

Class 1: Social Movements in Germany

Introduction and the development of social movements

Dr. Michael C. Zeller

Agenda for the day

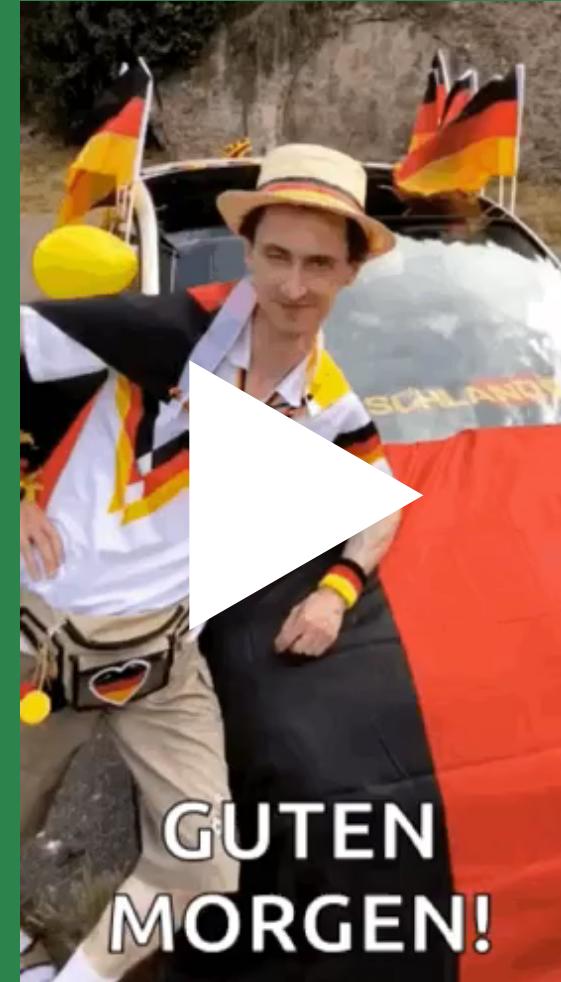
- Poll: course introduction
- Course Introduction
- Quick intro to concepts
- Onto our topic: social movements
- Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Poll: course introduction



Course Introduction

- What are ‘social movements’?
- How this course relates to Prof. Bolleyer’s lecture
- Course structure
- Learning aims
- Course assessments
- Office hours and communication
- Course website
- Q & A
- student introductions



Can you understand me?

- Lots of different languages represented in the room → but please don't be shy: **feel empowered to participate, even if you are not so confident in your English skills**
 - I will avoid 'calling on' people to contribute
 - when you speak, please speak up (*I'm rapidly ageing and my hearing is not what it once was*)

Read the syllabus!

- We have a shiny new (developing) website for the course
 - <https://michaelzeller.de/course-sm/>
- Before our next meeting, your task is to peruse the website
 - especially the **Syllabus** and **Readings** pages.

Defining social movements

- Broadly: *collections of people that mobilise, coordinate, and campaign for some objective*
 - We will focus on movements with *socio-political objectives*
- What are some examples that you know (now or historically)?

Connection to Prof. Bolleyer's lecture

- This course is one of the Grundkurse for Prof. Bolleyer's **Einführung in das politische System Deutschlands**
- This course is a detailed investigation of a related topic—not a tutorial on the material in Prof. Bolleyer's lecture
 - So—as should go without saying—for both the lecture and GK: read and attend classes

Structure of the course

Date	Class	Lecture
2025-10-16	1	Introduction and the development of social movements (SMs)
2025-10-23	2	SM theories: collective behaviour, resource mobilisation, political processes
2025-10-30	3	SM theories: framing, civil society
2025-11-06	4	Mobilisation, recruitment, participation
2025-11-13	5	Collective identity and emotions
2025-11-20	6	Organisation, strategies and tactics
2025-12-04	7	SMs and the media
2025-12-11	8	SM coalitions
2025-12-18	9	State responses
2026-01-08	10	Counter-mobilisation and countermovements
2026-01-15	11	SMs online
2026-01-22	12	SM impact
2026-01-29	13	Demobilisation
2026-02-05	14	Contemporary social movements and beyond: climate, migration

Coverage of cases within and outside Germany

- Social movements are numerous and varied
- In this course, we will consider some of the most influential/most studied movements (NB: U.S. bias in research)
- As often as possible, we will refer to a set of movements (organisations) active in Germany
 - to be introduced later

- acquire **substantive knowledge** of aspects of social movements (theory, cases) and manifestation **within Germany and elsewhere**
- enhance **critical knowledge** to evaluate research thereof
- gain familiarity with **methodological approaches** to studying social movements
- (further) develop the capacity to...
 - assess episodes and broader cycles of movement activity, especially by identifying underlying factors and comparing across contexts
 - critically evaluate reporting and research on social movements, especially by evaluating the data and methods used

Assessment: related to BRD lecture

<i>Studiengang</i>	<i>Belegung</i>	<i>Leistungsnachweis(e)</i>	<i>Klausurinhalte</i>
<i>BA Hauptfach</i>	<i>VL (Vorlesung BRD) und GK (Grundkurs)</i>	<i>Klausur (90 Min.)</i>	<i>3/5 Wissensfragen und 1/3 Essayfrage</i>
<i>BA Nebenfach 60 ECTS</i>	<i>VL und GK</i>	<i>Klausur (90 Min.)</i>	<i>3/5 Wissensfragen und 1/3 Essayfrage</i>
Lehramt Unterrichtsfach	VL und GK	Klausur (90 Min.) & Referat	3/5 Wissensfragen und 1/3 Essayfrage
BA Nebenfach 30 ECTS	nur VL	Klausur (90 Min.)	3/5 Wissensfragen kein Essay
Lehramt Didaktikfach	nur VL	Klausur (60 Min.)	2/5 Wissensfragen kein Essay
<i>Austauschstudierende für VL</i>	<i>VL</i>	<i>Klausur (90 Min.)</i>	<i>3/5 Wissensfragen kein Essay</i>
Austauschstudierende für GK	GK	Festgelegt durch GK Dozent	N/A

