

- Agenda** |
1. Administrative
  2. The Paris Commune (Gould 1991)
  3. Networks & mobilization

**Midterm grades**  
| *: This weekend!*

# The Paris Commune



Arrestation de Louise Michel en mai 1871  
(Jules Girardet, 1871)

## 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

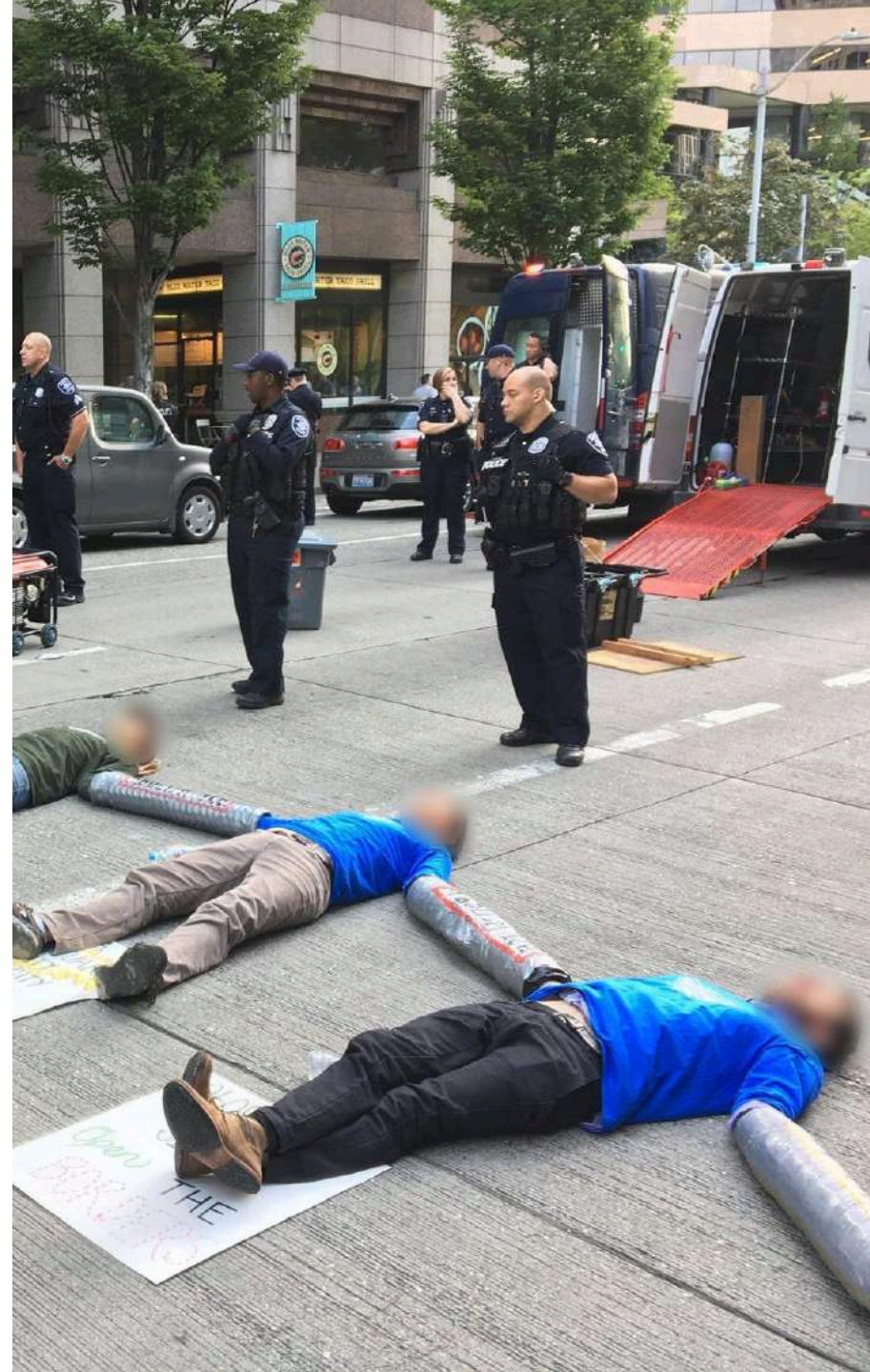
- ⋮ Prussian siege of Paris, Sept 1870–Jan 1871
- ⋮ France cedes control of Paris, agrees to disarm French army
- ⋮ Paris national guard (still armed) takes control, declares Commune on March 26
- ⋮ May 28, French army regains control of Paris
- ⋮ Tens of thousands of Communards killed during the *semaine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







