Abstract

Scholarship has left the study of the consequences of social movements in the background for a long time, focusing instead on movement emergence, characteristics, and dynamics. Since the mid-1970s, however, scholars have paid an increasing interest in how social movements and protest activities may produce change at various levels. The existing literature can be ordered according to the kind of consequence addressed. In this regard, one can roughly distinguish between political, biographical, and cultural outcomes. Political consequences are those effects of movement activities that alter in some way the movements’ political environment. Biographical consequences are effects on the life course of individuals who have participated in movement activities, effects that are at least in part due to involvement in those activities. Although their contours are less easily defined, cultural outcomes can be seen as the impact that social movements may have in altering their broader cultural environment. The bulk of the existing works have dealt with policy outcomes, which can be considered as a subcategory of political outcomes. [...]
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“OUTCOMES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND PROTEST ACTIVITIES”
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Introduction

Scholarship has left the study of the consequences of social movements in the background for a long time, focusing instead on movement emergence, characteristics, and dynamics. Since the mid-1970s, however, scholars have paid an increasing interest in how social movements and protest activities may produce change at various levels. The existing literature can be ordered according to the kind of consequence addressed. In this regard, one can roughly distinguish between political, biographical, and cultural outcomes. Political consequences are those effects of movement activities that alter in some way the movements’ political environment. Biographical consequences are effects on the life course of individuals who have participated in movement activities, effects that are at least in part due to involvement in those activities. Although their contours are less easily defined, cultural outcomes can be seen as the impact that social movements may have in altering their broader cultural environment. The bulk of the existing works have dealt with policy outcomes, which can be considered as a subcategory of political outcomes. Biographical outcomes are less numerous, but they form a substantial and quite coherent body of literature. Cultural outcomes have been
studied much less often. More recently, scholars have started to investigate the effects that social movements and protest activities may have on other aspects of society, such as the economy and market-related institutions, or on other movements. In addition, one should also consider the distinction between internal and external outcomes as well as that between intended and unintended consequences. Both distinctions partly cross-cut the typology of political, biographical, and cultural outcomes, although one might think of political outcomes as mostly external and more intended, biographical outcomes as mostly internal and unintended, and cultural outcomes as both internal and external and mostly unintended.

**General Overviews**

A number of works have been published that provide general overviews of the outcomes of social movements and protest activities. Most of these works focus on one specific type of consequence, but Giugni 2008 takes a broader view and addresses political, biographical, and cultural outcomes. Studies dealing with political outcomes have been reviewed—first in Giugni 1998, then in Amenta and Caren 2004, and more recently in Amenta, et al. 2010. Giugni 2004 addresses the literature on biographical outcomes. Earl 2004 looks at works on broader cultural outcomes. Whittier 2004 examines research on the consequences of social movements for each other, or spillover effects. Finally, King and Pearce 2010 reviews the growing literature on economic outcomes of social movements and protest activities.


A useful review of the state-oriented and legislative consequences of social movements, with a focus on how they apply to various beneficiary groups and movement organizations. It also addresses specific conceptual, theoretical, and methodological issues.


The most recent and up-to-date overview of works on the political outcomes of social movements, focusing on movements in democratic polities and the United States in comparative and historical perspective. Offers suggestions for further research.


A laudable effort to summarize the relatively sparse literature on the cultural outcomes of social movements. Discusses the challenges faced in defining cultural outcomes, the kinds of cultural outcomes uncovered by scholarship,
and the explanations of cultural change suggested by research. Offers suggestions for further research.


An early review of the existing literature, focusing on political outcomes. Discusses the role of internal factors, such as the movements’ organization and the use of disruptiveness, as well as of external factors, such as public opinion and political opportunity structures in facilitating or preventing movements from obtaining policy gains.


Reviews works on the biographical outcomes of social movements, from the follow-up studies of New Left activists to more recent studies reaching beyond that. Also discusses methodological issues relating to the study of biographical outcomes.


A rare attempt to review relevant works on the consequences of social movements and protest activities by addressing different types of outcomes at the same time. Inevitably a bit cursory on each of them.


Reviews works on the economic outcomes of social movements, in particular the role that the latter have on bringing institutional change and innovation to markets. Examines both direct and indirect pathways through which movements can bring about market change.


