Party - Movement Interactions

Jun. Prof. Dr. Endre Borbáth

Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

Winter Semester, 2024-25

E-mail: endre.borbath@ipw.uni-heidelberg.de   Office Hours: by e-mail appointment
Class Room: Bergheimer Str. 58, Room 02.005   Class Hours: Wednesdays, 10:15-11:45

Description

Political parties and social movements are the main organizational agents that facilitate citizen participation in elections and protests. Parties provide institutional channels for policy implementation and political influence, while movements provide grassroots support and ideological strength. The two can engage in either conflictual or symbiotic relationships, shaping the broader political landscape, policy agendas, coalition dynamics, and electoral and protest behavior. The extent and nature of these interactions vary according to factors such as political context, movement strategies, and party ideology.

This seminar explores the theoretical foundations, empirical evidence, and practical implications of party-movement interactions, divided into four blocks. The first block examines the different types of party-movement interactions, from conflictual to cooperative. The second block focuses on contextual effects, with sessions devoted to the differences between left and right forces, parties in government and parties in opposition, and old and new democracies. The third block focuses on the causes of these interactions, with special sections on the role of cleavage formation, socio-economic crises, and party strategies. The seminar concludes with a block on the consequences of party-movement interactions in terms of polarization and democratic backsliding.

Course Objectives

This seminar is designed for MA students. The seminar assumes no previous knowledge of the literature. By the end of the seminar, students will achieve several key learning outcomes:

1. Familiarize themselves with the main theoretical approaches in the study of party-movement interactions.

2. Become acquainted with the primary methodological approaches used in the study of related topics.

3. Develop the ability to evaluate research related to the themes discussed in the seminar.

4. Be able to pose a research question relevant to the seminars themes.

5. Learn to effectively argue using the analytical concepts learned throughout the seminar.

Course Requirements

Weekly attendance is mandatory. If you cannot attend, please email me before the respective session. In addition, active participation includes reading the assigned texts, engaging with in-class discussions, asking questions, contributing to debates, and providing constructive peer feedback. **Reading the texts is imperative for the success of the seminar**; without having read the readings, the seminar will be very difficult to follow, and over time, the material will become overwhelming.

For 2 credit points	For 4 credit points	For 2 + 6 credit points
• Active participation in class	• Active participation in class	• Active participation in class
• Reading the literature	• Reading the literature	• Reading the literature
• **In-class presentation (10-15 mins)**	• **In-class presentation (15 mins)**	• **In-class presentation (15 mins)**
	• **Reading notes for 4 sessions (max. 800 words each)**	• **Term paper (6000 words)**

Office Hours

I offer office hours by appointment. Email me if you would like to meet.

We can meet on-site, in room 03.033 (Bergheimer Str. 58, 69115 Heidelberg) or online, using the heiCONF link: https://heiconf.uni-heidelberg.de/tgad-fzyq-7j9g-zcdh

Online Learning

I provide the course literature via Moodle (https://moodle.uni-heidelberg.de/) and also use the platform for general course information. Please contact me with any questions regarding the course literature, technical problems with Moodle, or other organizational issues.

Student Presentations, Reading Notes, and Final Paper

Presentations

Every student receiving credit points for the seminar must present in one of the sessions. The presentation is on a key **concept** related to the respective session, as well as to the broader theme of the seminar (see the list in the weekly schedule below). Therefore, the presentation should reflect on **all readings assigned for the respective week** but also go beyond those, building on the **student's own literature review**. The literature review should incorporate 2-3 additional academic sources to demonstrate a deeper understanding of the concept and its usage in political science.

We will divide up the presentations during the first session.

The presentation should be around 10 minutes, **no longer than 15 minutes**. **You are required to email me your slides the day before class, by Monday, 9 AM**. The presentations will also be uploaded to Moodle and made available to all students in the class.

A successful presentation addresses some of the following points:

- Definition: What is the definition of the respective concept? How do you delineate it from other related concepts? Do alternative definitions exist in the literature? Are there any debates or disagreements over the concept's definition? How does your preferred definition fit into this scholarly debate?

- Disciplinary use: How is this concept applied in political science in general? Who introduced it? What is its intellectual history?

