

Class 8: Movements

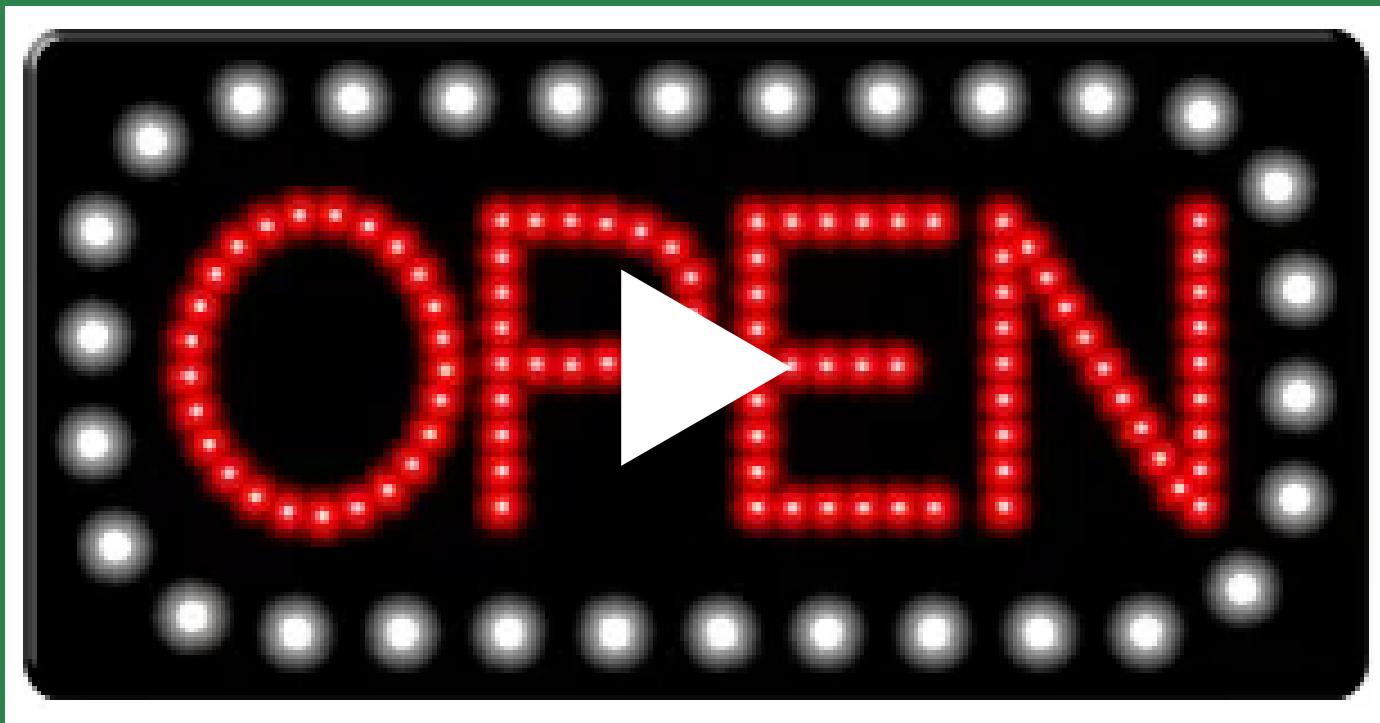
Mobilisation and movements

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, and issues (DE, IT, UK)
- 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



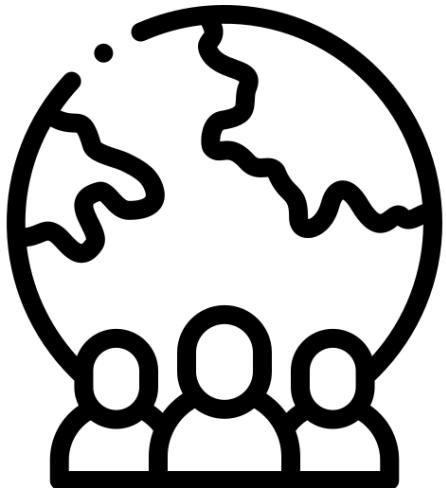
Movements and parties, overlaps and similarities

