

Class 13: Social Movements online, in effect, dying out, and going forward

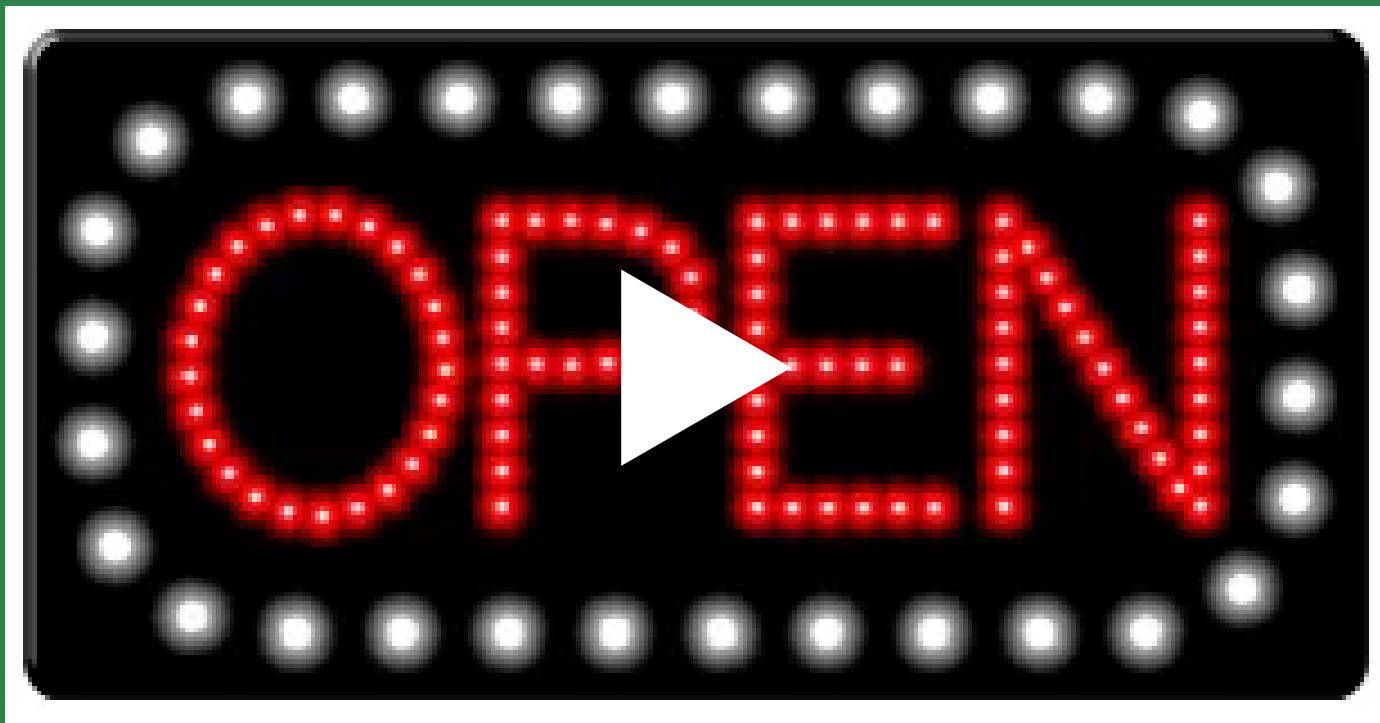
Demobilisation

Dr. Michael C. Zeller

Agenda for the day

- Opening notes
- Key concepts review
- Demobilisation and disengagement
- Poll: Movement demobilisation
- Demobilisation cases
- Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Opening notes



Presentation groups

Presentations line-up

Date	Presenters	Method
4 Dec:	Daichi, Seongyeon, Jehyun	ethnography
8 Jan:	Ayla, Tara, Theresa, Annabelle	discourse analysis
15 Jan:	Luna, Emilene, Raffa, Sofia	TBD

Key concepts review

- social movements - collections of people that mobilise, coordinate, and campaign for some objective
- essay question example
- concepts from previous class meetings



Klausur essay question example

1. Broad introduction
2. Elaborate in detail
3. Describe examples
4. Concluding summary

What sort of impacts can social movements have? Discuss with examples

Theories of social movements, conceptual origins

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

Theories of social movements, conceptual origins

Key concepts (1)

- **opportunities** (Tarrow 2011, 32): “consistent – but not necessarily formal, permanent, or national – sets of clues that encourage people to engage in contentious politics.”
- **political opportunity structure** (Kitschelt 1986, 58) - “are comprised of specific configurations of resources, institutional arrangements and historical precedents for social mobilisation, which facilitate the development of protest movements in some instances and constrain them in others”
 - concept formation of POS should be specific to a given movement

3 POS effects on movements

1. What resources ('coercive, normative, remunerative and informational') can an emergent movement draw upon?



2. How can movements access the public sphere and political decision-making? (what laws regulate such access)

3. Are there other movements that model (and ease) mobilisation and movement emergence?

Key concepts (2)

discursive opportunity structure (Koopmans and Olzak 2004, 202-5): *aspects of the public discourse that determine a message's chances of diffusion in the public sphere*