- Link to the session: How does it relate to the theme of the week? How is it used in the readings? Is it used in a novel or conventional way?

- Link to the seminar: How does the concept relate to the broader themes of the seminar? What other sessions were/are related to it? Does its application enhance our understanding of party-movement interactions?

- Operationalization: Has this concept been empirically operationalized? How is it typically measured? What alternative operationalizations exist?

- Data sources: Are there publicly available data sources to measure this concept? What alternatives exist?

- As a dependent variable: What affects the phenomenon captured by this concept? What are some of its possible causes identified by the literature?

- As an independent variable: What is affected by the phenomenon captured by this concept? What are some of the consequences of the phenomenon identified by the literature?

- Evaluation of the state of the art: Is this concept properly defined? Is it empirically operationalized? Are data sources available? Is it convincingly integrated into cause-and-effect relationships?

Not all of the points above will apply equally to every concept. Focus on the most relevant aspects, but ensure that your presentation provides a comprehensive overview that includes both theoretical and empirical insights.

Reading Notes

Reading notes summarize and take a position on one or more of the readings for the respective week. **They should follow a three-paragraph structure and must not exceed 800 words.**

You are required to email me your note before the respective session, by Monday, 9 AM, so I can integrate your points into the seminar discussion. **If you submit your note late, it will not count toward your final grade**, but you will have the opportunity to submit one for a subsequent session. Each reading note represents 25% of the final grade and is evaluated separately. You are not allowed to submit a reading note for the session when you are presenting. You are also not allowed to submit two reading notes for the same week, so make sure you submit your notes on time.

The reading note should briefly summarize the central argument but focus primarily on critically evaluating the texts strengths, weaknesses, and its contribution to the broader literature. As a suggestion, a reading note might address some of the questions below:

1. What is the text's central theoretical or analytical thesis? What type of empirical or other evidence is provided to support this thesis? (first paragraph)

2. How do you evaluate the text? To what extent does it succeed in supporting its thesis? How does it compare to other literature on the topic? What are its strengths and weaknesses? (second paragraph)

3. What are your key takeaways? Are there any questions you would like to raise in class? (third paragraph)

Term Paper

A term paper should be 6000 words, including references and footnotes. The deadline for this paper is the end of the winter term, **31st March 2025**. The paper is the final 'product' of the seminar, allowing you to showcase what you have learned throughout the semester. **The term paper should present a clear, central thesis and develop it through a coherent argument supported by evidence.** This is the critical requirement for assessment. **You are strongly encouraged to discuss the topic of your paper with me in advance** to ensure it aligns with one of the three paper types and meets the expectations of the assignment.

There are three typical types of papers: 1) empirical analysis, 2) a research proposal, or 3) a book review. The first type of paper provides an overview of one or more empirical cases, focusing on party-movement interactions. For example, this could be a qualitative case study of a specific party-movement dyad or a quantitative analysis of civil society engagement among voters of certain parties. In this type of paper, students apply the analytical frameworks and theoretical approaches discussed in the seminar to analyze their case(s) and extract a central message or conclusion. Even when focusing on a single case, the paper should consider its classification from a comparative and generalizable perspective.

In a research proposal, the student not only formulates a research question but also makes a theoretical proposition or a set of hypotheses based on a critical review of a relevant strand of literature. In addition to what we have discussed in the seminar, the paper should also refer to further reading. To the extent possible, it should go beyond summarizing existing studies by critically engaging with them and using the debate to frame an original argument or a set of hypotheses. In addition, the paper should formulate an appropriate research design to study the argument or hypotheses, including a brief discussion of methodology (qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods), operationalization, and potential data sources.

The third type of paper is a review of a book published in the last 15 years by a major university press on a topic related to the seminar. A book review is expected to summarize the book's central argument, review the structure in which the argument is presented, and consider the extent to which the empirical evidence supports the main argument. A vital element of a successful review is to situate the book within relevant debates and literature. Does it challenge, support, or extend previous studies? How does its approach differ from or complement other major works in the field? The purpose of this is to assess whether the contribution the book claims to make is indeed new to the literature and to what extent it represents a 'breakthrough' or an incremental step in relevant debates. Reading some existing reviews to familiarize yourself with the genre may be helpful. Three journals that regularly publish book reviews are Comparative Political Studies, Party Politics, and Social Movement Studies.

