



Partecipazione e Conflitto
* *The Open Journal of Sociopolitical Studies*
<http://siba-ese.unisalento.it/index.php/paco>
ISSN: 1972-7623 (print version)
ISSN: 2035-6609 (electronic version)
PACO, Issue 10(2) 2017: 656-660
DOI: 10.1285/i20356609v10i2p656

Published in July 15, 2017

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BOOK REVIEWS

Bosi Lorenzo, Marco Giugni, and Katrin Uba (2016), *The Consequences of Social Movements*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 414.

Studying the consequences (also defined as outcomes, impacts, effects in literature) of social movements is notoriously the most difficult task that scholars face in this kind of research. The problems that the literature has dealt with to explore and assess the social movement consequences are both conceptual and methodological, and have commonly to do with aspects related to the transformation of movement goals, durability of outcomes, interrelated effects, unintended and perverse outcomes, as well as causal attribution. How can one define a movement's consequence? How can it be operationalized and measured? How can one be sure that the relevant change that is being attributed to a protest movement would not have occurred without the movement?

These are only some of the most complex problems concerning this subject, whose difficult identification has prevented and/or discouraged the investigation. Indeed, it is not by coincidence that the consequences of social movements have been historically the most overlooked topic within this research field. Yet, in recent years this trend seems to have been slowly reversed, as a greater number of scholars has started to engage with the investigation of social movement outcomes. The collective volume, edited by Lorenzo Bosi, Marco Giugni, and Katrin Uba, *The Consequences of Social Movements*, published by Cambridge University Press in 2016, goes precisely in this direction by showcasing a very timely and exhaustive attempt to fill such a gap.

The sixteen chapters, which the book consists of, represent the most articulated and sophisticated contribution that some of the most prominent scholars of this discipline

have ever made to tackle the most problematic aspects of social movement outcomes. This aim is explicitly mentioned in the introductory piece by the three editors of the volume. In *The Consequences of Social Movements: Taking Stock and Looking Forward* (pp. 3-37) Bosi, Giugni, and Uba illustrate the three objectives (p. 5) that the volume accomplishes. Theoretically, it shows the importance of hitherto undervalued topics in the study of social movement outcomes; methodologically, it expands the scientific boundaries of this research field through an interdisciplinary approach and new methods of analysis; substantially, it provides new empirical evidence about social movement outcomes from Europe and the United States. In my view, these objectives are widely and effectively achieved throughout all the fifteen empirical chapters by fully satisfying the readers' high expectations on the manuscript that the introduction creates.

More notably, the book is structured into three main sections (plus the conclusion), which also reflect three broad different types of social movement consequences. The first section ("people": pp. 39-156, five chapters) explores the impact of social movements on the life-course of movement participants and the population in general; the second section ("policies": pp. 157-260, four chapters) deals with the impact on political elites and markets; the third and final section ("institutions": pp. 261-360, four chapters) investigates the impact on political parties and processes of social movement institutionalization. To my understanding, the above typology represents the main scientific contribution that the present volume provides by establishing a very innovative conceptualization of social movement consequences that previous attempts and works on the topic have never achieved. While these studies distinguished among "biographical", "cultural", and "political" outcomes, conceptualized in a way in which the attention on the movement remained central, the above typology expands the scope and focus of this analysis by accounting for all the aspects with which the movement confronts in its life-course. Rather than only looking at the movement and its participants, the typology based on "people", "policies", and "institutions" comprises indeed the environment in which the movement is embedded, the targets which the movement challenges, and the same relations between the movement, the environment, and targets. In other words, by focusing on the relations between the above elements, the typology of *The Consequences of Social Movements* offers a more dynamic, relational, and processual analysis of social movement outcomes, which is fully in line with the strategic-relational theoretical advancements of the current social theory.

The first section ("People") opens with a chapter by Karen Beckwith, *All is Not Lost. The 1984-85 British miners' strike and mobilization after defeat* (pp. 41-65), which describes the women's mobilizations in support of the British miners' strikes of 1984-85

and of 1992-1993. The main aim of the chapter is to question the concept of movement success as a galvanizing factor to trigger mobilizations. Quite the contrary, Beckwith shows that also failures can produce positive social movement outcomes, as was in the case of the mobilizations of women in 1992-1993 in Britain triggered by the defeat of the miners' strikes. In *Personal Effects from Far-Right Activism* (66-84), Kathleen Blee looks at the personal outcomes that flow from rightist movement activism. She claims that to see the effects of this participation on the post-movement life of the participants, one must especially investigate the life beyond the movement participation. In *The Biographical Impact of Participation in Social Movement Activities* (pp. 85-105), Marco Giugni and Maria Grasso raise a similar point by showing that activism has a strong effect both on the political and personal lives of the subjects. Investigating the effects on the life-course of individuals who have participated in leftist movement activities, Giugni and Grasso contend that participating on protest activities matters and affects the political and personal life even of run-of-mill participants.

