

Craig Calhoun. *The Roots of Radicalism: Tradition, the Public Sphere and early Nineteenth-Century Social Movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012. \$25.00 (paper).

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This is not a wholly new book, but it is an exceptionally significant one, greater than the sum of its sometimes-recycled parts. Calhoun has built a new structure of argument from his previously published essays, each one strong, and which together offer an importantly unconventional angle on social movements past and present. The essay best known to scholars of social movements probably is “New social movements of the early nineteenth century,” which questioned the once common claim that the oppositional politics of the late twentieth century were wholly new in their issues, modes of organizing, and class relations. The other essays are no less fundamental in challenging the assumptions of social movement scholars. In the way that Calhoun uses the term, his interventions into the status quo of the field are “radical”: they deconstruct the core assumption that politics are inherently (rather than contingently and historically) organized on a left-to-right continuum with a “moderate” center providing support for weak versions of the claims made by the extremists at each pole.

Instead, Calhoun suggests that radical claims are different in kind, not just degree, from desires for reform. They are fundamentally at odds with the system prioritizing economic values (growth, development, accumulation) and are anchored in concretely experienced alternative systems of value such as community, religion, family and fraternal (or sororal) caregiving. At different historical moments and in response to immediately felt threats to such “rooted” experiences of communal life, people cast about for ways to resist the forces uprooting them. They use culturally available, diverse forms of organizing to express allegiances to what they are likely to call “tradition” or “utopia.” Rather than taking their claims to represent the past or future literally, however, Calhoun emphasizes the social construction of these politically powerful imaginaries as a formulation of fundamental resistance to the dominant social order in the present moment.

This appreciation of the creative dimension of radical critiques frees Calhoun from the pro-

blematic classification of movements as reactive or proactive. Instead, his essays highlight how the imagined otherness of a fundamentally different social order makes these movements—whether Chartists, Fourierists, Quakers, Tea Partiers, or Occupiers—simultaneously reactionary and progressive. Some conclusions that follow from this approach are startling and beg for more sustained empirical attention beyond his nineteenth-century case studies. The ongoing construction of solidarity by radical movements, for example, frequently seems to work with rhetoric of purity versus corruption, with the venality and non-accountability of elites being juxtaposed to the mutuality of sacrifice by “the people.” He also suggests that the challenges “utopian” socialism posed to capitalism were more fundamental than those in orthodox Marxist theories. Since these diverse movements imagined a world that did not put economic growth at its core and gave more value to families, communities and faith than “orthodox” socialists could, the benefits capitalism could offer failed to meet them halfway. If reform is not an option, Calhoun argues, intransigence appears to be a reasonable course of action.

The “spanner-in-the-works” model of radical resistance usually also rests, Calhoun suggests, on an image of a future where you (and the people you think of as like you) will have value, and this is an image that is not fantasized (or utopian in a pejorative sense) but reflective of the rootedness in the specific communities that make you who you are. Thus for orthodox socialism, rooted in the relations of the factory floor and the emergent urban community as it was, reform and solidarity were compatible in ways that were not true for handworkers or tenant farmers, whose exclusion inspired more radical critiques of industrialization as such. Calhoun suggests that while “class” theories serve as a way of thinking about capitalism at a macro-scale, at the micro-level at which identities are forged and organizations struggle, they fail to capture the actual relations by which society is made: whether the gender dynamics generated as households and occupations became separated, or the nationalisms unleashed as physical location were made increasingly contingent and insecure.

Calhoun’s first and last chapters provide a strong framework into which these different parts of his argument fit snugly, making the whole better reveal the multiple meanings of roots and rootedness and how his appreciation of tradition

(a constructed but powerful social tie) animates this general theoretical approach. Particularly when religion has returned with such a vengeance to the reality of social movement mobilizations in places as different as Cairo, Egypt and Cairo, Illinois, researchers would be well served by looking for theory grounded in other historical moments in which social change was experienced as desperately in need of human direction and people struggled to choose a way to steer the future in a path reflecting their cherished values. This approach also challenges the optimistic theorists who assume “progress” is inevitable and struggle to be on the “right side” of history, instead pointing to what was lost as well as gained in all the transformations lauded as “modern.” The victors get to define the interpretation of history, and many of the “losers” whom Calhoun profiles have been lost to the view of all but specialists. Whether any of their radical claims could have led to a different future is unknowable, but not worth dismissing out of hand.

In that sense, parallels can spring readily to mind between the early nineteenth century’s industrial and urban challenges and the urgency of the twenty-first century financial and environmental problems. But Calhoun is also wonderfully specific about the precise structure of economic populism, religious fervor, and communal institutions of past movement entrepreneurs, and while you will not condescend to the Tea Party in the same way after reading this book, Calhoun’s empirical precision about the past does block overly simplified analogies with present struggles. Grappling with globalization is not generating the same conflicts as those born in the early days of industrialization, but the theory Calhoun proposes can apply as well to both. It is a historical book ideally suited for the present political moment.

Jackie Smith and Dawn Wiest. *Social Movements in the World-System: The Politics of Crisis and Transformation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2012. \$39.95 (cloth).

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Jackie Smith and Dawn Wiest trace the rise of antisystemic social movements since World War II in their book *Social Movements in the World-System*. The major aim of the book is to examine the proposition that “global institutions, including states and international organizations

are best seen as the products of contestation among a diverse array of global actors (including social movements) competing in an arena that is defined by these same institutions and the norms and cultural practices they generate” (p. 14). The authors argue that transnational antisystemic mobilization (or mobilization that involves a diverse “family of movements” working together to advance democracy and equality) has increased due to the emergence of greater opportunities for and increased capacities of social movements. This book is an exciting accomplishment for those who study the evolution of the modern world-system and for those world citizens who are trying to help humanity avoid major disasters and move toward a more humane world civilization.

In chapter one the authors deploy a powerful fusion of organizational and institutional analyses, social movement theory, the world-systems perspective and the world polity approach. This synthetic theoretical formulation is used to interpret the findings of the author’s study of social movement organizations. They provide a world-historical perspective within which national societies, world regions, and the distinction between the Global North and the Global South are important contexts for the actions of transnational movements. In chapter two Smith and Wiest focus their research on the period since World War II. The creation and emergence of the United Nations (UN) and a great wave of decolonization movements in the Global South produced a tide of change that altered the landscape of competition among states and transnational actors. Chapter three investigates world regions and the regionalization of world politics during and after the Cold War. In the next chapter, the authors show that the UN’s sponsorship of global conferences encouraged the expansion and development of transnational social movement organizations. Chapter five examines the paradoxical nature of social movements in the global context by illustrating how global institutions both allow social movement actors to gain political leverage and channel many of them into single-issue and reformist activities. Finally, in chapter six, Smith and Wiest chart a model for understanding the coevolution of global institutions and social movements. They explore the idea that the contemporary situation should be understood as a world revolution.

