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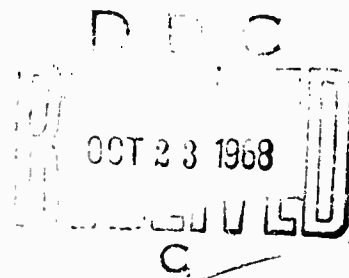
FINAL REPORT

~~Not for Publication~~

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METHODOLOGY FOR THE ANALYSIS OF INTERNAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Abstract

This project develops methods and theory for the study of incidents of violent social protest and broad social movements in the context of social system change. The method of building computer based inventories of incidents of protest and conflict permits the quantitative description of large numbers of such events, based on easily accessible public records and historical documents. Critical instance case studies supplement the quantitative data through detailed qualitative investigation. The project's frame of reference emphasizes event sequence analysis in conflict and mobilization. In order to assess flexibility and power of the procedure, long time series, the entire 19th century, were chosen for incident inventories on two societies of widely different characteristics. An Oriental society (China) and a Western society (Germany) were selected. The data gathering phase for China (31,000 incidents) has been completed, for Germany it is presently underway.

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I. Final Report

Summary of Activities in the Reporting Period and Plan of Work

A. Purpose of the Research

This project develops a methodology and a theoretical model for the study of incidents of violent protest and social movements based on easily accessible public records and historical documents. The method for the quantified description of large numbers of incidents of protest and violence permits computer analysis of event series and patterns, and the investigation of their relationship to social system change.

Two widely divergent societies, China and Germany, are studied comparatively to provide materials for the development of theory and methodology; the choice of a Western and an Oriental society will facilitate broad applicability of the resulting methods. An "inventory of incidents of protest and conflict" for the 19th Century in both countries is being established. It is the basis for the analysis of conditions for different types of incidents, recurrent institutional responses to crises of authority and legitimacy, and innovation and diffusion of tactical and strategic models underlying the behavior of population and control formations involved in the incidents. Quantitative incident analysis is supplemented by "critical instance case studies," designed to investigate theoretically critical points.

B. Activities

The activities of the first period have already been reported in the Preliminary First Year Report. They consisted primarily of preparatory work in method development, the location and evaluation of different types of data sources, the assembly and training of the Chinese research team, located at the Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, and initial data collection. The second year was a particularly eventful period. In its beginning, the project was transferred from the Social Science Research Institute of the University of Hawaii, where initial work had taken place, to the University of Pittsburgh. The two principal investigators spent the academic year 1967-68 together at the University of Pittsburgh after having spent the Summer 1967 conducting and organizing the work of the Chinese and German phase respectively. Professor Kuo of the Academia Sinica in Taiwan worked closely with C. K. Yang; he was able to visit Pittsburgh for a short consultation in the Winter. Professor Rainer Lepsius, the Director of the German research team at the University of Mannheim, spent the second term at the University of Pittsburgh as Visiting Professor of Sociology. During this time a seminar on social system change and social movements was conducted jointly by the principal investigators and Professor Lepsius.

While the Chinese research group has completed the tasks for which it was originally assembled, its members have by now acquired valuable expertise in the project. It is fortunate that two members of the Chinese research team decided to become graduate students at the University of Pittsburgh, one in the Department of History and one in the Sociology Department. Both will continue work in the context of

the project, in collaboration with Ken Liang, who has joined the project as Research Assistant for the Chinese phase.

C. The Empirical Base of the Research

The empirical work includes two types of efforts: the establishment of computer based inventories of incidents of protest and conflict in China and Germany, and the conduct of a variety of critical instance case studies, presenting detailed investigations of strategic issues.

The data gathering phase for the incident inventory of 19th Century China -- a massive enterprise -- has been completed. The data cards and ca 70,000 IBM optical scanner sheets describing ca 31,000 incidents are being shipped to the University of Pittsburgh. As shipments arrive (a total of ca 50 boxes) the materials are being organized in preparation for computer processing.

The data gathering phase for the German incident inventory is presently underway. Much time was required to organize and train an appropriate research team, which has been established under the leadership of Professor M. Rainer Lepsius at the University of Mannheim. The beginning of intensive work on the German phase of the project had to be delayed until continuity of financial support for the required period 1968-70 was granted. Intensive work, made easier by the experience of the Chinese team and preliminary work in Germany during the early phase of the project, got underway in the Spring of 1968 and is progressing rapidly. The qualitative data and files currently being accumulated will be transferred to IBM optical scanner sheets beginning October, 1968.

A small number of critical instance case studies are underway or have been completed in both the Chinese and German phase, but the major effort in this area will begin only now. On the basis of the preliminary incident inventory C. K. Yang has designed an empirically and theoretically grounded rationale for the further selection and design of critical instance case studies. Yang also completed a case study of the current "Cultural Revolution" in mainland China, which he published. The rationale and design for the German case studies will be completed in October, 1968, the conduct of these studies will take place in 1969.

D. Theoretical and Methodological Work

Progress has been made in both the theoretical frame of reference and the methodology. The original approach to the study of social movements, as formulated in the "Case Study Outline" of 1965 and the original proposal paper, was primarily concerned with data about the organization and social composition of movements and their institutional contexts, reflecting the state of theory in the field. This approach has been supplemented in current work by a frame of reference emphasizing the study of "incidents," their form, scope and impact on processes of mass mobilization for social movements. Organizational data merely provide one component of information as particular attention is paid to the quantitative analysis of time series of incidents.

