



Department of Social and Political Sciences
Seminar Winter 2015

Restructuring political conflict in times of crisis

Hanspeter Kriesi

Tuesdays 9:00 AM-11:00 AM, Badia Seminar Room 4

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

Description

This is the third seminar that attempts to understand the political consequences of the Great Recession. Some of the readings of this seminar overlap with the readings of the two previous seminars in the series, but most of them are new and the seminar constitutes a renewed attempt to understand the political consequences of the Great Recession. More than previously, the selection of a number of readings is closely related to my own recent work.

Like the first seminar of this series, we start with three sessions dealing with the political economic background of the topic. First, we discuss parts of a manuscript of an edited volume which is about to be published and which introduces general concepts for the analysis of today's 'politics in advanced capitalism'. Next, we get to know a particularly influential attempt to analyze the politics of economic crises – Peter Gourevitch's 'politics in hard times'. Third, we try to understand the origins and consequences of the current Euro crisis, which is of particular importance for understanding crisis politics in Europe today.

Against this background, the seminar links up with the key theme of the second seminar in the series, i.e. bringing together literature on political protest 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. In several countries, the Great Recession 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 (and the European debt crisis in particular) is likely to shape the European party systems in decisive ways. In order to understand how and why, we discuss the role and strategies of political parties in three sessions. We begin by a discussion of the long-term West European trends as diagnosed by Peter Mair before turning to two specific approaches to party politics which seem particularly promising for linking up with political protest – linkage and agenda-setting.

In the next two sessions, we discuss the electoral implications of the Great Recession based on economic voting and blame attribution literature, and the question whether the Great Recession reinforced the trends towards populism which had already been reshaping European politics before its intervention. In the final two sessions, we turn to protest politics in times of crisis. The first of the two sessions harks back to classic social movement theory and to a discussion of ‘movements of crisis’ and ‘movements of affluence’ more generally. The final session discusses examples of protest mobilizations in countries hard hit by the Great Recession.

As usual in my seminars, the students are expected to submit three 500-word response papers to the readings for a given session and post that paper on the course website by noon on the day before class at the latest. 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. 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. Political economy I: The politics of advanced capitalism (January 13)

- Beramendi, Pablo, Silja Häusermann, Herbert Kitschelt and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.) 2015. *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism*. Cambridge U Press (forthcoming), (Chapters 1, 7, 8 and 15)

2. Political economy II: Peter Gourevitch’s contribution (January 20)

- Gourevitch, Peter A. 1984. Breaking with orthodoxy: the politics of economic policy responses to the Depression of the 1930s, *International Organization* 38, 1: 95-129.
- Kahler, Miles and David A. Lake 2013. Introduction: Anatomy of Crisis: The Great Recession and Political Change, pp. 1-24 in *Politics in the new hard times. The Great Recession in comparative perspective*, edited by Miles Kahler and David A. Lake, Ithaca: Cornell U Press.
- Hall, Peter 2013. The political origins of our economic discontents: contemporary adjustment problems in historical perspective, pp. 129-149 in *Politics in the new hard times. The Great Recession in comparative perspective*, edited by Miles Kahler and David A. Lake, Ithaca: Cornell U Press.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. and Stephen C. Nelson 2013. Worlds in collision: uncertainty and risk in hard times, pp. 233-252 in *Politics in the new hard times. The Great Recession in comparative perspective*, edited by Miles Kahler and David A. Lake, Ithaca: Cornell U Press.

- Gourevitch, Peter A. 2013. Afterword: yet more hard times? Reflections on the Great Recession in the frame of earlier hard times, pp. 253-274 in *Politics in the new hard times. The Great Recession in comparative perspective*, edited by Miles Kahler and David A. Lake, Ithaca: Cornell U Press.

3. Political economy III: the Euro crisis (January 27)

- Streeck, Wolfgang 2014. How will capitalism end? *New Left Review* 87, May/June 2014: 35-64.
- Hansen, Randall and Joshua C. Gordon 2014. Deficits, democracy, and demographics: Europe's three crises, *West European Politics* 37, 6: 1199-1222.
- Hall, Peter 2012. The Economics and Politics of the Euro Crisis, *German Politics* 21, 4: 355-371.
- De Grauwe, Paul and Yuemei Ji 2014. The Future of the Eurozone, *The Manchester School*, Supplement 2014: 15-34.
- De Grauwe, Paul 2013. The Political Economy of the Euro, *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 153-70.

4. Parties' roles and strategies I: Ruling the Void (February 4 – exceptionally (N.B. Seminar room: Emeroteca))

- Mair, Peter 2013. *Ruling the Void. The Hollowing of Western Democracy*. London: Verso.
- Bardi, Luciano, Stefano Bartolini and Alexander H. Trechsel 2014. Responsive and responsible? The role of parties in twenty-first century politics, *West European Politics* 37, 2: 235-52.

