

Networks & mobilization

Gould
(1991)



Networks and Mobilization

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Paris Commune

Radical socialist government of Paris

- In power for two months in 1871
- Implemented progressive programs
Democratic elections, secularism, education, labor rights, French Republican Calendar



Timeline

- Prussian siege of Paris, Sept 1870–Jan 1871
- France cedes control of Paris, agrees to disarm French army
- Paris national guard (still armed) takes control, declares Commune on March 26
- May 28, French army regains control of Paris
- Tens of thousands of Communards killed during the *semaine sanglante*, May 21–28

Paris Commune



Networks and mobilization

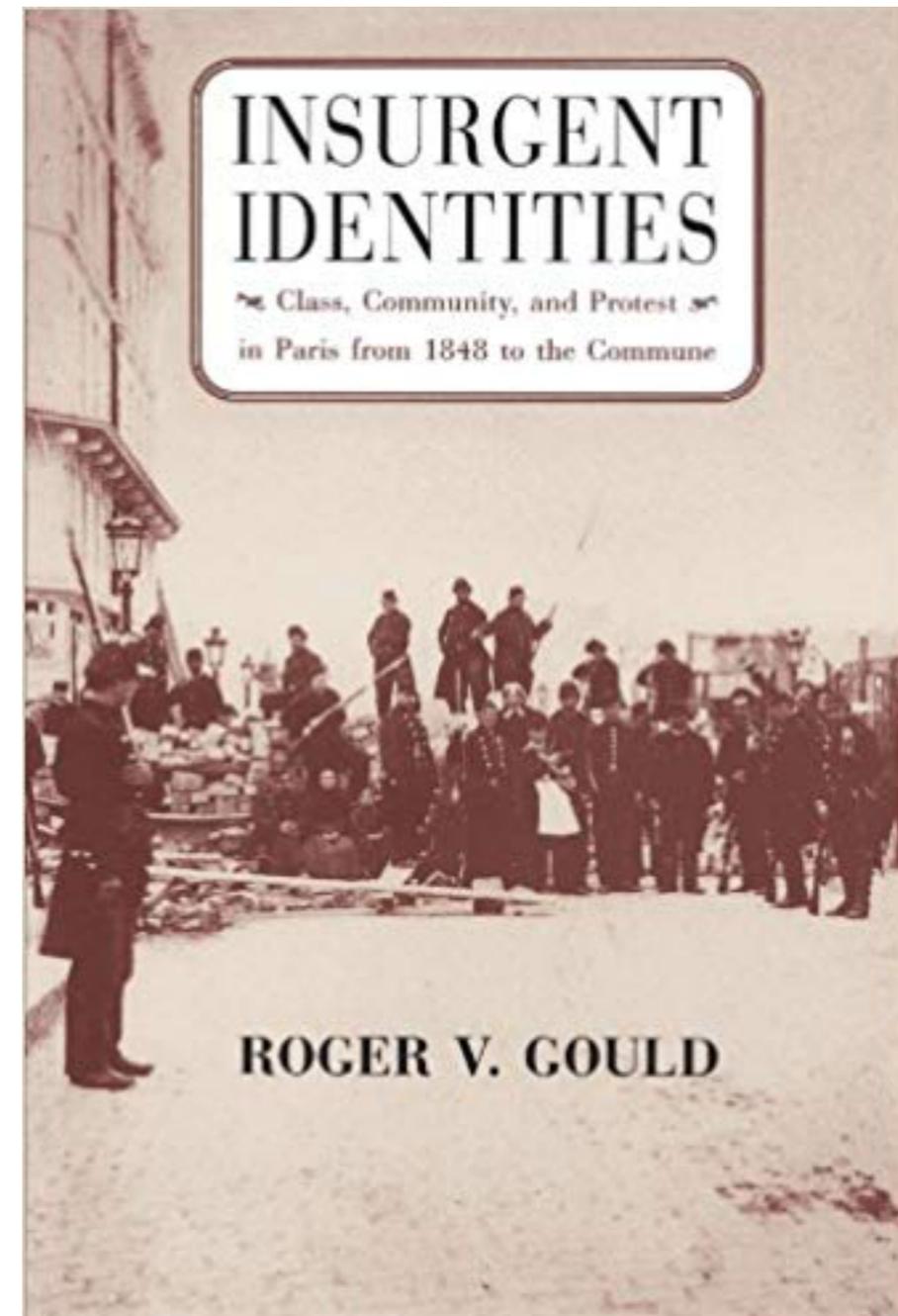
Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871 (Roger Gould, 1991)

