SELECTED READINGS ON POLITICAL CHANGE

1982 Version

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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 such as 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 programs, 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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Andy Walder provided valuable additions to the 1981 version of this bibliography. I would be delighted to have more proposals for inclusion, exclusion, or alteration of items. The ideal contributions would be a) new annotations for items either badly described or not annotated in this edition; b) three or four of the best items in your area, with annotations and complete citations in the format of this bibliography. The bibliographies on Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East are particularly weak. Don't be embarrassed to include your own work!

I am grateful to Debby Snovak for a yeowoman effort in producing the machine-readable edition of the bibliography.
I. 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


James D. Cockcroft, André 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.


conflict and violence.


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


Lewis A. Coser & Otto N. Larsen, eds., The Uses of Controversy in Sociology (N.Y.: Free Press, 1976). Although the controversies are, well, useful, the book's long-term value comes from such essays as Theda Skocpol's "Explaining Revolutions" and Arthur Stinchcombe's "Marxist Theories of Power and Empirical Research".


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.


Alan Gilbert, Marx's Politics. Communists and Citizens (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1981). This time the jacket blurb is right: "Marx the man of action," reports Mark Poster, "emerges much more coherently and with greater verisimilitude in these pages than anywhere else I have seen."


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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).

Arthur L. Stinchcombe, Constructing Social Theories (N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1968). Holds up so well that we'll soon have to start calling it a (or even the) classic text on the subject.


Raymond Williams, Marxism and Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977). Thoughtful discussion of Marxist approaches to literature by one of the great practitioners.
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.


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.


Henri J.M. Claessen & Peter Skalnik, eds., The Early State (The Hague: Mouton, 1978). By "early" these authors, anthropologists mainly, mean early in some evolutionary sequence.


Alvin W. Gouldner, ed., "Special Double Issue on State and Revolution," Theory and Society, 7 (nos. 1 & 2, 1979). A fine introduction to recent work on states and revolutions, with contributions by Gouldner, Theda Skocpol, James Scott, Walter Goldfrank, and others.


Eli Heckscher, Mercantilism (London: Allen and Unwin, 1962; 2d edn.). The standard statement on the various economic policies historically associated with rising states in the West.

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.


Jose Antonio Maravall, Estado Moderno y mentalidad social siglos XV a XVII (Madrid: Ediciones de la Revista de Occidente, 1972; 2 vols.).

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**


J.H. Elliott, Imperial Spain, 1469-1716 (London: Edward Arnold, 1963). Spain in its greatness and (only relative) decline.


Bernard Guenee, "Y a-t-il un Etat des XIVe et XVe siècles?", Annales; Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations 26 (March-April 1971), 399-406. Now there's a provocative question . . . and an interesting answer.


Martin O. Heisler, ed., Politics in Europe. Structures and Processes in Some
Postindustrial Democracies (N.Y.: David McKay, 1974). A loosely collaborative effort to work out connections between national policy and international relations.


R.H. Hilton, ed., The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism (London: Verso, 1978). Sweezy, Dobb, Hobsbawm, ... the great British debate and the great British debaters, neatly edited by one of the major participants.

M.E. James, Change and Continuity in the Tudor North. The Rise of Thomas First Lord Wharton (York: St. Anthony's Press, 1965; Borthwick Papers, no. 27). Family, connection, and Tudor rule from Henry VIII to Mary Tudor, including the Pilgrimage of Grace.


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


Henri Pirenne, Early Democracies in the Low Countries (New York: Harper & Row, 1963; originally published in 1915). One of the lesser works of one of the masters.


Regine Robin, "La natura dello stato alla fine dell' (Ancien Regime). Formazione sociale, stato 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.


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.


Ronald Aminzade, Class, Politics, and Early Industrial Capitalism. A Study of Mid-Nineteenth-Century Toulouse, France (Albany: State University of New York Press. Not only good history, but also reflective theory.


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.


the various processes by which settlements disappeared in preindustrial Europe.


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.


E.L. Jones and S.J. Woolff, eds., Agrarian Change and Economic Development: The

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.


Herbert Kisch, Die hausindustriellen Textilgewerbe am Niederrhein vor der industriellen Revolution. Von der ursprunglichen zur kapitalistischen Akkumulation (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981). When published earlier as scattered essays, one of the origins of current debates on primitive accumulation via rural industry.


Jürgen Kuczynski, Darstellung der Lage der Arbeiter in Frankreich von 1789 bis 1848 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1967). Old, but still useful, overview.


Yves Lequin, Les ouvriers de la région lyonnaise (1848-1914) (Lyon: Presses
Universitaires de Lyon, 1977; 2 vols.). A fine analysis of city-hinterland interaction in industrialization, in addition to its subtle treatment of working-class politics.


units in the analysis of industrialization.


