

# Class 8: Movements

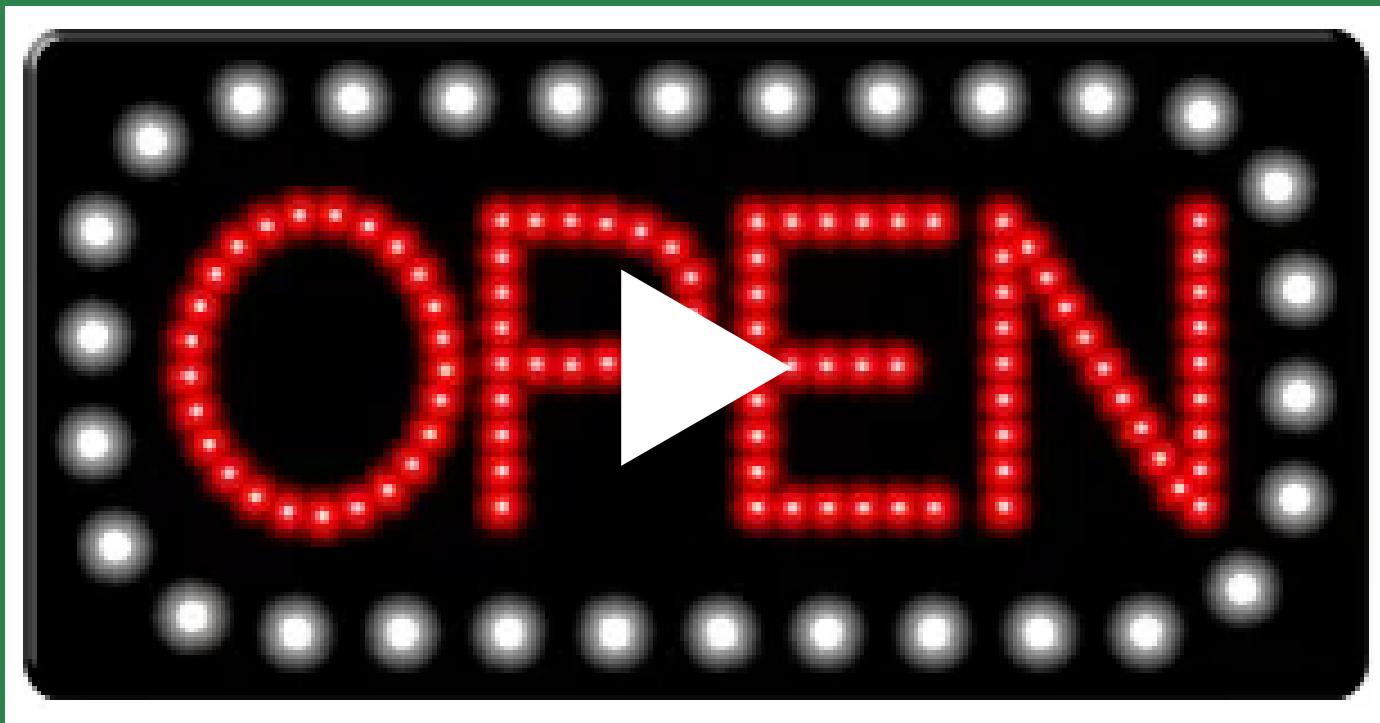
Mobilisation and movements

Dr. Michael C. Zeller

# Agenda for the day

- Opening notes
- Social movement lens on the far right
- A less likely case of far-right movement influence - the Istanbul Convention
- Poll: matters of FR mobilisation
- Mobilisation: periods, spaces, issues
- Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

# Opening notes



# Presentation groups

June    July    May

Date	Presenters	Method
5 June:	Rasmus B., Andre D., Josefine E., Ioanna L., Santiago C.	surveys
12 June:	Omar B., Lela E., Niclas W.	network analysis
19 June:	NO CLASS MEETING	
26 June:	Colombe I., Konstantin S., Jakob W., Veronika L.	ethnography
26 June:	Maksim K., Felix S., Jon L.D., Damir S., Korbinian M.	case study

# Social movement lens on the far right

- overlap, interconnection with parties
  - movement-parties
  - parties with movement roots
  - collaboration of movements and parties
- types of movement impacts
- discussion: far-right movement goals that extend beyond political institutions



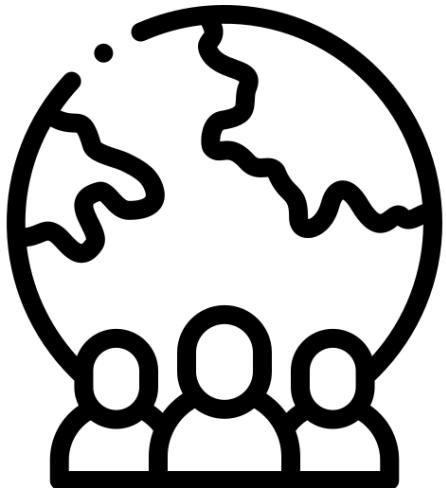
# Movements and parties, overlaps and similarities

- All sorts of constellations of movements and parties
- Some far-right **movement-parties**, as discussed last week
- Several major far-right parties have movement roots, e.g. Front National ([Castelli Gattinara and Pirro 2019](#))