Smith and Wiest draw their data on social movement organizations from the *Yearbook of International Organizations*, which has been published annually since the early 1950s. Data from this source show that the number of international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) has

risen from fewer than 1,000 in the 1950s to almost 20,000 by 2003, supporting the authors' contention that global mobilization increased substantially during the decades studied. The authors focus their attention on organizations that had specifically designated movement goals and use qualitative data about transnational campaigns, alliances, and international organizational dynamics to elucidate the behavior of social movement organizations.

The biggest idea in this book is that the deterritorialization of sovereignty that has been a consequence of neoliberal globalization has weakened the role of force and coercion in world politics and has strengthened the importance of a complex, emerging, and contested global moral order and an arena of civil world politics. To support their contentions they show that international governmental organizations have made substantial efforts to incorporate INGOs and social movement organizations into global and regional political participation. They argue that these changes have increased the opportunities for oppositional (antisystemic and counterhegemonic) forces to play an important role in world politics and to challenge authorities. They also claim that international law has become more important in recent decades. Recent work finding that subnational ethnic movements have mainly adopted a human-rights discourse rather than a nationalist vocabulary, they contend, supports their claim that there has been shift toward greater normative regulation based human rights. And they find that the percentage of transnational social movement organizations with ties to international governmental organizations (e.g., the UN) has decreased over time, which they interpret as supporting the idea that an emerging global moral order is increasing its influence over world events and that social movements have heeded the warnings that involvement with, and dependence on national states, prevents the emergence of a new politics.

The evidence in favor of the increasing influence of transnational social movements is convincing. But the idea that military power is less important than it was during the Cold War may be an illusion. Rather there is a single superpower (the U.S.) with an overwhelming military advantage over all potential challengers. This results in fewer interstate wars but should not be seen as an indicator of the declining relevance of military power. The contention that an emergent global human-rights moral order is now a more important regulatory force in world politics than military power is also implicit in the neo-functional world-polity approach (except that it is not seen as recent) and in the international regime

school of international relations.

Smith and Wiest do not discuss how market and financial forces and global private corporations fit in with, or contradict, the idea of the growing importance of a global moral order. Most of the literature about deterritorialization points to global marketization and the rising power of capitalist firms as the main factors that are compromising the power of national states in the age of neoliberal globalizations. Markets and money work well to coordinate the actions of complex economies and cross-cultural interactions precisely because they do not require much agreement about morality. One can readily agree that an emergent global moral order is becoming more important, and that this is a significant opportunity for transnational social movements. But the idea that normative regulation has already become more important than military regulation may be wishful thinking that obstructs a true comprehension of the nature of the contemporary global system and that could also be a grave mistake for the cause of global democratization. That said, *Social Movements in the World-System* is a great work that takes the analysis of the evolution of world politics to new heights. It should be closely read and debated.

Jonas Meckling. *Carbon Coalitions: Business, Climate Politics, and the Rise of Emissions Trading*. MIT Press, 2011. \$44.00 (hardcover).

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Understanding social movement influence on market-based policy is a growing topic of interest for social movement scholars. In particular, they are interested in how new markets are created, how market-oriented, nongovernmental organizations change policy, and the conditions that lead to their success or failure. Jonas Meckling's carefully researched book, *Carbon Coalitions: Business, Climate Politics, and the Rise of Emissions Trading*, takes on these issues by analyzing business-led coalitions in the emergence of an international emissions trading market. The book investigates the Kyoto protocol, European Union's Emissions Trading Scheme, and cap-and-trade in the United States in detailed case studies that trace the history of each with attention to the political opportunities, resources, and the strategies available to business groups.

Meckling contends that businesses responded to their inability to prevent emission controls by

creating a coalition-based regulatory approach that allowed compromise between various actors. In the case of the Kyoto protocol, the pro-trading coalition was able to leverage political conflict among regions, global and local political actors, as well as business and environmental interests, to create mandatory regulation of carbon emissions. The group promoting emissions trading in the European Union (EU) consisted primarily of firms that sought to avoid taxation and mitigate risks. They pushed back against the carbon tax and worked to create a legitimate alternative by piloting emissions trading programs in the United Kingdom and in-house trading schemes. These programs became the foundation for the creation of the EU Emissions Trading System. The US carbon-trading market was marked by multilevel tactics focused on both federal and state level policies using a Baptist-and-bootlegger coalition.

In addition to a comprehensive explanation of carbon trading and insight into the emergence of emissions trading schemes, Meckling details several findings of interest to social movement scholars—particularly those interested in markets and movements. First, he highlights the benefits of coalition work to very different kinds of actors. In this case, coalition work reduced the friction between business and environmental groups and provided concessions to both. Big emitters, for example, became policy entrepreneurs, who create carbon-trading schemes to mitigate regulatory risks and the possibility of taxation. By mobilizing business support within coalitions, firms effectively stymied the push for carbon taxes and offered changes that the coalition regulated in their place. The environmental movement made gains too—they made policy progress on the problem of emissions. Unfortunately, the role of the environmental movement, and its ambivalence regarding such policy “gains,” is not central to Meckling’s analysis. As a result, more work can be done on understanding movement-business coalitions and, specifically, the extent to which movements regard this work as moving towards positive environmental impact versus being co-opted by business interests.

Meckling also makes the case that the coalitions were successful in part because they were able to target authorities at the different levels—local, state, regional, and international—and take advantage of the political opportunities at each. The ability to move between these often-distinct levels obviously has policy implications. However, it also suggests that market-based coalitions (at least ones that incorporate business interests into their mission) may have a level of strategic flexibility not accorded to movements advocating

for universal economic equality and human rights. The former can leverage their successes in other settings—something that movements alone have difficulty doing. Additionally, Meckling’s finding regarding the flexibility of market-based strategies reminds us that innovative tactics can change the relationship among movements, businesses, and the state. When firms and movements have multiple avenues available to affect change (e.g., in the market and at varying levels of polity), both have more agency and directly challenge the regulatory authority of the state.

Finally, Meckling illustrates the importance of resources to carbon coalitions and policy change. Here, the coalitions were effective because members pooled nonmaterial (legitimacy) and material (financial) resources together. Yet Meckling points out that financial resources were not the key to success—the networks created using them were. Financial resources helped to create networks and relationships among the pro-trading firms, which allowed coalitions to effectively organize. Indeed, the idea that social capital is derived from such fiscal networks is a compelling one that invites future research. It would be interesting to learn, for example, if such networks provide a more flexible set of resources that allow actors to respond to external pressures more quickly.

