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## **15370 – Contestation of and in contemporary political orders**

First two sessions online; then in-person meetings at the WZB or FU (tbc during the second session).  
Monday 16:00-18:00 pm (c.t.)

### **Short description and goals:**

Current political orders seem to be under high pressure. Social movements all around the world mobilise to contest the social and political status quo. Specifically, political orders are increasingly put to the test. The Liberal International Order is contested by rising powers, transnational movements and nationalist forces in the West. Liberal democracies are challenged by authoritarian populist parties. Also, authoritarian systems like Belarus and Russia are contested from within. In this seminar, we aim to analyse the concept of contestation (and its difference to similar concepts), the normative goals, strategies and emotions used by different contestants worldwide, and the (potential) causes of the rise of contestations in and of contemporary political orders. The goal of the seminar is to provide an overview of concepts that can be used to analyse different kinds of protest, and to gain an understanding of why we currently see a wave of contestations.

Upon completion of the course, you should be able to:

- Understand and critically discuss key concepts and theories related to contestation in and of political orders
- Apply theories and concepts to analyse specific cases of contestation
- Critically reflect on the differences and similarities between the discussed concepts and theories as well as their respective merits and possible shortcomings for understanding the current wave of contestation
- Critically discuss different types of contestation of contemporary as well as their potential causes

This seminar will be taught by Michael Zürn together with Lena Röllicke, PhD candidate and member of the project "Towards a Typology of Contestations" of the Cluster of Excellence "Contestations of the Liberal Script" (SCRIPTS).

### Seminar structure

The seminar is structured into 3 main parts:

- **Part 1** (Weeks 1-6): Introduction and Conceptualising "Contestation" – How does contestation differ from other, related concepts and phenomena, and how can we analyse contestations?
- **Part 2** (Weeks 7-14): Concrete forms of contestation and empirical case studies – applying our analytical scheme to real-world cases
- **Part 3** (Weeks 15-16): Synthesis and Reflection

The first two sessions (weeks 1 and 2) will take place online. We will use those sessions to introduce the contents and structure of the seminar, to distribute case studies for presentations and to organise the transition to in-person seminars. As of week 3, the seminars will take place in person. They consist of interactive group discussions of the concepts and theories introduced in the required readings (Part 1) as well as their application to real-world cases of contestation (Part 2). We will introduce and discuss on-going work from our research at the project "Towards a Typology of Contestations" of the Cluster of Excellence "Contestations of the Liberal Script" (SCRIPTS) and together look at concrete empirical cases of the contemporary wave of contestation. To this end, in Part 2, we will alternate theoretical approaches and presentations of empirical case analyses which will be distributed during the first two sessions. In Part 3, we will together reflect on the merits and shortcomings of different analytical approaches, different types of contestations and potential causes.

### Course requirements

Throughout the course, all students are expected to read and critically engage with the required readings, prepare short written reading reflections and actively participate in the discussions during the seminars. Students aiming for a graded certificate ("Leistungsschein") should additionally either sign up for a presentation and write a reflection essay based on the presentation or write a term paper by the end of the semester (see below for more detailed explanations).

#### Requirements for participation certificate ("Teilnahmeschein"):

- Reading the required reading;
- Active participation in the synchronous online and in-person seminars;
- Handing in written reading reflections before each session with required reading;

#### Additional requirements for graded certificate ("Leistungsschein"):

- Presentation and Reflection Essay (5 pages) OR Term paper (3,000-5,000 words, font size 12, line spacing 1.5, margins 2.5 cm).

### Location

The first two sessions will be held as synchronous online seminars. As of the 1<sup>st</sup> of November, we will meet in person, probably at the WZB (room B002/3 on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> of November, room B001 as of the 15<sup>th</sup> of November). Alternatively, we might meet at the FU, Ihnestr. 22, (UG 1). We will decide on this during the second session, depending on the number of participants.

