

2013

Review of: Shutting Down the Streets: Political Violence and Social Control in the Global Era by Amory Starr, Luis Fernandez, and Christian Scholl

Patrick F. Gillham

Western Washington University, pat.gillham@wwu.edu

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Recommended Citation

Gillham, Patrick F., "Review of: Shutting Down the Streets: Political Violence and Social Control in the Global Era by Amory Starr, Luis Fernandez, and Christian Scholl" (2013). *Sociology*. 13.

https://cedar.wwu.edu/sociology_facpubs/13

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American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 118, No. 5 (March 2013), pp. 1454-1456

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/669056>

Accessed: 29/09/2015 17:44

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a gap in the literature on the religious lives of the poor and makes a welcome addition to the study of lived religion in contemporary America.

Shutting Down the Streets: Political Violence and Social Control in the Global Era. By Amory Starr, Luis Fernandez, and Christian Scholl. New York: New York University Press, 2011. Pp. viii+207. \$23.00 (paper).

Patrick Gillham
University of Idaho

There is growing scholarly consensus that since the late 1990s democratic states have shifted in the ways they respond to protest. In the period between the 1970s and 1990s democratic states and their police often placed a premium on the protection of free speech and assembly rights, were relatively tolerant of disruptive protests, communicated openly with activists through an institutionalized permitting process, and showed restraint in the use of force and arrests. Things, however, have changed. Now democratic states selectively protect freedoms of speech and assembly, are less tolerant of disruption, face activists that believe the permitting process is illegitimate, and more readily use force and arrests. In *Shutting Down the Streets*, Amory Starr, Luis Fernandez, and Christian Scholl adeptly map the new contours of state efforts to control social movements in a global era. They provide a richly textured analysis based on observations and interviews they conducted related to the planning and implementation of 20 major alterglobal protest events held during global summits over the last decade. Their central thesis is twofold: (1) that democratic states need active dissent in order to remain democracies un beholden to special interests and (2) that democratic states now treat dissent as insurrection and systematically mitigate activists' creativity and disruptive capacity by foreclosing public and activist spaces and by relying on a variety of techniques that channel protest into a narrow, predictable, and more easily managed form.

Starr et al. self-identify as activist-scholars, which shaped the data they were able to collect as well as their analysis. As longtime alterglobal activists they have comprehensive knowledge of the goals and history of the movement, had unfettered access to participant observation data, and directly experienced the state's social control response to the movement. As scholars they synthesized several related social science literatures not previously well connected by other authors and provide a sociologically informed and critical analysis of the state's effort to control dissent.

The authors draw from the social control, social movement, geography-of-space, and policing-of-protest literatures. They conceptualize social control as efforts made by authorities to maintain existing power relations and use social movement theory to make the case that dissenting action has a collective and public nature to it as seen in protest events. They note that activists also express dissent in the times between protest events by engaging

in noncapitalist and nonhierarchical relations with each other and by using direct democratic decision making when planning protest and movement-building events. This distinction is important, because the state and its agents of social control attempt to exert control over dissidents during protest events and between them, often running roughshod over democratic principles.

The authors utilize geographic theories to make sense of the dramatic changes in the state's efforts to spatially control protest activities that occur during summit gatherings. Techniques now employed by authorities include holding summits in isolated and inaccessible locations, creating distinct zones in which protest can and cannot occur, violently disrupting activist convergence spaces, temporarily suspending laws of assembly and free movement across borders, and heavily militarizing the space around summits. Elsewhere the authors focus specifically on protest policing and police surveillance, noting the transnational and preemptive nature of protest policing. For example, police routinely monitored and infiltrated alter-global groups, including groups engaged in legally sanctioned protests. Police shared intelligence about protest groups across nations. Police preempted activist plans by arresting or detaining dissidents without charge and before any legal or illegal protest actions occurred.

For Starr et al., these control strategies combine to form a "taxonomy of political violence" that creates a climate of fear among activists. This climate's permeating and additive effect causes some to drop out of social movements and dissuades movement organizations from tackling certain issues or affiliating with other movement actors for fear they'll suffer public relations problems. The violence also marginalizes and criminalizes dissent even when dissent falls within the purview of constitutionally protected action or involves illegal actions of conscience that are only minor infractions. Any dissent that has the capacity to be disruptive is criminalized, which stigmatizes and chills both traditional and nontraditional forms of protest and limits activists' ability to influence public opinion. Together, the new strategies of social control serve to channel and shape the time, manner, and place of dissent before and during protest events, which drastically limits the form of acceptable protests and reduces activists' potential impact by diminishing their disruptive capacity. The book ends by examining activist efforts to resist the state's control apparatus, noting that such efforts force activists to allocate resources defensively, rather than toward reaching their broader social and political objectives.

While this study significantly adds to our understanding of how the state responds to alterglobal protests, the authors could have strengthened it further by addressing three things. First, they could have more directly explored why the state's response to dissent has shifted in the last decade. Has a process of institutionalization been most instrumental or has an iterative process occurred as authorities and protesters respond to tactical innovations made by the other? Second, the authors could have better integrated their theoretical framework throughout the book. As it stands, the

reader occasionally must wade through descriptive narratives searching for theoretical connections the authors could have made themselves. Finally, the authors persuasively argue that healthy democracies can only remain so by fostering dissent, yet they do not address the thorny issue of whether some forms of dissent might be harmful to democracy. Should the authorities allow all forms of dissent to occur or is it necessary for the state to control some forms of political expression for the greater good of democracy? Despite these shortcomings, *Shutting Down the Streets* provides a solidly empirical, richly descriptive and clearly written analysis of the ways that democratic states attempted to control and shape alterglobal protests.

Patterns of Protest: Trajectories of Participation in Social Movements. By Catherine Corrigan-Brown. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2012. Pp. ix+177. \$45.00.

Kraig Beyerlein
University of Notre Dame

Scholarly work on social movement participation has tended to conceptualize and model it as a dichotomy: people either participate or they do not. Efforts to understand what differentiates protesters from nonprotesters have taught us a great deal about the nature of activism. But as Catherine Corrigan-Brown documents in the *Patterns of Protest*, contentious politics is often more complex and thus requires moving beyond the basic participation/nonparticipation distinction to understand it more fully. She defines four distinct participation trajectories. People can stay engaged throughout their lives (persistence), switch involvement from one cause or group to another (transfer), suspend their activism and pick it up again later (individual abeyance), or permanently give up activism (disengagement). The main goal of the book is to explain why certain people follow one participation trajectory, while others take a different activist path.

The first part of the book was based on the Youth Socialization Panel Data—a large nationally representative survey of U.S. high school seniors started in 1965 with follow-ups in 1973, 1982, and 1997. Different statistical techniques were used to analyze all but the transfer trajectory (data did not permit doing so) as well as initial participation. Results from these models showed that while ideological factors—political party identification, religiosity, and efficacy—predict initial engagement, they generally do not distinguish among persistence, transfer, and abeyance trajectories. Cultural resources, however, were found to have a number of significant effects. For instance, the more postsecondary education people had, the less likely they were to disengage from activism versus staying on an activist course or taking a break from it and coming back later. Biographical availability was also shown to be an important factor for understanding variation in participation trajectories. Becoming a parent increased the