It has been found that the project's frame of reference with its emphasis on theories of event sequences, and its methodology of quantified event descriptions and event sequence analysis is a promising and flexible tool for the understanding of social movements and their impact on change. The work toward the explicit statement of theory and method

is difficult because current sociological theory concerning social movements, collective behavior, and political mobilization is not readily adaptable to the study of event sequences, since it predominantly emphasizes structural description and interpretation. Therefore the investigators are continuing their work towards a theory of event sequences in social system change, protest and conflict incidents, and the crystallization of social movements for the purpose of generating a predictive model.

The work to date has shown that incidents of protest and rebellion do take certain recurrent forms; there are institutionalized patterns culturally available for them. Innovations in tactics, organization, and strategy of conflict and protest occur, but not with great frequency. Both the innovations and the institutionalized patterns are being subjected to systematic sociological study. It is now possible for us to investigate the diffusion of new patterns of incidents, and its structural conditions. This perspective may ultimately bring limited predictability of this class of events within our reach.

E. Plan of Work for 1968-69

The plan of work for the coming year is straightforward. The Chinese data of the incident inventory will be computerized and subjected to initial analysis. The German incident inventory data will be collected throughout the year. The Chinese case studies are being designed and will be executed during the year; in the German phase similar work will get underway with a slight time lag. Details of the plan of work are reported below in connection with the detailed report on the Chinese and German phase respectively. During the academic year 1969-70, the investigators plan to free themselves, as

far as possible, from other obligations in order to complete final analysis and reporting.

CHINESE PHASE OF THE PROJECT

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II. Chinese Phase of the Project

A. Report on the Work Completed

The extraction of data from 2,247 volumes of Shih Lu or Annals of the Ching has now been completed. The data, in the forms of data cards and scanner sheets, are now in the process of shipment in 49 boxes from Taiwan to Pittsburgh. This job represents the effort of the Chinese team, consisting of a consulting director, two leaders and six data readers or extractors, plus two part-time aides who help out in the data checking chore to save time for the regular team members, covering a period of time from March 1, 1966 to June 30, 1968.

No precise statistical summary of this data can be given before the final arrival of all the boxes at Pittsburgh. But, roughly, the data covers 31,065 incidents, recorded in about 43,000 data cards and slightly under 80,000 scanner sheets.

These data fall into four categories: mass action incidents, and three different types of data on the system context within which the mass action took place, namely agricultural crises, political ineffectiveness, and social values concerning the kinship system as such data are available in the Annals.

The data representing some 6,000 mass action incidents represent the main body of material in our project. These incidents are grouped into the following preliminary list of movements.

A Preliminary List of Large-Scale Mass
Incidents in China, 1797-1911

Of the some 6,000 mass action incidents in the period of our study, most are isolated local incidents, but many are part of a chain of incidents constituting large-scale "events," and this is a preliminary list of such "events." Large-scale movements such as the Taiping Rebellion and the Boxers Uprising are not included.

Sectarian Uprisings

Sectarian uprising of Szechuen, Shensi and Hupeh provinces

Ch'ing Lien (Blue Lotus) Sect rebellion in Szechuen

Sectarian rebellion in Changhua Hsien

Uprising of sectarians and the "Fu bandits" in Shantung province

Sectarian uprising under the leadership of Chang Shih-chu

Sectarian disorder among tax-grain boatmen on the Grand Canal in Kiangsu and Chekiang provinces

Conflict of sectarians among tax-grain boatmen in Kiangsu and Chekiang provinces

Secular Peasant Uprisings

Rebel leader Chung Jen-shieh attacks a city in Hupeh province

Chang Ke-er uprising

Banditry and Piracy

The rampage of pirate Tsai Ch'ien
 Lin Chi's rebellion in Hua Hsien, Honan province
 Yunnan "bandit" Li Tuan-ta-ta entering Szechuen province

Ethnic Rebellions

Moslem uprising in Chinese Turkestan (I)
 Moslem uprising in Chinese Turkestan (II)
 Yao uprising in Hunan province
 Fan uprising in Kansu province
 Miao rebellion under Miao P'ei-lin's leadership
 Conflict between Chinese and Moslems in Ho Chou

Troop Mutinies

Ting's battalion mutiny
 Mutiny of the Liuchou (Kwangsi) garrison
 Mutiny of surrendered troops under Chang Yu-huai
 Mutiny of surrendered troops under Sung Ching-shih

Nationalistic Uprisings

Agitations of the railway case in Szechuan province
 Anti-British uprising by San-yuan Li citizens in Canton

Mass Actions Related to the Republican Revolution

The Wuchang uprising
 Revolution in Shensi province
 For each incident, we try to check for the nature of the event,
 time, location, and environment, movement structure (leadership and

followings), developmental process from the beginning to the end and certain points of system context such as the family and the stratification background of those involved. Not all of these items are available for every incident as recorded in the Annals. Our data for some of the incidents are very sketchy, but others are quite detailed. For critical case studies, we will have to do further detailed research in addition to our data from the Annals.

