

Public Space as Protest Space: Between Visibility and Insecurity

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Abstract: Public space in the European City is, by definition, a place of political publicity, debate and open exchange of opinions. Social movements use public space to create visibility and to express their political, social, or ideological perspectives and demands. Looking at the situation nowadays one can observe cleavages between right-wing and left-wing groups on the one hand, and an increasing eventisation of protests - a "pleasure for the state of exception" or "event-driven protest" - on the other hand. What do these developments mean for public space and its inherent qualities? How do protesters assess the situation? Based on the results of quantitative surveys of participants two types of protest are contrasted: 1) a conflicting political demonstration march 2) a less conflicting and more festivalized Christopher Street Day parade. The results show significant differences in the visitors' structure, motivations, the individual perception of the events and the perception of security and presence of police. The framework conditions of protest have an effect on public space: If they implicate security risks and instrumentalize or abuse the purposes of specific groups, there is a considerable impact on its accessibility, usability, and political quality.

Keywords: public space, protest, visibility, insecurity

Introduction

Political and social protests are omnipresent in public spaces of cities. They represent a central form of political participation outside parties and institutions and draw attention to current social and political conflicts. Protest topics and forms are diverse. They range from peaceful, festivalised parades to violent protests with massive riots. Media representations often focus on violent conflicts between controversial groups or between demonstrators and police, as in the case of the G20 protests in Hamburg/Germany (Hunold *et al.* 2018). Violence, fires, and looting (Rucht, 2019) also occurred repeatedly in the context of the protests of the yellow vests in France against President Macron's reform policies. Overall, changes in the protest culture are observed in Germany (Rucht and Teune, 2017): an increasing form of violence can be observed (Hutter and Teune, 2012, Nassauer, 2016) on the one hand, but on the other hand also an eventisation, an increase in "event-driven protests" and the "pleasure for a state of exception" (Betz, 2016, Blickhan and Teune, 2003).

Social movements and protests are usually investigated with regard to their origins, conditions, and contents. The "Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes" (PEGIDA, Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident) protests and their counter-demonstrations in Germany, as an example of conflictual demonstrations between right-wing and left-wing political

groups, are discussed from an identity-theoretical perspective. In addition, the focus is on the social composition of the participants, their motivation, mobilization, protest experiences, and political positioning (Patzelt, 2015, Vorländer *et al.* 2016). Research on parades such as Christopher Street Day (CSD) usually focuses on identity constructions and gender stagings (Kates and Belk, 2001). Spatial interactions and, above all, limits to the use of public spaces as settings for social movements are given little consideration in research. This article aims at filling this gap.

The current discussion on public space is concerned with various developments that endanger its qualities. At present, privatisation tendencies and increasing subjective feelings of insecurity are discussed as limiting the usability of public spaces. Exclusive practices lead to the fact that not all social groups can make equal use of their civil rights. The conditions for protests in the public sphere are also changing with increasing uncertainty and changed controlling options. Two contrasting case studies illustrate the importance of context of protests and their different effects on the usability of public spaces. Both can be located in the context of visibility and uncertainty and will be discussed in a final step.

Public Space: Heterogeneity and Visibility

Public sphere and the right to demonstrate are fundamental principles of democratic society and an essential element of cities and their culture (Schäfers, 2006). The central element of this public sphere is the principle of general access to places or assemblies. Publicity also implies transparency for all citizens with regard to matters of public interest. It is a prerequisite for generating (public) opinions and a way of bringing issues into public debate or onto the political agenda (Neidhardt, 1994). Speakers and audience meet, topics are visible and negotiated. The public sphere is thus a necessary condition for the effectiveness of social movements.

Public spaces are (ideally) freely accessible to all citizens and are therefore characterized by a high degree of heterogeneity among the population groups (Bahrdt, 2006, Sennett, 2008). They offer opportunities for the most diverse encounters, the expression of individual lifestyles, cultural differences, and the open exchange of opinions. Public spaces can be places of representation and can be described as "stages of visibility" for various political, social, or ideological points of view (Gusy, 2011).

