

Social protest and policy change: Ecology, antinuclear, and peace movements in comparative perspective

GIUGNI, Marco

Abstract

While movement activists spend much of their time and energy trying to change the world, our theoretical and empirical knowledge in this field is still relatively poor. In *Social Protest and Policy Change*, Marco Giugni offers a systematic and empirically grounded analysis of the impact of three major contemporary movements on public policy. Using a comparative and historical perspective, Giugni argues that a social movement's policy impact is facilitated by the presence of favorable political opportunity structures, coupled with the presence of institutional allies among the elites, and a favorable public opinion. Furthermore, the very content of a movement's demands plays a role, insofar as the power holders are often more willing to make concessions on certain issues than on others. Within a unique body of original data the author incorporates a historical overview of the mobilization of the ecology, antinuclear, and peace movements in the United States, Italy, and Switzerland. He presents the results of time-series analyses and reveals the combined effects of protest, political alliances, and shifts in public opinion [...]

Reference

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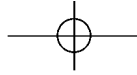
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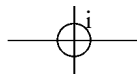
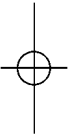
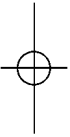
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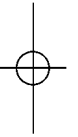
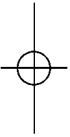
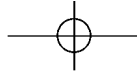


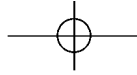
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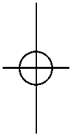
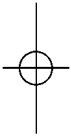




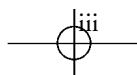
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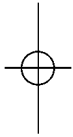
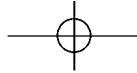
*Ecology, Antinuclear, and Peace
Movements in Comparative Perspective*

Marco Giugni



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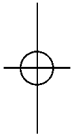
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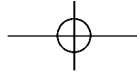
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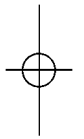
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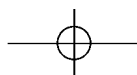


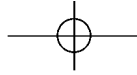
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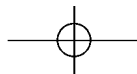
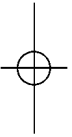
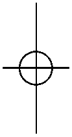
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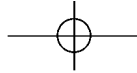




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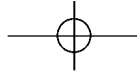
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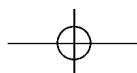
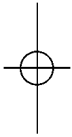
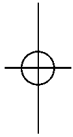
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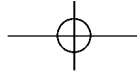
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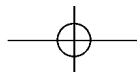
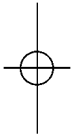
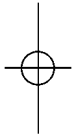
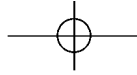
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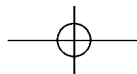
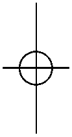
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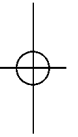
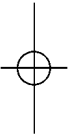
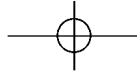


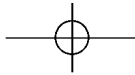


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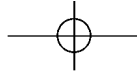




Preface

When I began my journey into the outcomes of social movements, the so-called *new social movements* seemed at the time to have lost much of their mobilizing capacity across the Western world, which is curious considering that they have been one of the driving forces in contentious politics during the past three decades. In particular, ecology, antinuclear, and peace movements had seemed to decline: for the ecology movement, it had found its way into the political institutions; for the antinuclear movement, it had lost its main target and hence its *raison d'être*; and for the peace movement, it was no longer able to mobilize the popular masses as it did in the recent past. In other words, these three movements seemed to have come full circle, and they seemed to have completed an entire cycle of contention, one that began in the early 1970s and ended, as I erroneously thought at that time, in the early 1990s. This pushed me to inquire into the outcomes of that cycle of contention and in particular into the impact of those movements on public policy. After all, they each wanted to produce changes in existing policy with regard to their respective positions on environmental, nuclear, and military matters, although this is only one side of a broader range of goals, which includes social and cultural change as well. The alleged end of their “life cycle” seemed an apt time to conduct such an inquiry.

The new social movements, however, have resurrected much of the strength and popularity that they once enjoyed in the 1970s and 1980s. This can be seen not only in the revival of environmental and peace protests in various countries, including the United States, Italy, and Switzerland, but also in the emergence of a collective actor in the form of a movement that gathers these as well as others types of claims—namely, the so-called antiglobalization movement, which has entered the public space during the past few years. Furthermore, the protests against U.S. intervention in Iraq in 2002 have shown the strong potential of the peace movement. This revival and new shape



of the new social movements gave me further stimulus to do research on the policy impact of ecology, antinuclear, and peace movements.

To do so, I took advantage of crucial external help. First of all, the research for this book would not have been possible without the financial support provided by the Swiss National Science Foundation through an advanced researcher fellowship that allowed me to spend three years abroad. The Schmidheiny Foundation (Geneva) also financed my research, which allowed me to update the dataset in the later stages of the project. In addition to the crucial financial support provided by these two institutions—and also by the University of Geneva, where I was based when I was not conducting field work abroad (and where I am currently based)—many people made my work easier. They are too numerous to be thanked individually, not least because my research has spanned over several years, but they all gave me valuable comments, criticisms, suggestions, and information that have proved crucial for achieving my study successfully. A big thanks, therefore, goes to all of them. Nevertheless, some people deserve special mention, starting with those who hosted me in their respective institutions during my stays in the United States and Italy and who are mentioned here in “order of appearance”: Charles Tilly, who allowed me to use the material and intellectual resources of the Center for Studies of Social Change at the New School for Social Research (New York); Louise Tilly, who did the same when I went back to New York about two years later to complete my research on the case of the United States; Doug McAdam, who made my brief stay at the University of Arizona, Tucson, rich intellectually and even more joyful than the beautiful landscapes of the Sonora Desert had already made; and Donatella della Porta, who allowed me to conduct research at the University of Florence, a privileged standing point both from an intellectual and culinary point of view.

A special thank goes to Florence Passy, a colleague, friend, and still many other things, who has played a special role at various stages of this project. Not only did we discuss at length most of the materials included in this volume, but the book’s main argument was formed directly as a result of these intense and fruitful discussions. In that sense, she virtually is a coauthor. In addition, her continuous support and encouragement have proved decisive to achieve this project.

My warmest gratitude, however, goes perhaps to the thousands of people who have participated in the activities of the three movements that form the object of this study and that occurred during the three decades covered by this volume. Although I tried to avoid a normative position on the issues addressed in this book, and in spite of my apparently pessimistic conclusions, I do think that movements make a crucial contribution to a better world. The results of their challenges are not always easy to see, but they are certainly worth the effort, if only because they provide a model and example for the next generations of people who are not satisfied with how things are going.

Before we move on to the subject matter, allow me to dedicate this book to my contentious sister Claudia, who saw her brother struggle with the topic of social movement outcomes for several years but who was not lucky enough to be here to see the end product of that struggle.