

30203: Electoral and Protest Dynamics in Western and Eastern Europe

Dr. Endre Borbáth

Freie Universität Berlin

Winter Semester, 2022-23

E-mail: endre.borbath@fu-berlin.de
Class Room: Garystr. 55, Room 302b

Office Hours: by appointment, see below
Class Hours: Mo 14:15-15:45

Description

The seminar focuses on electoral and protest politics from a comparative European perspective. Although the study of elections and protests covers mobilization by the main collective actors of political parties and social movements in the two arenas of direct citizen involvement, research in this field has been characterized by disciplinary silos. Political science focuses on political parties and representation, while the political sociology tradition examines social movements, protest politics, and political participation. Few studies examine the manifold interaction between electoral and protest politics, leaving a research gap highlighted by recent developments in party competition in Western and Eastern Europe. Parties such as La République En Marche! in France, Fidesz in Hungary, and Die Linke in Germany invest considerable effort into developing an organic link with protest movements and civil society organizations. The seminar bridges political science and sociological approaches to provide a holistic assessment of electoral and protest mobilization.

The seminar is divided into four parts. The first three parts are distinguished based on the level of analysis, with separate sessions devoted to micro-, macro-, and meso-level approaches. In the first part, we ask, who participates and in what form? In the second part, we ask, what are the main cross-national differences in cleavage structures across Europe, and how can we explain them? In the third part, we ask, which are the actors that mobilize in elections or protests, how, and on what issues? In the fourth part of the seminar, we focus on the role of crises in altering long-term trends by comparing electoral and protest mobilization and participation in the aftermath of the Great Recession, the so-called Migration, and Corona crises. Next to reviewing theoretical approaches, the seminar introduces students to a set of diverse, mainly quantitative empirical strategies in the study of elections and protests. A background in statistical modeling provides an advantage, but it is not required for attending the seminar.

Course Requirements

Weekly attendance is desired. If you cannot attend class, please send an e-mail in advance of the class. Further requirements are:

- **Active** participation in class,
- Reading the literature
- Doing small (group) assignments
- Giving short presentations on the progress of your research
- Writing a seminar paper (3000 words)

Course Objectives

This course is designed for first-semester students in the Sociology – European Societies MA program at the Freie Universität Berlin. The course assumes no previous knowledge of the literature on political participation, cleavage structures, political party, or social movement theory. By the end of the seminar, successful students:

1. will familiarize themselves with the main theoretical approaches in the study of electoral and protest dynamics
2. will familiarize themselves with the main methodological approaches in the study of electoral and protest dynamics
3. will be able to evaluate and identify gaps in the relevant literature
4. will be able to pose a research question related to the themes in the seminar
5. will be able to argue with the analytical concepts learned in the seminar
6. will be able to select an appropriate research design to study the research question they formulate

Office Hours

I offer my office hours on Mondays between 10:00-11:00, and between 13:30-14:00. To sign up for an office hour, you need to make an appointment using the link below:

<https://calendly.com/endre-borbath/office-hour>

If you do not manage to make an appointment using this link, please send me an e-mail! We can meet on-site, in room 309 (Garystr. 55, 14195 Berlin) or online, using the Webex link: <https://fu-berlin.webex.com/meet/endre.borbath>

Online learning

Blackboard

I provide the course literature via Blackboard and also host general course information, discussion forums, and a platform for additional exchange between students. Please contact me if you have any questions regarding the course literature, technical problems with Blackboard, or organizational issues.

Onsite teaching and Webex:

Please keep yourself informed about the potentially changing Corona regulations on the FU website: <https://www.fu-berlin.de/en/sites/coronavirus/faq/index.html>

We will have an online-only session on the 24th of October, using the link below. If we switch to online classes for more sessions, you can join the virtual classroom for all sessions through this link:

<https://fu-berlin.webex.com/fu-berlin-en/j.php?MTID=m4e597217175b98c0216df17f7646139a>

Meeting number: 2733 687 7312

Password: protest

Student presentations and final paper

Presentations

Every student is required to hold a presentation in one of the sessions of the seminar. The presentation is on one of the readings assigned for the respective session. It should be between 10-15 minutes, which means **no longer than 15 minutes**. You are asked to email me your slides **before the class**, so I can save them on the laptop we use in class. The presentations will also be uploaded to Blackboard and made available to all students in class.