Provides an overview of scholarship on the consequences of social movements for each other. Discusses the various kinds of effects that movements have on each other as well as the routes and determinants of such effects.

**Conceptual and Methodological Discussions**

The study of the consequences of social movements has raised a number of conceptual and methodological issues. While they are often addressed in the context of more specific empirical studies, certain works discuss such issues at more length. Burstein, et al. 1995 and Meyer 2005 address primarily conceptual and theoretical
issues. The former, in particular, offers a helpful typology of political outcomes elaborating on a previous effort in Schumaker 1975 (cited under Policy Outcomes). On the other hand, Earl 2000 offers a thoughtful overview of some major methodological problems relating to the study of the consequences of social movements and protest activities. Attesting to the intimate relationship between conceptual and methodological concerns, Amenta and Young 1999 as well as Tilly 1999 deal with both aspects.


A reflection about the use of terms such as *success*, *outcomes*, and *impact*, as well as their conceptual and methodological implications. Makes an argument for using the term *impact*.


A discussion of conceptual issues around the notion of success of social movements, stressing definitional issues. Provides a helpful typology of responsiveness that can be considered as types of movement outcomes.


Perhaps the most thorough discussion of the methodological problems relating to the study of the consequences of social movements and protest activities to date.


An introduction to an edited collection on social movements, public policy, and democracy in the United States. Emphasizes the importance of the iterative interactions between protest and policy.


A thoughtful reflection about how we should proceed to study the consequences of social movements and protest activities. Argues that no explanation of movement outcomes can be provided in the absence of causal
theories of both the effects of movements and the dynamics of movement interactions.

**Political Outcomes**

Political outcomes are those effects of movement activities that alter in some way the movements’ political environment. This is the most frequently studied domain of social movement outcomes. Research on political outcomes examines whether, how, and in what context social movements influence changes in access to the policy process, changes of political agenda, adoption and implementation of policies, and changes in political institutions (e.g., political parties) and regimes. While the first studies of the field, particularly Gamson 1990 (cited under Gamson and His Critics), focused on correlations between movement actions and access to political process or gaining of new benefits, more recent scholarship has been more methodologically developed and examines also the causal mechanisms that lead to the political outcomes of the movements. This has resulted in studies that analyze the impact of social movements at different stages of the political process, from access and agenda setting to the implementation of adopted policies. A few scholars have also looked beyond the changes in policies and examined how these changes translate into collective benefits of the beneficiary groups or the long-term structural outcomes, such as the democratization process or the change of party system.

**Gamson and His Critics**

The study of the consequences of social movements and protest activities was boosted in the mid-1970s by William Gamson’s seminal book *The Strategy of Social Protest* (Gamson 1990). This piece of work remains one of the most systematic treatments of the effects of social movements to date. Gamson 1990 was the object of both a number of criticisms, mostly methodological, and reanalyses. Among the criticisms, Goldstone 1980 and Zelditch 1978 must be mentioned. Frey, et al. 1992 provides an overview of these criticisms. Among the reanalyses, most have basically supported most of Gamson’s findings, in particular about the role of movement-controlled variables (Frey, et al. 1992; Mirowsky and Ross 1981; Steedly and Foley 1979), while others have challenged them, sometimes quite fundamentally (Goldstone 1980). Most of these reanalyses are included in the book’s second edition. In addition, Gamson’s study has spurred a debate about the role of organization in mounting successful challenges (Gamson and Schmeidler 1984, Cloward and Piven 1984).


A criticism of Gamson’s argument about the effectiveness of organized challenges. The authors argue instead that social movements are more successful if they avoid building strong organizational structures.

Reanalyzes Gamson’s data, basically supporting most of his findings. Stresses in particular the importance of not having displacement goals and group factionalism to obtain new advantages. At the same time, calls for a model that incorporates both strategy and structural constraints.


Based on a random sample of challenging groups active in the United States between 1800 and 1945, this seminal book provides evidence for the role of organizational and movement-controlled variables for their success. Probably the most systematic treatment of the effects of social movements to date. First published in 1975.


A strong statement about the effectiveness of organized challenges, which has spurred a debate about the role of organization in mounting successful challenges.


