

Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews

<http://csx.sagepub.com/>

Moral Movements and Foreign Policy

Marco Giugni

Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews 2013 42: 66

DOI: 10.1177/0094306112468721b

The online version of this article can be found at:

<http://csx.sagepub.com/content/42/1/66>

Published by:



<http://www.sagepublications.com>

On behalf of:



American Sociological Association

Additional services and information for *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://csx.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://csx.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

>> [Version of Record](#) - Dec 28, 2012

[What is This?](#)

resources where they can pass for tourists and access temporary shelter, free wireless, cheap food and drinks, and a sense of normality. Given the housing collapse that rocked Las Vegas and many other cities in the years since Borchard's fieldwork, it is reasonable to suspect that these newly invisible homeless have multiplied.

Moral Movements and Foreign Policy, by **Joshua W. Busby**. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 327pp. \$31.00 paper. ISBN: 9780521125666.

MARCO GIUGNI
University of Geneva
 marco.giugni@unige.ch

Why do some campaigns by principled advocacy groups succeed in some places and fail in others? The question addressed in this book is simple, but providing an answer to it is a more difficult endeavor. *Moral Movements and Foreign Policy* does an excellent job in doing so. The book's main argument is that movement success depends on the combination of three main factors: the material incentives facing states, the cultural resonance of the movements' messages, and the presence of policy gatekeepers. In brief, it argues that movement success rests on a blend of low costs, high value fit, and supportive policy gatekeepers. Translated into the social movement jargon, this means that social movements may have a chance to influence policy decision-making when the costs are not too high and above all are not perceived as being too high, when movement leaders frame the issue in a way that it fits the country's dominant values, and when political opportunities are favorable and do not pose too many obstacles at the domestic level.

Joshua Busby shows that states sometimes act against their own material self-interest when a given issue is framed in a way that it fits the country's values and when policy gatekeepers view them as important. He points out the limits of interest-based explanations, yet without rejecting them completely, and suggests that a framing-meets-gatekeepers or framing/gatekeepers approach provides a better explanation of why the

demands of advocacy movements succeed or fail. In the process, he stresses more specific aspects that have played a particularly important role in some cases, such as the international reputation and prestige that states want to build or maintain, the role of messengers and the similarity of attributes between them and gatekeepers, the importance of perceived costs, and the impact of shaming efforts.

Working with an interesting and helpful typology of situations with regard to the possibility of movement success intersecting costs and values, Busby analyzes four cases of transnational campaigns dealing with different issue areas: international economics and development (debt relief), environment (climate change), public health (HIV/AIDS), and justice/security (the International Criminal Court). In addition, he looks at these campaigns in comparative perspective across seven democracies: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This two-fold comparison is conducted systematically across the four case studies, showing how the combination of the three factors mentioned above has led to success or failure of the campaigns.

Each of the four case study chapters is organized in a similar fashion, which makes the reading comfortable and the line of argumentation easy to follow. The chapters start with an overview of the campaign at hand, then provide a partial explanation based on material interest and show its limits (whose general contours are also outlined in the theoretical chapter), followed by a more complete explanation stressing the framing/gatekeepers argument (again, outlined in more general terms in the theoretical chapter), and by a more detailed discussion of some relevant national cases showing how the more specific aspects have played a crucial role in these cases.

There is more than one reason to praise this book. Firstly, the book examines the impact of transnational movements and campaigns. This is all the more important as most of the existing studies of the consequences of social movements focus on national-based movements. At the same time, the author shows the importance of local or domestic factors for the success of transnational campaigns. Secondly, the book is firmly comparative,

both across issue areas and across countries. Since comparative analyses, especially on these two levels, are still a rare supply in this field, this is a very welcome addition to this literature. Thirdly and perhaps most importantly, the book goes beyond interest-based and simplistic cost/benefit accounts of social movement outcomes to show the importance of moral motivations and altruistic behavior. Yet, the author avoids throwing the baby out with the bath water and considers explanation based on self-interest as incomplete rather than incorrect. He shows the limits of this kind of explanation, but considers costs and material incentives as part of a broader framework that puts framing and political opportunities at center stage.

This book, however, could have been even better, had Busby considered more seriously its potential “bridging” function. Indeed, perhaps the main criticism that one could address to this excellent book is that, while dealing with the outcomes of social movements, it largely – if not entirely – ignores previous work by students of social movements. The latter, for example, is not discussed in Chapter Two, which is where the author lays out his theoretical framework for the analyses to follow in subsequent chapters. Although one is not necessarily expecting the often tiresome “review of literature” section, the book could have improved with explicit references to the social movement literature.

To be sure, blaming an author for not having used the concepts and terminology ones wishes to read and is familiar with would be quite an illegitimate criticism if not that doing so would have made the book and analysis even stronger. This lack of reference to prior work on the outcomes of social movements, made mainly by sociologists, but also by political scientists, has two negative consequences in my view. Firstly, some of the interesting arguments put forward in the book have in fact already been made in prior work, and this could have been acknowledged more explicitly. To make the most striking example, one of the main explanatory factors, namely the role of gatekeepers, or veto players, sounds similar to the concept of political opportunity structures, only named differently and less enmeshed with structural

concerns in favor of individual institutional actors. Secondly, more references to the social movement literature would have contributed more explicitly to another major strength of this book, namely the fact that it bridges two bodies of work that too often travel on separate tracks. The analyses provided in this book draw heavily on social movement theory—most notably, on the framing and political opportunity approaches—yet without fully acknowledging it. Doing justice to these works and literature would only have made the book stronger.

The Inequalities of Love: College-Educated Black Women and the Barriers to Romance and Family, by **Averil Y. Clarke**. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011. 409pp. \$26.95 paper. ISBN: 9780822350088.

SHIRLEY A. HILL
University of Kansas
hill@ku.edu

In a book the author likens to a “chick flick,” love, marriage, and childbearing take center stage to explain the inequalities that African American women experience. Averil Clarke’s central arguments are that *love matters* when shaping productive and reproductive relations, that African American women face significant disadvantages in pursuing love and marriage, and that inequality scholars should shift their focus from money to love to better understand class formation and maintenance. *The Inequalities of Love* is based on 58 in-depth interviews with college-educated black women under the age of 50 and the analysis of national quantitative data, which allows the author to compare college-educated women across racial lines and African American women across social class lines. The quantitative data provides the big picture of trends among women in education, marriage, fertility, abortion, and a host of other interesting factors, but the richness of the interviews pushes us beyond assumptions easily (and often erroneously, Clarke argues) drawn from the quantitative data. Intersectionality theory provides the framework for the book: love inequalities are shaped and maintained within the context of gender, racial, and class