# Networks & mobi- lization

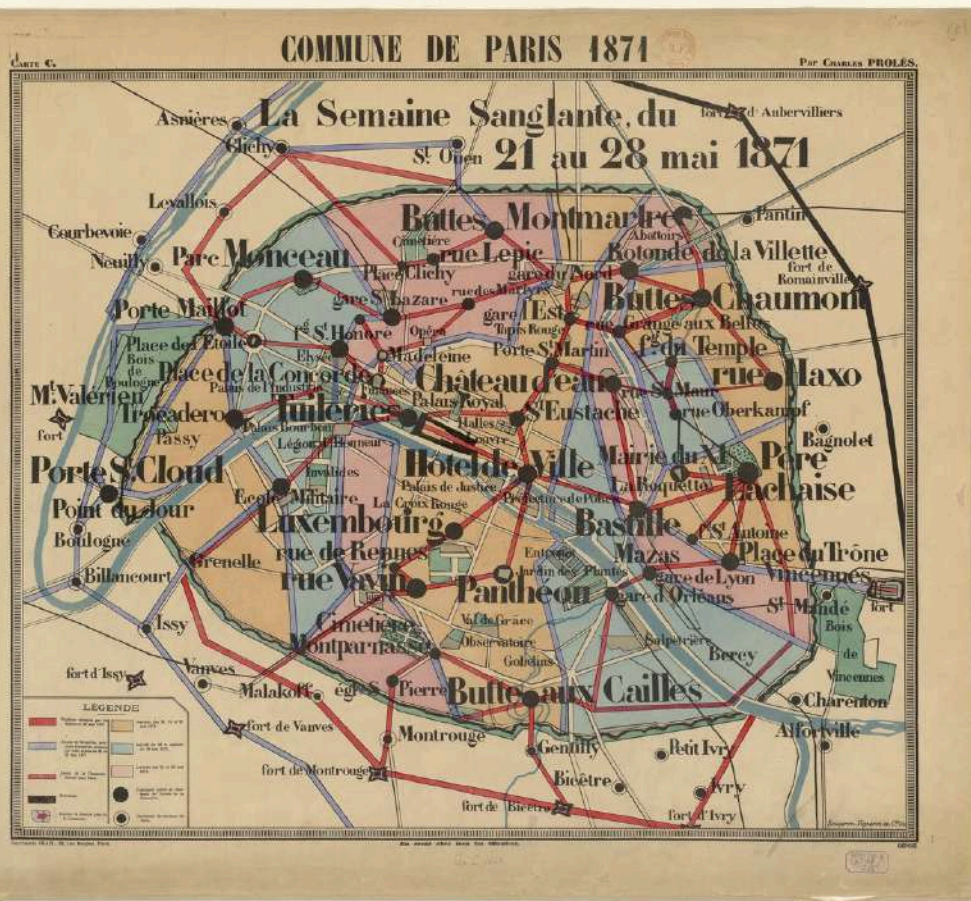




***Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871***  
(Roger Gould, 1991)

**In groups of 2–3, discuss the main themes and structure of the reading:**

- ⋮ What was Gould's primary *research question* (what was he trying to *explain* in the article)?
- ⋮ What *data* and *methods of inquiry* did he use to address the question?
- ⋮ What *conclusions* did he come to?



## 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



# Sidebar: *reading a regression table*

## MULTIPLE NETWORKS AND MOBILIZATION IN THE PARIS COMMUNE

725

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 ( $\rho$ )	.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 <sup>a</sup>	.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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	Network Model (1)	Spatial Model (2)	Network Model (3)	Spatial Model (4)		
Autocorrelation ( $\rho$ )	.289*	-.118			.87*	.030
February military deaths	—	—			.76**	.068**
Poverty rate	2.217	2.419			18	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
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Dependent variable/  
Predicted variable/  
Outcome variable

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Poverty rate	2.217	2.419	2.217	2.320	16.818	18.103
Percent skilled workers	9.163*	9.31				.054
Percent unskilled workers	7.671	7.74				.068
Percent white-collar employees	8.438	6.66				.036
Constant	-148.918	180.656	-347.618	8.597	-4.650	-1.715
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**Independent variables/  
Predictors**

