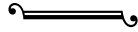# The Historiography
# of Social Movements

Halfway through the twentieth century, Fernand Braudel raised a call for establishing a productive dialogue between history and the social sciences whereby history might freely employ indispensable concepts that it was incapable of developing by itself, and the social sciences might acquire the temporal depth they lacked. He went on to state that there would be no social science 'other than by the reconciliation in a simultaneous practice of our different crafts'. The convergence of history with the social sciences was baptized 'social history' and later, in the United States, as 'historical sociology' to underline sociologists' shift towards historiography.[1]

At the first international congress of historical sciences held after the Second World War in Paris, 1950, Eric Hobsbawm was involved in the section on social history, 'probably the first in any historical congress', as he recalls in his autobiography.[2] It gained momentum in 1952 with the creation of the British journal *Past and Present,* which brought together a group of Marxist historians (Hobsbawm himself, Christopher Hill, Rodney Hilton, George Rudé, and E.P. Thompson), joined by such prominent scholars as Lawrence Stone, John Elliot and Moses Finley. Meanwhile, in the United States, historical sociology took its first steps forward with Barrington Moore, the Harvard teacher of Charles Tilly.

It would be very hard to find a sociologist who has taken better advantage of history than Tilly. With the exception of his first book, on the counter-revolution in the Vendée (published in 1964), long duration, which Braudel conceptualized as the history of structures, is the time-frame for Tilly's analysis, whether it be of social struggles in France, state systems, European revolutions, democracy or social movements worldwide. By 1970, George Rudé had already drawn attention to Tilly's articles 'on the concerns of manual and "pre-industrial" labour in nineteenth-century France'. Five years later, the historians from the

German Democratic Republic who developed the concept of 'proto-industrialization' to explain the transition from feudalism to capitalism recognized the debt this concept owed to the pioneering work carried out by 'American historians Franklin F. Mendels and Charles and Richard Tilly' in the 1960s.[3]

With their 250-year history, social movements have been common ground for historians and sociologists for half a century. They are the subject of the last book Charles Tilly published during his lifetime. Tilly was assisted by Lesley J. Wood, whom he asked to work on the book 'perhaps knowing that he wouldn't be able to finish it before his death'.[4] The exposition made here seeks to locate it within the problematic field where both disciplines came together, to present the previous developments of social history – particularly the work of Hobsbawm, Rudé and Thompson – and thus to place Tilly's studies in perspective in order to weigh his historiographical contribution and to comment on certain texts on social movements drawn from historical sociology, which, like those of Sidney Tarrow, have interacted with his work.

Social History on Stage

In 1959, two books were published that would bring their authors prominence as notable exponents of social history, at that time identified with the movement known as 'history from below'. I refer here to Hobsbawm's *Primitive Rebels* and Rudé's *The French Revolution*. One is concerned with elucidating the 'archaic forms of social movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' (banditry, millenarianism, etc.) and the other with discovering the motivations and the social composition of the revolutionary people.[5]

More than anyone else, Rudé strove to reveal the internal logic of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century popular protest in response to what the common people considered grievances, injustices or unilateral breaking of the covenant between social groups, or between them and the state. Taking a stand against the widely shared perception, originating in the nineteenth century and theorized by Gustave Le Bon's social psychology, to the effect that the crowd is irrational and guided by purely emotional impulses, and moreover questioning the supposition of methodological individualism according to which rational choice is an exclusively individual attribute, Rudé found patterns of behaviour that could explain collective action and the repertoire available for achieving collective goals. He dedicated his best-remembered book to the study of 'what sociologists have termed the "aggres-

sive mob" or the "hostile outburst" – to such activities as strikes, riots, rebellions, insurrections, and revolutions'.[6]