### Introduction to the seminar

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| <p><b>Session 1</b></p> <p>18<sup>th</sup> October 2021<br/>4:00-6:00 pm</p> | <p><u>Overview, Course Requirements and Organisation</u></p> <p><i>Format: <u>Webex-Meeting</u></i></p> |
| <p><b>Session 2</b></p> <p>25<sup>th</sup> October 2021<br/>4:00-6:00 pm</p> | <p><u>Overview, Course Requirements and Organisation</u></p> <p><i>Format: <u>Webex-Meeting</u></i></p> |

### Part 1: Conceptualising Contestation

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| <p><b>Session 3</b></p> <p>1<sup>st</sup> November 2021<br/>4:00-6:00 pm<br/>Room B002/3</p> | <p><i>Conceptualisation of Contestation I</i></p> <p><i>Format: In-person seminar</i></p> <p><i>Political Opposition:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Luhmann, N. (1990). <i>Political Theory in the Welfare State</i>. Chapter 5: The Theory of Political Opposition (pp. 167-186). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.</li> <li>• Daase, C., &amp; Deitelhoff, N. (2019). Opposition and dissidence: Two modes of resistance against international rule. <i>Journal of Political Theory</i>, 15(1), 11-30.             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ <i>On the relationship between rule and resistance (on the international level)</i></li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p><i>Contentious Politics:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tilly, C., &amp; Tarrow, S. (2015). <i>Contentious Politics (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press.             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Preface. Chapter 1: Making Claims. Chapter 2: How to Analyze Contention. Chapter 10: Contention Today and Tomorrow.</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p><u>Additional readings:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wiener, A. (2017). A Theory of Contestation —A Concise Summary of Its Argument and Concepts. <i>Polity</i>, 49(1), 109–125.</li> <li>• McAdam, D., Tarrow, S., &amp; Tilly, C. (2009). Comparative perspectives on contentious politics. <i>Comparative politics: Rationality, culture, and structure</i>, 260-290.</li> </ul> |
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| <p><b>Session 4</b></p> <p>8<sup>th</sup> November 2021<br/>4:00-6:00 pm<br/>Room B002/3</p> | <p><b><i>Conceptualisation of Contestation II</i></b><br/><i>Format: In-person seminar</i></p> <p><i>Dissidence and resistance:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sparks, H. (1997). Dissident Citizenship: Democratic Theory, Political Courage, and Activist Women. <i>Hypatia</i> 12(4), 74-110.</li> <li>• Scheuermann, W. E. (2017). What is Political Resistance? An exploration of the word and its political connotations. <i>Public Seminar</i>. Retrieved September 29, 2021, from <a href="http://publicseminar.org/2017/02/what-is-political-resistance/#.WSBqd9y1uUk">http://publicseminar.org/2017/02/what-is-political-resistance/#.WSBqd9y1uUk</a></li> </ul> <p><i>Norm contestation:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stimmer, A., &amp; Wisken, L. (2019). The dynamics of dissent: when actions are louder than words. <i>International Affairs</i>, 95(3), 515-533.</li> </ul> <p><i>Contestation:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gosepath, S. und Zürn, M. (2021) A Conceptual Landscape – Contestation and all That, Paper Presented at ISA 2021.</li> </ul> <p><u>Additional readings:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hollander, J. A., &amp; Einwohner, R. L. (2004). Conceptualizing Resistance. <i>Sociological Forum</i>, 19(4), 533–554.</li> <li>• Bayat, A. (2020). <i>Life as politics</i>. Stanford University Press. Introduction. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ <i>On social change in the Middle East through “non-movements”</i></li> </ul> </li> <li>• Weitz, R. (2001). WOMEN AND THEIR HAIR: Seeking Power through Resistance and Accommodation. <i>Gender &amp; Society</i>, 15(5), 667–686.</li> <li>• Deitelhoff, N., &amp; Zimmermann, L. (2020). Things we lost in the fire: how different types of contestation affect the robustness of international norms. <i>International Studies Review</i>, 22(1), 51-76.</li> <li>• Wolff, J., &amp; Zimmermann, L. (2016). Between banyans and battle scenes: Liberal norms, contestation, and the limits of critique. <i>Review of International Studies</i>, 42, 513-534.</li> <li>• Laclau, E., &amp; Mouffe, C. (2014). <i>Hegemony and socialist strategy: Towards a radical democratic politics</i>. Verso Trade.</li> </ul> |
| <p><b>Session 5</b></p> <p>15<sup>th</sup> November 2021<br/>4:00-6:00 pm<br/>Room B001</p>  | <p><b><i>How to analyse contestations I: normativity and epistemology</i></b><br/><i>Format: In-person seminar</i></p> <p><i>Normativity:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jeremy Waldron, Theoretical Foundations of Liberalism</li> <li>• TTC Normativity Three-Pager</li> </ul> <p><i>Epistemology:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Popper, On Open Society</li> <li>• TTC Epistemology Three-Pager</li> </ul>  |