Discursive opportunity	Description
Visibility	<p>in public sphere, messages > available space (thus, competition)</p> <p>claim makers aim to get messages into public discourse</p> <p>gatekeepers select, shape, amplify, or diminish messages</p> <p>Is the message visible? - a necessary condition to influence discourse</p>
Resonance	<p>Does the message provoke reactions from others in public sphere?</p> <p>Is the message supported? (consonance) --- Is the message opposed? (dissonance)</p> <p>(either can help replicate the message)</p>
Legitimacy	<p>to what degree is the message supported (vs. opposed) in the public sphere?</p> <p>highly legitimate messages may have no resonance at all because they are uncontroversial, while highly illegitimate messages may have strong resonance</p>

Key concepts (3)

- **framing** ('ideology') - the meanings individuals or groups attach to events, developments, activities, and other individuals/groups
 - types of frames: **diagnostic, prognostic, motivational**;
 - *injustice frames* - When problems are attributed to individuals' or groups' ignorance, indifference, or malice, the result is a sense of injustice
 - **master frame**: an overarching frame that smaller/sub-issue frames fit into
 - **counter frame**: a frame opposed to another group's frame (**framing contest**)

Key concepts (4)

- **frame bridging** - linking of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem
- **frame amplification** - idealization, embellishment, clarification, or invigoration of existing values or beliefs
- **frame extension** - depicting an SMO's interests and frame(s) as extending beyond its primary interests to include issues and concerns that are presumed to be of importance to potential adherents
- **frame transformation** - changing old understandings and meanings and/or generating new ones
- **credibility? salience?**

Key concepts (5)

- **social networks** - all belong to multiple netz; some informal
- facilitate **mobilisation** (the process of initiating collective action), share information, coordinate activity
- collective action reshapes networks
- **collective action problem** - challenge of bringing people together in collective action when conflicting interests discourage collective action
- **movement organisations** - the components of *movements*, with more or less defined structure
 - bureaucratic organisations vs. grassroots organisations
 - exclusive affiliations vs. multiple affiliations
- **collective identity** - an *individual's* cognitive, moral and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution's and a shared definition of a group derived from

Key concepts (6)

macro level

cleavages and other divisions in society
political/discursive opportunity
structures for collective action

contextual impact
on identity

action mobilisation

meso level

collective identity
(boundaries, consciousness, negotiation)

consensus
mobilisation

group identification
and participation

micro level

personal and social identities,
bases of group identification

Key concepts (7)

- **strategy** - a combination of a claim (or demand), a tactic, (or venue); alternatively, consisting of 3 elements:
 1. *Targeting* - who/what is being acted upon by tactics
 2. *Tactics* - types of collective action and manner of their performance
 3. *Timing* - some moments present greater opportunity than others
- Remember: strategy is a product of (rational) choice, BUT also a part of collective identity involving moral and emotional commitments
- demonstration vs. direct action
 - *Demonstrations* inconvenience or embarrass authorities and establish the movement's social support but never themselves attain the collective goal

Key concepts (8)

- Gamson (1990) found that violent social movements (incl. 'strikes and disruptive techniques') are more likely than nonviolent to achieve their goal
 - more effective in attracting attention and imposing costs on targets/oppoents - similarly found by Cress and Snow (2000)
- Chenoweth and Stephan (2011): non-violent more than twice as likely to achieve full or partial success compared to violent cases
 - nonviolent campaigns elicit broad and diverse support, create more opposition defections, have more tactical options, often maintain discipline

Key concepts (9)

- **social control hypothesis** (e.g., Piven and Cloward 1979)
 - disruptive protests/tactics allow movements to win concessions in exchange for ending protests/tactics (*coercion* mechanism)
- **mass mobilisation/social pressure hypothesis** (e.g., Chenoweth and Stephan 2011)
 - gaining enough (visible) support to pressure decision-makers into concessions (*consensus/demonstrative/persuasion* mechanisms)
 - implicit appeal to democratic norms
- **radical flank effects** - dynamics between (relatively) moderate and (relatively) radical parts of a movement and their target(s)
 - *positive* effect - compels target/authorities to accept moderate demands
 - *negative* effect - spooks potential elite allies

Key concepts (10)

- McAdam (1983): tactical interaction
 - movements *disrupt* as they mount a challenge
 - authorities/targets *adapt* to tactics, dulling their impact
 - movements *innovate* tactics to maintain effective strategy
 - **this cycle places high demands on movements**

Key concepts (11)

Key concepts (12)

- **party responses to movements:** *dismissive, accommodative, adversarial/oppose*
- **state responses to movements:** ignore/dismiss, oppose (close opportunities, channel, repress), accommodate (encourage institutionalisation, engage in policymaking processes, change policy)

Key concepts (13)

- dimensions of repression:

```
1 library(tidyr)
2 library(kableExtra)
3
4 table_data <- tribble(
5   ~a, ~b, ~c, ~d,
6   "Identity of repressive agent", "State agents tightly connected with national political elites (e.g.,
7
8   "Character of repressive action", "Coercion (e.g., use of tear gas and rubber bullets)", "Channelling
9
10  "Whether repressive action is observable", "Observable (i.e., overt; e.g., Tiananmen Square)", "Unobse
11 )
12
13 kable(table_data, "html", escape = FALSE,
14       col.names = c("", "", "", ""))
15 kable_styling(bootstrap_options = c("striped", "hover", "responsive"), font_size = 28) %>%
16 column_spec(1, bold = TRUE)
```