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# Sidebar: reading a regression table

MULTIPLE NETWORKS AND SPATIAL MODELS IN THE PARIS COMMUNE 725

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# Sidebar: reading a regression table

## MULTIPLE NETWORKS AND MOBILIZATION IN THE PARIS COMMUNE

725

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

Independent Variable	Battalion Size					
	Early May		Net Model (3)	Net Model (4)	Net Model (5)	Net Model (6)
	Network Model (1)	Spatial Model (2)				
Autocorrelation ( $\rho$ )	.289*	-.118	.477**	.038	.487*	.030
February military deaths	—	—	—	—	.076**	.068**
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Constant	-148.918	180.656	-347.618	8.597	-4.650	-1.715
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Stars (\*) indicate  
“significant” coefficients

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

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# Sidebar: *reading a regression table*

## MULTIPLE NETWORKS AND MOBILIZATION IN THE PARIS COMMUNE

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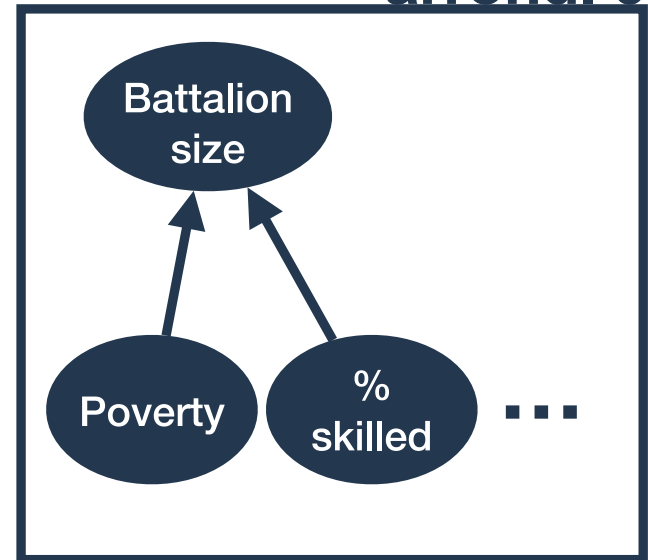
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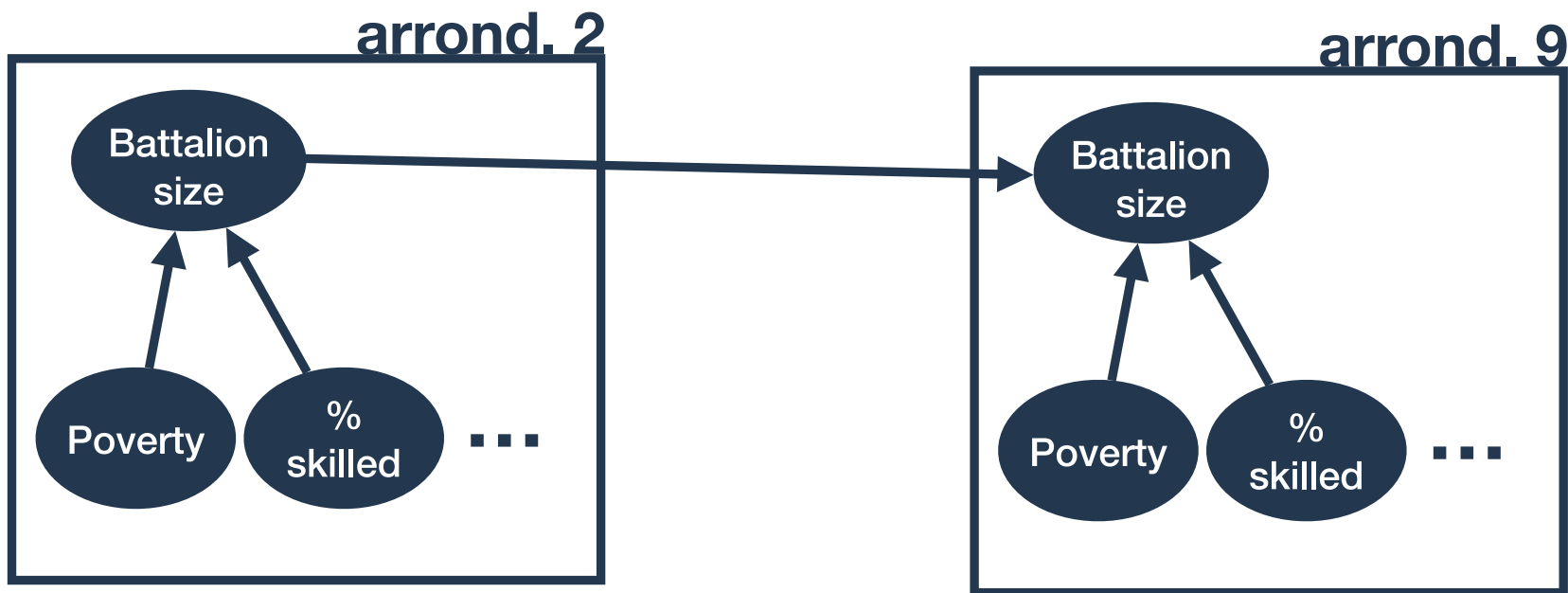
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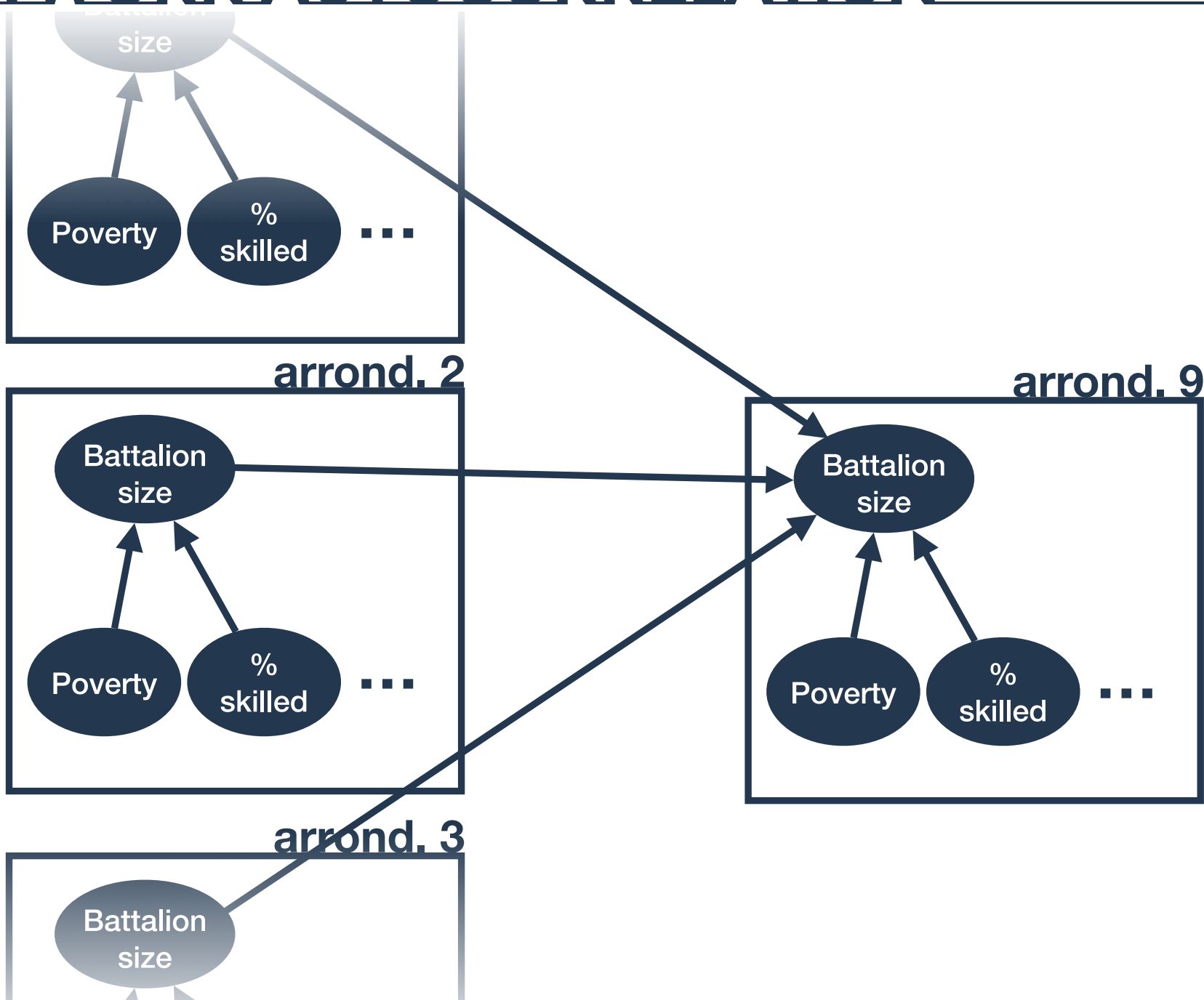
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arrond. 9