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| <p><b>Session 6</b></p> <p>22<sup>nd</sup> November 2021<br/>4:00-6:00 pm<br/>Room B001</p> | <p><b><i>How to analyse contestations II: strategies, epistemology and identities</i></b><br/><i>Format: In-person seminar</i></p> <p><i>Strategies:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hirschman, A. O. (1978). Exit, voice, and the state. <i>World Politics: A Quarterly Journal of International Relations</i>, 90-107.</li> <li>• TTC Strategies Three-Pager</li> </ul> <p><i>Emotions:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jasper, J.M. (2011). Emotions and Social Movements: Twenty Years of Theory and Research. <i>Annual Review of Sociology</i>, 37, 285-303.</li> <li>• TTC Emotions Three-Pager</li> </ul> <p><i>Identity:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cohen, J. (1985). Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements. <i>Social Research</i>, 52(4), 663–716.</li> <li>• TTC Identity Three-Pager</li> </ul> |
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## Part 2: Concrete forms of contestations and empirical case studies

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| <p><b>Session 7</b></p> <p>29<sup>th</sup> November 2021<br/>4:00-6:00 pm<br/>Room B001</p> | <p><b><i>Social Movements</i></b><br/><i>Format: In-person seminar</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Della Porta, D., &amp; Diani, M. (2020). <i>Social movements: An introduction</i>. Chapter 1: The Study of Social Movements: Recurring Questions, (Partially) Changing Answers (pp. 1-30). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley &amp; Sons.</li> <li>• Engels, B., &amp; Müller, M. (2019). Northern Theories, Southern movements? Contentious politics in Africa through the lens of social movement theory.</li> <li>• Castells, M. (2015). <i>Networks of Outrage and Hope. Social Movements in the Internet Age</i>. Opening. (pp. 1-19). Cambridge: Polity Press.</li> </ul> <p><u>Additional readings:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Della Porta, D. (2017). <i>Where Did the Revolution Go? Contentious politics and the quality of democracy</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.</li> <li>• Meijer, Roel. 2005. "Taking the Islamist Movement Seriously: Social Movement Theory and the Islamist Movement." <i>International Review of Social History</i>. 50. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ <i>Perspective on Islamist Movements</i></li> </ul> </li> <li>• Tarrow, S. (2011). <i>Power in Movement. Social Movements and Contentious Politics</i>. Introduction (pp. 1-15) &amp; Chapter 1: Contentious Politics and Social Movements (pp. 16-34). New York: Cambridge University Press. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ <i>A classic in Social Movement Theory</i></li> </ul> </li> <li>• Jasper, J. (2010). Social Movement Theory Today: Toward a Theory of Action? <i>Sociology Compass</i>, 4(11), 965-976. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ <i>Gives overview of theorizing about social movements; advocates for mid-range theorising</i></li> </ul> </li> </ul> |