One shortcoming of the book is that it pays little attention to the role of risk in coalition decision making. While Meckling acknowledges coalitions are used to mitigate environmental risk for firms as well as to respond to major environmental challenges (such as Hurricane Katrina), more attention could be paid to how perceptions of risk influenced the coalition formation and decision making.

This aside, Meckling offers a more complete picture of how the carbon trading market emerged and the role of coalitions in creating market change. Beyond its contribution as a thoughtful historic analysis, *Carbon Coalitions* makes a compelling contribution to our understanding of coalitions as a social movement tactic and provides scholars interested in market-based movements a platform for further inquiry.

Susan C. Pearce, Elizabeth J. Clifford, and Reena Tandon. *Immigration and Women: Understanding the American Experience*. New York: New York University Press, 2011. \$26.00 (paper).

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Immigration and Women is motivated by the belief that female international migrants have not been sufficiently attended to in scholarly literature or the public imagination. The authors point out that until the 1940s the immigrant population in the United States was disproportionately male. However, women are overrepresented among immigrants in the contemporary era, which the authors argue, justifies a renewed focus on the gendered aspects of immigration. Thus, the introductory sections of the book focus on women's immigration experiences, the history of immigration and naturalization laws in the United States, and the demographic and occupational characteristics of contemporary immigrants. These sections draw heavily on quantitative census data.

The remaining sections of the book use in-depth interviews with 89 women, who immigrated to the United States as adults, to explore their experiences with migration, their work lives in the United States, and their involvement in activism. Separate chapters consider the experiences of those who entered the United States legally versus illegally, although, as the authors demonstrate, the line between these categories can be quite fuzzy. For example, a number of the women who were interviewed entered the United States through some legal means but later became undocumented for various reasons. In the central chapters of the book, female immigrants' work experiences are the focus. In particular, the authors concentrate on working in domestic labor, as entrepreneurs, in gender-atypical occupations, and in "culture work" (defined here as artistic work like painting, writing, photography, and performance art, but not including culinary or fashion occupations).

Both the chapters on work and a later chapter on activism emphasize agency and social change. The authors show how entrepreneurs, gender-atypical employment, and women's mentorship can empower women and change their lives. For example, the women artists, who were interviewed, demonstrate the role of artistic endeavors in enabling human agency. The chapter specifically on activism begins with a history of immigrant women's labor activism before turning to the involvement of interviewees in activism on behalf of immigrants, workers, and women. These discussions focus on how immigrant women become activists. The common thread among the women is realization that the United States was not living up to their expectations. Activism ultimately provides the interviewees with a sense of purpose as they work to shape the world they had been looking for when they made the decision to immigrate. While the sections on activism are a useful

introduction to how female immigrants become involved with and understand their activism, the book could have focused more on the role of agency and the gendered analysis that is central to the rest of the book.

The 89 women who participated in interviews for the book were located, according to the authors, through a combination of snowball and convenience sampling, with specific attention to seeking out women representing backgrounds common among U.S. immigrant groups. An appendix details the national origins, though not the geographical locations, of the interviewees. Of the top ten immigrant-sending countries discussed in the book, only four are represented by more than two respondents; four others are represented by one or two respondents, while no respondents come from the final two of the top ten immigrant-sending countries. While it is understandable why sampling for a study like this one would be challenging, it might have made more sense to seek a representative sample of immigrant populations in a particular place rather than to draw on a convenience sample that does not seem particularly representative.

This methodological issue is representative of a larger problem. In my judgment the book would be strengthened if it had a narrower focus that corresponded better with its data. For example, the chapter on undocumented women includes extensive discussions of smuggling, trafficking, mail-order brides, immigration detention, and deportation, but none of these topics are supported by data. Sections at the end of several chapters, as well the conclusion, focus on policy suggestions that might reduce exploitation, increase employment opportunities, and integrate a gendered understanding of immigration into contemporary immigration policy. As valuable as these suggestions are, they represent another tangled thread in the book. Indeed, the title and the introduction suggest a book that will talk about all of women's immigration experiences—a goal unlikely to be satisfied even in a book three times the length of this one. Instead, this book focuses on migration experiences, work experiences, and activism, leaving out many other aspects of the American immigrant experience like family, religion, community, and education.

I could imagine the same data being used to make a theoretical argument about immigrant women's agency in terms of the migration decision, employment, and activism, and this is where the book's conclusion points. Such a book would have been much more useful for scholars of social movements. Nevertheless, this book still would be helpful in courses on gender and

globalization, immigration, and work. The theoretical and historical sections provide a useful overview of immigration-related issues that would rapidly bring students up to speed, and the interviewees' stories make it easy to see how immigration policy directly affects female immigrants' experiences. The frequent use of the interviewees' own words make the text an engaging read. Therefore, I would strongly recommend it as a course text.

Mark S. Anner. *Solidarity Transformed: Labor Responses to Globalization and Crisis in Latin America*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press, 2011. \$21.95 (paper).

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How can labor withstand the pressures of globalization? Can unions defend hard-won labor rights when corporations are armed with a variety of new tools that diminish the power of traditional union contestation? These are the questions Mark Anner seeks to answer in this interesting and painstakingly researched book that compares labor struggles in Honduras, El Salvador, Brazil, and Argentina during the past two decades. Anner's case studies examine workers in apparel and automotive industries, taking into account varying state-labor regimes, the differences in how globalization has affected work process, the willingness of domestic labor and potential allies to work across international divides, and the political histories of labor in each nation.

An extensive body of research has demonstrated how the past thirty-five year history of economic globalization has proven harmful to many workers. Globalization of production, Anner confirms, deeply disadvantages workers, especially those working in export processing zones that were created as low-wage bait for migrating transnational corporations. The low wages paid in such factories are often too little to bring families out of poverty. Those subjected to the global labor-control regime are consistently paid less, worked harder, and disciplined more than their counterparts. In addition to the low wages in these jobs, opportunities for union representation may be limited, and the threat of corporate exit often looms.

An important context that influences labor organizing in the nations the author examines is the democratization of previously repressive

regimes amid a period of industrial growth. Anner shows us that industrial progress in the globalized era provides dramatic contrast to the positive economic and political opportunities won during earlier industrial moments. But the story only begins with new power won by corporations during the globalization era, as Anner traces labor's response to the new setting.