- 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

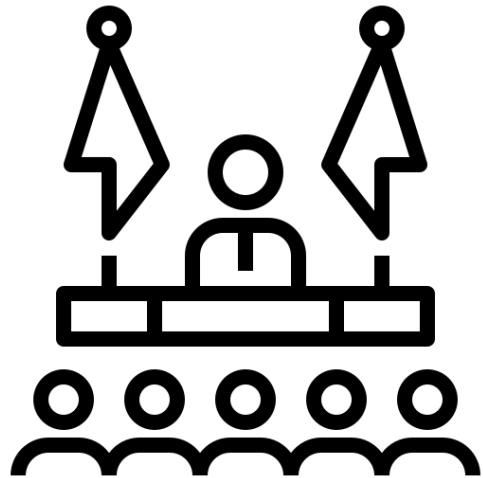
Movement impacts

cultural

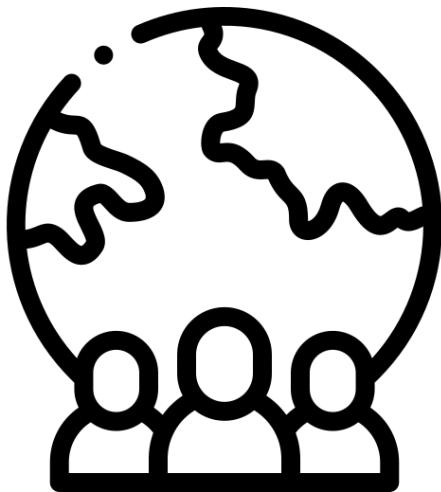


Movement impacts

political

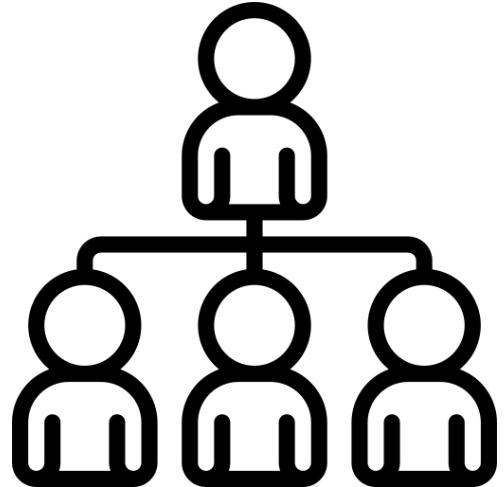


cultural

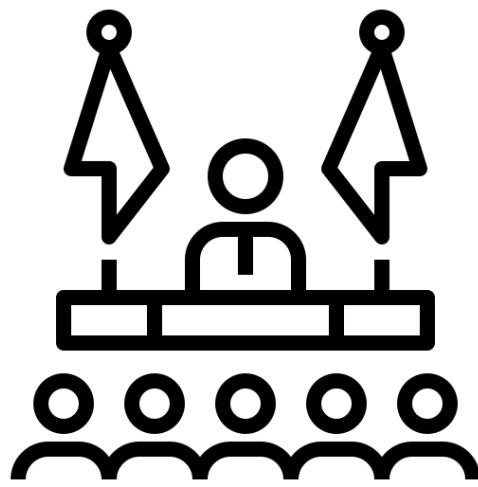


Movement impacts

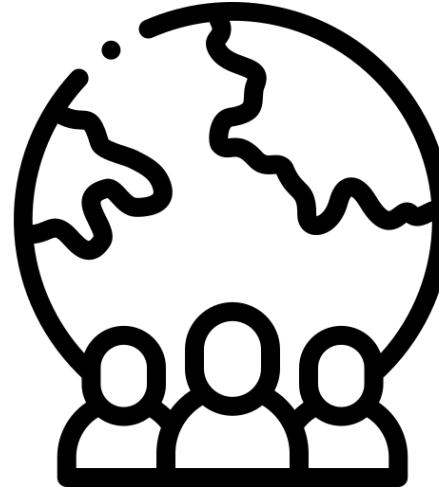
organisational



political

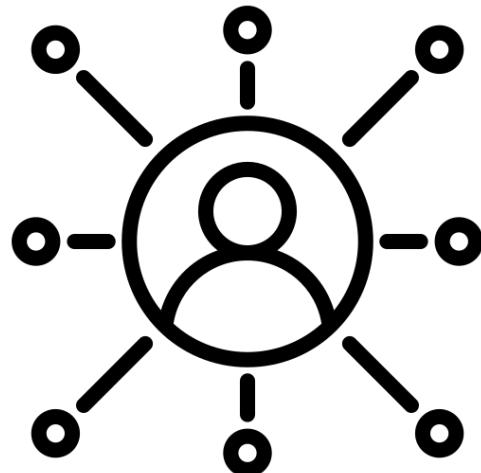


cultural

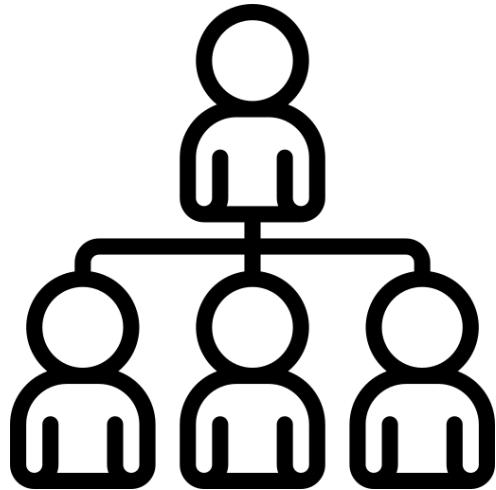


Movement impacts

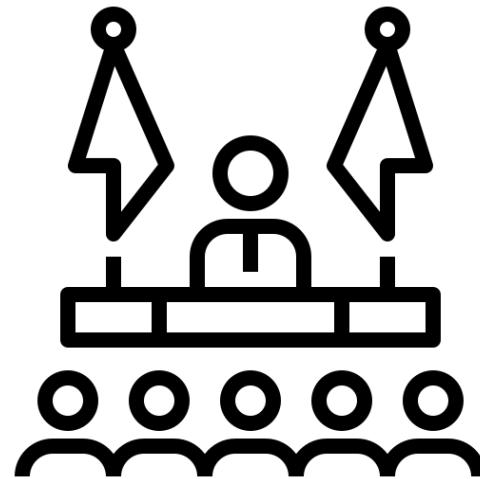
individual



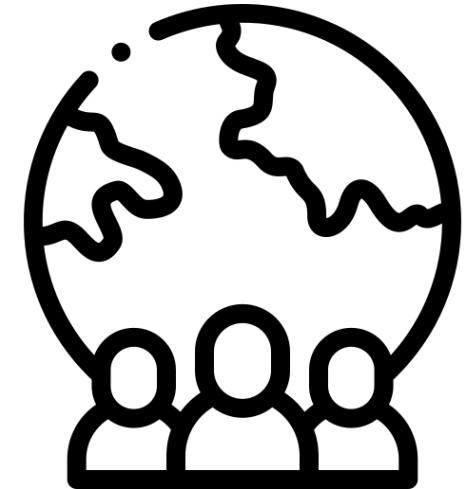
organisational



political

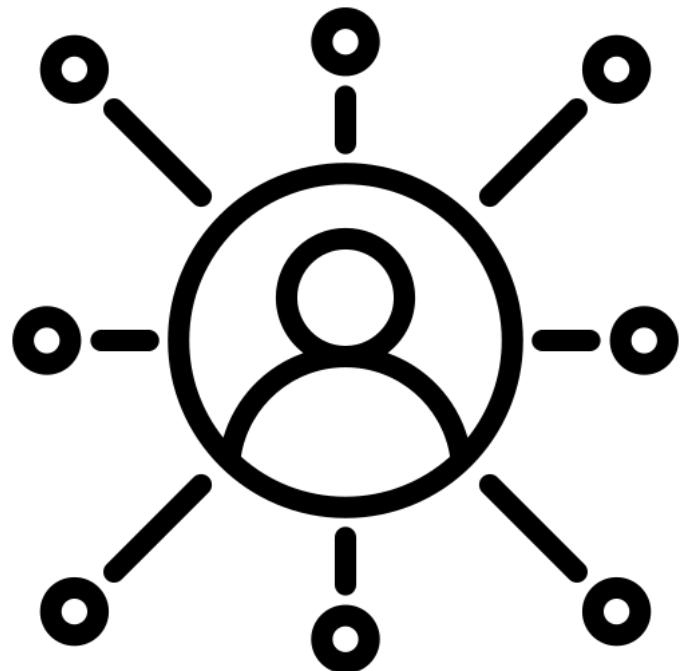


cultural



Movement impacts - individual

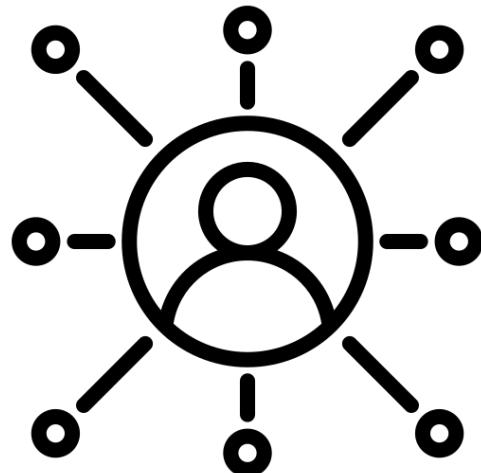
individual



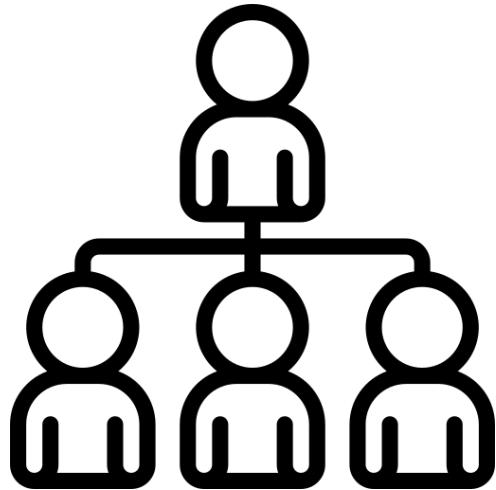
- did people who participated change? how?
 - interpersonal connections (likely future movement participation)
- did people who encountered the movement change? how?
 - different issue attention/focus?
 - different attitudes?
- **participants, attitudinally:** radicalised? disillusioned? **behaviourally:**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

Movement impacts

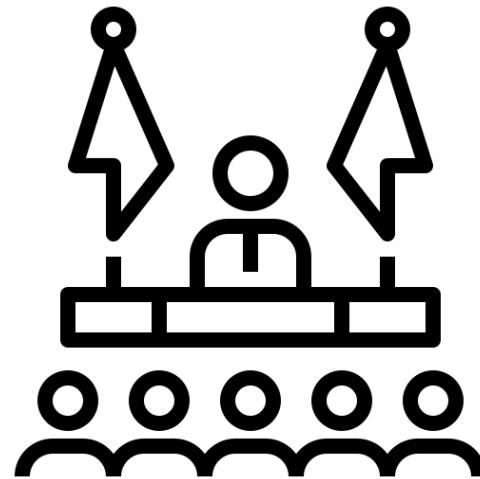
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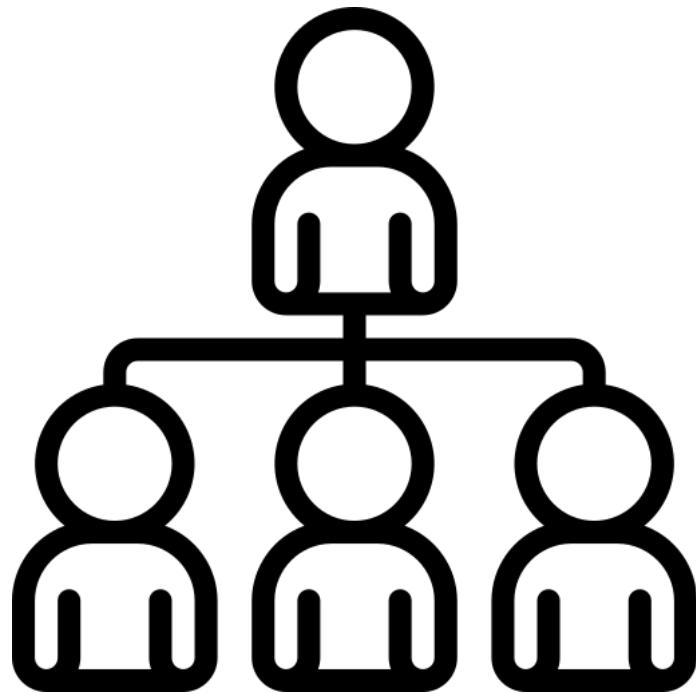