Academic Writing and Reading

I strongly recommend taking part in the academic writing course offered by Heidelberg University (Institute for German as a Foreign Language Philology). For more information, see: https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/en/study/advisory-services/service-and-events-of-the-international-relations-office/academic-writing-english-spoken-offer

On writing research papers:

Minkoff, Scott L. 2012. "A Guide to Developing and Writing Research Papers in Political Science," https://kevinlyles.digital.uic.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/minkoff_researchpaper_guide_v4.pdf.

On writing a good abstract:

Gilardi, Fabrizio. 2021. "Good Abstracts: A Template," https://www.fabriziogilardi.org/resources/papers/good-abstracts.pdf.

Templates for writing:

Graff, Gerald, and Cathy Birkenstein. 2018. *They Say, I Say: The Moves That Matter in Academic Writing.* Fourth edition. New York: W. W. Norton. ISBN: 0-393-63167-2. https://tinyurl.com/bdec4eex.

On reading efficiently:

Pacheco-Vega, Raul. 2020. "Reading Strategies," http://www.raulpacheco.org/resources/reading-strategies.

Note: Raul Pacheco-Vega's blog is a valuable resource for academic writing in general!

Software Recommendation:

I use Google Scholar and Zotero (both freely available) for literature search. For note-taking, I use Obsidian (also freely available). I recommend that you learn how to use these software tools (or their alternatives), as the investment pays off later during your studies. YouTube has many tutorial videos, and I am also happy to help if you have questions.

Academic Integrity and Mental Health

Plagiarism

Students must comply with the university policy on academic integrity found at https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/en/service/detecting-plagiarism. In addition, please also familiarize yourself with the Study Guide https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/politikwissenschaften/master_recht.html. Not knowing the rules is no excuse for plagiarism!

Use of AI

If you use AI (ChatGPT, Claude, etc.) to write your term paper, you are required to be transparent about it. More specifically, list the prompts and answers in a separate appendix at the end of the term paper. This appendix does not count towards the word count. You do not need to list the use of AI for grammar corrections (e.g., DeepL Write, Grammarly, etc.). You are also allowed to use AI for coding, data analysis, and programming, but remember to critically evaluate AI-generated content and use it as a supportive tool rather than as a primary author. Please remember always to respect the rules of academic integrity and honesty.

Mental Health

Many students feel overwhelmed by the tasks and responsibilities during their studies, especially if they are new to Germany and Heidelberg. This is normal! If you feel that you are not able to cope alone, please consider approaching the psychosocial counselling service offered

free of charge by the student services at https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/en/study/advisory-services/psychosocial-counselling-for-students-pcs. If you are having difficulties, e.g., with the term paper, please do not hesitate to approach me.

Schedule and Readings

Block I: Introduction

Session 1, 16.10.2024 - Introducing the seminar

- Introduce the syllabus

- Clarify expectations

- Divide up the presentations

Block II: Types of Party-Movement Interactions

Session 2, 23.10.2024 - How and why do parties and movements interact?

- What are party-movement interactions, and why should we study them?

- In what ways do parties and movements interact?

Key Concepts:

political parties, social movements, party-movement interactions

Required:

McAdam, Doug, and Sidney Tarrow. 2010. "Ballots and Barricades: On the Reciprocal Relationship between Elections and Social Movements." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (2): 529–542. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592710001234.

Hutter, Swen, Jasmine Lorenzini, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2019. "Social Movements in Interaction with Political Parties." In *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements,* edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Holly J. McCammon, 322–337. Wiley Blackwell. ISBN: 978-1-119-16857-7.

Recommended:

- I recommend watching *Knock Down the House*, a Netflix-produced documentary about the 2018 Democratic primary elections, as an introduction to the seminar. It is freely available on YouTube: https://youtu.be/YCSo2hZRcXk

Session 3, 30.10.2024 - Social movements turning into movement parties

- How can we analytically distinguish between political parties and social movements?