One of the new resources available to workers is support by international activists or labor organizers. Unions enjoyed differential success during their search for new allies, determined in part by their political stances, but also by the kind of production in which they were involved. The great vulnerability of textile workers was somewhat moderated by their ties to INGO activists. Consumer campaigns such as United Students Against Sweatshops often proved to be the kinds of actors likely to work with textile workers in Honduras and El Salvador. In contrast, the willingness of international labor to show solidarity differed by locale, with US labor consistently less helpful than German counterparts. Successful transnational union alliances at times began by focusing on areas where labor did not find competitive interests, such as human rights.

To add to the complexity of the author's argument, the political stances of the unions further influenced how they would mobilize domestically, and search for allies internationally. Unions displayed a variety of political stances, from radical left to moderate, with some displaying a neoliberal market friendly attitude that was demonstrably antiworker in its implications.

Anner provides exhaustive detail on his multiple cases, and makes clear the different resources unions relied on, and how they shaped strategies. What is not always clear, however, even when unions grew in the numbers they represented, was how this affected rank and file workers. Such effects were clearer in the textile industry than the auto industry. But the author seems to equate the numbers of workers represented by unions with success. Did the moderate unions that have largely acceded to corporate globalization strategies indeed benefit their rank and file? The measure of union growth is insufficient to answer this question. The threat of organizing often appeared useful for worker rights, especially helpful when unions were in competition. The radical flank often helped usher in more moderate unions who were able to win the right to represent. Yet in the textile industry especially, with its attendant low wages, low skill needs, and limited investment, the threat of exit was a powerful counter to unionization efforts, as

unions were often helpful only in negotiating severance packages.

For the automobile industry, redundant production capacity was less a threat to organizers, as the industry relied on higher place-based investment, and required higher-skilled workers than did the textile companies. However, labor control was still oppressive in the new process of modular production, which separated workers by benefits even within the same plant. Anner makes it clear that the different production process led to different strategies and alliances, and intersected with different regime histories influencing state action. The author effectively counters the rhetoric of the diminishing capacity of states, as unions consistently sought state participation in policing exploitive corporations, while corporations often sought state repression to answer organizers.

Anner has a long and impressive career both organizing and studying labor in Latin America, and has endured serious risk and harm in his research and organizing efforts. The knowledge and insight he demonstrates in this book is enviable, and the description of complex decisions, strategies, and outcomes of organizing is very compelling. The style of writing, whether due to his or the publisher's choice, left a bit to be desired only in his citing of interview data. The rich materials the author generated could have been displayed to better benefit with a different writing or editorial style. This is picking around the edges, however, about a book that is excellently researched, well-written, and extremely useful for a variety of readers interested in labor's political potential to contest globalization.

Joel Benin and Frédéric Vairel (eds.). *Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011. \$80.00 (hardback); \$24.95 (paper).

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The social movement theories that dominate the current stock of knowledge largely emerged in the West. Scholars developed explanations of the political world in response to specific historical contexts, primarily in Europe and the U.S. Not surprisingly, these theories do not always explain non-European and non-American contexts well. Factors that spur mobilization in America, such as political opportunities, may

have little relevance in contexts like the Middle East. Rather than regard this as a challenge to the theoretical status quo, Benin and Vairel argue that scholars should see this as an opportunity to provide much needed nuance to our understanding of when and how movements emerge across a variety of contexts.

Using McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly's (2001) book, *Dynamics of Contention*, as a starting point, the editors appraise the strengths and limits of contemporary theorizing through an analysis of social movements in the Middle East and North Africa. Benin and Vairel criticize popular conceptions of this part of the world, noting that "Arab and Muslim protests are far more diverse than the stereotypical and contradictory images provided by al-Qa'ida on the one hand and the participation of civil society through NGO mantras on the other" (p. 18). They argue that a critical analysis of social movements in other parts of the world illuminates how distinct contexts, networks, and practices affect movement processes.

The edited volume features eleven articles on four topics—authoritarianism and oppositions, mobilizing for rights, Islamic social movements, and labor rights—each designed to show how context matters. Several articles illuminate how local variables such as gender dynamics, ethnic status, and class constrain mobilization in unexpected ways. Pascal Ménoret, for instance, uses the case of Islamic activism in Saudi Arabia to illustrate that mobilization may be both discreet and informal. After decades of repression by the Saudi government, Islamic "activists" stopped trying to visibly mobilize. Instead, collective challenges were carried out through discreet groups with no fixed boundaries.

This is not to suggest that the volume ignores how local, state, and transnational contexts interact and the implications for social movement theory. For example, Emre Öngün uses the case of the European Trade Union Confederation's efforts to mobilize Turkish trade unions in order to problematize the idea that "resources" and organization facilitate mobilization in the transnational context. Öngün shows that in some instances resources are transferred but not mobilized because there is a mismatch between the interests of the transnational and local organizations. This challenges the notion that transnational cooperation is largely a positive experience for both the under- and more-resourced groups.

Most importantly, the ideas outlined in the volume help explain contemporary movements. The authors shed important empirical and theoretical light on what is known as Arab Spring.

Empirically, the volume helps situate the Egyptian revolts of 2011 within the historical context of the region, which includes a legacy of protest. Vairel, for example, points out that *Kefayya*, the practice in which a political movement criticizes and calls for the ousting of a dictator, was a unique and unprecedented phenomena in 2004. Without a doubt the tenor and nature of protest and the grievances of the last decade have made their contributions to the 2011 revolution. Likewise, the volume offers further support for the argument that a strict theoretical boundary between the literature of social movements and that of revolutions is unnecessary and unproductive, particularly since movements can escalate into revolutions and revolutions de-escalate to movements relatively quickly. Similarly, the conversation between the two literatures is also relevant to studying the important question of why some social movements become revolutions and others do not. It would be interesting to see a similar volume a few years from now that has some investigation of the impact of the Arab spring on social movements in the Middle East and North Africa, and which specifically studies the cases in the region where there have been strong movements but there was no revolt, or where there were revolts but they were not “successful.”

Despite its rich cases, I would have appreciated more articles that take transnational perspectives in the volume. In some way the editors fall victim to the criticism they lodge against scholars who only study the West—by isolating the analyses they fail to connect their ideas beyond one region of the world. This is particularly important because even though the Middle East and Africa are distinctive in their cultures and histories of activism, they are still part of international politics. Movements in the Middle East, for instance, take the power dynamics between the North and the South into consideration when devising their own strategies. Likewise, it would have been helpful if the volume addressed the importance of new technology to activism in the region. The emergence of inter-regional organizations and networks in the mid-1990s dramatically changed how protest was conceived and executed in this part of the world. Overall, this is an excellent volume and a much needed addition to the scholarship on social movements, revolutions, and Middle Eastern studies. I recommend it to all those wishing to understand the tumultuous events of the Arab spring and collective action in the region more generally.