MULTIPLE NETWORKS AND MOBILIZATION IN THE PARIS COMMUNE, 1871*

ROGER V. GOULD
University of Chicago

Although sociologists increasingly recognize the importance of networks in social movement mobilization, efforts to understand network factors have been hampered by the operationalization of network factors as individual-level variables. I argue that disaggregating relational data into individual-level counts of social ties obscures the crucial issues of network structure and multiplexity. I analyze data on insurgency in the Paris Commune of 1871 and show that organizational networks and pre-existing informal networks interacted in the mobilization process, even in the final moments of the insurrection. Network autocorrelation models reveal that enlistment patterns in the Paris National Guard created organizational linkages among residential areas that contributed to solidarity in the insurgent effort, but the efficacy of these linkages depended on the presence of informal social ties rooted in Parisian neighborhoods. Thus the role of network factors can only be understood by studying the joint influence of formal and informal social structures on the mobilization process.

Research question:
How did formal and informal networks affect mobilization of resistance in the Commune?



Networks and mobilization

Empirical analysis

- Different *arrondissements* showed different levels of resistance to French army
- *Arrondissements* with many residents serving in battalions of highly committed *arrondissements* showed substantially higher commitment themselves
- Result holds even taking into account geography and residents' income/training

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Sidebar: *reading a regression table*

MULTIPLE NETWORKS AND MOBILIZATION IN THE PARIS COMMUNE

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Table 1. Coefficient Estimates for Average Battalion Size and Death Rate on Selected Independent Variables: Paris Commune, 1871

Independent Variable	Battalion Size				Death Rate, May 1871	
	Early May		Late May		Network Model (5)	Spatial Model (6)
	Network Model (1)	Spatial Model (2)	Network Model (3)	Spatial Model (4)		
Autocorrelation (ρ)	.289*	-.118	.477**	.038	.487*	.030
February military deaths	—	—	—	—	.076**	.068**
Poverty rate	2.217	2.419	2.217	2.320	16.818	18.103
Percent skilled workers	9.163*	9.311**	8.040*	8.164**	.064	.054
Percent unskilled workers	7.671	7.743	8.523	7.765	.081	.068
Percent white-collar employees	8.438	6.667	12.074	10.869	.066	.036
Constant	-148.918	180.656	-347.618	8.597	-4.650	-1.715
Fit ^a	.728	.722	.703	.674	.471	.441
Number of <i>arrondissements</i>	20	20	20	20	20	20

* $p < .05$ (one-tailed)

** $p < .01$ (one-tailed)

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**Dependent variable/
Predicted variable/
Outcome variable**

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**Independent variables/
Predictors**

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MULTIPLE NETWORKS AND BATTALION SIZE IN THE PARIS COMMUNE 725

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A column for each model

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Stars (*) indicate “significant” coefficients