# Movement impacts

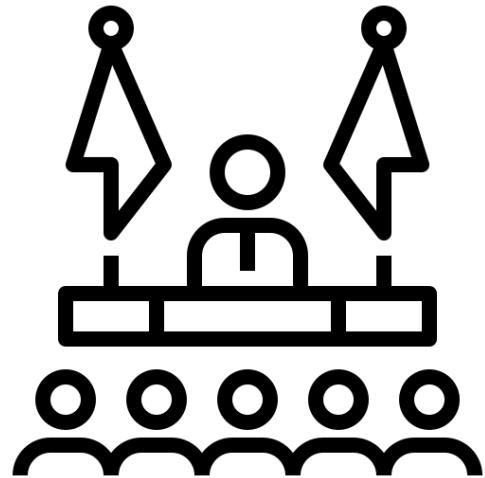
# Movement impacts

cultural

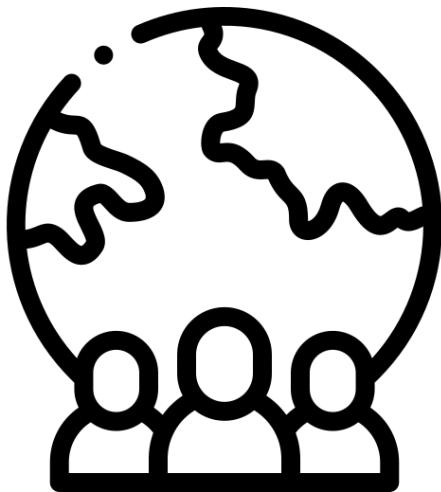


# Movement impacts

political

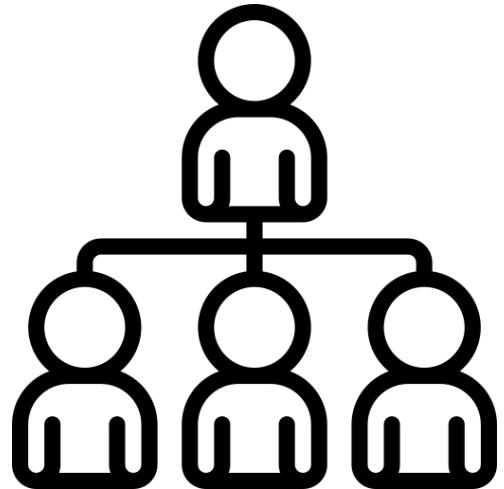


cultural

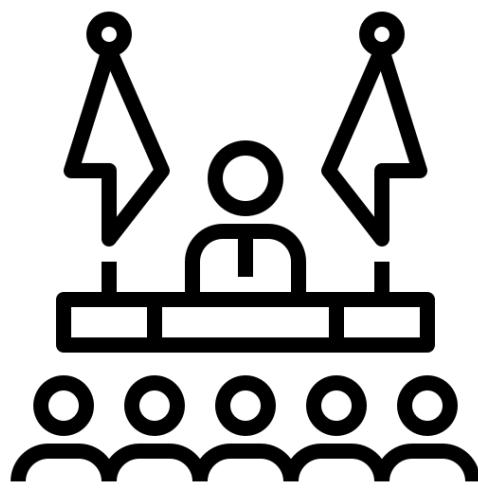


# Movement impacts

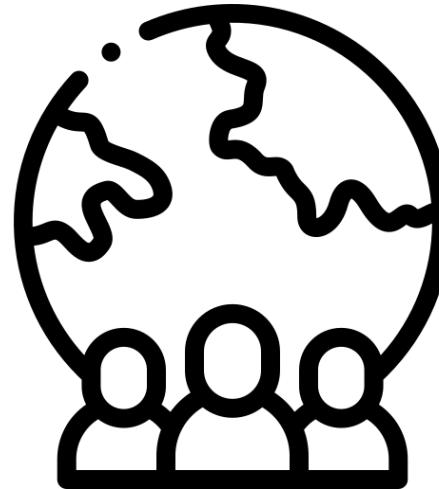
organisational



political

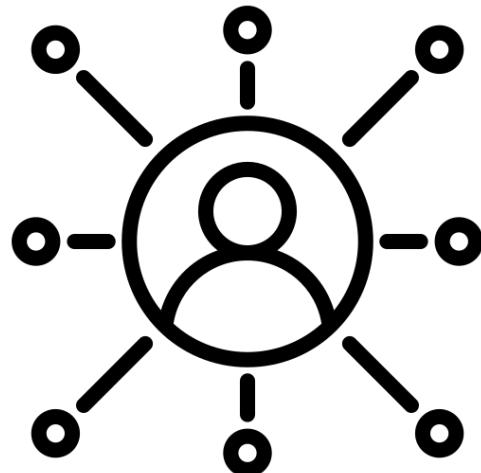


cultural

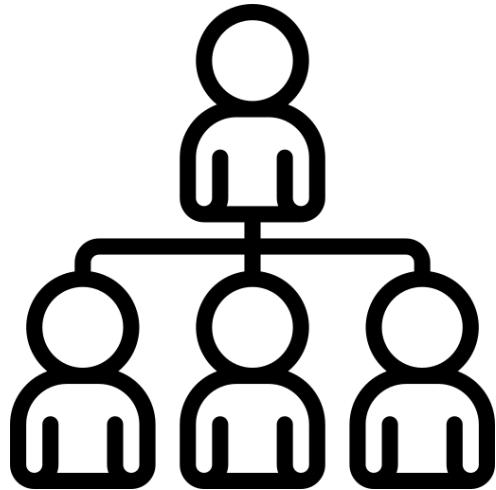


# Movement impacts

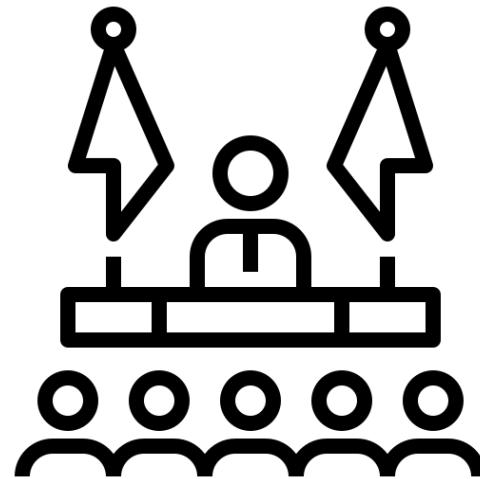
individual



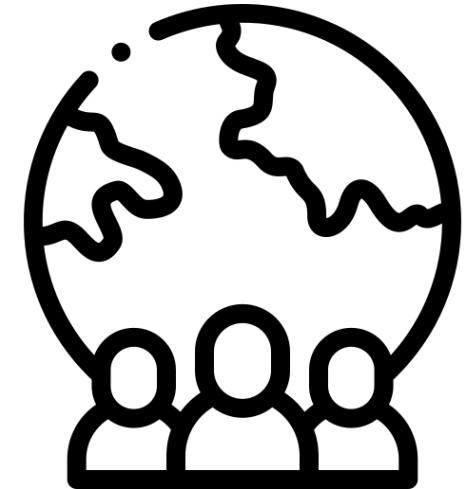
organisational



political

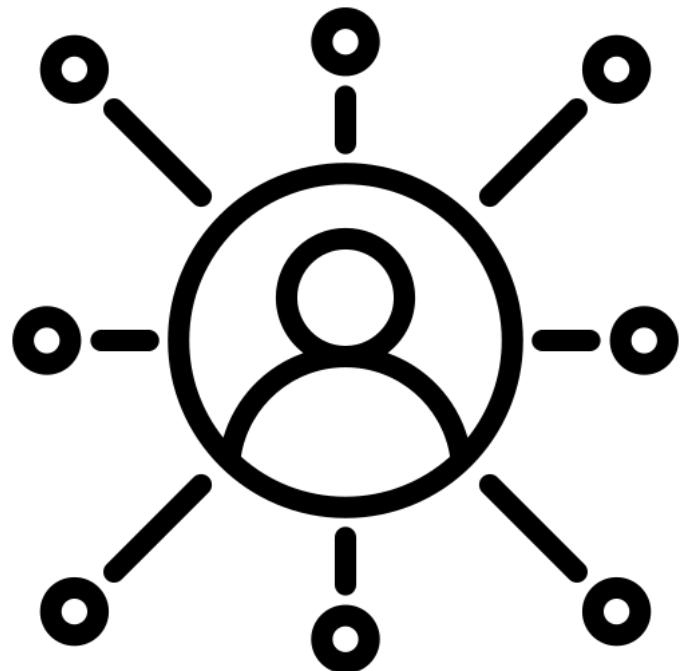


cultural



# Movement impacts - individual

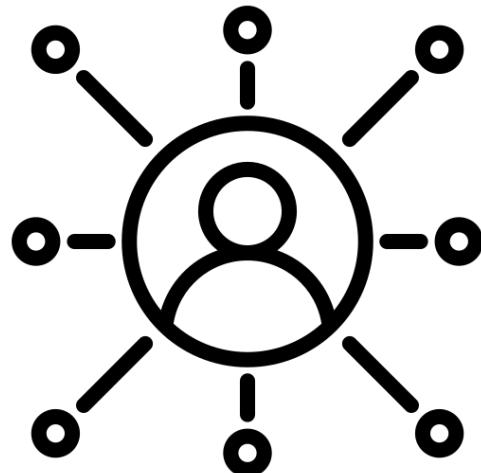
individual



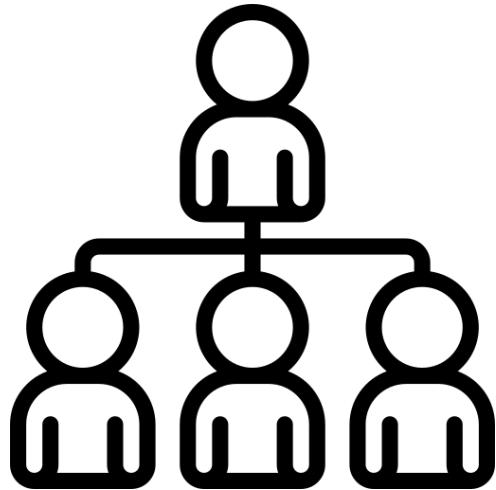
- did people who participated change? how?
  - interpersonal connections (likely future movement participation)
- did people who encountered the movement change? how?
  - different issue attention/focus?
  - different attitudes?
- **participants, attitudinally:** radicalised? disillusioned? **behaviourally:** more extreme? burnout?
- **onlookers responses:** on immigration, culture? support/oppose?

# Movement impacts

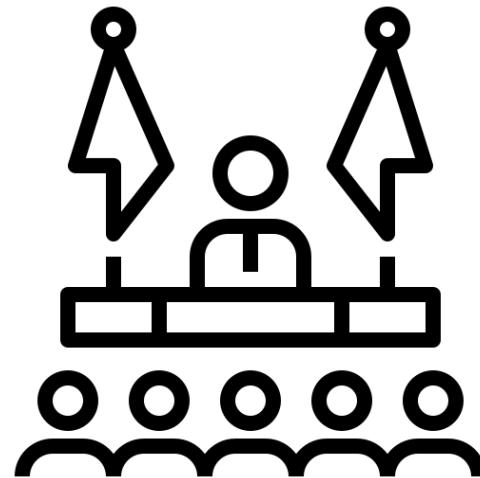
individual



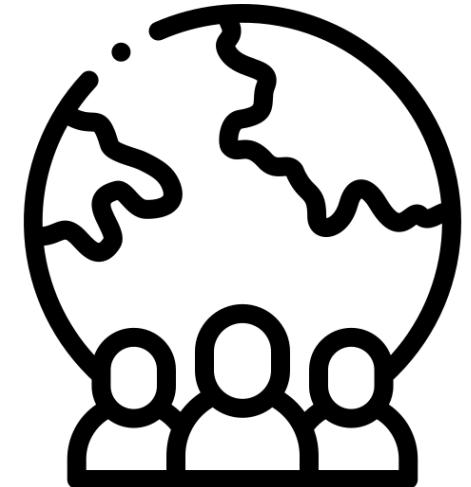
organisational



political

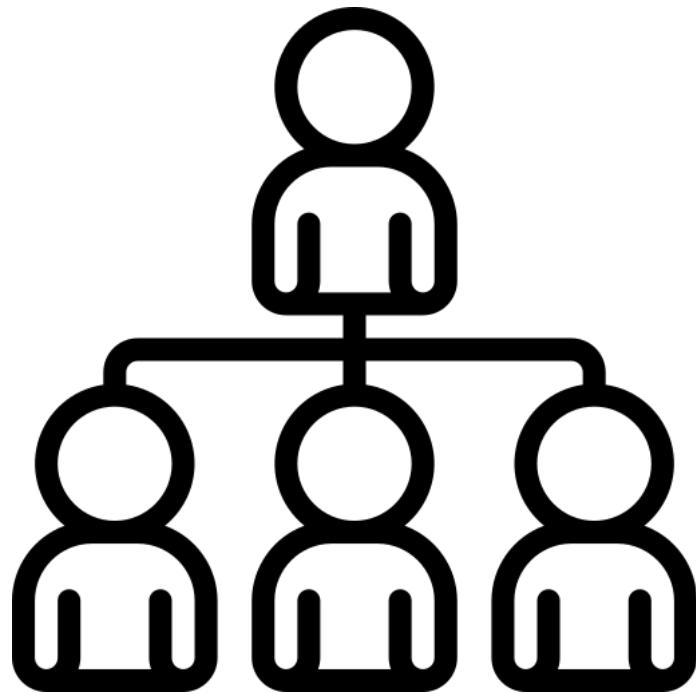


cultural



# Movement impacts - organisational

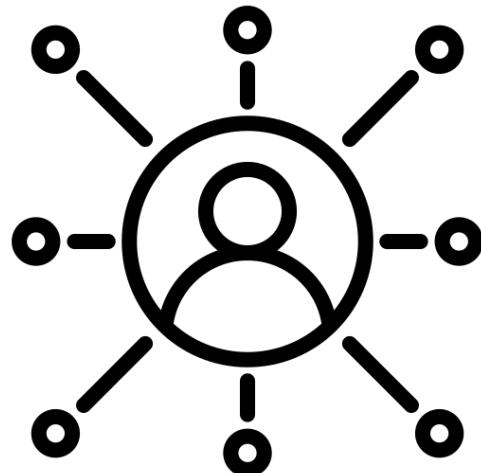
## organisational



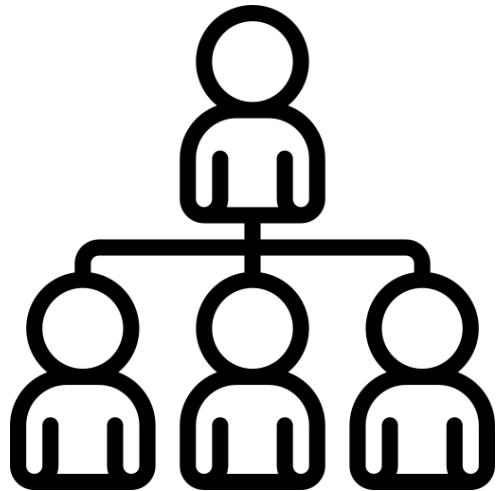
- a targeted organisation?
  - changed behaviour? organisational decline?
- the movement's own (or connected) organisation(s)?
  - professionalisation, institutionalisation
  - new affiliate organisations (perhaps parties, businesses)
- **targeted organisation**: e.g., changed (political) financing activity, policies (as with platforms content moderation), hindered org.'s activity

