

nature of the movement at each stage. Incidental comments on the impact that the state's severe repression had on the nature of the working-class movements are not enough, because repression can also simply destroy a movement (as in the case of the early working-class movement in the United States). In the book, Koo has a tendency to argue that the resurgence of working-class movements in Korea at each stage is propelled by various political opportunities, such as Chun Doo Hwan's partial liberalization policy starting from 1983 and the passing of a procapital labor law in 1996. If this is indeed the case, the author should incorporate this kind of crucial development in his analytical paradigm.

Most East Asian countries have weak working-class movements during the heyday of their industrialization, and this has been considered by many scholars as a crucial precondition of the East Asian economic miracles. The militant working-class movements in South Korea are, therefore, an exception to this general East Asian pattern. Even though Koo's explanation of this exceptionalism is not entirely convincing, the book has provided a quality account of the unique experiences of South Korean workers during the process of industrialization. I recommend Koo's book to all those who are interested in Korean politics and labor movements.

Repression and Mobilization. Edited by Christian Davenport, Hank Johnston, and Carol Mueller. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. Pp. xxxv+258.

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In the summer of 2001 some 30 sociologists and political scientists gathered at the University of Maryland to assess the current state of knowledge concerning the relationship between repression and mobilization. This edited volume is the result. Time has passed between the conference and publication, not to mention this review. Nonetheless, the volume remains worth reading.

Repression and Mobilization's chapters are framed by a thorough introduction from one of the field's best new scholars from the last decade or so, coeditor Christian Davenport, and by concluding contributions from two of the most distinguished scholars of conflict studies, Mark Lichbach and Charles Tilly. Davenport sets the stage well, noting the inconclusiveness of research concerning the impact of repression on mobilization, despite the large number of studies and their variation in time period, space, methodology, and substantive interest. In contrast, studies of the reverse, the impact of mobilization on repression, show greater commonality in results. Davenport's exploration of these paradoxes is good reading, and his summary diagram of the complex linkages (p. xxxvii) is worth close examination.

Lichbach's and Tilly's contributions disappoint in their failure to address the work of their cocontributors but provide a fascinating contrast in their approach to the role of mechanisms as the appropriate focus of our research. Lichbach warns that if we do not "embed mechanisms in larger and more organized structures of knowledge" we are left with proliferating mechanisms and "no science at all" (p. 234; emphasis removed). Tilly, however, wants us to focus on mechanisms and processes, with the objective of explaining "change and variation, not at discovering uniformity" (p. 212). As he elaborates his argument, Tilly writes the richest theoretical chapter concerning the repression/mobilization relationship, providing the reader a good preface to his book on the subject, *The Politics of Collective Violence* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

In between these essays are eight chapters. Four of them stand out for their well-developed theoretical discussions grounded in solid empirical work. Ronald A. Francisco exams the "The Dictator's Dilemma"—how and when to repress protestors without backlash—looking at 10 well-known 20th-century massacres from around the world. Although I wonder at the representativeness of his cases (there are no noncolonial cases from Africa, Asia, or Latin America except for Tiananmen Square), the results from his statistical tests sound right: "Large-scale public massacres hurt dictatorships in the long run." But, "the long run is sometimes very long" (p. 78).

Ruud Koopmans's study focuses on repression in democratic societies. His chapter analyzes repression against the extreme right in Germany during the 1990s, drawing from a larger comparative project, *Mobilization on Ethnic Relations, Citizenship, and Immigration*. His key theoretical concern is the role of public discourse and mass media in mediating the repression/mobilization dynamic, arguing that it is this mediating role that explains whether repression deters or encourages protest. His empirical test finds confirmation: "Repression depended strongly on the discursive environment" (p. 181).

Gilda Zeerman and Patricia Steinhoff approach the repression/mobilization dynamic by looking directly at protestors themselves, bringing together several hundred interviews from Japan and the United States. Their subject is the subset of New Left activists who continued with violent confrontations even after repression brought the protest cycle to an end. What they find is a microcohort that differed sociologically from early participants with many more from poorer and minority backgrounds. They also mobilized later and therefore under different conditions than the "early risers." Notably they confronted "repression very early in their movement careers, and found it more of a piece with their expectations about the high-risk nature of movement participants" (p. 93). Although the protest cycle ended, they continued resistance, carrying it into new arenas: "the courts and prisons, the underground, and exile" (p. 95).

The opposite subset of activists is the concern of Hank Johnston's

interviews in Estonia and Spain under earlier authoritarian regimes. What forms can nonviolent resistance take when repression prevents mobilization? Johnston focuses on oppositional speech acts as “innovative oppositional adaptations” when severely constricted political opportunities preclude more overt action (p. 108). Much of the chapter maps the different types of speech acts reported by informants, each serving as a way to keep alive the spirit of resistance and serving as the basis for later mobilization when opportunities open.

Three other chapters describe promising projects but report no new empirical results. Clark McPhail and John D. McCarthy look at protest policing in the United States, comparing the 1960s to the 1990s, with attention on the adaptive behavior between the two sides. Vince Boudreau pursues the interesting question of “why apparently innocuous movements often receive brutal treatment and ostensibly formidable groups are often let off the hook” (p. 35), intending to use the cases of Burma, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Myra Marx Ferree calls attention to the importance of ridicule, stigma, and silencing as “soft repression” directed against gender-based movements.

The final contribution is of a different nature but one of the most important in the volume. Patrick Ball has worked for years conducting quantitative analysis of major human rights data projects for numerous truth commissions and other organizations (in fact, I have used the data compiled by Ball and his associates in my own book, *Political Movements and Violence in Central America* [Cambridge University Press, 2005]). In this chapter Ball reports on his significant work on political killings in Guatemala occurring during the 30 years of conflict examined by that country’s truth commission. Much of the data used by scholars of political violence are drawn from newspapers. Ball shows that in Guatemala press sources are not only weakly correlated with actual trends in political killings but even “may negatively correlate with actual patterns of violence” (p. 190). He urges scholars to make use of the work of activist human rights groups which, from his experience, is more accurate not only for Guatemala but for “El Salvador, Haiti, South Africa, Sierra Leone, and Kosovo” as well (p. 204).

Social Protest and Policy Change: Ecology, Antinuclear, and Peace Movements in Comparative Perspective. By Marco Giugni. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004. Pp. xvi+297. \$75.00 (cloth); \$32.95 (paper).

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Marco Giugni’s *Social Protest and Policy Change* is an ambitious book. Giugni, a well-known social movements scholar at the University of Geneva, has three goals: to describe the activities of three major social move-