Reanalyzes Gamson’s data, challenging his main conclusions and central theoretical tenet. Suggests that the resource mobilization model be replaced by a model that stresses the crucial role of broad, system-wide national crises for the success of social movements.


Reanalyzes Gamson’s data, basically supporting most of his findings. Finds, in particular, protester-controlled factors such as organization, beliefs, and goals to be more important than the support of third parties or the situation for a successful outcome.


Reanalyzes Gamson’s data, basically supporting most of his findings. Finds, in particular, group success to be related to the nondisplacement nature of the goals, the number of alliances, the absence of factionalism, specific and limited goals, and the willingness to use sanctions.


Critical review essay of Gamson’s book, underlining its theoretical and methodological weaknesses.
Political Responsiveness

Political outcomes are often understood in terms of the political responsiveness to social movement demands, developed in Schumaker 1975 (cited under Policy Outcomes). The approach looks beyond the questions of failure or success of mobilization and examines how social movements affect different stages of the political process: (1) Access to Policy Process refers to the changed political procedures that open a channel of participation for the movements as legitimate political actors; (2) Agenda Setting examines how the movements manage to increase the salience of their issues, which can, but does not have to, guarantee the positive outcome in terms of legislation; (3) policy responsiveness is the most frequently examined outcome of social movements and refers to legislation that has been adopted as a result of mobilization (see Policy Outcomes); (4) output responsiveness, or the Impact on Policy Implementation and Beneficiaries, is rarely examined, but this impact would be particularly important in demonstrating the substantial influence of social movements’ mobilization on the society at large.

Access to Policy Process

The studies focusing on the ability of social movements to gain access to the policy process often go beyond the question and examine other forms of outcomes, particularly political outcomes, as in Gamson 1990 and Kitschelt 1986. There are still only a few studies that demonstrate empirically how movements have affected the change of procedures that allow movements to access policy process; Rochon and Mazmanian 1993 is one good example. Andrews 1997 provides even more detailed analysis of the role of different mobilization strategies for improving movements’ opportunities to participate in the policy process. Cress and Snow 2000 looks at various forms of impacts of social movements, including representation.


A detailed quantitative analysis of short- and long-term consequences of different mobilizing tactics, including the violent mobilization, on black voters’ access to electoral process in the United States during the late 1960s and early 1970s.


Examines the role of organizational, tactical, political, and framing variables for different types of political outcomes of social movement organizations, and shows that there are multiple paths for the political impact of mobilization.

A seminal study of the political outcomes of social movements that shows how various internal characteristics of challenging groups can lead them to a greater degree of acceptance in the political system. First published in 1975.


Examines the mobilization and impact of anti-nuclear protest in a comparative perspective, showing access to the policy process depends on political opportunity structures.


Shows that gaining access to the policy process is the most effective path for the nuclear freeze and control of hazardous wastes movements to have an impact on environmental policy in the United States.

**Agenda Setting**

This is a growing field of research that combines methodological and theoretical approaches of different disciplines, including political science (Burstein and Freudenburg 1978), sociology (McAdam and Su 2002) and media research (Walgrave and Vliegenthart 2012). While it is common to focus on only one movement, Baumgartner and Mahoney 2005 and King, et al. 2007 examine the agenda-setting power in comparative perspective. Costain and Majstorovic 1994 was one of the first studies to examine the role of public opinion in this process. King, et al. 2005 compares agenda setting with political outcomes and shows that it is easier to influence the agenda than the decision making.


A novel study comparing the impact of movements on agenda setting across different issues: women, environmental, elderly, civil rights, and human rights issues. The authors show that the number of social movement organizations (in the United States) is related to the number of congressional hearings.


Indirect focus on agenda setting as the authors show how protests significantly increase the salience of the issue for the US Senate.

Shows that social movements’ impact on congressional activity on policies addressing women’s issues depends on the support of public opinion.


Shows that protest actions influence agenda setting in terms of the number of the hearings in the US Congress for many different kinds of rights-related policy issues.


An important study that shows how the women’s movement impacted the agenda setting, via their lobbying and organizational strength, but not the voting over the women’s suffrage legislation in the legislatures of the US states.


Shows that the number of participants in the antiwar protests of the Vietnam War era significantly influenced the agenda setting, particularly the number of war-related votes, in the US House of Representatives and Senate.