The French rural revolts in the eighteenth century, motivated by what Ernest Labrousse characterized as a subsistence crisis, were in no sense intended to overthrow the government or to bring down the established order; they simply sought to avoid hunger. In addition to this pressing need, in English cities the crowd protested against the employment of Irish labour, for the freedom of dissidents or for the repeal of certain laws that they considered unjust. The French Revolution triggered the mobilization of artisans who demanded better wages, (but ended up losing the right to freedom of association under the 1791 Le Chapelier Law), the mobilization of the popular classes who sought to stop the prices of basic foodstuffs rising and to practise direct democracy, and the reactionary revolts 'by the Church and king' (the Vendée) which were quelled by the government of the National Convention. In Britain, the nineteenth century saw the effectiveness of direct action, with the calculated reinforcement of threatening letters directed to owners and authorities through Luddism, Captain Swing and Rebecca's Daughters, the latter being unwilling to pay taxes they saw as unfair:

> Rebecca (as her historian reminds us) was strictly Sabbatarian: she never worked on Sundays and even studiously avoided late night sessions on Saturdays and Monday early mornings. She was remarkably discriminating: only toll gates considered to be 'unjust' were dealt with, particularly those studding the side roads, which, through their proliferation, placed a heavy extra cost on the carting of lime.[7]

In addition to the immediate motivations of social actors (hunger, work disputes, rights trampled on, etc.) and the organizations that arose (*compagnonnages*, cells, etc.), it was the forms under which they rationalized their social condition that was fundamental for Rudé. In order to do this, he turned to the concept of ideology, which he considered comprises two overlapping levels: on the one hand, 'inherent' ideas arising from everyday experience (a basic notion of rights, of justice or of what is proper); and, on the other hand, 'derived' ideas that come from structured political speeches (liberal, conservative or socialist). Synthesis of these was the role of intellectuals, in the Gramscian sense of the term.[8]

In 1969, Hobsbawm and Rudé published the classic text on the great revolt of English labourers confronting rural mechanization. After analysing the structure of the rising of 1830, its central episodes and following step by step the fate of the insurrectionists deported to Australia, they found that, in spite of the violence, 'the attacks were

directed against property, not people's lives'. Based on 'the silent consensus of the poor', the dogged struggle of Captain Swing represented the last resistance of the 'traditional society against its destroyers'. By 1870, modern trade unionism would take charge of the demands of farm workers. Thus, the spontaneous and horizontal protest of subordinates, who were apolitical and often anonymous, and who finally resorted to direct action in order to put pressure on the ruling classes, were clearing the ground for the workers' movement: organized, with visible leaderships and a structured ideology; disciplined, having explicit political demands; and using strikes as a bargaining tool.[9]

Outside the English-speaking world, the French historian Georges Lefebvre in *The Great Fear of 1789* (1932) studied peasants' expectations, attitudes and behaviour towards the Revolution. Albert Soboul, his most eminent disciple, says that Lefebvre changed the standpoint from which the phenomenon of revolution had been studied precisely by looking at it 'from below'. And, as far as he was concerned, he shifted the interest in rural areas to the city and made a complex characterization of the popular movement of Year II, that of the sans-culottes, which brought together artisans, the unemployed, small business owners and the little people who stood for the control of prices and practised direct democracy in 1793.[10]

We cannot end this brief review of the studies of preindustrial crowds without mentioning *The World Turned Upside Down* (1972), a formidable book by Christopher Hill on the egalitarian and radical sects (the Diggers, the Ranters and the Levellers, among others) who made the British monarchy tremble during the English Revolution. This popular alternative to the dominant aristocratic culture, which was preceded by the Gunpowder Plot (1605) perpetrated by Guy Fawkes, whose iconic mask hides the faces of postmodernist rebels and that anticipated the nineteenth-century Luddite movement, would undoubtedly have stood the world on its head:

> There was, however, another revolution which never happened, though from time to time it threatened. This might have established communal property, a far wider democracy in political and legal institutions, might have disestablished the state church and rejected the protestant ethic.[11]

An exploration of some of these historical 'dead ends' was the area of study of the twentieth century's most important social historian: E.P. Thompson.

Thompson's influential book on the formation of the English working class,[12] as well as his later studies on the crowd, took aim, among

other things, at the criteria historians used for classification – their distinctions between archaic and modern, preindustrial and industrial, pre-political and political social movements – because he believed that the working class originates from this crowd, as he held that working-class forms of consciousness were one of the substrates upon which the workers' traditions were founded.