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|   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fitzgerald, K. J., &amp; Rodgers, D. M. (2000). Radical Social Movement Organizations: A Theoretical Model. <i>The Sociological Quarterly</i>, 41(4), 573-592.</li> <li>• Dulic, T. (2021). Fascism and (Transnational) Social Movements: A Reflection on Concepts and Theory in Comparative Fascist Studies. <i>Fascism</i>, 10, 202-227.</li> <li>• Hall, T. D., &amp; Fenelon, J. V. (2008). Indigenous Movements and Globalization: What is Different? What is the Same? <i>Globalizations</i>, 5(1), 1-11.</li> <li>• Moghadam, V. M. (2015). Transnational Feminist Activism and Movement Building. In Rawwida Baksh and Wendy Harcourt (eds.). <i>The Oxford Handbook of Transnational Feminist Movements</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press.</li> <li>• Dempsey, S. E., Parker, P. S., &amp; Krone, K. J. (2011). Navigating Socio-spatial Difference, Constructing Counter-Space: Insights from Transnational Feminist Praxis. <i>Journal of International and Intercultural Communication</i>, 4(3), 201-220.</li> <li>• Antrobus, P. (2004). <i>The Global Women's Movement: Origins, Issues and strategies</i>. New York: Palgrave.</li> </ul>   |
| <p><b>Session 8</b></p> <p>6<sup>th</sup> December 2021<br/>4:00-6:00 pm<br/>Room B001</p>  | <p><b><i>Social Movements empirical cases</i></b></p> <p><b><i>Format: In-person seminar</i></b></p>  |
| <p><b>Session 9</b></p> <p>13<sup>th</sup> December 2021<br/>4:00-6:00 pm<br/>Room B001</p> | <p><b><i>Civil disobedience</i></b></p> <p><b><i>Format: In-person seminar</i></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scheuermann, W.E. (2018). <i>Civil Disobedience</i>. Introduction (pp. 1-10). Chapter 1 Divine Witness (pp.11-21). Conclusion (pp. 155-159).</li> <li>• Celikates, R (2013). Civil disobedience as a practice of civic freedom. In: Tully, J (ed.) <i>Global Citizenship: James Tully in Dialogue</i>. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 211–228.</li> </ul> <p><u>Additional readings:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thoreau, H. D. (1983). <i>Walden and Civil Disobedience</i>. Penguin Classics.</li> <li>• Arendt, H. (1972). Civil Disobedience. In Hannah Arendt, <i>Crises of the Republic</i>, pp. 49-102. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.</li> <li>• Ghandi, M. K. (2001). <i>Non-violent Resistance (Satyagraha)</i>. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.</li> <li>• King Jr., M. L. (1991). Letters from Birmingham Jail. In H. A. Bedeau (ed.). <i>Civil Disobedience in Focus</i>. London: Routledge.</li> <li>• Rawls, J. (1999) [1971]. <i>A Theory of Justice</i> (p.320). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.</li> <li>• Smith, W. (2010). Reclaiming the Revolutionary Spirit. Arendt on Civil Disobedience. <i>European Journal of Political Theory</i>, 9(2), 149-166.</li> <li>• Delmas, C. (2017). Disobedience, Civil and Otherwise. <i>Criminal Law and Philosophy</i>, 11, 195-211.</li> <li>• Cidam et al. (2020). Theorizing the Politics of Protest: Contemporary Debates on Civil Disobedience. <i>Contemporary Political Theory</i>, 19, 513-546.</li> <li>• Livingstone, A. (2020). "Tough Love": The Political Theology of Civil Disobedience. <i>American Political Science Association</i>, 18(3), 851-866.</li> </ul> |