Bindi Shah. *Laotian Daughters: Working Toward Community, Belonging, and Environmental Justice*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012. \$87.50 (hardcover); \$28.95 (paper).

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“Why write a book about a small youth leadership development project?” Bindi Shah poses this question at the beginning of her ethnography of a Laotian girls’ involvement in a program devoted to environmental justice activism in Richmond, California. The answer, Shah argues, is that we can better understand the “critical incorporation” of new immigrant groups into the polity at “multiple spatial scales” by analyzing their participation in programs like the Asian Pacific Environmental Network’s Asian Youth Advocates program, which had 31 second-generation Laotian participants. The value of these analyses is in their ability to make the girls’ political awakenings and civic engagement visible without obscuring the other obstacles young immigrants face—such as their struggles with the expectations of their families and communities.

Laotian Daughters tells an interesting tale about a handful of Laotian teens, who have an opportunity to hone their evolving political sensibilities in the company of others. Shah’s effort to “explore identity based on politics rather than politics based on identity” is nuanced and rich. She successfully documents the complex divisions among a group of girls who, despite similar struggles, connect and incorporate ethnic, class, generational, and cultural diversity into their identities differently. The chapters outline how the girls conceive of their community activism, the racial politics of the U.S., gender and sexuality, and home in their own way. In this regard, the book highlights the challenges facing social justice organizations that try to create cross-race and cross-ethnic solidarities. Given the diversity in group culture and experiences, it is difficult to find commonalities upon which movement groups can build.

Shah’s study of the ambitions and shortcomings of the short-lived Asian Youth Advocates program is fascinating for another reason. She shows that youth empowerment programs designed to cultivate substantive citizenship can have lasting effects insofar as they instill ideas about citizenship and civic engagement even if the programs themselves have a short shelf-life.

Unlike the grassroots-lite teen empowerment programs peddled by the civic sector, in which teens are encouraged to pick up trash and attend diversity fairs, the Asian Youth Advocates program built the political knowledge and skills of participants by engaging them in substantive citizenship—including lobbying and protests—over a four year time period. The result was meaningful political and community change (the creation of a pilot advising program and a multilingual emergency warning system alerting the community regarding toxic events) and individual-level empowerment. Asian Youth Advocates program participants felt comfortable confronting authorities on environmental justice issues; three of the thirty-one participants even took up a career in community organizing.

But in other ways, the failure of Asian Youth Advocates program to sustain itself over the long haul is an unsettling reminder of the tensions between this nation's current welter of small-scale, shallow empowerment projects and the longer-term capacity-building and deeper investments essential to achieve lasting social change. Funding for Asian Youth Advocates depended on unpredictable, short-term foundation and nonprofit grants aimed at preventing teen pregnancy. Organizers were understandably interested in a broader notion of reproductive health that included education and activism to reduce chemical exposure. A better illustration of funders' myopia could not be found. It is mind boggling that the foundation's commitment was shorter than the four-year commitment required of the thirteen year-old applicants themselves.

Had funding not dried up, the program could have built on its early successes. Two alums are staff members at Asian Pacific Environment Network's Laotian Organizing Project and four others are still involved in the multigenerational Leadership Group. The Asian Pacific Environment Network continues to adapt its strategies in an effort to mobilize Asian American communities around large-scale structural issues like climate justice. With the gift of time, one doubts that Shah would have begun the book by justifying the need to write about a small youth leadership development project. Its importance would have been evident in the women who became leaders and changed their world.

Catherine Corrigan-Brown. *Patterns of Protest: Trajectories of Participation in Social Movements*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012. \$45.00 (hardcover).

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As you prepare your syllabus for a new introductory course on social movements, you decide to dedicate a unit to "Movement Participants." You assemble notable studies on the topic and begin shuffling them into class-session-sized piles. You quickly fill two weeks' worth of classes on "Initial Participation." Who joins? When? Why? How do they differ from non-joiners? What is the joining process? Grievances, recruitment, frame alignment. You cram it all in there, and still have a two-page bibliography of "recommended readings" left over. You do some more shuffling and another session on "long-term impacts" emerges. McAdam's *Freedom Summer* makes an appearance, or perhaps Fendrich's *Ideal Citizens*. Now all you need is work that connects initial participation to long-term impacts. What happens in the time between joining and being found by a researcher decades later? Does activism live on, die hard, or fade away?

On this point, you're stymied. There's not much to be found on "activist trajectories." There are informative and compelling biographies of notable activists, but these hardly seem indicative of how most people engage with activism over a lifetime. Maybe you'll just skip this point and move on to other questions. You'd be in good company in making that choice, since clearly generations of social movement researchers have made the same one when choosing research topics. Fortunately, Catherine Corrigan-Brown's *Patterns of Protest* is a step to fill that void.

The book begins by categorizing possible activist trajectories over a lifetime: persistence, transfer, abeyance, and disengagement. The outer categories are ones that spring to mind. Persistence is initial engagement with activism that never stops; the activist continues on with the same organization. Disengagement is the opposite; after initial participation, the activist leaves her organization and never engages with movements again. The middle categories introduce the interesting murkiness of reality. A transfer trajectory means the participant continues on in activism, but moves to a new organization—or even an entirely new movement—to do it. Abey-

ance trajectories imply extended bouts of non-activism, but then a return to participation.

With these new concepts in hand, Corrigan-Brown embarks on a series of empirical investigations of them. Chapters two and three present analyses of a large, nationally representative, thirty-year, four-wave quantitative panel data set. Readers of those activist biographies might be tempted to think persistence is the most common path. *Patterns of Protest* shows otherwise. Only about 20% of activists persist, while more than twice as many disengage, and more than 35% follow an abeyance trajectory. Following these distributions, the chapters explain why people ever engage in protest, why patterns of engagement shift over the life course, and why different trajectories are followed. The differences among the findings are intriguing. Ideology matters for explaining initial engagement, but offers virtually no leverage on understanding why people persist. Education and knowledge impact both joining and sustaining participation; income influences neither. Marriage reduces the chances of ever engaging, while having children increases them. After initial engagement, however, marriage and children are more likely to pull activists out of participation altogether.

Having established these broad patterns, the second half of the book turns to a focused analysis of qualitative data on four organizations and members that engaged with them. In essence, these chapters note that participation is not a purely individual phenomenon; people participate in organizations. The structure of those organizations, and the experiences members have within those structures, also provide insights into why people follow the trajectories they do.

