
THREE PERSPECTIVES ON THREE BOOKS

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September 1981

CRSO Working Paper No. 246

Copies available through:
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offenders. The Rebellious Century, with its concepts, models, comparisons, graphs, and quantitative analyses, has come to be a favorite target of critics who feel that social science is corrupting history. Somehow the abstracts don't convey that part of the story.

No, we should not read the abstracts as a popularity poll. They do, on the other hand, give an idea of how the three books in question are being understood and used. That idea is worth pursuing. The books, after all, have two common grounds. First, they concern historical studies of conflict and collective action. Second, they exemplify a line of thought -- still ramifying, but still mainly North American -- which various commentators call "resource mobilization", "political process", or some other name drawing attention to its emphasis on articulated interests and coherent organization as bases of conflict and collective action. Thus we can scrutinize reactions to the three books for signs of the ways that historical studies of collective action in general, and this line of thought in particular, are entering the corpus of sociological and historical work. That exercise, in its turn, provides an opportunity to think about the nature of scholarly discourse in sociology and history: when new arguments, concepts, procedures, or findings come along, how do sociologists and historians respond?

The general answer, to be sure, must be: variously, depending on their specialties and predilections, and on how the new material articulates with those specialties and predilections. The second answer, however, has a bit more pith: on the average, sociologists and historians respond in characteristically different ways. Williams' references to the three books, as it happens, come mainly from sociologists and political scientists; the historians appear almost exclusively as reviewers. The imbalance results partly from the fact that the three books have struck a more responsive chord in the social sciences than in

INTRODUCTION

When sociologists follow the citations of particular works, most often they are trying either to gauge the relative eminence of certain authors, or to trace the web of connections identifying a set of authors with one school of thought or another. Rarely do they examine what use the authors make of each others' writings. John Williams doesn't push that sort of examination very far, but the materials he has organized lend themselves to reflection on scholarly discourse in sociology and history.

As part of his work for a course taught by William Gamson, Williams prepared a bibliography containing abstracts of references to three books -- Gamson's The Strategy of Social Protest; Charles, Louise, and Richard Tilly, The Rebellious Century; and Charles Tilly, From Mobilization to Revolution -- in something over a hundred published articles and reviews. When I saw the abstracts, and when I had gotten past those first few moments of anxious self-indulgence an author goes through when he encounters a new reaction to his work, it seemed to me that Williams' tireless bibliographical effort could help other people think about how social scientists and historians communicate, or fail to communicate.

How widely and enthusiastically people have read the three books is not the important question. Nor is the scorecard of scholarly opinion. Although it matters to the authors, the breadth of their books' appeal tells us little about the kind of impact those books are likely to have on other people's thinking. In any case, John Williams has made no effort to grade the abstracts from favorable to damning, from technical to theoretical, from intelligent to stupid. Indeed, he has omitted some of the brickbats the critics he has encountered threw at the three books. To take the extreme example, in the abstract of Tony Judt's "A Clown in Regal Purple" Williams has managed to quote one of the few concessions Judt made to the Tillys in the course of a stinging indictment of the practices of American social historians which holds out the Tillys as especially contemptible

history, partly from the longer lag between publication and scholarly response in history. Nevertheless, the abstracts suggest some of the differences. In sociology, we find two main things happening. Either the sociologists offer a radically simplified division of the available ideas on their subject into two or three (usually two) schools of thought -- "breakdown" vs. "solidarity", and so on, and cite the relevant books as authorities exemplifying one school, or they name a particular finding -- for example, Gamson's general finding that groups initiating violence did better, on the average, than those receiving it -- as corroboration of a general point they themselves wish to argue. Where the sociologists' delineation of schools of thought corresponds closely to that of the author, and where the finding drawn from the book is, indeed, a finding the author is prepared to defend, these sociological habits of thought promote the rapid assimilation of new work to the existing literature. Those same habits, however, bring their own dangers: that subtle distinctions will disappear, that fragile findings will become accepted facts without serious scrutiny and further investigation, that caricatures of the arguments and findings will diffuse into the syntheses and texts of the field.

Historians are not completely immune to these maladies. But, on the whole, they proceed differently from the sociologists. If they pay any attention at all to a sociological work, they are likely to inflate its claims in one of two ways. The first is by elevating the book's method into a Method proposed for a wide range of historical inquiry -- which is sometimes a way of promoting an approach of which the historians in question approve, but more often a warrant for discrediting the work by means of the demonstration that its method does not deal effectively with some set of problems about which historians care. The second is by treating the book as if it offered a general account of the

historical events or processes it takes up. Although the first chapter of The Rebellious Century makes a great show of pitting breakdown theories against solidarity theories, for example, historians have persistently reacted to the book as if it claimed to provide a comprehensive description and explanation of German, French, and Italian conflicts from 1830 to 1930. That assumption makes it easy to complain that the book neglects some crucial sort of conflict, or some likely cause of conflict.

Does the difference between sociologists and historians reflect the contrast between generalizing and particularizing disciplines? I think not: at most, one can say that the sociologists are trying to generalize over sets of variables without paying much attention to the time- and place-specificity of those variables, while the historians are trying to generalize with respect to historical periods and/or peoples. Does the difference set off theoretical sociology from atheoretical history? No, more likely the distinction between theories in which time and place make little difference, and those in which time and place are of the essence -- the sort of distinction conveyed by confronting a model of the logic of voting in public assemblies with a model of the evolution of British politics. The first is neither more "general" nor more "theoretical" than the second. But it is different, and less firmly fixed in time and space.

These reflections lead back to a familiar series of conclusions. Disciplines have established agendas. Within a discipline, readers tend to assimilate relevant work to those agendas, and therefore frequently convert and employ the work in ways quite different from those the author of the work had in mind. A sensible author will think about the agenda(s) to which his audience is oriented, and make a deliberate decision how to relate his writing to those agendas. Broadly speaking, he will normally have two choices: 1) to accept the existing agenda(s), and write so that his material will be assimilated easily and properly; 2) to break with the existing agenda(s), make it clear he is doing so, and put an exceptional effort

into persuading readers that it is worth their while to join in breaking with the old agenda. Where there are multiple agendas which are at least partly contradictory, the author's choice will be more complex: 1) choose but one, write for it, and make it clear to readers who are operating within other frames that he is ignoring their agendas; 2) write more than one guide for the interpretation of the materials -- one for each relevant audience; 3) break visibly and persuasively with all the existing agendas. Those of us who write at once for sociologists and historians face the complex choice. If we are misunderstood, we have only ourselves to blame.

THE STRATEGY OF SOCIOLOGICAL DISCOURSE

As similar as the Gamson and Tilly works are in many respects, the authors have somewhat different agendas. Tilly has chosen the more difficult path of multiple agendas. He is not simply using historical data to evaluate sociological arguments. He works the historian's turf, using primary sources and addressing the interpretations of other historians who have worked the turf before him.

To be sure, he tries to make his multiple agenda clear. "We stand at the crossing of two roads," he writes. "One of them leads toward an understanding of the ways in which industrialization transforms collective action, especially the collective action of workers. . . The second road heads toward a comprehensive explanation of changes in industrial conflict in France. . . Eventually the two roads lead in different directions, as good roads should. . . Fortunately, the two roads run together for quite a space. We plan most of our traveling for that common ground." Finding themselves fellow travelers for part of the journey, historians frequently ignore the difference in ultimate destination.

This fellow traveler must be threatening too many historians. It is not merely a matter of his sophisticated technique -- his geometric models and computerized data analyses. These simply place him on one side of the social science-humanist cleavage that has divided historians for some time. Tilly is all the more threatening because he won't stay firmly in the social science lane. He has the humanists' love of concrete detail and good narrative. Clearly, he can travel either lane if he chooses. Instead, he weaves back and forth, a pied piper for the young historians who may be tempted to desert the straight and narrow.

Gamson's agenda is more singular. He proclaims his effort to rely on secondary sources whenever possible, using primary sources only as a last resort. Even when writing on historical context, he acknowledges the violation of the

historian's norms. "There is no research method without its costs. In searching for patterns in the careers of a sample of diverse challenging groups, we have ripped each from its historical context. Each challenge has a thousand unique features that have been studiously ignored." He is clearly doing sociology or political science, not history. And his fate is to be largely ignored by historians. It is striking in reviewing the Williams abstracts, that there is only one passing reference to Strategy in any history journal. Tilly, in contrast, is frequently discussed and reviewed as a positive or negative model for other historians.

Part of this may be an artifact of method. Books are still the historian's metier, not journal articles. Hence, by reviewing journals and ignoring books, Williams has less of an opportunity to discover how these works are actually used by historians. Most of the historical citations come from book reviews, not from original pieces of research. For sociologists, journal articles reporting research are heavily represented. The pattern in many of these articles is the analysis of a specific movement or protest, drawing on arguments or particular findings from the three books. Differences in scholarly tradition between the two fields complicate the comparison.

The different agendas of these books provide some nice ironies. Tilly, by directly entering the historians' turf, is guilty of committing a social science. However he may mitigate it by graceful prose and detailed knowledge of the historical period he is considering, he is ultimately a philistine among the humanists. But Gamson's philistinism is so unmitigated and blatant that he is no danger of being mistaken for a historian and, hence, is no particular threat.

Ironically, this allows Gamson to play the humanist among sociological philistines. This is especially clear in the exchange with Goldstone in the American Journal of Sociology (March, 1980) that appeared just after Williams'

cut-off date. Goldstone is concerned with the "unscientific" character of Strategy and its failure to use certain data analysis techniques. Gamson is allowed to play the broader scholar, showing how the technician misses the point by losing sight of the broad theoretical argument and concrete historical cases being analysed. He defends the less vulnerable flank from the high ground, while potential critics from the other flank turn their fire on closer targets, such as Tilly.

What has bothered me most about the reception of Strategy is not criticism. This has been, for the most part, muted and constructive. Rather, it is the uncritical simplification with which some arguments have been used. This is best illustrated by the issue of the effectiveness of violence as a protest strategy.

Strategy has a subtle argument concerning violence. One part of that argument concerns its instrumental nature, a theme echoed in Tilly and picked up by most of the users of these works. But this was only one piece of the argument, and not the most interesting piece.