# Movement impacts

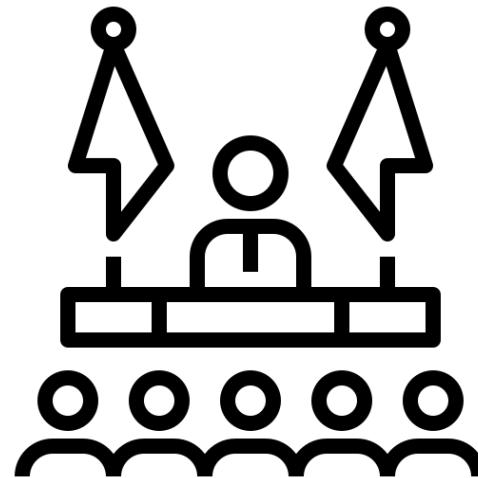
individual



organisational



political

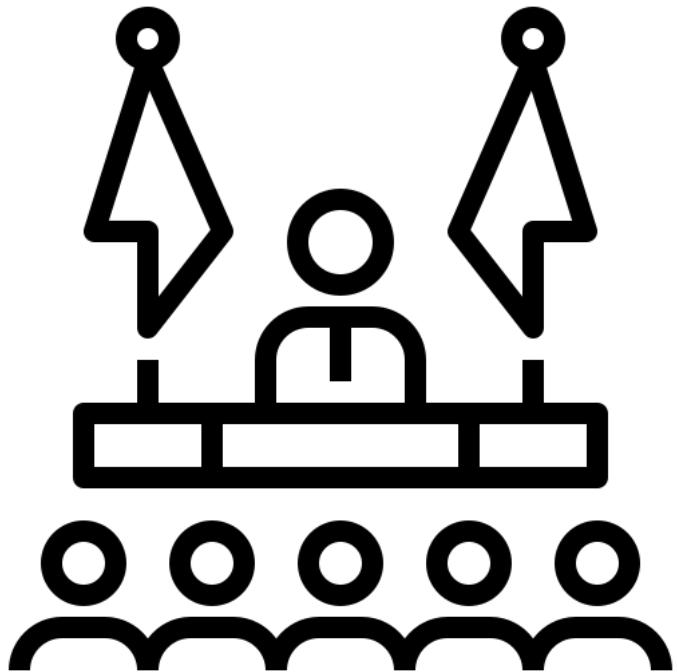


cultural



# Movement impacts - political

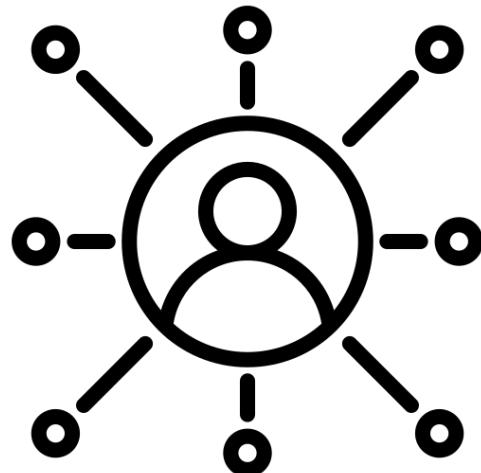
political



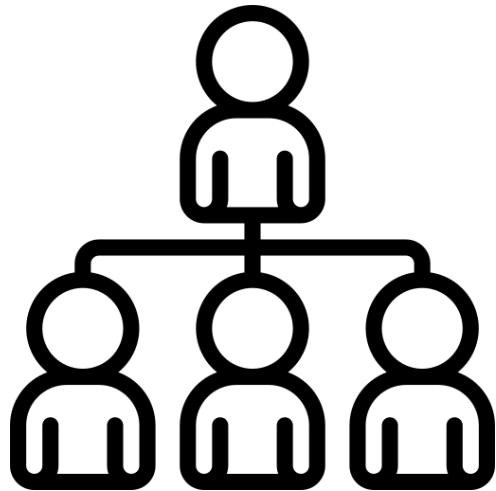
- have debates/discourse changed?
- have policies or laws changed?
- have dynamics between political actors changed?
- have new political actors emerged because of the movement?
- see Giugni, Mcadam, and Tilly (1999) and Amenta et al. (2010)

# Movement impacts

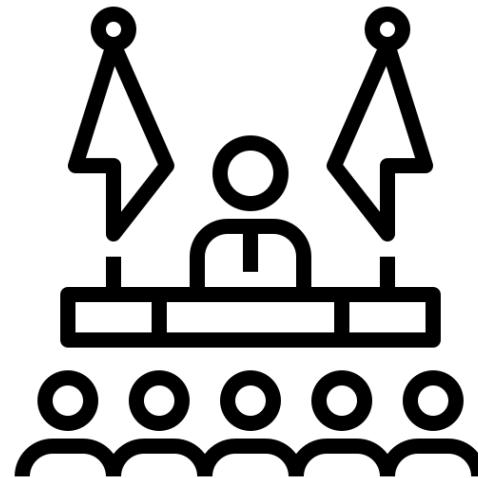
individual



organisational



political

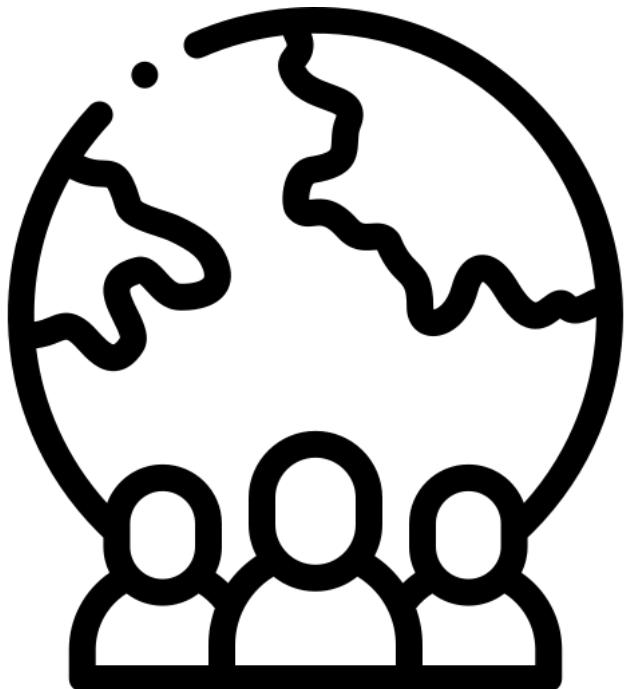


cultural



# Movement impacts - cultural

cultural

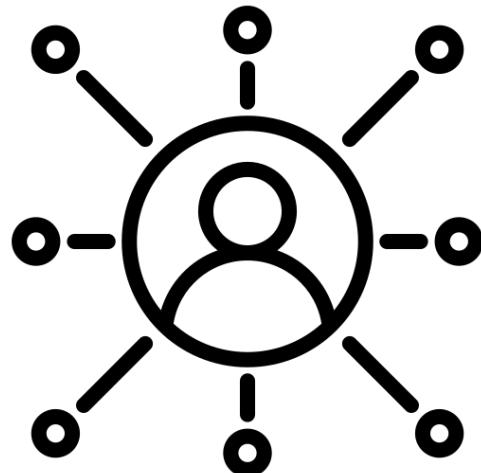


- have cultural/societal norms changed because of the movement? how?
  - are certain ideas, behaviours now acceptable *or* no longer acceptable in:
    - public opinion, lifestyle trends
    - media and popular culture
    - non-political institutions (e.g., research and education, religion)
- see Amenta and Polletta (2019)

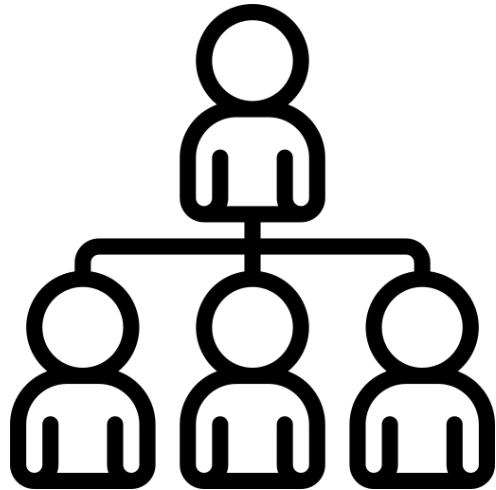
- e.g., immigration views compared to two/three decades ago; acceptance of certain political rhetoric; approval of 'strong' leadership in Western democracies

# Movement impacts

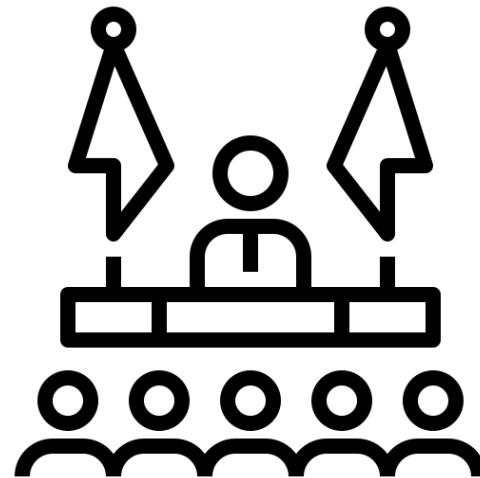
individual



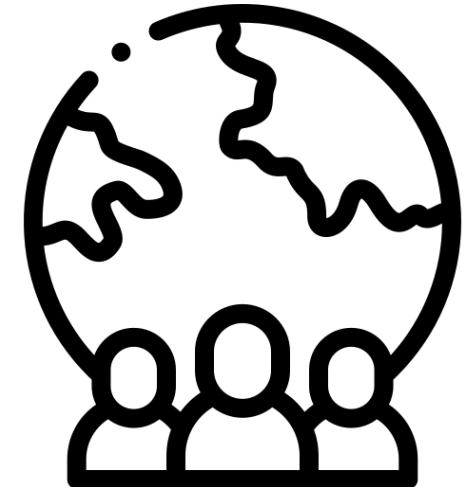
organisational



political



cultural



# Far-right movement goals discussion

- we have discussed far-right goals in *institutional politics*, but...