cultural



Movement impacts - organisational

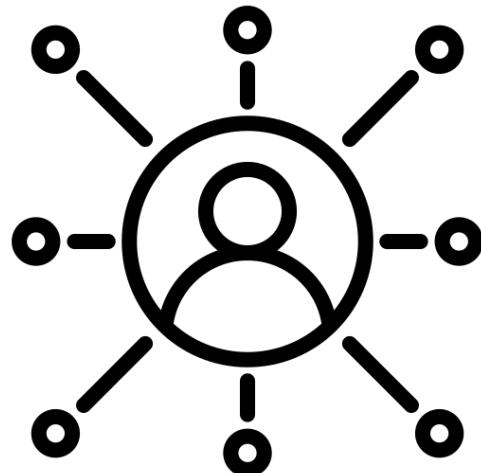
organisational



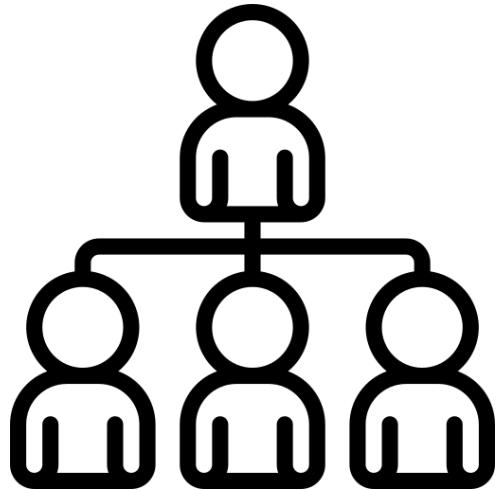
- a targeted organisation?
 - changed behaviour? organisational decline?
- the movement's own (or connected) organisation(s)?
 - professionalisation, institutionalisation
 - new affiliate organisations (perhaps parties, businesses)
- **targeted organisation:** e.g., changed (political) financing activity,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

Movement impacts

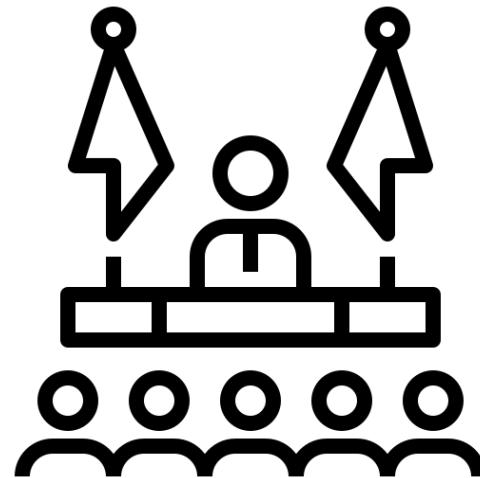
individual



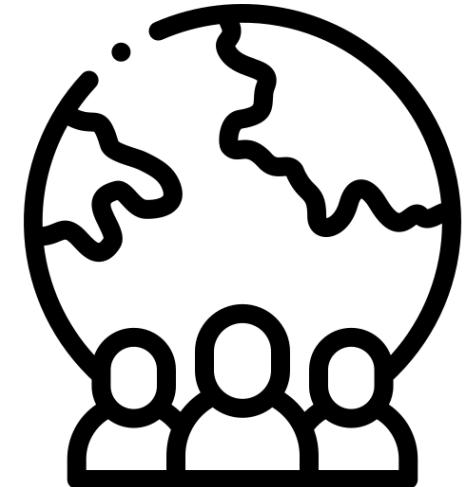
organisational



political

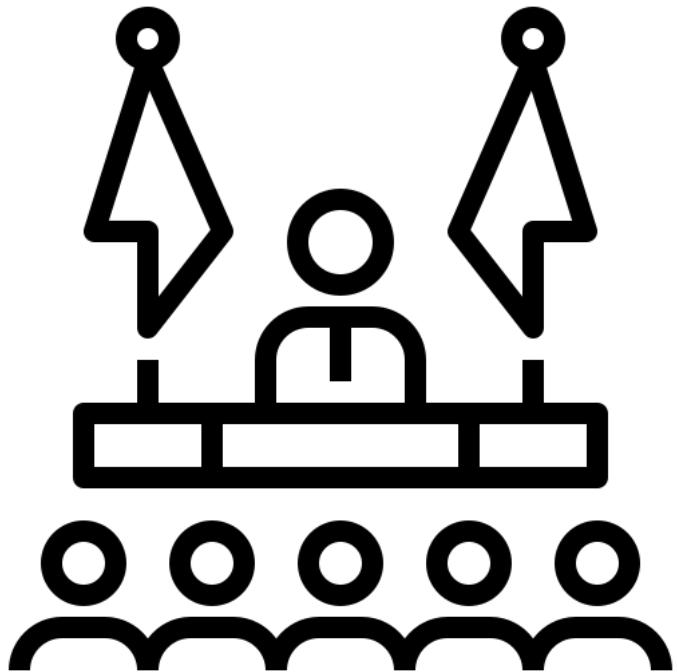


cultural



Movement impacts - political

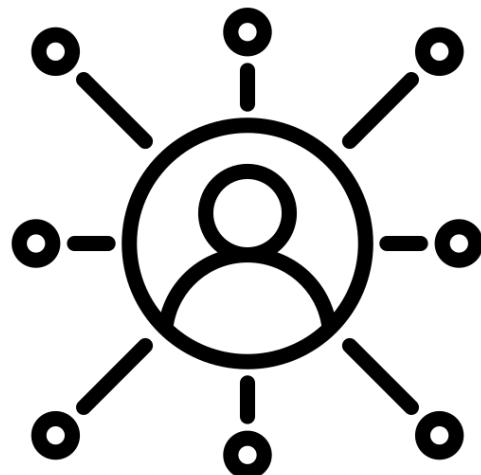
political



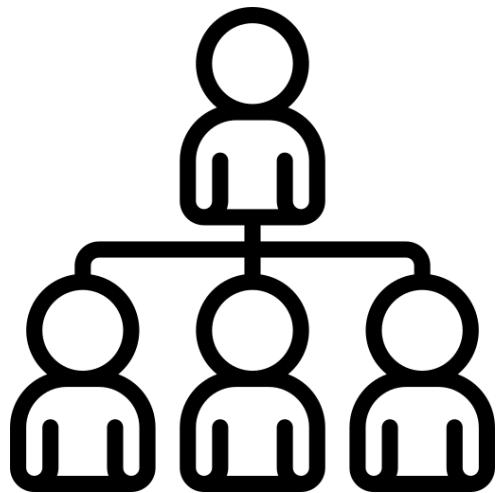
- have debates/discourse changed?
- have policies or laws changed?
- have dynamics between political actors changed?
- have new political actors emerged because of the movement?
- see Giugni, Mcadam, and Tilly (1999) and Amenta et al. (2010)