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| <p><b>Session 10</b></p> <p>3<sup>rd</sup> January 2022<br/>4:00-6:00 pm<br/>Room B001</p>  | <p><b><i>Civil disobedience empirical cases</i></b></p> <p><b><i>Format: In-person seminar</i></b></p>   |
| <p><b>Session 11</b></p> <p>10<sup>th</sup> January 2022<br/>4:00-6:00 pm<br/>Room B001</p> | <p><b><i>Populism/backlash/democratic backsliding</i></b></p> <p><b><i>Format: In-person seminar</i></b></p> <p><i>Democratic backsliding:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bermeo, N. (2016). On Democratic Backsliding. <i>Journal of Democracy</i>, 27(1), 5-19.</li> </ul> <p><i>Backlash:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mansbridge, J., &amp; Shames, S. L. (2008). Toward a Theory of Backlash: Dynamic Resistance and the Central Role of Power. <i>Politics &amp; Gender</i>, 4(4), 623-634.</li> </ul> <p><i>Backlash/Populism</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Norris, P., &amp; Inglehart, R. (2019). <i>Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism</i>. Chapter 1: Understanding Populism &amp; Chapter 2: The Cultural Backlash Theory (pp. 3-64). New York: Cambridge University Press.</li> </ul> <p><u>Additional readings:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mudde, C. (2021). Populism in Europe: An illiberal Democratic Response to Undemocratic Liberalism (The <i>Government and Opposition</i>/Leonard Schapiro Lecture 2019). <i>Government and Opposition</i>, 1-21.</li> <li>• Zürn, M. (2021). How Non-Majoritarian Institutions Make Silent Majorities Vocal. A Political Explanation of Authoritarian Populism. <i>Perspectives on Politics, First View</i>, 1-20.</li> <li>• Schäfer, A., &amp; Zürn, M. (2021). <i>Die demokratische Regression</i>. Berlin: Suhrkamp.</li> <li>• Maignashca, B. (2019) Resisting the ‘Populist Hype’: A Feminist Critique of a <i>Globalizing Concept</i>. <i>Review of International Studies</i> 45(5), 768–785.</li> <li>• Moffitt, B. (2016) <i>The Global Rise of Populism: Performance, Political Style, and Representation</i>. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.</li> <li>• Müller, J. W. (2016) <i>What Is Populism?</i> Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.</li> <li>• Mudde, C., &amp; Rovira Kaltwasser, C., (2013). Exclusionary v. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America. <i>Government and Opposition</i>, 48(2), 147-174.</li> <li>• Laclau, E. (2005). Populism: What’s in a Name? In F. Panizza (ed.), <i>Populism and the Mirror of Democracy</i>, London: Verso.</li> <li>• Fraser, N. (2016). Progressive Neoliberalism versus Reactionary Populism: A choice that feminists should refuse. <i>NORA-Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research</i>, 24(4), 281-284.</li> </ul> |

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| <p><b>Session 12</b></p> <p>17<sup>th</sup> January 2022<br/>4:00-6:00 pm<br/>Room B001</p> | <p><b><i>Populism/backlash empirical cases</i></b></p> <p><b><i>Format: In-person seminar</i></b></p>  |
| <p><b>Session 13</b></p> <p>24<sup>th</sup> January 2022<br/>4:00-6:00 pm<br/>Room B001</p> | <p><b><i>Revolutions</i></b></p> <p><b><i>Format: In-person seminar</i></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Skocpol, T. (1979). <i>States and social revolutions: A comparative analysis of France, Russia and China</i>. Chapter 1: Explaining Social Revolutions: Alternatives to Existing Theories (pp. 3-32). Cambridge University Press.</li> <li>• Lawson, G. (2016). Within and Beyond the “Fourth Generation” of Revolutionary Theory. <i>Sociological Theory</i>, 34(2), 106-127.</li> <li>• Bayat, A. (2013). <i>Revolution without Revolutionaries. Making Sense of the Arab Spring</i>. Chapter 1: Revolutions of Wrong Times (pp. 1-28). Stanford: Stanford University Press.</li> </ul> <p><u>Additional Readings:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Arendt, H. (1963). <i>On Revolutions</i>. Chapter 1: The Meaning of Revolution (pp. 21-58). London: Penguin Books.</li> <li>• Moghadam, V.M. (1997). Gender and Revolutions. In John Foran (ed.) <i>Theorizing Revolutions</i> (pp.133-162). New York: Routledge.</li> <li>• Allinson, J. (2019). A fifth generation of revolutionary theory? Review Essay. <i>Journal of Historical Sociology</i>, 32, 142-151.</li> <li>• Natividad, N. D. (2014). The Walking of Words. Third World feminism and the reimagining of resistance by indigenous communities. <i>AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples</i>, 10(3), 232-247.</li> </ul> |
| <p><b>Session 14</b></p> <p>31<sup>st</sup> January 2022<br/>4:00-6:00 pm<br/>Room B001</p> | <p><b><i>Revolutions empirical cases</i></b></p> <p><b><i>Format: In-person seminar</i></b></p>  |

