LMU LUDWIG-MAXIMILIANS-UNIVERSITÄT MÜNCHEN

Class 8: Movements

Mobilisation and movements

Dr. Michael C. Zeller

Agenda for the day

- Opening notes
- Data report: reminders, clarifications
- 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?

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Opening notes

Presentation groups

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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

Data report: reminders, clarificati

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- *intentionally* different from a 'normal' essay
  - less theory, literature review → more (basic) empirics
  - 'back to basics': *good* description before 'complex' arguments
- i. *description* is necessary for ii. *explanation* or iii. *prediction*
- *intentionally* vague requirements about data type
  - extant data, modified data, wholly new data—all possible
  - *in any case*, you should be thinking about how data is created and to what extent it is *valid* and *reliable*
- purpose: (1) data strength and limitations awareness, (2) 'get hands dirty with data' (before thesis!), (3) building blocks for (thesis) research: concepts, methods, (good) empirical material

Social movement lens on the far r

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- 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

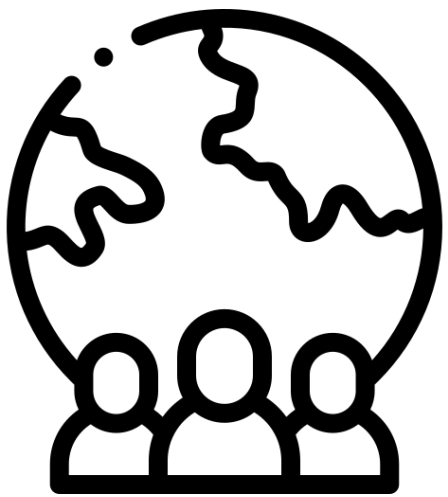
Movements and parties, overlaps and similarities

- 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

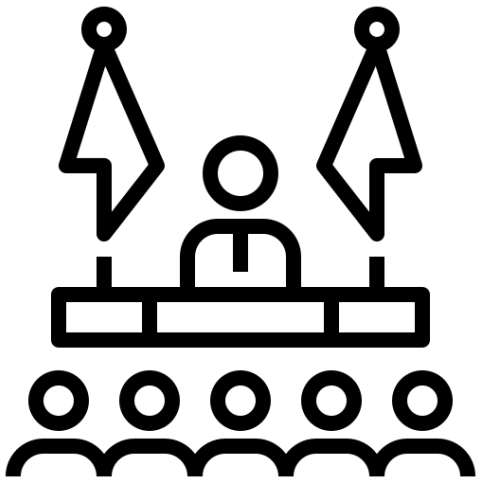
Movement impacts

cultural



Movement impacts

political



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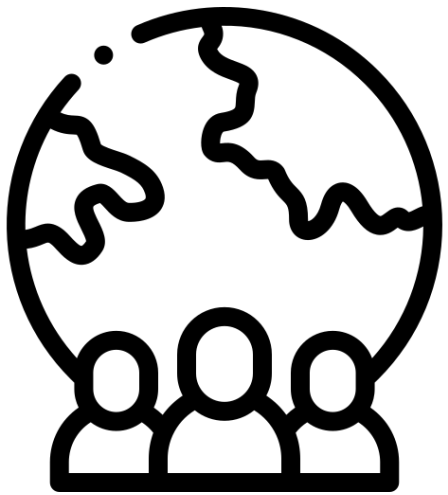
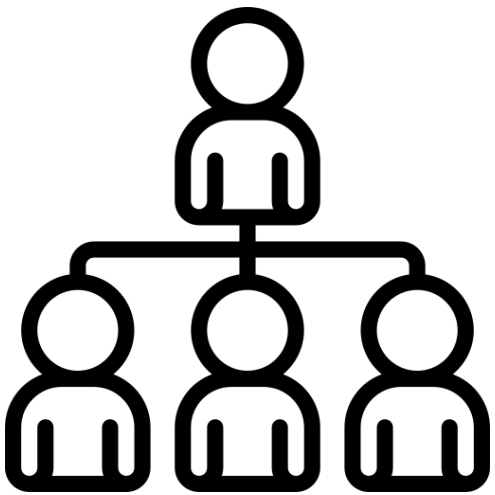
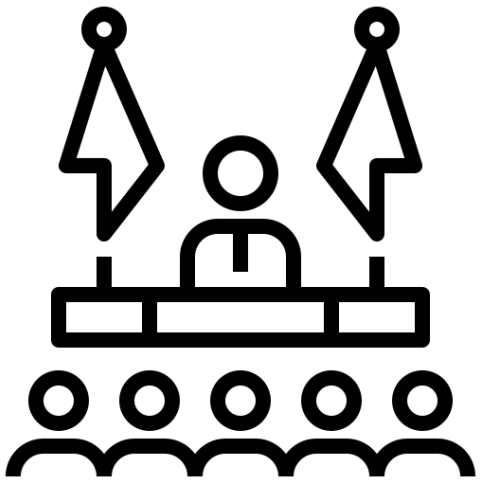


Movement impacts

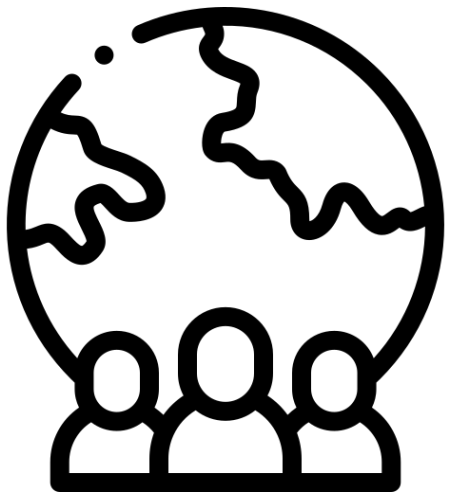
organisational



political

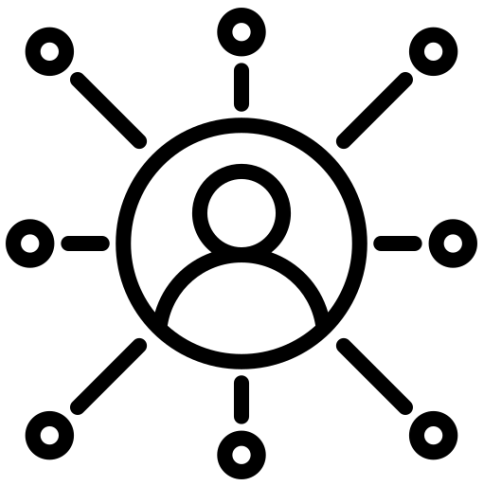


cultural



Movement impacts

individual



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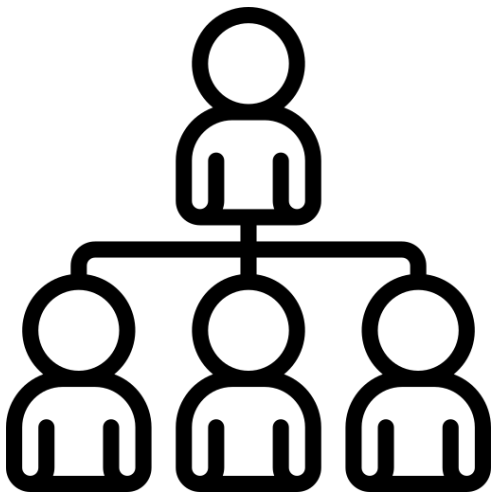

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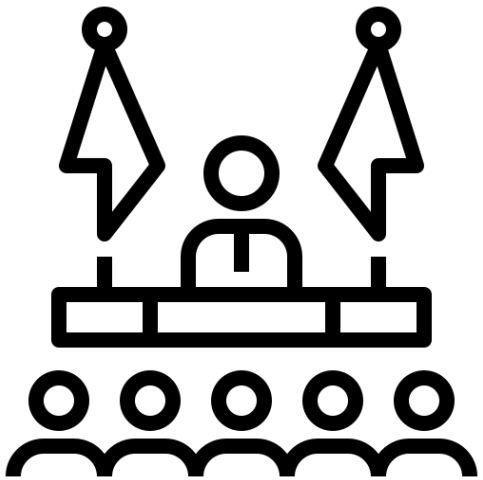

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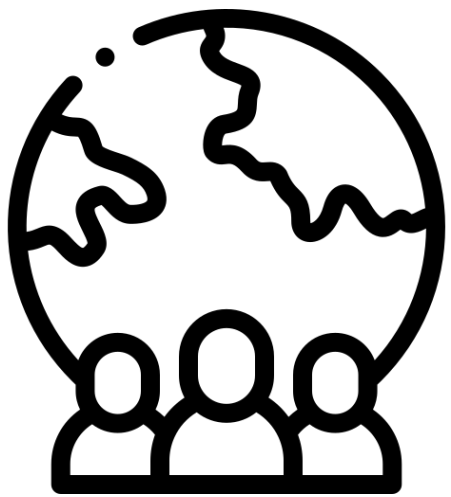
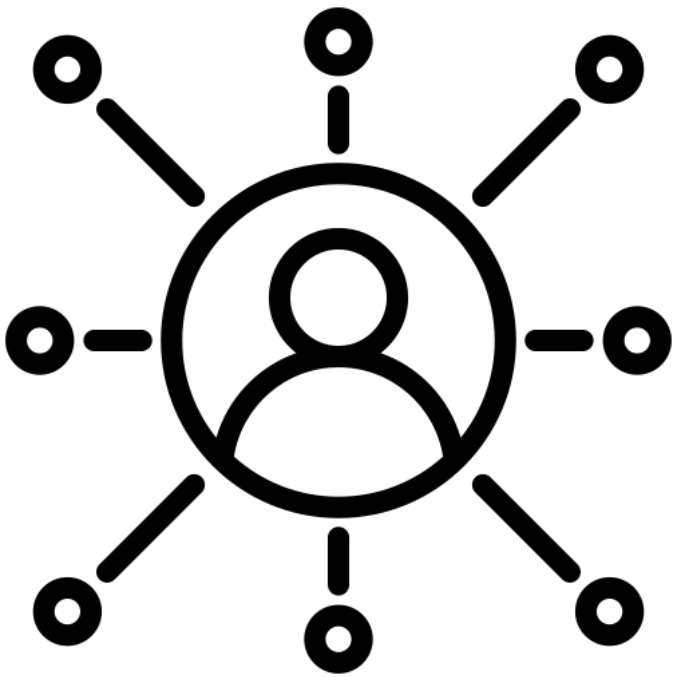