The data on government relief for crop failures resulting from drought, floods and other causes, try to reflect the economic sector of the system context of mass action incidents. The merit of our data lies in the almost complete record of natural disasters resulting in crop failures throughout the nation for the century of our study, because a local official almost inevitably would report natural disasters in his own territory in order to press for tax exemption as a relief measure from the government, and to enhance his own personal or the public interest of the locality. Crop failure due to natural disasters is perhaps the most basic form among economic crises in an agrarian economy. Besides the immediate misery and unrest such crises would cause among peasants, they would set in motion a chain of other types of economic crises such as the loss of land by poor peasants, the concentration of land ownership in the hands of the few, the growth of tenancy, and the worsening of political exploitation of the tenants by the collusion between a class of landlords and the officialdom of bureaucrats. Crop failures due to natural disasters thus acted as the prime mover in a chain of events which would drive the peasants toward direct mass action to relieve their own miseries. But, in the

final analysis of our problem, we would not ignore the other types of economic causes of peasant rebellions outside of crop failures due to natural disasters; we will use secondary sources to supplement our own data here.

The data on the punishment of officials are far less complete in this coverage than the data on crop failure. Corruption and inefficiency in the bureaucracy naturally prevented the complete reporting of all cases of offense and guilt which had anything to do with mis-government or mis-administration deserving punishment by the central authority. But, if we assume the same degree of reporting or non-reporting of offenses for all the years in our period of study, we can at least measure the fluctuations of government effectiveness or ineffectiveness as shown in the number of cases of punished officials. Furthermore, experience shows that serious cases of mis-government usually get reported sooner or later. Jealousy, competition, aggressiveness and fear in the politics of officialdom made it very unlikely that those cases of mis-government could go without being reported by one's own colleagues or superiors. Lacking a more satisfactory national record of government effectiveness or ineffectiveness, our data of the punishment of guilty officials do provide us with a form of measurement of political oppression and degeneration which contribute toward the uprising of the population. Toward the last six months of our work, we reformulated the classifications of offenses on which officials were punished, in view of the importance of this part of the work. This task was quite difficult because we had to

rework the several thousand scanner sheets which were unsatisfactory in terms of classification of offenses.

Finally, there is the category of data dealing with social values. We originally intended to cull from the Annals data concerning values related to the political organization of the state, to the kinship system, and to conservatism. The Chinese government bestowed decorations, rewards and other forms of recognitions for unusual conduct by individuals representing dedication to these values, as for example, a loyal warrior who died in battle, a young widow who shunned remarriage in dedication to the value of chastity and preservation of the integrity of the deceased husband's family, an unusually filial son sacrificing his own interest to the utmost for the happiness of his parents, and honors to those of unusually advanced age such as a centurarian (a symbol of respect for age and therefore for conservatism). We discarded much of the earlier data on loyalty, because we found that decorations and honors were given out too indiscriminately to those who died in battle including many common soldiers who had very little to do with loyalty because they were quite likely conscripted by force or hired by money to fight on the government's side against uprisings and rebellions. The Annals contain much data on government encouragement of kinship values and conservatism, and we are eager to see what sound scientific interpretation we can obtain from the analysis of the data we have collected.

In the process of extracting data from the Annals, we produced several research instruments as bi-products, prominently a file of

NUMBER OF INCIDENTS

periods / data* type	1	2	3	4	Total
I 1797-1840	2,581	3,292	682	2,681	9,236
II 1841-1870	1,250	3,968	4,252	1,178	10,648
III 1871-1911	2,367	5,668	1,968	1,198	11,201
Total	6,198	12,928	6,902	5,057	31,085

*Data types: 1 = Relief for crop failure
2 = Punishment of officials
3 = Mass action incidents
4 = Bestowing of honors

official positions and ranks, and a very long list of geographical names of provinces, prefectures, and 2,000 counties, and a limited list of tribes, banners, and political sub-divisions of China's borderland in the west and northwest. These instruments have been necessary for clarification of individual positions of officials and their ranks, and to more adequately identify geographical locations where incidents have occurred. While they served our purpose for the present project, they can serve any number of researches on 19th Century China by any discipline. The file of official positions and ranks is still being edited before it can be formally presented, and it will be published as a separate volume. The list of geographical names had been completed and is in the process of shipment to Pittsburgh, and will be incorporated into later reports for this project.

It should be mentioned that a new comprehensive bibliography for the study of social movements had been completed in connection with this project.

B. Work Plans for the Completed Data for the Year
June 1, 1968-August 31, 1969

1. Arranging the Data Cards and Scanner Sheets

As the boxes of data cards and scanner sheets kept arriving at Pittsburgh in July, 1968, we have started processing them for analysis. As each box arrived, we examined it with regard to serial numbers, the exact number of cards and scanner sheets in each package, and the condition in which it had arrived, with special attention to possible damages which may make the scanner sheets not suitable for machine processing.

Damaged scanner sheets are replaced by new ones worked up from data cards.

The data cards and the scanner sheets are separately arranged in two series according to the serialized incident numbers which are chronologically arranged. When the entire set of completed data has arrived, and when the data cards and the scanner sheets have been completely arranged according to its serialized instance numbers, we will re-examine the data cards and the scanner sheets all over again. The objective of this operation is to make it possible to identify the data cards for any scanner sheet by looking up the corresponding incident number, and vice versa. This calls for accurate matching of incident numbers between the data cards and the corresponding scanner sheets, a matching operation that would take up quite a bit of time.