In the 1960s, Thompson and Perry Anderson debated the contemporary crisis in English society and its underlying historical causes, leading them to inquire why there had been no revolution in England like the French Revolution and the consequences this had had for the later development of conservative political culture in the country. Broadly speaking, Anderson argued that the landed aristocracy gradually became an agrarian bourgeoisie (the source of the conservative gene that it never lost), while Thompson argued that the development of the *gentry* was relatively independent and contradictory, and that it was moreover erroneous to assume that there was an ideal type of bourgeois revolution (the French Revolution), in contrast with an accumulation of imperfect or degraded historical experiences. Where Anderson saw a submissive working class, Thompson highlighted the complexity of its culture and potential for conflict, as shown by Luddism.[13]

In the 1970s, in an effort to understand this, Thompson focused on the conflict between the upper and lower classes in the eighteenth century from which modern social classes emerged. The landed aristocracy, triumphant in the Revolution of 1688, consolidated its political and cultural supremacy over society as a whole, a supremacy that was intermittently challenged by subordinate groups. This confrontation went from disputes accompanying a rise in the cost of food, opposing the people's 'moral economy' with the economy of the free market, to the poaching that defied rural landowners' property rights. The repertoire of actions available to the subordinated population was limited to mocking the gentry, replicating rituals the gentry considered scandalous, or at least in poor taste, and small daily acts of rebellion. The eighteenth-century mob was rebellious and irreverent, 'but rebellious in defence of custom'.[14]

The polarization of these two social blocks occurred in parallel with the Industrial Revolution, which, with the 'accompanying demographic revolution were the backgrounds to the greatest transformation in history, in revolutionising "needs" and in destroying the authority of customary expectations'.[15] In this way, the experiences of mechanization, labour discipline and wage labour came together in this process of pre-existing cultural conflict at the heart of paternalistic society. In addition, the picture of the emergence of the working class is completed

by both the organization that both brought Methodism to its congrega-
tion and the dissemination of Thomas Paine's ideas to craftsmen and
small landowners, reinforcing the belief that the Englishman is 'born
free' (merging spontaneous ideas with elaborate ideologies, as we saw
in Rudé). Thus, 'From 1830 onwards a more clearly defined class con-
sciousness, in the customary Marxist sense, was maturing',[16] allowing
the working population to constitute itself as an autonomous subject
and claim its political rights in the Chartist movement.

Thompson thought of class as a historical formation and not a mere
agent in the economic and social structure, as was considered to be
the case by certain contemporary sociologists 'obsessively concerned
with methodology'. Thompson brought three interrelated categories
into play: class, experience and awareness. Class involves common
interests formed through everyday experience. These interests do not
arise arbitrarily, since they are linked to the productive relationships
in which individuals are joined together, that is, they have a basis in
social materiality and are objectified through experience, which trans-
forms individual human groups into social classes. From this perspec-
tive, class exists through its own experience. For this reason, Anthony
Giddens recognized that Thompson, author of *The Making of the En-
glish Working Class,* placed strong emphasis 'upon the capability of the
human agents to shape actively and to reshape the conditions of their
existence', and Tarrow noted his suggestion 'to substitute for the mate-
rialist version of Marxism a focus on class *self*-creation'.[17]

From the linguistic side of things, the American William H. Sewell
Jr. studied the corporate speech of French craftsmen and the emer-
gence of associative speech during the July Revolution, through which
working-class consciousness was made explicit (in approximately the
same period studied by Thompson for the English case).[18] Meanwhile,
the British historian Gareth Stedman Jones demonstrated the diffi-
culty of considering language as a mere vector of consciousness and
not as an epistemological problem in itself, as well as the failure of
Marxist political theory, despite the recovery of Gramscian categories
by Hobsbawm, Rudé and Thompson.