The public character of a space, however, is only created by the people who use it. "... what makes a space public – a space in which the cry and demand for the right to the city can be seen and heard – is often not its preordained 'publicness'. Rather, it is when, to fulfill a pressing need, some group or another takes space and through its action makes it public" (Mitchell, 2003, 35). Individuals or groups must occupy space, show presence to be represented and compete with other interests. "... the desire of other groups, other individuals, other classes, together with the violent power of the state, laws about property, and the current jurisprudence on rights all have a role to play in stymieing, channeling, or promoting the 'taking' and 'making' of public space and the claim to representation" (Mitchell, 2003, 35) Negotiation processes for the demands for use of cities and their public spaces become necessary. "Cities not only breed contention; they also breed control. In their ongoing struggles to maintain order and power, local states and their partners develop strategies and techniques to direct the ebbs and flows of contentiousness constantly bubbling up from the urban grassroots. The city is a generative space of mobilizations and, because of this, it is also the frontline where states

constantly create new governmental methods to protect and produce social and political order, including repression, surveillance, clientelism, corporatism, and participatory and citizenship initiatives” (Uitermark *et al.* 2012, 2546). Cities are places where mechanisms of control, regulation, and order of political and social life in general and of social movements in particular are developed.

The symbolic occupation and appropriation of public space represents a claim to power and also creates atmospheres. Protest movements use the public space as a stage to generate attention and visibility. Parades and demonstrations are an expression of how people with shared political or ideological interests come together, form collective identities, and, at the same time, differentiate themselves from contrary views. Protest and social movements are closely connected to the concept of "mass" and the mobilization of masses (Rucht, 2012). Masses of people generate visibility and attention through their mere presence. With regard to protests and social movements, it is a matter of mobilizing "masses" and persuading them to stand up for or against something, to draw attention to social conditions, and exert influence. "Collective protests" strive to reach a broad public and generate public attention and sympathy (Rucht, 2012). A symbolic effect is produced by a large number of participating people (Balisitier, 1996). The central goal of street protest is to create presence, both concretely in space and time, and in form of resonance and effect in the media.

Media contribute to the production of visibility of various political and non-political interest groups, as well as socially relevant topics and areas of conflict, and generates a mobilizing effect. The presence of groups and topics in the media can activate supporters as well as opposing groups (Fahlenbrach, 2009). However, the kind and selection of media representations influence the reception and social perception of protest events. Content is moved to the foreground or to the background, depending on the interests involved. For example, the perception of the demonstrations on May 1st in Germany is shaped by media coverage and largely focuses on the outbreak of left-wing violence (Blickhan and Teune, 2003). This can lead to distortions and scandalisation (Rucht, 2003) and ultimately affect the subjective feeling of security of media recipients. But still it is the occupation of physical space that gives visibility to a protest. Reporting, dissemination, and mobilization via the Internet and social media take on a complementary function.

Current conditions of public spaces as protest spaces

The role of public space in the European city is discussed anew on a theoretical level: changed framework conditions regarding fear of crime, respect, trust, social heterogeneity, and polarization processes have to be introduced into the discourse. At present, the peaceful, tolerant, and stylized public appearance is countered by developments that move the issue of security in the foreground (Koopmans *et al.* 2005). Terrorist threats, xenophobia, and insecurity can also be associated with fear of staying in larger crowds. Transformations of public spaces through increasing privatization and surveillance also give security a new significance (Selle, 2010). These developments can contribute to more security in cities or intensify social divisions and feelings of insecurity (Minton, 2012), and restrict freedoms.

Insecurity

The heterogeneity of its users has always made public space a place of encounter with the other and the unknown, which can also generate feelings of insecurity and uncertainty. This unfamiliarity goes

far beyond the fear of crime (Wehrheim, 2009). Uncertainty caused by otherness can be explained on the one hand by a "knowledge gap" (ibid., 38) towards the foreign, and on the other hand by the perceived endangerment of existing social orders (ibid., 39). Thus, the meaning of security can also be thought of in two dimensions: 1) as protection in the sense of unharmedness, 2) as "security of expectation" (ibid., 40). This distinction is also effective in protests when different lifestyles and worldviews meet.

New threats today include cross-border, transnational activities, and sources of danger, criminal networks and organizations, and extreme violence with extreme consequences (Albrecht, 2010). A divergence between the objective security situation and the subjective perception of security can be observed. This subjective component plays a central role in the discussion about feelings of insecurity in public spaces; i.e. they are not only rational, but strongly emotional. Explanation approaches for the individual perception of insecurity can include victimization experience, the representation of crime in the media, and in a generalization thesis, which associates fear of crime with general fears of life (Albrecht, 2010). The perception of police patrols as well as age and gender also play an important role at the individual micro level with regard to fear of crime (Lüdemann, 2006).

