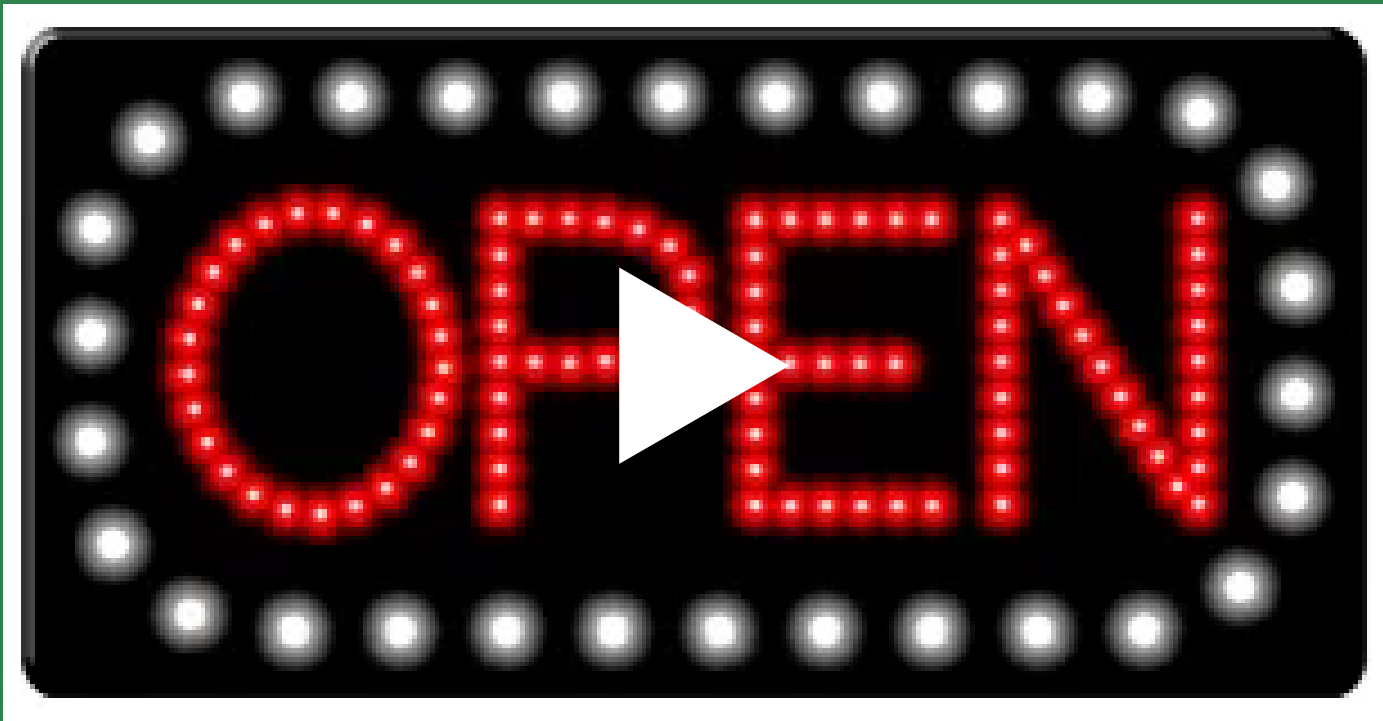# Class 7: Movements

movement-parties

Dr. Michael C. Zeller

Agenda for the day

- Opening notes
- Introduction to social movements
- Movement-parties
- Check-in on responses and counter-strategies (week 6)
- Sardines!
- Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Opening notes

Presentation groups

Topics to me as soon as possible

| June | July | May |

Date	Presenters	Method
5 June:	Rasmus B., Andre D., Josefine E., Ioanna L., Santiago C.	regression
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.	network analysis

Introduction to social movements

- collective behaviour theory

- resource mobilisation theory

- 'cultural turn' and new social movements

- political process theory

Collective behaviour theory (CBT)

Resource mobilisation theory

- origins: shift from 'why' collective action to 'how' collective action

- some key scholars: McCarthy & Zald, Tilly, Tarrow, McAdam

- focus on organisations: how they mobilise and campaign in strategic pursuit of goals

- degree of resources under the control of a movement

- key concepts:

  - strategy and tactics

  - types of resources: material (finances, property, supplies), human (quantity and expert quality of members/activists), organisational (capacity to disseminate and enact strategy), moral (solidarity support, legitimacy and sympathetic support)

discussion: strategy and tactics

- what strategies and tactics do movements use?

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- what (corresponding?) organisational forms do they take?

- what strategies and tactics do movements use?

discussion: strategy and tactics

- ## what (corresponding?) organisational forms do they take?

  - ### hierarchical vs. horizontal

- ## what strategies and tactics do movements use?