Die Sprache der Essayfragen (Deutsch oder Englisch) richtet sich nach der Sprache des jeweiligen GKs. Unabhängig von der Sprache

der Fragestellung (oder Teil der Veranstaltung) können Studierende je nach Präferenz auf Deutsch oder Englisch antworten.



Kontakt für prüfungsrechtliche Fragen, Kursanmeldung, -wechsel, -abmeldung, Fragen zur Anmeldung zur Prüfung:

studienbuero@gsi.uni-muenchen.de

Assessment: within this course

	Participation	Presentation	Essay	Klausur
BA Hauptfach	X			X
BA Nebenfach (60 ECTS)	X			X
Lehramt Unterrichtsfach	X	X	X	X
BA Nebenfach (30 ECTS)	X			X (nur VL)
Lehramt Didaktikfach	X			X (nur VL, 60 Min., 2 Wissensfragen)
Austauschstudierende für VL	X			X (nur VL)
Austauschstudierende für GK	X	X	X	

Course assessment - *Participation*

- No examination in this course, BUT there is in '*Einführung Politisches System der BRD*'. There, you respond to an essay question from this course.
 - Exam on 3 February (Monday) at 14.00
 - 90-minutes written exam: response to 3 of 5 short-answer prompts from Prof. Bolleyer's lecture and to 1 of 3 essay prompts from this course
- attend class and actively participate
 - do required reading

Course assessment - *Presentation*

- Presentation

- short (max. 20 minutes) group (2-4 students) talk on a method for studying social movements
- A *method* is a system of data collection and analysis
 1. introduce method,
 2. explain its utility for studying social movements,
 3. [the crucial part] and *discuss one applied example*

Essay (*Hausarbeit*): Data report

- data report on a social movement phenomenon (e.g., protests events, violence, framing, news coverage)
 - why a dataset? Helpful preparation for thinking about **validity, reliability**, etc. → relevant for quant. and qual.
- gather and present data, generate analytical insights
- 2000-3000 words (excluding citations)
- **17 January**: short synopsis due. **7 March**: full, final report due.
- consider working with data visualisation and analysis software!
- A rule: **no drawing any data from or citing Statista or other data curation services.**

submit all assignments by email: m.zeller@lmu.de

For the paper, and writing in general...

Crafting Papers for Publication

757

Table III. A semiotic checklist

-
1. This is what I am focusing on
 2. This is why it is relevant
 3. This is what is known/not known (and why it needs attention)
 4. This is my burning question
 5. This is how I aim to address the question (theoretically/empirically)
 6. This is what I did
 7. This is what I found
 8. This is what it means
 9. This is what I add
 10. This is why you should care
-

Patriotta, G. (2017). Crafting papers for publication: Novelty and convention in academic writing. *Journal of Management Studies*, 54(5), 747-759.

Further: tools of the research trade...

- qualitative data management: e.g., MAXQDA, ATLAS.ti
- quantitative (and qual.) data analysis software: e.g., R (and R Studio), Stata
- typesetting programmes: LaTeX (through [TexStudio](#)) and RMarkdown

Typical class meeting

- Opening question(s)/discussion point(s)
 - e.g., theoretical dilemma, typology forming, news item
- Summarising lecture on theory/findings related to week's topic
 - discussion points
- Short video relevant to topic
- Discussing the reading(s)
 - highlighting important points (esp. theory, research design)
- Presentation of further research relevant to week's topic
- Summative discussion: takeaways, new ideas, lingering questions

Throughout, we will use *cases* to link *theory* to *real-world events*

Colour scheme for course slides

- Why? To make **concepts** and **important points** easier to identify and review
- **concepts** (dark red) - building blocks of social science, important elements in every class session
- **discussion point** (indigo) - a question or prompt to discuss as a class (essential component of a *seminar*)
- **finding** (dark orange) - a noteworthy finding from one or more studies
- **important point** (red) - something particularly noteworthy
- **other colours** - variously trying to get **your attention**

Office hours and communication

- best to send an email
 - michael.zeller@gsi.uni-muenchen.de
 - m.zeller@lmu.de
- 11.00 - 12.00 on Wednesdays at GSI (Oettingenstr. 67) - Room H105
- or by appointment
- Please **use your LMU email address for communication**
 - this is important for the security of the university email system

Course website

- no use of Moodle
- we have a new, shiny, developing, purpose-built website:
<https://michaelzeller.de/course-sm/>
 - all readings available
 - slides available before class
 - in case of class cancellation, video lecture will be available