A time-series analysis demonstrating that larger protests correlate with the increasing issue salience in Belgium’s political agenda, and that the effect is mediated by media coverage.

**Policy Outcomes**

Since Schumaker, Paul developed different categories of responsiveness as the outcomes of social movements (in Schumaker 1975), the policy responsiveness or policy outcomes have been the most studied issue in this field of research. Gamson 1990 is perhaps the most well-known of such studies. The political mediation model in Amenta, et al. 1992 suggests that the political context mediates the impact of mobilization on policy. McCammon, et al. 2001 agrees, but it demonstrates that for the women’s movement the gendered opportunities were important for the policy outcome. Other scholars, such as Katrin Uba, have focused more on the contentious actions themselves and show how different strategies or the size of the protest matter for the policy outcomes (see Uba 2005). All these studies are contrasted in Giugni 2004 and
Burstein and Linton 2002, which, despite using different empirical data and different methods of analysis, show that social movements only seldom affect public policy. The number of contradictory empirical results would probably decrease if there was more focus on the causal mechanisms of policy impacts, as suggested in Kolb 2007.


Presents a political mediation model for the study of the policy outcomes of social movements, arguing that political outcomes of social movements are context dependent. Shows that democratic rights and a party system that is not dominated by patronage are favorable conditions that increase the likelihood of achieving policy outcomes.


An important meta-analysis of articles on public policy change. Shows how policy outcomes are seldom affected by social movements and more often by the public opinion and political parties.


A seminal study of the political outcomes of social movements that shows how various internal characteristics of challenging groups can lead them to obtain new advantages. First published in 1975.


A comparative study showing that social movements seldom affect political outcomes directly, and that the joint effect of protest, public opinion, and favorable political opportunities are more likely to lead to policy outcomes.


A rare discussion of which kind of causal mechanisms explain how social movements achieve political outcomes. Emphasizes the importance of a movement’s strength, strategies, goals, as well as the domestic and international contexts.


Explains the variation of the adoption of women’s suffrage by the US states and shows that social movements play a significant role for policy outcomes.

Develops a model of policy responsiveness and provides one of the first systematic analyses of the policy outcomes of urban riots.


One of the rare studies on social movement policy outcomes in developing countries. Shows that the degree of disruption is important for achieving movement goals.

**Impact on Policy Implementation and Beneficiaries**

There are only a few studies in this category, as the analysis requires long-term data accumulation and different methods of analysis. Piven and Cloward 1979 and Piven and Cloward 1993 provide important discussions about the role of disruption for achieving tangible outcomes for the activists and the society at large. In more recent works, Andrews 2001 and Andrews and Edwards 2004 show how more peaceful strategies of different movements and organizations affect not only the making of public policies but also their implementation. The impact on beneficiaries—that is, the change of the situation of those whom the movement aims to protect, however rare—is as shown in Rucht 1999.


A unique study that uses both quantitative and qualitative methods for demonstrating how social movements affect the implementation of poverty programs.


Review study of organizational influence, or the impact of social movements and interest groups on different political outcomes, including the rarely studied question of policy implementation.


A classical study that shows how disruption is an important factors explaining the outcomes of social movements. Argues that movement success is only temporary, since it results from the willingness of the political authorities to make concessions in order to abate the protest. Once the protest abates, concessions are withdrawn.

An important book advancing a provocative thesis about the regulating functions of public welfare, which would be used to maintain a supply of low-wage labor and to restore order in periods of civil turmoil. Therefore, turmoil and disruption do provoke policy change, but such concessions are usually withdrawn once the turmoil subsides. First published in 1971.


An essay that shows that despite the policy outcomes, movements’ beneficiaries, in this case the environment, might still not win as a result of mobilization.

**Structural Outcomes**

Scholars have sometimes dealt with the broader structural outcomes of social movements, such as regime change and the democratization, as shown in Kriesi and Wisler 1999 and Glenn 2003; the change of institutions as rules of the game, studied in Moore 1999; or the change in the access to democratic channels, examined in Banaszak 1996. Works on structural outcomes often follow a comparative perspective and focus on Western countries, as in Kitschelt 1986. Less frequent studies, such as Schock 2005, show that social movements can also affect regime change in developing countries.


