision of the future made switching between movements and ideological camps a frequently-observed feature of the political culture of interwar Polish-Jewish youth.

In the end, then, Kijek’s research appears to diminish the importance both of interwar Polish politics and of Jewish ethnoreligious ties in shaping that culture. Young Jews who grew up in the Second Polish Republic

may have expressed a strong sense of alienation from the political reality in which they lived, which forced them to favor a Jewish over a Polish identity, but in Kijek's view the most painful aspect of that reality for most was precisely that forced choice. He discovers in the autobiographies evidence that "during the interwar period a 'cultural Polishness' was taking shape among Jews, a growing patriotism, a sense of connection to the state in which they lived" (427). Ironically, the new reality his subjects strove to create was not the one officially endorsed by most of the youth movements they joined — one in which Jewish culture and society remained autonomous units, unassimilated to their surroundings. It was, rather, one in which "Polish politics would begin to move in a somewhat more open direction, accepting of the Jewish community, inclined toward building a true partnership (*współnota*) among all of the citizens of the Second Republic, no matter what their ethnic background" (427).

Kijek believes that the "civic potential" inherent in that vision might well have been realized had the Second World War not intervened. That counterfactual projection necessarily carries him beyond his evidence—a miscue in a volume that otherwise takes the maximum the evidence offers but no more. For some readers, though, that evidence—including the fact that nearly three quarters of the extant autobiographies were written in Yiddish, not Polish—might actually lead to a different conclusion: that interwar Polish Jewish youth saw their situation as untenable and found "cultural Polishness" of no value for them at all. A notable merit of his is work that Kijek's detailed exposition of his subjects' life stories allows multiple interpretations, demonstrating the complexity of the problems he considers. His thoughtful treatment of his material pushes the analytical envelope well beyond what previous scholars have done with it and demonstrates its potential to deepen understanding of Polish-Jewish history.

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***Deaf in the USSR: Marginality, Community, and Soviet Identity, 1917–1991.***

By Claire L. Shaw. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017. xvi, 292 pp. Notes. and Abbreviations. Notes. Bibliography. Glossary. Index. Photographs. \$49.95, hard bound.

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What was the Soviet Union like for deaf people? Claire L. Shaw's new volume offers the first comprehensive history of deaf social life and political organizing during the Soviet twentieth century. Shaw combines archival research with analysis of cultural texts to offer an account of shifting discourses about deafness from the rise of the Soviet Union until the early 1990s.

Shaw does not address deafness as a medical condition. Rather, she traces political processes of deaf culture formation in state socialism. This approach builds on the robust literature on global deaf cultures. The notion of deaf culture holds that deaf people around the world communicate via a