While in *Outcast London* (1971) Stedman Jones addressed social
conflict in the Victorian era, in *Languages of Class* (1983) he revised
his theses, especially after reconsidering Chartism, and refuted essen-
tialist conceptions of social classes (Rudé, Hobsbawm and Thompson)
in which the 'social being' is both its constituent element and the sub-
stance of its objective materiality, shifting the analysis towards politi-
cal languages (as the Cambridge School also did in intellectual history)
through which the social being is identified as such. To that extent, it is

not possible to 'decode political language to reach a primal and material expression of interest since it is the discursive structure of political language which conceives and defines interest in the first place'.[19]

The Contribution of Historical Sociology

The work of Braudel, Hobsbawm, Rudé and Thompson provided significant reference points for Tilly, who did not hesitate to admit his intellectual debt to them, even though, at the same time, he distanced himself from the progressive vision of social movements (the step from lower to higher forms of struggle), ascribing to Hobsbawm and Rudé the methodological error of confusing the forms of collective action with the occasions when they occur. Even with the passage of time, Tilly saw no value in making a distinction between archaic and modern movements, nor would he share the implicit assumption that the advance of 'revolutionary consciousness and organization would eventually sweep away spontaneous and useless protest'.[20] Tilly, in fact, shifts his analysis away from the strong concepts of Marxism (economic structure, ideology, consciousness) and the constitution of social subjects (classes) to the basic components of every concerted collective action, the way in which these combine, the mobilization of resources, the structure of political opportunities and external constraints – that is, everything that shapes contentious politics.

Tilly and Wood dated the origin of the social movement to the second half of the eighteenth century, with the synthesis of three preexisting elements, which thereafter combined in various ways, giving rise to a wide range of movements. These elements were collective claims on the authorities that were related to a programme, an identity or a position (a campaign); the use of various forms of political action (social movement repertoire), incorporating not only what people do but also what they are capable of doing; concerted public representations of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment by participants and their constituencies (abbreviated as WUNC displays).[21]

Building on Rudé, Tilly and Wood stressed that the London demonstrations that swept John Wilkes into Parliament in 1768 – the repercussions reaching as far as South Carolina, citizenship being the privilege of a very narrow segment of the population at the time – presented a considerable novelty because an election campaign became 'an occasion for display of popular solidarity and determination'. Even so, it was not until after the Napoleonic Wars that British politics institutionalized social movements. Tilly and Wood recorded the changes

that the turn of the nineteenth century brought for social movements: the repertoire 'separated increasingly from older forms of signalling support or opposition such as forced illuminations, Rough Music, serenades, and the sacking of houses' and consequently there was a spread of 'public meetings, petition drives, public declarations, demonstrations, and shared symbols of membership'.[22]

Freedom of association, the right that had been hard-won by the working class after bloody battles, was an essential factor for uniting social movements, strengthening their identity elements, creating coalitions and networks (even international ones – for example, the International Workers' Association) as well as channelling collective demands to the public powers in an organized and effective way to achieve a certain degree of dialogue. Tilly and Wood did not overlook the emergence of the labour movement, and their chapter on the nineteenth century begins with the silk weavers (*canuts*) of Lyons who, on 25 February 1848, singing the 'Marseillaise', left the Croix-Rousse quarter where they had their workshops and marched to the town hall. It was a well-organized campaign reinforced by a varied repertoire with convincing demonstrations of worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment that strengthened the demand to declare the Republic.[23] The Chartists would try to do the same thing in England to obtain universal male suffrage, reducing or annulling the census requirements that favoured the propertied classes exclusively.

These examples lead us to the theme of popular politics – a trait of modern social movements according to Hobsbawm and Rudé – and to the link between social mobilization and the process of democratization that greatly interested Tilly and Wood. Tilly and Wood's conclusion, after analysing much of the available empirical evidence, was that, on the one hand, there is no necessary connection between social movements and democracy, and, on the other, the evidence suggests that social movements usually arrive after democratization. When this does not occur, as in authoritarian regimes, they weaken.[24]

The journey through the twentieth century skips the revolutions that Tilly wrote about shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union,[25] stopping at the youth movements of the 1960s. These 'new social movements' started out as a questioning of post-industrial society and a world ruled by adults[26] – or, if we think of Mexico, of authoritarianism – incorporating claims as diverse as those of feminism, gay rights, environmental protection, the rights of indigenous peoples and the decriminalization of drugs. Meanwhile, in Eastern Europe, people were exhorted to exercise popular sovereignty. Never before had social movements spread over so much of the world and never, without

downplaying local diversity, had they been so homogeneous, happily combining uniqueness with general patterns, which brings us back to the fundamental question Wood poses in the preface to the second edition of Tilly's book: 'Why do social movements look so similar around the world, and how and why have such movements become a major form of political action globally?'[27]

