

Finally, the concluding chapter summarizes the findings of the book and uses them to reassess the often-posed question of what lessons the Montreal Protocol offers for fighting climate change.

In sum, *From Precaution to Profit* is an outstanding book that makes an extremely valuable contribution to our understanding of global environmental governance. Gareau's work should be widely read both by environmental sociologists and those interested in global and transnational processes.

Democracy in the Making: How Activist Groups Form. By Kathleen M. Blee. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. x+211. \$29.95.

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Scholars have painted the founding moments of activist groups in only broad strokes. This portrayal is mainly due to a lack of empirical data on organizational origins; we tend to turn our attention to social movement activity only after it has attained some modicum of prominence or success. Kathleen M. Blee's *Democracy in the Making* sets out to fill in the picture of social movement origins with an ambitious and original study of new social movement organizations: those just trying to get off the ground with initial meetings and beginning conversations about ideology, strategy, and recruitment. The result is a volume brimming with interesting findings and theoretical contributions that will be of use to a wide range of both scholars and activists.

The study is based on direct observations of several hundred events, most of them meetings, of 69 emerging groups in the Pittsburgh area between 2003 and 2007. The data is presented and analyzed in three core chapters that each take up a common question addressed by the groups themselves: What's the problem? Who belongs? and How should we treat each other? The empirical findings in these core chapters are perhaps the greatest contribution of the book. Blee finds that groups spend much time and energy trying to expand their numbers, but new recruits are seldom made to feel welcome or valued at meetings. New groups also do little group learning and attribute setbacks and mistakes to poor judgment rather than a lack of information or knowledge. And groups tend to quickly shut down discussion of their own internal dynamics and decision-making processes—even in groups explicitly dedicated to open and democratic procedures. The findings are sobering, and provide new insight into why so few new social movement organizations survive for very long.

At the center of Blee's theoretical approach is the notion of path dependency. The larger argument of the book is that small differences in who attends initial meetings of a group, what is said (and what is not said), and what actions are taken have a large effect on the trajectory of the group, often in ways that are quickly forgotten by even those centrally involved.

A key implication of the argument is that the direction and vision of a group tend to ossify very quickly, sometimes after just one or two meetings and are largely (but not completely) impervious to change. The path-dependency argument is laid out in its entirety in chapter 2 but then informs the analysis in each of the subsequent core chapters of the book.

One of the great strengths of the book is its comparative approach. Social movement scholars have long lamented the discipline's overreliance on individual case studies, but truly comparative projects—especially ones involving more than a handful of cases—remain few and far between. By contrast, *Democracy in the Making* is based on a careful comparison of dozens of different groups, drawn from different social movements. I found it important that the author includes politically conservative as well as liberal groups (though she admits conservative organizations remain underrepresented). The amount of data in the book is impressive; it allows Blee to identify key mechanisms that work similarly in different groups in different contexts, and the varied (and detailed) examples paint a vivid portrait of formative activist groups struggling to find success and make democracy work.

Another strength of the volume is its careful treatment of the classic theoretical concern of structure versus agency as causal forces. Blee argues that the dynamics of activist groups in their early stages rapidly restrict the chances for agency that might change the orientation or behavior of a group. At the same time, agency is always possible and can produce a turning point in a group's development. These turning points are empirically identifiable by changes in the logic used by activists and by changes in their orientations toward past, present, and future action. Blee repeatedly puts structure and agency in delicate balance throughout the book, demonstrating how closely they are intertwined in the development of activist organizations. Few studies in recent years have offered the level of theoretical clarity and nuance for understanding microlevel social movement processes provided here.

The book's lessons are as important for activists themselves as they are for scholars. Yet this is a theoretically and empirically dense book. It is not for the casual reader. The analysis is in constant conversation with a wide variety of theoretical work, particularly related to the literatures on path dependency, theories of agency, cultural sociology, and organizational psychology. Having some familiarity with this work is not strictly necessary but certainly useful for getting the most out of Blee's analysis. Those looking for clear lessons about what works and what doesn't in forming social movement organizations also may be disappointed by the book's conclusions. The genius of Blee's analysis is its ability to take account of the full messiness and complexity of early group dynamics in a parsimonious set of theoretical findings. But the messiness of real, face-to-face political talk and political organizing remains and defies easy conclusions about necessary and sufficient causes for success or failure.

Democracy in the Making takes on two of the most oft-cited weaknesses in current social movement scholarship: a lack of comparative studies and

a lack of negative cases. Blee provides both here, along with a sophisticated microlevel path-dependency argument that greatly expands our understanding of how social movement groups form. In doing so, she informs debate on civic engagement, democratic practice, and small group dynamics. The book offers many ways organizational development can be quickly stunted, but it is ultimately sanguine about the possibility for democratic action. Change can be difficult, but there are plenty of concrete things that can be done to increase the odds of success.

Keys to the City: How Economics, Institutions, Social Interaction, and Politics Shape Development. By Michael Storper. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2013. Pp. xii+275. \$39.95 (cloth).

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As the Chicago school's sociologists recognized a century ago, cities are a central feature of the world. They are the sites to which people are drawn and to which increasing numbers will be drawn in the future. But why do some metropolitan regions do so much better in terms of their ability to generate growth and development while others do so poorly? And what might be done to enhance the prospects of those that do more poorly?

These are the main questions that Michael Storper addresses in his important new book, *Keys to the City*. Though he writes as an economic geographer, his answers cover a wide variety of academic disciplines, ranging across geography, economics, political science, and sociology. It is a demanding book. But it is also a book that anyone who is seriously interested in cities and regions must read.

One of the main themes of Storper's analytical meditations is a criticism of the theories that insist that the way to metropolitan development is to create amenities. He takes to task, in particular, economists Richard Florida and Edward Glaeser, insisting that they have misunderstood, indeed, reversed the causal link between people and jobs. Florida, in particular, has grown popular by insisting that in today's high-technology economy cities and regions must seek to import highly creative and skilled people—the "creative class" as he terms it.

But Storper insists that it is not people who draw jobs but rather jobs that draw people. He makes this argument in different ways throughout the book. In the first chapter, for example, he takes up the growth of the American Sunbelt and of its many cities. Did people come here before the jobs—or did the plants and jobs come first? Storper insists it was the jobs that drew people first, though of course later on, he admits, the early success of particular cities and regions fueled their additional economic growth. All the urban history I know, including the dramatic shift of population from the Northeast and the Midwest to the Sunbelt in the 1960s and 1970s, easily confirms Storper's claim.