Movement impacts - individual

individual

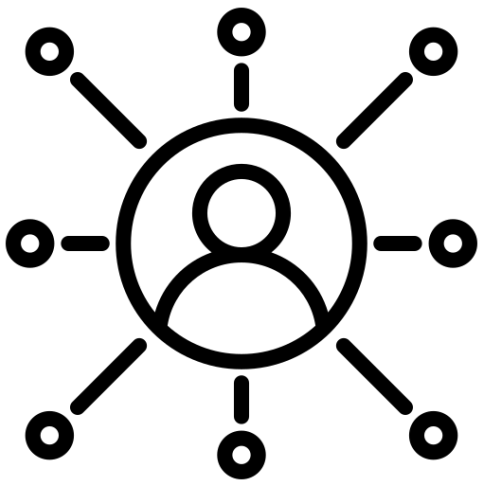


- did people who participated change? how?
  - interpersonal connections (likely future movement particiation)
- did people who encountered the movement change? how?
  - different issue attention/focus? different attitudes?

- participants, attitudinally: radicalised? disillusioned? behaviourally: more extreme? burnout?
- onlookers responses: on immigration, culture? support/oppose?

Movement impacts

individual



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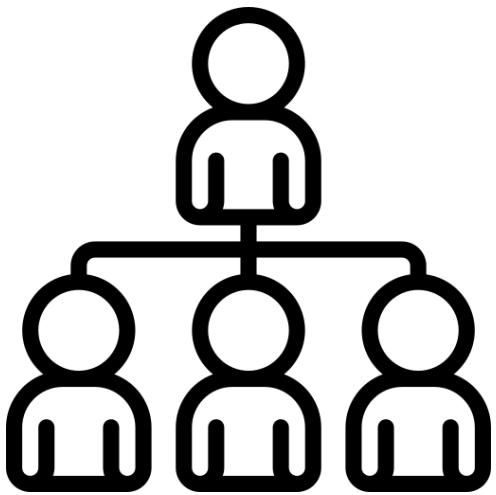

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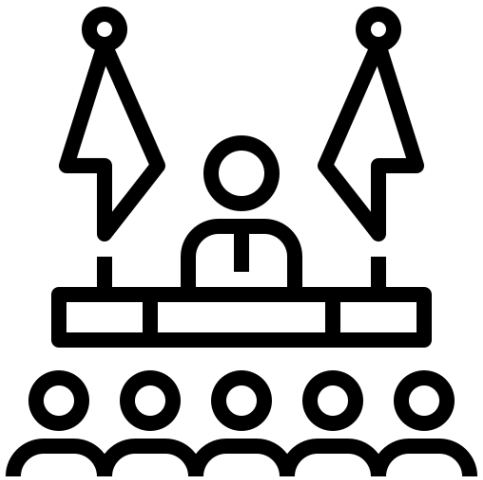

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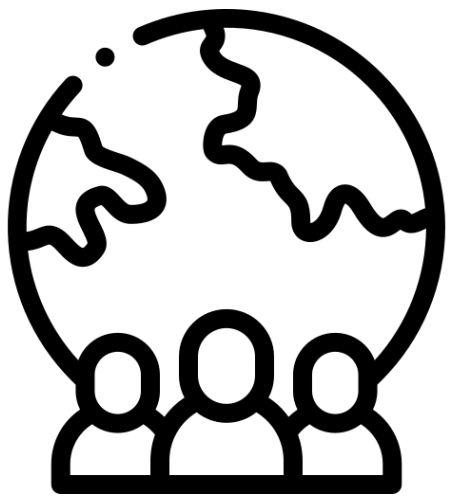
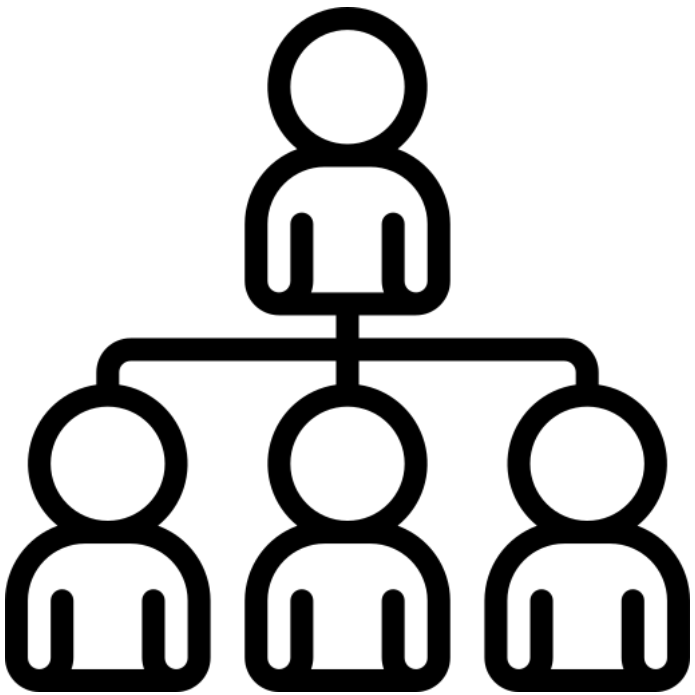


Movement impacts - organisational

organisational

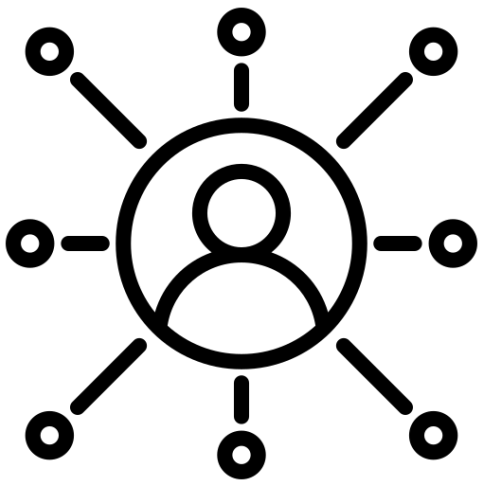


- a targeted organisation?
  - changed behaviour? organisational decline?
- the movement's own (or connected) organisation(s)?
  - professionalisation, institutionalisation
  - new affiliate organisations (perhaps parties, businesses)

- targeted organisation: e.g., changed (political) financing activity, policies (as with platforms content moderation), hindered org.'s activity

Movement impacts

individual



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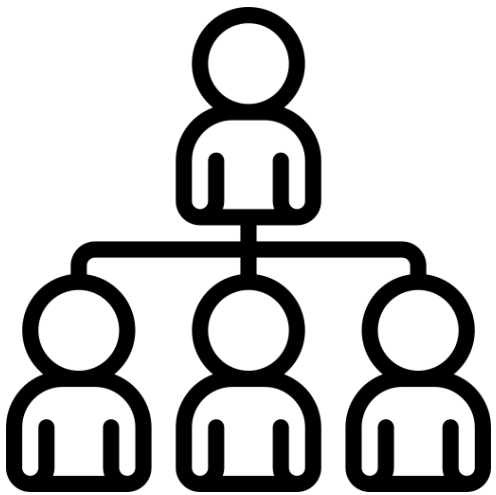

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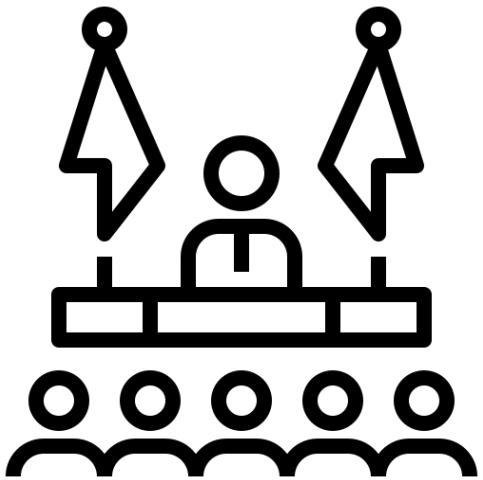