   This question also brings us into the twenty-first century and the process of the internationalization of social movements. In the nineteenth century, migration flows had driven this tendency, both in the labour movement and other social movements (anarchism in South America and white supremacism in the United States being two prominent cases), but clearly it was a century later when the labour movement became more important, supported by the mass consumption of new technologies that 'tied social movement participants more firmly to other users of the same technologies as they separated participants from nonusers of those technologies'. However, despite appearances, the availability of state-of-the-art communication technology increased the divides between different corners of the globe instead of reducing them. The distance between the First World and the Third World is even greater nowadays, and 'most of the world's people still [lack] access to social movements as a way to voice popular claims'.[28]

   Tilly and Wood consider the hypothesis that in the future, social movements will disappear or change into radically different political forms, though this would merely be a different way of expressing the same social demands. And this is precisely the thesis of Alain Touraine, who thinks that we are not only entering a post-social era, but that the nature of demands is also changing because 'the current crisis witnesses the disappearance of the actors of the industrial society'. The crisis in the global economy not only threw millions into precarious circumstances, unemployment and poverty, but also destroyed the capitalist society that we had previously known, since the social actors were virtually wiped out when the cleavage between them and the system was finalized, and subordinates are now no longer able to form a unified force capable of resisting unregulated capitalism. The economy became autonomous to the extent that there is no socially controlled power that governs it; thus, henceforth, the conflicts (and a possible reconfiguration of community life) will be between the financial economy, which gobbled up the actual economy, and moral subjects, sovereign individuals and holders of universal rights, united by ties of solidarity based 'on the recognition of the other, since we all have the same fundamental rights'. For Touraine, the disappearance of the social 'leaves the logic of *calculation* face to face with the logic of *conscience*'.[29]

While Touraine considers that in the 'post-social situation' the class struggle is no longer the main source of conflict and proponent of collective demands, Tarrow's viewpoint is that this never was the case, because he finds in the states and in capitalism 'the two major sources and targets of contentious politics'. This is seen in social responses against tax burdens, struggles for the extension of suffrage to subordinates and the creation of a professional police force to contain popular unrest, as occurred in England after the Peterloo Massacre in Manchester in 1819 or in the United States to guarantee the functioning of the free market, according to David Montgomery's pioneering studies.[30]

For Tarrow, social movements arise at the same time as the modern state and are sequences of political action based on compact, internal social networks, accompanied by 'collective action frames' that have the ability to challenge powerful opponents, whether they be other political coalitions, classes or the state itself. And this collective action becomes contentious when employed by groups that do not have regular access to institutions, being an expression of the popular politics that, Tarrow says, always overlaps with the formal politics practised by the elites. Once states were consolidated, certain forms of popular protest became institutionalized, forcing governments to accept certain 'forms of collective action whose legitimacy they had earlier resisted, while suppressing others'.[31]

Tarrow uses the concept of 'cycles of collective action' when these extend to society as a whole and can spread through different though often contiguous geographical areas. The first of the modern era corresponds to the revolutions of 1848, whose repercussions spread as far as Latin America by encouraging the development of the first socialism[32] – and the most recent to the Arab Spring. In the twentieth century, the 1968 student movements or the Velvet Revolutions of 1989–91 stand out. The temptation to use the singular and consider them as fragments of a single process oversimplifies their diversity and confuses their underlying causes. Tarrow therefore cautions that they 'must be disaggregated into innovations they produce, campaigns and coalitions, and mechanisms of mobilization and demobilization'.[33]

'Anti-systemic movements' is the concept used by Giovanni Arrighi, Terence K. Hopkins and Immanuel Wallerstein to analyse cycles of collective action. Like Tarrow, they recognize the centrality of the state by stating that 'the actual structures of classes and ethnic groups have been dependent on the creation of the modern states'.[34] As theorists of the 'capitalist world-economy', they consider that anti-systemic movements began with the romantic revolutions of 1848, with ramifications that have continued up to the present day:

