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SELECTED READINGS ON POLITICAL CHANGE
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compiled by Charles Tilly
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This is a biased list, concentrating on three topics: 1) the relationship between changing patterns of conflict within polities and big structural transformations like urbanization and industrialization; 2) the formation and domination of national states; 3) the forms of collective action. It is broad enough to provide starting points for a great variety of individual investigations. It emphasizes work in English, recent writings, studies of modern Europe, and items which themselves contain substantial bibliographies. It neglects statements of program, ideologies and political philosophies. It underemphasizes cities and urbanization, because a companion bibliography ("A Selected Bibliography on Communities, Cities and Urbanization") deals with them. The headings are:

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1. Classic General Statements on Social Change

Auguste Comte, *Cours de philosophie positive*, translated as *The Positive Philosophy*, several editions.

Emile Durkheim, *De la division du travail social*, several editions; translated by George Simpson as *The Division of Labor in Society* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1947).


Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, many editions.

Oswald Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, translated as *The Decline of the West*, many editions; especially volume II.


Max Weber (Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, eds.), *Economy and Society* (New York: Bedminster Press; 3 vols.)

2. More Recent Efforts at Synthesis

Gabriel Almond & G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966). One of the best conceptual statements in the Comparative Politics tradition, but short on propositions.


A.V. Chayanov, The Theory of Peasant Economy (Homewood, Ill.: Richard C. Irwin, 1966). A translation of an economic classic which is quite relevant to the analysis of change in the contemporary rural world.

James D. Cockcroft, Andre Gunder Frank, Dale L. Johnson, Dependence and Underdevelopment: Latin America's Political Economy (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1972). A collection of articles by the three authors plus a few collaborators, stressing dependency theories.

Frantz Fanon, Les Damnés de la terre (Paris: Maspero, 1970, and many other editions; in English: The Wretched of the Earth). The cool analytic rage of a revolutionary psychiatrist in and of Algeria.


Seymour Martin Lipset, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution: Change and Persistence in Social Structures* (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1970; revised edn.). Although the title leaves no territory unclaimed, the book actually encloses essays dealing with international differences in political systems, the sources of some kinds of political movements, and the bases of cleavage in different western countries, especially the United States.


Talcott Parsons, *Societies: Comparative and Evolutionary Perspectives* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966); see Nisbet (below) for a telling critique of this and other "developmental" analyses.


3. Commentaries, Compendia and Reviews of Thought


Emile Durkheim (Kurt Wolff, ed., with a number of critical essays by other writers), Essays on Sociology and Philosophy (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960).

Geoffrey Eley and Keith Nield, "Why Does Social History Ignore Politics?" Social History, 5 (no. 2, 1980), 249-272. The content refutes the title, but the review of recent British and German work is helpful, and some of the criticism well-aimed.


Michael J. Kelly, and Thomas H. Mitchell, "Violence, Internal War and Revolution: A Select Bibliography" (Ottawa: Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, 1977; Bibliography Series, 3; revised version).

Reinhart Koselleck, ed., Studien zum Beginn der modernen Welt (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1977). Proving that even historians, who should know better, sometimes believe in "modernization".


William H. Shaw, Marx's Theory of History (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978). Marx comes off as more of a technological determinist than most people will find plausible at first blush, but Shaw certainly makes a case for his proposition that, in Marx, relations of production (themselves defined by the connection between ownership and work) are a direct consequence of forces of production (i.e. labor power x means of production).


4. Detecting and Indexing Social Change and its Consequences


Edward Azar, and Joseph Ben-Dak, eds., Theory and Practice of Events Research (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1973). Technical papers dealing with almost exclusively with international relations (e.g., event = diplomatic interchange).


Heinrich Best and Reinhard Mann, eds., Quantitative Methoden in der historisch-sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschung (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1977). Review, from a German perspective but quite international in scope, of quantitative approaches to history and social change.


Phyllis Deane and W.A. Cole, British Economic Growth, 1688-1959 (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, Department of Applied Economics, Monographs, 8; 2d. edn.). Description and quantitative material. A sourcebook.


Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard, eds., Historical Studies Today (New York:


Oskar Morgenstern, *On the Accuracy of Economic Observations* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1965). Although written by a leading mathematical economist, it could have been called: On the Inaccuracy...

Paul J. Müller, ed., *Die Analyse prozess-produzierter Daten* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1977). As you have detected, "process-produced data" is a German name for intelligible by-products of social routines, German historians are much interested in systematizing their use, and Klett-Cotta does a lot of the German publishing on the subject.