Movement impacts

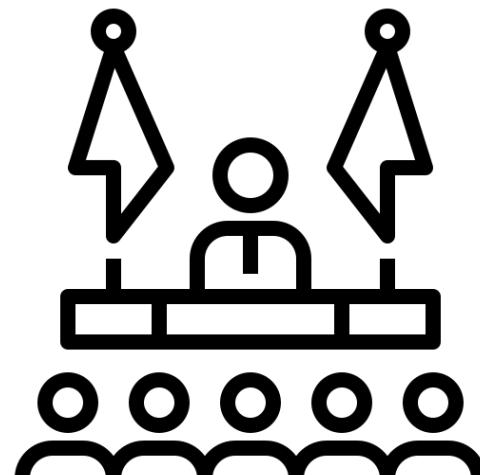
individual



organisational



political

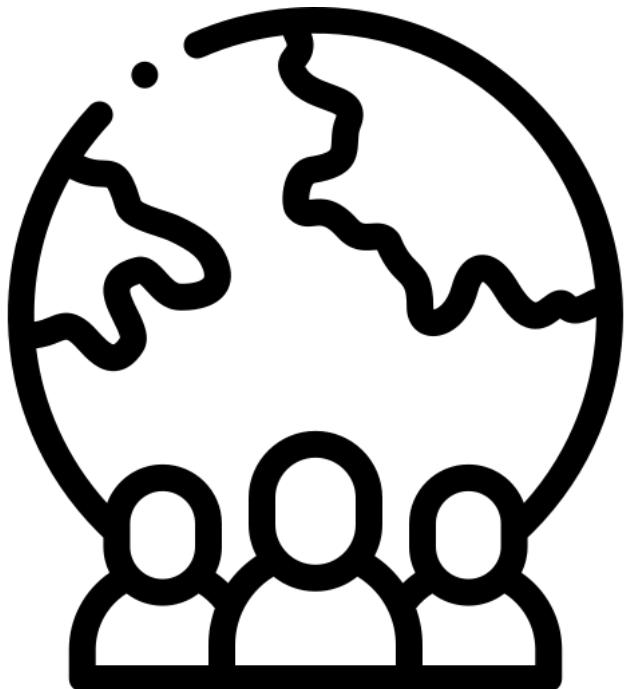


cultural



Movement impacts - cultural

cultural

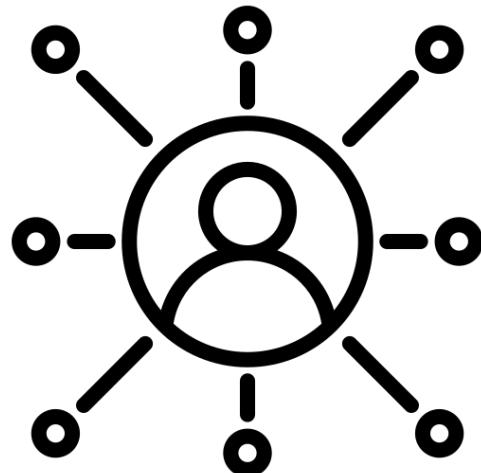


- have cultural/societal norms changed because of the movement? how?
 - are certain ideas, behaviours now acceptable *or* no longer acceptable in:
 - public opinion, lifestyle trends
 - media and popular culture
 - non-political institutions (e.g., research and education, religion)
- see Amenta and Polletta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

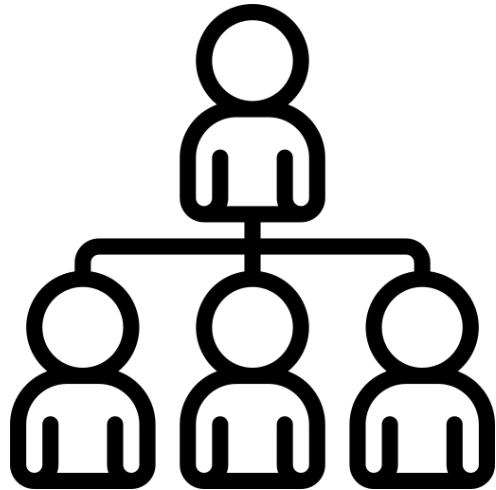
- e.g., immigration views compared to two/three decades ago; acceptance of certain political rhetoric; approval of 'strong' leadership in Western democracies

Movement impacts

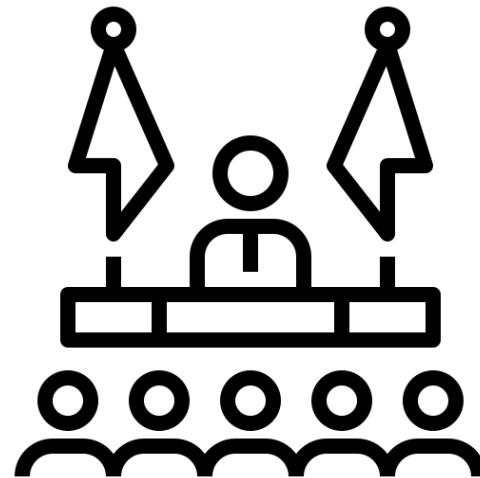
individual



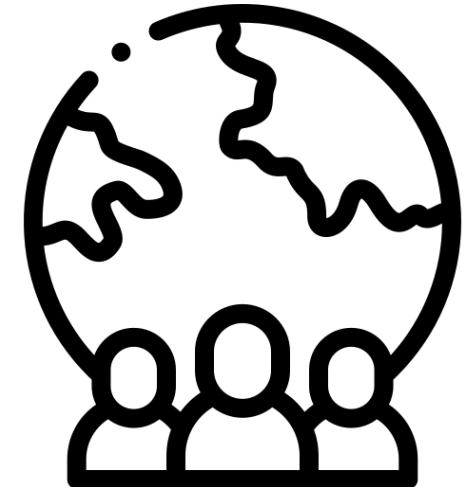
organisational



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

Poll: matters of FR mobilisation

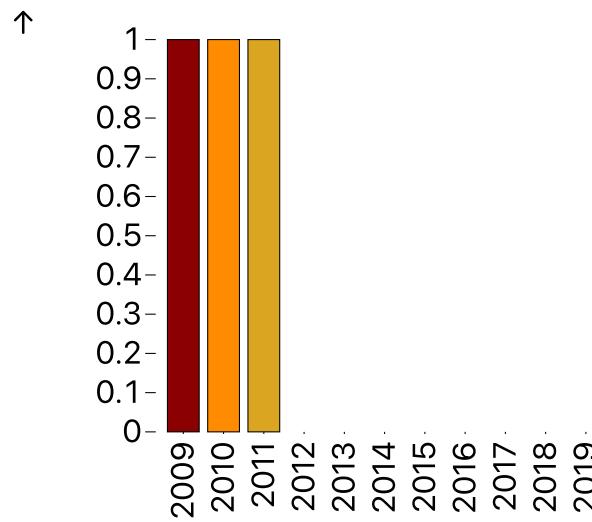


Take the survey at
<https://forms.gle/LNPvbC4h9QbycWYL7>

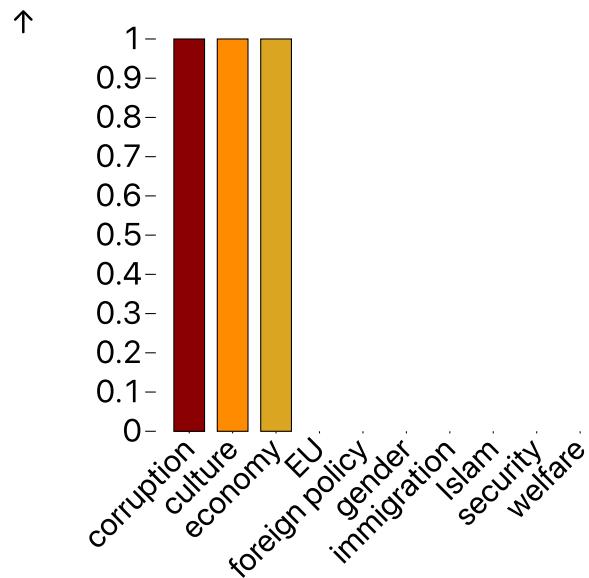
- which **year** do you guess was far-right social mobilisation **most frequent**?
- most **prominent** far-right protest **issue**?
- most common far-right mobilisation form?
- what to do when non-violent far-right demonstrations are met with disruptive, possibly violent counter-mobilisation?
- should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