**Identity of
repressive
agent**

State agents tightly
connected with
national political

State agents loosely
connected with
national political elites

Private agents
(e.g., counter-
demonstrators)

	elites (e.g., military units)	(e.g., local police departments)	
Character of repressive action	Coercion (e.g., use of tear gas and rubber bullets)	Channelling (e.g., restrictions on registered organisations)	
Whether repressive action is observable	Observable (i.e., overt; e.g., Tiananmen Square)	Unobserved (i.e., covert or latent; e.g., COINTELPRO)	

Key concepts (14)

- **countermovement** ('opposing movements') - a movement makes contrary claims simultaneously to those of the original movement

- involve sustained counter-mobilisation
- characterised by *polarisation, dependency, Manicheism, imitation*
- more likely to appear when... (a) originating movement shows signs of success, (b) that success includes threats to existing interests, (c) (elite) allies are available to support counter-mobilisation
- divided governments/authorities are more likely to provoke movement-countermovement contention because they cannot decisively 'close' issues
- federal systems are more likely to sustain movement-countermovement contention because there are venues/arenas

Key concepts (15)

- *internet tools* allow movements...
 - (+) greater speed (and accuracy) of communication, less cost of communication, greater connectivity across distances
 - (-) to scale up without building strong organisation
- **movement impact**
 - on individuals, on organisations, on cultures, on politics
 - positive, negative (backlash), null impacts

Tips for preparing for Klausur

- review class slides
- reread your notes from readings
 - maybe (re-)read a couple of the required readings
- think through cases you know of
- think through other cases we discussed (through readings or your peers' expertise)
- **don't panic**

Demobilisation and disengagement

- demobilisation and disengagement defined
- factors influencing demobilisation



Demobilisation and disengagement defined

Demobilisation (Zeller forthcoming; cf. Davenport 2015)

the **process** whereby **collective action**, whether in the form of campaigns, organisations, or even whole movements, **decreases** and ultimately **ends**

- *positive* demob. - after movement success
- *negative* demob. - with goals still unachieved

Disengagement (cf. Gaudette, Scrivens, and Venkatesh 2022; Fillieule 2009, 2015)

the **process** by which an **individual** leaves their associated extremist group or movement

Note that these definitions cover *decline* and *cessation of activity*

Factors influencing demobilisation

```
1 library(kableExtra)
2 library(tidyverse)
```

```
— Attaching core tidyverse packages ————— tidyverse 2.0.0 —
✓forcats 1.0.0    ✓readr    2.1.5
✓ggplot2 3.5.2    ✓stringr  1.5.1
✓lubridate 1.9.4   ✓tibble   3.3.0
✓purrr    1.2.0

— Conflicts ————— tidyverse_conflicts() —
✖dplyr::filter()    masks stats::filter()
✖dplyr::group_rows() masks kableExtra::group_rows()
✖dplyr::lag()        masks stats::lag()
ℹ Use the conflicted package (<http://conflicted.r-lib.org/>) to force all conflicts to become errors
```

```
1 ## https://haozhu233.github.io/kableExtra/awesome_table_in_html.html
2
3 table_data <- data.frame(
4   LP = c("*Burnout/exhaustion* (inability to continue participation)",
5          "*Lost commitment* (unwillingness to continue participation)",
6          "",
7          ""),
8   OF = c("*Membership loss* (failure to recruit/retain members)",
9          "*Factionalisation* (internal splitting of organisations or coalitions)",
10         "*Rigidity* (failure to adapt according to new circumstances)",
11         ""),
12   SC1 = c("(1) *Identity of",
13          "State agents (actors representing state institutions)",
```

```

14      "(2) *Character of",
15      "Coercion (direct repression; the threat or use of force)",
16  SC2 = c("repressive agent",
17      "Private agents (actors not representing state institutions)",
18      "repressive action",
19      "Channelling (indirect repression, such as resource deprivation, problem depletion)")
20  )

```

Internal		External	
Lost Participation (individual level)	Organisational Failure (group level)	Social control (two dimensions)	
<i>Burnout/exhaustion</i>	<i>Membership loss</i>	<i>(1) Identity of repressive agent</i>	
(inability to continue participation)	(failure to recruit/retain members)	State agents (actors representing state institutions)	Private agents (actors not representing state institutions)
<i>Lost commitment</i>	<i>Factionalisation</i>	<i>(2) Character of repressive action</i>	
(unwillingness to continue participation)	(internal splitting of organisations or coalitions)	Coercion (direct repression; the threat or use of force)	Channelling (indirect repression, such as resource deprivation, problem depletion)
	<i>Rigidity</i>		
	(failure to adapt according to new circumstances)		

Factors influencing demobilisation

causes overlap and interact in different demobilisation processes

1 p

Internal		External	
Lost Participation (individual level)	Organisational Failure (group level)	Social control (two dimensions)	
<i>Burnout/exhaustion</i> (inability to continue participation)	<i>Membership loss</i> (failure to recruit/retain members)	<i>(1) Identity of repressive agent</i> State agents (actors representing state institutions)	<i>(1) Identity of repressive agent</i> Private agents (actors not representing state institutions)
<i>Lost commitment</i> (unwillingness to continue participation)	<i>Factionalisation</i> (internal splitting of organisations or coalitions)	<i>(2) Character of repressive action</i> Coercion (direct repression; the threat or use of force)	<i>(2) Character of repressive action</i> Channelling (indirect repression, such as resource deprivation, problem depletion)
	<i>Rigidity</i>		

Lost Participation
(individual level)

Organisational
Failure (group level)

Social control (two dimensions)

(failure to adapt
according to new
circumstances)