Violence, Strategy argued, is a product of an interaction. Less than 30% of the protest groups studied had violent interactions in their history. They represented two basic patterns. In the first pattern, the protest group was the passive victim of attacks by hostile third parties or authorities and could not or did not fight back. In the other pattern, the initiation of violence was not always clear, but the protest group engaged in active combat. The active groups had a slightly better than average rate of success and the passive groups were uniformly unsuccessful.

But Strategy explicitly rejected the simple conclusion that "violence works." "Am I ready to conclude then that violence basically works? Not quite, or at least not in any simple fashion, and my caution is not due simply to the small number of cases involved or the real possibility of sampling error." Strategy

goes on to argue that the data undermine the argument that violence is the product of frustration, desperation and weakness. It supports an opposing interpretation that violence grows from an impatience born of confidence and rising efficacy.

Reading through the abstracts, it is clear that most of the subtleties of the above argument are not picked up. The point that violence was not a central strategy for more than one or two of these groups is lost. Nor has the argument that it is hubris, rather than desperation, that stimulates violence received much attention. The dangers that Tilly alludes to in his introduction have occurred.

It is better to be attacked than ignored and, I suppose, it is also better to be misinterpreted than ignored. It is nice to have one's work used by others even when it is not quite the intended purpose or message. The task that Williams has undertaken shows how rapidly some work is assimilated in sociology. Judging from this sample, resource mobilization is rapidly on its way to becoming a new orthodoxy in the sociology of social movements. If we are misunderstood, we have the opportunity of reintroducing the subtleties, becoming critics of those very arguments that our own contributions have helped to spawn.

REFLECTIONS OF AN ABTRACTOR

This bibliography represents a modest attempt to test the feasibility of assessing the influence of seminal studies by showing how frequently and in what context three seminal titles have been cited by other scholars. The three titles chosen: William Gamson's The Strategy of Social Protest, Charles Tilly's From Mobilization to Rebellion, and Charles, Louise, and Richard Tilly's The Rebellious Century, 1830-1930 are considered to be significant contributions to the "resource mobilization" literature. This bibliography is made up of abstracts of articles that cite one or more of these three seminal studies.

The possibility of doing this kind of a bibliography has been greatly facilitated by the publication within the past decade of two citation indexes, Social Science Citation Index and Arts and Humanities Citation Index. The three seminal titles were checked in these two citation indexes from the date of publication of the cited monograph to the date of the most current index available in June 1980.

To provide additional coverage, the three monographs were also checked in Social Science Index, Humanities Index and in indexes listing book reviews including Book Review Digest, Book Review Index, Book Reviews in the Humanities, and Current Book Review Citations.

The indexes provided over one hundred citations. No claim is made for completeness, since there is evidence that citation indexes occasionally fail to catch relevant citations. Yet the results provide some significant clues as to the influence of these publications representing the "resource mobilization" perspective.*

The abstracted articles cover such a wide range of topics that taken as a whole they may appear to lack a frame of reference. Some readers may feel the need for a unifying theme to assist them in relating the individual studies to each other. In a sense, the conviction expressed in the work of both Gamson and Tilly that theoretical hypotheses describing the behavior of challenging groups must be based on solid empirical evidence provides an important basic construct for these kinds of studies. This empirical emphasis also appears to underlie the work of almost all of the authors of the abstracted articles.

Since the abstracted articles themselves provide additional support for a number of the important hypotheses or constructs developed by Tilly and Gamson, a useful way of organizing the abstracts is to relate them to these hypotheses. I would like to cite a number of the hypotheses developed by Gamson and Tilly along with the abstracted articles that provide further validating evidence for a particular hypothesis.

* The abstracts were not written to provide a summary of the cited article but rather to suggest the ways in which the author draws on the seminal study to support his or her thesis. Not every reference to the three monographs is noted in the abstract; rather the emphasis is on those citations that indicate how the author has utilized the relevant "resource mobilization" perspective.

A number of the abstracted studies document the fact that the relative deprivation thesis which views political and social protest as a special kind of activity outside the normal political process lacks validity. They support the perspective presented by Tilly and Gamson which views challenging group activity as an extension of the normal political process and not the result of relative deprivation. As Gamson has noted: "Rebellion . . . is simply politics by other means. It is not some kind of irrational expression but is as instrumental in its nature as a lobbyist trying to get special favors for his group or a major party conducting a presidential campaign" (1975:139).

Long (1977) in his study of black and white inner-city students noted that relative deprivation did not serve to explain the behavior of these students, for he found that relative deprivation alone did not noticeably increase student alienation nor student condoned violence. In their study of the political orientation of black and white adults, Isaac, Mutran and Stryker (1980) concluded that relative deprivation failed to provide an adequate explanation. Race specific differences were more adequately explained in terms of differential political socialization.

Monti (1979) found that relative deprivation did not adequately explain the protest activity of the New York riots of 1960-1964. He noted that rioting occurred after more conventional, political methods had failed. Schellenberg's (1977) study of violence in Northern Ireland also supports the

findings of Tilly and Gamson. Schellenberg found that those areas in Northern Ireland with the ability to mobilize and sustain a collective challenge to political authority were the areas most marked by violence. Jenkins and Perrow (1977) in their study of farm worker movements rejected relative deprivation, noting that agrarian groups undertaking protest activity did so because they were organizationally able to defend their interests. Brym and Neis (1978) in their study of the Fishermen's Protective Union in Newfoundland rejected the concept of relative deprivation. They concluded that regional variations in the power of fishermen and in the power of opposing elites provided a better explanation of successful union activity. Cloward and Piven (1979) find that in the past, the stress experienced by women resulted not in violence but in ill health. Since women lacked the resources and organization to end discriminatory practices, the stress they experienced was manifested not in socially unacceptable rebellion but in socially acceptable ill health.

The Tilly and Gamson monographs have also demonstrated that conflict and even violence can be extensions of the normal political process. As Gamson has noted, "Violence should be viewed as an instrumental act, aimed at furthering the purposes of the group that uses it when they have some reason to think it will help their cause" (1975:81). In this context the use of violence is not only rational but it is frequently an effective method of achieving goals. Hamach (1978) and Monti (1979) in their studies of urban violence found this to be

true. Betz (1974) in his study of violence among welfare recipients concluded that confrontation produced greater benefits for those involved. In Chesler and Crowfoot (1978) the effectiveness of conflict in assisting school integration was described. Barkan (1979) has noted the effectiveness of protest in constraining the development of nuclear power plants and Heron and Palmer (1977:457) in their study of industrial conflict have described the strike as "an implicit political event . . . flowing directly from the desire and ability of working people to act collectively." Fendrich (1977) has outlined the success of confrontational methods in achieving union recognition for faculty members in Florida and J. Harvey Smith (1978) in his account of the successful mobilization of vineyard workers has shown that conflict was an essential ingredient. Finally, Jan Smith (1976) in his article on "Communities, associations and the supply of collective goods" concludes that the concept of violence as irrational has been popular because this view lends support to the status quo. Both Gamson and Tilly have documented this observation.

Tilly and Gamson have provided detailed accounts of the crucial nature of resources and organization in producing success or failure in challenging groups. The importance of organization and resources are noted in the conclusions of a number of the abstracted articles including Barkan's (1979) investigation of the nuclear protest movement, Fendrich's (1977) study of the unionization of Florida faculty, Bert Useem's (1977) description of the Cuban revolution, Snyder's

(1977) investigation of early American studies, Hecter and Levi's (1979) comparative description of ethnoregionalism and Gibb's (1977) investigation of the Marxist revolution. Medlin (1979) in his study of the failure of the Mensheviks, described their inability to institutionalize their rebellion. [Tilly has discussed the difficulty a victorious polity may face in "reimposing routine governmental control over the subject population" (1978:219)]. Cronin (1978) in his study of industrial conflict has noted that not only the organizational capacity of the challenging group but also that of its antagonist is relevant in determining the success or failure of a challenge.

Gamson and Tilly have shown that in many cases outside support is fundamental to the success of a challenge. Mueller (1978) in her study of seventy-seven riot cities and Fendrich (1977) in his study of Florida faculty have indicated the importance of seeking and gaining outside support. Gamson has cited the importance of containing factionalism and two of the abstracted studies have provided additional evidence. Monti (1978) in his study of the New York riots found that the deterioration of group bonds led not only to factionalism within the group but to deteriorating relations with outside groups; Waterman (1978) in his study of the Allende regime found that the existence of variant goals tended to fragment movement support.

Tilly and Gamson have stressed the importance of the external environment and two of the abstracted studies--Snyder's (1977) investigation of early North American strikes and Takayama

and Darnell's (1979) description of the vicissitudes of an inter-faith agency--have provided further documentation. Tilly has described the prevailing distrust of the state among segments of the population during different historical epochs ["Collective resistance to conscription, to taxation, to billeting, to a whole variety of other exactions of the state" (1978:185)]. This assessment is relevant to several of the studies including J. Harvey Smith's (1978) study of the vine-growers of France, Bergesen's (1979) investigation of neo-ethnicity and McPhee's (1978) review of peasant protests. All comment on a kind of "folklorized" distrust of the state that has been spelled out by Tilly.

I am conscious of the fact that I have described in some detail the link between the abstracts and the work of Gamson and Tilly. I felt that it was important to indicate how the authors of the abstracted articles have utilized hypotheses developed by Tilly and Gamson and how the research findings of the abstracted authors have in turn provided additional empirical support for the Gamson-Tilly hypotheses.

I would like to close these comments by citing from one of the abstracted articles that is relevant to my emphasis on empiricism. In his essay Robin Williams (1976), who has acknowledged his indebtedness to Gamson and Tilly for their insights, makes a strong appeal for a rigorous analytical approach to the problem of social change. In moving language, Williams urges sociologists to develop a radicalism derived from empirically based analyses in place of what he

characterizes as a "rhetorically rich radicalism." It would appear that many of the abstracted writers, building at least in part on the work of Tilly and Gamson, are moving to establish such a tradition.

John T. Williams

References

Gamson, William A.

1975 The Strategy of Social Protest. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press.

Tilly, Charles

1978 From Mobilization to Revolution. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Tilly, Charles, Louise Tilly and Richard Tilly

1975 The Rebellious Century, 1830-1930. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Full references to the work of other cited authors are to be found in the abstracts.

Agulhon, Maurice

1978 "The Rebellious Century." *Annales-Economics Civilizations Societies* 33:841-843.