A successful presentation addresses the following points:

- What is the central research question of the respective study?
- Is the contribution of the study theoretical, empirical, or both?
- What are the main theoretical propositions advanced by the study?
- In case it is an empirical study: what research design and methods do the authors use to examine their research question? Do these fit the theoretical ambition? Does the empirical evidence provide enough support for the thesis the authors advance?
- In case it is a theoretical study: what debate does the study contribute to? What are the central theoretical ideas introduced? What are the key analytical concepts introduced? Do these travel beyond the context of the respective study?

- What is the central comparison the study relies on? Both in theoretical terms (different scholarly traditions) and empirical terms (space, time, meso-level actors, individuals, etc.)
- How does this study relate to the overall theme of the seminar and other readings we have previously discussed?
- How do you evaluate the study? Do you find it convincing? If so, why? Or why not?

Seminar paper

You are required to write a 3000 words seminar paper, including references. The deadline for this paper is the end of the winter semester, the 31st of March 2023. The paper is the final ‘product’ of the seminar that allows you to showcase what you have learned throughout the semester. The seminar paper should advance an argument. This is the critical requirement for how the papers will be assessed. You are encouraged to discuss the theme of your paper with me in advance!

There are typically two kinds of papers: 1) a literature review or 2) the analysis of an empirical case. In the first type of paper, the student advances a theoretical proposition, which often means a set of hypotheses based on the critical review of a relevant strand of the literature. Next to what we discussed in the seminar, the paper should also refer to additional readings. It should go beyond summarizing existing studies by critically engaging with them and using the debate to frame an original argument. You can think of this type of seminar paper as the first part of the journal articles we read throughout the seminar, encompassing the introduction and the theoretical/ analytical framework. There is no empirical analysis or data needed for this type of seminar paper; therefore, you do not need to write the parts where the data is introduced and empirically examined.

The second type of paper provides a review of an empirical case. This case would typically be a wave of electoral/ protest mobilization, the profile of a specific movement, or a party. In the second type of paper, the student applies the analytical framework and theoretical approaches reviewed in the seminar to classify the case they examine and tease out a ‘message’ on what the case teaches us. The leading question is: What is this a case of? To answer this question, the paper should reflect on classifying the respective case from the perspective of a comparative social scientist.

Academic Integrity and Honesty

Students must comply with the university policy on academic integrity found in the MA Sociology - European Societies: Study Guide, at <https://wikis.fu-berlin.de/display/ifs/Plagiarism>. Please familiarize yourself with the Study Guide and these rules. Not knowing the rules is no excuse for plagiarism!

Many students feel overwhelmed by the tasks and responsibilities during the first year of the MA program, mainly if they are also new to Germany and Berlin. That is normal! If you are having difficulties, e.g. with the seminar paper, please approach me. Please remember to always respect the rules of academic integrity and honesty!

Class Structure

Introduction (session 1 to 2)

In the first two sessions, the framework of the seminar is introduced along with some key concepts. Leading questions are: what is political participation, and how to study it? What is political mobilization? Who are the actors mobilizing? Why study elections and protests together? How can we distinguish different levels of analysis?

Who Participates And How? (session 3 to 5)

In this part of the seminar, we examine micro, individual-level political participation. We start with electoral participation, followed by nonelectoral forms of participation, such as demonstrations. Despite being more and more common, both electoral and nonelectoral participation is characterized by inequalities. What are these inequalities, and how can we make sense of them? How do they vary between Western and Eastern Europe? Finally, how are they combined, when, and by whom?