The social movements of the late nineteenth century were rooted in the intensification of the processes of capitalist centralization, and rationalization of economic activities. A large variety of social groups (servants and peasants, craftsmen and low-status professionals, small traders and shopkeepers), which had up to then coped more or less with the spread of market competition, suddenly found their established patterns of life and work threatened by widening and deepening proletarianization, and reacted to the threat through a wide variety of struggles.[35]

Taking the only global revolutions that have occurred to date as a framework, those of 1848 and 1968 (whose extensions were the Velvet and other Revolutions of 1989), systemic movements developed in three directions: firstly, as the vindication of rights, social improvements and political participation within the state (social democracy in the West); secondly, as the seizure of political power on the periphery (communism in the East and in Asia); and thirdly, as wars of national liberation in backward countries (anti-imperialism in the Third World). However, postwar capitalism transformed the structure of the workforce by developing segments of salaried professionals, employees in the service sector (with a large female contingent) and the semiskilled or unskilled workforce (into which migrant workers were incorporated). This would be the basis of the new social movements of the 1960s: the pacifistic/environmental/alternative movements, feminist movements and those of the ethnic minorities. Noteworthy consequences of 1968 were 'the changes in power relations between status-groups such as age-groups, genders, and "ethnicities"', which proved 'to be far more lasting than the movements which brought them to world attention'.[36]

Conclusion

While, around the middle of the nineteenth century, the author of *History of the French Social Movements from 1789 to the Present* (1850), the German Lorenz von Stein, thematized social movements and the French writer Jules Michelet did the same in his *The People* (1846), it was not until a hundred years later that these were incorporated into the agenda of professional historiography stimulated by the flourishing of British social history and French historiography. The former proposed to explain the emergence and development of the modern labour movement, while the latter dealt with the popular side of the French Revolution.

The articulation between the economy and society was one of the key problems addressed by social historians, given that developments in economic history suggested a quite optimistic vision of the Industrial Revolution by emphasizing the material progress it brought and obliterating the social damage it produced. Friedrich A. Hayek, for example, tried to extinguish 'the legend that the situation of the working classes worsened as a result of the implementation of "capitalism"'.[37] And he would find the answer in Hobsbawm's early studies of workers in Thompson's classic on the same subject, where Thompson detected that: 'In some of the lost causes of the people of the Industrial Revolution we may discover insights into social evils which we have yet to cure.'[38]

Although in Hobsbawm, one has already seen a shift in the labour movement towards the history of the working class, that is, the passage from 'old' to 'new' social history, it would be Thompson who would make this statement. With it, the working class ceases to be a linear result of the economic process (the Industrial Revolution), acquiring a central role in the process of its formation that, moreover, is inextricably linked to the consciousness of itself, so that the class exists when it identifies itself and acts as such.

It should be noted that the link between class consciousness and social mobilization interested Rudé greatly and was the subject of one of his books, in which he dealt with the articulation between the spontaneous ideas of social actors and the ideologies developed by intellectuals. But, like Hobsbawm and Thompson, social class continues to be Rudé's subject. Touraine reintroduced the factor of consciousness, though dissociated from social class; in other words, conceived in moral terms and at the same time as universality (it should be recalled that for Marx, the working class was the universal class that would unify all the oppressed behind it).

While old social history focuses on structural (mainly economic and technological) elements that make social movements possible, as well as the formation of classes, we observe in Thompson the recovery of culture in the anthropological sense as a dimension of social analysis and, in Montgomery, but also especially in Stedman Jones, a rethinking of politics, in addition to an interest in the languages of class that the latter shares with Sewell Jr.