A favorable review of The Rebellious Century.

Agulhon concludes that this book is "very stimulating and of very great significance" (Agulhon, p. 843).

Alford, Robert R. and Roger Frieland

1975 "Political participation and public policy." *Annual Review of Sociology* 1:429-479.

This review article contains a summary of Gamson's The Strategy of Social Protest. The reviewers note that Gamson's research supports their conclusion that those groups who use violence achieve the most notable successes. The research also buttresses the conclusion that violence is not a form of pathological behavior that is the product of frustration and despair but that it is an instrumental act aimed at achieving goals. Or as Gamson has described Tilly's conclusion: "Collective violence is one of the commonest forms of political participation" (Gamson, 1975: 139).

Amann, Peter H.

1976 "The Rebellious Century, 1830-1930." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7:154-7.

A review in which Amann states: "This is a major book which succeeds exceptionally well in its interdisciplinary approach to a highly significant problem" (Amann, p. 154). The reviewer suggests a need for additional studies accounting for variations in the scope and intensity of collective action when the political climate is relatively stable but concludes: "Considering how few, if any, explanations of collective behavior have been verified the Tilly's work is an impressive pioneering feat" (Amann, p. 154).

Angrist, Shirley

1976 "Subjective social indicators for urban areas: how useful for policy?" *Sociological Focus* 9:217-230.

The 1976 presidential address to the North Central Sociological Association. Angrist believes that local government can be made more accountable and responsible to citizen needs. She feels that refined measurement techniques can be used to assist public officials in becoming more aware of how citizens evaluate their performance. However,

Angrist notes that Gamson, based on his research reported in The Strategy of Social Protest, has concluded that it is only through organized pressure and protest that citizens and interest groups can noticeably influence public policy (Angrist, p. 219).

Aya, Rod

1979

"Theories of revolution reconsidered." *Theory and Society* 8:39-99.

Aya acknowledges his indebtedness to Charles Tilly "whose works first roused these reflections" (Aya, p. 99) and "whose brilliant essay 'Revolutions and Collective Violence' occasioned the present study" (Aya, p. 83). Aya notes that works on the historical and comparative analysis of revolution give little attention to general theories of revolution while the authors of general theories have not tested their ideas against historical data. This condition, he maintains, is the direct result of prevailing theory which tends to view revolutions as irrational disruptions rather than as political phenomenon involving conflicts over policies and resources. Aya notes the need to develop models of mass mobilization to guide research. He cites with approval a model developed by Charles Tilly based on a pivotal idea in Trotsky's History of

the Russian Revolution (Aya, p. 44). In the final section the author outlines a political model of mass mobilization. Aya quotes frequently from a number of Tilly's works.

Barkan, Steven E.

1979 "Strategic, tactical and organizational dilemmas of the protest movement against nuclear power." *Social Problems* 27:19-37.

Barkan examines the strategic, tactical and organizational problems confronting the contemporary protest movement directed against the construction and operation of nuclear power plants. The author describes the work of a number of scholars investigating social movements and comments favorably on the work of Tilly and Gamson (Barkan, p. 24). In this study, Barkan focuses on the internal aspects of nuclear protest organizations, as he notes, in much the same way that Gamson did in The Strategy of Social Protest (Barkan, p. 21). He concludes that his findings regarding anti-nuclear protests confirm a number of Gamson's observations. These include: the lack of permeability of the American system to protest groups; the effectiveness of "unruly" tactics; and the instrumental nature of movements with their emphasis on strategy, tactics and organization (Barkan, p. 34).

Bergesen, A. J.

- 1977 "Neo-ethnicity as defensive political protest."
American Sociological Review. 42:823-825.

Maintains that we need to view the new ethnicity as largely a matter of defensive political protest. Notes that defensive solidarity movements are part of the political process occurring throughout the history of the West. Points to the similarity between neo-ethnicity and the resistance, cited by Charles Tilly, of local polities to the expansion of state power (Bergesen, p. 824).

Berry, Jeffrey M.

- 1978 "On the origins of public interest groups: a test of two theories." Polity 10:379-397.

Berry tests validity of two theories describing how interest groups originate--David Truman's "disturbance" theory and Robert Salisbury's "exchange" theory. Berry surveys eighty-three public interest groups in Washington, D.C. and concludes that Salisbury's theory "has greater plausibility." Berry acknowledges his indebtedness to Gamson's The Strategy of Social Protest which he believes should serve as a model for the evaluation of longitudinal data on voluntary organizations (Berry, p. 394).

Betz, Michael

1974 "Reply to Cramer." Social Problems 22:307-9.

A response to M. Richard Cramer who has criticized Betz's conclusions that there is a positive relationship between rioting behavior and subsequent increases in welfare expenditures in cities (Betz, M. "Riots and welfare: are they related?" Social Problems 1974 21:345-55). Betz in his rejoinder notes that the forthcoming book of William Gamson, The Strategy of Social Protest will present the general thesis "that pressure--especially violence--pays off" (Betz, p. 309).

Bjorklund, Tor

1979 "Noen Trekk ved litteraturen om Aksjoner Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning 20:60-74.

See Appendix.

Bonoma, Thomas V.

1976 "Conflict, cooperation and trust in three power systems." Behavioral Science 21:499-514.

Bonoma questions the universal applicability of the theoretical variables: power, conflict and cooperation, and trust in explaining social phenomenon. He outlines an alternative approach using three "prototypical power systems": the unilateral

power system, the mixed power system and the bilateral power system. Citing Gamson's findings in The Strategy of Social Protest, Bonoma describes bargaining procedures that prevail "even in the limited bargaining case of weak protestor-strong authority negotiations" (Bonoma, p. 504).

Brym, Robert J. and Barbara Neis

1978 "Regional factors in the formation of the fishermen's protective union of Newfoundland." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 3:391-407.

Describes the attempts of fishermen in Newfoundland to form labor organizations. The authors note that successful unionization depended on regional variations in the power of the fishermen and on the power of opposing elites. Brym and Neis conclude that anomie or "relative deprivation" did not account for variations in successful labor mobilization in Newfoundland but that the situation can most adequately be described in terms of the "resource mobilization" model as outlined by Charles Tilly in The Rebellious Century (Brym, p. 395).

Burawoy, Michael

1977 "Social Structure, homogenization, and the process of status attainment in the United States and Great Britain." *American Journal of Sociology* 82:1031-1042.

Burawoy maintains that without a theoretical framework the "results of data analysis are more frequently a product of technique . . . than of underlying reality" (Burawoy, p. 1031). He finds that an article on status attainment by Treiman and Terrell (A.J.S., 1975, 81:563-583) lacks a dynamic theoretical model explaining structural change. In contrast, Burawoy points with approval to the theoretical model outlined in the work of the Tillys in The Rebellious Century describing "the way social structure conditions the appearance of solidary groups and organizes them into social forces, and how the latter in turn transform . . . the economic, political and educational structures" (Burawoy, p. 1038).

Burnstein, Paul and William Freudenberg

1978. "Changing public policy; the impact of public opinion, antiwar demonstrations and war costs in senate voting on Vietnam war motions." *American Journal of Sociology* 84:99-122.

The authors find that there was a positive relationship between the mounting costs of the Vietnam war and the increasingly "dovish" votes in the Senate during the period 1964-1973. Burnstein and Freudenberg note that Gamson has provided evidence in The Strategy of Social Protest that organized social

protest can be effective in producing change (Burnstein, p. 105). However, Burnstein and Freudenberg find that the antiwar demonstrations were effective through 1970 but counterproductive after that period.

Burnstein, Paul

1978 "A new method for measuring legislative content and change: senate voting on Vietnam war bills." Sociological Methods and Research 6:337-364.

Citing recent studies by Gamson (Burnstein, p. 338) and others, relating political inputs to outputs, Burnstein examines all substantive Senate roll call votes during the period 1964-1973 to ascertain if there was an increase or decrease in militarism. Using SSA (Smallest Space Analysis), a technique similar to Guttman scaling, he finds that, after 1969, legislation became more and more "dovish."

Chesler, Mark A. and James E. Crowfoot

1978 "Institutional changes to support school desegregation: alternative models underlying research and implementation." Law and Contemporary Problems. 42:174-213.

Explores the problems of school desegregation from two conceptual models of social systems, the conflict model and the consensus model. The authors find that the consensus model is the prevailing

one used in delineating approaches to desegregation. However, Chesler and Crowfoot note that several social scientists including William Gamson in his The Strategy of Social Protest have concluded that "peace must be threatened and a conflict escalation strategy pursued if meaningful . . . change is to occur" (Chesler, p. 184). Chesler and Crowfoot conclude: "We need more analyses that stem from the conflict model and more that explore the full meaning of the application of the conflict model to desegregation and social change" (Chesler, p. 212).

Choice

1975 Choice 12:570

A favorable review of The Strategy of Social Protest in the monthly book selection journal published by the Association of College and Research Libraries. The review concludes with the note that the book is "well organized, clearly written and carefully annotated" (Choice, p. 570).

Choice

1975 Choice 12:902

A favorable review of The Rebellious Century. The anonymous reviewer notes: "This is a very important book . . . Even in an age of collaps-

ing budgets and astronomical prices, this book must be in every library which serves graduate students and upper-level undergraduates in the social sciences" (Choice, p. 902).

Choice

1979 Choice 15:1729

A review of From Mobilization to Revolution published in the Association of College and Research Libraries' monthly book review publication Choice. The favorable review concludes with an affirmative comment about the index, bibliography and the "array of diagrams designed to explicate the theoretical discussion" (Choice, p. 1729).

Cloward, Richard A. and Francis Fox Piven

1979 "Hidden protest: the channeling of female innovation and resistance." Signs 11:651-669.

The authors note that their paper assumes "that deviant behavior like all behavior is purposeful." The thrust of their paper is to relate female repression to physical and mental illness. Cloward and Piven note that since women have been limited in the ways in which they can express stress and tension, they have come to see their stress as rooted in physical or mental illness. Citing the complicity of the medical profession, the authors note,

"the health system is there to interpret stress, to absorb those experiencing stress, to convert stress into illness, and thus to divert attention from the social sources of stress." Noting a symbiotic relationship, they comment: "Medicine thrived on the perceived physical and psychological woes of middle-class women, and women exploited the legitimation that doctors provide to deviate in sickly ways." The authors go on to note a parallel between their findings and those of Tilly and Gamson showing that stress does not necessarily lead to violence (Cloward, p. 662).