2. Re-checking

The data cards, and especially the scanner sheets had been checked three times in Taiwan before they were sent to Pittsburgh. Each data reader is required to check each card against the text of the Annals for accuracy, and check the scanner sheets against the data cards. After this, each data reader is asked to check the same things for another reader. Lastly a third party, either the team leader or a special checking assistant will give both the data cards and the scanner sheets a final and very careful checking. If at this final checking a 2% error in any set of data is found, the entire 100 sheets must be done all over again. This has happened, but fortunately not too often. In addition to this checking, we ourselves have done regular

random sample checks each time we went to Taiwan for observation and examination of the work going on with the Chinese Team at the Academia Sinica.

We planned a 1% check for all four categories of data when the entire shipment of cards and scanner sheets arrived. If time permits, we would like to do a 2% sample check on scanner sheets and data cards for the mass action incidents. The process of checking consists of examining the original material in the Annals against what is recorded in the data card, and then checking the markings on the scanner sheets against the data card.

When the data cards and the scanner sheets are separately and properly arranged according to their serial incident numbers, and when the sample checks are done for both series the entire set of data will be ready for computerization. It is hoped that this entire process can be accomplished by the end of the first term of the academic year, namely the end of December, 1968. During the first term the Chinese assistants, who have come to Pittsburgh, in addition to doing the work just mentioned, are expected to take training in computer programming and operation, so that in the second term they can all help in computerizing the data they have completed arranging in proper order. It is necessary to use Chinese assistants for the computerizing operation, because they know the Chinese language and culture, and can readily check into original Chinese material or get into Chinese reference works whenever problems arise in the computerized data or in the matter of programming.

3. Computerizing the Data

The first task is to transfer all the data from the scanner sheets onto a computer tape -- the construction of a master tape. Some experiments have to be made in order to resolve many mechanical problems, such as the proper way to process multiple entries under a single item.

After the master tape is properly constructed, and data can be successfully retrieved from it, we will proceed to construct work tapes, as for example, a work tape for each of the four categories of data, or a separate tape for geographical or time distribution of events recorded in the data. This will facilitate retrieval and programming considerably.

After the construction of the master tape and some of the work tapes, we will start programming for analysis. This will be a long process, but we will start with preliminary operations such as:

Frequency counts of all variables in our analytic scheme in the scanner sheets.

Time sequence and locational distribution of selected data.

Simple and multivariate correlations between different types of mass action incidents and movements and various system factors such as crop failures and incidents of mis-government. This is the most complicated part of the entire project, and it will unfold as our analyzing process proceeds.

If the Chinese assistants can be properly trained in computer operation and programming during the first term of the current academic year, it is hoped that during the second term of the present academic year or possibly including the summer of 1969, we can complete building the master tape and some of the work tapes. The elaborate analysis

work will begin perhaps in September, 1969 when that academic year starts.

4. Area Intensive Checking for the Degree of Completeness of the Shih Lu Data

Financial and manpower limitation compelled us to use a single source, the Shih Lu, as the main source of the information for this project, and as such, we have to make some sample check for the degree of completeness of the data we obtained from this single source. The continental size of this gigantic country prevents the employment of extensive sources of data for this purpose. The strategy is to choose certain areas, such as a region of high frequency of uprisings and rebellions and another region of low frequency of the same phenomena, and use such well known sources as local gazetteers to search for as complete a set of information as possible on the same categories of data we have obtained for the Annals for the same region. We will make the utmost effort to find out as complete a record as possible for all the mass action incidents which occurred in such a selected region within our period of study. Measuring the Shih Lu data against the result of this intensive process of research, we should have a rough idea as to how complete the Shih Lu data is. Although very careful considerations and preliminary research has shown that the Shih Lu data has been quite complete in terms of major events which occurred in different territories, we wish to be doubly sure of the soundness and adequacy of the Shih Lu data before we start using it in specific ways. We do this in spite of the fact that several leading Chinese historians

have given their full approval of our use of a single data source, Shih Lu, for our purpose.

However, there is a difficulty in trying to conduct intensive research on a single region: we have to be able to locate a properly qualified Chinese historian or scholar in the historical studies at a place where local gazetteers, and other needed library resources are also available. For example, in Washington, D.C. and in New York we could have the needed library resources, as there are many valuable local gazetteers in this territory, but it would not be possible to find properly trained and qualified Chinese scholars to do the job, at least not within our budgetary limits. In Taiwan or in Hong Kong, properly trained Chinese scholars are available at very low salaries, but there is a shortage of needed documentary sources especially local gazetteers. We are still looking toward these two localities, Taiwan and Hong Kong, for a solution because we hear that local gazetteers and other sources are becoming available as the Chinese nationalist government is making accessible to the public a number of resources shipped from the mainland many years ago.

C. Case Studies

Lying ahead is the complex task of developing intensive case studies in order to examine the details of the nature and development of various types of social movements as revealed by the inventory survey for which data collection has just been completed. Before a full typology of movements is obtained from the inventory data, no final arrangement can be made for case studies, for case selection is based

on typology. But two years of handling and observation of data lead to the opinion that two broad types of forces, the peasants' and the intellectuals' movements, dominated socio-political transformation of 19th and early 20th Century China, with the peasants driven by mounting misfortunes to provide the massive manpower and the intellectuals threatened by national failures at economic and political transformation to furnish the ideological orientation and large-scale organizational leadership. Both the peasants' and the intellectuals' movements fall into sub-types such as renovative and traditional unrenovative (or alienative and loyal), secular or religious. Further thoughts on significance and analysis of peasant and intellectual movements are reflected in the next section.