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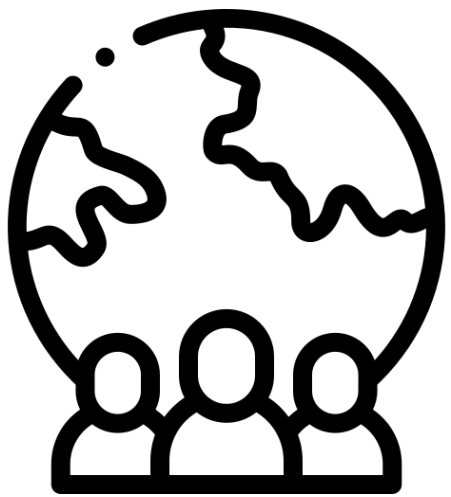
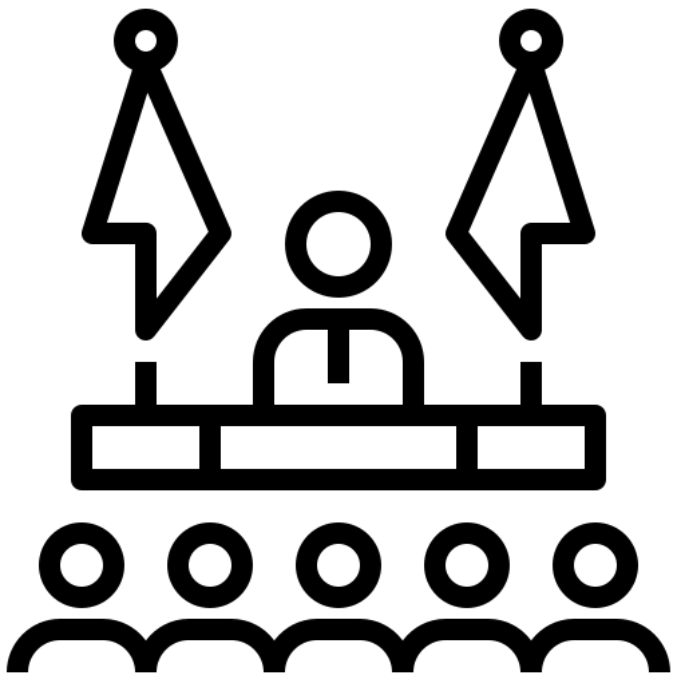


Movement impacts - political

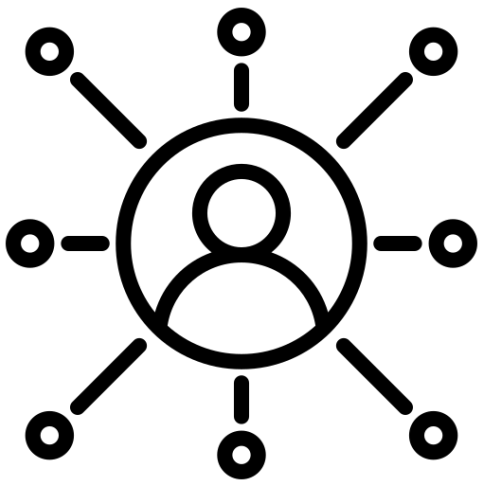
political



- 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



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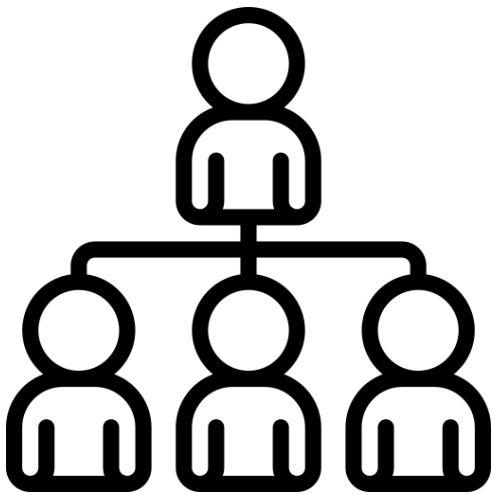

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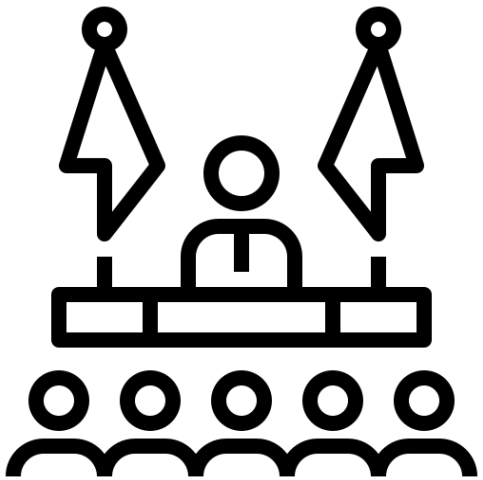

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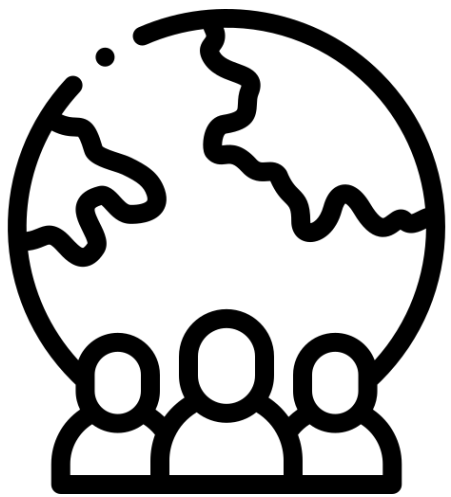

Movement impacts - cultural

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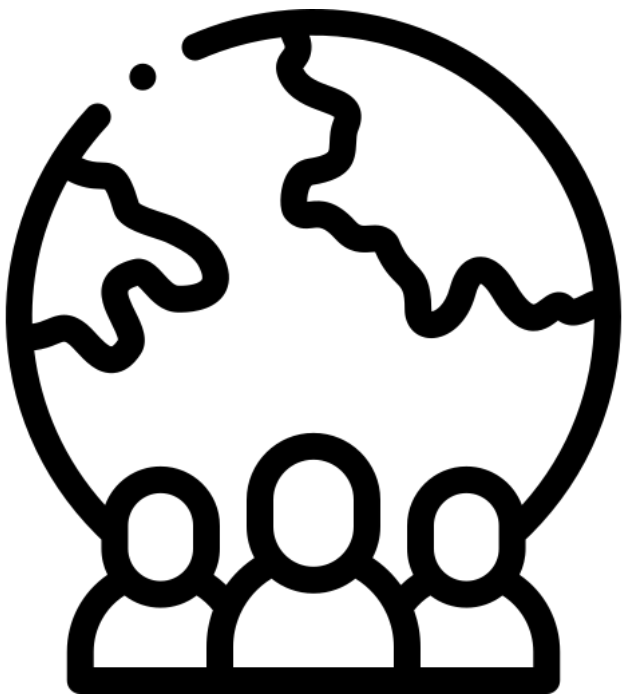
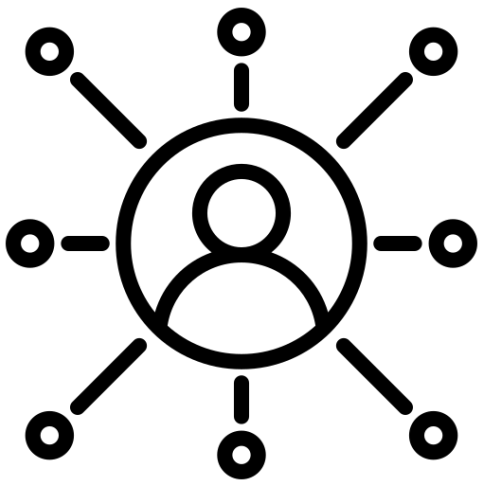


- have cultural/societal norms changed because of the movement? how?
  - are certain ideas, behaviours now acceptable *or* no longer acceptable in:
    - public opinion, lifestyle trends
    - media and popular culture
    - non-political institutions (e.g., research and education, religion)
- see Amenta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



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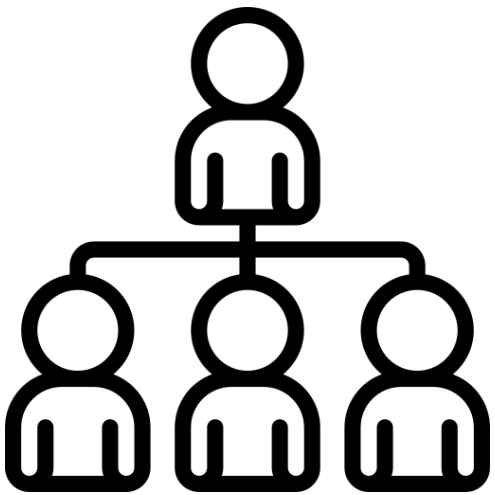

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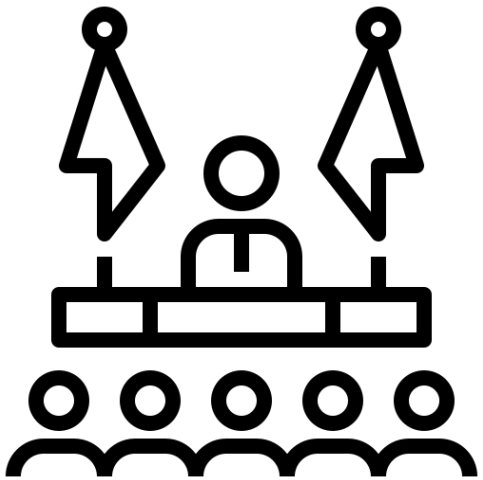

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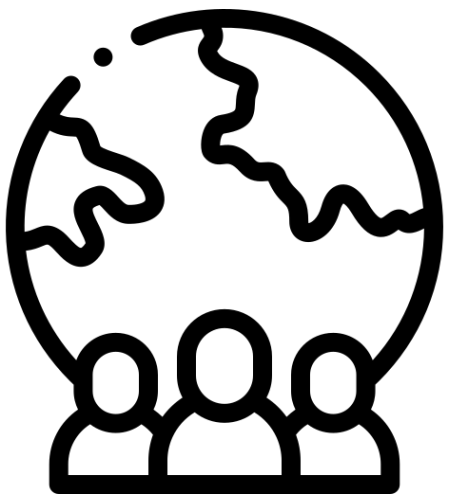