Cronin, James E.

1978 "Theories of strikes: why can't they explain the British experience?" Journal of Social History 12:194-220.

Cronin subjects four extant theories of strikes to theoretical and empirical criticism. His goal is to generate a satisfactory historical model. He finds that "the model developed by Shorter and Tilly provides an extremely useful corrective to previous approaches by demanding that separate attention be given the political and organizational resources available to both sides" (Cronin, p. 210). Noting that strikes come in waves, Cronin suggests that there is still the need to ex-

plain the historical process by which work dissatisfaction is translated into collective action. The article contains additional references to The Rebellious Century.

Economist

1975 "Solidarity yes, breakdown no." Economist 256:106.

A favorable review of The Rebellious Century. The anonymous reviewer finds the work "intriguing (and) full of valuable insights and perceptions" and the theoretical framework "plausible" (Economist, p. 106). The only caveat raised by the reviewer is a question regarding the "historical legitimacy" of the violence of Stalinism and Hitlerism.

Elwitt, Sanford

1976 "Charles Tilly et al The Rebellious Century, 1830-1930." American Historical Review 81:577-578.

The reviewer questions the use of solidary groups rather than the use of class conflict in explaining collective violence.

Etzioni, Amitai

1977-78 "Social overload: sources, components and corrections." Political Science 92:607-631.

Etzioni states that conservatives after having been eclipsed by their colleagues are again beginning

to take an active part in the public dialogue focusing on social values in American society. He believes that the neo-conservatives are correct in their complaint that there is an "overload" in terms of the demands we are putting on the system to correct social injustice. However, he feels that neo-conservative solutions lack validity for he notes that the work of Gamson (Etzioni, p. 614) and others has shown that there is public dissatisfaction and desire for change in areas related to basic social values. Etzioni suggests that there is a need to transform the social welfare system. He outlines four components that should be a part of such a transformation. There is a need for: 1) Arriving at a national consensus regarding social welfare goals, 2) Increased involvement of the federal government in problem areas, 3) Administrative reform of agencies involved in social welfare programs and 4) Emphasis on increasing our knowledge of problem areas.

Fendrich, James M.

1977. "Unions help faculty who help themselves: a partisan view of a collective bargaining campaign." American Sociologist 12:162-175.

A case history of the successful attempt of an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers

(United Faculty of Florida) to organize university faculty. The author draws on the work of Gamson and Tilly and uses the "resource mobilization" perspective in describing this unionization campaign (Fendrich, pp. 163-194). He discusses the kinds of resources, linkages between insurgent groups and the dynamics of the tactics used in achieving movement goals. Fendrich believes that his description of the interaction of authorities, social movement organizers and bystanders together with his description of the accompanying media involvement, has made more explicit, a number of the theoretical formulations of the "resource mobilization" perspective. He suggests that there is a need for those working within the "resource mobilization" perspective to develop an accurate method of measuring power resources along with a need for a methodological framework describing the dynamics involved in the mobilization of external and internal power resources. He notes that Gamson has classified movement outcomes in terms of gaining recognition and new advantages (Fendrich, p. 173) and concludes that in terms of these criteria, the insurgent faculty in Florida have achieved, at the very least, a short term success.

Finch, Gerald

1975 "The Strategy of Social Protest." Political Science Quarterly 90:544-546.

A favorable review of The Strategy of Social Protest in which the reviewer comments: "The book is in many respects an empirical and historical extension of the framework he developed in Power and Discontent. Like its predecessor, The Strategy of Social Protest is very well developed theoretically. It also makes innovative use of qualitative data and is a useful illustration of how history can serve as a data bank for social science" (Finch, p. 546). Finch suggests that it might have been useful to use multivariate analysis on the results but goes on to note the difficulty, given their number and type, to control for variables.

Finney, Henry C.

1978 "Social change and human purpose: toward an understanding." Administrative Science Quarterly 23: 178-184.

In this review of Roland L. Warren's Social Change and Human Purpose . . . the reviewer takes Warren to task for not having included a discussion of the research results outlined by William Gamson in his seminal work The Strategy of Social Protest (Finney, p. 183).

Finsterbusch, Kurt and Mary R. Hamilton

1978. "The rationalization of social science research in policy studies." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 19:88-106.

The authors note that social scientists who were trained to do basic research are doing more and more policy research. They discuss the problem of designing policy research and of selecting appropriate research tools. Finsterbusch and Hamilton cite Gamson's study of challenge groups, The Strategy of Social Protest, as one to be emulated. They note: "It is a model in its relatively vigorous methodology and skillful analysis" and conclude that most policy research is "not likely to achieve this level of methodological sophistication" (Finsterbusch, p. 93).

Fogel, Robert W.

1975 "The limits of quantitative methods in history." *American Historical Review* 80:329-50.

Fogel describes the recent emphasis on quantitative approaches in historical research and acknowledges the usefulness of these studies. He notes the important work of Charles Tilly dealing with conflict processes and described in The Rebellious Century (Fogel, p. 335). Despite seeing the use-

fulness of this new quantitative approach, Fogel maintains that it has limits and that historical synthesis lies "beyond the range of social science." (Fogel, p. 342).

Fugita, Stephen S. and David J. O'Brien

1977 "Economics, ideology and ethnicity: the struggle between the United Farm Workers Union and the Nisei Farmers League." *Social Problems* 25:146-156.

Emphasizes the role of ethnicity in the conflict between the United Farm Workers and the Nisei Farmers League. The authors note the importance of economic factors in generating conflicts between members of different ethnic groups. They also show that conflict can be generated within a particular ethnic group as the result of "cross pressure"--some Nisei involved in this labor dispute experienced conflicts between ethnic and ideological loyalties. The authors refer readers to Gamson's The Strategy for Social Protest for a broad overview of the literature on "resource mobilization" (Fugita, p. 149).

Gibbs, Jack P.

1977 "Social control, deterrence and perspectives in social order." *Social Forces* 56:408-423.

Gibbs mentions that the history of revolution in

Russia, China and Cuba contradicts the orthodox Marxist "maturity" thesis that revolutionaries succeed only when capitalism has run its course. He finds that the "maturity" thesis represents a tacit denial that the outcome of a revolution depends on the tactics or strategy of the revolutionaries. Gibbs notes that this ambiguity is discussed by Charles Tilly in The Rebellious Century (Gibbs, p. 417).

Gurr, Ted Robert

1978 "Burke and the modern theory of revolution. A reply to Freeman." *Political Theory* 6:299-311.

A response to an article by Michael Freeman criticizing the findings of scholars working within the "resource mobilization" perspective. Freeman complains that "resource mobilization" theorists are so involved in producing general theory that they are unable to make qualitative discriminations between revolutions. Gurr responds by noting that "Tilly's theory of collective violence incorporates the argument that the issues of conflict are qualitatively different from one historical situation to another" (Gurr, p. 303). Freeman criticizes Tilly for not clearly distinguishing between revolution and collective violence. Gurr replies by pointing out that Freeman has failed to read Tilly

carefully and that "what Tilly proposes is an explicit, general theory about collective violence in recent European history which incorporates a less general theory of the conditions under which collective violence takes the shape of revolution" (Gurr, p. 304). Gurr in responding to Freeman's criticism that "empiricists" in their studies fail to consider the long-run consequences of revolution, points out that Tilly has discussed this question at some length and adds: "Gamson has published a major empirical study (The Strategy of Social Protest) of the outcomes of protest for a large sample of challenge groups in American history which should serve as a stimulus and model for further research" (Gurr, p. 305). In reply to Freeman's contention that "empiricists" have failed to recognize the "world-historical significance of the French Revolution," Gurr points to the work of Tilly (Gurr, p. 307). In response to Freeman's call for a general theory of political conflict based on systematic historical studies across divergent cultures, Gurr notes that a number of "empiricists" particularly Moore and Tilly have been "chewing on these problems for some time" (Gurr, p. 308).

Hammach, David C.

1978 "Problems in the historical study of power in cities and towns of the United States, 1800-1960." *American Historical Review* 83:323-349.

Stresses the need for historians to deal with the question of social power in American communities during the period 1800-1960. Suggests that historians should turn to other social scientists for assistance in clarifying theoretical and methodological problems relating to this question. Points to studies by Gamson and Tilly indicating that violence can be used successfully by the working class to achieve political and social goals (Hammach, pp. 338-339).

Hannan, Michael T. and Nancy Brandon Tuma

1979 "Methods for temporal analysis." Annual Review of Sociology 5:303-328.

Discusses the need for sociologists to devote more attention to modeling change processes. Stresses the desirability of using continuous-time stochastic models of change. Points to The Rebellious Century as a pioneering study utilizing event history design.

Hechter, Michael and Margaret Levi

1979 "The corporate analysis of ethnoregional movements." Ethnic and Racial Studies 2:260-274.

An analysis of the determinants of ethnoregionalism--the movement for ethnic self determination in the nation states of western Europe. The author

draws on material from Tilly's From Mobilization to Revolution particularly the discussion of the need for organizational capacity to carry out proposed collective actions (Hechter, pp. 266, 268).

Herlihy, David

1978 "Computation in history: styles and methods." *Computer* 11:8-17.

The author, a professor of history at Harvard, discusses the ways in which the computer can be used to assist the research activities of the historian. Herlihy outlines the use made of the computer in the Tillys' study of social disturbances reported in their The Rebellious Century (Herlihy, p. 11).

Heron, Craig and Byran D. Palmer

1977 "Through the prism of the strike: industrial conflict in southern Ontario." *Canadian Historical Review* 58:423-458.

An examination of strike activity in ten southern Ontario cities between 1901-1914. Heron and Palmer conclude, after acknowledging their indebtedness to the theoretical constructs developed by Charles Tilly in The Rebellious Century (Heron, p. 457), that the strikes in Ontario were not simply based on a desire for economic gain but were "an implicit political event . . . flowing directly from the

desire and ability of working people to act collectively" (Heron, p. 457).

Holton, R. J.

1976 "The Rebellious Century, 1830-1930." *Economic History Review*: 29:342-344.