The organizations—a Catholic Worker group, a neighborhood homeowner's association, the Concerned Women of America, and the United Farm Workers—capture variation in organizational hierarchy, issue scope, and intensity of social interaction. These features shape the way members are recruited (by senior leaders or ordinary members) and the amount and types of interaction they have with leaders and other members after joining. These experiences, in turn, encourage or constrain the emergence of friendships within the organizations and the development of activist identities. The extent to which participants socially connect with others shapes persistence with a group. The ways in which they interpret and understand their actions helps determine if they stay—or influences where they go if they leave.

For example, the Catholic Workers were a multi-issue organization that fostered an encom-

passing ideology. This led some participants to develop identities tied to the ideology as much or more than the organization. For these individuals, transfer became a viable option. Groups pursuing other related issues could provide a suitable place to act on the identity. Alternatively, members of Concerned Women of America developed nonactivist identities during their participation; they actively rejected the label of “activist.” In so doing, they became more likely to disengage from activism altogether.

Together, the two halves of the book provide us a new and richer understanding of the variations in what activism can look like over the life course, the prevalence of these forms, and the individual and organizational factors driving them. Corrigan-Brown acknowledges the limitations in each half, highlighting how the other rounds out the argument. For example, the surveys lacked data on ties to specific organizations and people, so the quantitative analyses cannot track the transfer pattern, cannot address the role of networks in recruitment, and cannot tie organizational structures to individual outcomes; the qualitative work highlights these topics. Admittedly, this approach often leaves the reader wanting more from both halves, but this is hardly a critique of the book. It's more a notice of the need for more work in this area, building on the solid foundation *Patterns of Protest* has built. In the short run, the book will nicely fill that empty spot on your syllabus (and in your personal research reference library) under “activist trajectories.” In the long run, I expect it will also serve as a springboard for plenty of new work that will continue to extend our understanding of this important topic.

Xi Chen, *Social Protest and Contentious Authoritarianism in China*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. \$95.00 (hardcover).

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Contentious protests in authoritarian regimes are frequently portrayed as violent conflicts between a repressive state and repressed, yet defiant, citizens. Reports lead us to believe that these conflicts are rare and that if the regime caves to protesters' demands the state is weakened. This picture, however, is incomplete. It ignores the increase in protests in places like China over the last two decades as well as the

relative success of activists at achieving their goals. In his book, *Social Protest and Contentious Authoritarianism in China*, Chen Xi's analyzes "contentious authoritarianism" in detail. Drawing on data collected from the Hunan province xinfang (letters and visits) bureau between 1994 and 2001, Chen illustrates that contention emerged around economic issues such as workers' welfare and enterprise, land expropriation and housing demolition, urban affairs management, and peasant burdens and villagers' self-governance, and that these economic grievances have provided a foundation for regular challenges to the Chinese state.

Chen demonstrates that ambiguities and contradictions within current state institutions (such as the xinfang system) provided space for collective action to emerge. China's state-society relations are primarily based on mass line politics in which power is concentrated centrally and leaders consult the citizenry on policy issues. The xinfang, or petitioning, system, is part of this, maintaining the mass line spirit by facilitating communication between local leaders and the citizenry. Although many scholars have written about the Chinese petitioning system, Chen outlines how changes in petitioner-official interactions have created space for citizens to challenge authority. Under the old unit system, the party-state exerted control of the masses through local work units. This allowed local authorities to control the emergence of contentious action. In the current government-citizen system, however, work units no longer control the masses and new state institutions have emerged in their place. With new institutions came new leaders, who had their own sets of interests. This, in turn, provided new opportunities for petitioners to advocate on their own behalf.

Protestors increasingly circumvent the petitioning system by employing "trouble-making" strategies at the local level that are documented and reported to upper-level authorities. This is a powerful tactic in the new system because local officials are often ambiguous regarding the legitimacy of these actions. This is particularly true since protestors maintain a delicate balance between defiance and obedience, which makes local officials hesitant to repress citizens outright. Thus, citizens have found an effective—and contentious—way to push forward their goals. Their actions, however, do not undermine the Chinese state. In fact, Chen argues that the state has become more stable and elastic over time because it has found a way to deal with contention without resorting to repression.

The book contributes much to studies of con-

tentious politics in China. Chen disaggregates the complex authoritarian state and demonstrates how protesters navigate the system. His research provides an excellent foundation for understanding the nature of Chinese social movements and contributes to the body of work that documents variations in the form protest takes in the country. Chen, in short, makes good use of his data. The study is not without its limitations. By focusing on petitions, Chen limits his analysis to contention within institutional boundaries. The benefit of this approach is that the claims and grievances as well as their resolution are well documented. However, this ignores the disruptive protests (often which involve divergent claims and interests) that occur outside institutional channels and contentious action that employs first extrainstitutional tactics before engaging in petitioning. Such cases are important to consider because it may be that "troublemaking" works best with certain kinds of claims. Individuals with environmental or religious grievances, which emphasize lifestyle and identity issues rather than economics, may not be able to use the same methods to achieve their goals.

Despite these limits, there is much to like about this book. It will work well in the classroom and those who seek a better understanding of state-movement relationships in an authoritarian context will appreciate Chen's scholarly efforts.

Myra Marx Ferree. *Varieties of Feminism: German Gender Politics in Global Perspective*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012. \$24.95 (paper).

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In *Varieties of Feminism* Myra Marx Ferree provides a compelling history of contemporary German feminism, which she contrasts with the history of the American women's movement. Although the bulk of the book chronicles the German case, Ferree makes use of her extensive knowledge of the U.S. movement to demonstrate how differently feminism develops in a liberal country such as the United States compared to the "nonliberal German case." While the trajectory of the U.S. movement is often viewed as characteristic of the development of modern feminism, Ferree shows that American-style liberal feminism is not a generalizable model of feminism in other contexts and that we can learn much by

examining the strategies of feminists working in nonliberal states. German feminists struggled for women's autonomy and political representation rather than for the equal rights emphasized by liberal feminist movements because they were operating in a context where family values and state responsibility were core assumptions. The story of how the movement was able to achieve important feminist outcomes in a conservative social context is an important one, and Ferree is interested in using the lessons of German feminism to contribute to "a practical theory of feminist politics." She does this by showing how German feminism managed to make important advances while operating within political, material and discursive opportunity structures.

