

ipb annual conference 2025: Protests and Social Movements between Innovation and Tradition

Annual conference of the Institute for Social Movement and Protest Studies in cooperation with SOCIUM, FGZ & ZEMKI at the University of Bremen

1 & 2 October 2025, University of Bremen, [Forum am Domshof](#), Domshof 26, 28199 Bremen



Social Movements have a long history. Charles Tilly locates the emergence of modern social movements in the second half of the 18th century. But of course public uprisings and various forms of protest go back in time much longer. Throughout history social movements have learned from other movements, have modified their organizational forms and forms of political intervention. And they were and are very innovative: New forms of protest have been and still are being invented, new issues have been addressed, and new forms of community are advocated and sometimes prefiguratively tried out.

But protests and social movements are also discontinuous. Often, they seem to emerge almost spontaneously, and to the surprise of political observers, researchers and even activists. The Arab Spring, Black Lives Matter, or Fridays for Future are all examples of massive protest waves with dynamics that surprised almost everybody and whose emergence nobody had foreseen. The same is true for populist and right-wing mobilizations like the Tea Party, PEGIDA, or the Yellow Vests. At this year's ipb annual conference, we want to focus on this remarkable simultaneity of (historical) continuity and innovation of social movements and protests.

You can also find the programme and further information [here](#).

Programme at a glance

Mi. 1.10.2025		Kassenhalle	Raum 1	Raum 2	Raum 3	Raum 4	Raum 5
ab 12:00		Registration					
13:00– 13:30	Welcome	Welcome					
13:45 – 15:15	Session 1		Protests in Non-Democratic Regimes I	Climate Protests I		Politisierung jenseits von Antagonismus und Disruption	
15:15 – 15:45	Coffee break	Coffee break					
15:45 – 17:15	Session 2		Protests in Non-Democratic Regimes II	Climate Protests II	Student and Youth Movements	Roundtable: Gegenöffentlichkeit gestern und heute	Historical Perspectives
17:30 – 18:30	Keynote	Knud Andresen					
18:30	Reception						

Do. 2.10.2025		Kassenhalle	Raum 1	Raum 2	Raum 3	Raum 4	Raum 5
09:00 – 10:30	Session 3		Protests in Non-Democratic Regimes III	Global Mobilizations for Democracy and the Climate: Rethinking Justice, Transformation and Agency Beyond the Human	Protest Waves and Dynamics	Rechtsradikale Proteste	Repertoires of Protest I
10:30 – 11:00	Coffee	Coffee break					
11:00 – 12:30	Session 4		Protest and Civil Society under Far-right Dominance I	Klimaproteste III	Protests and the War in Ukraine	Dynamics and drivers of mobilization	Repertoires of Protest II
12:30 – 13:30	Lunch	Self organized					
13:30 – 15:00	Session 5		Protest and Civil Society under Far-right Dominance II	The Contentious Politics of Palestine and Israel Solidarity in Germany	Intra-movement dynamics: cooperation, competition, transformation?	Why Methods Matter: Methodological Reflections on Online Protest Research in Digital Spaces	Spatial Analysis and the Role of Locality and Space for Protests
15:15 – 16:00	Closing remarks/short roundtable						

Detailed programme

Wednesday 1 October 2025: 13:45 – 15:15

Session 1, Room 1: Protests in Non-Democratic Regimes I

- Daniel Morgenstern, Theresa Gessler, Leander Kraft: Opposition in Contentious Episodes of Autocratization
- Mohsen Amiri, Tareq Sydiq: Be-Sharaf: The Grammar of Revolutionary Disrespect / A Multi-Method Discourse Study of Gendered Profanity, Performativity, and Ideological Rupture in Iran's 2022 Jina Uprising
- Mariia Kalugina: From Petitions to Protest: The Mobilizing Effects of Authoritarian Ambivalence

Session 1, Room 2: Climate Protests I

- Eva-Lotte Schwarz: Does Strategy Matter? Agentic Perspectives on the Contestation of Fossil Fuel Corporations
- Felix Anderl: Medium Confidence: Climate Justice Activism, Radical Flanks, and the Difficulties of Theorizing Protest Outcomes
- Sebastian Koos, Adrian Rinscheid: Pushed by urgency, pulled back by radical actions: Unveiling public perceptions of climate activism
- Henri Mütschele: Claiming Legitimacy: Continuities and Adaptations in Argumentative Strategies of German Climate Movements