Far-right movement goals discussion

- 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

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Istanbul Convention politicisation

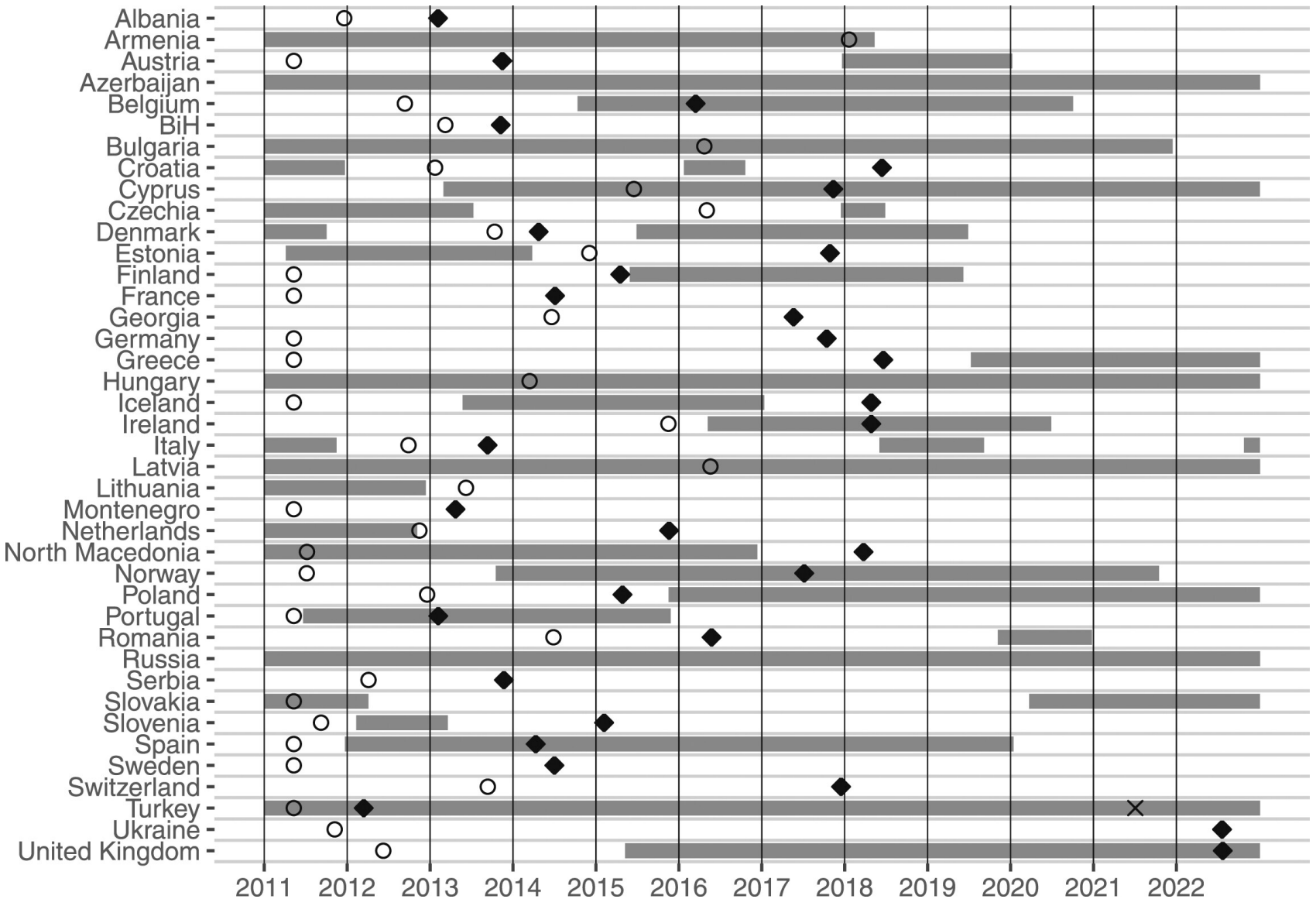
Opponents criticize the Convention's explicit linkage between gender-based violence and structural gendered inequalities between women and men, the definition of gender in Article 3(c) as "the socially constructed roles, behavior, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate 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.

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

Istanbul Convention ratification and right-wing gov.



Rejecting the Istanbul Convention

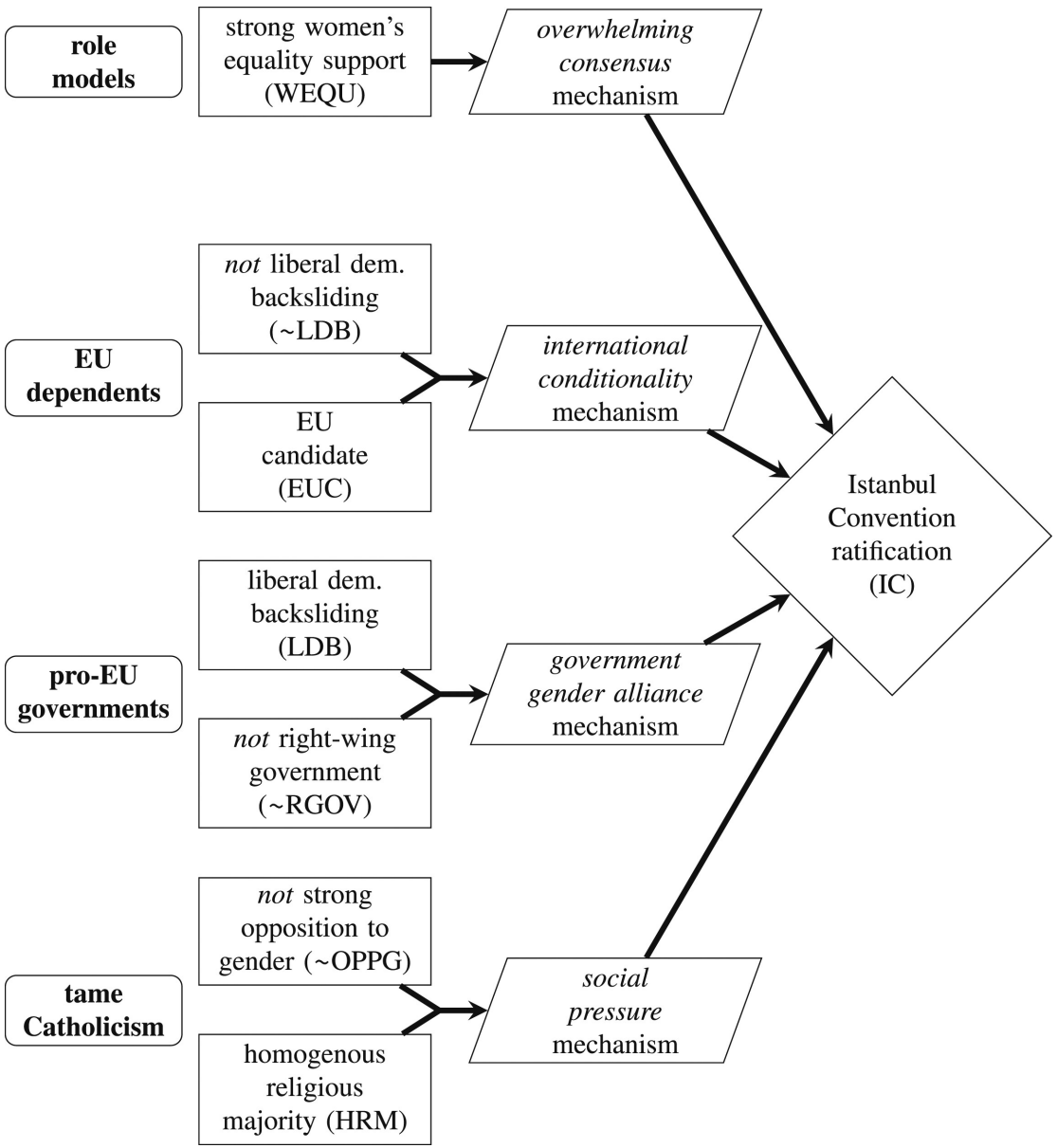
- strong oppositional movements (proxied by 'OPPG') often influential in rejecting the IC

Non-ratification QCA solution | Solution plot

Grouping	SolutionTerm	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

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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: 33)