**What are some goals of contemporary  
far-right movements that are *not*  
particular to institutional politics?**

for many **extra-institutional goals** it is **far-right movements** (more than other actors) that have a major impact

# A less likely case of far-right movement influence - the Istanbul Convention

# Istanbul Convention politicisation

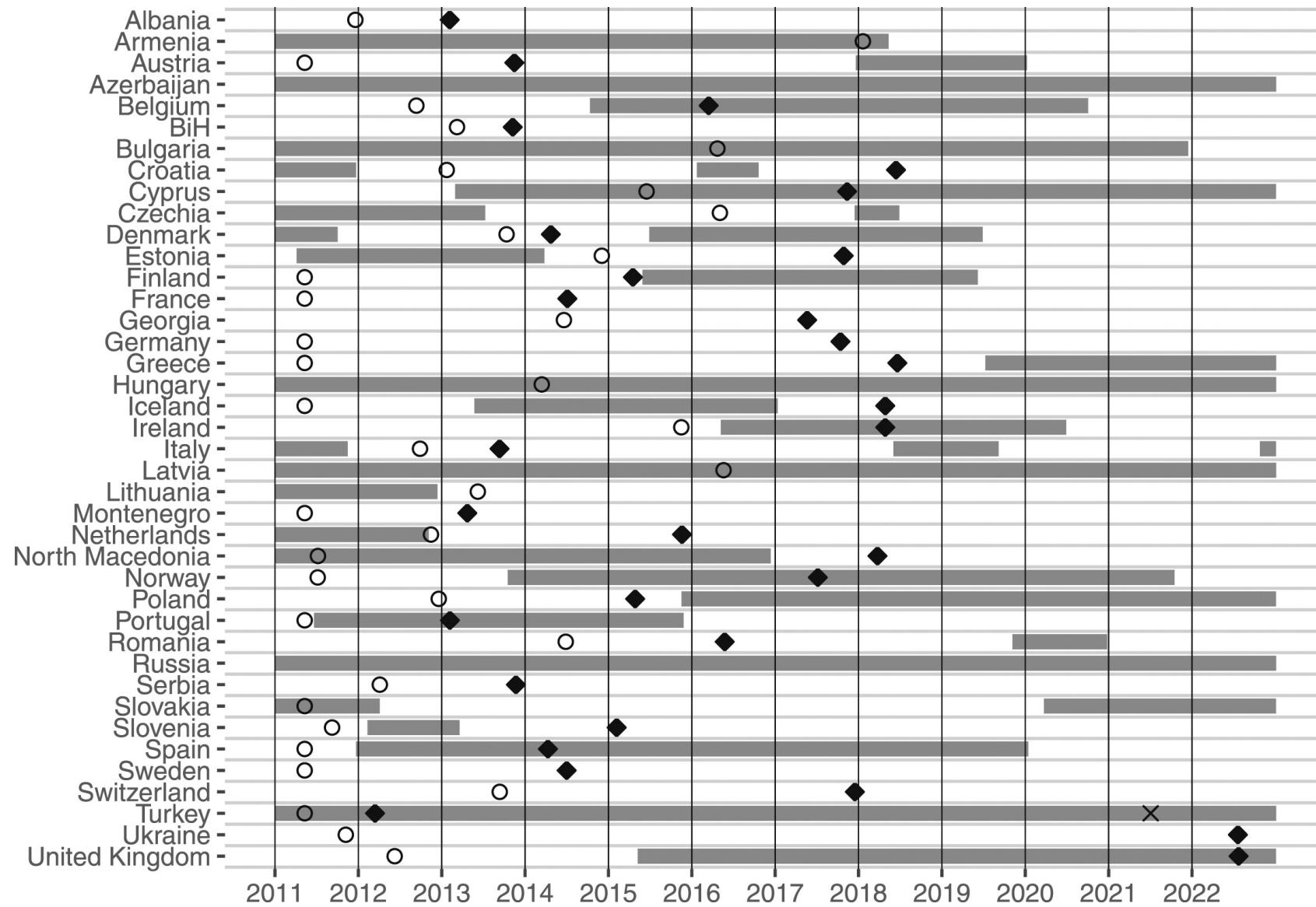
Opponents criticize the Convention's explicit **linkage between gender-based violence and structural gendered inequalities** between women and men, the definition of gender in **Article 3(c)** as "the socially constructed roles, behavior, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for women and men," and **Arts. 12–16** that require states to "promote changes in the social and cultural patterns of behavior of women and men" by means of education and other methods. The Convention **depicted as spreading "gender-ideology"** and a threat to traditional values and gender roles ... became a target of anti-gender campaigns in Europe

# Istanbul Convention ratification status

Ratification of the Istanbul Convention by Council of Europe member states (EU member states in *italics*). Turkey (\*) withdrew from the IC.

Ratification Status	Countries
Ratified in 2012	Turkey*
Ratified in 2013	Albania, <i>Austria</i> , Bosnia and Herzegovina, <i>Italy</i> , Montenegro, <i>Portugal</i> , Serbia
Ratified in 2014	Andorra, <i>Denmark</i> , <i>France</i> , <i>Malta</i> , Monaco, <i>Spain</i> , <i>Sweden</i>
Ratified in 2015	<i>Finland</i> , <i>Netherlands</i> , <i>Poland</i> , <i>Slovenia</i>
Ratified in 2016	<i>Belgium</i> , <i>Romania</i> , San Marino
Ratified in 2017	<i>Cyprus</i> , <i>Estonia</i> , Georgia, <i>Germany</i> , Norway, Switzerland
Ratified in 2018	<i>Croatia</i> , <i>Greece</i> , Iceland, <i>Luxembourg</i> , North Macedonia
Ratified in 2019	<i>Ireland</i>
Ratified in 2022	Ukraine, United Kingdom
Not ratified as of March 2021	Armenia, Azerbaijan, <i>Bulgaria</i> , <i>Czechia</i> , <i>Hungary</i> , <i>Latvia</i> , Lichtenstein, <i>Lithuania</i> , Moldova, Russia, <i>Slovakia</i>

# Istanbul Convention ratification and right-wing gov.



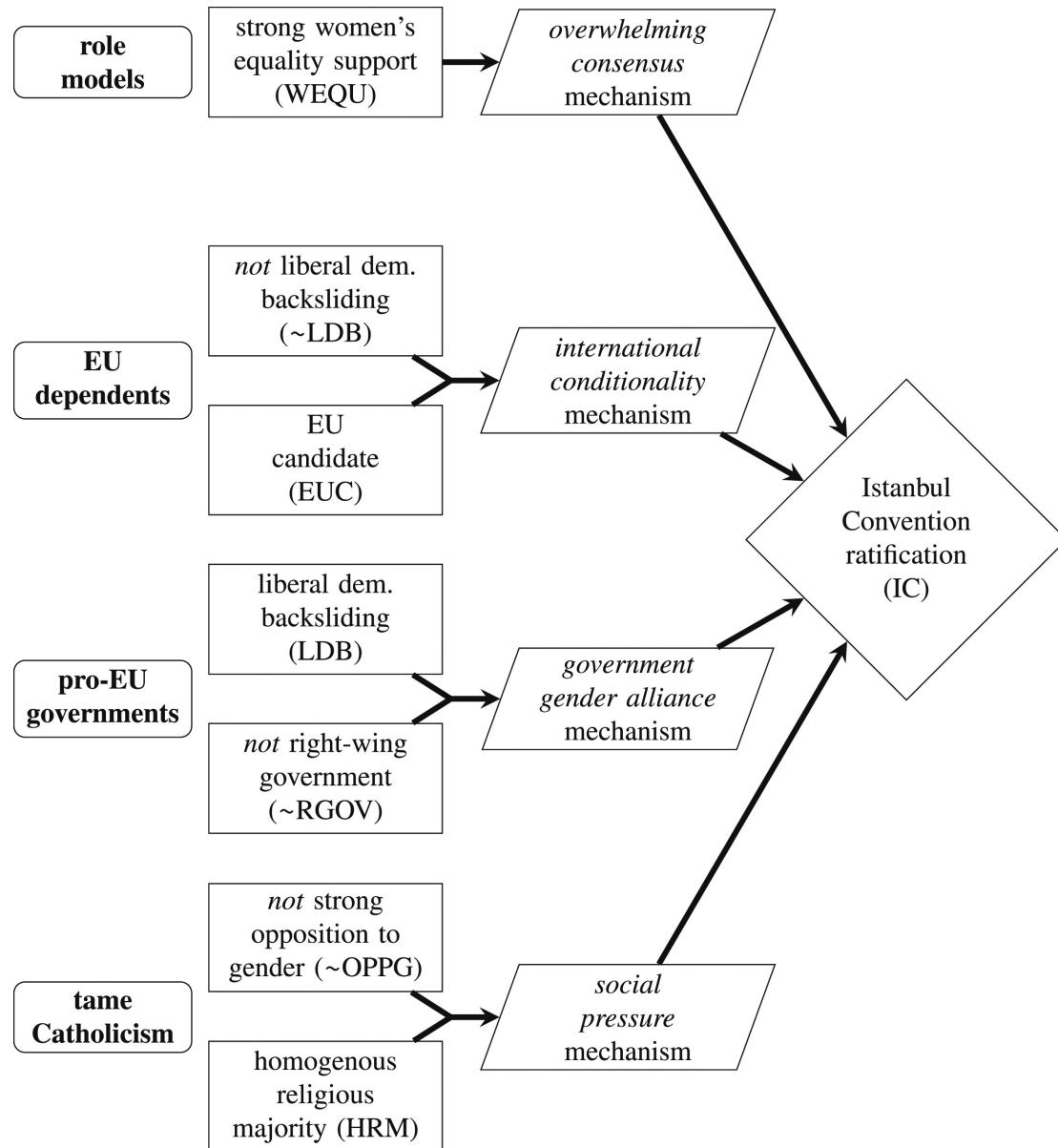
# Rejecting the Istanbul Convention

- strong **oppositional movements** (proxied by 'OPPG') often influential in **rejecting the IC**