Argues that movement tactics, beliefs, and values are critical in understanding why political movements succeed or fail. By looking at the cultural determinants of the varying success of pro-suffrage activists in Switzerland and the United States, Banaszak addresses both policy adoption and broader structural outcomes.


Relates the variation of the democratization process and different forms of mobilization of the social movements.


Examines the mobilization and impact of anti-nuclear protest in a comparative perspective, showing access to the policy process depends on political opportunity structures.

Examines how movements achieve the paradigmatic shift of the political system. Shows that federalism, the lack of the institutionalization of the state, and the division of political elites are important factors facilitating structural change.


Defines institutions as rules of the game and demonstrates how social movements affect the change of rules guiding the activities of different scientific communities.


One of the rare studies examining how and in what contexts nonviolent strategies of social movements affects regime change. Provides a detailed analysis of social movement outcomes in South Africa, Philippines, China, and Burma.

**Biographical Outcomes**

Biographical consequences are effects on the life course of individuals who have participated in movement activities, effects that are at least in part due to involvement in those activities. They refer not to the impact of movements as a whole, but to the effect of individual involvement in movement activities on the life course of participants. Their analysis lies at the crossroad of two major fields in the social sciences: studies of life course and the life cycle, and work on processes of political socialization and participation. Works on the biographical consequences of individual activism are much less numerous than the now quite substantial body of studies of the political and, more specifically, policy outcomes of social movements. In addition, a great deal of these studies has dealt with former activists of movements of the New Left in the United States, including participants in the civil rights movement. However, more recent scholarship looks beyond New Left activism to examine biographical outcomes of activism in other movements, as well as of not-so-committed movement participants, and at the aggregate-level impact of activism and participation in social movements.

**Follow-Up Studies of New Left Activists**

In general, these follow-up studies of New Left activists quite consistently point to a strong and durable impact on the political and personal lives of activists. Specifically, they show that former activists continued to espouse leftist political attitudes (Demerath, et al. 1971; Fendrich and Tarleau 1973; Marwel, et al. 1987; McAdam
1989; Whalen and Flacks 1980); continued to define themselves as “liberal” or “radical” in political orientation (Fendrich and Tarleau 1973); and remained active in contemporary movements or other forms of political activity (Fendrich and Lovoy 1988, Jennings and Niemi 1981, McAdam 1989). In addition, they show that former activists were concentrated in teaching or other “helping” professions (Fendrich 1974, McAdam 1989); had lower incomes than their age peers; were more likely than their age peers to have divorced, married later, or remained single (McAdam 1989); and were more likely than their age peers to have experienced an episodic or nontraditional work history (McAdam 1989).


The first major follow-up study of New Left activists. Shows that volunteers to a voter registration effort surveyed four years earlier continued to espouse leftist political attitudes. Part of the volunteers were surveyed once again years later (see Marwel, et al. 1987).


One of several publications from a study by one of the most prominent students of biographical outcomes. Shows that former civil rights activists were concentrated in teaching or other “helping” professions. Some of the subjects were interviewed once again at a later stage (Fendrich and Lovoy 1988).


Based on Fendrich’s study of former civil rights activists, some of whom were interviewed once again at a later stage in order to assess the impact of their involvement in the long run. Shows that they remained active in contemporary movements or other forms of political activity.


Based on Fendrich’s study of former civil rights activists. Shows that they continued to define themselves as “liberal” or “radical” in political orientation.


One of the most thorough and methodologically sound follow-up studies of New Left activists. It deals with subjects whose involvement in movement activities varied much in extent and spanned over a longer time frame. Shows that former activists remained active in contemporary movements or other forms of political activity.

Based on Demerath, et al.’s study of volunteers to a voter registration effort (Demerath, et al. 1971), part of whom were surveyed once again years later in order to gauge the long-term effects of their participation. Shows that they continued to espouse leftist political attitudes.


A study of biographical outcomes based on important research on participants in the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer project. Finds support for many of the findings of previous studies and shows that participants were more likely than their age peers to have experienced an episodic or nontraditional work history.


One of the publications from a study on a small sample of student radicals arrested in relation to the burning of a bank and interviewed ten years later. Shows that they continued to espouse leftist political attitudes.