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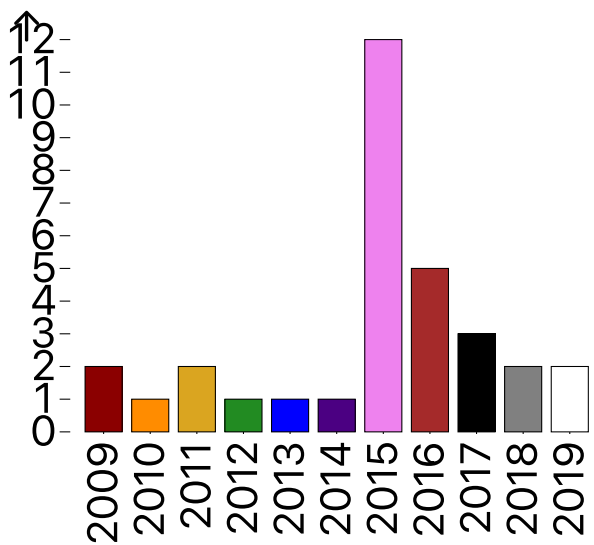
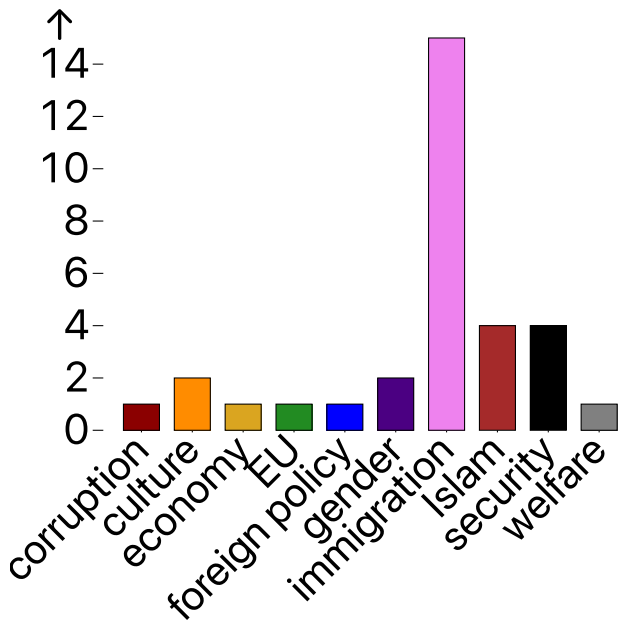
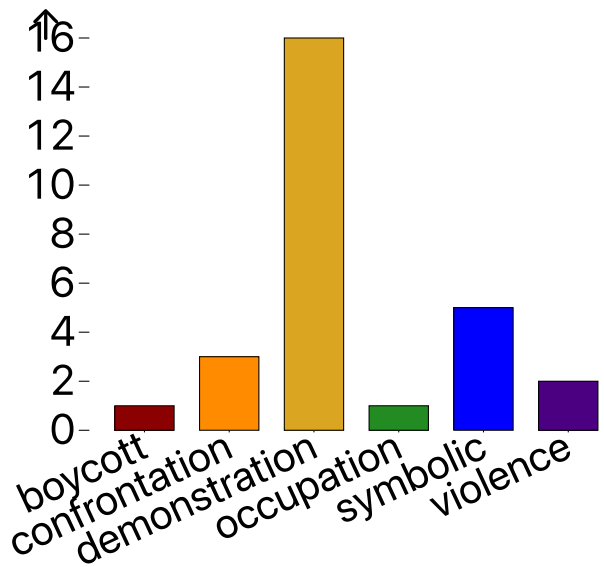
Most active year



Most prominent issue



Most common tactic



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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

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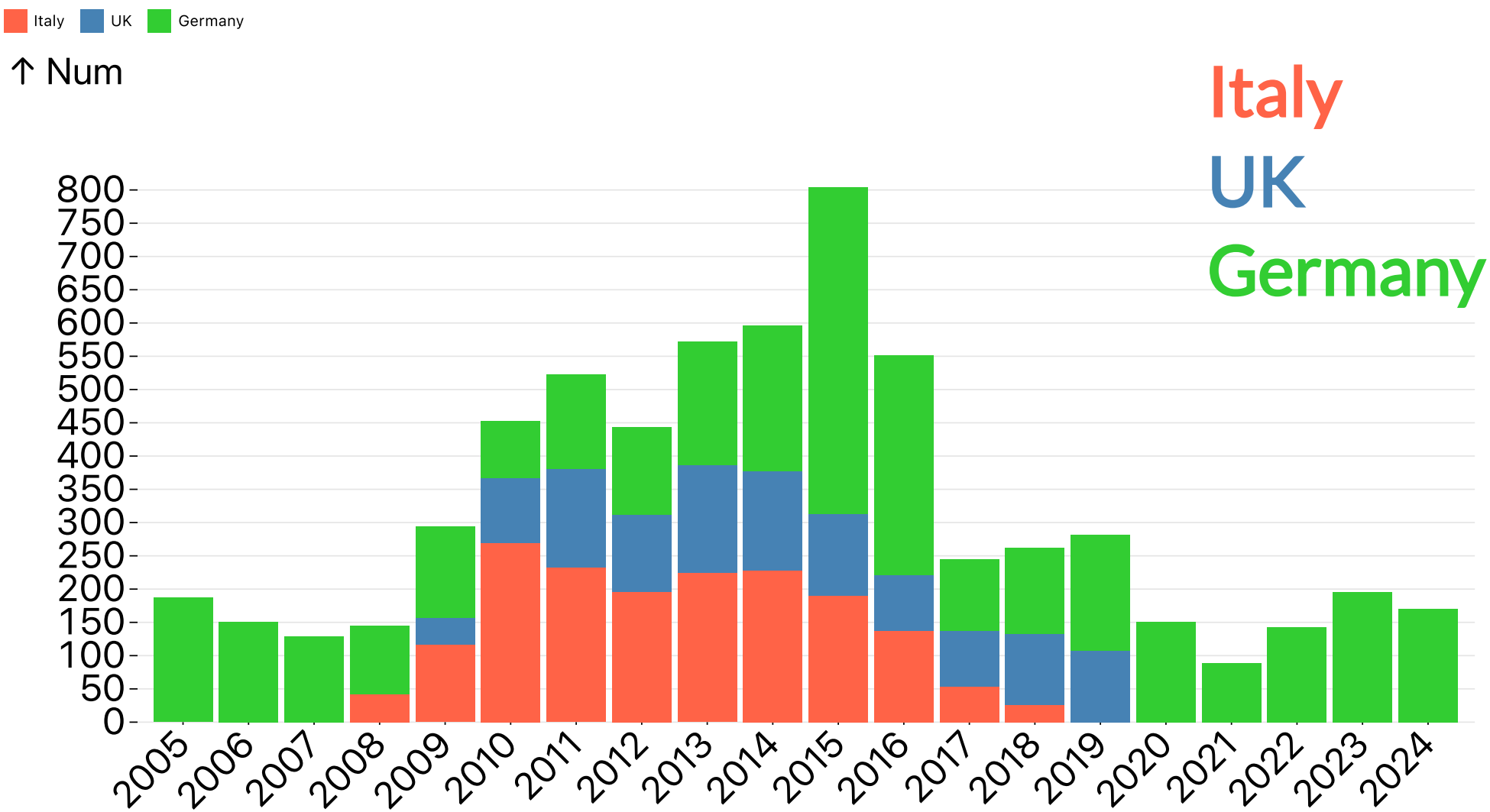
☑ IT (FARPO) ☑ UK (FRGB) ☑ DE (BT)



Far-right demonstrations in Germany

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

```
1 de_demos
```

```
# A tibble: 3,451 × 14
   Datum      Land    Ort   Veranstalter 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*)

```
de_demos %>%
  mutate(month=floor_date(Datum, "month")) %>%
  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

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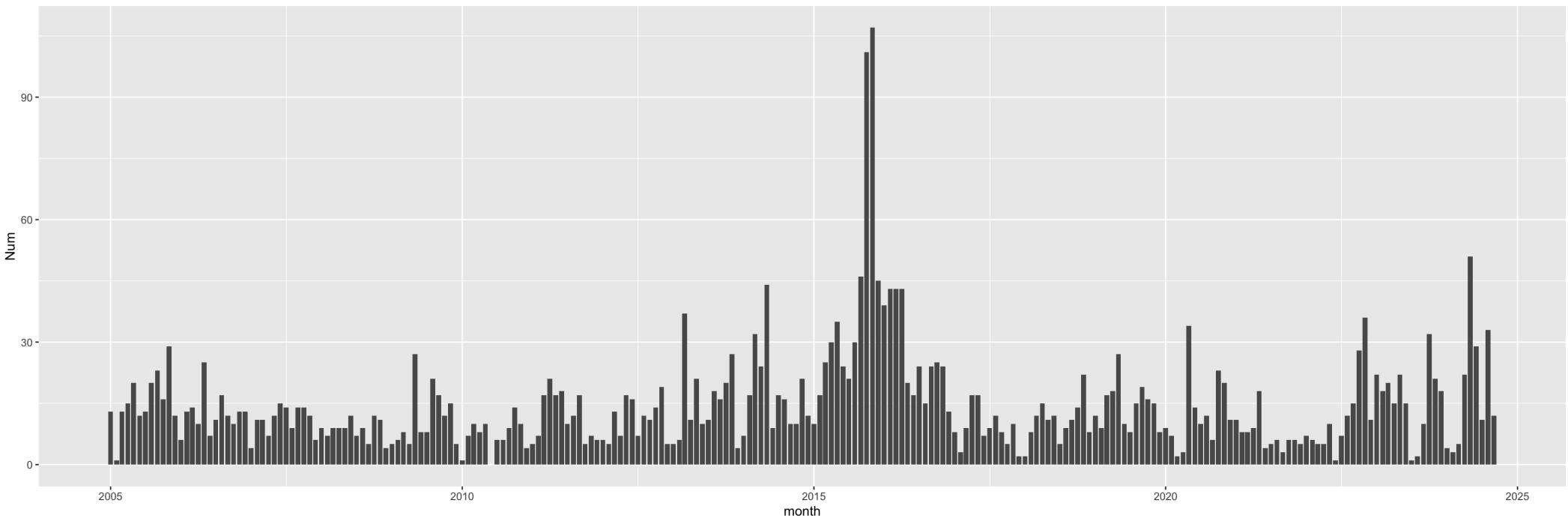
- Identified in gov. responses to parliamentary inquiries (*Anfrage*)