Resources



journals and data

books

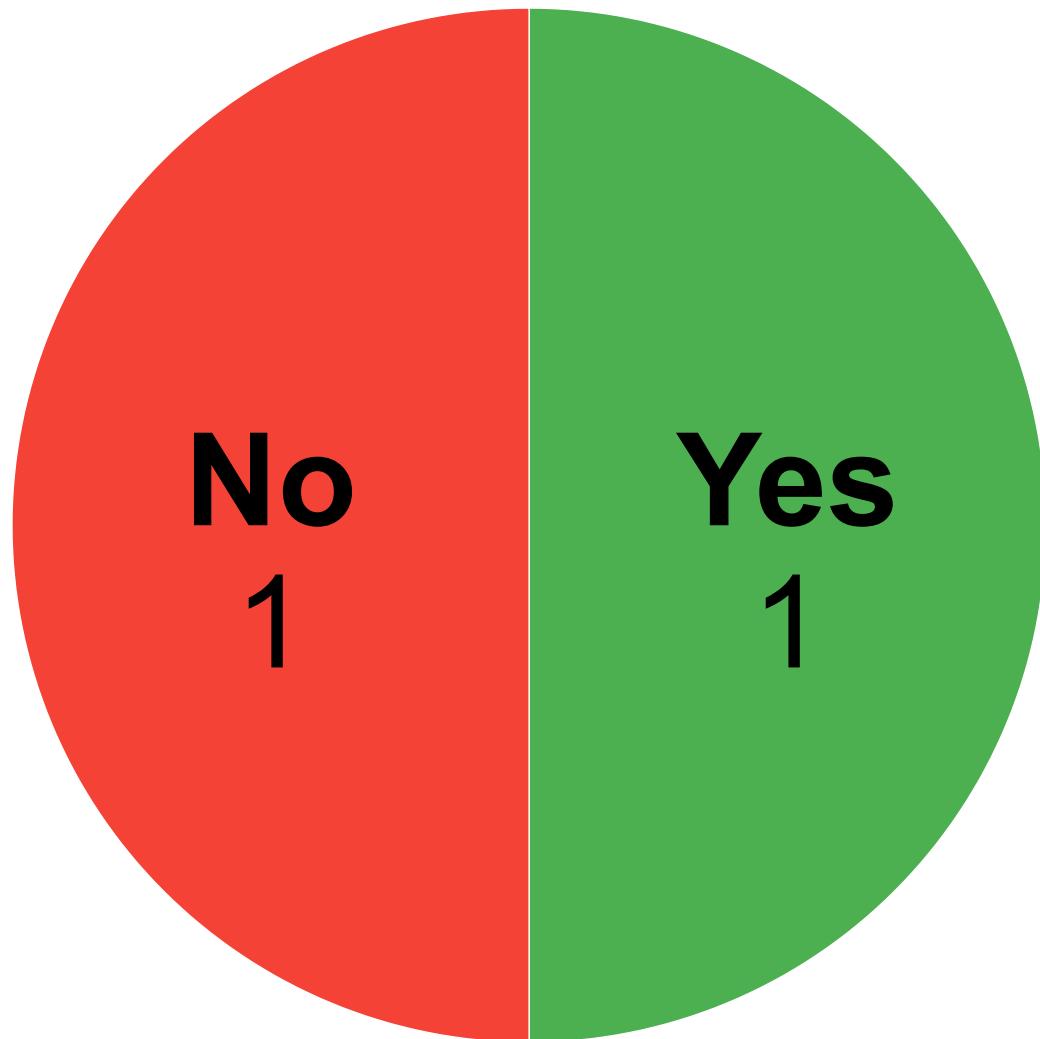
About me

- tell me if you have problems understanding me
 - there's an accent at work that I tragically cannot shake off
- Ph.D. in political science from Central European University (CEU)
 - specialisation in qualitative methods (QCA, [Bayesian] process tracing), but also quant. text analysis, network analysis
- researcher in funded projects on ...
 - violent/banned far-right groups and online content moderation
 - radicalisation, violent extremism, polarisation, and resilience
- current work: militant democracy; far-right activist networks; political violence (in 1970s Northern Ireland; in contemporary Italy); paths to female leadership in Asia; protest and polarisation

