

# Felipe G. Santos

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## Current Positions

### Postdoctoral Research Fellow

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND CRIMINOLOGY, CITY, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

London, UK

December 2020 - Present

- Involved in the following ongoing and completed projects:
  - INTERFACED: Interfaces for Democratic Participation: Deliberation, Mobilization, and Contestation Since the Onset of the Covid-19 Pandemic (funded by the Horizon program of the European Commission)
  - READJUST Climate: Reasons, Emotions and Attitudes for Climate Justice (Funded by the European Climate Foundation) - Completed
  - ProDem - Protest and Democracy: How Movement Parties, Social Movements and Active Citizens are Reshaping Europe (funded by the Volkswagen Foundation) - Completed

### Postdoctoral Research Fellow

FACULTY OF POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE AND COMMUNICATION SCIENCES, BABEȘ-BOLYAI UNIVERSITY

Cluj-Napoca, Romania

August 2023 - Present

- As part of the TakePart project, funded by the NextGenerationEU program of the European Commission.

### Board member of the Social Movements Research Network

COUNCIL FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES

Remote

June 2024 - Present

## Education

### PhD in Political Sciences, *summa cum laude*

CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY

Budapest, Hungary

Sep. 2014 - Apr. 2020

- Winner of the Young Scholar Award of the European Sociological Association
- Winner of the Outstanding Dissertation Award of CEU's Doctoral School.
- Defense Committee: Bela Greskovits, Erin Jenne & Donatella della Porta.

### MA in European Political and Administrative Studies

COLLEGE OF EUROPE

Bruges, Belgium

Aug. 2013 - Jun. 2014

### MS in International Relations

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL AND EUROPEAN STUDIES, CORVINUS UNIVERSITY

Koszeg, Hungary

Sep. 2011 - Jul. 2013

### 'Licenciatura' (BA + MS) in Business Management

UNIVERSITY OF A CORUÑA

A Coruña, Spain

Sep. 2005 - Jun. 2011

## Past Experiences

### Co-PI, READJUST Climate project

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND CRIMINOLOGY, CITY, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

London, UK

June 2023 - December 2024

- Project funded by the European Climate Foundation.

### Postdoctoral Research Associate

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

Manchester, UK

Aug. 2019 - Dec. 2020

- As part of the MOBILISE project, funded through the Open Research Area (ORA) Scheme.

### Research Assistant to Prof. Dorit Geva

CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY

Budapest, Hungary

Sep. 2017 - Jun. 2018

### Teaching Assistant

EUROPEAN CONSORTIUM FOR POLITICAL RESEARCH (ECPR)

Bamberg, Germany

Feb. 2017 - Mar. 2017

- PhD level course on Advanced Multi-Method Research at ECPR's Winter School on Methods and Techniques.

### Teaching Assistant

CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY

Budapest, Hungary

Sep. 2015 - Jun. 2019

- Justice, Democracy and Social Movements.
- Social Justice Frameworks in Action.
- Social Movements, Contentious Politics and Democracy.
- Quantitative Methods for MA Students.
- Research Design and Methods in International Relations.
- Jean Monnet Module on European Integration.

- Project: Culture in Power Transitions: Sino-American Conflict in the 21st Century, funded by the MINERVA initiative from the Office of Naval Research, Department of Defense, United States Government.

## Publications

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### BOOKS

- 2024 *Social Movements that Care: Empathy, Solidarity and Empowerment in the Fight Against Evictions*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- 2022 *La Plataforma de Afectados Por la Hipoteca: 10 años de lucha por el derecho a la vivienda*, Editorial Bellaterra (with Gabriele D'Adda, Montserrat Emperador Badimon, Ezequiel Ramón Pinat, Eduard Sala Barceló and Luís Manuel Sanmartín Cava).