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Networks and mobilization

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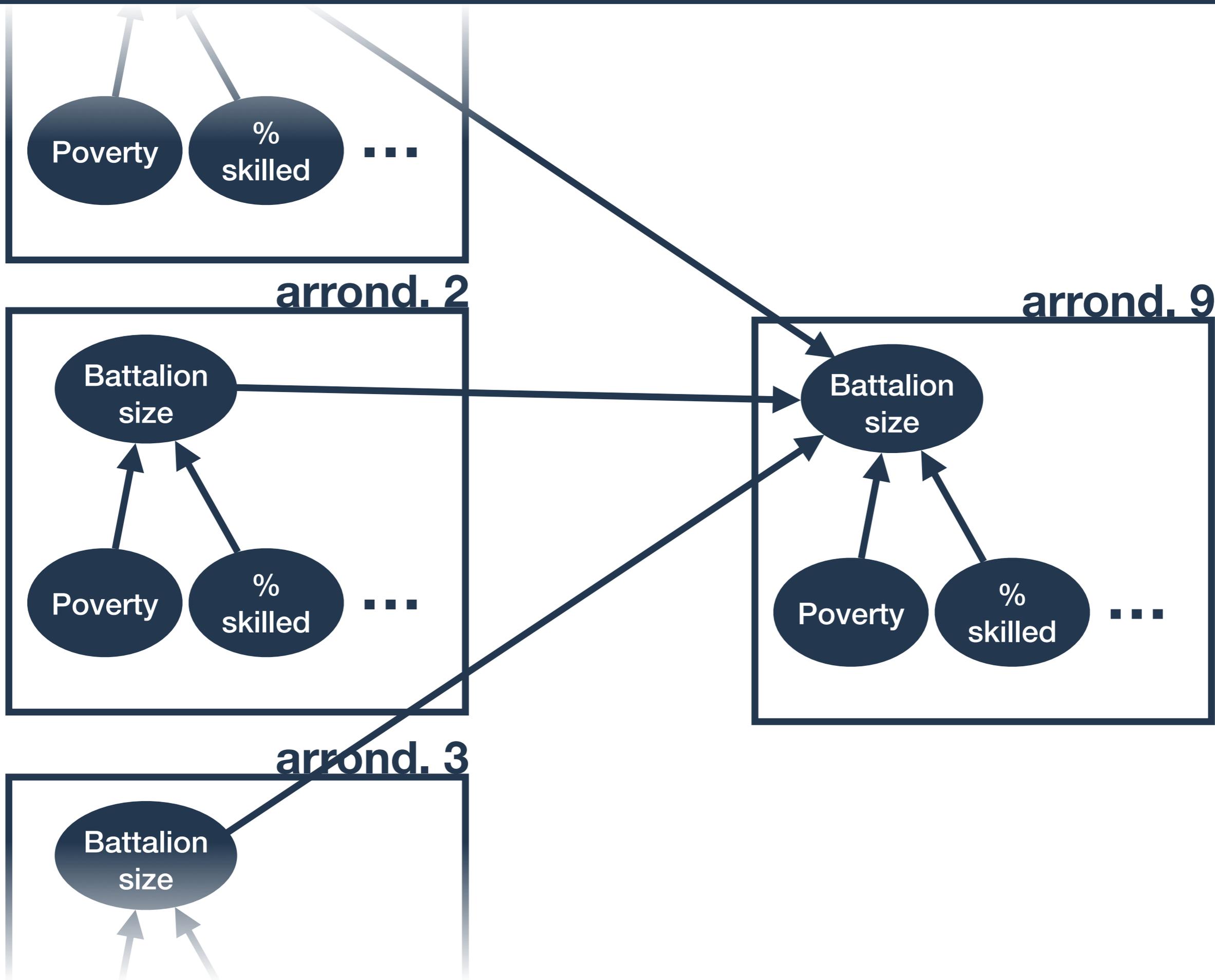
