



European
University
Institute



The structuring of political conflict in Europe in times of crisis

Hanspeter Kriesi
Seminar Spring 2014

Tuesdays 8:45 AM-10:45 AM, Badia Seminar Room 4

Registration with Maureen Lechleitner (Maureen.Lechleitner@EUI.eu)

Description

This seminar makes an attempt to bring together literature on social movements and on political parties/elections in order to prepare the ground for the understanding of the interaction between protest politics and electoral-party politics in times of crisis. The current economic crisis constitutes the background for this attempt. In several countries, the economic crisis developed into a political crisis and even where it did not do so (yet), it contributed to the erosion of mainstream parties that usually govern. In other words, the Great Recession (or the European debt crisis) not only reinforced economic voting (i.e. the punishment of incumbents), it also serves as the catalyst for the transformation of the established party system in a more fundamental sense.

Searching for tools to understand the current structuration of political conflicts in Europe, the seminar proposes a combination of texts from the two indicated strands of literature. For each one of the two strands, the proposed readings combine (more or less) classic theoretical texts with empirical studies. As far as the latter are concerned, several among them analyze the most recent European developments. Some refer to other parts of the world. Thus, one session in particular tries to bring in the experience of Latin America, where economic crises have given rise to political crises long before the current European experience. In addition, the selection makes an attempt to combine the long-term perspective of the analysis of cleavage and opportunity structures with the short term perspective of the strategies of political actors in the interaction context of an economic and political crisis.

In many respects, this seminar follows up on my previous seminar on ‘the political consequences of the Great Recession’ (Winter 2013), but it is, of course, possible to choose the present seminar without having followed the seminar of the last winter term.

By choosing to take this class you are taking on the obligation to do all the reading. Over the course of the seminar students must submit three 500-word response papers to the readings for a

given session and post that paper on the course website at noon on the day before class. These response papers are fundamental for the holding of a good discussion of the materials, as is a thorough reading of the assigned texts.

Writing a term paper is encouraged. Your term paper should draw on the literature covered in the course but go well beyond it. Those who wish to write a term paper should submit it to me by email and in paper copy, with a cc to Maureen Lechleitner.

Sessions, topics and readings

1. Transformation of cleavage structures (January 7)

- Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan (1967) 1990. Cleavage structures, party systems, and voter alignments, pp. 91-138 in *The West European Party System*, edited by Peter Mair, Oxford U Press.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Martin Dolezal, Marc Helbling, Dominic Höglinger, Swen Hutter and Bruno Wüest 2012. *Political Conflict in Western Europe*. Cambridge U Press (Chapters 1, 4, 10)(pp. 1-35, 96-126, 254-273)

2. The mobilization and dynamics of social protest (January 14)

- McAdam, Doug 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press (Chapters 1-4: pp. 5-64)
- Buechler, Steven 2007. The strange career of strain and breakdown theories of collective action, pp. 47-66 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by David A. Snow et al., Oxford: Blackwell.
- McAdam, Doug and Sidney Tarrow 2011. Introduction: Dynamics of Contention Ten Years on, *Mobilization* 16, 1: 1-10.
- Tarrow, Sidney 2011. *Power in Movement. Social Movements and Contentious Politics, Revised and Updated Third Edition*, Cambridge U Press (Chapters 9-12, pp. 183-258)

3. Political opportunity structures (January 21)

- Kriesi, Hanspeter 2007. Political context and opportunity, pp. 67-90 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by David A. Snow et al., Oxford: Blackwell.

- Koopmans, Ruud 2004. Movements and media: selection processes and evolutionary dynamics in the public sphere, *Theory and Society* 33: 367-391.
- Koopmans, Ruud 2005. The missing link between structure and agency: outline of an evolutionary approach to social movements, *Mobilization* 10, 1: 19-36.

4. The expansion of conflict and framing (January 28)

- Schattschneider, E.E. 1960(1988). *The semisovereign people. A realist's view of Democracy in America*, (Chapters 1-4, 7, 8: pp. 1-75, 112-139)
- Druckman, James N., Erik Peterson and Rune Slothuus 2013. How Elite Partisan Polarization Affects Public Opinion Formation, *American Political Science Review* 107, 1: 57-79.