Non-ratification QCA solution	Solution plot	InclS	PRI	CovS	CovU	Cases
unbridled resisters	RGOV* OPPG* ~WEQU* ~EUC	0.886	0.837	0.586	0.378	Latvia; Azerbaijan, Russia; Bulgaria; Hungary
secular illiberalism	RGOV* ~HRM* ~WPOW* ~WEQU* ~EUC	0.864	0.776	0.188	0.030	Czechia; Hungary
backsliders	LDB* RGOV* OPPG* HRM* ~WPOW* ~WEQU	0.756	0.715	0.159	0.109	Turkey
Solution		0.871	0.830	0.725		

far-right socio-politics has succeeded through cultural shifts/openings, won more by movements than parties

# Ratifying the Istanbul Convention



by the same token...  
various movements  
have been instrumental  
in achieving many  
progressive political,  
cultural objectives

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the push and pull of opposed  
movements is contentious  
politics

# Poll: matters of FR mobilisation

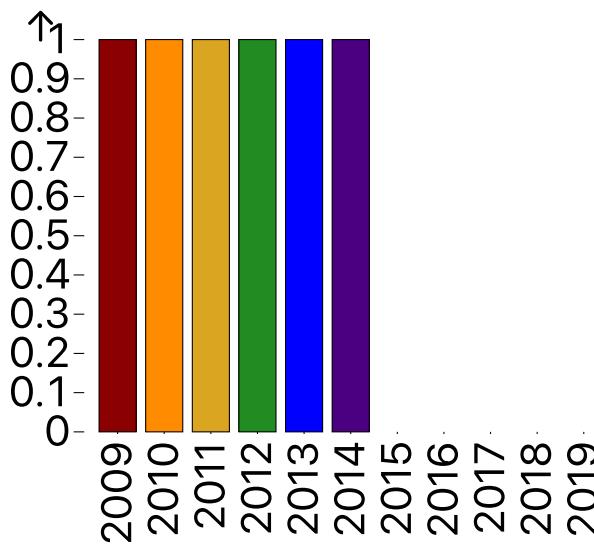


Take the survey at  
<https://forms.gle/LNPvbC4h9QbycWYL7>

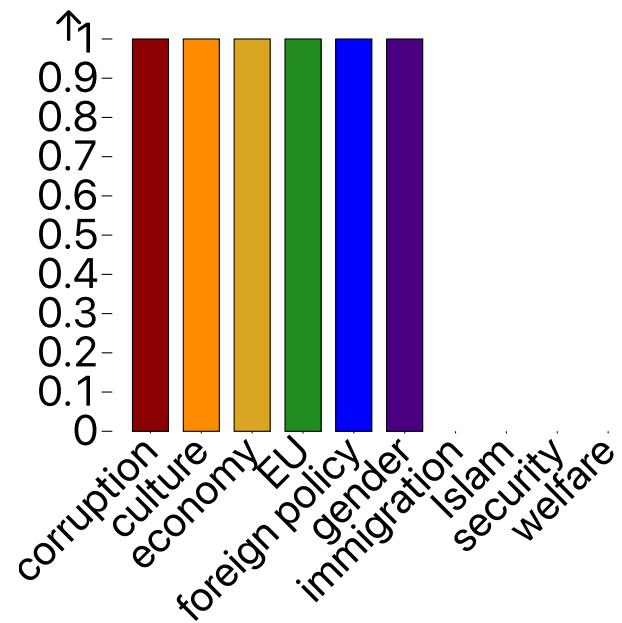
- which **year** do you guess was far-right social mobilisation **most frequent**?
- most **prominent** far-right protest **issue**?
- most common far-right mobilisation form?
- what to do when non-violent far-right demonstrations are met with disruptive, possibly violent counter-mobilisation?
- should governments or state authorities be able to prohibit far-right demonstrations even if they are non-violent?

# Poll results (Respondents: 6)

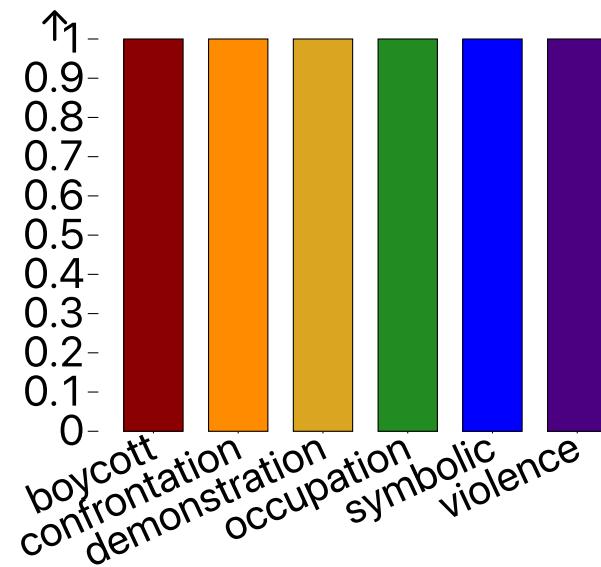
Most active year



Most prominent issue



Most common tactic





# Mobilisation: periods, spaces, issues

- data from UK, Italy, Germany
  - UK: FRGB dataset  
(Allchorn and Dafnos 2021)
  - Italy: FARPO  
(incl. Castelli Gattinara, Froio,
  - Germany: BT Anfrage  
(e.g.,  
<https://dserver.bundestag.de/btd/20/135/2013555.pdf>)

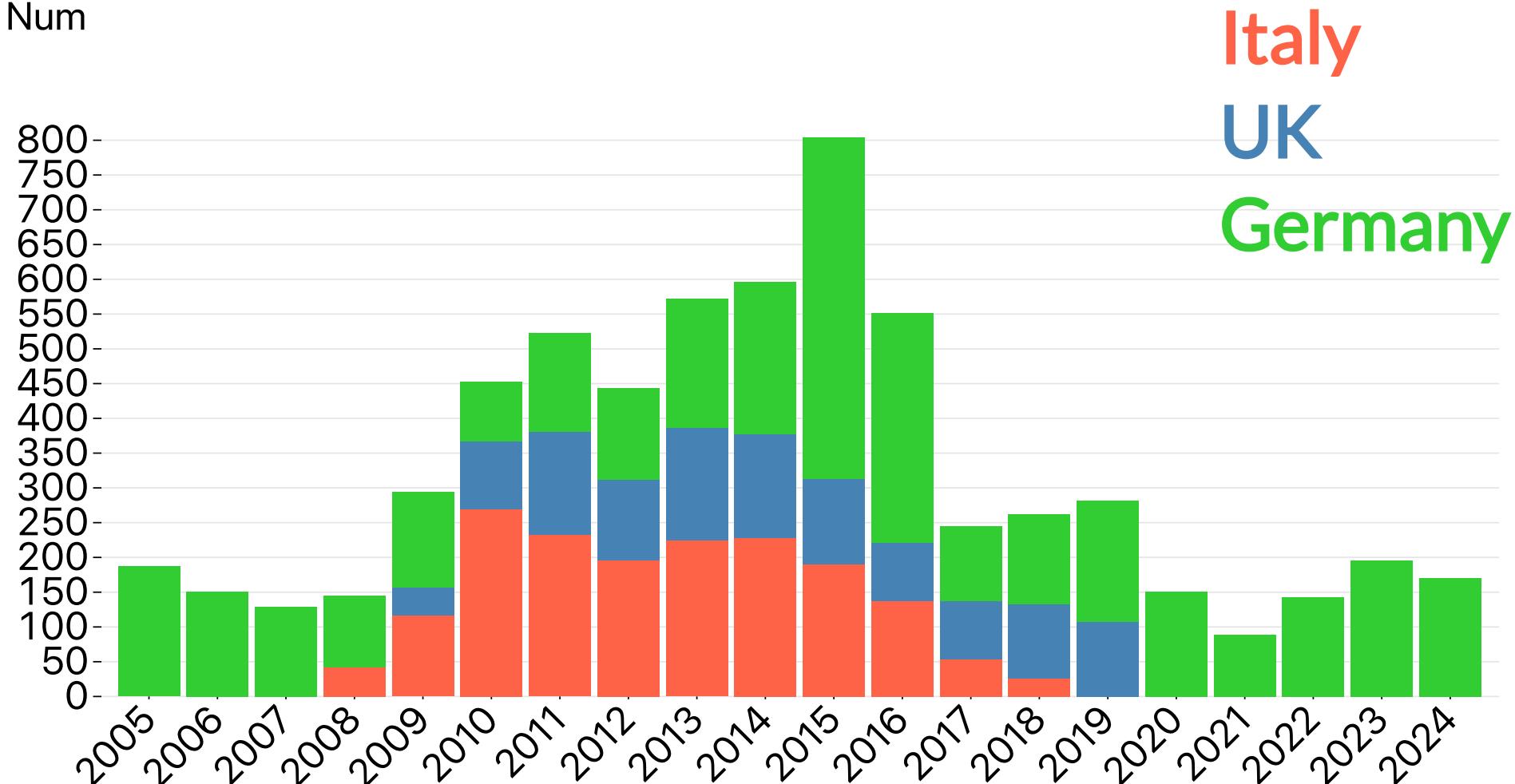


# Most active mobilisation in recent years

✓ IT (FARPO) ✓ UK (FRGB) ✓ DE (BT)