5. Parties' roles and strategies II: Linkages (February 10)

- Dalton, Russell J., David M. Farrell, and Ian McAllister 2011. *Political Parties & Democratic Linkage. How Parties Organize Democracy*, Oxford U Press. (Chapters 1 and 9)
- Kitschelt, Herbert 2000. Linkages between citizens and politicians in democratic polities, *Comparative Political Studies* 33, 6/7: 845-879.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 2013. Market Reform, Programmatic (De)alignment, and Party System Stability in Latin America, *Comparative Political Studies* 46(11): 1422-1452.
- Afonso, Alexandre, Sotirios Zartaloudis and Yannis Papadopoulos 2014. How party linkages shape austerity politics: clientelism and fiscal adjustment in Greece and Portugal during the Eurozone crisis, *Journal of European Public Policy* <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2014.964644>

6. Parties' roles and strategies III: Agenda-setting (February 17)

- 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.
- Spoon, Jae-Jae, Sara Hobolt and Catherine de Vries 2014. Going green: Explaining issue competition on the environment, *European Journal of Political Research* 53: 363-80.
- Walgrave, Stefaan and Michiel Nuytemans 2009. Friction and party manifesto change in 25 countries, *American Journal of Political Science* 53, 1: 190-206.
- Vliegthart, Rens, Stefaan Walgrave and Brandon Zicha 2013. How preferences, information and institutions interactively drive agenda-setting: questions in the Belgian parliament, 1993-2000, *European Journal of Political Research* 52: 390-418.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Laurent Bernhard, Regula Hänggli 2009. The Politics of Campaigning – Dimensions of Strategic Action, pp. 345-366 in *Politik in der Mediendemokratie, PVS-Sonderheft 42*, edited by Frank Marcinkowski and Barbara Pfetsch. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

7. Electoral consequences in times of crisis (February 24)

- Bermeo, Nancy and Larry M. Bartels 2014. Mass Politics in Tough Times, pp. 1-39 in *Mass politics in tough times. Opinions, votes, and protest in the Great Recession*, edited by Nancy Bermeo and Larry Bartels, Oxford U Press.
- Marsh, Alan and Slava Mikhaylov 2012. Economic voting in a crisis: The Irish election of 2011, *Electoral Studies* 31: 478-84.
- Hobolt, Sara B. and James Tilley 2014. *Blaming Europe? Responsibility without accountability in the European Union*, Oxford U Press. Chapters 1,2,9.
- Karyotis, Georgios and Wolfgang Rüdiger 2013. Blame and Punishment? The Electoral Politics of Extreme Austerity in Greece, *Political Studies* doi: 10.1111/1467-9248.12076: 1-23

8. Populism in times of crises (March 3)

- Kriesi, Hanspeter and Takis S. Pappas (eds.) 2015. Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession, Colchester: ECPR-Press (Chapters 1 (Introduction), 4 (Finland), 5 (France), 10 (Italy), 11 (Greece), 14 (Hungary), and 18 (Conclusion))

9. Protest in times of crises I: social movements (March 10)

- 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.
- Kerbo, Harold R. 1978. Movements of 'Crisis' and Movements of Affluence. A critique of deprivation and resource mobilization theories, *J. of Conflict Resolution* 26, 4: 645-663.
- Hutter, Swen and Hanspeter Kriesi 2013. Movements of the left, movements of the right reconsidered, pp. 281-298 in *The Future of Social Movement Research. Dynamics, Mechanisms, and Processes*, edited by Jacqueliën van Stekelenburg, Conny Roggenband and Bert Klandermans, Minneapolis: Minnesota U Press.
- Aslanidis, Paris 2014. Social movements of the Great Recession: a populist wave of mobilization? Unpubl. Ms.

10. Protest in times of crises II (March 24)

- Beissinger, Mark and Gwendolyn Sasse 2014. *An End to Patience? The 2008 Global Financial Crisis and Political Protest in Eastern Europe*, pp. 334-370 in *Mass politics in tough times. Opinions, votes, and protest in the Great Recession*, edited by Nancy Bermeo and Larry Bartels, Oxford U Press.
- Rüdiger, Wolfgang and Georgios Karyotis 2013. Who Protests in Greece? Mass Opposition to Austerity, *British Journal of Political Science*, doi:10.1017/S0007123413000112
- Rosenhek, Zeev and Michael Shalev 2013. The political economy of Israel's 'social justice' protests: a class and generational analysis, *Contemporary Social Science*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2013.851405>
- Accornero, Guya and Pedro Ramos Pinto 2014. Mild Mannered? Protest and Mobilization in Portugal under Austerity, 2010-2013, *West European Politics* <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2014.937587>
- Galais, Carole and Jasmine Lorenzini 2014. *Austerity-related grievances and emotions as triggers of protest in Spain*, unpubl ms.