The PEGIDA demonstrations in Germany and their venue, the urban public space, can be seen as a projection surface for fears (Keller and Berger, 2017). Fears and worries play a central role in the narratives of the PEGIDA movement. The communication of fear is a central strategic instrument in the PEGIDA movement and the expression of fear in public space is political action. This has made it possible to mobilize people and reach the "concerned citizen" (Keller and Berger, 2017). Fueling fear of specific social groups can have an effect on the subjective perception of (in-)security in public spaces. The PEGIDA movement takes the freedom of assembly in public space. At the same time it restricts the freedom of others (counter-demonstrators, citizens, migrants). Security and freedom are in a tense relationship. The safety of one person can restrict the freedom of another (Keller and Berger, 2017).

Privatization

Free accessibility and freedom of use are preconditions for free and visible articulation of opinions by all members of society. Communication and dissent require public space in which the freedom of speech of the citizen is not restricted by private interests (Kohn, 2013). However, the "right to public space" is controlled by the regulatory practice of the dominant social system (Ruppert, 2006). The possibility of using public space as a social and political space is defined by legal provision, spatial design, surveillance, and policing practices (Ruppert, 2006). Public space is increasingly developing into a contested space "where ambiguities of proprietorship, of aesthetics, of social relations (class and gender in particular), and the political economy of everyday life collide" (Harvey, 2006, 19). Particularly economic interests are at odds with the ideal of a public space (Mitchell, 1995, Neumann, 2016). Public space is in danger of losing its character if control by private interests prevails.

Protests in transition? Between violence and eventization

Increasing violence

In Germany, the number of protests is increasing, partly due to the growing number of asylum seekers which cause right-wing protests to increase massively. At the same time, counter-movements emerge

that advocate a tolerant, cosmopolitan society (Daphi and Deitelhoff, 2017). Above all, confrontational forms and violence have increased (Hutter and Teune, 2012, 2017). Studies have shown that the willingness to "civil disobedience" among protesters is growing (Rucht et. al. 2010). In the autonomous left-wing scene, militant actions such as arson attacks, attacks on police officers, or neo-Nazis are not uncommon. During demonstrations of the extreme right, confrontations with police are usually avoided. Attacks on people who are marked as foreign or belong to the left-wing scene are, however, part of everyday life (Rucht and Teune, 2017).

During demonstrations, the police is confronted with the dilemma of protecting the right to demonstrate for all on the one hand and preventing and punishing crimes on the other hand. The police's actions are regarded critically (Kanzler *et al.* 2003). Donatella della Porta has defined the term "Protest Policing": "the police handling of protest events - a more neutral description for what protestors usually refer to as 'repression' and the state as 'law and order'" (della Porta and Reiter, 1998, 1). The dichotomy of the term becomes clear in this definition: on the part of the state and the police, "protest policing" is understood as the enforcement of law and order, on the part of the protesters, the impression of repressive up to violent intervention of the police predominates. Police action itself can become a political issue, because the practice of protest policing influences the chances of political groups to articulate themselves, mobilize sympathizers and exert political pressure (Winter, 2006, 259). Article eight of the German Basic Law protects freedom of assembly as an essential element of democracy and ensures that people can come together without hindrance and assert their right to freedom of expression (Arzt and Ullrich, 2016). Police checks and surveillance aiming at maintaining public order and security are sometimes at odds with this, as police measures can restrict this freedom of assembly, or intimidate participants. This creates tension between the legal situation and police practice. If the presence of the police is understood as a demonstration of power, as a potential restriction of the freedom rights of the demonstrators, this can generate conflict potential (Winter, 1998). Protests and conflicts also arise when public space is restricted in its use as a demonstration space.

Eventization

Protests are extraordinary events. They are not always exclusively politically motivated or conflictual. As an "event-driven protest" (Betz, 2016), political demands can also be combined with an excitement and fun character. This not only changes the atmosphere of protests, the expectation of fun and joy can be the motive for participation and have a mobilizing effect. Participants expect community, sociability, and a feeling of belonging (Betz, 2016, 272). Initiating social change does not have to be the only objective, but can act as legitimation (Betz, 2016). Dancing, costumes, or performative elements can be the expression of this protest.