**Beyond New Left Activism**


Analyzes the longstanding biographical consequences of both people on the left and people on the right of the political spectrum. Examines the generation that came into political consciousness during the 1960s in the United States and the impact of their activism on their life course.


A thought-provoking discussion of the biographical impact of activism. Makes a case for the aggregate-level effects of activism by showing evidence supporting the argument that many of the demographic changes associated with
the “baby boomer” may in part be a result of the political and cultural movements of the 1960s.


A study of the American Indian Movement arguing that Indian activism in the 1960s and 1970s led to an increased tendency of Indians to self-identify as such.


Examines the political and personal consequences of more routine, low-risk forms of participation in antiwar and student protests of the late 1960s, using survey data. Shows that ordinary involvement in these movements had an impact on the lives of those who participated.


Argues that identity politics is a high-risk form of activism, showing how lesbian, gay, and bisexual sociologists’ activism and political consciousness contributed to promoting equal treatment of gay and lesbians.


Based on the research by McAdam and collaborators on the aggregate-level effects of activism. Examines the gendered effects of movement participation on the subsequent lives of activists. Shows that movement participation will have a differential effect on the lives of men and women.


A study of a radical women’s movement showing that social movements may alter their social context, leading successive generations of participants to develop new perspectives.


Based on the research by McAdam and collaborators on the aggregate-level effects of activism. Uses cohort analysis to investigate the broader impact of activism on social change, linking New Left social movements of the 1960s and 1970s to the diffusion of new life-course patterns.

**Cultural Outcomes**
Cultural outcomes can be seen as the impact that social movements may have in altering their broader cultural environment. New social movement scholars, without systematically arguing that their research is a study of cultural outcomes, already from the late 1970s have recognized that social movements, in their struggle for social change, are involved in debates and conflicts on meanings, values, information, social norms, attitudes, opinions, everyday behavior, beliefs among the wider population, and collective identities, as well as institutional cultures and practices. However, such early recognition has not signified the development of any extensive share of research attention to how social movements influence cultural outcomes. Political outcomes, due in part to the hegemony of political process theory as well as to the difficulty in conceptualizing what we mean by “culture,” have dominated this literature. So far the unique review of the heterogeneous and tiny literature on cultural outcomes, produced by Jennifer Earl in 2004, seems to help in systematically individualizing at least three major perspectives under which we can divide those academic works that have researched how social movements effect culture: (1) the Social-Psychological Approach, interested in looking at the incorporation of new values, beliefs, life practices, discourses, and alternative opinions; (2) Cultural Production and Practices, such as literature, media coverage, visual culture, music, fashion, science and scientific practice, language, and discourse; and (3) Worldviews and Communities, including collective identity creation, subculture formation, and the reinforcement of existing solidarities.

**Social-Psychological Approach**

This approach looks at how social movements generate new meanings, mostly over the long term (D’Anjou 1996; Gusfield 1981; Melucci 1989), and alternative opinions (Gamson and Modigliani 1989,) as well as spreading new ideas (Rochon 1998). How is this possible? Through reframing, the abolitionist movement was able to win its campaign in Britain (D’Anjou 1996). By advocating specific frames, the anti-nuclear movement was able to change public opinion (Gamson and Modigliani 1989). For Rochon 1998, social movements need to reframe the work done by “critical communities” for larger audiences.


Studying the mobilization of the Abolition Committee in Great Britain in the half-decade between 1787 and 1792, the author shows how social movements produce and alter meanings. In this case, the cultural change consisted in the eradication of the slavery and the slave trade, which were previously accepted as necessary among British people.


A pioneering article that proposes a multidimensional view of culture. Analyzes the discourse on nuclear power from 1945 to the end of the 1980s by looking at the media discourse and public opinion.

The author proposes a fluid perspective, in opposition to the linear one, in order to study how social movements effect social change. This perspective addresses the long-term impact in which social movements construct new social meanings. It is an early recognition of the role of unintended outcomes.


A collection of the most important essays of one of the most distinguished new social movement theorists up to the late 1980s. Collective action is conceived as a process through which actors produce meanings, communicate, negotiate, and make decisions.