Variation In European Cleavage Structures (session 6 to 8)

In this part of the seminar, we zoom in on macro conditions, the national cleavage structures, and the structural basis of political mobilization in European societies. We distinguish between three European regions: the Northwest, the South, and the East. What do we understand by cleavages? How do political structures come about, transform, and shape party competition/protest mobilization? How do they vary across Europe?

Mobilizing Actors (session 9 to 12)

In this part of the seminar, we study meso-level processes and the mobilization actors. We examine the organizational basis of political mobilization, the difference between parties and movements, and movement strategies. How differentiated are the electoral and protest arenas? Who are key actors of mobilization? What strategies do they follow? How does mobilization relate to counter-mobilization?

Participation and Mobilization in Times of Crisis (session 13 to 15)

In this part of the seminar, we zoom in on the effects of crises. We examine mobilization in the shadow of the Great Recession, the so-called Migration Crisis, and the Covid Crisis. Key questions we ask are: How did the crisis transform patterns of mobilization? What actors benefited from the crisis? What are the actors that were particularly harmed by the crisis conditions? How are challengers in the electoral and in the protest arena able to integrate the crisis conditions in their political strategies?

Schedule and Readings

Introduction (session 1 to 2)

Week 1, 17.10.2022 - Introducing the seminar, clarifying expectations

Week 2, 24.10.2022 - Participation, electoral, and protest mobilization

This session is only online, see the Webex link above!

Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2008. "Political Mobilisation, Political Participation and the Power of the Vote." *West European Politics* 31 (12): 147–168. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402380701834762>.

Van Deth, Jan W. 2014. "A conceptual map of political participation." *Acta Politica* 49 (3): 349–367. <https://doi.org/10.1057/ap.2014.6>.

Who Participates And How? (session 3 to 5)

Week 3, 31.10.2022 - Electoral participation

Armingeon, Klaus, and Lisa Schädel. 2015. "Social Inequality in Political Participation: The Dark Sides of Individualisation." *West European Politics* 38 (1): 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2014.929341>.

Kostelka, Filip. 2014. "The State of Political Participation in Post-Communist Democracies: Low but Surprisingly Little Biased Citizen Engagement." *Europe-Asia Studies* 66 (6): 945–968. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2014.905386>.

Week 4, 07.11.2022 - Nonelectoral participation

Van Aelst, Peter, and Stefaan Walgrave. 2001. "Who is that (wo)man in the street? From the normalisation of protest to the normalisation of the protester." *European Journal of Political Research* 39 (4): 461–486. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.00582>.

Foa, Roberto Stefan, and Grzegorz Ekiert. 2017. "The weakness of postcommunist civil society reassessed." *European Journal of Political Research* 56 (2): 419–439. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12182>.

Week 5, 14.11.2022 - Bridging forms of political participation

Dalton, Russell J. 2008. "Citizenship Norms and the Expansion of Political Participation." *Political Studies* 56 (1): 76–98. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00718.x>.

Borbáth, Endre, and Swen Hutter. 2022. "Bridging Electoral and Nonelectoral Political Participation." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Participation*, edited by Maria T. Grasso and Marco Giugni, 451–467. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 978-0-19-886112-6.

Variation In European Cleavage Structures (session 6 to 8)

Week 6, 21.11.2022 - Northwestern Europe

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschie, and Timotheos Frey. 2006. "Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared." *European Journal of Political Research* 45 (6): 921–956. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00644.x>.

Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. 2018. "Cleavage theory meets Europes crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the transnational cleavage." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25 (1): 109–135. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2017.1310279>.

Week 7, 28.11.2022 - Southern Europe

Hutter, Swen, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Guillem Vidal. 2018. "Old versus new politics: The political spaces in Southern Europe in times of crises." *Party Politics* 24 (1): 10–22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068817694503>.

Vidal, Guillem. 2018. "Challenging business as usual? The rise of new parties in Spain in times of crisis." *West European Politics* 41 (2): 261–286. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2017.1376272>.