By examining varieties of German feminism over time and context, Ferree captures the dynamics of how the strategies and frameworks of the movement develop, with earlier struggles influencing later ones. She begins with a comparison of the history of gender politics in Germany and the United States from 1848 to 1968, showing that the American experience was shaped by struggles for racial equality, which provided a framework of individual rights and freedoms to the women's movement. In Germany, class-based struggle, rather than race-based conflict, was the norm, and gender was thus understood as similar to class relations and in need of similar state intervention. In the "first wave" of the German women's movement, debates focused on issues of self-determination, such as whether or not women should have their own economic opportunities or be protected in the home, and whether or not women should represent themselves or be represented by political parties led by men. Following the Weimar and Nazi periods, German women's activism was defined as "wholly outside the state" compared to U.S. feminism, which became involved in New Deal projects (p. 43). During the cold war, however, competition between the West German state (FRG) and the East German state (GDR) altered feminist politics as the GDR created support for women to encourage labor-force participation and the FRG attempted to defend the breadwinner-housewife family.

The contemporary phase of German feminism was influenced by other women's movements emerging around the world as well as by the German context. In the FRG, feminists mobilized in the 1968-1978 period around the idea of "autonomy," which included political independence and the right to self-determination, and abortion became a major element of the debate. While West German women carved out autonomous cultural spaces, East German women took

advantage of educational and employment opportunities in a very different opportunity structure. From 1975 to 1985, Ferree describes how West German feminists continued to take an "outsider" role and focused on the development of women's projects, such as women's bookstores. Despite the outsider strategy, the projects actually helped to institutionalize feminism as they were increasingly supported with state funds; at the same time, projects such as shelters for battered women challenged state support for male domination of the family. Debates among feminists committed to a project-based strategy and those who wanted to gain power through political parties intensified in the 1980s. Political opportunities such as the emergence of the Green Party attracted many West German feminists, while in the East the dissident movement created opportunities for women to challenge the state. In the period from 1982 to 1990, feminists in West Germany gained power within political parties and government offices, while East German women became more active in criticizing the GDR. Feminists in the East and West had very different priorities, and from 1990 to 1995, they faced the extensive challenges as well as opportunities created by German unification, including struggles over the framing of motherhood and reproductive rights. Then, in the period from 1995 to 2005, the European Union created a new structure of political opportunities for German feminism and a new discourse of race in Europe that made the intersection of gender, class and race increasingly important. By the time Angela Merkel became Germany's first female chancellor in 2005, German feminists had long accepted the role of the state in creating policies relevant to women's interests. Although Merkel did not embrace feminism, different varieties of feminism had become institutionalized in German politics.

Throughout this lengthy account of German feminism, Ferree analyzes the impact of the discursive, material and political opportunity structures. She employs contrasts between East and West Germany and between German and American contexts to good advantage and also provides some other international context, though this is necessarily limited by her detailed story of German feminism. Overall, Ferree's comparative strategy is successful, though there were some places where I wanted more detail to support the American comparison. In demonstrating the importance of opportunity structures, Ferree contributes to feminist theory regarding intersectionality as discourse and practice, showing the importance of national political and historical context. She also challenges our ideas about what constitutes rad-

icalism in feminism by showing how German feminism has transformed gendered family life and employment through means that would not typically be considered radical. She also draws lessons from the successes of German feminists for the future of the women's movement. This is an impressive book that will appeal to practitioners as well as scholars of the women's movement and social movements more generally.

Seraphim Seferiades and Hank Johnston. *Violent Protest, Contentious Politics, and the Neoliberal State*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012. \$55.00 (hardcopy).

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One of the more perplexing ongoing silences in the study of social movements and contentious politics has been on violence. This is not to say that students of popular contention have been completely silent on the topic or agnostic of its importance and consequences; the point is, that with exception of few notable works, the study of violence has been treated as a derivative of other presumably more central and consequential aspects of social movement (e.g., intra-movement dynamics) and/or mostly attributed to authorities and agents of social control. When and if at all studied, violence is treated mostly as an unfortunate dependent variable unfolding at the fringe of the movement. Not surprisingly, violent groups and "bad" movements are, to use della Porta and Tarrow's well-known metaphor, the "unwanted children" of social movement scholars.

The situation has not improved dramatically over the last decade. Only a handful of studies have focused on violence explicitly and made it a central feature of social movement dynamics. One could speculate why this has been the case or, alternatively, one could take the initiative to address this unknown but familiar aspect of social movements. Stimulated by the recent cycle of unruly and riotous collective action, the editors, Seraphim Seferiades and Hank Johnston, take on the topic of political violence and its place in social movements. The volume, which brings together leading experts such as Frances Fox Piven, Marco Giugni, Dieter Rucht, Mario Diani, Donatella della Porta, and Jack Goldstone, demonstrates that violence is a legitimate protest tactic that requires serious scholarly attention. If students of social movements assume, as they did with the role of emotion in movements decades

before, that violence is irrational, they will not be able to understand the wave of antineoliberal contention that characterizes collective action adequately.

The first chapter of the book details how scholars might study the relationship between violence and social movements. In it, the editors argue that scholars need to pay closer analytical attention to (1) how violent protest emerges and (2) the form that the violence takes (e.g., cynical, callous, or passive). More importantly, Seferiades and Johnston suggest that social movement scholars are better able to track (and even predict) violence if they understand that violence emerges from relational dynamics and that movements use violence as a tactic primarily when conventional politics fail. For instance, when a "disruptive deficit" (i.e., institutionalized claimants who seek conciliation through exclusively conventional protest) coincides with a "reform deficit" (i.e., a state of affairs where authorities prove unable or unwilling to respond to claimants) the potential use of violence as a tactic increases. Violence, then, is not irrational. Instead, political violence reflects ". . . an arduous or even desperate (but rational) *quest for political meaning*" by social movement organizations in a larger political environment in which their means of influence are limited (p. 6). The relational dynamics among movement groups, between activist organizations and agents of social control, and the broader public can heighten emotions in a political setting and result in violence.

The chapters in *Violent Protest, Contentious Politics, and the Neoliberal State* are quite good and offer a nice breadth of cases. The book consists of four sections: theoretical perspectives, regional perspectives, comparative perspectives, and the Greek December, 2008. The theoretical perspectives are well conceived and the treatments of violence and urban riots in Germany, UK, and France are first rate. Sections three and four of the volume are particularly nice additions to the literature on violent protest. The section on comparative perspectives examines protest and riots in global perspective, and is sensitive to the differences in state structure that affect when and how violent protests emerge. Especially insightful in this regard is Goldstone's chapter on protest and contention in democracies and autocracies. Goldstone convincingly demonstrates that instrumental logic and rational considerations are at play even in societies where authorities rule by coercion and popular consent is a minimal concern. Likewise, the section on Greece represents a much-needed attempt to bring undertheorized and understudied parts of the world in to a com-

parative perspective. Readers are treated to four interesting chapters about the fascinating case of Greece and insight into the staggering wave of protest that swept so many European societies.