Session 1, Room 4: Politisierung jenseits von Antagonismus und Disruption

- Kai van Eikels: Versammeln ausgehend von unseren Schwächen: Workshop-Kollektivität als Präfiguration eines besseren Lebens
- Madeleine Sauer: Alltagspraxen als Politisierung jenseits von Antagonismus und Disruption? Intersektional-hegemonietheoretische Perspektiven
- Helge Schwiertz: Horizontale Citizenship: Eine Revision politischer Subjektivität anhand urbaner sozialer Bewegungen
- Judith Vey: Drei Möglichkeiten der Hegemonialisierung und ihre Anwendbarkeit zur Analyse nicht-antagonistischer Politisierungsprozesse

15:15 – 15:45: Coffee Break

Wednesday 1 October 2025: 15:45 – 17:15

Session 2, Room 1: Protests in Non-Democratic Regimes II

- Angelina Kozlovskaja: Invasion as a Disaster: War Discontent in Russia's Kursk Region

- Ilker Kalin: Manufacturing Consent: Polarization and the New Toolkit of Protest Repression
- Anupam Debashis Roy: The Unvanquished: Why did Bangladesh's July Uprising Thrive under Repression where Prior Student-led Movements Demobilised?
- Bernadett Sebaly: Why Some Housing Struggles Succeed: A Comparative Case Study of Movement Strategies in Hungary between 1987 and 2024

Session 2, Room 2: Climate Protests II

- Ceren Cevik: Environmental Injustice and Digital Resistance: Social Media Discourses on Displacement in Turkey
- André Schmale, Karoline Augenstein, Boris Bachmann: Fridays for Future and the Narrative Struggle over the Future: Continuity and Innovation in Climate Protest Discourse
- Sophia Hunger, Daniel Saldivia Gonzatti, Carina Siebler: Mediatized Radical Flank Effects: How Radical Protests Affect Media Portrayals of Social Movements
- Nicole Milman-Doerr: Visual, Digital Technologies, and Diffusion: FFF vs the far right; Germany, Austria, Sweden

Session 2, Room 3: Student and Youth Movements

- Beatriz Fernandes da Silva: A Site of Learning and of Protest: The Evolution of Student Activism at the University of Amsterdam, 2015–2025
- Egesu Sayar-Aydeniz: Repertoire of Memory in Contemporary Student Movements in Turkey
- Rabia Yazar, Dursun Can Şimşek: From Gezi to Saraçhane: Evolving Practices of Resistance — A Comparative Analysis of Protest Repertoires in Turkey

Session 2, Room 4: Roundtable: Gegenöffentlichkeit gestern und heute

Moderation: Armin Scholl and Simon Teune

- Tanja Thomas
- Jan Bönkost
- Marlene Strehler-Schaaf

Session 2, Room 5: Historical Perspectives

- Mathis Ebbinghaus: Decoupling social movements from modernity: a critical reappraisal of Charles Tilly's theory on the origins of social movements
- Dieter Rucht: Repertoires of Protest from the 14th Century to the Present in Europe: Description and Explanation
- Aaron Augsburger: Plurinationalism and the temporalities of social change in Bolivia

Wednesday 1 October 2025: 17:30 – 18:30

Keynote Address: Knud Andresen, Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte Hamburg

18:30 – 19:30: Reception

20:00: Besuch und Abendausklang im Archiv der sozialen Bewegungen

Das Bremer Archiv ist eines der großen themenübergreifenden Bewegungsarchive im deutschsprachigen Raum. Mit Wurzeln zurück bis in die Anti-AKW-Bewegung der 1970er Jahre sammelt es in seiner jetzigen Form seit bald drei Jahrzehnten Material aus linken Widerstands-, Protest- und Alternativbewegungen. Beim Besuch geben Menschen aus der Archivgruppe einen Einblick in das Archiv und ihre Arbeit, schwärmen vom Anspruch und klagen über die Realität unabhängiger linker Archivpraxis – bis das Ganze mit Getränken gegen Spende in einen gemütlichen Abend mündet.

Ort: Archiv der sozialen Bewegungen Bremen, c/o Infoladen Bremen, St. Pauli Strasse 12, 28203 Bremen (das ist fußläufig vom Tagungsort zu erreichen, z. B. um 19:45 gemeinsam vom Gebäudeeingang aus).

Damit wir das Interesse abschätzen können, gerne schon vorab unter info@archivbremen.de melden.