This view, in coordination with the inventory typology of movements, will guide the selection of sample cases and their analysis. For the present, we are trying to guide two studies in Taiwan, one on the Boxers Rebellion at the turn of this century as the last of the large-scale peasant uprisings of the traditional, unrenovative type, and the "self-strengthening societies," an intellectual movement at the end of the 19th Century working for adoption of certain features of Western culture as the road to national salvation. Two Chinese historians are studying these subjects.

As another preliminary step at the case study effort, we are trying to locate Chinese scholars to study a few more samples of traditional or unrenovative peasant movements of both the secular and the sacred (or more precisely, sectarian) varieties. Examples: the rampage of pirate Tsai Ch'ien on the South China Coast, the local uprising of peasant leader Chung Jen-Chieh in Hupeh province, and the sectarian rebellion in Chang-Lua county (Honan). These cases represent three institutionalized modes (or three traditions) of peasant response to extreme stress under mass misery: rampaging, banditry and piracy, local uprising against rich landlords and tyrannical officials, and rebellion by sectarian organizations. These three most common traditionalized responses to mass crises, banditry, local uprising and sectarian, are each characterized by many routinized features in their values, structures, modes of operation, and process of development. Familiar examples: the long tradition of underground organization techniques, the familiar tactics of tunneling in combat, and the widespread use of supernatural appeals and symbols, and they all share a common characteristic -- they aim at personnel substitution in the existing system (e.g., kill the rich or depose the prince and take his place), and offer no new system to replace the existing social order. The fact that most of the mass actions in 19th Century China belong to this type may well explain partly the failure of China's modernization in that period. But the continued occasional use of these forms of resistance by the peasants against the Communists indicate the persistence and significance of the study of traditionalized or

institutionalized response to crises. Successful formulation of institutionalized responses to crises and the system context within which they occur may make certain types of mass actions and movements more predictable.

In developing this part of our study, our problem is to locate high-quality Chinese scholars in proximity to sources of information and within our budgetary limits.

One of the purposes of the present project is to reveal the long-term perspective of social change which help explain the rise of the Chinese Republican and Communist revolutions. Eventually we hope to concentrate on the Communist movement. Hence, we have kept an eye on developments in Communist China, and have conducted a limited study of the Cultural Revolution as a case. It is being published as a chapter in a collective volume by the University of Chicago Press. This nationwide convulsive movement undoubtedly has many aspects of significance which will yield many varieties of interpretations. In this paper, we consider the movement as an expression of goal instability characteristic of major revolutions. This interpretation provides a broad frame of reference imparting meaning and a measure of consistency to the complexity and confusion which characterize the seemingly nonsensical events of this movement. It is hazardous to write about an on-going movement in a major revolution, but it is safe to predict, on the basis of our study, that when the dust of the Cultural Revolution is settled, there will

be a new definition or clarification of the immediate and intermediate goals of the Chinese Communist revolution.

D. An Approach to our Case Studies

1. Objective

There are many objectives for making detailed case studies in our Social Movements Project. Presently our attempt is to establish the hypothesis that there are institutionalized modes of response to certain types of crises under specific system contexts. We are trying to prove that there are common basic characteristics among the same type of mass actions as a means of mass reaction to different types of social crises. The typology of crises and the analytic scheme for studying system contexts are provided in our instruments such as our Case Study Outline and our scanner sheets. Certain types of mass movements will become more predictable if we can prove this thesis that there are institutionalized or routinized mass responses to certain types of social crises. Our inventory survey will give us statistical data and statistical patterns to help explore this hypothesis, but the inventory data is by its nature sketchy and we need good case studies to verify our theme more fully.

2. Selection of Types of Sample Cases for Study

Our sample cases will be selected from the following most frequently recurrent types of cases as revealed by our preliminary classification of large-scale movements or large-scale mass action events. This is subject to revision when the full typological information becomes available from computer analysis of our whole set of data.

a. Peasant Movements

Unrenovative Types

Religious type -- these are mainly sectarian rebellions organized by the peasants. A cursory observation of our statistical data discloses that sectarian movements are perhaps the most common form of mass response to distress and crisis among peasants. Out of a total of 27 large-scale mass action events, 10 of them belong to the category of sectarian uprisings.

Secular Type

Peasant uprisings -- from local rice riots to full-scale rebellions such as those described by the typical phrase in traditional Chinese historical records: "The rebels killed the official in charge (usually the magistrate) and occupied the city."

Banditry and Piracy -- this is the familiar ancient scourge of the tortured land of China in times of crises. We have many such cases represented in the data, and I hope some good case studies can be made from our data as well as from secondary sources.