The volume is generally well put together and a welcome addition to the study of collective action. Seraphim and Johnston do a nice job synthesizing what we know about violent protest and offering fresh insights into how we might better study these important phenomena. As with many edited volumes, the theoretical contours that are laid down in the introductory framework are not always followed through in some of the chapters. I also questioned the order of the sections and chapters in them. Some changes in this regard would have maximized the impact of the volume. But these minor quibbles pale when compared with the value and importance of this book, which will serve students of social movements and contention well for years to come.

Rasmus Kleis Nielsen. *Ground Wars: Personalized Communication in Political Campaigns*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012. \$24.95 (paper).

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Ground Wars is an ethnographic examination of person-to-person canvassing in two competitive congressional campaigns during the 2008 election. Nielsen refers to these person-to-person contacts as “personalized political communications” to draw attention to the way in which this style of political communication uses people as the medium. The kinds of contacts he analyzes include ground canvassing of neighborhoods and personal phone calls, both of which are designed to support local campaigns and to support get out the vote (GOTV) efforts on election day. Nielsen argues that studying the “ground war” is important both because of the instrumental effectiveness of person-to-person contacts in competitive elections and because very little has been written about the ground war before.

Nielsen tackles several aspects of the “ground war.” First, the actual form and substance of canvassing contacts is explored. Nielsen introduces readers to a world in which volunteers and part-time campaign employees are charged with, but tend to dislike, the emotionally taxing work of canvassing. While part-timers have little choice, volunteers often expect to be able to pick and choose what campaign jobs they will do (e.g.,

hoping for high-level influence over policy or speeches). But, all find that what the campaign really wants them to do is walk streets talking to targeted voters and/or make calls to these same voters. Campaigns also want them to follow a set script during these contacts and collect a large amount of data on candidate and issue preferences. Volunteers often resist because canvassing is no fun: it takes a large number of contacts to get a live voter at the door or on the phone and when a live contact happens either the voter is disinterested or aggravated by the contact or is so talkative that the volunteer worries about staying at the door or on the phone with the voter for far too long. Voters also ask questions about candidates and their stances that volunteers and part-timers are ill-equipped to answer given limited training.

Second, Nielsen describes the organizational structures that lay behind campaigns. He uses the term “campaign assemblages” to talk about the larger networks of organizations that operate during elections. These assemblages include the actual campaign itself—including the candidate, formal campaign committees, senior and junior staffers, and part-timers—as well as party organizations (which can be local, state, and national), organizations that often donate labor to parties and campaigns (e.g., unions), other allied organizations (e.g., other progressive groups), and the citizens that volunteer in these efforts. There are often tensions between what a local campaign wants and needs and what other organizations desire. For instance, down-ballot elections might be far less important to state and national parties, or progressive organizations may earn the ire of local campaigns by organizing independent canvassing efforts that threaten to over-saturate key voters with divergent contacts. And, yet, in this political ecosystem, each organization has some dependency on the others and cannot act either without consequence or with impunity.

Third, Nielsen introduces readers to different layers of campaign staffing and the tensions that exist between them. Senior staffers are largely consumed with meeting quantitative goals about the number of contacts and the amount of data collected. While often still young by many people’s standards, these senior staffers have worked in multiple campaigns and identify with one another as a professional group. Junior staffers tend to be much younger. They adopt the visible markers of senior staff—dress, jargon, etc.—as indicators of their aspirations, but they often don’t understand the deeper logics driving their assignments. They directly coordinate the ground war on behalf of senior staffers. An army

of volunteers and paid part-time canvassers are the front-line warriors that do most of the contacts in the ground war. Training and supervision is so thin that volunteers and part-timers exert far more control over how voter contacts play out than campaigns structures, scripts, or staffers.

Fourth, the backstage processes driving the ground war are also put in relief historically. In addition to charting the highs and lows of campaign and party investments in ground wars, Nielsen discusses the increasing use of predictive modeling in creating canvassing plans. While canvassing designs vary widely, Nielsen argues that more and more campaigns are turning to highly targeted contact lists that privilege voters who are likely to be undecided or who are likely supporters that don't always vote. The data collected during canvassing contacts are fused with multiple other data sources to provide (campaigns hope) highly accurate selective targets for the expensive contacts that canvassing represents. This selectivity is foreign to many volunteers and not explained to most part-timers, leading to a large disconnect in goals between those designing canvassing efforts and those that carry them out.

The concluding chapter discusses implications of all of these findings for political com-

munication, campaigns, and civic engagement. A methodological appendix rounds out the book; it explains various decisions made as part of the ethnography and discusses the interviews that supplement the participant-observation.

Tying the chapters together is an underlying tension between chaos and control. On the one hand, campaigns are thought to be professional and thrive on highly controlled organizations and messages. But in reality, campaigns face an uphill battle in controlling the actions of canvassers and the actions of other groups in the campaign assemblage. They also occupy a liminal space between professionalization and grassroots politics, representing a compromise that doesn't necessarily satisfy either side.

I recommend this book to scholars interested in political communications, campaigns, and elections. For students of social movements, there are fewer direct connections—progressive organizations are part of campaign assemblages, some volunteers are likely also active in non-institutionalized politics, etc. But, the book isn't about a blending of non-institutionalized and institutional politics, and will be more useful to those interested in campaigns and elections than scholars interested in protest.

A book review is a summary of a book that you have read. You should review all aspects of the story. A book review is therefore written after reading (you may always order review at writing service without reading a book) because without reading the book it is difficult to figure out what it is all about and the review will, therefore not make sense. A wide reader will have an easy time in book review writing. This article highlights the guidelines for review writing. Content of this article. Preparations. Find book reviews, essays, best-seller lists and news from The New York Times Book Review. To celebrate the Book Review's 125th anniversary, we're dipping into the archives to revisit our most thrilling, memorable and thought-provoking coverage. By Tina Jordan, Noor Qasim and John Williams. Editors' Choice. What must a book review contain? Like all works of art, no two book reviews will be identical. But fear not: there are a few guidelines for any aspiring book reviewer to follow. Most book reviews, for instance, are less than 1,500 words long, with the sweet spot hitting somewhere around the 1,000-word mark. (However, this may vary depending on the platform on which you're writing, as we'll see later.) In addition, all book reviews share some universal elements. These include: A concise plot summary of the book.