

accounts of the impact of demography, relationships, and culture on power within and across organizations.

Finally, the book is distinctive in its emphasis on current societal developments that will greatly impact and reflect the future of organizations, as well as the individuals who work within, with, or against them. Haveman calls attention to the digital age and developments in computing and artificial intelligence that have only just begun to influence how organizations automate processes, analyze data, make decisions, and manage relationships. She also encourages organizational scholars to attend to the considerable impact of organizations on society and the natural world, especially in regard to the existential threats that have emerged in democratic politics and global environmental degradation. Organizational power is central to how we approach these profound challenges, but addressing them may require that we deviate from well-worn pathways and organizational theories.

The Power of Organizations will be of particular interest to PhD students who are just entering the field. It distills Haveman's useful advice to those students in an appendix and offers a succinct overview of current developments in organizational research that are rooted in the most influential perspectives of the past. More generally, the book reminds us all that the most pressing social problems of our time are unlikely to be resolved through analyses and policy prescriptions aimed exclusively at individuals. We ignore the power of organizations at our own peril.

Popular Politics and the Path to Durable Democracy. By Mohammad Ali Kadivar. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2022. Pp. 192. \$120.00 (cloth); \$35.00 (paper).

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From Seymour Lipset to Stein Rokkan, sociologists were central in establishing the discipline of comparative politics and the study of regime change. However, if you attend any conference today on democracy, you will hear much less about the social fabric of democracies than about their formal dimensions. Sociology has become peripheral in the big debates on the topic, leaving major blind spots in the study of regime change, neglecting the social foundations of democracies.

Mohammad Ali Kadivar challenges this institutionalist bent. *Popular Politics and the Path to Durable Democracy* leverages political sociology and social movements studies to infuse new insights into democracy studies. The book's central research question is a classic: Why do some new democracies survive while others fail? Kadivar contends that democracies arising from prolonged protest mobilization are more likely to endure and advance in democratic quality than those born during periods of inactivity solely relying on elite institutional designs.

More prolonged mobilization leads to more enduring democratic outcomes because popular campaigns require a solid organizational infrastructure to survive under repressive conditions. These formal organizations nurture the rise of a leadership cadre for the new democratic regime, strengthening the checks on power in the posttransition period. Large organizations that bridge classes and subcultures and are deeply embedded in a broad segment of society provide a particularly stable foundation for democracy. As Kadivar argues, "Labor unions are more important for democracy than NGOs, which are often small and depend on external funding" (p. 129).

The book relies on a unique mixed-method approach to substantiate this argument. In the first empirical chapter, Kadivar analyzes a new quantitative dataset on the length of popular mobilizations in electoral democracies that emerged after 1950, covering 112 regimes in 80 countries, from 1950 to 2010. Running cross-country regressions and controlling for major alternative mechanisms, the author demonstrates that democracies emerging from sustained, unarmed mobilization indeed have a better chance of survival.

The thrust of the empirical material comprises five cases: Poland, Pakistan, South Africa, Tunisia, and Egypt. South Africa and Poland represent lengthy mobilization relying on well-developed organizations. In South Africa, the African National Congress played the leading role, coordinating nonviolent action and mobilization for decades. In addition, COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) was also active in the struggle for democracy, focusing on economic issues and workers' rights.

In Poland, solidarity grew out of long-standing, grassroots organization building among workers. Like in South Africa, one of solidarity's main innovations was nurturing cooperation across large groups, occupations, and subcultures. Coalition building at the organizational and discursive levels allowed solidarity to redefine identities to include a broad coalition, which allowed for deep social embedding and a strong mobilizational potential.

Pakistan and Egypt are cases of short mobilization. Pakistan's democracy emerged without mass pressure. Political parties, trade unions, and other civil society groups were weak and could be easily suppressed or fragmented by ruling elites. When tensions arose shortly after the transition, the military easily regained the upper hand and curtailed democracy.

Egypt is an interesting case because Mubarak resigned after less than three weeks of protests in February 2011. However, there was a strong divide between the Islamist and non-Islamist wings of the democratic opposition. As the tensions escalated, the organizationally weaker non-Islamist groups feared that Islamists would repress them. Eventually, the secular wing of the democratic opposition allied with the remaining elements of the military regime, hoping the military would topple Morsi's new Islamist government and give back power to the democratic opposition. However, after ousting Morsi, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, then commander in chief of the Egyptian Armed Forces, decided to reestablish authoritarian-military rule over Egypt.

Tunisia resembles Egypt because of the deep division between the secular and Islamist opposition to military rule. However, because of the strongest

trade union in North Africa, Union Générale Tunisienne du Travail in the secular camp, the competition between seculars and Islamists was balanced. The secular wing of the democratic opposition did not need the help of the military. Thus, the organizational strength of the secular opposition allowed for a compromise with the Islamists, which stabilized the democratic transition.