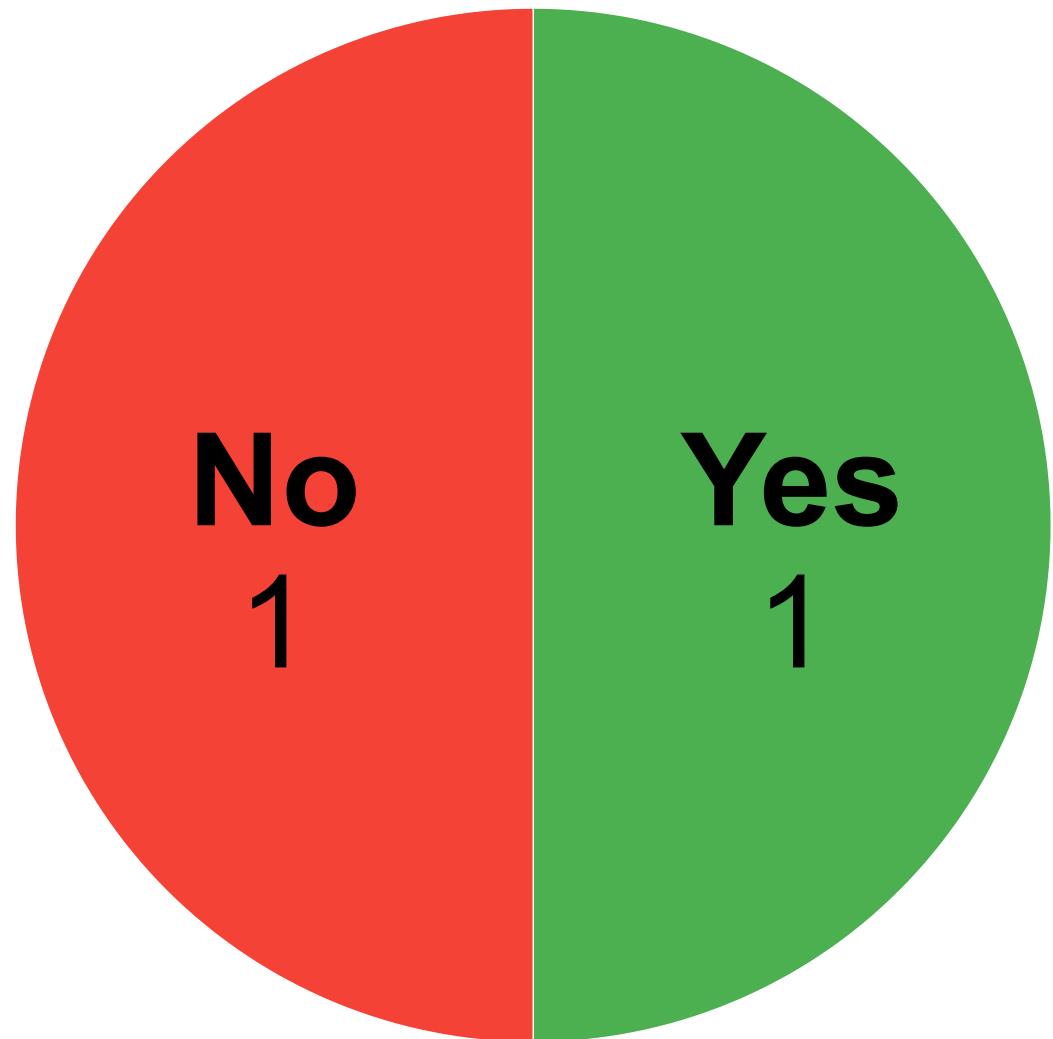
Q & A

About you! Poll results (Respondents: 2)