- What are movement parties?

Key Concepts:

movement parties, collective action, social choice, critical juncture, case studies

Required:

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.

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.

Recommended:

Kitschelt, Herbert. 2018. "Movement Parties Against Austerity. By Donatella Della Porta, Joseba Fernández, Hara Kouki, and Lorenzo Mosca. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017. 246p. \$21.95 paper." *Perspectives on Politics* 16 (2): 548–551. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592718000324.

Session 4, 06.11.2024 - Social movements transforming existing parties

- In what ways are social movements able to transform political parties?

- How is the study of party-movement interactions embedded in social movement studies?

Key Concepts:

contentious politics, movement society, movement/counter-movement, party-movement alliances and mergers, historical comparative analysis

Required:

Tarrow, Sidney. 2021a. "Movements and Parties in Contentious Politics." In *Movements and Parties: Critical Connections in American Political Development,* 9–26. Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 978-1-316-51555-6. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009028905.

———. 2021b. "Conclusion." In *Movements and Parties: Critical Connections in American Political Development,* 233–249. Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 978-1-316-51555-6. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009028905.

Schwartz, Mildred A. 2010. "Interactions Between Social Movements and US Political Parties." *Party Politics* 16 (5): 587–607. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068809342989.

Recommended:

Caiani, Manuela. 2023. "Movements and Parties: An Introduction." *Partecipazione E Conflitto* 15 (33): 956–961. https://doi.org/10.1285/i20356609v15i3p956.

Session 5, 13.11.2024 - Protest-based interactions

- To what extent are political parties able to harness protest dynamics?

- Under what conditions do party-sponsored protests succeed?

Key Concepts:

party-sponsored protest, party identification, movement identity, protest (on-site) survey, protest event analysis, anti-war movement

Required:

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.

Heaney, Michael T., and Fabio Rojas. 2015a. "The Party in the Street and Its Historical Context." In *Party in the street: the antiwar movement and the Democratic party after 9/11,* 14–45. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 978-1-107-08540-4.

———. 2015b. "Identities and Grassroots Participation." In *Party in the street: the antiwar movement and the Democratic party after 9/11,* 94–130. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 978-1-107-08540-4.

Recommended:

Heaney, Michael T., and Fabio Rojas. 2015. "Introduction." In *Party in the street: the antiwar movement and the Democratic party after 9/11,* 1–13. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 978-1-107-08540-4.

Session 6, 20.11.2024 - Parties benefiting from movement politics

- Why do political parties interact with social movements?

- In what ways, and to what extent, do political parties benefit from interacting with social movements?

Key Concepts:

party brands, movementization, qualitative interviews, ideological protests, protest effects on attitudes and behavior

Required:

Gillion, Daniel Q. 2020a. "Introduction." In *The Loud Minority: Why Protests Matter in American Democracy,* 1–22. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press. ISBN: 978-0-691-18177-6.

———. 2020b. "Ideological Protests: The Protest Ties That Bind Us Together." In *The Loud Minority: Why Protests Matter in American Democracy,* 23–49. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press. ISBN: 978-0-691-18177-6.

Butzlaff, Felix. 2023. "When Parties Become Movements: the Movement-ization of Established Party Organizations in Austria, Germany, and the UK." *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* online first. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11615-023-00524-9.

Recommended:

Gillion, Daniel Q., and Sarah A. Soule. 2018. "The Impact of Protest on Elections in the United States." *Social Science Quarterly* 99 (5): 1649–1664. https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12527.

Block III: Contextual Differences

Session 7, 27.11.2024 - Left- and right-wing dynamics

- How do left- and right-wing movements differ?

- Can we apply the movement party framework to the far right?

Key Concepts:

> *arenas of mobilization, value orientation, nativism, far-right movement parties, resources in protest mobilization, participatory decision-making processes, network analysis using protest event data*

Required:

Hutter, Swen, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2013. "Movements of the left, movements of the right reconsidered." In *The future of social movement research: dynamics, mechanisms, and processes,* edited by Jacquelien van Stekelenburg, Conny Roggeband, and Bert Klandermans, 281–298. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. ISBN: 978-0-8166-8651-3.

