

Class 7: Movements

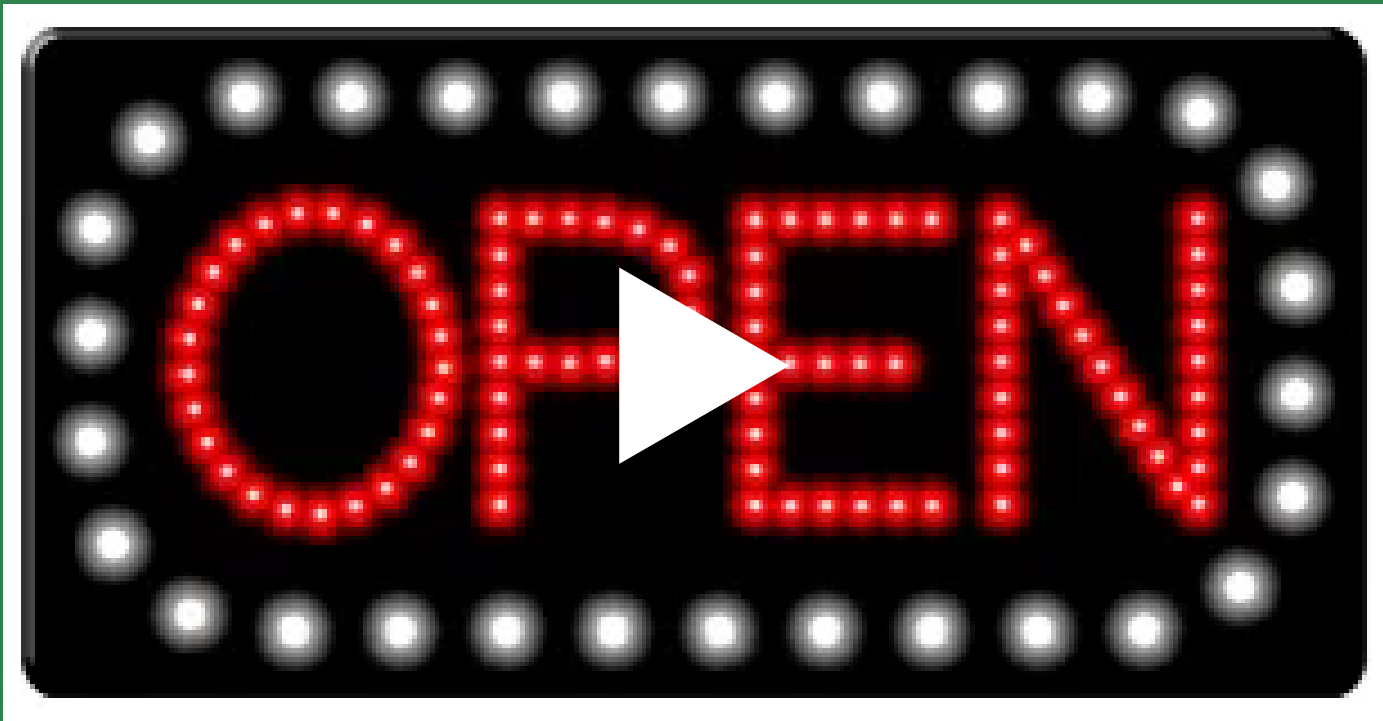
movement-parties

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.	TBD

Introduction to social movements

- collective behaviour theory
- resource mobilisation theory
- 'cultural turn' and new social movements
- political process theory



Collective behaviour theory (CBT)

- 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

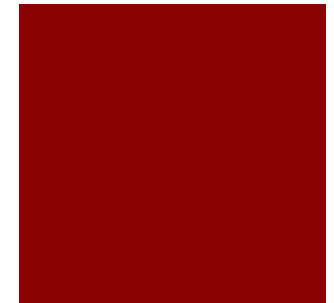
The 'cultural turn' and new social movements

- 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



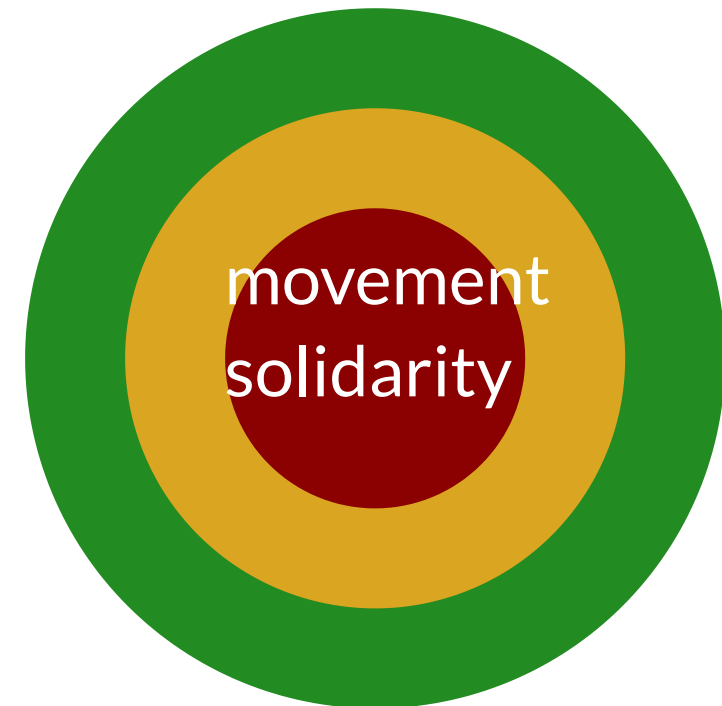
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Political process theory (PPT)

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)



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?

Movement-parties - discussion

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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
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Movement-parties cases (Pirro and Castelli Gattinara)



- based in Hungary
- founded around paramilitary-style actions (e.g., marches in Roma areas)
- in elections since 2009



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- 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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- based in Italy
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What other cases do
you think this concept
describes?

Check-in on responses and counterstrategies (week 6)



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Sardines!

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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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