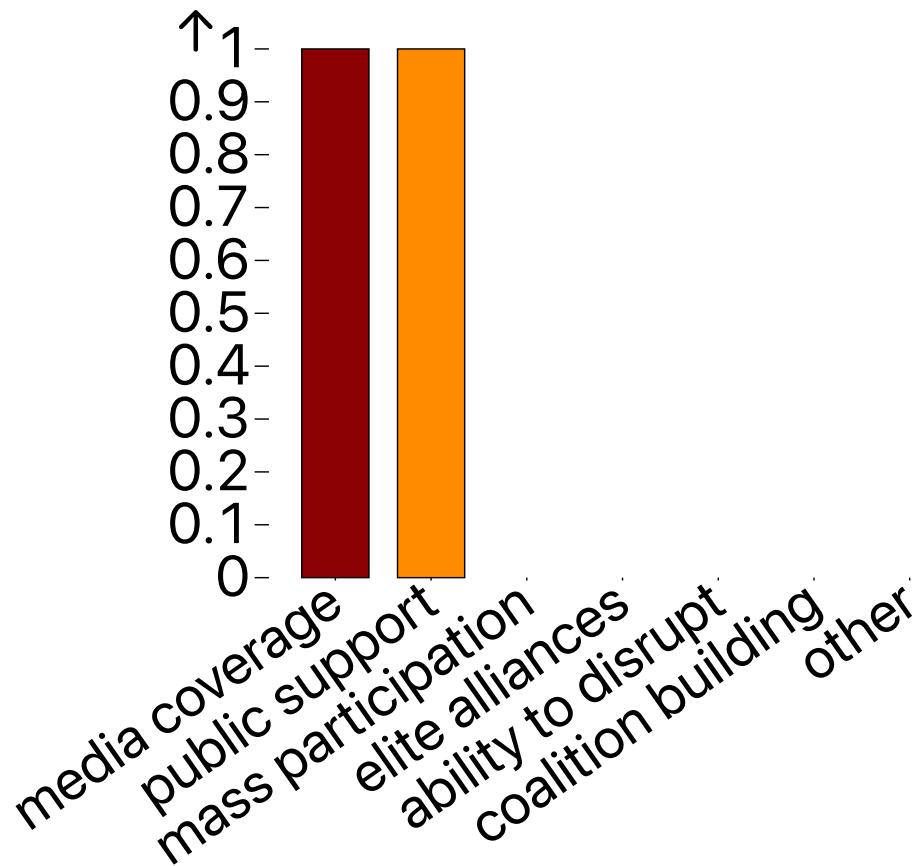
Prior methods class



Prior analytical software use



About you! Poll results



About you! Poll results



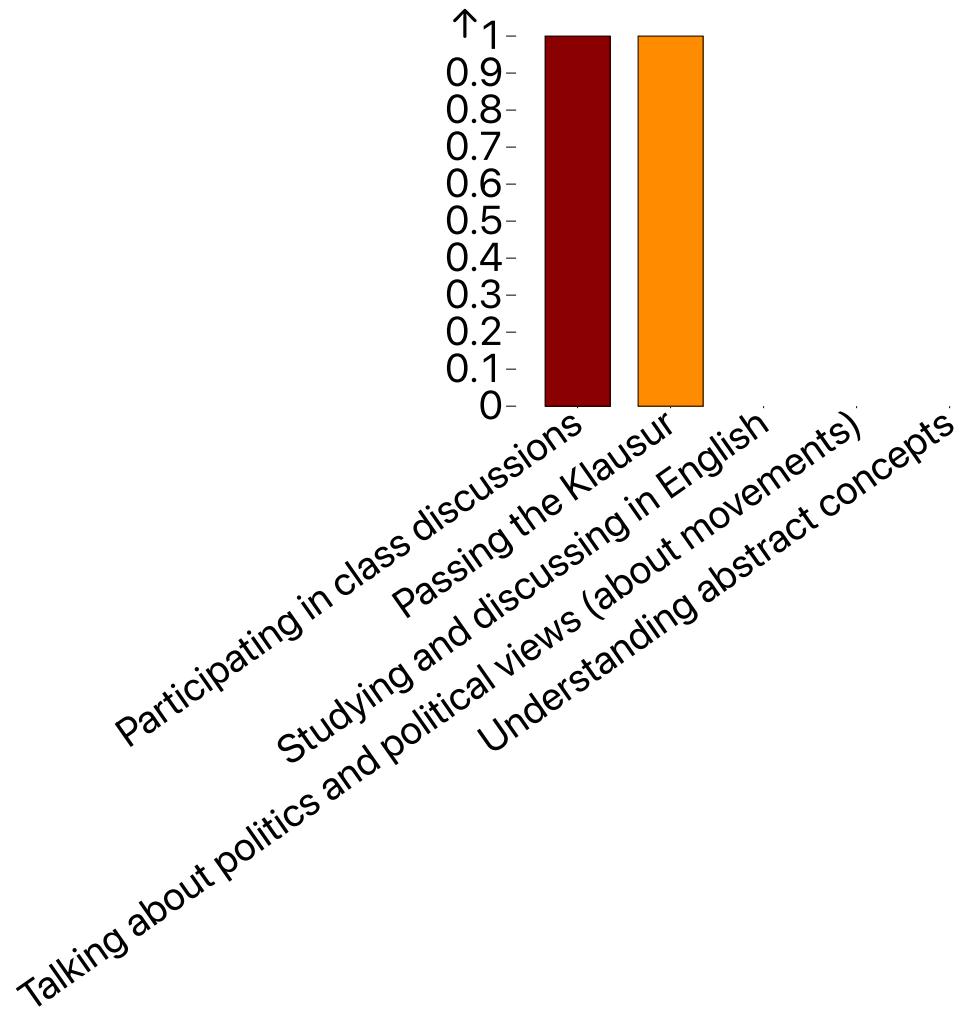
Any particular politically violent group you want to learn more about?

›Array(2) ["civil rights movement", "antifascism"]

About you! Student introductions

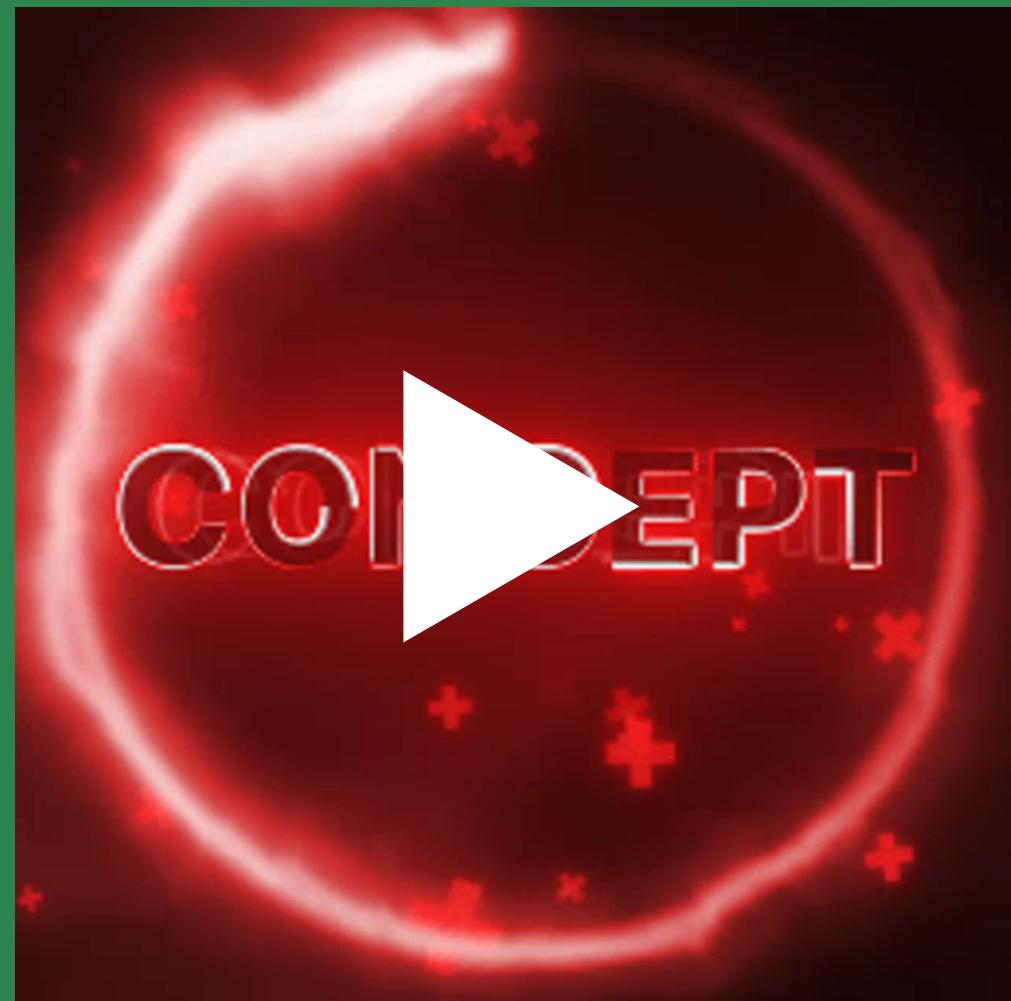
- Information about you, possibly including...
 - Expectations for this course
 - favourite joke
 - Study programme
 - favourite song
 - Country (place) of origin
 - top source for news
 - Background in education/research
 - secret skill
 - Academic/professional aspirations