  - ### direct action vs. indirect/demonstrative action

The 'cultural turn' and new social movements

- origins: Gramscian concentration on internal life of movements, values and meaning-making; otherwise the central contribution of 'new social movements' is missed

- some key scholars: Melucci, Polletta, Jasper

- key concepts:

  - collective identity

  - emotions

  - framing (Benford and Snow 2000): diagnostic, prognostic, motivational
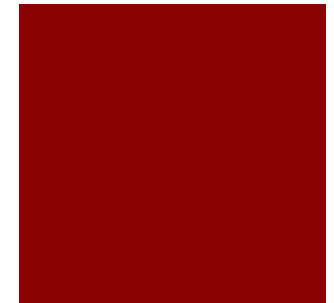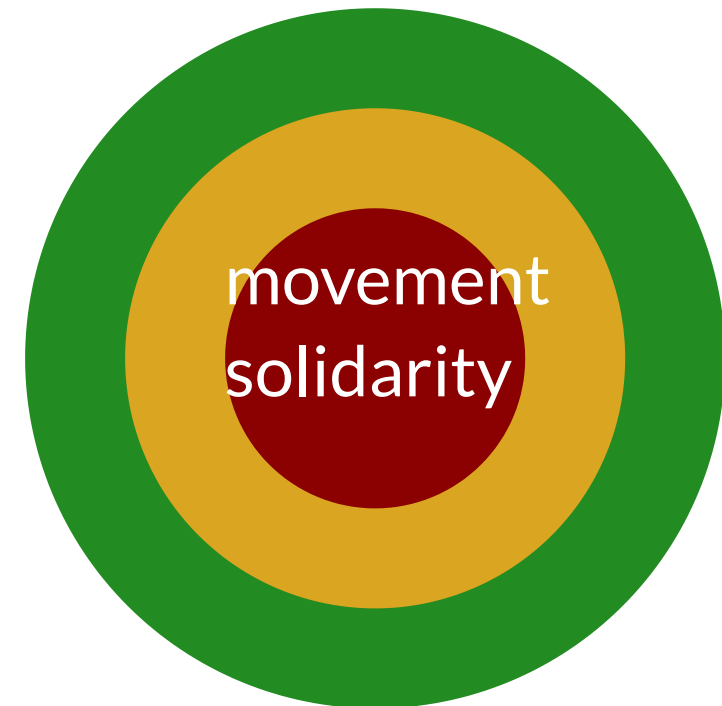
framing   emotion work   identity construction

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framing   emotion   identity
           work   construction

movement solidarity

Political process theory (PPT)

Summing up

- Not exhaustive of SMS theories. There's also: *political mediation model*, *field theory*, *relational/network approaches*, etc.

Summing up

- PPT and concepts from the other main theories provide framework for research on the far right

- Not exhaustive of SMS theories. There's also: *political mediation model*, *field theory*, *relational/network approaches*, etc.

Movement-parties

- what does this concept mean

- discussion: advantages and liabilities of acting as a party? as a movement?

- what are examples (historical, contemporary)

LIVE: TRUMP RALLY IN PHOENIX

Movement-parties concept

- organised, registered as *political party*
  - fielding candidates, contesting elections (even if just locally)

- mobilises members and supporters in extra-institutional activism like *social movement*
  - protests, cultural events beyond purpose of supporting election

combine electoral representation with extra-institutional mobilisation (H. Kitschelt 2006)

- treating as parties neglects distinctive movement-style activism
- treating as movements neglects unique instrumentalisation of institutional politics

Movement-parties - discussion

What are advantages and liabilities of acting as a party?

What are advantages and liabilities of acting as a movement?

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Movement-parties - discussion

What are advantages and liabilities of acting as a party?

What are advantages and liabilities of acting as a movement?

Why mix? Can it minimise the liabilities and maximise the advantages of both types?

Movement-parties - conceptual comparison

Feature	Party	Movement	Movement-Party
Goal	Win elections, govern	Influence culture/policy	Both
Structure	Bureaucratic, stable	Fluid, network-based	Hybrid
Strategy	Policy platforms	Protest, activism	Mixed
Members	Formal	Informal, participation	Flexible

Movement-parties – conceptual comparison

- But the concept has fuzzy boundaries, several borderline cases
    - e.g., parties that function symbiotically with movements

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Movement-parties - conceptual comparison

- But the concept has fuzzy boundaries, several borderline cases

  - Parties (e.g., SVP) engaged in lots of grassroots activism (Favero and Zulianello 2023)

  - e.g., parties that function symbiotically with movements

Feature	Party	Movement	Movement-Party
Goal	Win elections, govern	Influence culture/policy	Both
Structure	Bureaucratic, stable	Fluid, network-based	Hybrid

- based in Hungary

- founded around paramilitary-style actions (e.g., marches in Roma areas)

- in elections since 2009

- based in Italy

- founded around direct action tactics (e.g., squatting)

- in elections 2013-2019

Movement-parties cases (Pirro and Castelli Gattinara

both in transition from movement to party form (p377) – what has happened since 2018?

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- in elections since 2009

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What other cases do you think this concept describes?

Check-in on responses and counter strategies (week 6)

Sardines (Colombo et al. 2021)

> The Sardines held "anti-fascist, pro-equality, anti-intolerance, and anti-homophobic" views, they denounced a political communication based on racism, fascism, sexism and discrimination, standing their ground against it. (p5)

- mobilising against *Lega* (Salvini) in Italy's 2020 election campaign

Sardines (Colombo et al. 2021)

> RQ(s): how can support for FR be curbed? "we ask whether bottom-up mobilization against the far-right can undermine or boost support for the far-right. What happens when citizens mobilize in grassroots rallies against far-right political actors?" (p2)

- cf. Lagios, Méon, and Tojerow (2022) and Ellinas and Lamprianou (2023)

findings: grassroots mobilisation can decrease appeal of FR …

Sardines (Colombo et al. 2021)

findings: grassroots mobilisation can decrease appeal of FR …

- possible mechanisms?

1. social pressure effect, reinforcing stigmatisation of FR politics,

2. informative effect, raising awareness of FR threats,

3. outing of (voting) intent, committing demonstration participants/supporters to a certain electoral choice

- But also possible *backlash effects*

Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Anonymous feedback here:
https://forms.gle/pisUmtmWdE13zMD58

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

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