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



Far-right demonstrations in Germany

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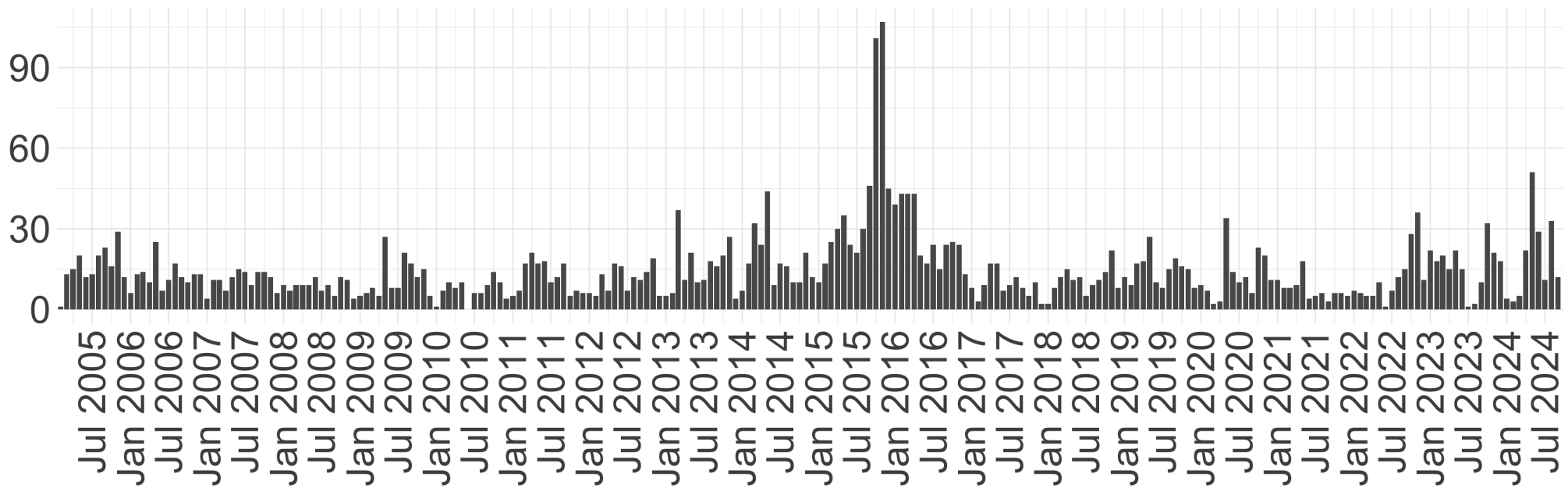
```
de_demos %>%
  mutate(month=floor_date(Datum, "month")) %>%
  group_by(month) %>% summarise(Num=n()) %>%
  ggplot(aes(x=month, y=Num))+ geom_bar(stat="identity")+
  scale_x_date("", labels=scales::date_format("%b %Y"), breaks="6 month",
           limits=c(min(as.Date(de_demos$Datum)),max(as.Date(de_demos$Datum))),expand=c(0,0))+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



Far-right demonstrations in Germany

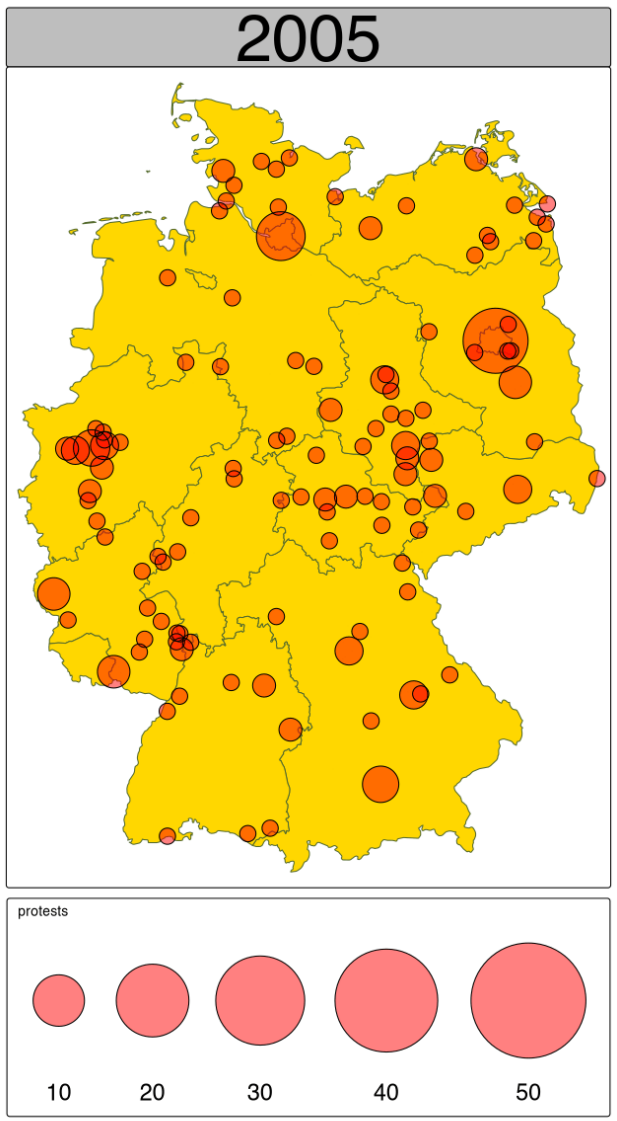
```r
library(tmap)
library(tidyverse)
library(sf)
library(rnaturalearth)
library(gganimate)
library(gifski)

de_demos$Jahr <- format(
  as.Date(de_demos$Jahr), format="%Y"
  )

de_demos_grouped <- de_demos %>%
  group_by(Ort, Jahr, lat, long) %>%
  summarise(protests = n(),
            .groups = "drop")

de_demos_grouped <- as.data.frame(
  de_demos_grouped
  )

de_demos_grouped$Latitude <- de_demos
```



Far-right demonstrations in Italy

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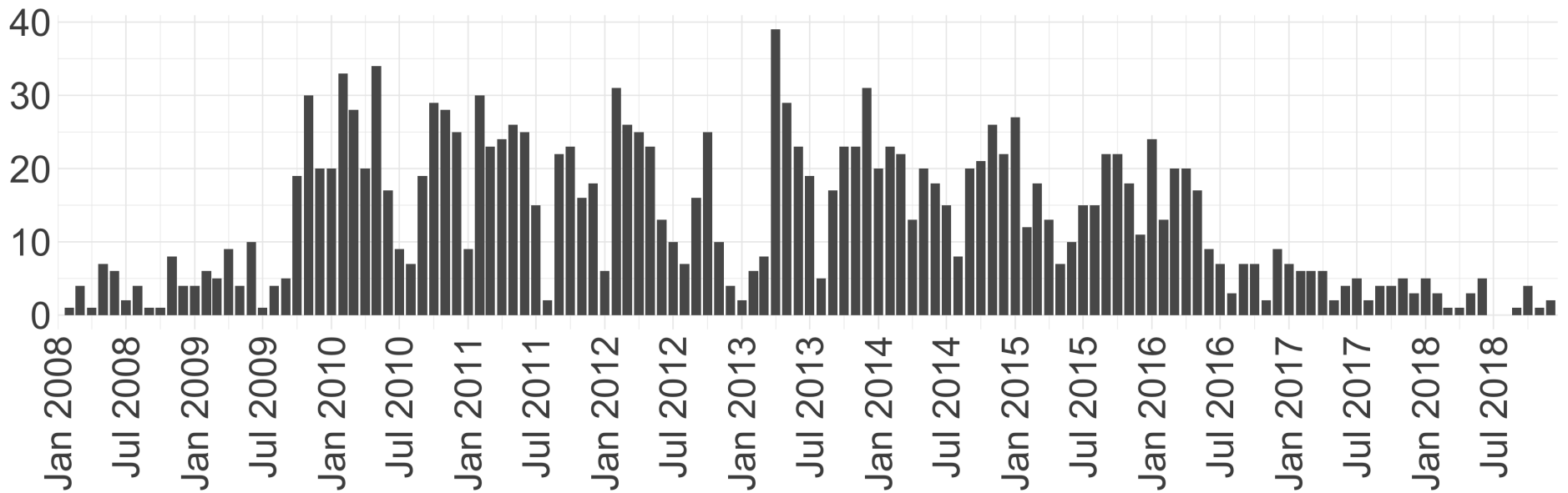
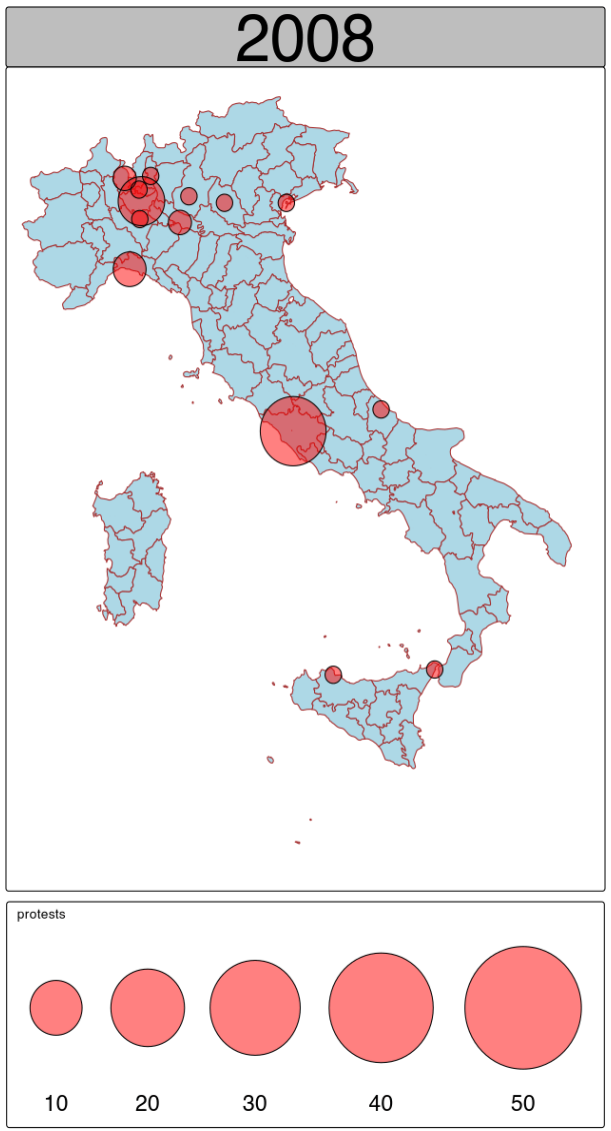
```
FARPO %>%
  filter(Country_string=="Italy") %>%
  mutate(month=floor_date(Date, "month")) %>%
  group_by(month) %>% summarise(Num=n()) %>%
  ggplot(aes(x=month, y=Num))+ geom_bar(stat="identity")+
  scale_x_date("", labels=scales::date_format("%b %Y"), breaks="6 month",
               limits=c(min(as.Date(FARPO$Date)),max(as.Date(FARPO$Date))),expand=c(0,0))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