Stein Rokkan, ed., *Comparative Research Across Cultures and Nations* (Paris: Mouton, 1968). Less on specific countries and research programs, more on general problems of comparison, than the Merritt and Rokkan collection above.


5. The Rise and Fall of States and Systems of States


Bertrand Badie and Pierre Birnbaum, Sociologie de l'Etat (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1979). Rethinking political development a) by rejecting developmental and evolutionary accounts of the state and b) drawing heavily on historical analyses.


Otto Hintze, *Staat und Verfassung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1962; 2d edn.). One of the most important statements from the German "historical school" of half a century ago.


Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1968). A set of closely-related essays presenting one of the clearer conceptions of "political development".


Kyung-Won Kim, *Revolution and International System: A Study in the Breakdown of International Security* (New York: N.Y.U. Press, 1970). Deals with the warmaking of the revolutionary French, in one of the few attempts we have to relate rigorously domestic politics and international conflict via real cases.


T.H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950). One of the outstanding statements of the view that the modern state tends increasingly to equalize its citizens and draw them into political life.


Goran Therborn, *What Does the Ruling Class Do When it Rules?* (London: NLB, 1978). If you don't like the title, you won't like the book; it's a thoughtful, widely-documented, ultimately inconclusive pair of essays on a) the dictatorship of the proletariat, and b) states and class power.


6. The European Experience in Making States


Bernard Guénoné, "Y a-t-il un Etat des XIVe et XVe siècles?" *Annales; Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 26 (March-April, 1971), 399-406.


A.D. Liublinskaya, *French Absolutism: The Crucial Phase, 1620-1629* (Cambridge:


Arthur Marwick, War and Social Change in the Twentieth Century. A Comparative Study of Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States (London: Macmillan, 1974). Concludes that war stimulated many changes, some of them beneficial.


Regine Robin, "La natura dello stato alla fine dell' (Ancien Regime) Formazione sociale, state e transizione," Studi storici 14 (No. 3) (1973) 642-669. State of the question; not really so much about the state as about power structure.

Hans Rosenberg, Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience,

Thorstein Veblen, Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1966; first published in 1915). Veblen is always worth reading (do you know his sardonic work on American universities?), and here he gives us important insight into statism and capitalism.

Jacob Viner, "Power versus Plenty as Objectives of Foreign Policy, in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," World Politics, 1 (1948), 1-29.


7. Urbanization, Industrialization and Related Processes

REMINDER: See "A Selected Bibliography on Communities, Cities and Urbanization for much fuller listings. This set emphasizes European experience.


Rudolf Braun, "Early Industrialization and Demographic Change in the Canton of Zurich," in Charles Tilly, ed., Historical Studies of Changing Fertility (Princeton:

Gerald Breese, Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries (Englewood Cliffs: Princeton-Hall, 1966). Not really satisfactory as a synthesis, but the best tour d'horizon we have in English.


Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith, Becoming Modern (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974). One of the most extensive cross-national surveys of individual modernism ever perpetrated.


Hermann Kellenbenz, The Rise of the European Economy. An Economic History of Continental Europe from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976). Has the advantage not only of having been written by one of Germany's outstanding economic historians, but also of being organized chiefly around types of production rather than places or times periods.


Charles P. Kindleberger, Economic Growth in France and Britain (Cambridge: Harvard


Jurgen Kuczynski, Darstellung der Lage der Arbeiter in Frankreich von 1789 bis 1848 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1967).

Joseph Kulischer, Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1965; 2 vols.).


Quietly debunks much of the conventional wisdom about health care, and touts nutrition.


8. The Consequences—Especially Political—of Large-Scale Change


Volker Hunecke, "Die Neuere Literatur zur Geschichte der Italienischen Arbeiterbewegung," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 14 (1974), 543-592. With the minor inconvenience that you must know both German and Italian to get full value from it, this is a comprehensive review of recent work in Italian labor history.


Carl Jantke and Dietrich Hilger, eds., *Die Eigentumslosen. Der deutsche Pauperismus und die Emanzipationskrise in Darstellung und Deutungen der Zeitgenossischen Literatur* (Freiburg and Munich: Alber, 1965). Historical selections concerning the "culture of poverty" long before the term.


Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon, 1966). A grand comparison — and theoretical analysis — of the alternative forms of
modern politics and their origins.