Renovative Types -- are subdivided into religious and secular types. Renovative peasant movements are very few in number, but the great Taiping Rebellion is a prominent example of the religious type, and we have not found any purely secular type of peasant movement that is renovative in nature in our period of study.

b. Intellectuals' Movements

This type of movement is subdivided into again the unrenovative and the renovative types. We have yet to develop a full analytic scheme

to study this kind of movement. But the period of our study has many important examples of intellectual movements, such as the Tong Chih Reform, the One-Hundred Day Reform and the "Self-Strengthening Movement."

c. Troop Mutiny

Mutiny of troops is a classical type of incidents marking the end of a regime in times of crisis in China. Troop mutiny accounts for four of a total of 27 major mass action events in our data in a period when the Ching Dynastic power was joined to an end. We would like to conduct some case studies on troop mutinies in terms of their objectives, their organizational form, and under what precise conditions they occur.

3. Procedure

A few cases for each type will be selected with regard to the distribution by sizes and time. Both small and large scale incidents should be included in order to find out any possible qualitative difference arising from the variation of size. In terms of time, cases should be selected for the early middle and late part of our period, so as to see the effect of historical circumstance and system context on the nature of the cases of the same type, for example, whether sectarian movements differ in nature as they occur in different parts of our period with different system contexts.

The similarities and dissimilarities among cases of the same type will be analyzed in terms of their goals and values, leadership and organization, and developmental process, as set forth in our instruments, including the Case Study Outline and our scanner sheet

concerning mass action incidents. These same instruments will also guide us in analyzing the system context of our cases. Our scanner sheet for mass action incidents, for example, calls for data on the types of crises, contexts and precipitating events, in addition to the search for economic and political factors as found in separate scanner sheets, in order to establish the system context for certain types of mass action events.

The product of this effort could be individual monographs devoted to single detailed cases, or it could be monographs each containing a series of papers, several cases of the same type distributed in different sizes and time for close comparative considerations.

4. Current Activities

Presently we are considering two Taiwan graduate students to work with us on certain types of peasant movements. Both of them are members of the Chinese team in Academia Sinica in Taiwan organized for the extraction of data from the Shih Lu, and they are both now at the University of Pittsburgh as research assistants.

Professor Hsuan-Chi Pai, Chairman of the History Department in the Taiwan National Normal University, has written a book on the Boxers Uprising and may be able to participate in working up a case study for the Boxers Uprising. This is an important case because it is the last of a nation-wide sectarian movement of the unrenovative type. It seems to have all the classical characteristics of traditional sectarian movements as an answer to widespread crises among the peasants. Historically it has an added significance: the failure of the Boxers Movement may well have broken the back of half

of a century of extremely conservative policies as a response to the impact of western influences, for after this, even the Empress Dowager woke up to the futility of the traditional formula for meeting socio-political crises, and launched by herself into a series of reforms which far surpassed the measures she suppressed ruthlessly and bloodily during the One-Hundred Day Reform Movement a few years ago. It may therefore be regarded as a pivotal event of modern Chinese history. A successful study of this case will give us more than scientific information on the study of social movements, but it may also provide significant interpretation to a critical turn of modern oriental history.

Currently we are talking to Professor Cho-Yuan Hsu, Chairman of the History Department at the National University of Taiwan about his effort of organizing a new research group in Taiwan in which we are interested for cooperation in the preparation of case studies for our project.

GERMAN PHASE OF THE PROJECT

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III. German Phase of the Project

A. Report on the Work of the German Research Team

The objectives of the German phase of our study follow from the objectives of the project as a whole and are therefore basically the same as in the Chinese phase. However, there are certain differences. Germany is a much smaller country and, on the whole, its collective experience in the 19th Century was less turbulent than that of China. As a consequence in the German case we have to deal with a smaller total number of incidents relevant to our project.

In view of the fact that 19th Century Germany was politically fragmented until the end of the century we cannot expect to find any counterpart to the annals of the Imperial Chinese government. Instead, we have to rely on a variety of sources, among which newspapers -- a highly developed medium of mass communication in 19th Century Germany -- are most important. These circumstances enable us to describe each relevant incident in greater detail than is the case in the Chinese study.

Certainly we can and do collect the information gathered for the Chinese incidents, but the German materials make much more detail

available in addition. This is a clear advantage; it enables us to develop our methodology of incident description and analysis into a truly flexible tool of comparative research. However, the diversity of German sources also introduces a diversity of biases. Special efforts are taken to deal with this situation.

Because of the experiences gained with the Chinese phase of the research it is also possible to introduce improvements into the design. Our research instruments in the Chinese phase, for example, call for the description of government measures aiming at control of population formations only when these measures are a reaction to an incident of collective action. It is clear, however, that not infrequently do governments take measures of a repressive nature which are supposed to forestall the possibility of turmoil and tumult before any population formation has been at all active. Such steps of the authorities may indeed assure tranquility or they may, on the contrary, be such irritants that tumults break loose with even greater force.

The theoretical perspective which we have now reached considers incidents of collective action and protest as steps taken by some persons or groups to press their side in a collective conflict. Clearly, the social movements of which such incidents are indicative can only be understood on the basis of a careful description of interrelations of the activities of both constituted authorities and protesters; and, indeed, sometimes the authorities appear in the role of protesters. The German phase of the project therefore includes a description of all governmental measures which are clearly aimed at the preservation of

re-establishment of control -- whether they represent governmental initiatives or reactions. Of course, these measures are recorded by us only if they come to the attention of a larger public; this holds for the protest side of the process too.