Factors influencing demobilisation

applicable to campaigns, organisations, whole movement sectors

1 p

Internal		External	
Lost Participation (individual level)	Organisational Failure (group level)	Social control (two dimensions)	
<i>Burnout/exhaustion</i> (inability to continue participation)	<i>Membership loss</i> (failure to recruit/retain members)	<i>(1) Identity of repressive agent</i> State agents (actors representing state institutions)	<i>(1) Identity of repressive agent</i> Private agents (actors not representing state institutions)
<i>Lost commitment</i> (unwillingness to continue participation)	<i>Factionalisation</i> (internal splitting of organisations or coalitions)	<i>(2) Character of repressive action</i> Coercion (direct repression; the threat or use of force)	<i>(2) Character of repressive action</i> Channelling (indirect repression, such as resource deprivation, problem depletion)
	<i>Rigidity</i>		

Lost Participation
(individual level)

Organisational
Failure (group level)

Social control (two dimensions)

(failure to adapt
according to new
circumstances)



Poll: Movement demobilisation



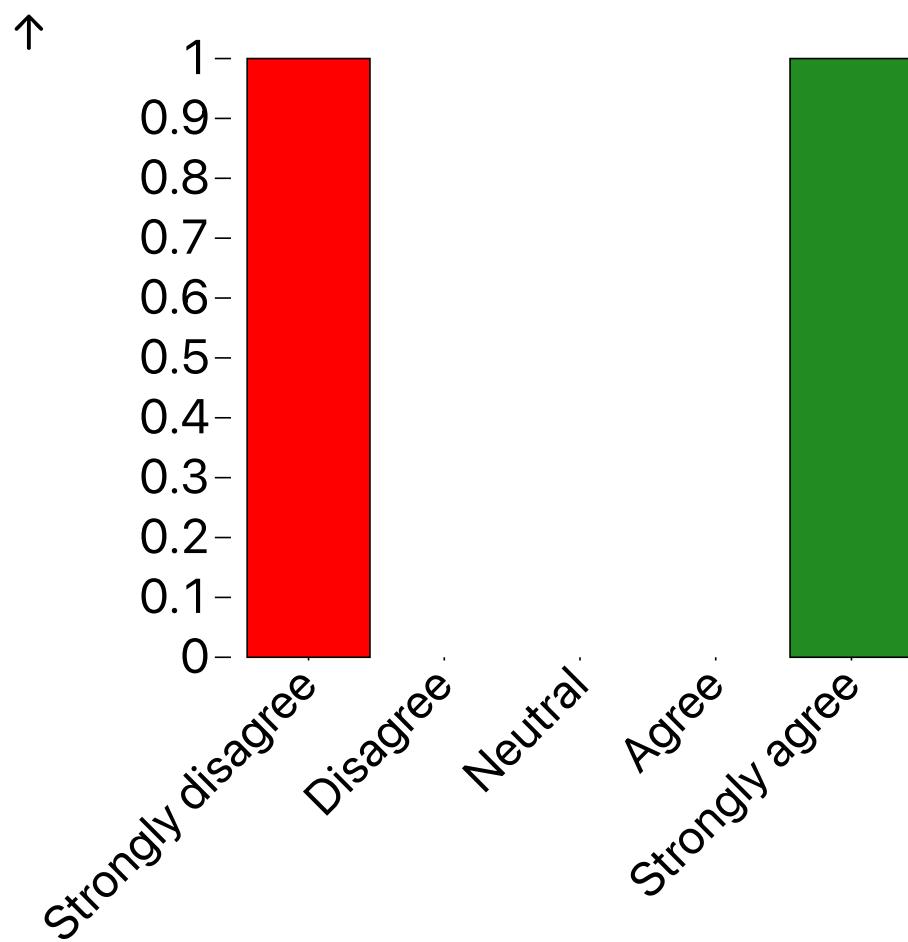
Poll results (Respondents: 2)

What should activists / movements do if their demands are met, goals achieved?

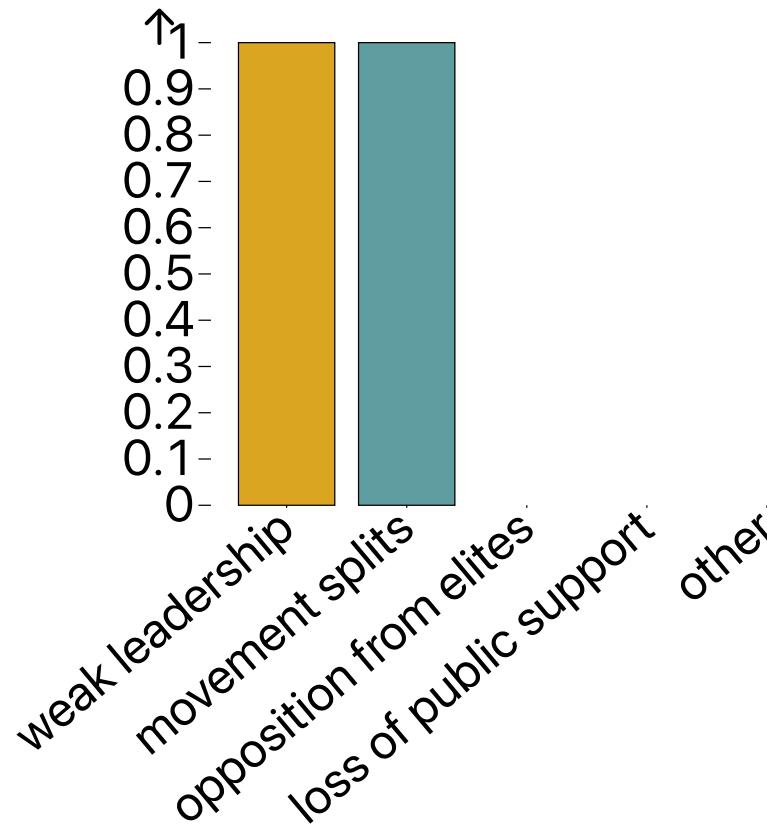
- › Array(2) ["continue mobilising", "stop activism"]

Poll results

with achieved goals,
demobilisation is likely?



most common factor that leads to
the decline of movements?