Poll results (Respondents: 3)

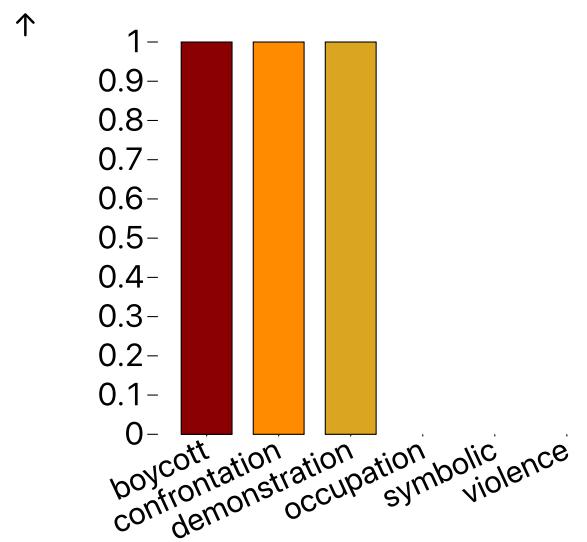
Most active year



Most prominent issue



Most common tactic/form



Mobilisation: periods, spaces, and issues (DE, IT, UK)

- data from UK, Italy, Germany

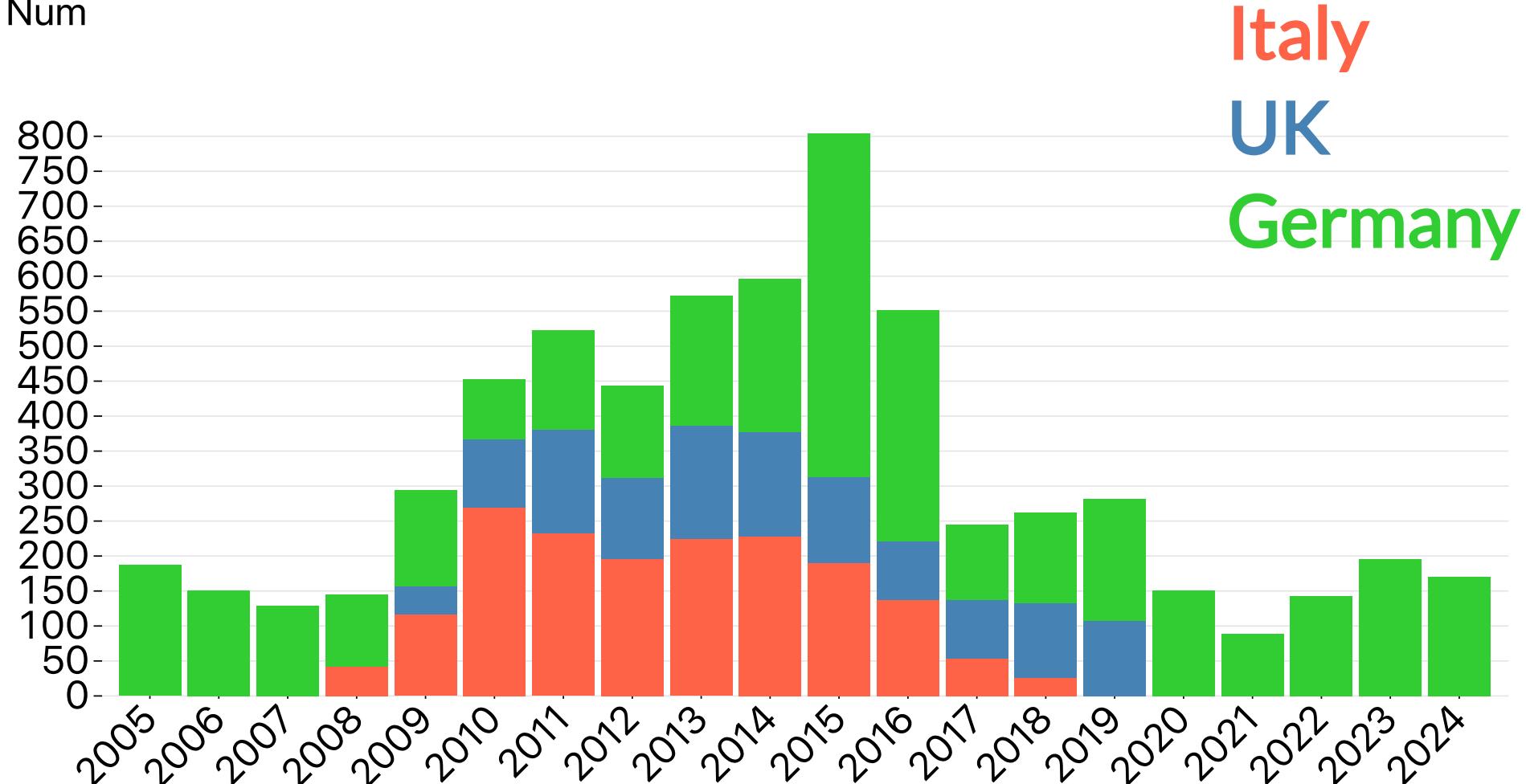


Most active mobilisation in recent years

✓ 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*)