Italy    UK    Germany

↑ Num



Italy  
UK  
Germany

# Far-right demonstrations in Germany

- Identified in gov. responses to parliamentary inquiries (*Anfrage*)

```
1 de_demos
```

```
# A tibble: 3,451 × 14
  Datum      Land     Ort Veransta... Anmelder Zuordnung Motto Teiln. Country
  <date>    <chr>   <chr> <lgl>       <lgl>   <chr>   <chr>  <dbl> <chr>
1 2005-01-15 Sachse... Magd... NA          NA      Neonazis... Bomb...  1000 Germany
2 2005-01-15 Bayern  Nürn... NA          NA      Neonazis... Gege...   80  Germany
3 2005-01-17 Meckle... Stra... NA          NA      NPD/JN    Gege...    8  Germany
4 2005-01-18 Nordrh... Reck... NA          NA      Neonazis... Stop...   70  Germany
5 2005-01-21 Baden-... Schw... NA          NA      Neonazis... Bürg...   30  Germany
6 2005-01-22 Nordrh... Moers  NA          NA      Neonazis... Nein...  100  Germany
7 2005-01-23 Nordrh... Herne  NA          NA      Neonazis... Gege...   30  Germany
8 2005-01-26 Nordrh... Hamm   NA          NA      Neonazis... Kein...  160  Germany
9 2005-01-28 Nordrh... Hamm   NA          NA      Neonazis... Gege...  110  Germany
10 2005-01-29 Schles... Kiel   NA          NA      Neonazis... Gege...  450  Germany
# i 3,441 more rows
# i 5 more variables: lat <dbl>, long <dbl>, Jahr <date>, Latitude <dbl>,
#   Longitude <dbl>
```

# Far-right demonstrations in Germany

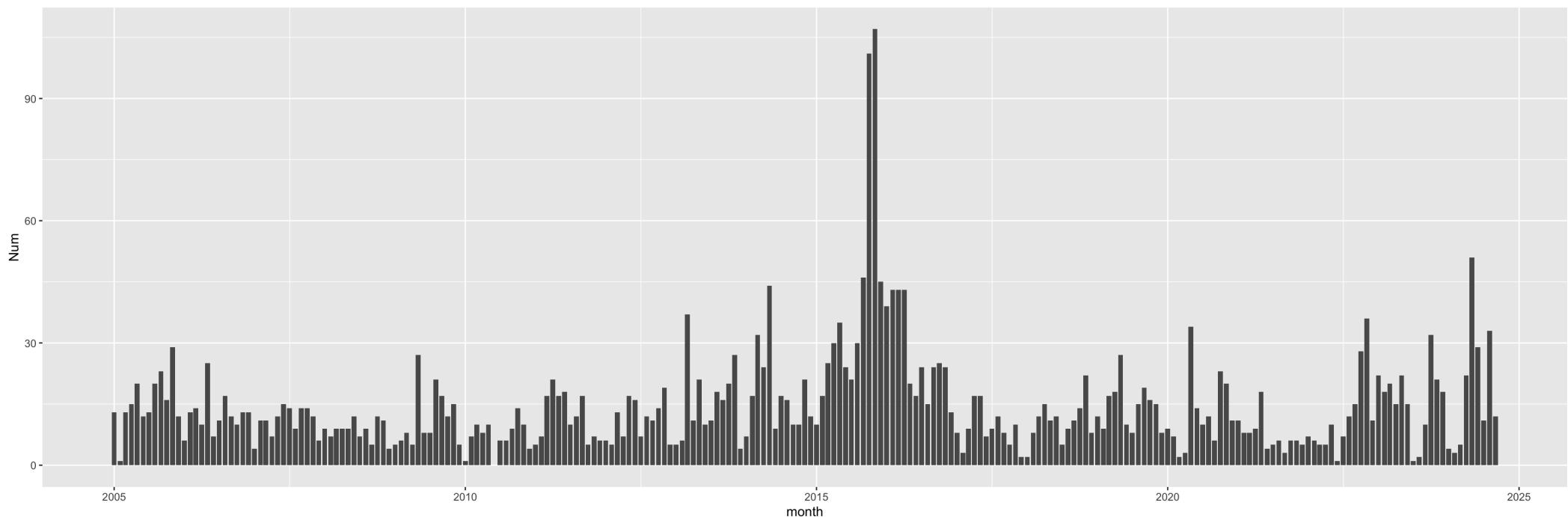
- Identified in gov. responses to parliamentary inquiries (*Anfrage*)

```
1 de_demos %>%
2   mutate(month=floor_date(Datum, "month")) %>%
3   group_by(month) %>% summarise(Num=n())  
  
# A tibble: 236 × 2  
  month      Num  
  <date>    <int>  
1 2005-01-01     13  
2 2005-02-01      1  
3 2005-03-01     13  
4 2005-04-01     15  
5 2005-05-01     20  
6 2005-06-01     12  
7 2005-07-01     13  
8 2005-08-01     20  
9 2005-09-01     23  
10 2005-10-01    16  
# i 226 more rows
```

# Far-right demonstrations in Germany

- Identified in gov. responses to parliamentary inquiries (*Anfrage*)

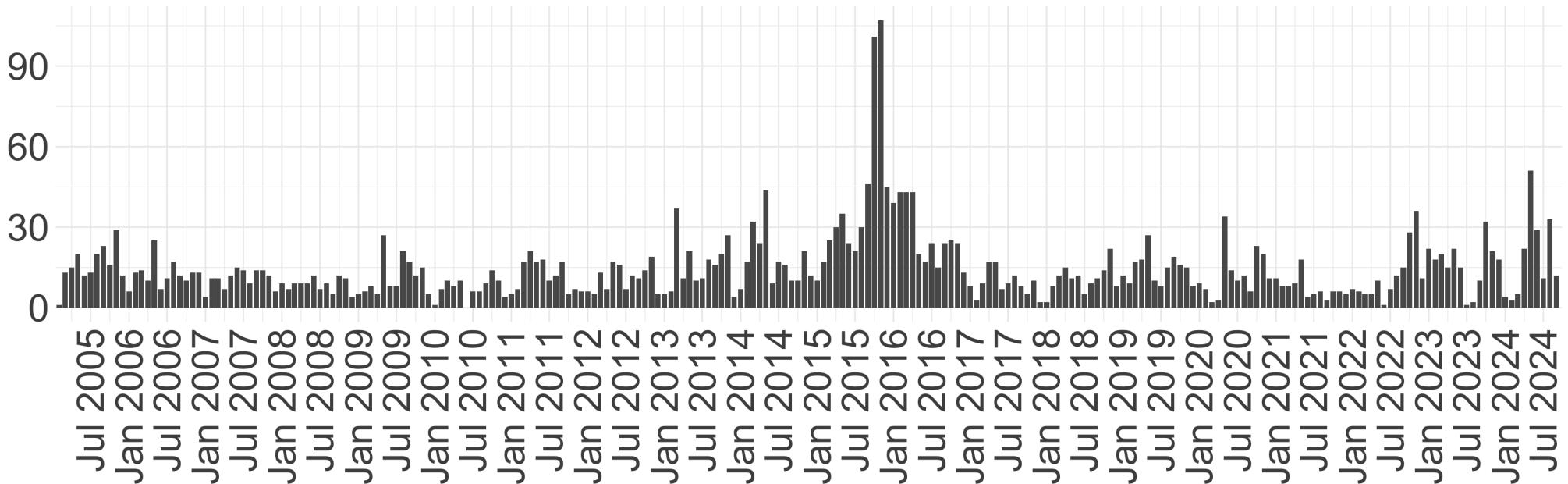
```
1 de_demos %>%
2   mutate(month=floor_date(Datum, "month")) %>%
3   group_by(month) %>% summarise(Num=n()) %>%
4   ggplot(aes(x=month, y=Num))+ geom_bar(stat="identity")
```



# Far-right demonstrations in Germany

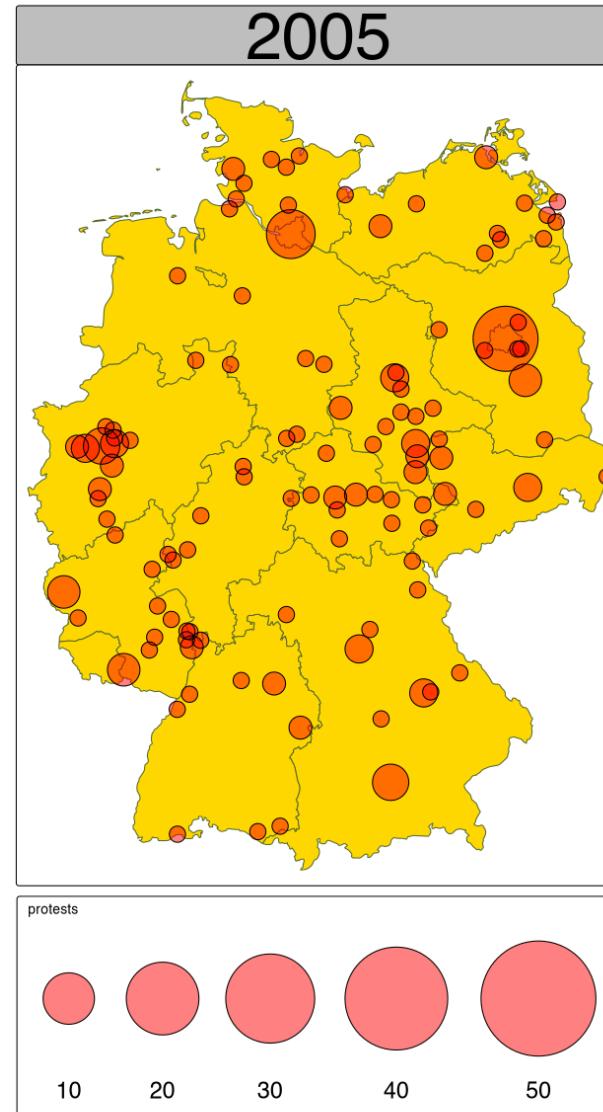
```
1 de_demos %>%
2   mutate(month=floor_date(Datum, "month")) %>%
3   group_by(month) %>% summarise(Num=n()) %>%
4   ggplot(aes(x=month, y=Num))+ geom_bar(stat="identity")+
5   scale_x_date("", labels=scales::date_format("%b %Y"), breaks="6 month",
6                 limits=c(min(as.Date(de_demos$Datum)),max(as.Date(de_demos$Datum))),expand=c(0,0))+  

7   theme_minimal()+ylab("")+
8   theme(text=element_text(size=38),
9         axis.text.x=element_text(angle=90, hjust=1, vjust=0.5))
```