Poll results - institutionalisation

Demobilisation cases

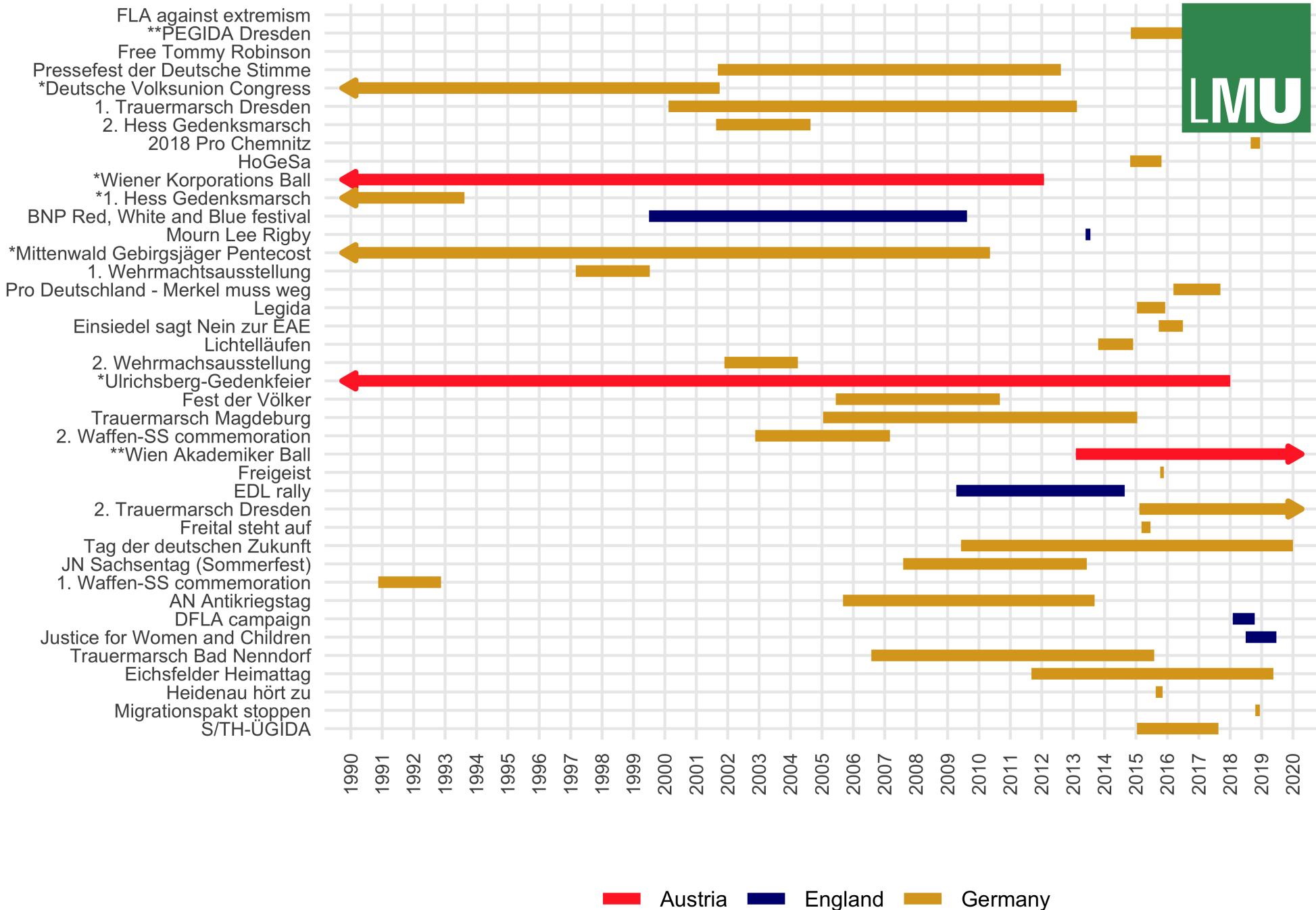
- campaigns
 - campaigns defined
 - far-right movement campaigns examples (Zeller forthcoming)
 - process tracing EDL case (Morrow and Meadowcroft 2018)



Social movement campaigns

- **Campaigns** consist of four elements (della Porta and Rucht 2002; Staggenborg and Lecomte 2009)
 1. a consistent organising actor (an activist[s], an organisation[s]),
 2. temporal boundedness,
 3. strategically linked actions, and
 4. the intention to advance goals

Far-right demonstration campaigns (AT, DE, UK)



What might cause these campaigns to (negatively) demobilise?

What might cause these campaigns to (negatively) demobilise?

- concentrated state channelling (*SCH*)

What might cause these campaigns to (negatively) demobilise?

