Does Protest Matter?
Parties' Rhetorical Representation of Protesters' Claims in Comparative Perspective

Daniel Bischof

University of Leicester

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Outline

What is my thesis about?

- How different party types might differ in their reactions to protests!
- There is a rich body of literature discussing the relationship between votes and parties, BUT:

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- How different party types might differ in their reactions to protests!
- There is a rich body of literature discussing the relationship between votes and parties, BUT:
- What happens between elections?
    - Do only elections matter?
    - Do parties differ in their responses to protests?
    - How do different party types react?

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Literature Reflections

1 Political representation:
+ Substantive representation (Miller;Stokes;Wlezien;Soroka. . .)
+ Formal representation (Lijphart;Cox;Shugart. . .)
+ Descriptive representation (Bullock;Banducci;Mansbridge. . .)
+ Symbolic representation (Bianco;Hill;Hurley. . .)

2 The influence of protests:
+ What is unconventional participation?
(Barnes;Almond;Inglehart. . .)
+ How protest affect politics/policy
(Burnstein;Gamson;Giugni;Tilly;Agnone. . .)

3 Political parties:
+ Party Types (Meguid;Ezrow;Mair;Katz;Müller;Duverger)
+ Party Organizations/Goals (Harmel &
Janda;Panebianco;Strøm;Müller;Petrocik)

The Gaps

Public Opinion/Representation

- Congruence between public opinion and policy outcomes
- Focus on voting/elections/manifestos on the party ideology side
- Methods: Mostly "correlations"

Gap Cases & diverse methods

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- Opportunity structures
- "Protest effectiveness bias"
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⇒ How could protest & public opinion affect political party positions between elections?

"Rhetorical Representation"

- *How* parties communicate their policy positions or ideas between elections matters!
  (Hibbing;Carman;Hill & Hurley;Karlsson)

- "Direct" responses to protests and public opinion between elections like statements, interviews, position proposal etc. matter as well.

- Such statements can be perceived as less institutionalized acts than manifestos; speeches in parliament; parliamentary questions. . .

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$$\Rightarrow \text{ My DV: "Rhetorical Representation"}$$

Niche vs. Mainstream

Niche Parties

+ See protesters as possible median voter of *their* voters.
+ Want to represent *issue ownership* on their relevant issue.
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Mainstream Parties

- Rather stick to public opinion as proxy for median voter.
- Reacting in favor of issues they do not own will be perceived as *copying*.
- Want to lower *salience* of issues they do not own.

Leading Hypotheses

H1: Niche parties use protest events as a proxy for their voters' policy preferences and rather react in favor of protesters' claims.

H2: Mainstream parties use public opinion as a proxy for the median voter and rather ignore protesters' claims.

H3: The smaller the discrepancy between protesters' ideological claims and a party's ideology, the more likely is a party's favorable reaction.

H4: With size and duration of protests the propensity that mainstream parties react in favor of protesters' claims rises.

H5: If protesters' claims are equal to the public opinion, a reaction across all party types is likely.

H6: Niche parties and mainstream parties in government might tend to react identical to protests.

Data sources

DV:

- Rhetorical Representation $\rightarrow$ relevant media articles coded within the ResponsiveGov project

IVs:

- Protest events $\rightarrow$ Size & Issue from ResponsiveGov project data
- Public opinion $\rightarrow$ Relevant survey data
- Niche vs. Mainstream $\rightarrow$ CMP data
- Party ideology $\rightarrow$ CMP data
- Party in Government dummy

Controls:

- Election year dummy; Lagged vote change; Lagged office positions; "System variables" (effective number of parties; proportional system)

Comments & Annotations

1. What is your opinion on the concept of rhetorical representation? Does it matter?
2. Do you have any suggestions to "enrich" the rather mathematical approach to measure Niche parties?
3. Other comments. . .

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