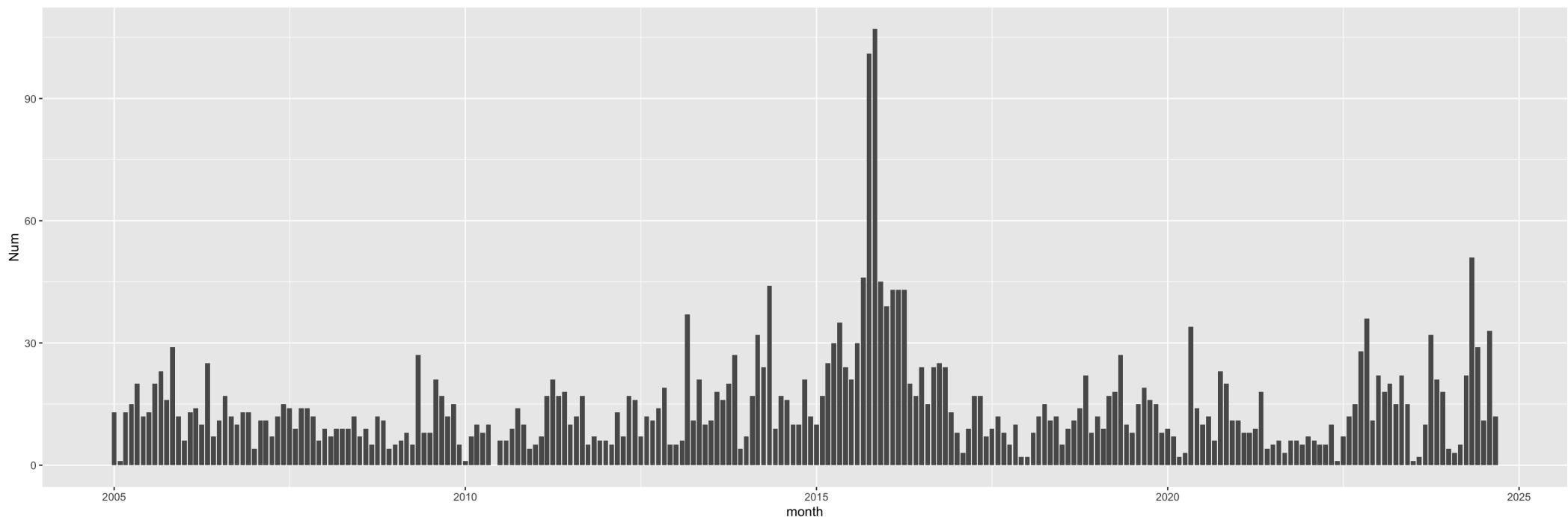
```
1 de_demos %>%
2   mutate(month=floor_date(Datum, "month")) %>%
3   group_by(month) %>% summarise(Num=n())
```

```
# 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*)

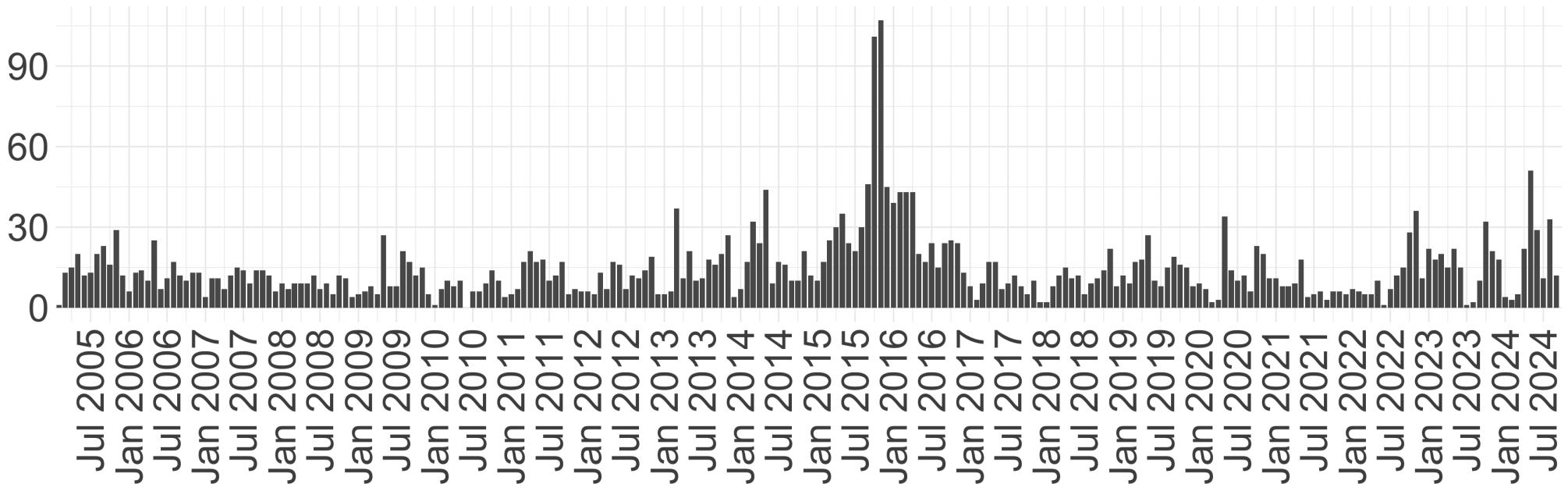
```
1 de_demos %>%
2   mutate(month=floor_date(Datum, "month")) %>%
3   group_by(month) %>% summarise(Num=n()) %>%
4   ggplot(aes(x=month, y=Num))+ geom_bar(stat="identity")
```



Far-right demonstrations in Germany

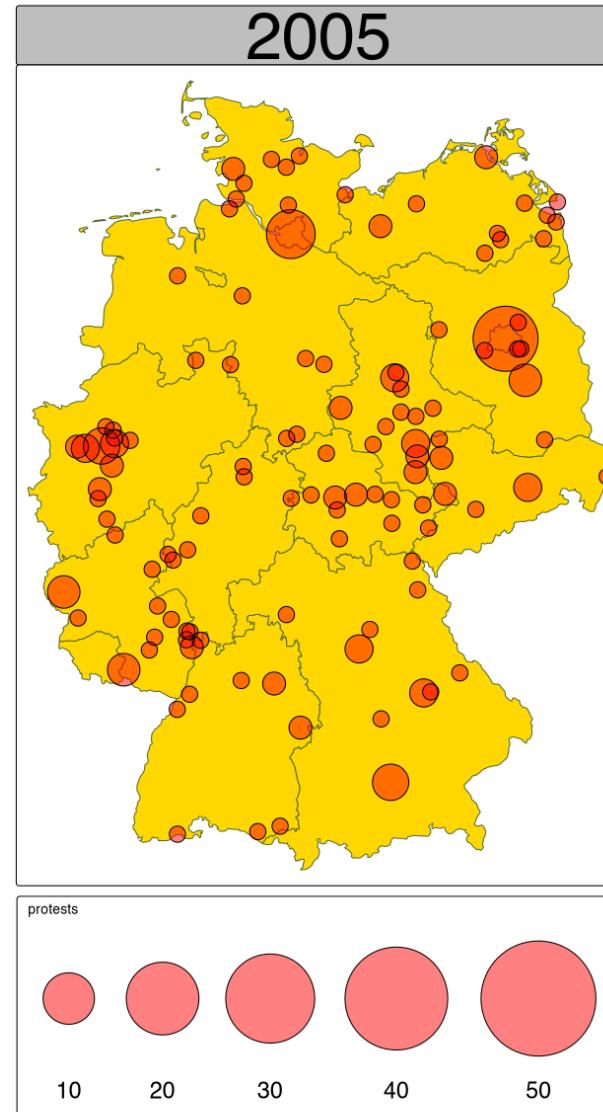
```
1 de_demos %>%
2   mutate(month=floor_date(Datum, "month")) %>%
3   group_by(month) %>% summarise(Num=n()) %>%
4   ggplot(aes(x=month, y=Num))+ geom_bar(stat="identity")+
5   scale_x_date("", labels=scales::date_format("%b %Y"), breaks="6 month",
6                 limits=c(min(as.Date(de_demos$Datum)),max(as.Date(de_demos$Datum))),expand=c(0,0))+  

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



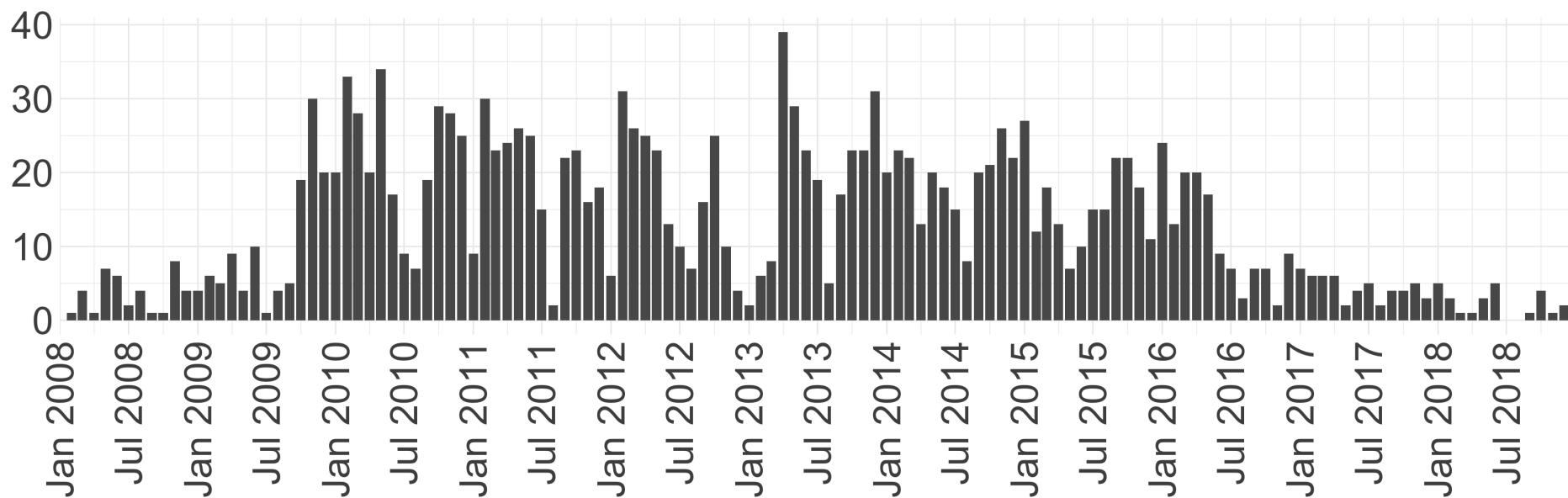
Far-right demonstrations in Germany

```
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
```