- concentrated state coercion (*SCO*)
- concentrated state channelling (*SCH*)

What might cause these campaigns to (negatively) demobilise?

- concentrated private channelling (*PCH*)
- concentrated state coercion (*SCO*)
- concentrated state channelling (*SCH*)

What might cause these campaigns to (negatively) demobilise?

- concentrated private coercion (*PCO*)
- concentrated private channelling (*PCH*)
- concentrated state coercion (*SCO*)
- concentrated state channelling (*SCH*)

What might cause these campaigns to (negatively) demobilise?

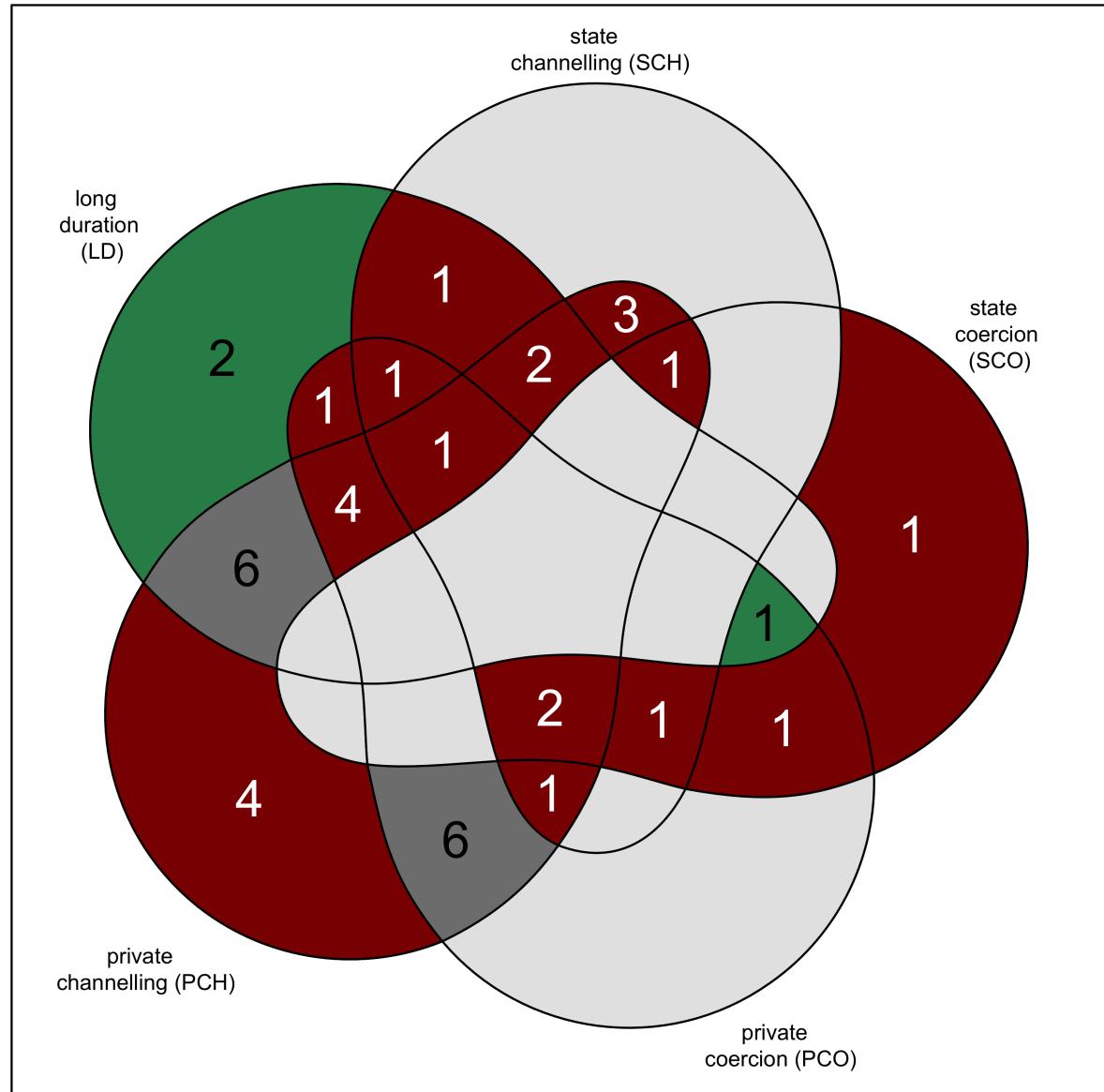
- long duration (*LD*) (on temporality, see Grzymala-Busse 2011)
- concentrated private coercion (*PCO*)
- concentrated private channelling (*PCH*)
- concentrated state coercion (*SCO*)
- concentrated state channelling (*SCH*)

Far-right demobilisation patterns (Zeller forthcoming)