### ACADEMIC PAPERS

- 2025 "Protest as a relational field: An analysis of brokerage in contentious episodes and the individuals connecting them". *International Journal of Sociology*. (with Matthias Hoffmann and Dan Mercea).
- 2024 "Policy over Protest: Experimental Evidence on the Drivers of Support for Movement Parties". *Perspectives on Politics*. (with Dan Mercea).
- 2024 "Protesting at the intersection of individual characteristics and obstacles to participation: An analysis of the in-person, online and pivoting styles". *Journal of European Public Policy*. (with Dan Mercea and Matthias Hoffmann).
- 2024 "Taking to the streets: Examining differences between potential protest participants, participants, and non-participants". *Political Studies*. (with Dan Mercea and Matthias Hoffmann).
- 2024 "Far-right strategies to co-opt progressive politics: Vox's Top-Down Civil Society Organizations in Spain". *Social Movement Studies*.
- 2024 "Protesting the lockdown: Locating the movement publicly opposing health restrictions on Facebook". *Social Movement Studies*. (with Dan Mercea & Michael Saker).
- 2024 "Young democrats, critical citizens, and protest voters: Studying the profiles of movement party supporters". *Acta Politica*. (with Dan Mercea).
- 2023 "How Activists Build Power: Passive Beneficiary Involvement and Empowerment in the Platform of Those Affected by Mortgages". *European Societies*.
- 2023 "La configuración del campo de estudio de los movimientos sociales en España (1980-2020)" / "The configuration of social movements studies in Spain (1980-2020)". *RES. Revista Española de Sociología*. (with Gomer Betancor).
- 2022 "Lifting the veil on the use of big data news repositories: A documentation and critical discussion of a protest event analysis". *Communication Methods and Measures*. (with Matthias Hoffmann, Christina Neumayer, and Dan Mercea).
- 2022 "Populist Strategy in the European Parliament: How the Anti-Gender Movement Sabotaged Deliberation about Sexual Health and Reproductive Rights". *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology*. (with Dorit Geva).
- 2021 "Europe's far-right schools and their project for the international order". *International Affairs*. (with Dorit Geva).
- 2020 "Social movements and the politics of care: empathy, solidarity and eviction blockades" *Social Movement Studies*.
- R & R "Opposition electoral strategies against democratic backsliding: The United for Hungary coalition and its 2022 primaries" (with Bálint Mikola).
- Under Review "One foot in parliament, one on the streets: Exploring the interconnection between party evaluations of protest and individual participation in them" (with Dan Mercea and Matthias Hoffmann).
- Under Review "Facing up to Democratic Decline: How the Deterioration of Democratic Quality Hampers Political Participation and Deepens Existing Social Inequalities" (with Dan Mercea).
- Under Review "The multi-dimensional character and appeal of anti-establishment politics: an experimental approach" (with Fred Paxton and Dan Mercea).
- Under Review "Protest Images and Emotions: A Multimodal Analysis of Affective Cues and Engagement with #rezist Twitter Posts" (with Dan Mercea, Matthias Hoffmann and Sorana Constantinescu).

### BOOK CHAPTERS

- 2022 "Methodological Pluralism in the Study of Political Participation" in Wagemann et al. (eds.). *Protest and Democracy: How Movement Parties, Social Movements and Active Citizens are Reshaping Europe*. Routledge. (with Claudius Wagemann).
- 2022 "Care and social movements" in Snow, David A., Della Porta, D. and Klandermans, B. (eds.). *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*. Wiley.

2022	“Cuidados y derecho a la vivienda: Cómo la PAH paró su primer desahucio” in Santos, Felipe G. et al. (eds.). <i>La Plataforma de Afectados Por la Hipoteca: 10 años de lucha por el derecho a la vivienda</i> . Bellaterra.
2022	“La transversalidad puesta en práctica: Cuidados e inteligencia colectiva en la PAH” in Betancor Nuez, G. and Razquin Mangado, A (eds.). <i>Diez años construyendo ciudadanía en movimiento(s). El 15M y otras luchas hermanas</i> . Bellaterra (With Montserrat Emperador Badimon).

## DATASETS

2020	Methods of dissent & collective action under COVID: A crowdsourced list (with Erica Chenoweth, Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick, Jeremy Pressman & Jay Ulfelder).
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## Visiting Positions

### Visiting Research Fellow

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA IRVINE

Irvine, USA

Sep. 2018 - Nov. 2018

### Visiting Research Fellow

JOAN B. KROC SCHOOL OF PEACE STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO

San Diego, USA

Sep. 2018 - Nov. 2018

### Visiting Researcher

BARD COLLEGE

New York, USA

Apr. 2018 - May 2018

### Young Research Fellow

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES KOSZEG

Koszeg, Hungary

Sep. 2017 - Dec. 2017

## Grants, Scholarships & Awards (Total funding: 165,661 €)

2023	READJUST Climate: Reasons, Emotions, and Attitudes Towards Climate Change, Mitigation and Justice (with Dan Mercea and Matthias Hoffmann - European Climate Foundation).	50,000 €
2021	Winner of the European Sociological Association 2021 Young Scholar Award (European Sociological Association).	
2020	Winner of the Outstanding Dissertation Award of the Doctoral School of Political Sciences, Public Policy and International Relations (Central European University).	
2020	Funding for the publication of the book <i>La Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca 2009-2019. Una década de lucha por la vivienda digna</i> (Fundación Betiko).	2.500 €
2019	Write-Up Grant (Central European University).	5.000 €
2018	Doctoral Research Support Grant (Central European University).	4.500 €
2018	Scholarship for Conference Participation (University of Cambridge).	400 €
2018	Visiting Researcher Fellowship (Bard College).	4.000 €
2017	Junior Researcher Fellowship (Hungarian Government).	3.000 €
2017	Short Research Grant (Central European University).	800 €
2015	Grant for Attendance to Winter School (Central European University).	450 €
2014	Full Doctoral Fellowship (Central European University).	64.611 €
2013	European Neighborhood Policy Scholarship (European Commission).	23.000 €
2011	ERASMUS Scholarship for Excellent Students (Bancaja).	1.000 €
2011	ERASMUS Scholarship (University of A Coruña).	4.000 €
2008	Scholarship for Departamental Research (University of A Coruña).	2.400 €