Far-right demonstrations in Italy



Far-right demonstrations in the UK

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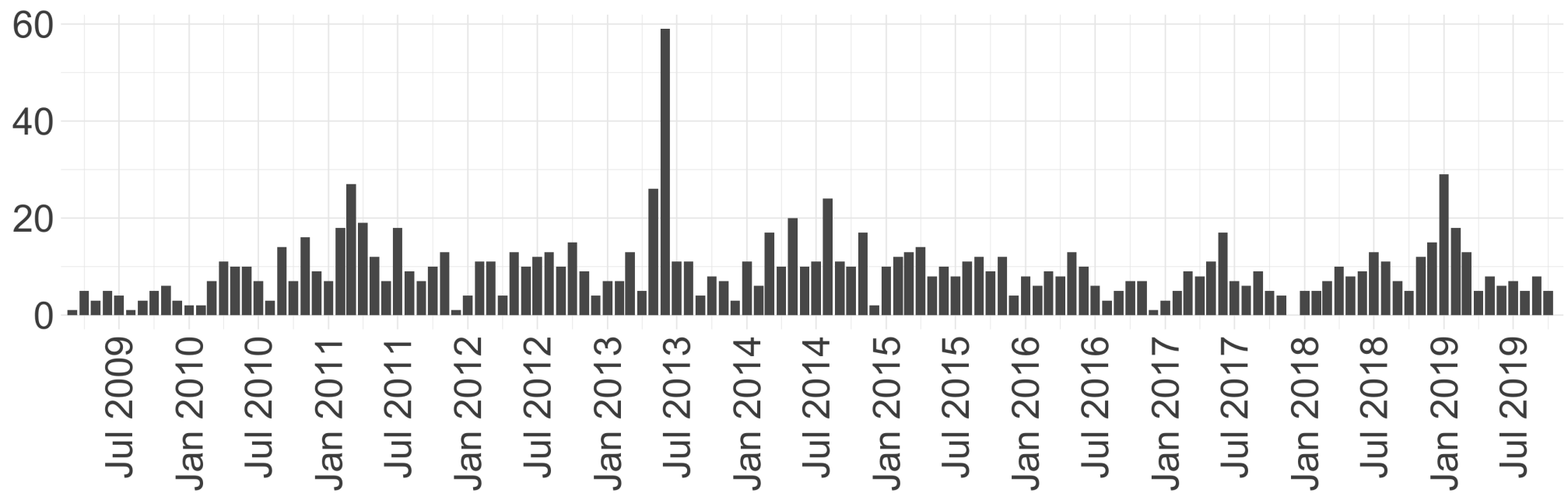
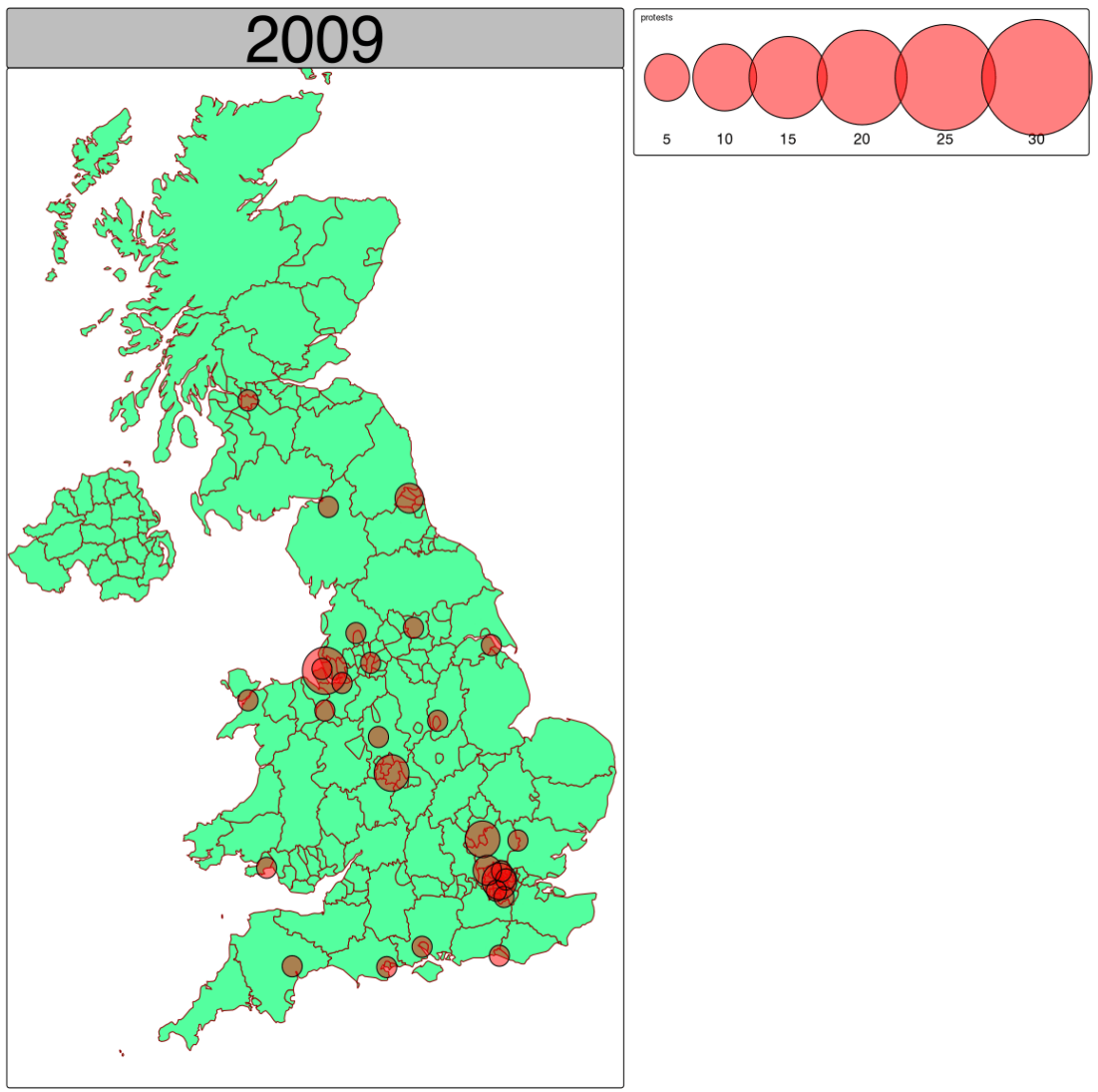
```
frgb %>%
  mutate(month=floor_date(Date, "month")) %>%
  group_by(month) %>% summarise(Num=n()) %>%
  ggplot(aes(x=month, y=Num))+ geom_bar(stat="identity")+
  scale_x_date("", labels=scales::date_format("%b %Y"), breaks="6 month",
           limits=c(min(as.Date(frgb$Date)),max(as.Date(frgb$Date))),expand=c(0,0))+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



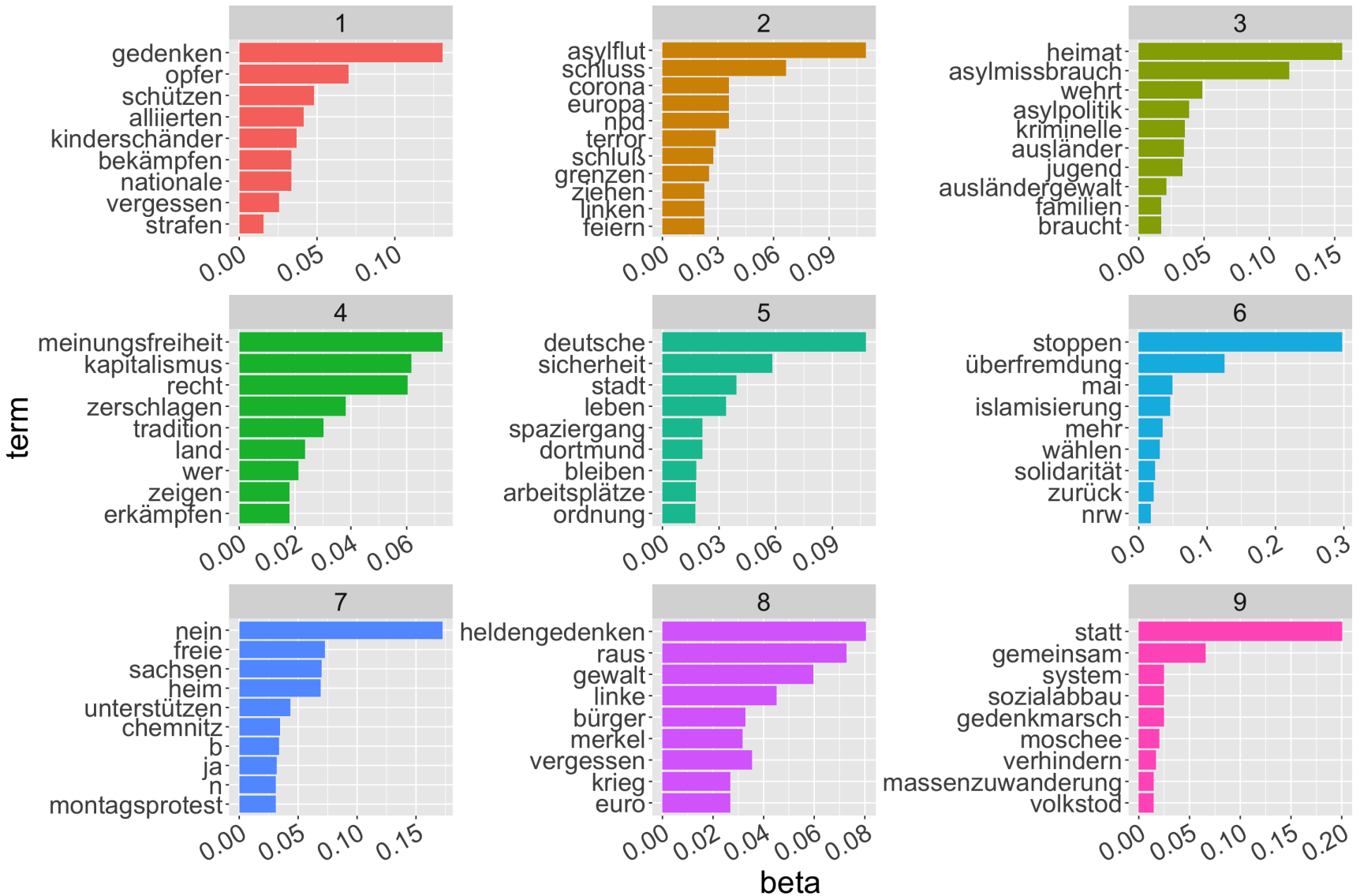
Far-right demonstrations in the UK



Issues (FARPO - all countries)

plot | code

Issues (BT Anfrage - from reported 'Motto' of event)