Earlier social movements, such as the homosexual movement in the beginning of the 1990s, still rejected fun elements, such as the carnivalesque parade of Christopher Street Day, as they question the political seriousness (Dobler and Rimmel, 2008). This seems to have been put aside with the emergence of the "event-driven protest" (Betz, 2016). Rucht (2003) diagnoses an increasing implementation with entertainment elements at the political demonstrations of the trade union on May 1st in Berlin, a development to a "fair interspersed with political elements" (Rucht, 2003, 50f). Even during riots in Berlin-Kreuzberg, forces of attraction and repulsion of sympathizers, activists hungry

for excitement, neutral activists, passers-by, residents, and police were observed as in a magnetic field (Casquette *et al.* 2003).

Case Studies: Demonstrations and parades

Demonstrations and parades can differ in their atmosphere, size, dynamics, mobilization, course, composition, or topic etc. For this reason, they should always be viewed in relation to their specific context (van Stekelenburg *et al.* 2012; Klandermans *et al.* 2014). Within the framework of the project "Organized Pedestrian Movement in Public Spaces (OPMOPS)", funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, demonstrations and parades are investigated. Two contrasting protest forms serve as case studies: regular demonstrations in the small German town of Kandel and the CSD Parade in the German city of Mainz.

Both protest forms use public space of the inner city to create visibility and convey political messages. However, they differ in the size of their venue, the conflictual nature of the protest, and their atmosphere. Kandel serves as an example of a political demonstration in which the clash of right-wing and left-wing groups leads to conflicts. CSD in Mainz shows the described tendencies towards an eventization of protest. CSD was originally a festive day of commemoration and demonstration for the acceptance of and against discrimination against homosexuals, bisexuals, and transgender people (LGBTI). Due to its size and the character of the event, it often has a tourist significance as a carnivalistic and excessive celebration (Markwell and Waite, 2009). Nevertheless, the parade itself and the visibility of the difference in way of life can also be understood as provocation. Feelings of insecurity, rejection, avoidance, and even aggression can be observed when heterogeneous lifestyles are questioned.

Political demonstrations in Kandel

Kandel is a small town with about 9,000 inhabitants. In December 2017, a 15-year-old girl was murdered there by her ex-boyfriend, an Afghan refugee. In January 2018, right-wing political alliances called for a demonstration in which around 1,000 people participated. The protests were politically motivated and were primarily directed against the immigration policy of the German government. Resistance then formed counter protests: a middle class alliance, largely composed of Kandel citizens and supported by churches and trade unions, aims above all at sending a signal against right-wing attitudes and right-wing marches in the city. Furthermore, individuals as well as regional and supra-regional groups participate in a politically left-oriented alliance. It represents diversity, tolerance, and humanity and opposes hatred, racism, and exclusion. The right-wing demonstrations and counter protests in Kandel have been taking place since early 2018 at least monthly. The death of the girl was instrumentalized and forms the starting point for nationally organized right-wing protest, visible in the formation of the group "Kandel ist überall" (Kandel is everywhere). Kandel became a stage and synonym for a right-wing protest against Chancellor Merkel's German refugee policy and against immigration. The monthly demonstrations are accompanied by large police forces, physical and verbal attacks and crimes.

Christopher Street Day (CSD) in Mainz

Organized and registered by the association "Schwuguntia e.V.", the 25th Christopher Street Day in the German City of Mainz (approx. 200,000 inhabitants) took place in June 2018. Unlike in other

cities, only pedestrian groups (no trucks) take part in the march in Mainz. They demonstrated against inequality, exclusion, and discrimination, and for equal rights of all people. The intended renunciation of trucks and loud music emphasized on the original character of the demonstration and the political message, rather than on a fun and experience character. In addition to a march through the city center, which was registered as a political demonstration, a supporting program consisting of music, information stands of groups from the LGBTI community, rallies, and gastronomy was offered on a central square in the city center. This underlines the event character of the CSD, which not only pursues political motives, but is also a place of celebration, meeting, and entertainment. CSD in Mainz can be characterized as hybrid. The parade is not only a political demonstration, a symbol of equality in society, and an expression of belonging and identity, but also a colorful parade of parties and music.