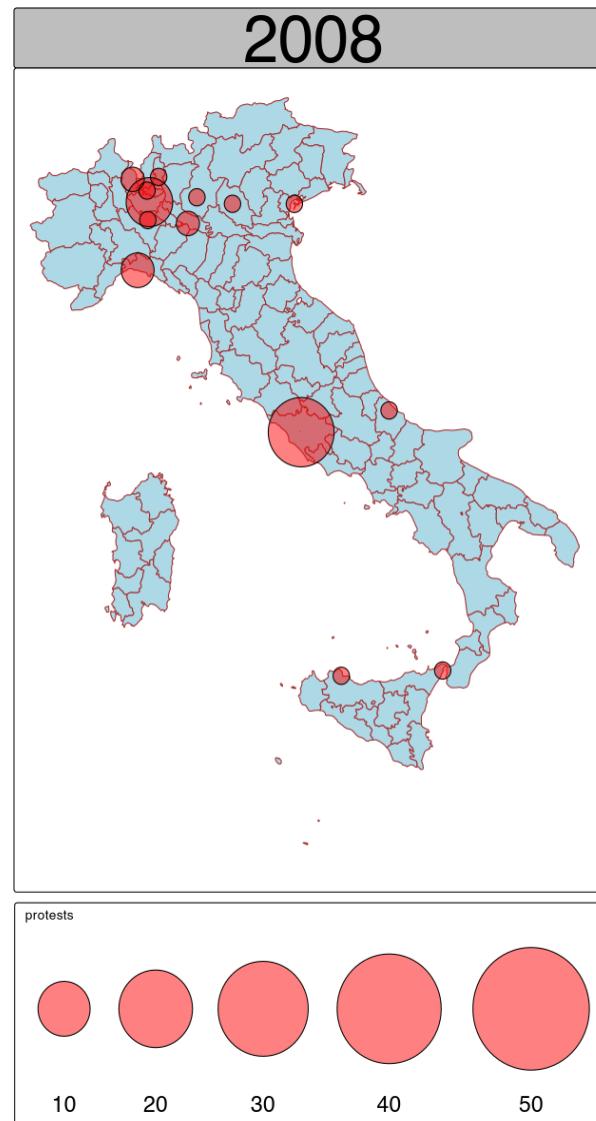


Far-right demonstrations in Italy

```
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))
```