A book review of The Rebellious Century in which the reviewer notes that the academic background of the Tillys makes them particularly well suited for authoring a longitudinal study of social protest in France, Germany and Italy. Holton suggests that "Weber's sociology of action would be an appropriate framework of analysis" (Holton, p. 343) for The Rebellious Century but this does not affect his conclusion that this work by the Tillys is a valuable contribution to historical scholarship.

Isaac, Larry, Elizabeth Mutran and Sheldon Stryker

1980 "Political protest orientation among black and white adults." *American Sociological Review*: 45:191-213.

A study undertaken to determine if radical political orientations are based on a "mass society" perspective, a "relative deprivation" perspective or a "differential socialization" perspective. The authors include the "resource mobilization" perspective under the "differential socialization" rubric. They conclude that their results support

this perspective. Issac et al note the contributions of William Gamson and Charles Tilly to the "resource mobilization" literature (Isaac, pp. 195-208). They cite Gamson's indictment of some of the spurious assumptions of pluralism including "procedural consensus" (Isaac, p. 209) and Charles Tilly's exegesis of certain theoretical weaknesses in the "relative deprivation" thesis. (Isaac, p. 194)

Jarausch, Konrad H.

1978 "Promises and problems of quantitative research in central European history." *Central European History* 11:279-289.

Describes the use of quantitative methods by scholars studying central European history. The author notes, with approval, the comparative study by the Tillys, The Rebellious Century. Jarausch finds that there has been some progress in the use of quantitative methods by central European historians but outlines some ongoing problems: historians lack the requisite quantitative skills; there are limited funds for large projects; and there is a need to develop better organizational and communication links among scholars working in this area. Jarausch comments on the failure of interested historians to adopt the relevant recommendations pro-

posed by Landes and Tilly in History as Social Science (Jarusch, p. 287).

Jenkins, J. Craig and Charles Perrow

1977 "Insurgency of the powerless: farm workers movements (1946-1972)." American Sociological Review 42:249-268.

An analysis of two farm worker insurgencies: the National Farm Labor Union and the United Farm Workers. The authors find that the classical social movement literature has failed to account for either the rise or the outcome of insurgency. They note that the work of Tilly (The Rebellious Century) has cast doubt "on the classic 'discontent' formulations." "Disorders do not arise from disorganized anomic masses, but from groups organizationally able to defend their interests." The authors also point out the questionable value of the concept of "deprivation" in accounting for collective action and they discuss the importance of resource mobilization in producing successful challenges. Jenkins and Perrow find that Gamson's studies summarized in his The Strategy of Social Protest provide an important indictment of "pluralism" for Gamson shows that the "political system should be structurally 'permeable,' readily incorporating new groups and their interests into the decision-making process" (Jenkins, pp. 250-251).

Jenkins, J. Craig

1979 "What is to be done: movements or organization?"
Contemporary Sociology 8:222-228.

A review of Piven and Cloward's Poor People's Move-
ments. Jenkins notes that Piven and Cloward main-
tain that organizations are antithetical to movement
goals and yet paradoxically Piven and Cloward cite
with approval the works of those who write from
the "resource mobilization" perspective including
Tilly and Gamson. Jenkins notes that "the main thrust
of the 'resource mobilization' theory has been to
argue that discontent is at best secondary in ac-
counting for the emergence of insurgency, that or-
ganizational resources and the changing power posi-
tion of the aggrieved, not sudden increases in their
grievances are the major factors leading to the
outbreak of disorders" (Jenkins, p. 224).

Johnson, Douglas

1976 "From below and above." Encounter 46:54.

A review of a number of recent titles dealing with
French history. Johnson cites The Rebellious Cen-
tury as a work that has utilized new and more experi-
mental approaches to the study of history.

Judt, Tony

1979 "A clown in regal purple: social history and historians." *History Workshop--A Journal of Socialist Historians*. 7:66-94.

Judt is critical of contemporary research in social history. He complains that social historians have: neglected politics; used stereotyped labels and categories and sterile sociological and psychological concepts and theories; and pursued studies that do not focus on any properly conceived historical question. He is critical of The Rebellious Century but notes that Charles Tilly has been "extraordinarily adept at gathering and applying data and methods from a wide range of ideological positions" (Judt, p. 89).

Karnig, Albert K.

1976 "Strategy of Social Protest." *Journal of Politics* 38:219.

A review of The Strategy of Social Protest. Karnig describes Gamson's methodology as "innovative." He comments on Gamson's conclusions that relate challenger success to a number of variables including "most provocatively (the) use of constraints (including violence)" Karnig, p. 219).

Larkin, Maurice

1977 "The Rebellious Century." History 62:159-160.

The reviewer approves the breadth of the study but has some reservations about the reliability of using contemporary newspapers as evidence.

Lehman, Edward W.

1978 "Sociological theory and social policy." International Journal of Comparative Sociology 19:7-23.

Explores the relationship between macrosociological theory and social policy. Finds that macrosociological theory is particularly relevant in "locating the structural constraints to (the) transformation of society" (Lehman, p. 21). In discussing social movements, Lehman notes that Gamson in The Strategy of Protest has found that unruly behavior among challenge groups is accompanied by more success and advantages than is the case with pacific challenge groups (Lehman, p. 20). Lehman believes that the "non-institutional character of all social movements poses difficulties for efficient political influence" (Lehman, p. 20). If social movements engage in electoral politics, they abandon the more direct approaches toward transforming society and risk losing impetus and supporters. However, if they choose the direct approach, they assure the victory of the status quo by abandoning the electoral

arena and risking the loss of support from "respectable" people who frequently are alienated.

Lewis, Jerry M.

1975 "The strategy of social protest." Contemporary Sociology 4:516-517.

Lewis concludes: "The Strategy of Social Protest represents an innovative approach to the study of social movements. It is a welcome departure from the case history methodology because it provides a greater generalizing power than the case history approach allows. This volume, particularly in terms of methodology, will have considerable influence on the structure of inquiry in social movements research in the coming years" (Lewis, p. 517).

Lind, Joan

1980 "The ideology of form: the influence of organizations in America" by David Schuman. Contemporary Sociology 9:279-280.

A book review by Lind in which she comments on Schulman's failure to include "the work on goal-oriented movements of Tilly, Gamson and Zald" (Lind, p. 279).

Long, Samuel

1977 "Perceived relative deprivation and political orientation: a study of white and black adolescents." Journal of Political and Military Sociology 5:92-115.

Using data from a survey of 970 white and black students gathered in five inner-city St. Louis high schools, the author found that, in general, relative deprivation did not produce political alienation, expressions of political violence or predilections for confrontational modes of political participation. Long appends to his findings the comment that "as Gamson argues, the collective behavior model underlying much of the relative deprivation literature may be invalid" (Long, p. 112). He goes on to cite the contributions of both Gamson and Tilly to the "resource mobilization" model.

McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald

1977 "Resource mobilization and social movements: a partial theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82:1212-1241.

McCarthy and Zald present a set of concepts and propositions that they believe articulate the "resource mobilization" perspective. They note the contributions of Gamson and the Tillys to the "resource mobilization" literature (McCarthy, pp. 1213, 1222, 1233).

McPhee, Peter

1978 "Popular culture, symbolism and rural radicalism in nineteenth-century France." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 5:238-253.

Draws heavily on the work of Charles Tilly, particularly The Rebellious Century, in describing French peasant protests in the nineteenth century. McPhee believes that while the peasant collective protests may have become more "industrial" in nature after 1848, they still maintained some of the characteristics of the earlier "folklorized" protests.

Maier, Charles S.

1975 "Mass hysteria." *New Republic* 173:28-30.

A favorable review of The Rebellious Century in which Maier commends the Tillys for conclusively demonstrating the lack of validity of the "breakdown" thesis.

Manuel, Frank E.

1975 "Frank E. Manuel on history." *New Republic* 173:16-18.

An essay in which Manuel notes that the statistical approach used by the Tillys in The Rebellious Century has invalidated the "breakdown" theory (Manuel, p. 17).

Marx, Gary T. and James L. Wood.

1975 "Strands of theory and research in collective behavior." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 1:363-428.

A review article devoted in part to the contributors to the "resource mobilization" model. The

authors note that Charles Tilly has deemphasized the importance of protest actions and emphasized the importance of the power struggle in collective violence and protest. Marx and Wood cite a number of other contribution made by Tilly including evidence showing 1) that deprivation is a poor predictor of collective violence 2) that there is a heterogeneity of motivations among participants in social movements and 3) that it is important when tracing the historical development of collective violence to focus on organizations and their relation to the structure of power. The authors also comment on the contributions of Gamson. They point out that Gamson in The Strategy of Social Protest has shown that those who use violence have, in most cases, been successful in winning advantages.

Marx, Gary T.

1976 "The Rebellious Century, 1830-1930." Contemporary Sociology 5:695-697.

The reviewer praises the authors noting: "They have produced a fine, even elegant book. They deal with big questions across cultures and time periods and in a manner as disciplined and systematic as such a wide and varied net permits" (Marx, p. 695). Marx professes to see some evidence that both the "solidarity" and "breakdown" theories may

be correct depending, he says, on the type of collective action, the nature of the setting and the motives of those participating.

Medlin, Virgil D.

1979 "Russia, 1917: reluctant revolutionaries succumbed to the paradox of revolution." *Social Science Journal* 16:21-30.

Discusses the failure of the Mensheviks to institutionalize their mobilized revolutionary forces and the subsequent success of the Bolsheviks in accomplishing this task. Medlin comments: "An excellent discussion of revolutionary mobilization is Charles Tilly From Mobilization to Revolution" (Medlin, p. 28).

Merkel, Peter H.

1977 "The study of European political development." *World Politics* 29:462-475.

A review article covering five books including The Rebellious Century. Merkel notes that Charles Tilly is among the foremost historical sociologists of violence. He describes Tilly's emphasis on the rational character of collective violence and Tilly's critique of collective behavior concepts. Merkel questions some of the conceptual framework but describes The Rebellious Century as "a fascinating

book full of insights and worthwhile information"
(Merkl, p. 472).

Merkl, Peter H.

1977 "Wohin Steuert die Amerikanish Politische Wissen-
schaft." Zeitschrift Fur Politik . . . 24:163-194.

Reviews the behavioral school of thought in Political Science. Describes Charles Tilly as a non-behaviorist and lists several of his works (Merkl, p. 178).

Monti, Daniel J.

