

Class 7: Movements

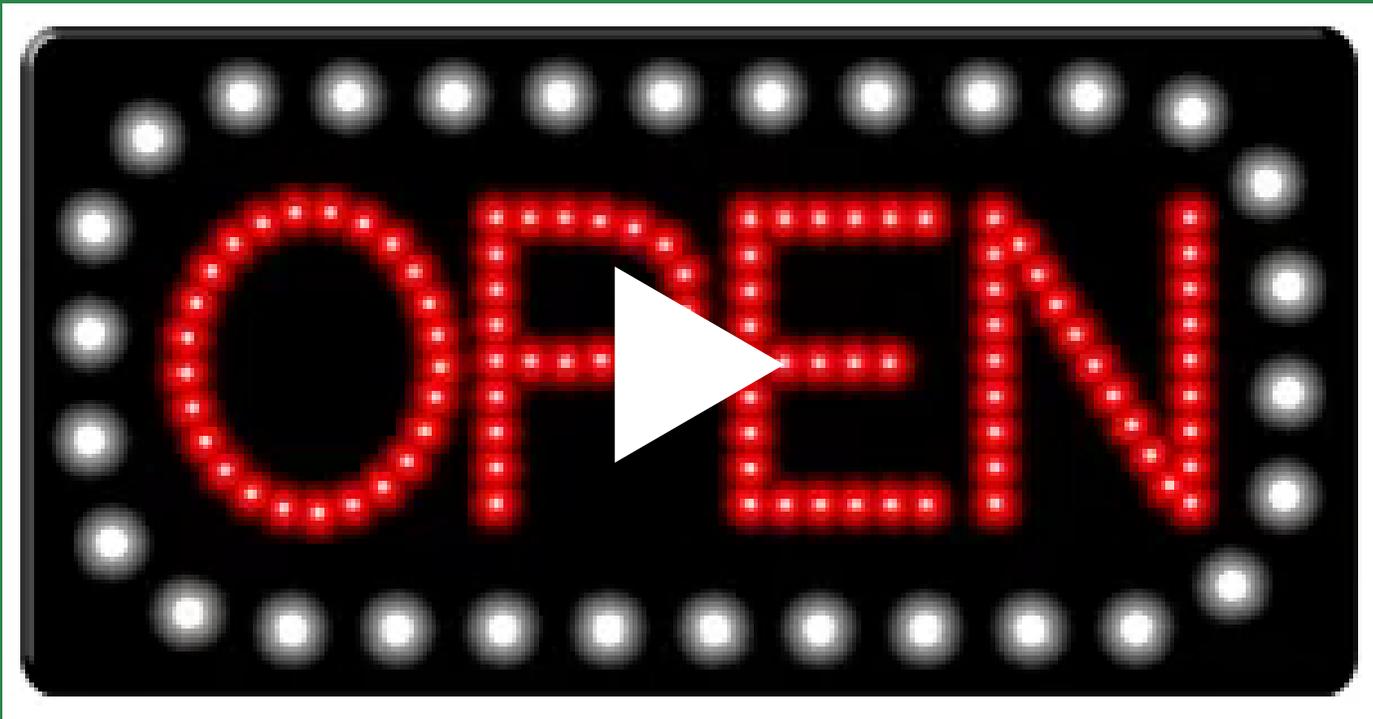
movement-parties

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.	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.	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?

discussion: strategy and tactics

- 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 identity
work construction
- 

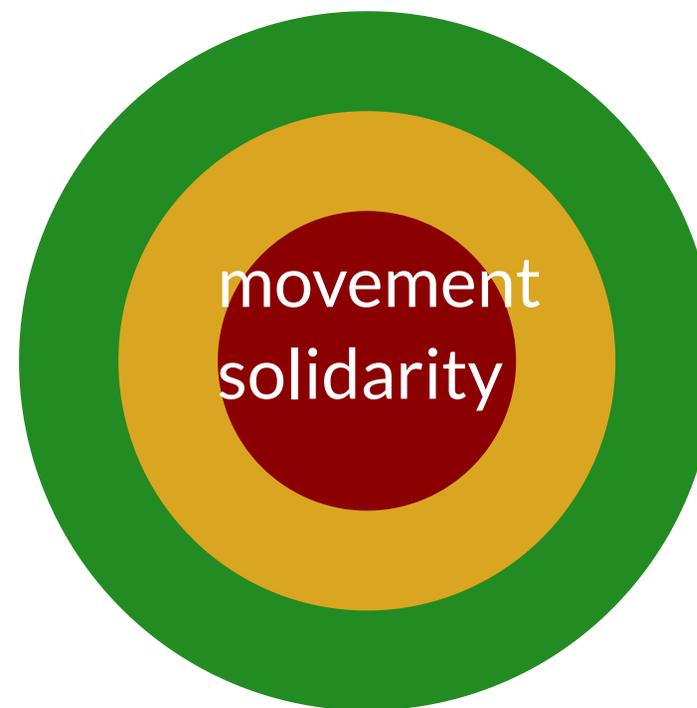
The 'cultural turn' and new social movements

- 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



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

What are advantages and liabilities of acting as a movement?

What are advantages and liabilities of acting as a party?

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

What are advantages and liabilities of acting as a party?

What are advantages and liabilities of acting as a movement?

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

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

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

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



- 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?



- 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

What other cases do
you think this concept
describes?

Check-in on responses and counterstrategies (week 6)



Sardines!

LMU

LUDWIG-
MAXIMILIANS-
UNIVERSITÄT
MÜNCHEN



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

References



- Benford, Robert D, and David a Snow. 2000. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." *Annual Review Sociologic* 26 (1974): 611–39.
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611>.
- Colombo, Francesco, Alessandro Ferrara, Foteini-Maria Vassou, Fabrizio Bernardi, and Elias Dinas. 2021. "From the Streets to the Voting Booth: The Electoral Effect of Grassroots Mobilization Against the Far-Right." Firenze: European University Institute.
- Ellinas, Antonis A., and Iasonas Lamprianou. 2023. "Movement Versus Party: The Electoral Effects of Anti-Far Right Protests in Greece." *American Political Science Review*, July, 1–19.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055423000588>.
- Favero, Adrian, and Mattia Zulianello. 2023. "Building Legitimacy: Why the Populist Radical Right Engages in Grassroots Activism at the Local Level." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, October, 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2023.2269383>.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2006. "Movement Parties." In *Handbook of Party Politics*, 1:278–90. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert P. 1986. "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 16 (1): 57–85.
- Koopmans, Ruud, and Susan Olzak. 2004. "Discursive Opportunities and the Evolution of Right-Wing Violence in Germany." *American Journal of Sociology* 110 (1): 198–230.
<https://doi.org/10.1086/386271>.

Lagios, Nicolas, Pierre-Guillaume Méon, and Ilan Tojerow. 2022. "Does It Pay Off to Demonstrate Against the Far Right?"

Pirro, Andrea L. P., and Pietro Castelli Gattinara. 2018. "Movement Parties of the Organization and Strategies of Nativist Collective Actors." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 23 (3): 367–83. <https://doi.org/10.17813/1086-671X-23-3-367>.

Tarrow, Sidney G. 2011. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511973529>.