Gattinara, Pietro Castelli, and Andrea L. P. Pirro. 2024a. "Introduction." In *Movement Parties of the Far Right: Understanding Nativist Mobilization.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 978-0-19-889208-3.

———. 2024b. "Far-Right Protest and Electoral Mobilization." In *Movement Parties of the Far Right: Understanding Nativist Mobilization.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 978-0-19-889208-3.

Recommended:

Gattinara, Pietro Castelli, and Andrea L. P. Pirro. 2024. "Conclusions." In *Movement Parties of the Far Right: Understanding Nativist Mobilization.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 978-0-19-889208-3.

Session 8, 04.12.2024 - Opposition and government

- How do opposition parties utilize street politics to mobilize against the government?

- What are the long-term consequences of these strategies?

Key Concepts:

> *social movement partyism, protest signaling, frame alignment, coalition building, blame attribution, difference-in-differences design*

Required:

Almeida, Paul. 2010. "Social Movement Partyism: Collective Action and Political Parties." In *Strategic alliances: coalition building and social movements,* edited by Nella Van Dyke and Holly J. McCammon, 170–196. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. ISBN: 978-0-8166-6733-8.

Gold, Tomás, and Alejandro M. Peña. 2019. "Protests, signaling, and elections: conceptualizing opposition-movement interactions during Argentinas anti-government protests (2012-2013)." *Social Movement Studies* 18 (3): 324–345. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2018.1555751.

Recommended:

Castro, Francisca, and Renata Retamal. 2024. "Does electoral behavior change after a protest cycle? Evidence from Chile and Bolivia." *Electoral Studies* 89:102777. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2024.102777.

Session 9, 11.12.2024 - Old and new democracies

- How do political parties and social movements interact in new democracies?

- What roles do democratization, party strategy, and clientelism play?

Key Concepts:

> *strength of civil society, democratization, illiberalism, transactional activism*

Required:

Greskovits, Béla. 2020. "Rebuilding the Hungarian right through conquering civil society: the Civic Circles Movement." *East European Politics* 36 (2): 247–266. https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2020.1718657.

Petrova, Tsveta, and Sidney Tarrow. 2007. "Transactional and Participatory Activism in the Emerging European Polity: The Puzzle of East-Central Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 40 (1): 74–94. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414006291189.

Recommended:

Glenn, John K. 2003. "Parties out of Movements: Party Emergence in Postcommunist Eastern Europe." In *States, parties, and social movements,* edited by Jack A. Goldstone, 147–169. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 978-0-521-81679-3.

Block IV: Causes of Party-Movement Interactions

Session 10, 18.12.2024 - Cleavage transformations

- What is the role of party-movement interactions in the transformation of cleavage structures?

- To what extent do we observe different dynamics in electoral and non-electoral politics?

Key Concepts:

cleavages, dimensions of party competition, politicization, quantitative content analysis

Required:

Grande, Edgar. 2023. "Civil Society, Cleavage Structures, and Democracy in Germany." *German Politics* 32 (3): 420–439. https://doi.org/10.1080/09644008.2022.2120610.

Grande, Edgar, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2012. "The transformative power of globalization and the structure of political conflict in Western Europe." In *Political Conflict in Western Europe,* edited by Hanspeter Kriesi, Edgar Grande, Martin Dolezal, Marc Helbling, Dominic Höglinger, Swen Hutter, and Bruno Wüest, 3–35. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 978-1-107-62594-5.

Recommended:

Mierke-Zatwarnicki, Alex, Endre Borbáth, and Swen Hutter. 2024. "Cleavage theory meets civil society: A framework and research agenda." working paper.

Session 11, 08.01.2025 - Economic and political crises

- How did the Great Recession and Eurozone crisis transform the party systems of Southern Europe?

- To what extent are the emerging parties the institutionalized forms of the previous demonstrations?