1976 "The Rebellious Century, 1830-1930." "The Strategy of Social Protest." Social Forces 54:943-944.

Brief book reviews. While questioning if the analysis has shown whether "collective violence precedes or follows the successful efforts of aggrieved parties to secure the reforms they desire," Monti concludes: "The student of social history can find much to be grateful for in these books if he is interested in using sociological techniques to study historical data" (Monti, p. 944).

Monti, Daniel J.

1978 "Intergroup Conflict and collective violence: the case of New York City, 1960-July 1964." Journal of Political and Military Sociology 6:147-162.

Monti analyzed news stories dealing with racial conflict in New York City during the period 1960-1964. Monti feels "that such conflicts may be a necessary precondition for violent outbursts." He notes that both Tilly and Gamson have shown that deteriorating relations among parties to a conflict frequently precede confrontations (Monti, p. 147).

Monti, Daniel J.

1979 "Patterns of conflict preceding the 1964 riots. Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 23:41-62.

A study of racial conflict in New York City between 1960-1964. The author sampled the New York Times during this period to study "exchanges" between minority leaders, public officials and non-minority actors. Monti finds that his results support "solidarity theories" which view violence as related to other types of collective action adopted by groups in pursuit of common goals--violence is merely an extension of more conventional modes of decision making. He finds little support for the "breakdown theory." Monti describes both Tilly's suggestive comments on the links between disruptive strategies and success and failure (Monti, p. 44) and Gamson's discussion of the importance of organizational internal relationships in determining behavior (Monti, p. 45).

Morton, A. L.

1978 "The Rebellious Century." Science and Society 42:
94-97.

A favorable review of The Rebellious Century. Morton commends the Tillys for their rejection of the "breakdown theory" and for their presentation of the "solidarity theory." He notes with approval their conclusion that "actions which are not in themselves violent become so as a result of provocations instigated by those in authority" (Morton, p. 96). Morton also finds revealing the section dealing with violence in Italy and Germany in which the Tillys "show convincingly that while in all other cases violence was swiftly and brutally suppressed the Fascists were not only tolerated but actively assisted by the forces of the state" (Morton, p. 97).

Mueller, Carol M.

1978 "Riot violence and protest outcomes." Journal of Political and Military Sociology 6:47-63.

A study of seventy-seven riot cities during the period 1967-68. Mueller finds that authorities responded in two distinct ways: 1) with symbolic reassurances and 2) with long term commitments to the black community. She concludes: "these data suggest that unofficial use of collective violence as a political resource for the relatively power-

less requires a propitious set of circumstances in which public sympathy for the grievances of protesters offsets the illegitimacy of violence" (Mueller, p. 61). The author acknowledges her indebtedness to Tilly and Gamson.

Muller, Edward N.

1977 "Mass politics: focus and participation." American Behavioral Scientist 21:63-86.

A review of recent literature devoted to political participation. Muller notes the recent emphasis on the study of the political participation of non-elites. He distinguishes between "democratic" participation and "aggressive" participation. The latter: 1) is anti-regime, deviating from legal or formal regime norms, 2) attempts to influence the government by inconveniencing or disrupting its normal functioning, and 3) involves group activity by non-elites. Muller draws heavily on the work of Charles Tilly. He states that Tilly finds that adverse circumstances, of themselves, do not play a significant role in aggressive participation in collective action. Muller, summarizing his reading of Tilly, notes the importance of organizational involvement, including the degree to which such organizations are gaining or losing power; their determination to resist compromising their claims,

and their willingness to engage in aggressive conflict with the agents of government. Muller contrasts these findings with those of Korpi who stresses motivational factors including the effects of relative deprivation.

Oberschall, Anthony

1978 "Theories of social conflict." Annual Review of Sociology 4:291-315.

A review of the "two principal approaches to conflict theory" which the author describes as the "breakdown-deprivation" approach and the "solidarity-mobilization" approach. Oberschall notes that in the past, sociologists have viewed violence as a form of deviant and irrational behavior. But he describes an emerging rival, "Solidarity-Mobilization" theory which views conditions that lead to violence as essentially the same as those that produce other forms of collective action. Violence from this perspective can therefore be viewed as purposeful and political. Oberschall next discusses Tilly's proposal for a general model of structures of domination. In this model, the government controls the principal means of coercion. There are two contending forces: members of the polity who are favored in the structure of domination and who have easy access to government, and challengers who attempt to modify the initial structure of domination. Oberschall describes Tilly's work as

especially promising for uncovering relationships between mobilization and forms of collective action. Oberschall goes on to outline the achievements of Gamson (The Strategy of Social Protest) in linking mobilization variables, the forms of collective action, and outcome variables.

O'Brien, David J.

1979 "The sociological perspective and the liberal democratic model." *Social Science Quarterly* 58:436-448.

O'Brien notes that sociological theory has tended to ignore the single individual, whom he describes as a being in pursuit of specific rational goals, and has instead followed the functionalists with their preoccupation with societal order or the neo-marxists with their concern for material conditions. However, O'Brien states that recently a number of sociologists have begun to deal with the problem of individual choice and purposive action. He describes the research findings of William Gamson who he notes has "found it useful to complement traditional sociological perspectives with the concept of rational self-interested man, in order to deal with practical issues like mobilization for collective action" (O'Brien, p. 446).

Pasquino, Gianfranco

1976 "Charles, Louise, Richard Tilly, The Rebellious Century 1830-1930." *Revista Italiana de Scienza Politica* 6:593-595.

See Appendix.

Pitcher, Brian L. and Robert L. Hamlin and Jerry L. L. Miller

1978 "The diffusion of collective violence." *American Sociological Review* 43:23-35.

The authors maintain that past explanations have emphasized social conditions and psychocultural stimuli in explaining violence. Their model attempts to demonstrate that aggression is both instigated and inhibited by the social learning process and they argue that there is a link between the timing and the contagion of violence. They view with approval the work of the Tillys analyzing time-series data related to various instances of violence but suggest that studies of collective action should not be limited to groups of fifty or more since they believe lesser forms of violence are sometimes a prelude to more serious forms in a kind of escalating process.

Powell, Michael

1979 "Anatomy of a counter-bar association: the Chicago Council of Lawyers." *American Bar Foundation Research Journal* 1979:501-541.

Describes the history of the Chicago Council of Lawyers, a reform-oriented counter-bar association founded in 1969. Powell finds that the Council, because it lacks close ties with powerful institutions can afford to take strong stands on controversial issues. The existence of this counter-bar association has also caused the Chicago Bar Association to reconsider its position on controversial issues and to provide for greater participation in its activities by younger lawyers. Powell notes that the Council has projected an alternative point of view that "encourages the demystification of the profession and increases the discretion of the public and of policy makers" (Powell, p. 539). Powell cites William Gamson's The Strategy of Social Protest as a valuable source of information on the success or failure of protest organizations. In particular, he notes Gamson's discussion of financial problems experienced by protest organizations as well as the latter's discussion of difficulties experienced in transferring leadership from one individual to another in these organizations (Powell, pp. 521, 528).

Reddy, William M.

1979 "The batteurs and the informer's eye: a labour dispute under the French Second Empire." History Workshop: A Journal of Socialist Historians 7:30-44.

Describes workers' activities as reported by a government informer during the Second Empire. The informer spied on a category of millhand called bat-teurs. Reddy cites the work of the Tillys, including The Rebellious Century, in his discussion of strike activity in France during this period.

Reinke, Herbert

1977 "Charles Tilly, Louise Tilly and Richard Tilly, The Rebellious Century, 1830-1930." Kolner Zeitschrift Fur Soziologie 29:605-6.

See Appendix.

Ross, R. J.

1977 Journal of Voluntary Action Research 6:139

Not available.

Rudé, George

1976 "The Rebellious Century, 1830-1930." American Journal of Sociology 82:449-551.

Rude suggests that popular ideology should be considered as an element motivating protest movements. He praises the novel and rigorous research methods employed by the Tillys and expresses a desire to see them apply their analysis to the "past forty-five years" (Rude, p. 451).

Schellenberg, James A.

- 1977 "Area variation of violence in Northern Ireland."
Sociological Focus 10:69-78.

A study of the incidences of violence in Northern Ireland. The author finds that those areas with the ability to mobilize and sustain a collective challenge to political authority are the areas most marked by violence. Schellenberg indicates that the "deprivation" theory is not as useful in exploring violence as the "resource mobilization" theory.

Schumaker, Paul D.

- 1975 "Policy responsiveness to protest group demands."
Journal of Politics 37:488-521.

Schumaker reviewed the degree of responsiveness by local political systems in ninety-three protest incidents. He concludes that attaining favorable policy responses is enhanced by adopting a non-militant behavior but cautions that the relationship is rather weak and that he is only describing policy responsiveness and not impact responsiveness. Schumaker also cautions that he has not examined the types of behavior most useful for building power resources to be used in future dealings within the political system. He cites Gamson's work as providing a broad theoretical overview of the role of discontented groups in the political process.

Schumaker, Paul D.

1978 "The scope of political conflict and the effectiveness of constraints in contemporary urban protest." *Sociological Quarterly* 19:168-184.

Examines the effects of direct action tactics and violence in 212 cases of protest activity. Schumaker finds that direct action tactics are least effective when third parties are involved because direct action alienates these supporters. He finds that direct action tactics are most effective when third parties are not involved or are involved and unsupportive. In most of his cases, he finds that constraints are not effective but points out that Gamson has found that those groups that use "violence, strikes and other constraints have better than average success rates" (Gamson, 1975, p. 37) and that Tilly has concluded that very few "initially powerless groups accomplish any significant part of their objectives without some involvement in violence" (Tilly, 1975; p. 283).

Shupe, Anson D. Jr.

1979 "Social participation and voting turnout: the case of Japan." *Comparative Political Studies* 12:229-256.

Shupe notes that many studies show a positive relationship between participation in formal organiza-

tions and political participation. He finds that much of this literature has a pluralist orientation that "stresses the importance of diverse organizations, cross-cutting all segments of American society, for promoting democracy." However, he points out that a number of critics including William Gamson "have indicated the limitations of this model for explaining the process and conflicts in American politics." In Japan, Shupe found that formal organizational participation promoted most forms of political participation but did not correlate with voting, in fact, "voting was positively associated with negative political orientations due to conflicts inherent in the Japanese political culture" (Shupe, pp. 248-249).