Methods

The following results are based on two standardized quantitative surveys conducted by the Department of Urban Sociology at the University of Kaiserslautern in 2018. Participants at CSD and demonstrators in Kandel were interviewed face-to-face on various aspects of the perception of the demonstration, the police operation, and various other aspects. At the demonstration in Kandel in October 2018, a total of 99 participants from different protesting groups were interviewed. The total number of participants was about 700. Of these, 300 were supporters of the right-wing alliance, and 400 people took part in two counter-demonstrations and smaller pickets at different locations in Kandel. In June 2018 a total of 162 participants were interviewed at CSD in Mainz. According to the organizer, about 2,000 people participated in the demonstration march through the city center of Mainz. The results are supplemented by results of participatory observation.

Social structure and group size of visitors

The participants surveyed at the CSD are on average significantly younger than those in Kandel. There are also differences in the gender ratio: More men were interviewed in Kandel. Surprisingly, the proportion of highly educated people was the same in both surveys. With regard to socio-structural characteristics, the case study in Kandel reveals differences between the respondents according to alliances. The respondents from the left-wing alliances are younger than the right-wing demonstrators. There are also clear differences with regard to education. Respondents from the left-wing alliances show the highest education (Table 1).

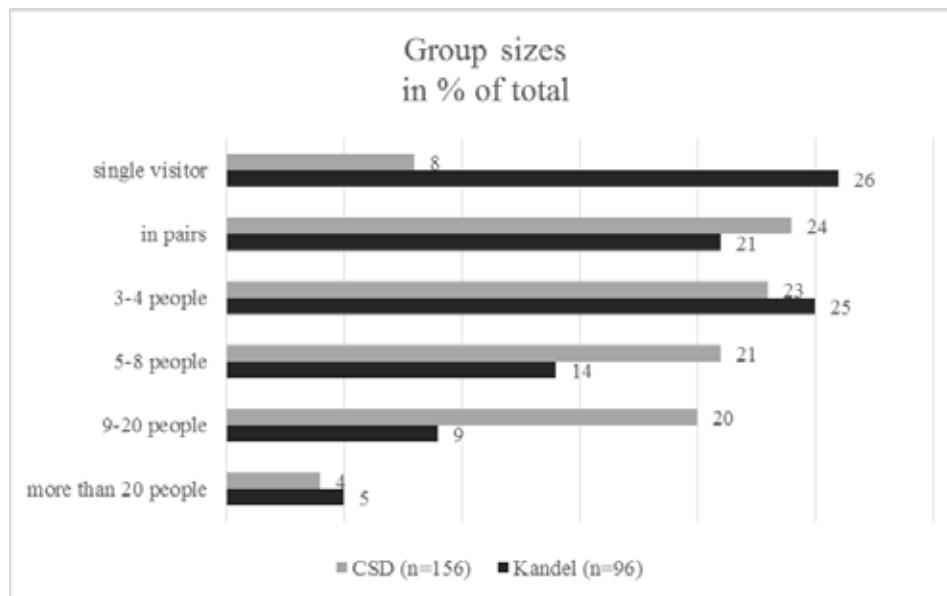
Table 1: Comparison of visitor structure

	CSD n=162	Kandel n=99
Average Age (in years)	26	47
Male (in %)	44	58
Higher Education * (in %)	68	67

Source: Own Surveys; * in Germany: Admission to Universities of Applied Sciences and higher

There are also clear differences in terms of group sizes (Figure 1): Individual visitors are clearly underrepresented among the CSD respondents. The proportion of groups of 5 to 8 persons, and especially of larger groups of up to 20 persons, is significantly higher than at the demonstrations in Kandel. This may be due to the stronger event character of the parade. In Kandel, larger groups play a comparatively minor role. More than a quarter of respondents are individual visitors, which shows the greater relevance of individual political interests and motivations.