### Part 3: Synthesis and Reflection

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| <p><b>Session 15</b></p> <p>7<sup>th</sup> February 2022<br/>4:00-6:00 pm<br/>Room B001</p> | <p><b><i>Synthesis and Reflection</i></b></p> <p><b><i>Format: In-person seminar</i></b></p> |
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| <p><b>Session 16</b></p> <p>14<sup>th</sup> February 2022<br/>4:00-6:00 pm<br/>Room B001</p> | <p><i>Wrap-Up and summary</i></p> <p><i>Format: In-person seminar</i></p> |
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### **Blackboard (POLSOZ\_S\_15370\_21W)**

Course materials are made available on Blackboard. Communication also takes place there.

### **Webex**

The first two meetings (18<sup>th</sup> of October and 25<sup>th</sup> of October 2021) will take place on Webex. You can join the meetings via the following link:

**<https://fu-berlin.webex.com/fu-berlin-en/j.php?MTID=md9e9d54b253c38f7467122856c8aa61a>**

Meeting-Number: 2730 449 6717; Password: arUPSkmR523

You can find the FU guidelines for using Webex [here](#) or [here](#) (more detailed instructions in German)

### **Type of inputs and contributions to the seminar**

["Teilnahmeschein" AND "Leistungsschein"]

#### Reading Reflections:

Please note down on less than a page your general thoughts about the reading. What did you learn? What did not convince you? Fill the page by adding two or three question that you would like to discuss.

["Leistungsschein"]

Option 1

#### Presentation and Reflection Essay:

Pick up a specific case of contestation and apply the theoretical perspective that we have discussed the week before. The presentation should provide central information about the case and analyse it in terms of the concepts discussed. Strictly limit yourselves to 15 minutes.

In addition to the presentation, please hand in a reflection essay by the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 2022. In this essay, you should reflect on the merits and shortcomings of the theoretical perspective you applied to analyse your case as well as how other analytical approaches we discussed during the seminar could help shed light on the contestation in case. The essay should be submitted by e-mail as a PDF file (5 pages, font size 12, line spacing 1.5, margins 2.5 cm).

## Option 2

### Seminar paper:

You can submit a term paper by 18<sup>th</sup> of April 2022. The work can be theoretical or empirical and should discuss one of the course topics by developing an original research question, a plausible and theoretically sound hypothesis, and a strong line of reasoning. The essay should consider discussions in the seminar and the relevant literature (including other texts than those discussed in the course). Your seminar contributions can serve as the basis for your work, but you are free to choose a different topic if you wish. The papers must be submitted by e-mail as a PDF file (minimum 3,000 and maximum 5,000 words, font size 12, line spacing 1.5, margins 2.5 cm). Please coordinate the topic of your term paper with me before you start to work; a short e-mail is sufficient. If you do not coordinate a seminar topic with me and do not submit the work on time, this is considered a "no show" for the examination, and I will not grade it later.