Thursday 2 October 2025: 09:00 – 10:30

Session 3, Room 1: Protests in Non-Democratic Regimes III

- Ayat Mirzaie: The Publicization and Convergence of Social Movements in Iran: Innovative Dynamics and Continuity in Collective Action
- Niko Vandebos, Anna Kern: Conceptualising „shrinking space“
- Zahra Babaei: Beyond Repression: The Middle Class and the Failure of the Democratic Movement in Post-Zhina Iran

Session 3, Room 2: Global Mobilizations for Democracy and the Climate: Rethinking Justice, Transformation and Agency Beyond the Human

Panel Organisation and Moderation: Antje Daniel, Nicole Doerr, Sabrina Zajak

- Bob Kurik, Lucia Roncikova: Kiltra resistance: Doing autonomous politics with street dogs in post-uprising Chile
- Nicole Milman Doerr: Nature as a Third constituting subject for democracy in North/South climate activism
- Nasima Selim, Amirul Rajiv, Naim Ul Hasan, Pavel Partha: Breathing Resistance in Dhaka: Toxic Elements, Fighting for Green Space and More than Human Right to Respiration in Bangladesh

- Sabrina Zajak: Prefiguring Eco-Democratic Knowledge Practices: Wilderness Camps as Laboratories for Transformative Democracy

Session 3, Room 3: Protest Waves and Dynamics

- Deren Onursal: Handcuffs and Backlash: Arrest, Torture, and Dynamics of Dissent
- Peter Nikolaus Funke: Cycles of Struggle: Capitalism and Social Movements from 1994 to today
- Ivaylo Dinev: Protest Waves and Political Transformation in Southeastern Europe: A Long-Term Perspective

Session 3, Room 4: Rechtsradikale Proteste

- Lotta Mayer, Markus Lang: Kontinuität und Wandel der extremen Rechten in Deutschland. Eine historisch informierte bewegungssoziologische Perspektive
- Stefan Manser-Egli, Johannes Truffer: Rechts/alternativ? Alte Eidgenossen und neue Staatsverweigerer
- Johanna Fröhlich: „Wir sind das Volk“: Zwischen Tradition und Innovation in der neuen rechten Bewegung
- Seul A Lee: Zweiprotest gegen und für Präsidentschaft von Yoon: Kerzendemonstration und far-right Demonstration 2024/2025

Session 3, Room 5: Repertoires of Protest I

- Svenja Spyra: Visuality, symbolism and protest: The case of (re-)presenting (queer) femme-ininity in Germany
- Zorica Sirocic: Creative contention – a conceptual proposal
- Dorte Fischer: From Protest to Courtroom: Understanding the Role of Criminal Trials in Collective Action
- Monika Onken: Big or Go Home: How Violent Tactics Polarize Participation in Nonviolent Campaigns

10:00 – 10:30: Coffee Break

Thursday 2 October 2025: 11:00 – 12:30

Session 4, Room 1: Protest and Civil Society under Far-right Dominance I

- Davide Rocchetti, Andrea Pirro: No more space for dissent? Contentious responses to far-right restrictions on protest rights in Italy.
- Thalles Vichiato Breda: The Homeless Workers Movement under Authoritarian Governments: Redefining Strategies and Political Subjects in Post-Coup Brazil

Session 4, Room 2: Klimaproteste III

- Louisa Pröschel, Hendrik Meyer: (Disruptive) Climate Protests in a Contested Media Space: Polarization Between Connective Action and Right-Wing Resistance
- Claudia Thoms, Tobias Schrimpf: Whodunit? Eine Inhaltsanalyse von Akteuren und ihren semantischen Rollen in der deutschen Berichterstattung über die Klimabewegung
- Tim Lotz: Unusual Advocacy Coalition Partners? Exploring the development of policy positions on the hydrogen economy among the climate movement and key industry actors
- Ruben Kaiser: Von Science for the People zu Listen to the Science? – Scientific Political Activism in sozial-ökologischen Bewegungen

Session 4, Room 3: Protests and the War in Ukraine

- Tatiana Lysova: Activism Adaptation under Pressure: Navigating Transnational Repression in Russian Anti-War Mobilisations
- Svetlana Chuikina: Backstage media and politics of resistance – in Russian authoritarian, militarised and exile contexts.
- Tatiana Golova, Veronika Danilova: Cooperation in the Russian Anti-War Movement: The Case of Platforma
- Anna Kalinina: Mediating Collective Action: The Role of Telegram Chat Bots in the Russian Anti-War Networks

Session 4, Room 4: Dynamics and drivers of mobilization

- Clara Martiny: Activism in Airplane Mode: Evolving Uses of Social Media and Digital Tools for Protest in the United States, 2020 to Today
- Johanna Raphaela Wahl, Martina Schiebel: Generationen im Protest. Zwischen Tradierung und Wandel sozialer Bewegungen
- Adam Hobbs, Deren Onursal: Unemployed and Provoked: Political Trust and Protest Activity Among Unemployed Individuals
- Jūratė Imbrasaitė: Urban Collective Action around Green Spaces: a Case of Lithuania