Figure 1: Comparison of Group sizes



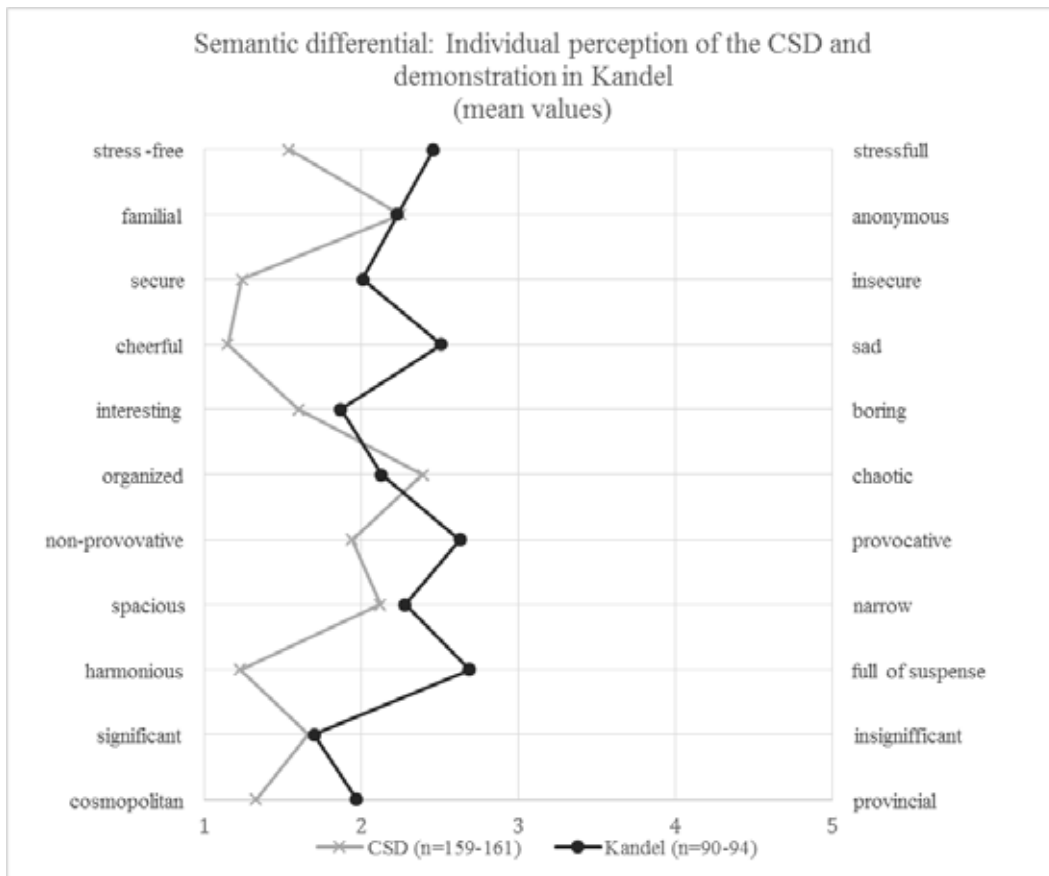
Source: Own surveys

The people interviewed at the CSD were asked to rank associations with the parade to derive visitor types in a further analysis. The "hedonist" (21% of respondents) associates CSD first and foremost with the aspect "party, music and colorful parade". The "politically motivated type" (31% of respondents) primarily associates CSD with a political demonstration and chooses this aspect in the first place of the required ranking. The "mixed type" (48% of respondents) cannot be assigned a clear motive. The results show the differences in visitors' motivations and underline the hybrid character between event and political demonstrations.

Individual perception

The participants' perception of the parade or demonstration provides information on the atmosphere, subjective feeling of security, and attribution of meaning. By means of a semantic differential, on a five point Likert scale, respondents expressed their perception of the demonstrations in Kandel and the perception of Christopher Street Day in Mainz using opposing pairs of adjectives, where 1 is an absolute agreement with the positive term, 3 is "neither nor" and 5 is an absolute agreement with the negative term. The result is visualized using the mean value.