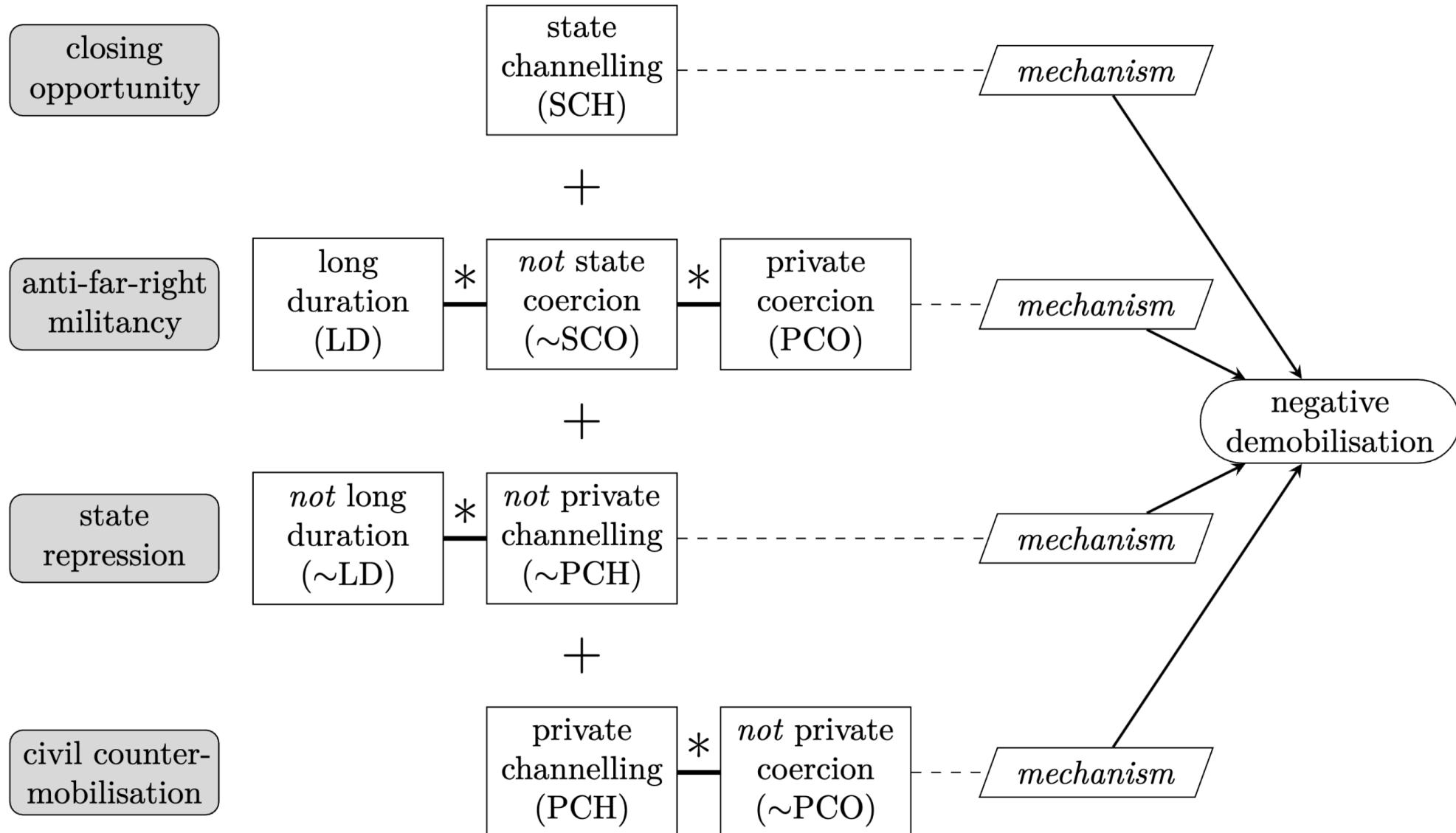
		incls	PRI	covS	covU	cases
closing opportunity	SCH	0.977	0.977	0.408	0.097	HoGeSa, Pressefest der Deutsche Stimme, Eichsfelder Heimattag; AN Antikriegstag; 2. Hess Gedenkmarsch; 1. Hess Gedenkmarsch; 2. Waffen-SS commemoration, Heidenau hört zu; Ulrichsbergfeier; Freital steht auf, 2018 Pro Chemnitz; Tag der deutschen Zukunft; Trauermarsch Bad Nenndorf
state repression	~LD* ~PCH	1	1	0.136	0.087	Freigeist; Sachsentag; 1. Waffen-SS commemoration; 1. Hess Gedenkmarsch
civil counter-mobilisation	~PCO* PCH	0.925	0.923	0.475	0.243	Lichtelläufen Schneeberg, Free Tommy Robinson, FLA against extremism, Justice for Women and Children; HoGeSa, Pressefest der Deutsche Stimme, Eichsfelder Heimattag; 2. Hess Gedenkmarsch; Deutsche Volksunion Congress, PEGIDA Dresden, Legida, EDL rally, Migrationspakt stoppen, S/TH-ÜGIDA; Freital steht auf, 2018 Pro Chemnitz
anti-far-right militancy	LD* ~SCO* PCO	1	1	0.214	0.146	2. Wehrmachtsausstellung; Trauermarsch Magdeburg, BNP Red, White and Blue festival, Wiener Korporations Ball, 1. Trauermarsch Dresden; Tag der deutschen Zukunft; Trauermarsch Bad Nenndorf
Solution		0.949	0.948	0.893		

Far-right demobilisation patterns (Zeller forthcoming)





FR demobilisation *processes* (Zeller forthcoming)



Example of the EDL (Morrow and Meadowcroft 2018)

LMU

LUDWIG-
MAXIMILIANS-
UNIVERSITÄT
MÜNCHEN

English Defence League (EDL)