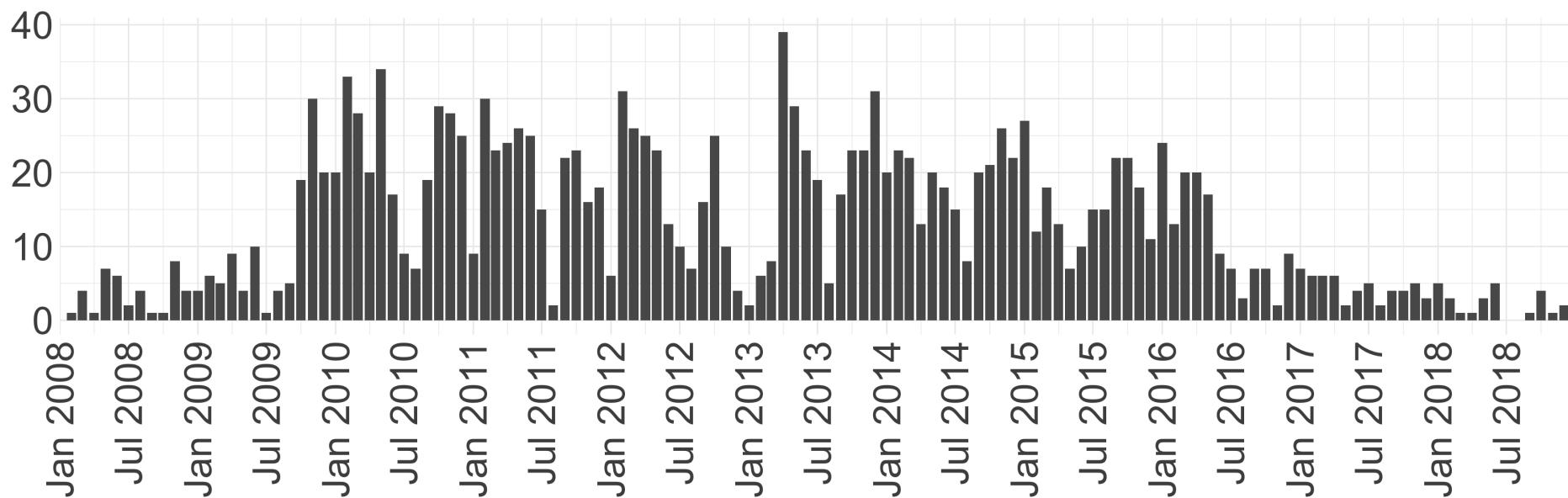
# Far-right demonstrations in Germany

```
1 library(tmap)
2 library(tidyverse)
3 library(sf)
4 library(rnaturalearth)
5 library(gganimate)
6 library(gifski)
7
8 de_demos$Jahr <- format(
9   as.Date(de_demos$Jahr), format="%Y"
10 )
11
12 de_demos_grouped <- de_demos %>%
13   group_by(Ort, Jahr, lat, long) %>%
14   summarise(protests = n(),
15             .groups = "drop")
16
17 de_demos_grouped <- as.data.frame(
18   de_demos_grouped
19 )
20
21 de_demos_grouped$Latitude <- de_demos
```

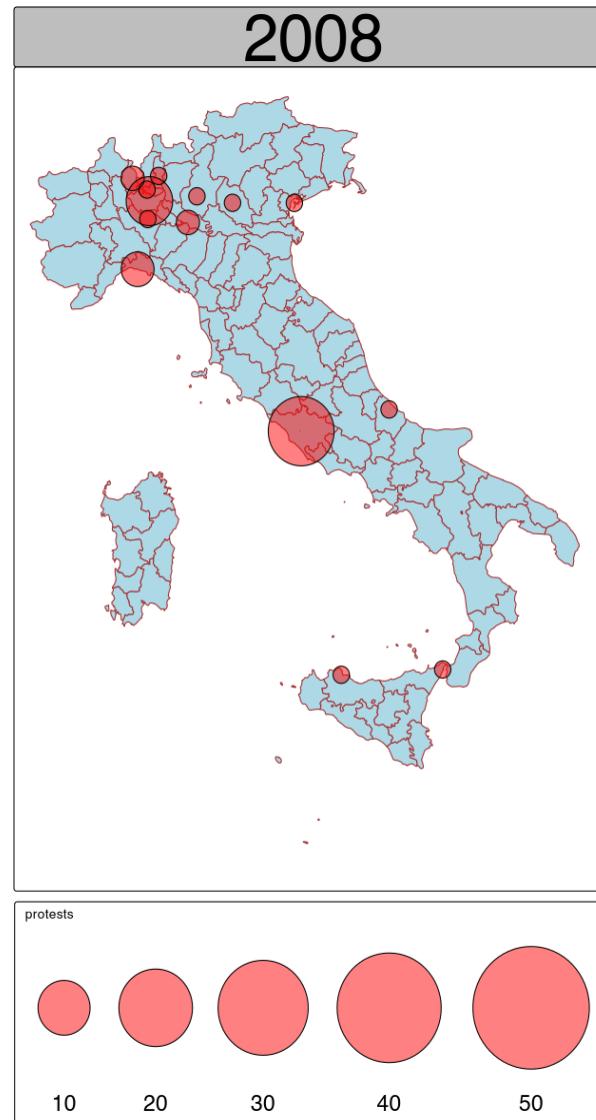


# Far-right demonstrations in Italy

```
1 FARPO %>%
2   filter(Country_string=="Italy") %>%
3   mutate(month=floor_date(Date, "month")) %>%
4   group_by(month) %>% summarise(Num=n()) %>%
5   ggplot(aes(x=month, y=Num))+ geom_bar(stat="identity")+
6   scale_x_date("", labels=scales::date_format("%b %Y"), breaks="6 month",
7                 limits=c(min(as.Date(FARPO>Date)),max(as.Date(FARPO>Date))),expand=c(0,0))+  
8   theme_minimal()+ylab("")+
9   theme(text=element_text(size=38),
10        axis.text.x=element_text(angle=90, hjust=1, vjust=0.5))
```