Figure 2: Individual perception - Kandel vs. Mainz



Source: Own surveys

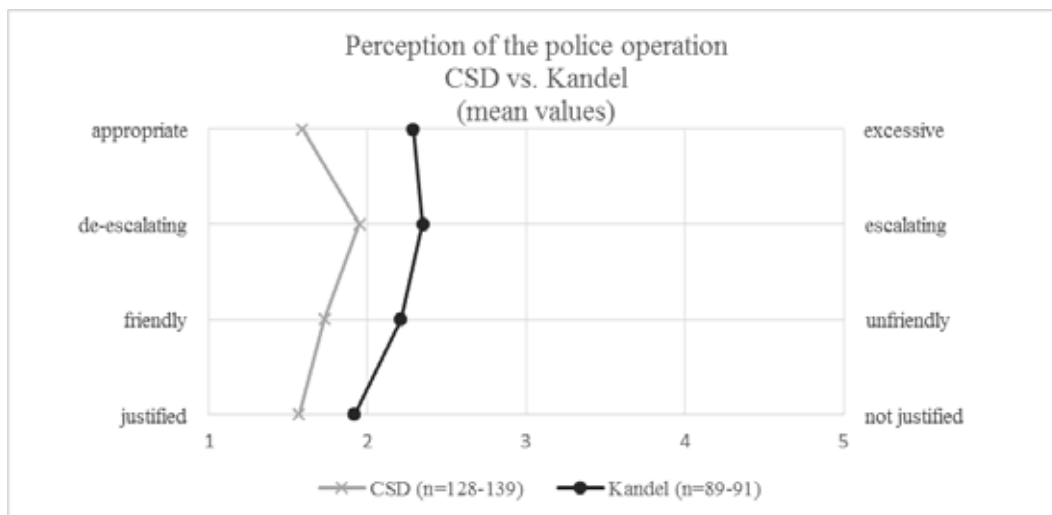
Figure 2 clearly shows that both curves predominantly move to the positive adjective pairs. Viewed individually, the CSD is perceived as safe, cheerful, harmonious, and cosmopolitan. This underlines the positive atmosphere in which not only the political message, but also community, openness, experience, and fun are important. The demonstration in Kandel is perceived as important, interesting, and safe. The most obvious negative perception is visible in the adjective pair „harmoniously/full of suspense“, which reflects the rather tense situation when opposing groups meet. The protest situation in Kandel is described as clearly more stressful, sad, provocative, and tense than the CSD. This is due to aspects of topic and to the confrontational situation between demonstrators and counter-demonstrators.

The comparatively positive results in Kandel are partly due to the fact that all political groupings were considered cumulatively in the graph. Differences in the perception of the demonstration between the various participating groups, especially with regard to perceived provocations, can be observed: Since the counter-demonstrators were able to interrupt the demonstration of the anti-migrant demonstrators in Kandel with whistles and vuvuzelas and were not pushed back by the police, the vast majority of people from the politically right-wing alliance felt provoked. This heated the mood and directed aggression not only against the opposing groups, but partly also against the police. There are also differences in perception with regard to perceived security or insecurity. Respondents from the left-wing alliance perceive the demonstration in Kandel as safer than people who belong to the right-wing alliance. This may be due to the numerical dominance of the counter-demonstrators.

Perception of the police operation

Police deployment in Mainz and Kandel differed widely due to different conflict structures: On demonstration days in Kandel, the police regularly deploys several hundred emergency forces from federal state and nationwide. Police forces are confronted with different interests, not only of demonstrators and counter-demonstrators, but also of persons not involved, like residents, tradesmen, politicians, or representatives of the media. Police presence at the CSD was many times smaller. There were only 15 police officers on duty, mainly for road safety.

Figure 3: Perception of Police Operation



Source: Own survey

In Mainz and Kandel, the overall perception of police deployment was positive: comparatively appropriate, de-escalating, friendly, and justified. In all respects, the assessment at the parade in Mainz was more positive than at the demonstrations in Kandel. Here, too, it should be noted that differences between the alliances can be observed in Kandel: The left-wing alliances consider the police deployment to be more negative and, above all, rather unfriendly and exaggerated. The counter-demonstrators were kept at a distance by the police. This can be interpreted not only as a security measure but also as a restriction of personal freedoms (Figure 3).