In *Examining the Intergenerational Outcomes of Social Movements. The Case of Feminist Activists and their Children* (pp. 106-129), Camille Masclat investigates the intergenerational influence of social movement activism by examining the specific case of feminist activists and their children in the France of 1970s. She claims that intergenerational influence through family transmission can be regarded as another way by which social movement outcomes spread to the general population. The last chapter of the first section, *Aggregate-level Biographical Outcomes for Gay and Lesbian Movements* (pp. 130-156) by Nancy Whittier, investigates how social movements affect the lifecourse and biography of movement beneficiaries, the group on whose behalf the movement seeks change, looking at the Lesbian and Gay people. Among the biographical outcomes of the gay and lesbian mobilizations, this study includes the production of specific collective identities, the increased cultural tolerance, the non-discrimination policies, the legal recognition of same-sex couple relationships, and the availability of adoption and second-parent adoption.

The first chapter of the second section ("Policies"), *Protest against School Closures in Sweden* (159-184) by Katrin Uba, examines how targets' attitudes toward different forms of protest vary among Swedish decision-makers. Uba argues that to better understand the consequences of social movements, more knowledge is needed on how targets—the decision makers—view different protest strategies.

She demonstrates that personal background and the power position of those who are targets of social movement mobilization are important factors for explaining their varying views on protest actions. In *Feminist Mobilization and the Politics of Rights* (185-214), Joseph Luders explores the impact the feminist mobilizations in the US have

produced on the national policies over the course of the last thirty years. Luders shows that to better assess their policy outcomes the attention on the environmental aspects in which such mobilizations take place is crucial. More specifically, he highlights the relevance of three essential factors: public opinion, issue salience, and the relative electoral leverage of competing benefit-seekers. Like Uba, Luder's findings stress the centrality of the analysis of the cost/benefit for the movement target when the latter is expected to concede or not to the movement benefit-seekers.

In *Reputation, Risk, and Anti-Corporate Activism* (pp. 215-236), Brayden G. King presents a theory of social movement effectiveness in corporate campaigns based on two economic mechanisms, reputational threat and creation of risk perceptions. Mass mobilization and disruption are not always needed to affect business companies. The chapter makes the point that the threat to the company's reputation can become a much more powerful tool of influence for movement activists to the extent that it gains sufficient media attention. In the final chapter of this section, *Tactical Competition and Movement Outcomes on Markets. The Rise of Ethical Fashion* (pp. 237-260), Philip Balsiger addresses the issue of tactical competition and its role for movement outcomes by looking at the social movements' consequences on markets. He suggests a greater emphasis on the interplay of movement actors using different tactics.

The third and last section of the volume ("Institutions") opens with a chapter on *The Impact of Social Movements on Political Parties* (263-284) by Daniela Piccio. More notably, Piccio looks at the interaction taking place between parties and social movements by analysing the conditions that facilitate the influence of movements on parties in the cases of the ecological mobilizations affecting the social democratic party in the Netherlands and the Christian Democratic party in Italy. Her findings suggest that three conditions facilitate the movement-party interactions: electoral vulnerability; members' cumulative involvement; identity coherence. In *Watershed Events and Changes in Public Order Management Systems. Organizational Adaptation as a Social Movement Outcome* (pp. 285-313), Mattias Wahlstrom conceives and looks at the police organizational adaptation as a type of social movement outcome in five country cases: Denmark, Sweden, the US, Italy, and the UK. He exhibits that protest events accompanied by policing failures are crucial triggers of episodic change within police organizations.

In *The Institutionalization Process of a Neo-Nazi Movement Party. Securing Social Movement Outcomes* (pp. 314-337), Abby Peterson offers a bridge between the literature on social movement institutionalization processes and that on political party institutionalization processes by analysing the Swedish neo-Nazi movement institutionalization in a political party, the Sweden Democrats. More specifically, this chapter analyses

how the institutionalization of the far-right movement in Sweden has affected the internal dynamics of the movement party and the external dynamics of the party political system and the configuration of state power. In the last chapter of this section, *Incorporation and Democratization. The Long-Term Process of Institutionalization of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement* (pp. 338-360), Lorenzo Bosi explores how political changes emerge from the complex interplay of state and social movement by studying the shifting balance of power relations between them at different stages of the institutionalization process. This chapter moves toward more dynamic explanations of social movement institutionalization processes via an emphasis on the concatenation of different mechanisms and sub-mechanisms (incorporation and democratization). Last but not the least, the final and conclusive chapter by Jennifer Earl, *Protest Online. Theorizing the Consequences of Online Engagement* (pp. 363-400), provides both a more even-handed comparison of offline and online activism by looking at four broad types of Internet activism (i.e. brochureware, e-mobilization, online organizing, online participation) to evaluate the likelihood of outcomes for each type. She argues that it is likely that the most direct impact of online activism would result from the fourth form, namely online participation.

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