In spite of the points of confluence with social history, the approach of historical sociology is different. Tilly and Tarrow, who opted for broad temporal perspectives, in the same way as Braudel in his time proposed for historical discipline, taking into consideration social classes and their motivations, but what mainly attracts his attention

are the mechanisms that trigger collective action and make a particular thing happen at a particular time in a particular place. In this way, the structural analysis that makes explicit the conditions of possibility for events to happen – as Arrighi, Hopkins and Wallerstein suggest – revolves around the specific factors that activate what Tilly called 'contentious politics', highlighting how indispensable elements combine to create a particular social mobilization, particular available resources, the particular structure of political opportunities and external constraints (often those of the state). Social movements, Tilly and Wood conclude, contribute to democracy when they help 'to expand the circle of participants in public politics', equalize them 'in terms of importance', prevent 'categorical inequalities' from being translated into public policy and integrate into this 'previously segmented trust networks'.[39]

Notes

1. Braudel, *History and the Social Sciences*; Casanova, *La historia social y los historiadores*.
2. Hobsbawm, *Interesting Times*.
3. Rudé, *The Crowd in History*; Kriedte, Medick and Schlumbohm, *Industrialization before Industrialization*.
4. Tilly and Wood, *Social Movements, 1768–2008*.
5. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*; Rudé, *The Crowd in the French Revolution*.
6. Rudé, *The Crowd in History*.
7. Ibid.
8. Rudé, *Ideology and Class Consciousness* in Rudé.
9. Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*; Rudé, The *Ideology of Popular Protest,* in Rudé, *Ideology and Popular Protest*; Rudé, *The Crowd in History*. I cite the former. To place the Swing Riots in the context of the more widespread, two-century phenomenon of destruction of machines, see Hobsbawm, *Worlds of Labour*.
10. Soboul, *The French Revolution,* 1975, my emphasis; Soboul, *A Short History of the French Revolution,* 1977.
11. Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*.
12. Some of E.P. Thompson's comments on Rudé's studies of the preindustrial crowd are in Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* I. Rudé, for his part, regretted not having been able to refer to Thompson's work in greater detail. His *The Crowd in History* was well-nigh in press (published in 1964) when Thompson's book appeared in 1963. See Rudé, *The Crowd in History.* There is a constant dialogue with Thompson's work in Rudé's *Ideology and Class Consciousness* (published in London in 1980).
13. Anderson, *The Repressive Culture*; Thompson, *The Peculiarities of the English*.
14. Thompson, *Customs in Common*.

15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.; Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* I.
17. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*; Giddens, *Out of the Orrery*; Tarrow, *Power in Movement,* my emphasis.
18. Sewell, Jr., *Work and Revolution in France.*
19. Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class.*
20. Tarrow, *Power in Movement*; Tilly, *Contention and the Urban Poor in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Latin America.* I cite the latter.
21. Tilly and Wood, *Social Movements, 1768–2008*; Tarrow, *Power in Movement.*
22. Ibid.
23. Tilly and Wood, *Social Movements, 1768–2008.* Despite its evocative exposition, one misses Bezucha's classic study, *Modern European Social History.*
24. This thesis is more fully developed in Tilly, *Democracy.*
25. Tilly, *European Revolutions, 1492–1992* (Chapters 6, 7) addresses the revolutions in Eastern Europe.
26. Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes.* 'By the late '60s, the culture gap separating young people from their parents was perhaps greater than at any point since the early 19th century.' Judt, *Ill Fares the Land.*
27. Tilly and Wood, *Social Movements, 1768–2008.*
28. Ibid. In 'the post-social situation', Alain Touraine points out, 'the most important conflicts no longer arise within a system of production, but oppose the globalized economy with the defence of rights that are strictly human, and not only social.' Touraine, *After the Crisis.*
29. Tilly and Wood, *Social Movements, 1768–2008*; Touraine, *After the Crisis,* my emphasis.
30. Montgomery, *Citizen Worker*; Tarrow, *Power in Movement.*
31. Tarrow, *Power in Movement.*
32. Illades and Schelchkov, *Mundos posibles.*
33. Tarrow, *Power in Movement.*
34. Arrighi, Hopkins and Wallerstein, *Antisystemic Movements.*
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Hayek, *History and Politics.*
38. Ibid.; Hobsbawm, *Worlds of Labour,* Chapters 5, 6, 7; Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* I.
39. Tilly and Wood, *Social Movements, 1768–2008.*