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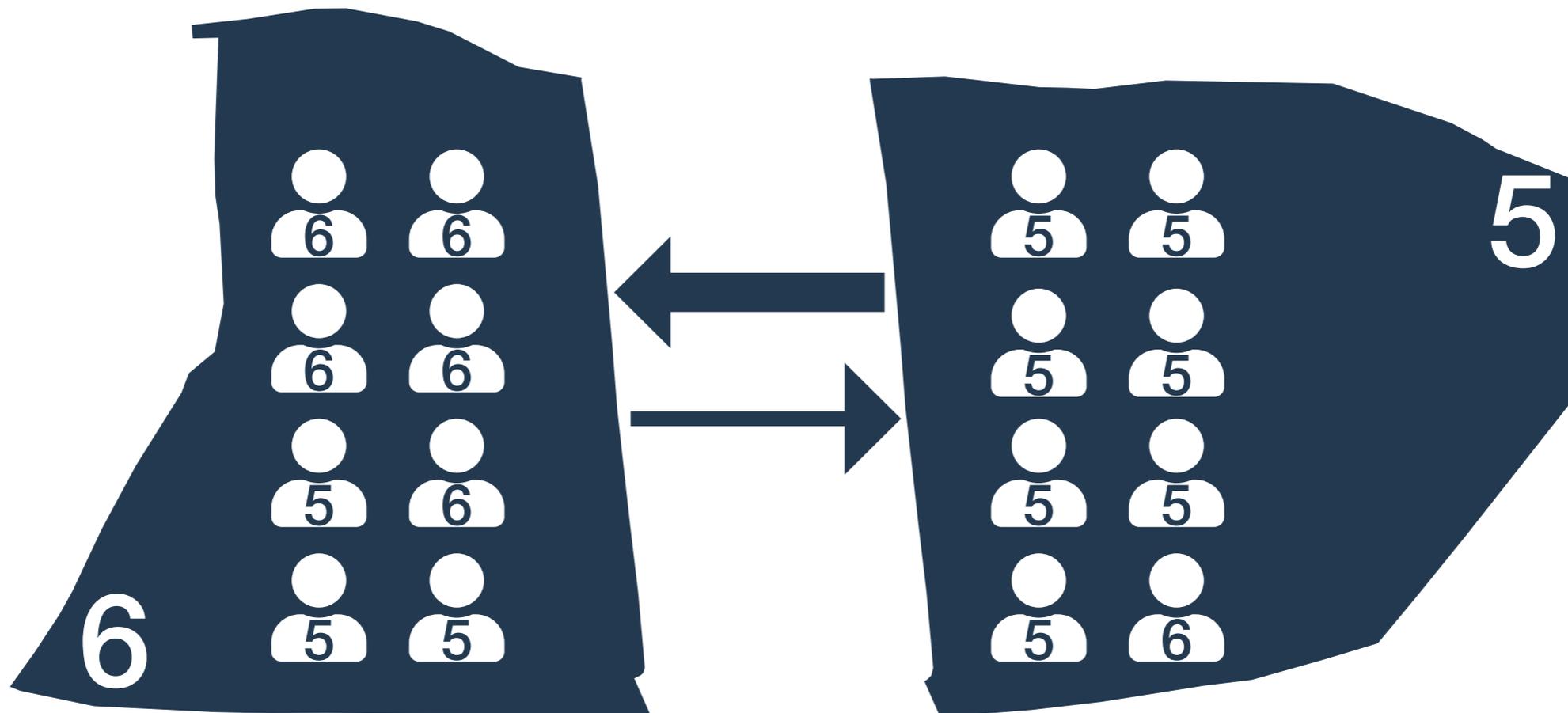
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Network autocorrelation