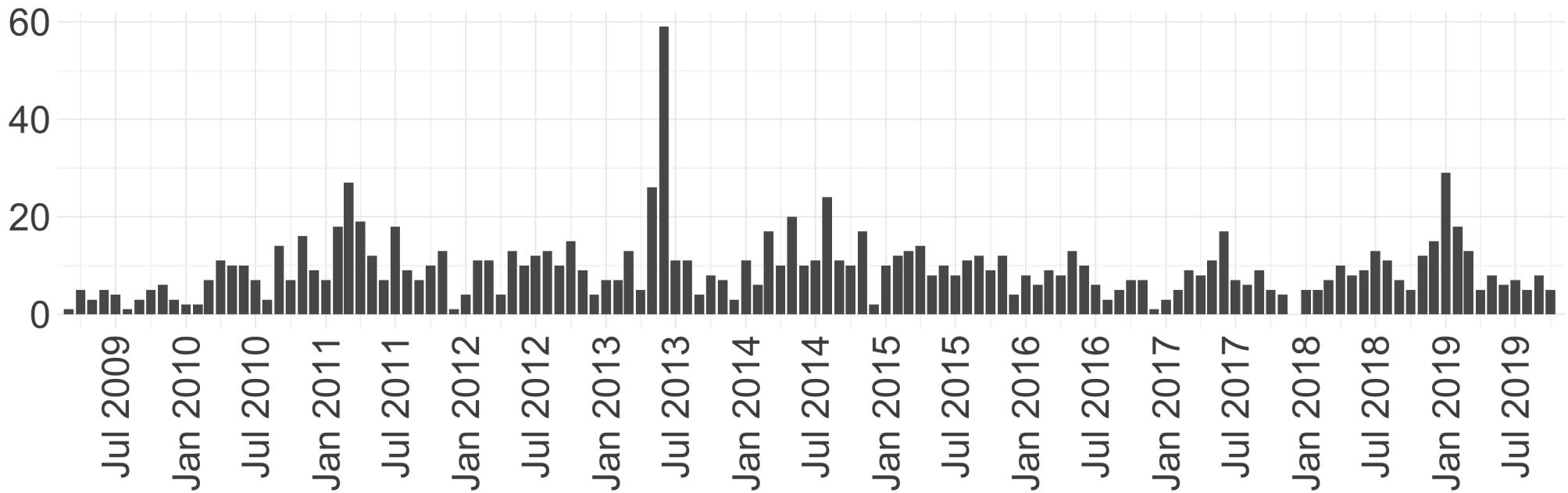
Far-right demonstrations in Italy



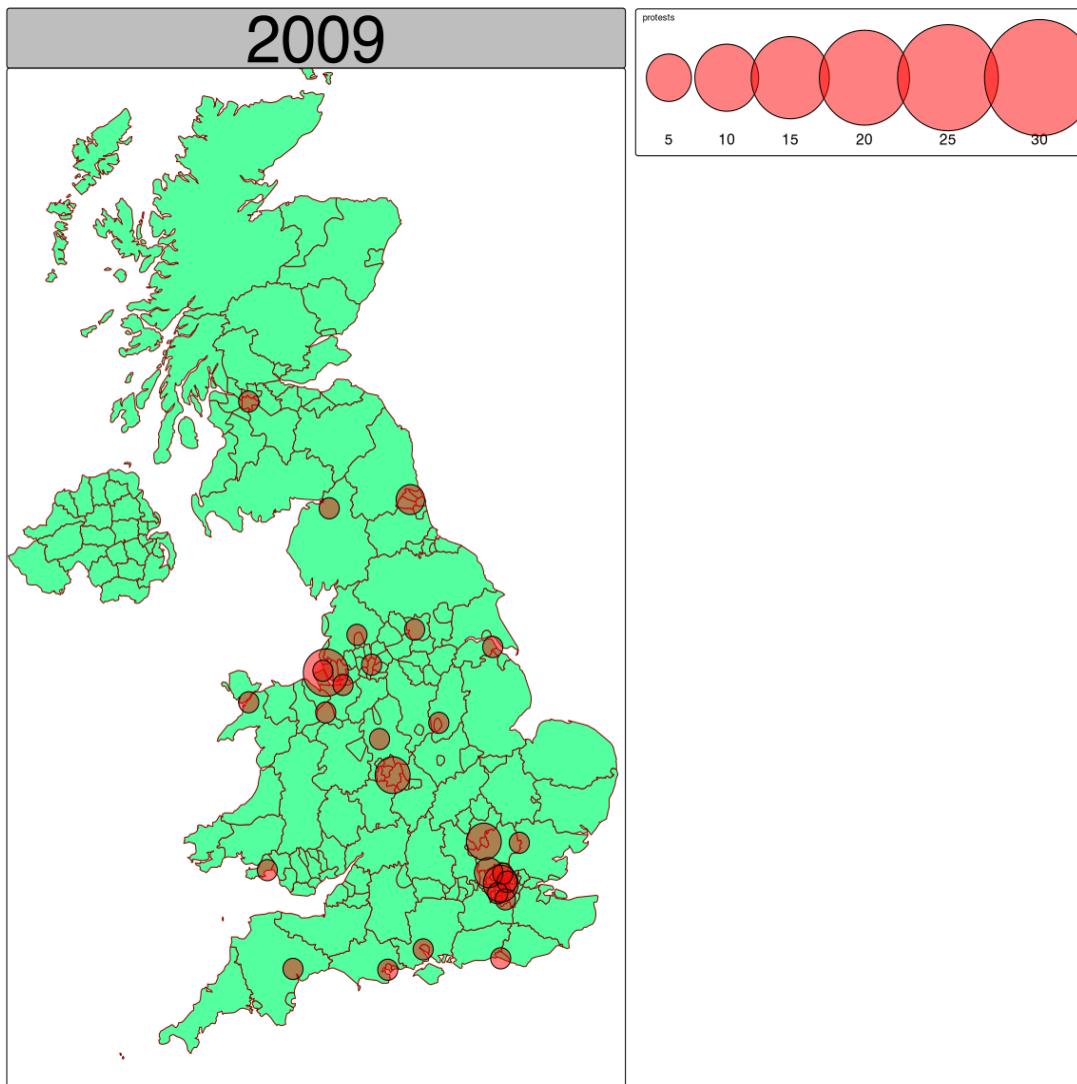
Far-right demonstrations in the UK

```
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

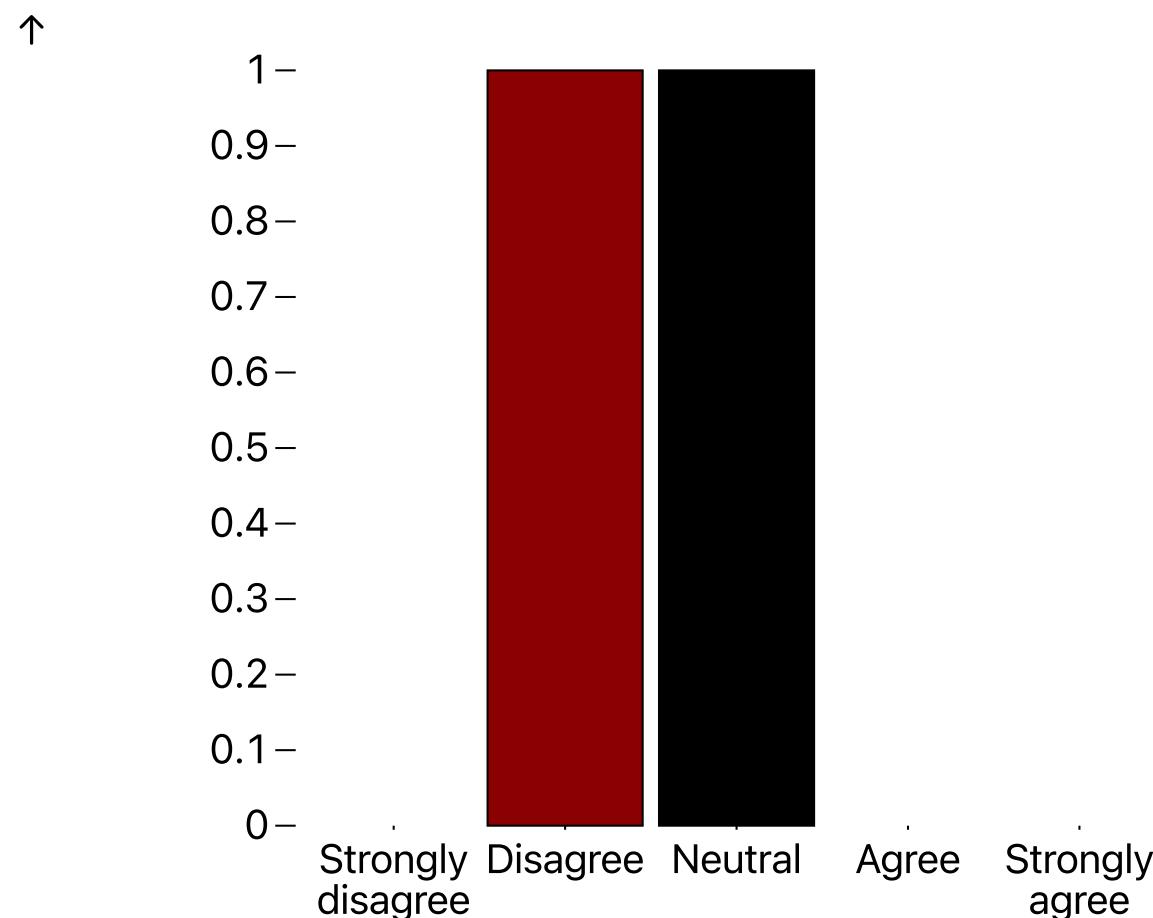
- Hutter (2014): data from Western Europe
 - far-right protest **decreases** when far-right parties are well-established, strong
 - substitution effect: electoral participation replaces street politics
- Torcal, Rodon, and Hierro (2016): 2002-2010 ESS data (much of EU space) on protest participation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

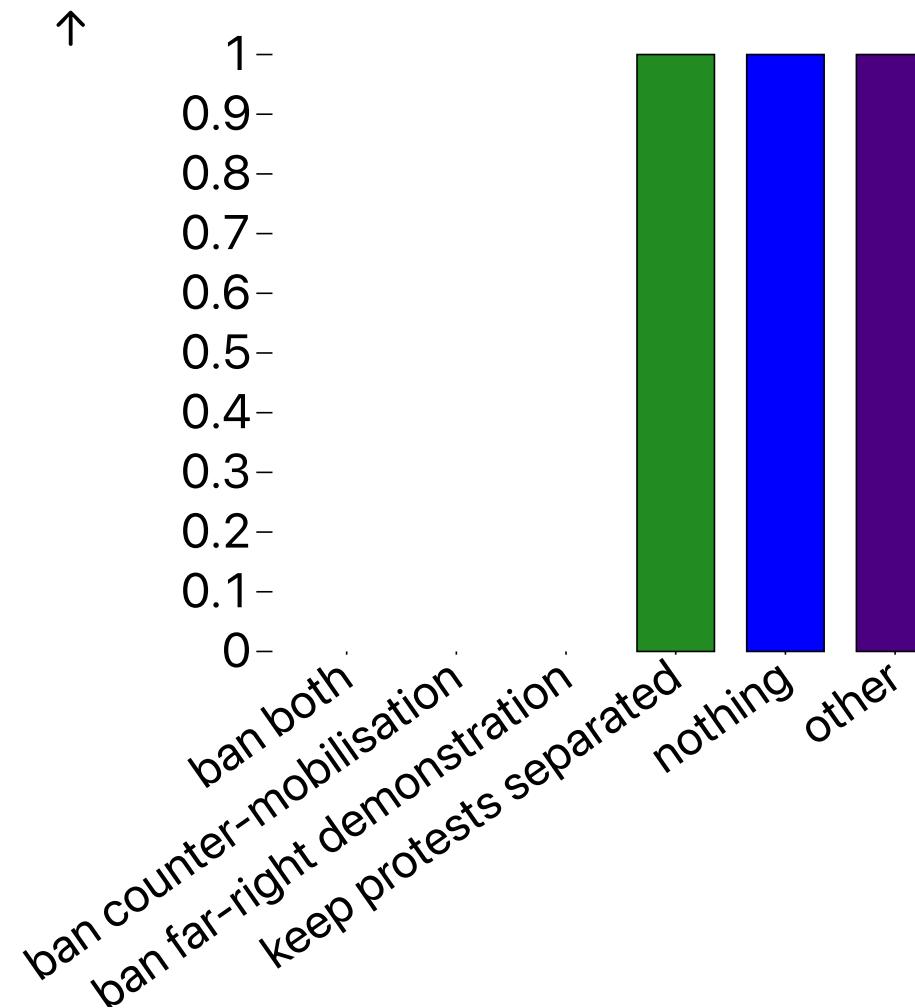
Poll results - prohibition

- 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)?



Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Anonymous feedback here:

<https://forms.gle/pisUmtmWdE13zMD58>

Alternatively, send me an email: m.zeller@lmu.de

References

- Amenta, Edwin, Neal Caren, Elizabeth Chiarello, and Yang Su. 2010. "The Political Consequences of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36 (1): 287–307.
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-070308-120029>.
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- Rone, Julia, and Maik Fielitz. 2023. "'Stop the Pact'! The Foreign Policy Impact of the Far-Right Campaigning Against the Global Compact for Migration." *Geopolitics*, October, 1–24.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2023.2260314>.
- Torcal, Mariano, Toni Rodon, and María José Hierro. 2016. "Word on the Street: The Persistence of Leftist-dominated Protest in Europe." *West European Politics* 39 (2): 326–50.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2015.1068525>.