Sigelman, Lee

1979 "Understanding political instability . . . "
Comparative Political Studies 12:205-225.

Sigelman examines Huntington's theory of political instability and finds that there is little empirical support to validate Huntington's conclusions. Sigelman maintains that it is fruitless to subject Huntington's core ideas to further tests. Sigelman cites with approval Tilly's suggestion that what is needed is a more disciplined brand of theorizing "with global concepts disaggregated into

their component dimensions . . . and interrelationships between these dimensions carefully specified" (Sigelman, p. 225).

Simons, Herbert W.

1976 "Changing notions about social movement." Quarterly Journal of Speech 62:425-430.

Includes a generally favorable review of The Strategy of Social Protest. Simons states: "Gamson takes on the dominant doctrines of the pre-sixties-- pluralism is his special Goliath--and refutes their empirical claims" (Simons, p. 427).

Skocpol, Theda and Margaret Somers

1978 "The Rebellious Century." Sociology and Social Research 62:484-487.

The reviewers suggest that more attention should be devoted to class-based conflicts and to peaceful forms of collective action. However, they conclude: "The Tilly's accomplishment in reorienting the view of collective action from irrationality and violence to the collective bases of political conflict is a significant one" (Skocpol, p. 487).

Skocpol, Theda

1979 "Old regimes and revolutionary crises in France, Russia and China." Theory and Society 7:7-95.

Skocpol maintains that Marxist theorists, "relative deprivation" theorists and "resource mobilization" theorists view the state as primarily an arena in which social conflicts are resolved. However, Skocpol concludes that the state can be an "autonomous structure with a logic and interests of its own, not necessarily equivalent to, or fused with, the interests of the dominant class in society or the full set of member groups in the polity" (Skocpol, p. 9).

Smith, J. Harvey

1978 "Agricultural workers and the French wine-growers' revolt of 1907." Past and Present 79:101-125.

An analysis of the "revolt" in the South of France in which small, independent wine-growers unite with vine-workers in support of a fair market price for wine. Smith finds the basis for this cooperative action in the re-emergence of the traditional social unity among villagers along with a "mutual distrust of the capitalist" (Smith, p. 113). He concludes that the workers and small growers forced the French government to assist them or risk "revolutionary" uprisings. Smith notes that his analysis draws on the work of Charles Tilly "concerning the tendency of mass movements in France to engage in collective mobilization for political gains and power-

bargaining with the state and with other contending groups" (Smith, p. 125).

Smith, Jan

1976 "Communities, associations and the supply of collective goods." American Journal of Sociology 82:291-308.

A study of the capacity of groups to supply themselves with collective goods. Smith notes that William Gamson and Charles Tilly have challenged the collective behavior concept of violence as a form of "irrational" behavior. Smith states that the collective behavior concept has been found to be empirically inaccurate but has been supported because it was compatible with an ideology supporting the status quo (Smith, p. 296).

Snyder, David and William R. Kelly

1976 "Industrial violence in Italy, 1878-1903." American Journal of Sociology 82:131-162.

The authors used data describing six thousand strikes to study violence and its consequences. Snyder and Kelly state that their findings indicate that violent strikes are more likely to fail. However, they note that Gamson's data in The Strategy of Social Protest shows a positive relationship between violence and success as does the data in Shorter and

Tilly's "The Shape of Strikes in France, 1830-1960" Snyder, p. 137). Snyder and Kelly also describe their multivariate reanalysis of Gamson's results which, they indicate, supports Gamson's original findings (Snyder, p. 159). Snyder and Kelly conclude that additional factors such as size or duration may determine the effectiveness of violence.

Snyder, David

1976 "Theoretical and methodological problems in the analysis of governmental coercion and collective violence." *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 4:277-293.

Snyder criticizes both the "relative deprivation" theory and the "resource mobilization" theory as these are used in the analysis of collective violence. He maintains that both theories ignore causal aspects of the states involvement in instances of collective violence and that both neglect to treat events over a period of time. Snyder frequently cites the work of Charles Tilly and notes: "Gamson's (1975) strategy of following a sample of protest groups through time is one method of assessing partisan responses to various governmental actions, as well as the converse" (Snyder, p. 291).

Snyder, David

1977 "Early North American strikes: a reinterpretation."
Industrial and Labor Relations Review 30:325-341.

Snyder finds that most studies of strikes have attributed primacy in the determination of industrial conflict to economic factors. Snyder questions the primacy of the economic explanation. He emphasizes the importance of labor's organizational capacity to press its demands along with the influence of the political environment. Snyder acknowledges the contributions of Gamson particularly the latter's emphasis on the importance of organizational strength as a necessary condition for collective action and the contributions of Tilly relating to the effect of political variables (Snyder, pp. 330-331).

Snyder, David

1978 "A research agenda and some strategic contributions."
Journal of Conflict Resolution 23:499-534.

The author discusses what he considers to be the assets and weaknesses of "relative deprivation" and the "resource mobilization" theories. He compliments the "resource mobilization" group for having given attention to the dynamic processes relating to collective action and to the importance of political variables in determining the form and outcome of protest activity.

However, Snyder feels that too much attention has been focused on the conception of mobilization and that the role of the individual actors has been neglected. He questions whether the quantitative studies undertaken thus far validate the "resource mobilization" theory and calls for studies of collective violence in other cultures. Snyder notes the value of Gamson's The Strategy of Social Protest with its description of the conditions under which "challenge groups gain entry." He goes on to outline how Gamson "employs a wide variety of historical accounts and sampling procedures to generate an unbiased list of protest groups along with information on their characteristics." Snyder concludes that "Gamson's strategy approaches the ideal framework for generating data on mobilization processes" (Snyder, p. 519). Snyder raises the issue of reliability in regard to some of the accounts and notes the need to be able to sample data at regular time intervals but strongly advocates the use of Gamson's methodology in future studies. Snyder also suggests an experimental design where parameters may be constrained, noting that Gamson's effort "to induce rebellions--anticipated by his (1969) simulation game--is one promising approach" (Snyder, p. 518). Throughout the article, Snyder also cites the work of Charles Tilly.

Stearns, Peter N.

1979 "Charles Tilly. From Mobilization to Revolution."
American Historical Review 84:114-115.

Stearns finds that the "analysis (is) immensely well-informed" (Stearns, pp. 114-115). He notes with approval, Tilly's rejection of deprivation as an important factor in protest activity. Stearns suggests that additional forms of collective action need to be included in this type of analysis. He concludes by citing Tilly's work as "an example of how a good historian/sociologist addresses the social scientists among his constituency" (Stearns, p. 115).

Takayama, K. Peter and Susanne B. Darnell

1979 "The aggressive organization and the reluctant environment: the vulnerability of an inter-faith coordinating agency." Review of Religious Research 20:315-334.

A case history of an inter-faith coordinating agency. The agency received limited support from community churches because the churches' evangelical orientation militated against supporting a coordinating agency emphasizing social issues, particularly inter-racial issues, and because the congregational emphasis in the churches made them suspicious of any ecumenical organization. Takayama and Darnell describe how

the interaction of an organization with the wider community can result in certain constraints being imposed on organizational objectives. The authors cite the work of William Gamson in organizational analysis (Takayama, p. 329) and conclude that sociologists studying religious organizations have failed to consider the critical role of the organization's environment in shaping goals and structures.

Tannenbaum, Edward R.

1977 "Mobilized collective action." *Reviews in European History* 3:411-418.

A review of Charles Tilly's The Rebellious Century in which the reviewer comments: "An enormous amount of well-focused research went into this book" (Tannenbaum, p. 411). Tannenbaum goes on to note the plausibility of the Tilly's criticism of the "break-down" and "solidarity" theories. Tannenbaum believes that "the Tilly's sources and procedures are more impressive for France than for Italy and Germany . . ." noting that "Charles Tilly has been able to draw on his many pertinent studies of that country" (Tannenbaum, p. 412).

Traugott, Mark

1978 "Reconceiving social movements." *Social Problems* 26:38-49.

The author proposes the use of two criteria, "positive solidarity" and "antiinstitutional orientation" to guide research on social movements. Traugott acknowledges his indebtedness to the "resource mobilization" school stating: "Its members are establishing in practice, many of the points this paper attempts to develop theoretically" (Traugott, p. 39).

Useem, Bert

1977 "Peasant involvement in the Cuban revolution." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 5:99-111.

The author finds that social organizational factors were more important in accounting for peasant support for Castro's guerillas than psychological factors. Useem notes the importance of Tilly's studies in defining and describing "social organizational" factors (Useem, pp. 102-104).

Useem, Bert

1980 "Solidarity model, breakdown model and the Boston anti-busing movement." *American Sociological Review* 45:357-369.

Useem examines popular participation in the Boston anti-busing movement. He finds support for the contention of "solidarity" theorists that social cohesion can lead to greater protest activity. He also finds that data from his study supports the "break-

down" theorists hypothesis that discontent increases the likelihood of protest but that his data does not support their hypothesis that disorganization increases discontent. Useem notes the important role played by Charles Tilly in the development of "solidarity" theory (Useem, pp. 357,358) and comments favorably on Tilly's studies showing that relative deprivation cannot explain the fluctuations in the number of participants in social movements. (Useem, p. 359).

Useem, Michael

1976 "The power of protest." Harvard Educational Review 46:259-263.

Useem reviews The Power of Protest by Helen S. Astin, Alexander W. Astin and Alain E. Bayer and describes it as the work that is likely to stand as the definitive treatment of the student movement during the period 1968-1971. Useem notes that Bayer and the Astins in The Power of Protest conclude that there is a direct causal link between protest and change. Useem points out that Gamson in The Strategy of Social Protest has demonstrated the efficacy of protest in other settings (Useem, p. 261).

Walder, A. G.

1979 China Quarterly 79:568

See Appendix.

Ward, David

1976 "The Victorian slum: an enduring myth?" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 66:323-336.