5. Party strategies (February 4)

- Kitschelt, Herbert 2000. Linkages between citizens and politicians in democratic polities, *Comparative Political Studies* 33, 6/7: 845-879.
- Meguid, Bonnie M. 2005. Competition between unequals: the role of mainstream party strategy in niche party success, *American Political Science Review* 99, 3: 347-359.
- Green-Pedersen, Christoffer and Peter B. Mortensen 2010. Who sets the agenda and who responds to it in the Danish Parliament? A new model of issue competition and agenda-setting, *European Journal of Political Research* 49: 257-281.

6. Economic crises: valence politics and economic voting (February 11)

- Stokes, Donald 1963. Spatial models of party competition, *American Political Science Review* 57, 2: 368-77.
- Stokes, Donald 1992. Valence Politics, pp. 141-64 in *Electoral Politics*, edited by Dennis Kavanagh, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Clarke, Harold D. and Guy D. Whitten 2013. Hard choices in hard times: valence voting in Germany (2009), *Electoral Studies* 32: 445-451.
- Wright, John R. 2012. Unemployment and the Democratic Electoral Advantage, *American Political Science Review* 106, 4: 685-702.
- Hellwig, Timothy 2012. Constructing accountability: party position taking and economic voting, *Comparative Political Studies* 45, 1: 91-118.

7. Political crises: Latin American experience (February 18)

- Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal 2013. Elections in Europe in a Time of Crisis: Lessons from Latin America, *Paper prepared for the European Union Democracy Observatory Conference*, EUI 28-29 November 2013.
- Weyland, Kurt 2003. Economic voting reconsidered. Crisis and charisma in the election of Hugo Chávez, *Comparative Political Studies* 36, 7: 822-848.
- Seawright, Jason 2012. *Party-System Collapse. The Roots of Crisis in Peru and Venezuela*, Stanford U Press (pp. 1-31, 63-143)
- Lupu, Noam 2012. *Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America*, unpubl. Ms
- Morgan, Jana 2013. *Bankrupt representation and party system collapse*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press (Chapters 2, 3: pp. 14-72)

8. Political crises: the European experience (February 25)

- Converse, Philip E. and Roy Pierce 1986. *Political Representation in France*, The Belknap Press of Harvard U Press, (Chapters 14-15: pp. 413-484).
- Rüdig, Wolfgang and Georgios Karyotis 2013. Who Protests in Greece? Mass Opposition to Austerity, *British Journal of Political Science*, doi:10.1017/S0007123413000112
- Dina, Elias and Lamprini Rori 2013. The 2012 Greek Parliamentary Elections: Fear and Loathing in the Polls, *West European Politics* 36, 1: 270-282.
- Beissinger, Mark R. 2013. The semblance of democratic revolution: coalitions in Ukraine's Orange Revolution, *American Political Science Review* 107, 3: 574-592

9. The rise of the radical right in particular (March 4)

- Van der Brug, Wouter, Meindert Fennema, and Jean Tillie 2005. Why some anti-immigrant parties fail and others succeed. A two-step model of aggregate electoral support, *Comparative Political Studies* 38, 5: 537-573.
- Kitschelt, Herbert 2007. Growth and Persistence of the radical right in postindustrial democracies: advances and challenges in comparative research, *West European Politics* 30, 5: 1176-1206
- Koopmans, Ruud and Jasper Muis 2009. The rise of right-wing populist Pim Fortuyn in the Netherlands: a discursive opportunity approach, *European Journal of Political Research* 48: 642-664.
- Stockemer, Daniel 2013. The Economic Crisis (2009 to 2013) and Electoral Support for the Radical Right – Some new and unexpected findings. *Paper prepared for*

presentation at the EUDO Dissemination Conference, EUI, Florence, November 28-29.

10. Interaction dynamics (March 11)

- Tilly, Charles 2008. *Contentious performances*. Cambridge U Press (Chapter 8, pp. 200-212)
- Goldstone, Jack A. 2003. Introduction: Bridging institutionalized and noninstitutionalized politics, pp. 1-24 in *States, Parties, and Social Movements*, edited by Jack A. Goldstone. Cambridge U Press.
- Beissinger, Mark R. 2007. Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions, *Perspectives on Politics* 5, 2: 259-276.
- Karapin, Roger 2011. Opportunity/Threat Spirals in the U.S. Women's Suffrage and German Anti-Immigration Movements, *Mobilization* 16, 1: 65-80.
- Walgrave, Stefaan and Rens Vliegthart 2012. The Complex Agenda-Setting Power of Protest: Demonstrations, Media, Parliament, Government and Legislation in Belgium, 1993-2000, *Mobilization* 17, 2: 129-156.