Gabriel Tortella Casares, *Los orígenes del capitalismo en España: Banca, industria y...*

Ya. E. Vodarskii, Promishlennie seleniia tsentral'noi Rossii v period genezisa i razvitiia kapitalizma (Moscow: Nauka, 1972). Russia, too, had a version of rural capitalism.


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


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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.


Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society. Modernizing the Middle East* (N.Y.: Free Press, 1956). One of the most influential of the communication-mobilization analyses back in the days of development.


statements of developmental concepts, arguments, and research programs, as of the late 1950s.

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


James L. Payne, Labor and Politics in Peru (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1965). Good on the intentional use of demonstrations and violence as bargaining. Albert Hirschman, however, uses it as an example of "paradigms as a hindrance to understanding".


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

Louise A. Tilly and Charles Tilly, eds., Class Conflict and Collective Action (Beverly

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.


Roger A.E. Wells, Dearth and Distress in Yorkshire, 1793-1802 (York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York, 1977; Borthwick Papers, no. 52). Exemplary analysis of the politics and economics of crisis in an industrial region.


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.


Renzo Del Carria, Proletari senza rivoluzione (Milan: Oriente, 1964; 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.


Dieter Dowe, Aktion und Organization. Arbeiterbewegung, Sozialistische und Kommunistische Bewegung in der Preussischen Rheinprovinz 1820-1852, (Hannover: Verlag für 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.
Rolf Engelsing, Zur Sozialgeschichte deutscher Mittel- und Unterschichten (Gottingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht 1973). Living conditions, literacy, domestic service... and more.

M.I. Finley and Dennis Mack Smith, A History of Sicily (London: Chatto and Windus, 1968; 3 vols.). Straight history so clear and insightful that it constantly raises questions bearing on the nature of political power and conflict.


Francois 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.


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


splendid bibliographies and reflective syntheses.


10. Collective Action: General

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


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11. Political Conflict and Revolution

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Michel Amiot and others, La violence dans le monde actuel (Paris: Desclee de Brourer for Centre dlEtudes de la Civilisation Contemporaine, 1968). Dialogues and monologues on the meaning(s) of today's violence.


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. See also his Second Identity, complete with essays, autobiography and previously anonymous TLS reviews, all beautifully written and argued without quarter.


Friedrich Engels, Herr Eugen Dühning'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.


Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr, eds., Violence in America (several


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.


Eric Hoffer, The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements (N.Y.: New American Library, 1951). One of the most influential (and, to my mind, wrongest) statements of the "mass society" interpretation.


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.


Reidar Larsson, Theories of Revolution, From Marx to the First Revolution (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1970). A close review of Marxist theories and theorists.


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


John Lofland & Michael Fink, Symbolic Sit-Ins. Protest Occupations at the California Capitol (Washington: University Press of America, 1982). An attempt to identify a separate category of non-violent protest politics and its repertoire. See also Lofland, Crowd Lobbying: An Emerging Tactic of Interest Group Influence in California (Davis: Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California, Davis, 1982).


Reinhard Mann, Zur Soziologie des Widerstandes im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland, photoduplication (Cologne: Institut fur Angewandte Sozialforschung, Universität zu Köln, 1979).


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.


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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.

Salvatore Francesco Romano, Storia della mafia (Milan: Sugar, 1963). Still the best general historical account of mafia in Italy.


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.


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.


Pitirim A. Sorokin, Social and Cultural Dynamics (N.Y.: American Book Co., 1937; several later editions), vol. III: Fluctuations 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 & 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.

Charles Tilly, Louise Tilly, & Richard Tilly, The Rebellious Century, 1830-1930


12. Industrial Conflict


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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 finds its way in.

Wallace Hendricks, "Labour market structure and union wage levels," Economic Inquiry 13 (1975), 401-406.


Adriana Lay, Dora Marucco & Maria Luisa Pesante, "Classe operaia e scioperi: ipotesi per il periodo 1880-1923," Quaderni Storici 8 (1973), 87-147.
Canada," Relations industrielles 31 (1976), 139-145.


NOTE: A large number of the readings under other headings deal with industrial


Douglas Smith, "The Determinants of Strike Activity in Canada," Relations industrielles 27 (1972), 663-677, and "The Impact of Inflation on Strike Activity in
conflict; these are the ones that concentrate on strikes, lockouts, and similar events.

13. International Conflict, including War


Geoffrey Best, War and Society in Revolutionary Europe, 1770-1870 (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982). The alleged collapse of the old hierarchies leads to nationalism and war.


Robert Gilpin, War and Change in World Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). A very general effort, rich in bibliography, to apply the framework of collective choice to war and change.

John Gooch, Armies in Europe (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980). Deals generally and authoritatively with the period from 1789 to World War II.


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 actually beneficial.


POLITICAL CHANGE: 56
Jacob Viner, "Power versus Plenty as Objectives of Foreign Policy, in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," World Politics 1 (1948), 1-29.