Session 4, Room 5: Repertoires of Protest II

- Umesh Joshi: Disrupt and Prefigure: The remaking of repertoires of contention in India
- Seyma Esin Erben: Hesitations in the Use of Generative Artificial Intelligence in Local Activism: The Case of Moviment Graffiti in Malta
- Kai Heidemann: From eco-anxiety to eco-social action: Exploring repertoires of eco-pedagogical praxis in francophone Belgium

12:30 – 13:30: Lunch Break

Thursday 2 October 2025: 13:30 – 15:00

Session 5, Room 1: Protest and Civil Society under Far-right Dominance II

- Christin Jänicke, Hans-Jonas Gunzelmann: Unsolicited Collaborators: Examining Civil Society Responses under Far-Right Hegemony
- Larissa Meier, Pal Susanszky, Sebastian Haunss, Priska Daphi: Challenging the Far Right? Local Protest Dynamics in Gera and Jena
- Michael Zeller: Organisational Bans and Far-Right Movement Ecologies
- Nils Zimmer: Endangered Free Spaces: Youth-Cultural Counter-Hegemonies in the Context of Right-Wing Normalisation

Session 5, Room 2: The Contentious Politics of Palestine and Israel Solidarity in Germany

- Clemens Arzt: Freedom of Speech and Assembly after October 7, 2023 – When “Reason of State” (Staatsräson) beats Law
- Maren Wegner, Daniela Hunold, Aaron Reudenbach: Legitimizing Repression: Ethnic Framing and the Racialization of Pro-Palestine Protest in Berlin
- Vittoria Caradonna: Forbidden words, forbidden thoughts. Memory, solidarity and lessons to unlearn in Berlin.
- Jannis Julien Grimm, Lilian Mauthofer, Thaddäa Sixta, Elias Steinhilper: Silences, Segmented Publics, and Conflicting Representations: The Contentious Politics of Palestine Solidarity in Berlin
- Jannis Julien Grimm, Lilian Mauthofer: From the Classroom to the Streets: The Securitization of German Higher Education through the Prism of Palestine Solidarity

Session 5, Room 3: Intra-movement dynamics: cooperation, competition, transformation?

- Marius Haberland, Jill Blau: Dinge gemeinsam bewegen. Die innovative Kraft von kollektivem Organisieren. Perspektiven auf die Schnittmenge von Bewegungs- und Organisationsforschung.
- Daniel Saldivia Gonzatti, Jan Schwalbach, Endre Borbáth: Movement parties and parliamentary speech in Latin America and Europe
- Finn Klebe: Repression Within and Without: The Dual Impact of State Violence on Patterns of Cooperation in Resistance Movements
- Ilse Lenz: Transformations, reflexivity and international impulses in women’s movements. A longterm comparative perspective on Germany and Japan

Session 5, Room 4: Why Methods Matter: Methodological Reflections on Online Protest Research in Digital Spaces

- Michael Linke: Peering into the Black Box: A Mechanistic Interpretability Approach for Protest News Classification
- Hendrik Meyer, Patrick Zerrer, Vasilisa Kuznetsova, Lisa Merten, Cornelius Puschmann: The missing piece in the puzzle? Examining the relationship between news exposure, climate importance and participation
- Patrick Zerrer, Stephanie Geise: Check, Choose, Commit: A Mixed-Methods Study of Mobile Media Participation

- Anna Ricarda Luther, Andreas Breiter, Stephanie Geise, Sebastian Haunss, Hendrik Heuer: Using Delphi to Understand Activist Needs
- Stephanie Geise, Valerie Hase, Annett Heft, Merja Mahrt: From Promises to Practice: How Digital and Computational Methods Are Transforming Online Protest Research

Session 5, Room 5: Spatial Analysis and the Role of Locality and Space for Protests

- Peter Gardner, Tiago Carvalho, Tom O'Brien, Erin Rose Newman-Grigg: "1,000 km of just nothingness": Geography, networks and space in the organisation of Extinction Rebellion Australia
- Philipp Srama: Local Dynamics of Migration-Related Protest – A Case Study
- Liubov Chernysheva: Managing Locality: Digital Infrastructures and the Reconfiguration of (Urban) Space
- Alexander Araya López: The Spatiality of Dissent: Practices, Discourses, and the Contested Limits of Protest Events