Joan Nelson, "The Urban Poor: Disruption or Political Integration in Third World Cities?" World Politics, 22 (1970), 393-414, a literature review.


E.P. Thompson, "Eighteenth-Century English Society: Class Struggle without Class?" Social History 3 (1978), 133-165. One of the master's equivocal provocations.

Richard Tilly, Kapital, Staat und sozialer Protest in der deutschen Industrialisierung (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980). Essays running — as the title says — from capital formation to state economic policy to protest, all in 19th century Germany.


9. Specific Investigations of the Consequences of Large-Scale Change


J.D. Chambers, *The Vale of Trent, 1670-1800* (London: Cambridge University Press; Economic History Review, Supplements, III). A slim monograph, but an important one, on population movements and industrial activity before industrialization in the nineteenth-century sense.


Rénzo Del Carria, *Proletari senza rivoluzione* (Milan: Oriente, 1966; 2 vols.). An historical study of the Italian working class, with special emphasis (as the title says) on why the proletarian revolution failed to take place.


*Kommunistische Bewegung in der Preussischen Rheinprovinz 1820-1852,* (Hannover: Verlag fur Literatur und Zeitgeschehen, 1970). As the subtitle says, a careful chronicle of left organizations in the Rhineland up to and including the revolution of 1848.


François Furet, "Pour une définition des classes inférieures à l'époque moderne," Annales; Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations, 18 (1963), 459-474.

Clifford Geertz, Agricultural Involution (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963). About Java, in the immediate; about real processes which refuse to conform to unilinear theories, further along.


Mildred F. Kantor, ed., Mobility and Mental Health (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1965); good reviews of the literature.


Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost: England before the Industrial Age (New York: Scribner's, 1965).


Adam Przeworski, "Institutionalization of Voting Patterns, or is Mobilization a Source of Decay?" American Political Science Review, 69 (1975), 49-67.


10. Collective Action: General

This list stresses broad statements, but also includes a few focussed empirical studies which have broad implications.


Roberta Ash, Social Movements in America (Chicago: Markham, 1972). A brief left-leaning survey.


Maren Lockwood Carden, The New Feminist Movement (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1974). Emphasizes the division between segmented women's liberation and large-scale women's right groups.

S.D. Clark, Movements of Social Protest in Canada, 1640-1840 (University of Toronto Press, 1959). Social history, as done by a sociologist.


William A. Gamson, Power and Discontent (Homewood: Dorsey, 1968). A propositional general statement with strong applications to violent protests.


Svend Ranulf, Moral Indignation and Middle Class Psychology (New York: Schocken, 1974; first published in 1938). A thoughtful attempt to locate the self-righteousness of the Nazis in a much wider psycho-historical context.


Stein Rokkan, Citizens, Elections, Parties (Oslo: Universitets Forlaget, 1970). As the title suggests, diverse essays dealing with national politics in the modern era, but with considerable historical perspective.


11. Political Conflict and Revolution


Roderick Aya and Norman Miller, eds., The New American Revolution (New York: Free Press, 1971). A reader containing more than the usual proportion of then-young (and then-revolutionary) authors, featuring an epilogue by Christopher Lasch.


Crane Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution (N.Y.: Norton, 1938). The best known of the "natural history" statements; the paperback editions include annotated bibliographies.


Alessandro Cavalli and Alberto Martinelli, Il campus diviso (Padua: Marsilio, 1971). Two Italian sociologists who know the American scene give their analysis of Berkeley and related university conflicts.


Katherine Chorley, Armies and the Art of Revolution (London: Faber & Faber, 1943). One of the few books to bring out the critical place of armed force -- and its control -- in revolutions.

Gaetano Cingari, Giacobini e Sanfedisti in Calabria nel 1799 (Messina: d'Anna, 1957). How the French revolutionary wars activated class conflict in southern Italy.


Richard Cobb, The Police and the People (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970). Both the police and the people in question are French, during the half-century from the beginning of the Revolution. "The People in the French Revolution." Past and Present, 15 (1959), 60-72. See also his Second Identity, complete with essays, autobiography and previously anonymous TLS reviews, all beautifully written and argued without quarter.


Euclide de Cunha, Rebellion in the Backlands (several paperback editions). The origins of peasant war in Brazil.


Juan Díaz de Moral, Historia de las agitaciones campesinos anduluzas-Cordoba (Madrid: Libros del Bolsillo, 1969; 2nd edn.).


Friedrich Engels, Herr Eugen Duhring's Revolution in Science (often titled Anti-Duhring; many editions). Engels' most extensive statement on the political role of violence.