Week 8, 05.12.2022 - Central and Eastern Europe

Coman, Emanuel. 2017. "Dimensions of political conflict in West and East: An application of vote scaling to 22 European parliaments" [in en]. *Party Politics* 23 (3): 248–261. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068815593454>.

Císar, Ondrej, and Katerina Vrábliková. 2019. "National protest agenda and the dimensionality of party politics: Evidence from four East-Central European democracies." *European Journal of Political Research* 58 (4): 1152–1171. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12328>.

Mobilizing Actors (session 9 to 12)

Week 9, 12.12.2022 - Landscapes of representation

Kitschelt, Herbert. 2006. "Movement Parties." In *Handbook of party politics*, edited by Richard S. Katz and William J. Crotty, 278–290. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE. ISBN: 978-0-7619-4314-3.

Borbáth, Endre, and Swen Hutter. 2021. "Protesting Parties in Europe: A comparative analysis." *Party Politics* 27 (5): 896–908. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068820908023>.

WINTER BREAK

Week 10, 09.01.2023 - Political opportunities and the green movement

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Ruud Koopmans, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Marco G. Giugni. 1992. "New social movements and political opportunities in Western Europe." *European Journal of Political Research* 22 (2): 219–244. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.1992.tb00312.x>.

Kralj, Karlo. 2022. "How do social movements take the "electoral turn" in unfavourable contexts? The case of "Do Not Let Belgrade D(r)own"." *East European Politics* online first. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2022.2128338>.

Week 11, 16.01.2023 - Framing processes, and participating ‘crowds’

Snow, David A., E. Burke Rochford, Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford. 1986. “Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation.” *American Sociological Review* 51 (4): 464–481. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095581>.

Van Stekelenburg, Jacquelin, and Bert Kländermans. 2014. “Fitting Demand and Supply: How Identification Brings Appeals and Motives Together.” *Social Movement Studies* 13 (2): 179–203. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2013.843448>.

Week 12, 23.01.2023 - Movement and counter-movement

Meyer, David S., and Suzanne Staggenborg. 1996. “Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity.” *American Journal of Sociology* 101 (6): 1628–1660. <https://doi.org/10.1086/230869>.

Bustíková, Lenka. 2021. “The paradox of minority accommodation: Eastern Europe after 30 years.” *European Political Science* 20 (2): 261–269. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41304-020-00266-x>.

Participation and Mobilization in Times of Crisis (session 13 to 15)**Week 13, 30.01.2023 - Left-wing movement parties and the Great Recession**

Della Porta, Donatella, Joseba Fernández, Hara Kouki, and Lorenzo Mosca. 2017a. “Movement Parties in Times of (Anti-)Austerity: An Introduction.” In *Movement parties against austerity*, 1–28. Cambridge; Malden: Polity Press. ISBN: 978-1-5095-1145-7.

———. 2017b. “Movement Parties: Some Conclusions.” In *Movement parties against austerity*, 181–198. Cambridge; Malden: Polity Press. ISBN: 978-1-5095-1145-7.

Week 14, 06.02.2023 - Right wing movement parties and the so-called Migration Crisis

Pirro, Andrea, and Pietro Castelli Gattinara. 2018. “Movement parties of the far right: the organization and strategies of nativist collective actors.” *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 23 (3): 367–383. <https://doi.org/10.17813/1086-671X-23-3-367>.

Abou-Chadi, Tarik, Denis Cohen, and Markus Wagner. 2022. “The centre-right versus the radical right: the role of migration issues and economic grievances.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48 (2): 366–384. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1853903>.

Week 15, 13.02.2023 - Politics in the Covid Crisis: the case of Germany

Hunger, Sophia, Eylem Kanol, Daniel Saldivia Gonzatti, and Swen Hutter. 2022. “Breeding Ground for Radicalization? Regional Determinants of Anti-Containment Protest in Germany.” under review.

Lehmann, Pola, and Lisa Zehnter. 2022. “The Self-Proclaimed Defender of Freedom: The AfD and the Pandemic.” *Government and Opposition* online first. <https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2022.5>.