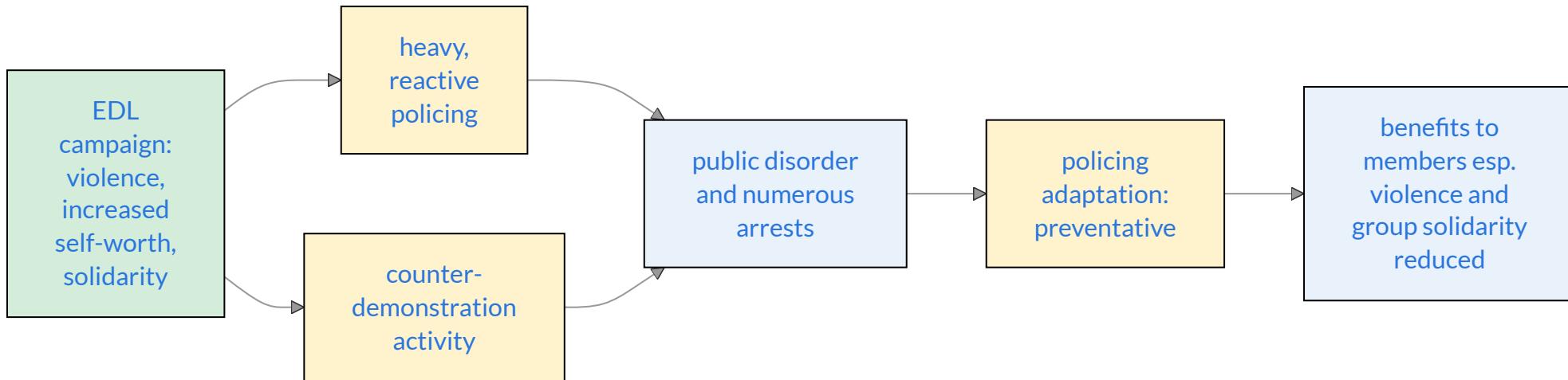
- important case: return to street politics, lots of successors (FLA, DFLA, Free Tommy Robinson, Justice for Women and Children)

Example of the EDL (Morrow and Meadowcroft 2018)



rejection of pluralism and minority rights means [EDL] can properly be considered 'far right' (p545) (cf. Mudde 2019)

EDL (Morrow and Meadowcroft 2018)



From 2012, the police more effectively kept EDL and counter-demonstrations apart, and routed protests away from potential flashpoints such as Islamic centres

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

Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria J. Stephan. 2011. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Cress, Daniel, and David Snow. 2000. "The Outcomes of Homeless Mobilization: The Influence of Organization, Disruption, Political Mediation, and Framing." *American Journal of Sociology* 105 (4): 1063–1104.

Davenport, Christian. 2015. *How Social Movements Die*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139649728>.

della Porta, Donatella, and Dieter Rucht. 2002. "The Dynamics of Environmental Campaigns." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 7 (1): 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-53910-2_10.

Doherty, Brian, and Graeme Hayes. 2018. "Tactics and Strategic Action." In *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by David A Snow, Sarah A Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Holly J McCammon, 271–88. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119168577.ch15>.

Fillieule, Olivier. 2009. "Disengagement from Radical Organizations. A Process and Multi-Level Model of Analysis." In *Movements in Times of Transition*, edited by Bert Klandermans and Cornelius van Stralen, 1–29. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

—. 2015. "Demobilization and Disengagement in a Life Course Perspective." In *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*, edited by Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani, 277–88. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gamson, William A. 1990. *The Strategy of Social Protest*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing.

Gaudette, Tiana, Ryan Scrivens, and Vivek Venkatesh. 2022. "Disengaged but Still
Pathways Out of Violent Right-Wing Extremism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 34 (1-2): 1-26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2022.2082288>.

Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2011. "Time Will Tell? Temporality and the Analysis of Causal Mechanisms and Processes." *Comparative Political Studies* 44 (9): 1267-97. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414010390653>.

Kitschelt, Herbert P. 1986. "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 16 (1): 57-85.

Koopmans, Ruud, and Susan Olzak. 2004. "Discursive Opportunities and the Evolution of Right-Wing Violence in Germany." *American Journal of Sociology* 110 (1): 198-230. <https://doi.org/10.1086/386271>.

McAdam, Doug. 1983. "Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency." *American Sociological Review* 48 (6): 735-54.

Morrow, Elizabeth A, and John Meadowcroft. 2018. "The Rise and Fall of the English Defence League: Self-Governance, Marginal Members and the Far Right." *Political Studies* 67 (3): 539-56. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321718777907>.

Mudde, Cas. 2019. *The Far Right Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Piven, Francis Fox, and Richard A Cloward. 1979. *Poor People's Movements*. New York: Vintage Books.

Polletta, Francesca, and James M Jasper. 2001. "Collective Identity and Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27 (1): 283-305.

Staggenborg, Suzanne, and Josée Lecomte. 2009. "Social Movement Campaigns: Mobilization and Outcomes in the Montreal Women's Movement Community." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 14 (1): 1-22. <https://doi.org/10.1215/10629024-08-001>.

International Quarterly 14 (2): 163–80.

Tarrow, Sidney G. 2011. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511804366>

Taylor, Verta. 1989. “Social Movement Continuity: The Women’s Movement in America.” *American Sociological Review* 54 (5): 761–75.

Tilly, Charles. 2008. *Contentious Performances*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511804366>.

Zeller, Michael C. forthcoming. *Demobilising the Far Right: Patterns and Processes from Demonstration Campaigns in Germany, England, and Austria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.