Anthony Fletcher, Tudor Rebellions (London: Longmans, 1968). There were more of them than you probably remember, and most of them had something to do with the great solidification of central power the Tudors were promoting.


Kenneth W. Grundy and Michael A. Weinstein, The Ideologies of Violence (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1974). A review of different conceptions and their political basis.


Pauline Hunt, *Gender and Class Consciousness* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1980). Painstaking effort to focus a large literature on a small number of experiences, with the aim of specifying when gender consciousness and class consciousness compete or coincide.


Chalmers Johnson, *Revolutionary Change* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966). Although still unsuccessful, the most coherent structural-functional statement on revolution so far.


V.I. Lenin, *State and Revolution*, (many editions).


Karl Marx, The Civil Wars in France and The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, both in many editions; Marx at his peak as a political analyst.


Eric A. Nordlinger, Conflict Regulation in Divided Societies (Cambridge: Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1972; Occasional Papers in International Affairs, 29).


Peter Paret and John W. Shy, Guerrillas in the 1960s. (N.Y.: Praeger, 1964). With more emphasis on strategy than on the origins of guerrillas.


Robert Reinders, "Militia and Public Order in Nineteenth-Century America," American

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (several paperback editions, 1968). The "Kerner Commission" statement on racism and ghetto rebellions in the U.S.


Richard E. Rubenstein, Rebels in Eden: Mass Political Violence in the United States (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970). A quick review of the past, a longer look at the present, with an eye to showing the solid political underpinnings of superficially senseless violence.


R.A. Schweitzer, "A Study of Contentious Gatherings in Early Nineteenth-Century


Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions. A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). A bold attempt to bring the state back into the process of revolution, and to extend Barrington Moore's arguments beyond where he left them.


conflict.


12. Industrial Conflict


Eric Batstone, Ian Boraston, and Stephen Frenkel, *The Social Organization of Strikes* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978). Uses wide, wise observations in a British auto plant for a fine-textured analysis of the conditions leading to strikes ... and, for that matter,
non-strikes.


James E. Cronin, Industrial Conflict in Modern Britain (London: Croom Helm, 1979). Puts quantitative fluctuations at the national level into their political and economic context.


Robert Gubbels, *La grève, phénomène de civilisation* (Brussels: Institut de Sociologie, Université Libre, 1962). The argument is fuzzy, but a lot of interesting information is jammed in.

Wallace Hendricks, "Labour market structure and union wage levels," *Economic Inquiry* 13 (1975), 401-416.


Walter Korpi, *The Working Class in Welfare Capitalism: Work, Unions and Politics in Sweden* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978). As Kirsten Gronbjerg said in the *American Journal of Sociology* (July, 1981), "... and important book on several grounds: its focus is central to Marxist theory; it is a study of an advanced welfare state where workers have considerable political influence; it is a study of union politics; and, finally, it is an important contribution to the sociology of work."

James W. Kuhn, "Strikes and Australia's Industrialization," *Australian Quarterly*, 28


Philip Taft and Philip Ross, "American Labor Violence: Its Causes, Character and Outcome," in Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr, eds., *Violence in America:


NOTE: A large number of the readings under other headings deal with industrial conflict; these are the ones which concentrate on strikes and similar events.

13. Quantitative Studies of Conflict

Note: This list can be short, because the bibliography in Gurr, Why Men Rebel, provides excellent coverage of this sort of writing up to 1970.


Separates correlates of frequency from correlates of intensity.

Edward N. Muller, Aggressive Political Participation (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979). A German survey provides information on individual differences in involvement in protest, agitation, etc.


Barbara Salert and John Sprague, The Dynamics of Riots (Ann Arbor: InterUniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1980). Formal models and simulations of violence levels by time, given thresholds, uncertainty, and police-civilian interaction.

Pitirim A. Sorokin, Social and Cultural Dynamics (N.Y.: American Book Co., 1937; several later editions), vol. III: Fluctuation of Social Relationships, War and Revolutions. Sorokin is still worth reading -- in this case more for critical comments, proposals and methods than for the results of his quantitative analyses.


Charles Tilly and James Rule, Measuring Political Upheaval (Princeton: Center of International Studies, 1965). A number of the specific procedures proposed here are now obsolete, but the general approach still (I hope) makes some sense.

Quincy Wright, A Study of War (University of Chicago Press, 1942). A huge study of many, many wars.