## Selected talks & Presentations at Conferences

2024	Thirtieth International Conference of Europeanists organized by the Council for European Studies (CES)	Lyon, France
2023	Twenty-Ninth International Conference of Europeanists organized by the Council for European Studies (CES)	Reykjavik, Iceland
2023	Keynote talk at Conference on Activism, organized by the College of Political, Administrative and Communication Sciences, Babeş-Bolyai University	Cluj-Napoca, Romania
2022	Twenty-Eight International Conference of Europeanists organized by the Council for European Studies (CES)	Lisbon, Portugal

2022	Critical Margins Midterm Conference, organized by the European Sociological Association (ESA) and the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR)	Trento, Italy
2022	Workshop “Movement Parties: their rise, variety and consequences” at the Joint Sessions of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR)	Edinburgh, UK
2020	Annual Meeting of the American Political Sciences Association (APSA)	Online
2020	Stay Home Without a Home: The Right to Housing in COVID-19 Lockdown Times - Organizers: International Sociological Association & Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology, Lisbon University Institute	Online
2019	Social Movements and the Right to the City - Organizer: Council for European Studies (CES)	Madrid, Spain
2018	Spain: Social Movements Between Past and Present - Organizer: University of Cambridge	Cambridge, UK
2016	ESA RN25 Midterm conference: Friends and Foes of Social Movements - Organizers: Centre on Social Movement Research (COSMOS), Squola Normal Superiore, European Sociological Association	Florence, Italy
2015	Protest, Modernization, Democratization: Political Dynamics in Post-Soviet Countries - Organizer: Academic Swiss Caucasus Net (ASCN)	Tbilisi, Georgia
2013	Youth and Citizenship: Focus on Youth Participation - Organizers: European Commission, Council of Europe and UN Population Fund (UNFPA)	Amman, Jordan

## Selected Media Contributions

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2024	Newspaper article referencing my research on the ideology and tactics of the far-right, <i>El País</i> .
2023	Interview about Europe’s far-right support for Israel, <i>Un tema al día, elDiario.es</i> .
2023	Interview about the electoral performance of Spanish far-right during the Spanish general elections of 2023, <i>Un tema al día, elDiario.es</i> .
2022	Interview about anti-feminism and the Spanish far-right., <i>La SER</i> .
2022	Newspaper article referencing my research with Dorit Geva on the impact of ultra-conservative movements in the European Parliament, <i>InfoLibre</i> .
2022	Interview about the civil society organizations promoted by the Spanish far-right party Vox, <i>La SER</i> .
2022	Interview about the origins and strategies of the anti-gender movement., <i>Carne Cruda</i> .
2022	Interview about the anti-gender movement in Europe, <i>Un tema al día, elDiario.es</i> .
2022	Hungary: election triumph for Viktor Orbán is a warning to progressive parties seeking a marriage of convenience with the far right. (with Dan Mercea), <i>The Conversation</i> .
2021	Interview about Europe’s far-right educational institutions (with Dorit Geva), <i>Undercurrents Podcast, Chatham House</i> .
2020	Interview on BBC World News on activism during the COVID-19 pandemic, <i>BBC World News</i> .
2020	¿Volveremos a las calles? Disposición a protestar durante la pandemia (with Olga Onuch), <i>El País</i> .
2020	Will the Protests Return? Civil Disobedience in the Time of COVID-19 (with Olga Onuch, Gwen Sasse, Henry Hale, and Volodymyr Kulyk, <i>Political Violence at a Glance</i> .
2020	The global pandemic has spawned new forms of activism – and they’re flourishing (with Erica Chenoweth, Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick, Jeremy Pressman, and Jay Ulfelder), <i>The Guardian</i> .
2020	El confinamiento estimula la creatividad política: cien formas de protesta que no implican salir a la calle with Erica Chenoweth, Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick, Jeremy Pressman, and Jay Ulfelder), <i>El Diario</i> .
2019	Entrevista a Donatella della Porta: “La presencia de movimientos sociales a nivel europeo es fundamental para que la Unión Europea exista”, <i>El Salto Diario</i> .
2018	”Precariat spring: Spanish social movements get ready for a new cycle of mobilisation”, <i>openDemocracy</i> .
2017	”Why both the Spanish and the Catalan governments think they come out reinforced from the referendum”, <i>openDemocracy</i> .

## Journal Referee

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West European Politics  
European Societies  
Mobilization  
Partecipazione e Conflitto

International Affairs  
Social Movement Studies  
Social Science History

EJPG  
Employee Relations  
Sociology Compass