Key Concepts:

populism, radical left, Indignados, Podemos, political crisis, austerity politics, expert surveys of party positions, election study/electoral survey research

Required:

Della Porta, Donatella, Joseba Fernández, Hara Kouki, and Lorenzo Mosca. 2017. "The Genesis of Movement Parties in the Neoliberal Critical Juncture." In *Movement parties against austerity,* 29–66. Cambridge; Malden: Polity Press. ISBN: 978-1-5095-1145-7.

Ramiro, Luis, and Raul Gomez. 2017. "Radical-Left Populism during the Great Recession: Podemos and Its Competition with the Established Radical Left." *Political Studies* 65 (1): 108–126. https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321716647400.

Recommended:

Iglesias, Pablo. 2015. "Understanding Podemos." *New Left Review,* no. 93, 7–22.

Session 12, 15.01.2025 - Party strategy

- How are interactions with social movements integrated into parties electoral strategies?

- What is the role of party organizations and the discursive context of party competition in party-movement interactions?

Key Concepts:

activist- or leader-oriented parties, median voter, local campaigning, bystanders, Movimento Cinque Stelle (M5S), discursive context, party manifesto data, statistical matching, instrumental variable

Required:

Bischof, Daniel, and Thomas Kurer. 2023. "Place-Based Campaigning: The Political Impact of Real Grassroots Mobilization." *The Journal of Politics* 85 (3): 984–1002. https://doi.org/10.1086/723985.

Schumacher, Gijs, Catherine E. de Vries, and Barbara Vis. 2013. "Why Do Parties Change Position? Party Organization and Environmental Incentives." *The Journal of Politics* 75 (2): 464–477. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022381613000145.

Recommended:

Weisskircher, Manès, Swen Hutter, and Endre Borbáth. 2023. "Protest and Electoral Breakthrough: Challenger Party-Movement Interactions in Germany." *German Politics* 32 (3): 538–562. https://doi.org/10.1080/09644008.2022.2044473.

Block V: Consequences of Party-Movement Interactions

Session 13, 22.01.2025 - Polarization

- To what extent do party-movement interactions drive party system polarization?

- How do parties interact with movements in a polarized party system?

Key Concepts:

ideological polarization, affective polarization, movements anchoring parties

Required:

Schlozman, Daniel. 2015a. "Introduction: The Making of Anchoring Groups." In *When Movements Anchor Parties: Electoral Alignments in American History,* 1–13. Princeton: Princeton University Press. ISBN: 978-0-691-16470-0.

Schlozman, Daniel. 2015b. "Political Parties and Social Movements." In *When Movements Anchor Parties: Electoral Alignments in American History,* 14–46. Princeton: Princeton University Press. ISBN: 978-0-691-16470-0.

McAdam, Doug, and Karina Kloos. 2014. "How Did We Get into This Mess?" In *Deeply Divided: Racial Politics and Social Movements in Post-War America,* 3–29. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 978-0-19-993785-1.

Recommended:

D'Alimonte, Roberto. 1999. "Party Behavior in a Polarized System: The Italian Communist Party and the Historic Compromise." In *Policy, Office, or Votes?: How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions,* edited by Wolfgang C. Müller and Kaare Strøm, 141–171. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 978-0-521-63135-8.

Session 14, 29.01.2025 - Democracy

- To what extent are party-movement interactions a threat to democracy?

- What is the role of civil society in preempting or facilitating democratic backsliding?

Key Concepts:

democratic backsliding, Gramscian understanding of civil society, hegemony/counter-hegemony, astroturf movements

Required:

Bohle, Dorothee, Béla Greskovits, and Marek Naczyk. 2024. "The Gramscian politics of Europes rule of law crisis." *Journal of European Public Policy* 31 (7): 1775–1798. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2182342.

Santos, Felipe G. 2024. "PROFILE: Far-right strategies to co-opt progressive politics: Voxs top-down civil society organizations in Spain." *Social Movement Studies* online first. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2024.2359652.

Recommended:

Yabanci, Bilge. 2024. "Civic Opposition and Democratic Backsliding: Mobilization Dynamics and Rapport with Political Parties." *Government and Opposition* online first. https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2024.9.

Concluding Discussion

Session 15, 05.02.2025 - Roundtable

- Open discussion: What have you learned from the seminar?

- Feedback session on the content and organization of the seminar.