### **Abstracts**

### Risk-Sharing and Social Justice: The Motivational Foundations of the Post-War Welfare State

JOHN DRYZEK AND ROBERT E. GOODIN

Altruism is an easy but unpersuasive explanation of the origins of the growth of the velfare state. Here we focus upon another: pervasive uncertainty, such as that generated by the Second World War. In that light, the post-war state looks like an outgrowth of wartime risk-sharing arrangements between people who could not *ex ante* know whether they would be on the giving or the receiving end of inter-personal transfers. Both British history and cross-national statistics lend some support to this interpretation of the growth of welfare-state expenditures in the post-war period.

pp. I-34

# Legitimacy and Mass Compliance: Reflections on Max Weber and Soviet-Type Societies

JAN PAKULSKI

It is argued in this article (i) that Weber's concepts of legitimacy and legitimate authority are ambiguous and difficult to apply in sovietological studies; (ii) that mass compliance in the Soviet-type societies of Eastern Europe is not a result of the legitimacy of the rulers but reflects 'conditional tolerance', i.e. a perception of the high costs of insubordination in comparison with the assessed chances of success; (iii) that the concept of 'conditional tolerance' provides a better explanation than the concept of 'legitimacy crisis' for both the absence of widespread mass dissent in Soviet society and the relatively frequent occurrences of mass protest in Poland. It links mass dissent with the inability of elites to sanction mass behaviour (especially the behaviour of 'strategic' groups) and to shape the perception of the sanctions in a way that convinces the majority of the people that conformity pays and insubordination is not worth the risk.

pp. 35-56

# Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies

HERBERT P. KITSCHELT

Much of the literature on social movements has considered the intensity, strategies and outcomes of political protest as a consequence of levels of deprivation perceived by a constituency and of the internal skills of aggrieved groups in building protest organizations and coalitions. This paper, by contrast, draws upon the cases of antinuclear protest in France, Sweden, the United States and West Germany to show that 'political opportunity structures' are an important determinant of movement mobilization, strategies and policy impacts. More open political opportunity structures and greater political capacities to implement public policies covary with the choice of more

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adversarial or more co-operative movement strategies and the procedural, substantive and structural impacts of anti-nuclear protest on energy policy.

pp. 58-85

## Soft Incentives and Collective Action: Participation in the Anti-Nuclear Movement

KARL-DIETER OPP

Explanations of collective action, particularly those provided by economists, tend to limit the variables taken into account to material incentives which can easily be measured. It is argued in this paper that for many types of collective action 'soft incentives', such as private sanctions, expectations of reference persons, protest norms, etc., are important explanatory variables. To test this proposition a survey was conducted on 398 opponents of nuclear power. In this investigation several soft incentives were measured directly. The data indicate that soft incentives have significant effects on participating in the anti-nuclear movement.

pp. 87—112

# The Political Environment and Foreign Policy Options: British Attitudes Toward European Integration, 1972–1979

RUSSELL J. DALTON AND ROBERT DUVAL

This research applies a model for studying how the flow of political events stimulates changes in public opinion. This dynamic model is tested with a seven-year time series of British opinions toward membership in the European Communities. The events-opinion linkage is a complex dynamic process. Events have a very sharp impact on opinions, but this effect dissipates in a few months' time. The findings provide new insights into Britain's troubled relations with Europe, as well as valuable information on the general process of opinion change.

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