In a brief statement, the German phase of the research pursues the following specific objectives:

1. Establishment of an exhaustive inventory of all conflict oriented incidents of collective action and protest which came to the attention of a larger contemporary public during at least a part of the 19th Century (initially the work is concerned with the period from 1830 to 1866).
2. Creation of the descriptive base necessary for an analysis of the interplay between authority and protest by making a similarly exhaustive inventory of all those governmental measures overtly aiming at control over potentially or actually restless populations which came to the attention of the larger contemporary public.
3. Tracing the pattern of innovation, diffusion, and sometimes institutionalization of forms and techniques of protest by establishing detailed quantitative descriptions of the sequences of actions involved within each incident.
4. Linking patterns in the frequency of incidents of different types and patterns in their forms to changes in social system structure.
5. Maintenance of comparability: the German phase of this study must preserve comparability with the Chinese phase.

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sources. The incident description is coded onto scanner sheets and processed like the sheets of the Chinese phase.

b. Inventory of Control Measures by Governments (GII)

This code design does not have a counterpart in the Chinese phase. It is concerned with the description of control measures such as the declaration of states of emergency, curfews, occupations of cities, etc., that may or may not be responsive to popular unrest. The data collection for this sheet is handled in analogy to the procedure for GI.

c. Data Base

The primary data base for both GI and GII are newspaper runs. A great deal of careful investigation went into the decision to select newspapers rather than governmental records as the primary data base for the inventory. Consultation with Professor Richard Tilly of the University of Münster, who has in the recent past launched a pilot investigation of social protest in 19th Century Germany, resulted in the advice that newspaper coverage tended to be more complete than governmental reporting. Especially incidents which governmental officials were inclined to consider minor would receive coverage in the papers but not in government records -- especially since a report of popular unrest would often tend to indicate poor administration.

However, reliance on newspapers in those cases in which major incidents occurred that had governmental or judicial investigations as their consequence is clearly inferior to the utilization of governmental or court records. The decision was therefore made to use such

data in the detailed case studies both as a systematic supplement to the newspaper data and in order to gauge the specificity of newspaper reporting.

One further essential factor in the decision to use newspapers was the relative accessibility and low cost of the materials. Because of the large number of governmental entities in early 19th Century Germany a complete investigation of all relevant governmental archives would be prohibitive in cost. The mixed strategy of basing the incident inventory primarily on the newspapers with certain historical reference works as supplemental aids to interpretation, and to use governmental and court records for detailed case studies only, appeared most promising.

Nineteenth Century Germany produced a very large number of newspapers of different political persuasions. The decision was made to use only supra-regional papers with a broad readership. In addition, it was decided to select one paper from Southern Germany, one from Central Germany, one from Western Germany, and one from Northern Germany. Due consideration of the political stance of these papers resulted in the selection of the Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung, the Frankfurter Journal, the Vossische Zeitung and the Kölnische Zeitung. The Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung has been made available in the form of bound volumes through the cooperation of the Institute for Newspaper Research at the University of München. The Frankfurter Journal has been made available through the cooperation of the Institute for Sociology and Ethnology of the University of Heidelberg, especially through the kindness of the Director of its Division of Communications Research, Dr. Horst Reimann.

The Vossische Zeitung and the Kölnische Zeitung are available in the form of microfilm through the Institute for Newspaper Research of the City of Dortmund. The inclusion of a fifth newspaper from Hamburg is still under consideration.

Historical resumes on editorial policy and readership of each newspaper will be prepared. The completeness of incident coverage in these four or five newspapers will be measured by us against detailed investigation of certain sample areas and sample types of incidents using other sources. It is anticipated that this investigation will show that all major incidents find their way into the newspapers in spite of the practice of censorship. However, the specific effects of censorship on the quality of reporting and on the orientation and the selection of commentary will show up as a natural bi-product of our own investigation. An effort is being prepared to record quantitatively how much and what each paper reports on each one of these incidents. This is a minor aspect of our project but would be of considerable interest to specialists in the field of German newspaper history.

d. Social System Context

To some extent the codes GI and GII themselves include information about the social system context. A number of specific instruments, such as a coded list of communities and regions, of states, etc., is in preparation. However, the specific tracing of political, economic, and social structural variables to delineate the structural transformations of the German social system is being deferred until a later stage of this investigation.

e. Delimiting the Area of Study

In order to make a quantitative investigation of incidents in Germany during the 19th Century possible it is necessary to establish a stable entity "Germany." This mundane requirement of statistical investigation leads into a complex theoretical and historical issue concerning the constitution and the delimitation of social systems. Early 19th Century Germany is not a constituted social entity and it is virtually impossible to say with certainty where its boundaries lie. Germany was not organized as a nation state, but entered the 19th Century under the institutional forms of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. Even the boundaries of the Bismarckian Empire of 1871 were surrounded by controversy.

Lengthy discussion resulted in the recognition that there is no satisfactory rational principle for the solution of the problem. Therefore, the arbitrary decision was made to define Germany for the purposes of this study as the area encompassed by the German Reich of 1871 with the exclusion of Alsace-Lorraine.