Ward notes a tendency in the past to describe city slums as impoverished, isolated areas with a huge degree of deviancy. He finds that there is a heterogeneity among slum dwellers that is not adequately described in geographical theory which in the past has related social conditions to territorial patterns and has viewed urban protest as activity carried on by "dangerous classes" living in isolated slums. These notions tended not only to denigrate the poor but also to obscure established traditional distinctions among the lower social strata. Tilly, says Ward, has found that most of the leadership and support of collective protest among the English working class in the early Nineteenth Century was "provided by the most articulate and prestigious groups within the less affluent majority of urban residents" (Ward, p. 331). Ward frequently cites from other studies by Tilly and points with particular emphasis to Tilly's conclusion, corroborating his own findings, that protests are frequently purposeful reactions to specific issues rather than irrational spontaneous outbursts. Ward concludes that the concept of the slum as a place where people

live deviant lives in deprivation and social isolation is not valid when applied to modern cities and even lacked validity in the Victorian era.

Washburn, Philo C.

1976 "The strategy of social protest." Teaching Sociology 4:107-108.

A brief review that does not satisfactorily deal with the major themes in Gamson's work. The author concludes: "Gamson's methodological sophistication is likely to be lost on all but the most professionally oriented undergraduates" (Washburn, p. 108).

Washburn, Philo C.

1976 "Student protestors and gang delinquents: toward a theory of collective deviance." Sociological Focus 9:27-46.

The author views student protest as an instance of collective deviance and attempts to apply four theories of gang delinquency to the phenomenon. Washburn acknowledges however that Gamson has shown that social scientists have frequently treated political groups in a biased manner and that Gamson has demonstrated that one of the appeals of the "deviance" approach is that it can be used by opponents to discredit mass movements (Washburn p. 29).

Waterman, Harvey

1978 "Political mobilization and the case of Chile."
Studies in Comparative International Development
13:60-70.

The author notes that most works on collective political activity tend to focus on gross social, social-psychological or economic trends as determinants of behavior or to describe the outcomes as the result of strain or deprivation. Waterman stresses the need to give attention to concrete social structure and organization and to the collective basis of action. Pointing to the work of Tilly and Gamson as examples of studies built on a sound theoretical foundation, Waterman critically examines a recent article for the purpose of showing how a useful case study can be marred by a lack of conceptual clarity. The article, "Hypermobilization in Chile, 1970-73,"* is a study of the Allende regime and the difficulties it encountered in maintaining control over the actions of working-class groups. Landsberger and McDaniel conclude that mobilization can be counterproductive because it frequently cannot be controlled by those who

*Landsberger, Henry A. and Tim McDaniel
1976 "Hypermobilization in Chile, 1970-1973." World
Politics 28:502-541.

initiate it. However, Waterman maintains that Landsberger and McDaniel should have focused on the decision-making process in the unions and on the failure of the Allende government to make certain that it had the support of the unions it was attempting to mobilize. Waterman maintains that if the authors had used the "resource mobilization" perspective of The Rebellious Century and The Strategy of Social Protest, they would have described, more accurately, how the trade unions and their members took advantage of the weakness of the Allende government to pursue goals aimed at benefiting their membership (Waterman, p. 67).

Wehr, Paul

1979 "Peace and conflict processes: a research overview." *Armed Forces and Society* 5:467-486.

Reviews the work of those who are engaged in peace-oriented conflict research. In reviewing recent research relevant to conflict processes, Wehr discusses William Gamson's study, The Strategy of Social Protest, describing how challenge groups pursue goals relevant to their own self-interest in a rational manner (Wehr, p. 470).

Wellman, Barry

1979 "The community question: the intimate networks of East Yorkers." *American Journal of Sociology* 84: 1201-1231.

The author uses network analysis to describe a community. He focuses on linkages connecting 845 adult residents of East York, Toronto. Instead of membership in a single solidary group, members of the East York community are linked through multiple networks. Wellman discusses the widely-held conviction among both scholars and laymen that the "community" is "lost" because communal solidarities appear attenuated. Wellman rejects this conclusion. He notes that Tilly in From Mobilization to Rebellion finds evidence of "networks among . . . minorities seeking to maintain their resources against the claims of a centralizing state" (Wellman, p. 1205).

Wellman, Barry and Barry Leighton

1979 "Networks, neighborhoods and communities: approaches to the study of the community question." *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 14:363-390.

Proposes a network analytic approach to the study of community rather than using the neighborhood as the unit of analysis. Finds that the network approach is more meaningful because "neighborhood relationships persist but only as specialized components of the overall primary networks" (Wellman, p. 385). Wellman and Leighton note that their findings are related to Tilly's discussion of com-

munity disorders. Tilly, they find, has concluded that community disorders are frequently integral parts of "broader contentions for power by competing interest groups" (Wellman, pp. 379-80).

Williams, Robin M.

1976 "A neglected form of symbolic interactionism in sociological work: book talks back to author." *American Sociologist* 11:94-103.

As an outgrowth of writing a book on conflict and radicalism, the author finds that he has examined more critically some of his previously held beliefs and has rejected a number of them. Williams believes there is a need to subject problems of social change to rigorous analysis. He calls for a radicalism that is derived from empirically based analysis in place of a "rhetorically rich radicalism." He finds the work of Gamson suggestive including the latter's conclusion that challenge groups "rarely have sufficient resources for inducement and therefore must become unruly to be effective" and Gamson's dictum to consider not only the actions of potential partisans but also the responses of authorities (Williams, p. 90).

Williams, Robin M.

1976 "Relative deprivation versus power struggle? Tension and structural explanations of collective conflict." *Cornell Journal of Social Relations* 11:31-38.

Williams believes that both "deprivation" and structural factors are useful in describing collective conflict. He describes three sets of structural factors: type of stratification, institutional imbalance and organizational conditions and finds that these frequently interact with "levels and clusterings" of discontent. Williams makes frequent reference to the work of Gamson and Tilly (Williams, pp. 31-34).

Wilson, John

1976 "Strategy of social protest." Journal of Political and Military Sociology 4:167-169.

A favorable review of The Strategy of Social Protest by John Wilson who describes it as a "Tour de force of conceptual analysis and empirical research" (Wilson, p. 167). He concludes the review in the following manner: "There is a refreshing 'normalizing' function to this critique. Instead of conveniently dismissing social movements as irrational political responses to intensely frustrating conditions, we are expected to explicate the logic whereby political means and ends are connected; instead of assuming that groups will form to protect the interests of communities of people, we are told to examine the available incentive systems; instead of believing that organizations somehow grow, we

are instructed to look at how problems of internal control and discipline are managed

There is a pragmatism and realism about this which reflects not only the experience of many contemporary writers in their own community organization efforts but also their desire to avoid patronizing the masses" (Wilson, pp. 168-169).

Winwood, Michael G.

1977 "Social change and community work: where now?"
Community Development Journal 12:4-14.

The author discusses models of social change based on three "traditions" of community work and concludes that the "social movements tradition" is the most viable. Winwood maintains that this tradition has a clearer grasp of how change can be effected because it seeks not only to affect the allocation of resources but more importantly the control of resources. Cites Gamson's The Strategy of Social Protest in the section on political change (Winwood, p. 10).

Wohlstein, Clark and Ronald T. McPhail

1979 "Judging the presence and extent of collective behavior from film records." Social Psychology Quarterly 42:76-81.

The authors present criteria and procedures for

studying one element of collective behavior in social movements--"collective locomotion" or marching. Wohlstein and McPhail relate their study to the "resource mobilization" perspective citing the work of Gamson and concluding that it "is reasonable to posit a direct relationship between the extent of prior and ongoing mobilization . . . and the extent of coordinated collective behavior that obtains." They conclude that the process of mobilization including "collective locomotion" is a "continuum of coordinated activities" (Wohlstein, p. 80).

Zald, Mayer N. and Michael A. Berger

1978 "Social movements in organizations: coup d'etat, insurgency and mass movements." American Journal of Sociology 83:823-861.

Uses the "resource mobilization" perspective in examining organizational change and conflict.

Three forms are distinguished: coup d'etat, bureaucratic insurgency and mass movements. Zald and Berger draw on Gamson's work particularly the latter's description of linkages between authorities, partisans and reference elites (Zald, p. 829).

Zelditch, Morris Jr.

1978 "Review essay: outsiders politics." American Journal of Sociology 83:1514-1520.

A review of The Strategy of Social Protest. Zelditch notes that Gamson has shown a relationship between riots and rational decision making, calculated consequences, and rational allocation of means to ends. Or put more succinctly, that Gamson has shown that "riots are merely politics by other means." Zelditch concludes, "This is a bold, exciting, important book" (Zelditch, p. 1517).

Zimmermann, Ekkart

1979 "Crises and crises outcomes: toward a new synthetic approach." *European Journal of Political Research* 7:67-115.

An attempt to develop a new theoretical model for the explanation of crises and crises outcomes by drawing on existing theoretical approaches and relating them to each other. Provides a theoretical specification of relationships among key variables likely to explain the occurrence of political crises and the persistence of politics. Outlines a simple operational model for studying crises and crises outcomes using data from democratic industrial society, 1900-1975. Zimmermann notes that the Tillys have used comparable data in several works including The Rebellious Century and citing from an earlier study by Charles Tilly, "Collective Violence in European Perspective," he comments: "Tilly

shows . . . that collective violence occurred quite frequently in France during 1830-60 and 1930-60 without necessarily leading to a crises of the political system. Thus, political violence in itself is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for a crisis to occur" (Zimmermann, p. 75).

APPENDIX

Walder, Andrew G.

1979 "Press accounts and the study of Chinese society."
The China Quarterly 79:568-592.

Walder reviews the use of content analysis as a methodological tool and then focuses on the problems inherent in using this technique to study Chinese society. He outlines a research strategy for avoiding errors and applies this strategy in an analysis of Stephen Andors' study of change in enterprise management in China (The China Quarterly, 1974, 59:435-476). Noting that Andors is the first to use content analysis as a tool for the study of social organizational change in China, Walder finds that Andors has failed to define with clarity the descriptive criteria used in his study. Walder demonstrates that a different reading of Andors' categories could produce findings that conflict with Andors' results. In his description of the methodology of content analysis, Walder notes the contributions made by William Gamson and Charles Tilly. He describes Tilly's use of coded newspaper accounts to provide the "core of our knowledge about the history of collective violence in Europe" and

he cites Tilly's use of "aggregate comparisons" to "detect content bias" in newspaper accounts (Walder, pp. 575, 577). Walder notes Gamson's use of random sampling techniques to deal with the voluminous amount of printed material that served as data for his seminal study of challenging groups in the American polity (Walder, p. 80).