About you! Poll results: biggest concern



Quick intro to concepts

- concept formation (cf. Adcock and Collier 2001)
- types of concepts



Concept formation

- concepts are the building blocks of social science research
 - a term denoting an abstract idea

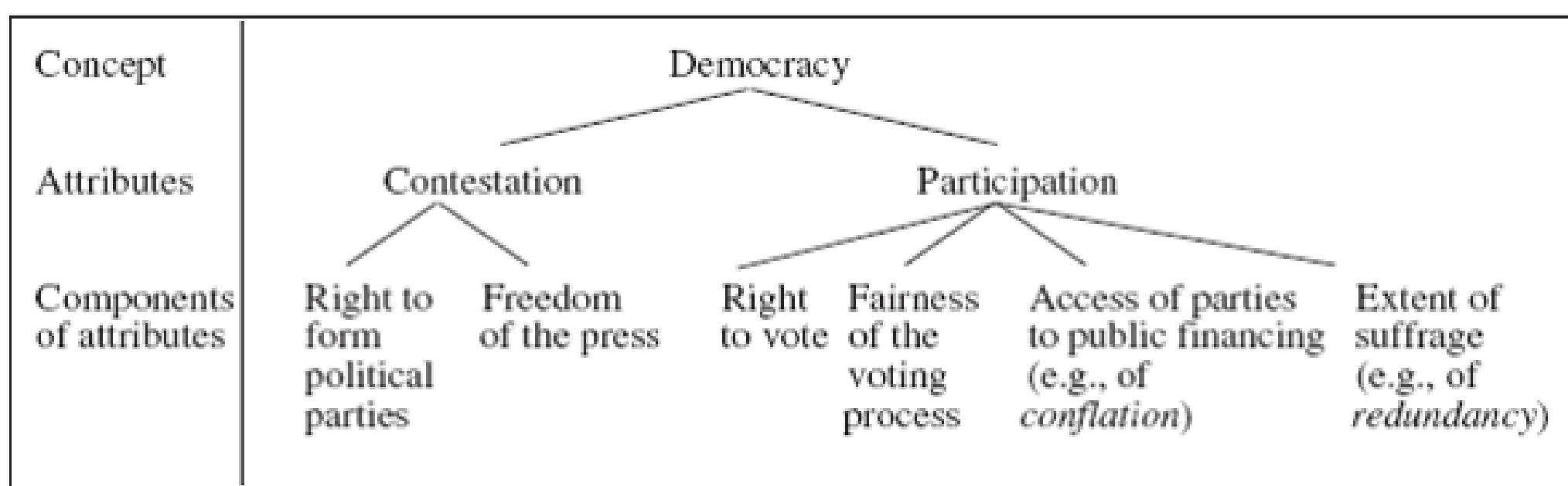


Figure 1. The logical structure of concepts.

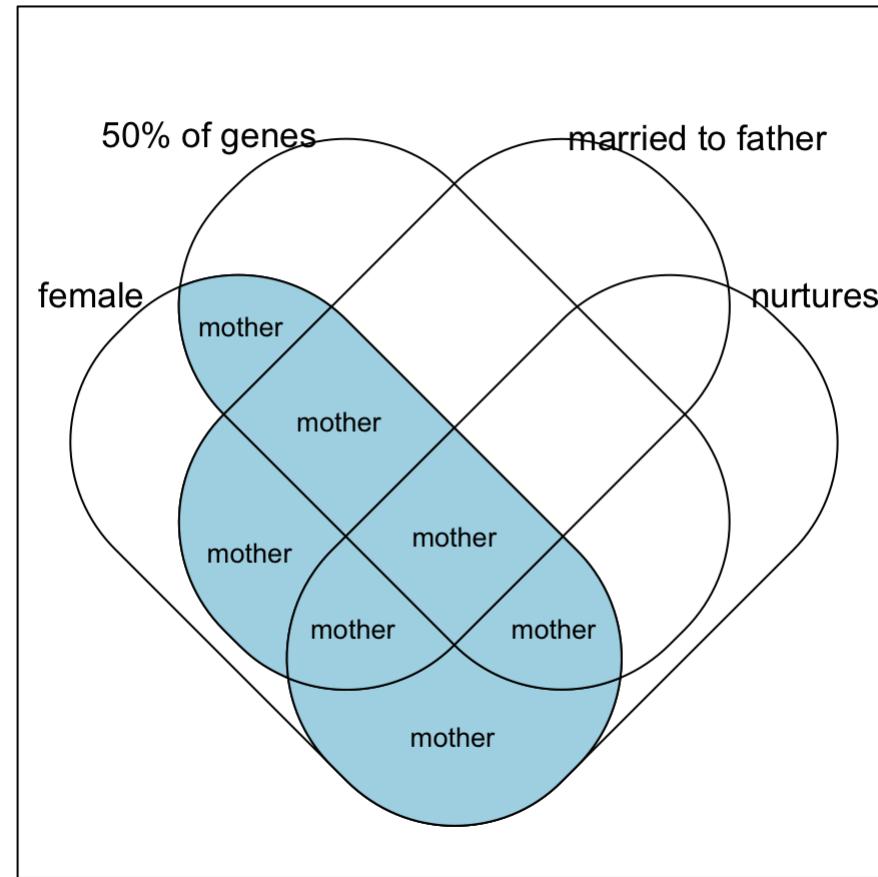
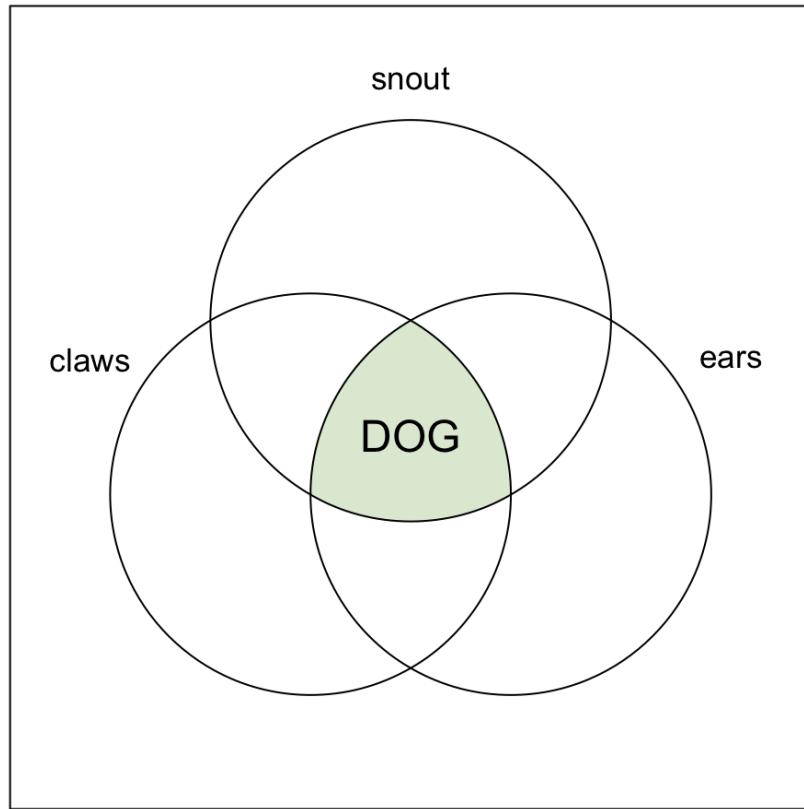
Concept formation