Thus, all of Austria is excluded from the context of this study. Since many events within the domain under investigation were intimately influenced by events in Austria, and by the policies of the Imperial Austrian government this decision was only reluctantly taken. The interaction of such incidents within the territory by us defined as Germany and Austrian policies is only traced by us if Austrian troops, envoys, or subjects are directly involved on German ground. The information losses connected with this decision are obvious but have to be taken into

account. It is certain that the resulting data collection will still enable us to trace among other social movements the rise of German nationalism and the creation through it of a German national identity (as against a merely cultural identity).

f. Case Studies

Intensive case studies will be used as in the Chinese instance in order to check on the adequacy of the inventory data and in order to complete the investigation of particularly critical instances. Case studies will be based on a principle of sampling by area, time, type of movement and type of incident. The case study rationale will be evolved following the principles used in the statement of the Chinese Case Study rationale, but its detailed formulation will be undertaken at a later time.

2. Organizational Arrangements

Agreement has been reached with Professor M. Rainer Lepsius, of the University of Mannheim, to conduct the German phase of the project in the context of his institute and in cooperation with the Institute of Sociology and Ethnology of the University of Heidelberg. Professor Lepsius' own research in political sociology is at present concerned with the analysis of politically relevant incidents of collective action. He is studying the processes which lead to a particular symbolic interpretation or political impact of certain incidents of the contemporary German student movement. His own investigation, not connected with the present project, emphasizes similar problems and theoretical approaches as ours.

Professor Lepsius spent the Winter term 1967-1968 at the University of Pittsburgh as Visiting Professor of Sociology. At that time he and Burkart Holzner conducted a joint seminar on social movements and social system change. The decision to collaborate was reinforced by the joint work in the context of this seminar. Professor Lepsius, as Director of the German research team, is the project's German representative.

The day to day direction of the research at the Institute in Mannheim is in the hands of Dr. Schluchter, assistant to Professor Lepsius at the University of Mannheim. Dr. Schluchter is a young political sociologist who has recently become known within Germany through his book entitled "Entscheidung zum Rechtsstaat" ("Decision for the Rule of Law"). Under Dr. Schluchter's supervision a group of six part-time research assistants are working on the project.

A laboratory including microfilm readers, the necessary maps and other reference works and the required equipment has been made available through Professor Lepsius at his Institute. The team of research assistants includes in addition to the persons connected with the University of Mannheim, two doctoral students from the University of Heidelberg. Work spaces for these students have also been made available in the Institute of Sociology and Ethnology of the University of Heidelberg.

Financial matters and accounting are handled as in the Chinese phase through a sub-contract, in this case with Professor Lepsius.

B. Plan of Work for the German Phase

The research team has been established and work has begun in preliminary coding and the progressive modification of the codebook. By the middle of October, 1968 this qualitative phase of revising the codebook will be completed. At that time the code will be frozen and quantitative coding will begin. It is hoped that by June, 1969 the major part of the incident inventory will be completed so that case studies for detailed investigation can be made.

Concurrent with this empirical work, theoretical work will continue to proceed growing out of detailed analysis of the methodology and its implications and preliminary findings.

In the context of the empirical work certain subsidiary tasks must be undertaken. They are all concerned with the refinement of the codebook through sub-codes, such as a code of states, of regions and counties, the index of political shifts and the like. In addition a number of codes will be built inductively, such as the list of incident names actually used in the sources, an inventory of issues of conflict and an inductive revision of the code for incident results. In addition all components of the code outline will be inductively revised where necessary. This is most likely to be the case in the code for community size.

The present outline does not make sufficient provision for preserving in the quantitative code the differences in the quality of reporting in the different sources. An appropriate adjustment will be made.

List of References Deposited in Sponsoring Office

- I. GI Code Outline for Incidents of Collective Action -- English Version
- II. GI Code Outline for Incidents of Collective Action -- German Version
- III. GII Code Outline for Governmental Measures for the Control of Potential or Actual Disorders -- English Version
- IV. GII Code Outline for Governmental Measures for the Control of Potential or Actual Disorders -- German Version
- V. Sample Data Card
- VI. Cultural Revolutions and Revisionism by C. K. Yang
- VII. Working Paper: Intellectuals' and Peasants' Movements by C.K. Yang
- VIII. Working Paper: Some Remarks on Incidents of Conflict and Protest by Burkart Holzner
- IX. Working Paper: Notes on the Study of Social Movements in the Context of Social Systems Structure and Change by Burkart Holzner
- X. Working Paper: Positions, Positional Linkages, Strains by Burkart Holzner
- XI. Working Paper: Notes on Christian Radicalism and Chiliasm by Burkart Holzner
- XII. Working Paper: The Sociology of Destructive Systems by Burkart Holzner
- XIII. Working Paper: Some Concepts and Problems of the Sociology of Symbolic Activity by Burkart Holzner

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13. ABSTRACT This report closes out the second year of effort on a project which is developing methods and theory for the study of incidents of violent social protest and broad social movements in the context of social system change. The method of building computer based inventories of incidents of protest and conflict permits the quantitative description of large numbers of such events, based on easily accessible public records and historical documents. Critical instance case studies supplement the quantitative data through detailed qualitative investigation. The project's frame of reference emphasizes event sequence analysis in conflict and mobilization. In order to assess flexibility and power of the procedure, long time series, the entire 19th century, were chosen for incident inventories on two societies of widely different characteristics. An Oriental society (China) and a Western society (Germany) were selected. The data gathering phase for China (31,000 incidents) has been completed; for Germany it is presently underway. Code books for incident content analysis are available in the monitoring office.			

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