Kadivar's book proves that innovative social science often grows from the desire to be socially and politically relevant. As a former democracy activist in Iran, he set out to understand the strategic dilemmas of democratic oppositions in authoritarian countries, foregrounding the importance of social organizing and embeddedness. This focus is relevant politically as a strategic lesson and theoretically as well. As he writes, "It is through the struggles of political and social forces that [democratic] institutions are forged and maintained" (p. 128). These struggles are too often neglected in the elite and institution-oriented literature.

Despite Kadivar's recognition of trade unions' vital role, he does not pay enough attention to distributive conflicts and their politicization. The massive growth in inequality under Bhutto's government in Pakistan is missing from the narrative. To be fair, Kadivar briefly notes that he deliberately omitted the class component. He maintains that his focus on the strength of civil society organizations and the labor movement aligns with the class-based approach. This argument seems valid, but omitting the politics of inequality nevertheless weakens the book's theoretical foundations and analytical power.

This omission is particularly striking when discussing Poland. If Kadivar is right and Poland is a "most likely case" supporting his theory, then the retreat of liberal democracy in Poland casts doubt on the universality of the argument. The illiberal ruling party, PiS (Law and Justice), is deeply intertwined with what has remained of the solidarity movement. When Polish left liberal political elites moved rightward on economic policy, a strategic space opened for PiS to mobilize working-class discontent against neoliberalism and stabilize illiberal rule.

The organizational strength of civil society is a double-edged sword that can contribute to de-democratization. Besides Poland, the role of evangelical Christian groups in shoring up support for Bolsonaro among the urban poor in Brazil, the role of white Christian nationalism in fusing economic and status threats in the United States and thereby boosting the base of the increasingly illiberal Republicans, or Viktor Orban's strategy to mobilize workers disillusioned with liberalism are cases in point.

In addition to organizational strength, it is equally important to analyze what kind of organizations can mobilize mass grievances and politically integrate working-class groups. Large and robust antiliberal organizations capable of mobilizing the masses can undermine democratic stability. To protect democracy against them by building the social coalitions bridging cultural and class divides that Kadivar talks about in his book, we need analyses and strategies addressing the politics of inequality.

Despite this omission, Kadivar's book is a major addition to scholarship on democracy. The author's sociological sensitivity, emphasis on the centrality of contentious movements and deeply embedded organizations in stabilizing democracies, the rare combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis, and the scope of the comparative material make *Popular Politics and the Path to Durable Democracy* stand out from the densely packed literature. Overall, this book is a remarkable accomplishment that will fascinate anyone passionate about researching and preserving the social fabric of democracy.

Violent Affections: Queer Sexuality, Techniques of Power and Law in Russia. By Alexander Sasha Kondakov. London: UCL Press, 2022. Pp. 231. \$70.00 (cloth); \$40.00 (paper).

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In *Violent Affections*, Alexander Sasha Kondakov deals with the impact of the notorious 2013 “gay propaganda law” in Russia on incidences of hate crime against LGBT+ people. The law has been the centerpiece of a wide-ranging strategy of neoconservatism designed to counter a variety of perceived threats to Russia's traditional values and “special role” in the world and, like other populisms of recent years, to appeal to “left behind” constituencies. As Kondakov illustrates through his analysis of 314 hate crimes committed against queer people between 2010 and 2016, although the gay propaganda law does not criminalize homosexuality, it has acted as a green light for homophobic vigilantism. One of the clearest contributions that the book makes is to provide a sobering revision of what Kondakov calls the progressivist futurism of queer theory, which aims to permanently destabilize the concrete categories societies construct around gender and sexuality by revealing instead their complexity and fluidity. As in other literatures on gender and sexuality—work on the purported decline of homophobia and liberalization of masculinity in the United Kingdom and the United States, for example—the roots of this misplaced optimism lie in part in the Anglocentrism of queer theory. Kondakov wishes to decolonize the emergent queer criminology he positions his work within by shining a spotlight on parts of the world where Western liberalism has been turned on its head and where the prospects of LGBT+ people, rather than heading for utopia, are in many cases moving in the opposite direction. Indeed, queer people had been highly visible in Russia in the 1990s, as the stifling conservatism of the communist era gave way to a period of sexual openness and exploration, only for Putinism then to recreate the heteronormative bubble central to its political project. In this way, while sexual fluidity and its revelation may be assumed to be subversive to power, Kondakov shows how power can simply be reconfigured—in the case of the gay propaganda law, by refocusing it from