This important work looks at social movements as a primary way to transmit new ideas and alter culture. It develops an analytical approach to explain how the role of small communities of critical thinkers is determinant to generating new ideas, which are then spread through larger social movements.

**Cultural Production and Practices**

Social movements may affect cultural production in terms of music (Eyerman and Jamison 1988), magazines (Farrell 1995), media (Gamson 1998), books (Pescosolido, et al. 1997), and practices (Katzenstein 1995).


Shows how social movements and music influence each other through cultural change. The 1960s music of American activists is analyzed to understand how it has transferred to Europe and been reinterpreted there. Social movements are presented as knowledge producers and challengers of existing forms of knowledge.


Analyzes the struggle between cultural production and the market by looking at a US feminist magazine’s history. Focuses on the struggle between the staff’s attempt to construct a popular feminist periodical and the advertisement system.

Argues how the cultural outcomes of social movements are influenced by media coverage and representations of the movements. The author proposes an approach, drawing on Gamson 1975, which looks at cultural acceptance and new cultural advantages.


Proposes an innovative empirical analysis by looking at the way in which women activists have challenged religious discourse within the American Catholic Church. The author shows how religious women have been able to force the Catholic Church into discussions about feminist issues.


Examines the cultural production of social movements by looking at the portrayal of blacks in US children’s books. The major finding is that when African Americans mobilize, their negative portrayals mainly disappear from children’s literature. This comes from the publishers’ fear of touching a sensitive issue on both sides.

Worldviews and Communities


Shows how solidarity is constructed and maintained during protest, through an analysis of the case of the Basque Country. Demonstrations not only have external targets, but also an internal form of communication among the activists’ social milieu. Through determinate rituals, social movements construct solidarity among the participants, strengthening the group identity as a form of survival strategy.


Suggests a mesolevel complementary perspective focusing on social movements’ capacity to generate new solidarities among activists. An increase and broadening of social capital ties signifies that a given movement or
movement sector has produced a strong impact. The author relies on previous studies to support the strength of his approach.


An empirically rich manuscript on the American working class, exploring how the level of mobilization of workers effects their own consciousness. High levels of mobilization help raising solidarity in working-class communities, where a new sense of “us” and “them” tends to emerge.


Looks at movements as agents of cultural production by focusing on the impact of the US civil rights movement. Movements are here interpreted as catalysts for cultural change moving across space, moving emotions, moving sociocultural conditions, and moving through memory.


This empirically grounded exploratory research on the US lesbian feminist movement suggests how collective identity is a constructed process. Shows that collective identity is not structurally determined, but it is an outcome of the mobilization of all social movements.

**Economic Outcomes**

Economic outcomes can be seen as the impact that social movements may have in altering the behavior of economic actors and market structures. Social movement outcomes have been primarily studied with the assumption that collective action is exclusively oriented to nation-states. However, they also target private enterprises. Only recently have social movements scholars started to bring economic actors back into the equation and started to look at the economic effects of collective action. Social movement theory and organizational theory have been merged in order to analyze the corporate response toward boycotts (Bartley and Child 2011, King 2008, King and Soule 2007). Luders 2006 and Luders 2010, meanwhile, look at social movements targets, both economic and political. While the latter have been frequently studied in connection to social movement outcomes, the former have been considered only rarely.


Looks at how protest campaigns influence firms, which are not considered as passive targets, by borrowing from social movements and organizational theory. Shows what type of effects anti-sweatshop campaigns have had on their US-based targets. Among certain types of firms there have been negative
effects on sales. In addition, the stock prices of implicated firms have been suppressed and corporate reputations have been diminished.


Looks at how US corporations, between 1990 and 2005, behaved when they were confronted with boycotters who were threatening the company’s public image. It uses the political mediation model. Innovative by its focus on the determinants of the outcomes of a specific movement tactic, the boycott. The media are central to the impact of the boycott.


Examines the effects of social movement protests on firms’ stock prices by drawing on a data set of all protests reported by the New York Times from 1962 to 1990 on activist protests of US corporations. Looks at which kinds of repertoires have an effect and what makes some corporations more vulnerable to protests. The main result is that the more information content generated by social movement protest, the bigger the disruption this causes on the stock price.


Analyzes economic actors in their response toward social movement mobilization. The author introduces the concept of “economic opportunity structure” in order to discover when movements’ demands are accepted.