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 part

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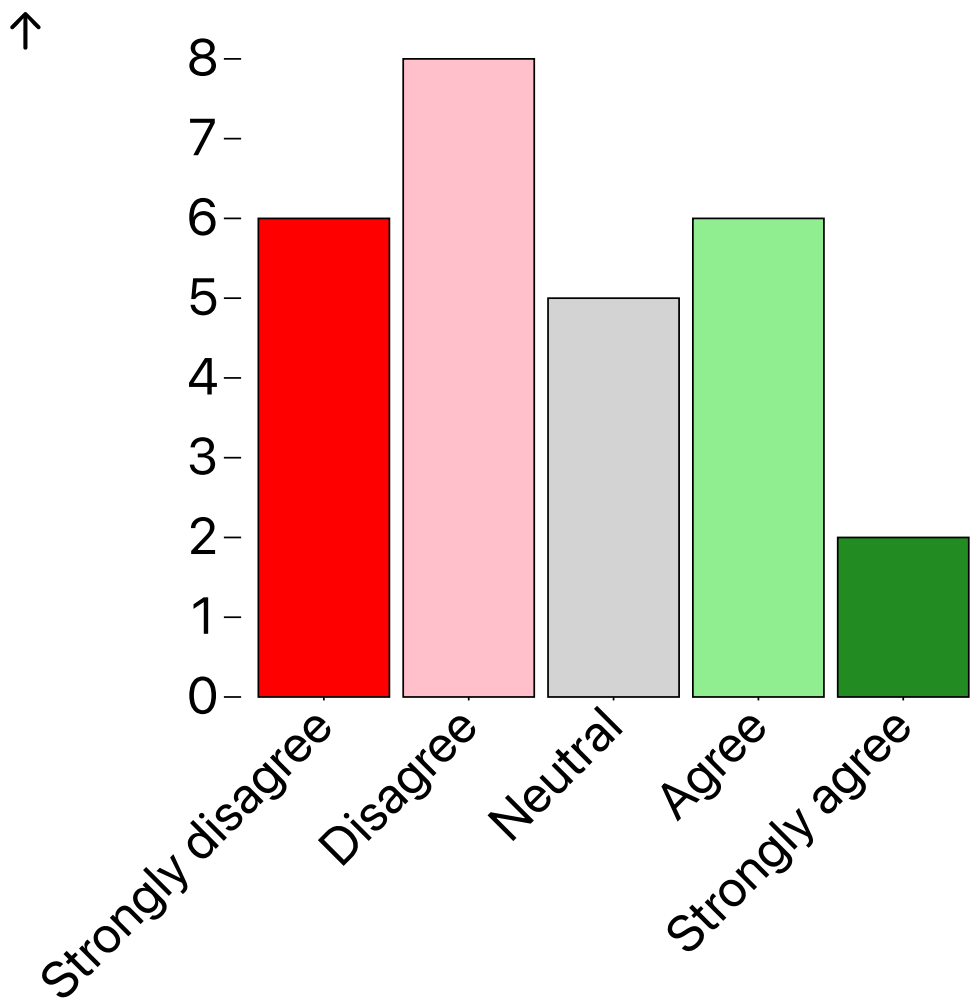
- Hutter (2014): data from Western Europe
  - far-right protest decreases when far-right parties are well-established, strong
    - substitution effect: electoral participation replaces street politics
- Torcal, Rodon, and Hierro (2016): 2002-2010 ESS data (much of EU space) on protest participation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

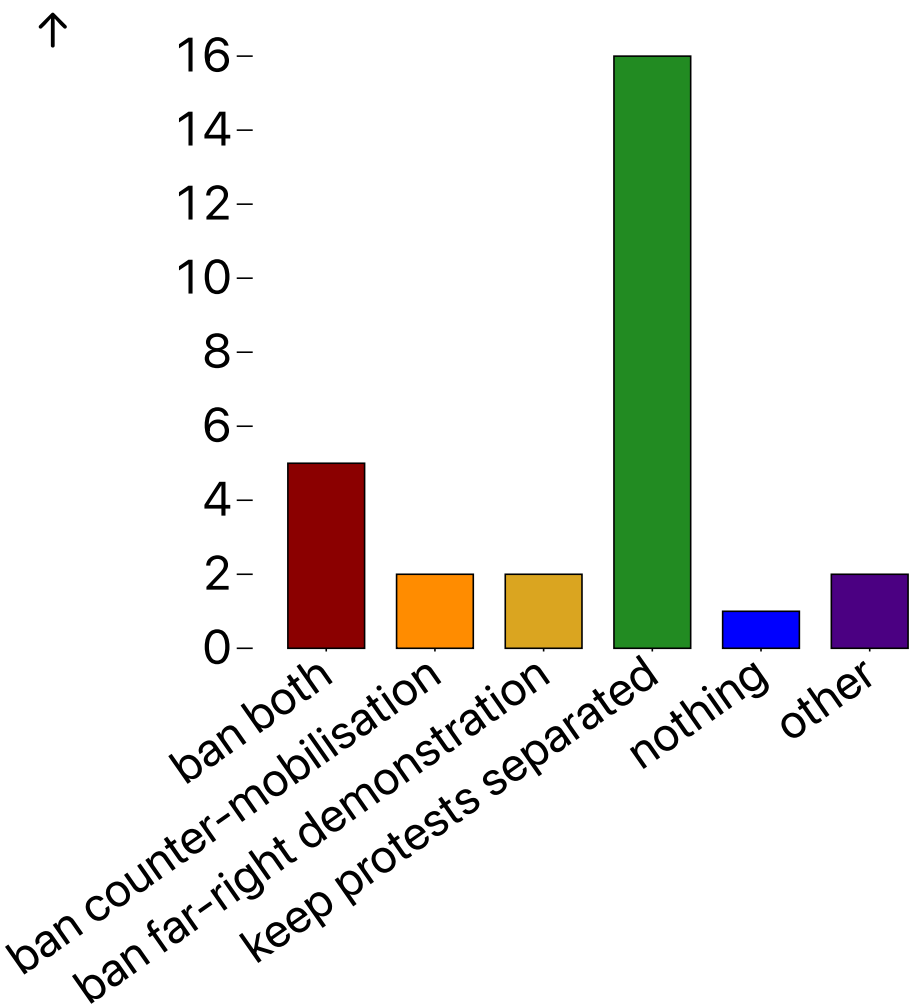
Poll results - prohibition

- 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*)

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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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