- identifying bounds of concepts
 - See Sartori (1970)
- broadly, three types of concepts in social science
 1. **classical**: all criteria are shared by all cases
 2. **radial**: some criteria are shared by all cases; others are not
 3. **family resemblance**: No criterion is shared by all cases

Visualising classical/radial concepts

Classical concept (all criteria)

Radial concept (all share 'female')



Family resemblance: no criterion shared by all (e.g., games)

Classical vs. radial (Collier and Mahon 1993)

FIGURE 4

Differentiation of Classical and Radial Categories

Classical Category: Dog

	Category	Components		
Primary Category	Dog	A	B	C
Secondary Categories	Retriever	A	B	C D
	Sheepdog	A	B	C E
	Spaniel	A	B	C F

Note: Differentiating characteristics of secondary categories are *in addition to* those of the primary category.

A, B, and C = Hypothetical set of general attributes of dogs

D, E, and F = Hypothetical attributes that differentiate specific types of dogs

Radial Category: Mother

	Category	Components				
Primary Category	Mother	A	B	C	D	E
Secondary Categories	Genetic mother	A	B			
	Birth mother	A		C		
	Nurturing mother	A			D	
	Stepmother	A			E	

Note: Differentiating characteristics of secondary categories are *contained within* the primary category.

A = Female

B = Provides 50% of genetic makeup

C = Gives birth to child

D = Provides nurturance

E = Married to father

Onto our topic: social movements

- conceptual framework
 - key definitions
- prelude to next two meetings
- social movements in *contention*



Tarrow (2011) - conceptual framework

Contentious politics is triggered when changing political opportunities and constraints create incentives to take action for actors who lack resources on their own. People contend through known repertoires of contention and expand them by creating innovations at their margins. When backed by well-structured social networks and galvanized by culturally resonant, action-oriented symbols, contentious politics leads to sustained interaction with opponents – to social movements.

Tarrow (2011) - key definitions

Situating movements, Tarrow (2011) concepts



COLLECTIVE
ACTION

Situating movements, Tarrow (2011) concepts



COLLECTIVE
ACTION

Contentious
collective action

Situating movements, Tarrow (2011) concepts

COLLECTIVE ACTION

Contentious
collective action



Situating movements, Tarrow (2011) concepts

COLLECTIVE ACTION

Contentious
collective action



includes *social movements*

Situating movements, Tarrow (2011) concepts

COLLECTIVE ACTION

Contentious
collective action



includes *social movements*

- respond to threats

Situating movements, Tarrow (2011) concepts

COLLECTIVE ACTION

Contentious
collective action



includes *social movements*

- exploit opportunities
- respond to threats

Situating movements, Tarrow (2011) concepts

COLLECTIVE ACTION

Contentious
collective action



includes *social movements*

- socialise and mobilise constituencies
- exploit opportunities
- respond to threats

Situating movements, Tarrow (2011) concepts

COLLECTIVE ACTION

Contentious collective action



includes *social movements*

- build organisations, resources
- socialise and mobilise constituencies
- exploit opportunities
- respond to threats

Situating movements, Tarrow (2011) concepts

COLLECTIVE ACTION

Contentious
collective action



includes *social movements*

- advance **frames** (ideologies)
- build **organisations, resources**
- **socialise** and **mobilise** constituencies
- exploit **opportunities**
- respond to **threats**