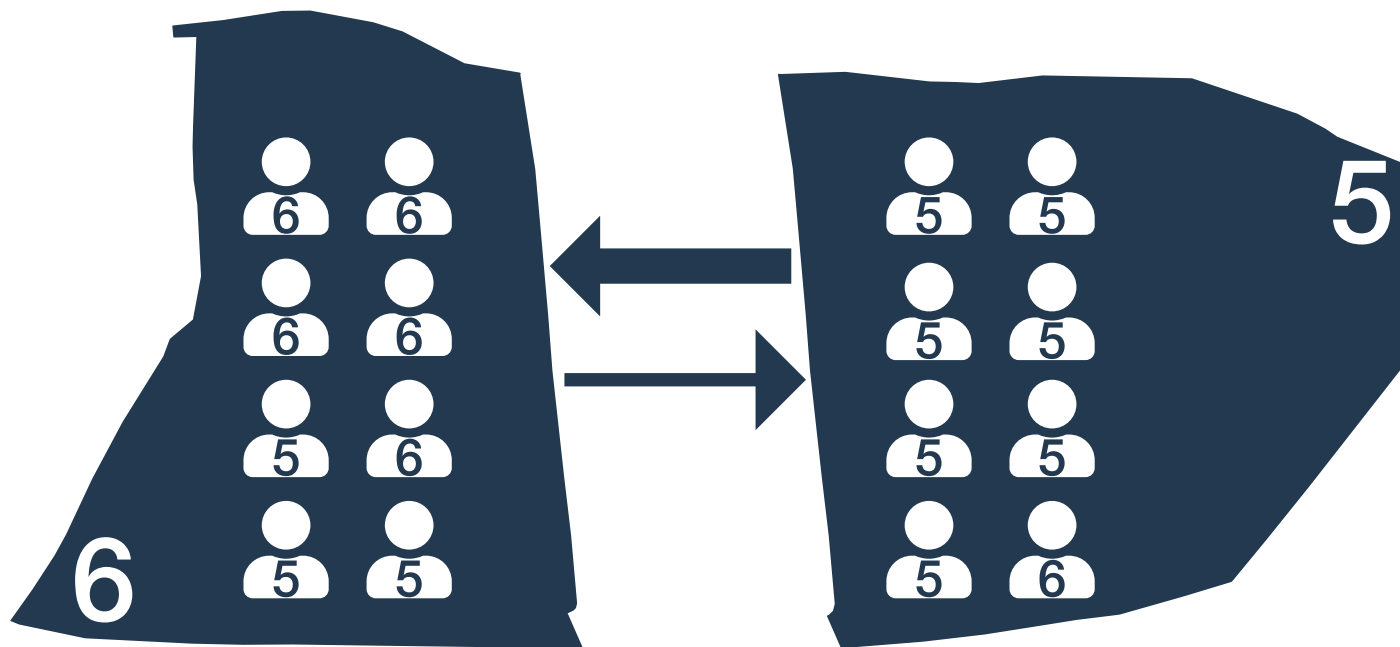








**Three types of relations:** Same neighborhood (informal)  
Same battalion (formal)  
Inter-arrondissement



Many residents of arrond.  
5 serving in arrond. 6

Few residents of arrond. 6  
serving in arrond. 5

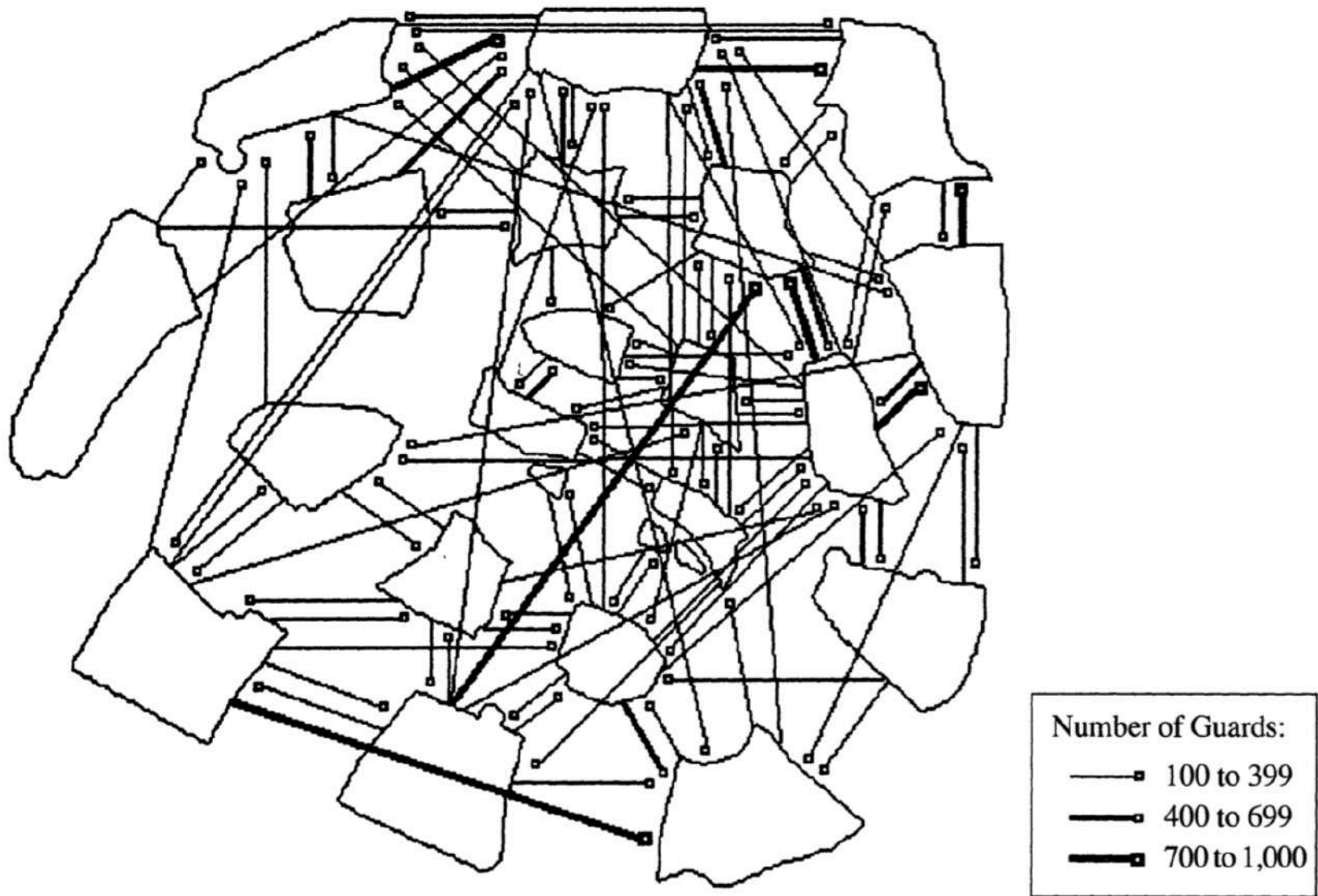


Figure 4. Numbers of National Guardsmen Serving in Legions Outside Their *Arrondissement* of Residence, by *Arrondissement* : Paris Commune, 1871

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## Lesson 1: Network *structure* matters

∴ Relations to others can have far-reaching effects that depend on the larger structure of a network.

## Lesson 2: Network *multiplexity* matters

∴ Different forms of relations (e.g. neighborhood and formal associations) play *simultaneous, interconnected* roles in affecting behavior.



*On March 18, 1871, the people of Paris rose against a despised and detested government, and proclaimed the city independent, free, belonging to itself. ... The government evaporated like a pond of stagnant water in a spring breeze ...*

Peter Kropotkin (1880)

### In groups of 2–3:

∴ Recall the three "*images of statelessness*" from our Feb 28 class:

- "All against all" (Hobbes)
- "Natural law" (Locke)
- "Social institutions" (anarchism)

∴ ***How can Gould's analysis of the Paris Commune inform a comparison of those three images?***

Is the Commune an example of *statelessness*?

Does it support any one of those images over the others?

Can it serve as a (counter)example to any of the images?

Does it complicate the idea of *statelessness*?