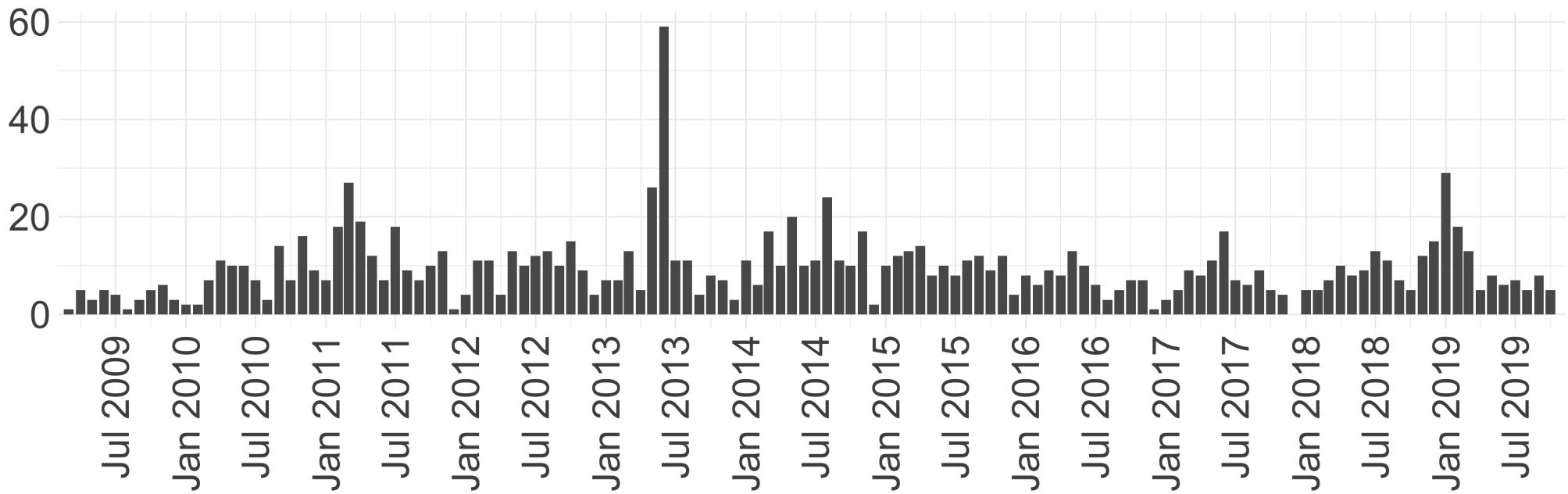


# Far-right demonstrations in Italy

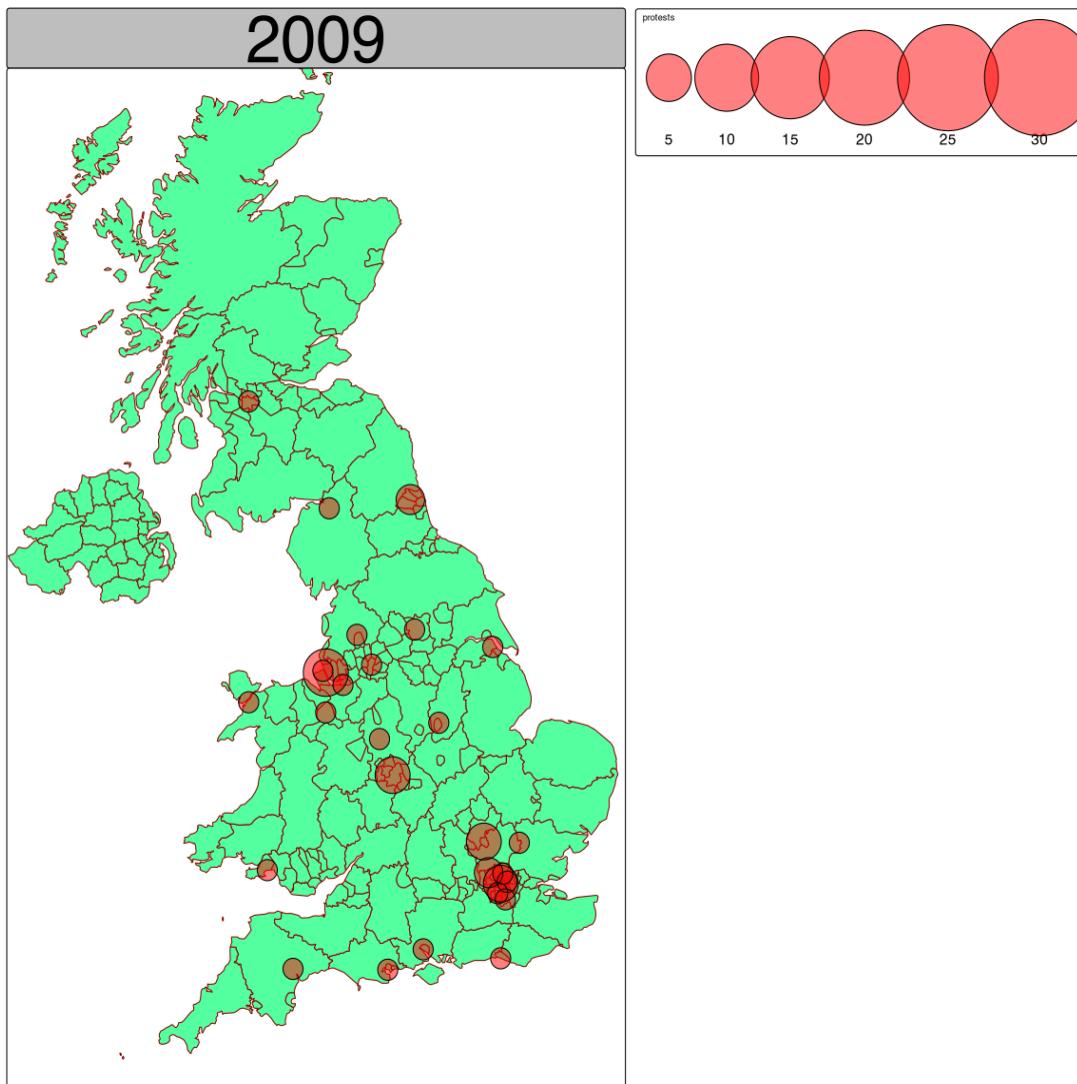


# Far-right demonstrations in the UK

```
1 frgb %>%
2   mutate(month=floor_date(Date, "month")) %>%
3   group_by(month) %>% summarise(Num=n()) %>%
4   ggplot(aes(x=month, y=Num))+ geom_bar(stat="identity")+
5   scale_x_date("", labels=scales::date_format("%b %Y"), breaks="6 month",
6                 limits=c(min(as.Date(frgb$Date)),max(as.Date(frgb$Date))),expand=c(0,0))+
7   theme_minimal()+ylab("")+
8   theme(text=element_text(size=38),
9         axis.text.x=element_text(angle=90, hjust=1, vjust=0.5))
```



# Far-right demonstrations in the UK



# Issues (FARPO - all countries)

plot code

## Political opponents Immigration and multiculturalism



## National identity and culture

# Far-right mobilisation under left- and right-wing governments

- Koopmans and Rucht (1995): data on protests 1975-1979 in France, Britain, the Netherlands, and Germany (1950-1991) – represents 15 different governmental constellations (left, right, mixed)
  - far-right protest **increases** under left-wing governments
  - left-wing protest **increases** under right-wing governments
  - mixed governments see the **highest overall** protest levels

# Far-right mobilisation amid left- and right-wing parties

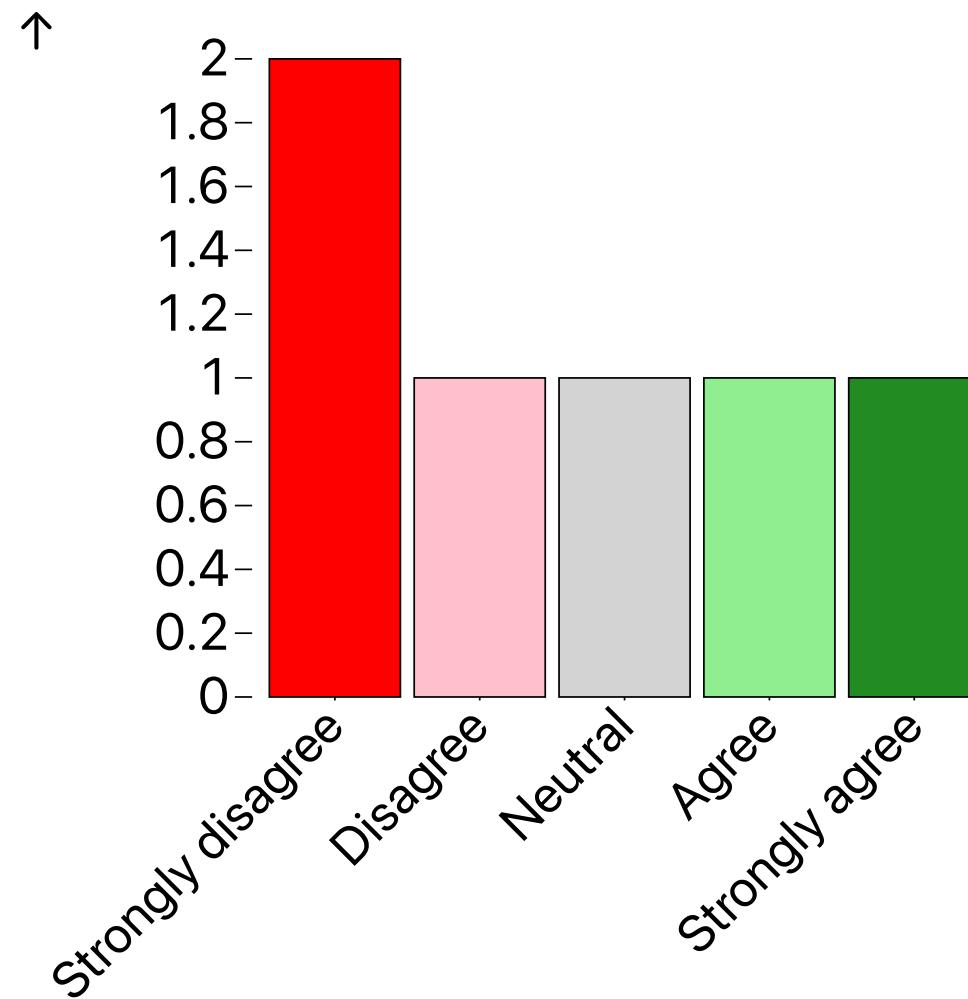
- Hutter (2014): data from Western Europe
  - far-right protest **decreases** when far-right parties are well-established, strong
    - substitution effect: electoral participation replaces street politics
- Torcal, Rodon, and Hierro (2016): 2002-2010 ESS data (much of EU space) on protest participation
  - far-right protest slightly higher under right-wing governments

# Far-right mobilisation in context

- seems heavily influenced by conditions of *political exclusion*
- ideological posture of government matters—but not deterministic
  - movements respond not just to posture abstractly, but also to actual specific treatment
    - gov. tolerance/encouragement can increase far-right protest
    - gov. hostility/repressive action can suppress or provoke far-right protest
- institutionalisation of far-right parties may reduce protest activity

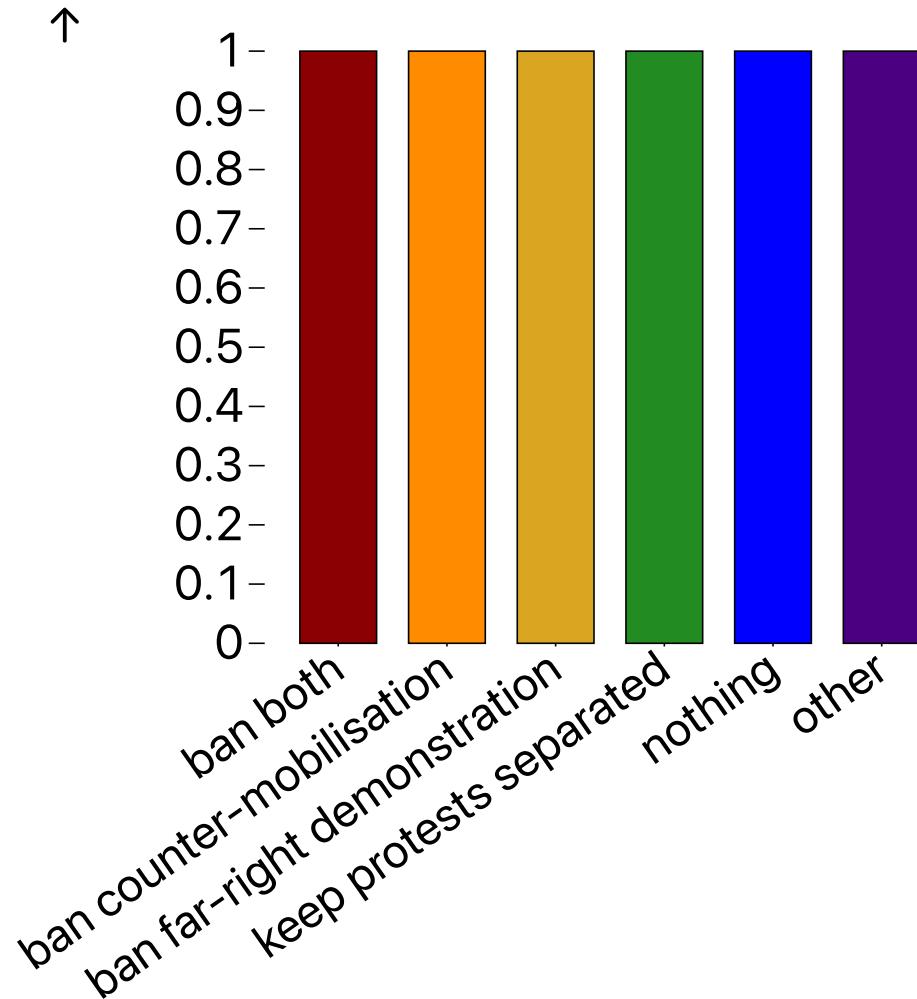
# Poll results - prohibition

- Should governments or state authorities be able to prohibit far-right demonstrations even if they are non-violent?



# Poll results - amid disruptive counter-mobilisation

- What should authorities do when non-violent far-right demonstrations are met with disruptive, possibly violent counter-mobilisation (e.g., from anti-fascist activists)?



these perennial questions permeate our next two class topics (*counter-mobilisation* and *demobilisation*)

# Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Anonymous feedback here:

<https://forms.gle/pisUmtmWdE13zMD58>

Alternatively, send me an email: [m.zeller@lmu.de](mailto:m.zeller@lmu.de)

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