Network autocorrelation

Three types of relations: Same neighborhood (informal)
Same battalion (formal)
Inter-arrondissement



Many residents of arrond. 5 serving in arrond. 6

Few residents of arrond. 6 serving in arrond. 5

Network autocorrelation

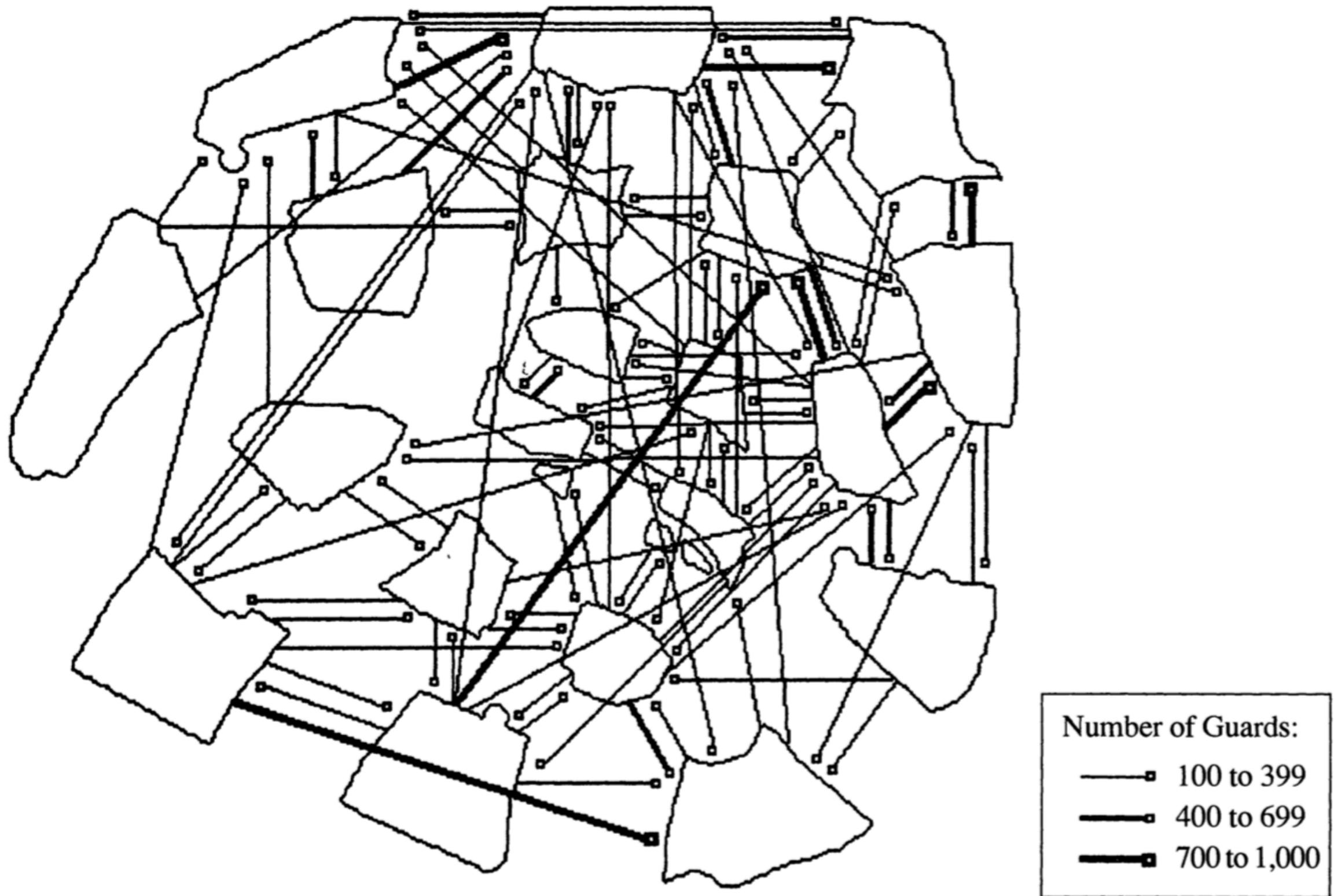


Figure 4. Numbers of National Guardsmen Serving in Legions Outside Their *Arrondissement* of Residence, by *Arrondissement* : Paris Commune, 1871

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Two major takeaways

- **Network structure matters:**
Relations to others can have far-reaching effects that depend on the larger *structure* of a network.
- **Network multiplexity matters:**
Different forms of relations (e.g. neighborhood and formal associations) play *simultaneous, interconnected* roles in affecting behavior.

Image credit



Image by Christine Clarridge via the [Seattle Times](#)



[Propaganda poster](#)



Photo [BHVP/Roger-Viollet](#) via [Wikimedia](#)