A useful addition to the literature that brings an analysis of targets’ responses to movement mobilization. Provides a general explanation of movement success by examining the responses of targets and third parties to the mobilization of the American civil rights movement.

Outcomes on Social Movements

Outcomes on social movements are effects on the same movements as well as on other movements, either at the same time or in the future. Their analysis has not always been associated with “mainstream” work on social movements’ outcomes, since they are not expressly articulated as goals of social movements. It is true that they are much less numerous than the studies on political outcomes, but there are many works that deal somehow with the outcomes on social movements that are not framed within this subfield of research.

Outcomes on the Movements Themselves
Protest has effects that are internal to the movement or to particular movement organization, effects that are often unintended. This topic invests and builds over three important areas of social movement studies: social movement strategy, social movement development, and social movement outcomes. Internal movement outcomes may refer to changes in the tactical repertoires (McAdam 1983), changes in the movement’s internal composition (Bosi 2006), changes in the subsequent mobilization after a movement victory (Kane 2010, Linders 2004, Snyder and Kelly 1979), or how the incremental gains and losses affect social movements and social movement organizations (Gupta 2009, Mueller 1987).

Investigates how the changes brought by Northern Ireland’s civil rights movement influenced the movement’s development. Shows how such movement development is led by the congruence of the mobilizing messages that best align with the dominant representation of the political environment present at a given stage, and which is subject to the impact of social movement mobilization.

Examines, by means of a dynamic view of movement outcomes, how incremental outcomes influence social movement organizations’ activities and development. Shows how the victory of the US anti–death penalty movement at an early stage increased the financial contributions and programmatic spending, while being reversed at a later stage.

Looks at the influence that legal change achieved by gay and lesbian movements through their mobilization in the United States has had on the movements themselves. Argues that the outcomes achieved by social movements might affect their subsequent development, depending on the type of achievement and on the cultural context surrounding the decision to mobilize.

Looks at how the achievements of the abortion movements in these two countries during the 1970s had an effect on their subsequent developments. Shows that political opportunities and constraints seem to shape the movements’ internal developments differently, despite both having succeeded.

Analyzes the tactical interaction between the American civil rights movement and the changing political and organizational context. Shows how the first successes of the movement led it to institutionalize or to changes its tactics.


Argues that a key aspect of movement success lies in its impact on resources for subsequent mobilization. Among such resources, the author stresses the importance of collective consciousness.


An early work on how social movements may bring about change in the resources of a movement’s organization and environment. The authors hypothesize about how the early achievement of movement goals may affect the level of resources mobilized by collectivity, the forms of collective action, and the relationship between them.

**Outcomes on Other Movements**

Social movement scholars have long recognized that social movements are not isolated actors. However, they have spent little research investigating how movements influence each other. Social movements can influence each other directly or indirectly across time, space, and issue, and over their frames, discourses, identities, repertoires, goals, and organizational structures. The literature on social movements has addressed the consequences of social movements by looking at social movement spillover (Meyer and Boutcher 2007, Meyer and Whittier 1994) abeyance (Taylor 1989), countermovements (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996), and spin-off movements (McAdam 1995). These types of effects go beyond the expressly articulated goals of social movements.


Explains how social movements generate other movements. This can happen through initiator movements, which set in motion protest cycles, and spin-off movements, which take inspiration from the initiator ones. Structural ties are seen as determinant to the attribution of similarity, which is necessary to diffusion processes.

Looks at how a positive US Supreme Court decision on a social movement’s mobilization encouraged further mobilization, across time, for other social movements. Based on the concept of signals as a component of the sociopolitical context and spillover of one movement on another one.


An important work in social movement theory that is seldom associated with the literature on social movements outcomes. Looks at an important impact of social movement outcomes, namely the emergence of countermovements. It is a programmatic work, widely used in the literature.


Perhaps the first article mentioning the spillover effect in the social movement literature. Looks at how movements influence each other, using the women’s movement’s impact on US peace movement activity in the 1980s as an example. Combines the political process and collective identity perspectives.


Combines resource mobilization theory and the collective identity perspective to explain how social movements continue around the same grievances or by the same constituency despite the absence of visible mobilization. Based on an analysis of US women’s movement activists.