Situating movements, Tarrow (2011) concepts

COLLECTIVE ACTION

Contentious collective action



Contentious politics



includes *social movements*

- advance **frames** (ideologies)
- build **organisations, resources**
- **socialise** and **mobilise** constituencies
- exploit **opportunities**
- respond to **threats**

Social movements in contention (Tarrow 2011, 33)

Contentious
politics
produced

Contentious
politics
crystallised

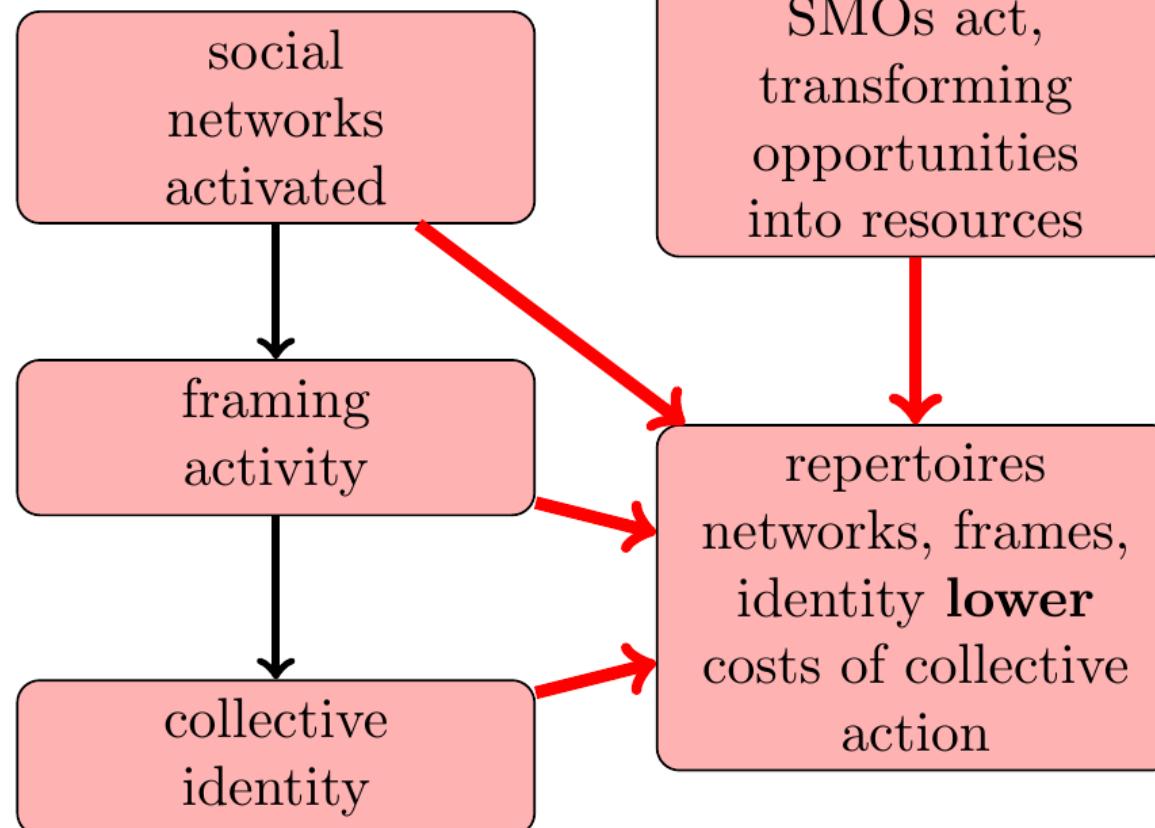
Social
movements
contend

threats experienced,

opportunities perceived,

allies available,

opponent(s) vulnerable



Tarrow (2011), prelude to next two meetings

Parent Scholarship

Marx and Engels, class conflict

structuralist (leaves little room for the mechanisms that actually draw individuals in collective action)

legacy for SMS: class forces and other cleavages spurring collective action

Lenin and resource mobilisation

vanguardism

legacy for SMS: focus on leaders/organisers (mobilising interests) and organisations

Gramsci and cultural hegemony

counterculture of working class can overcome bourgeois hegemonic culture

legacy for SMS: constructivism, prefiguration, and movement impact on culture

Tilly's Polity Model

the structure of the state/polity

legacy for SMS: repertoires of contention, WUNC (worthiness, unity,

Social Movement Studies (SMS)

Collective behaviour theory

(grievances, [relative] deprivation)

Resource mobilisation theory

leadership, organisations, and various resources

Framing and Collective identity theories

'cultural turn' (from anthropology, sociology)

forming consensus in movements

Political process theory

opportunities, constraints, and the structure of contentious politics

Examples of social movements?

What cases are you familiar
with?

What do you know about
them?

How can we categorise them?

Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Anonymous feedback here: <https://forms.gle/AjHt6fcnwZxkSg4X8>

Alternatively, please send me an email: m.zeller@lmu.de

References

- Adcock, Robert, and David Collier. 2001. "Measurement Validity: A Shared Standard for Qualitative and Quantitative Research." *American Political Science Review* 95 (3): 529–46. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055401003100>.
- Collier, David, and James E. Mahon. 1993. "Conceptual 'Stretching' Revisited: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 87 (4): 845–55. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2938818>.
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- Sartori, Giovanni. 1970. "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics." *The American Political Science Review* 64 (4): 1033–53.
- Tarrow, Sidney G. 2011. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511973529>.
- Tilly, Charles. 2004. *Social Movements, 1768-2004*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.