Discussion

The inner-city public space provides the stage for both the protests in Mainz and Kandel. Centrality increases the visibility of protests. The ritual character of protests serves to strengthen their meaning. Rituals are necessary for community building and they contribute to the formulation and perpetuation of positions (Rucht, 2003). Especially in Kandel, where the protests take place at least once a month, this ritualization contributes to the visibility of the protest and to the support of the respective demands. Symbols can be seen as characteristics of rituals. They serve as a point of reference for collective identities and at first glance represent a specific view (Casquete et. al. 2003). Group-specific symbols connect people in social movements and also serve as a distinction to "others". But symbolisms also serve to create visibility and to classify people or things. At the CSD in Mainz, the rainbow flag dominates as symbolism, but identity is also staged with costumes. Also in Kandel,

different groupings can be distinguished from each other on the basis of clothing, banners, flags, etc., but without carnival elements (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Demonstration march Kandel (left picture) and CSD in Mainz (right picture)



Source: Own photograph 2018

Protests and social movements create specific atmospheres. The perception of the atmospheres by the demonstrator differs with regard to the character of the protest. Further influence is exerted by the perceived grievances, group identifications, possibilities of participation (empowerment), and the perceived aggression of the police (van Leeuwen *et al.* 2016). Since the perceived atmospheres can have a positive or negative effect on the behavior of participants in protests, possible emergence or avoidance of conflicts, for example, can also be controlled (van Leeuwen *et al.* 2016). While the atmosphere in Mainz can be described as cheerful and relaxed (which can also be attributed to the fact that there were no counter protests or other conflicts), the atmosphere in Kandel was much more tense and marked by the conflicts between the groups. Police was in attendance with a large number of forces, which on the one hand served to avoid and control conflicts, but on the other hand also fomented conflicts, namely when individual groups felt at a disadvantage with regard to policing strategies.

The positive perception of the demonstrations in Kandel in October is surprising and does not correspond to the image conveyed by the protests in the (social) media. There were riots during several demonstrations in Kandel earlier in 2018. According to the Ministry of the Interior, overall 178 criminal charges against participants were committed in 2018, mainly violations of the Assembly Act, attacks on police officers, or bodily injuries. Compared to other demonstration days, the situation during our surveys in October was more tense, but less aggressive. Nevertheless, media focus on the image and mood of a temporarily insecure public space occupied by right-wing groups, resulting in conflicts and violent confrontations between opposing political groups. Even if scandalisation cannot yet be spoken of here, there are certainly effects on subjective feelings of (in-)security.

Unlike the peaceful and cheerful protests in Mainz, the issue of insecurity is part of the demonstrations in Kandel. An important role is certainly played by the narrative of insecurity in public space (Keller and Berger, 2017), which is currently often used by right-wing political groups to stir up fears of attacks. This technique is also utilized by the right-wing alliance in Kandel. Feelings of

insecurity during demonstrations and parades arise from two perspectives: 1) insecurity, in terms of a perceived danger of assault and violence, for example when opposing groups meet; 2) uncertainty of expectation through the encounter with otherness, different views and lifestyles, groupings, and behaviors.

A mere dichotomous distinction between amused protest in Mainz and conflictual protest in Kandel, however, is not tenable. Counter protest can take different forms and also take up fun elements: A "people's bingo" took place in Kandel as an expression of a peaceful counter protest by the left-wing groups. Within hearing and sight, parts of the counter-demonstrators reacted to the use of certain terms and formulations in the context of right-wing demonstrations. The form of the protest action contains a fun component and an entertainment value, but also stereotypes are made visible and counteracted.

The effects on usability of public spaces by protest can vary considerably. For the demonstration march in Mainz, public space was temporarily converted and closed to traffic. The public character of Gutenbergplatz, the starting and ending point of the parade and the central meeting place, was not limited as there were no access restrictions. Due to its touristic importance, the CSD in Mainz can have a positive effect on the city, as a sign of diversity, heterogeneity, and experience of the extraordinary. For the citizens of the small town of Kandel, the demonstration days however represent a major break in everyday life. Public life and the usability of public spaces are limited. Shops close earlier and streets are temporarily closed so that detours have to be accepted. The effect is primarily limited to the demonstration days. But the empirical studies indicate that the nature of the demonstrations affects the city as a whole because images are transferred: Mainz as a diverse and cosmopolitan city, Kandel as a conflictual city, occupied by right-wing political groups. If "Kandel" is associated with right-wing protests, this has a negative effect on the image of the city, which can have negative consequences for both citizens and businesses. The representation in the media contributes to it in particular. Not only are the death of the girl, but also the city and its public spaces instrumentalized for political purposes. On demonstration days, public space in Kandel is a contested space: residents, tradesmen, demonstrators, counter-demonstrators, and police officers are involved.

Conclusion

David Harvey (2006) described public space as a contested space. The struggle for visibility is in the hands of those with the greatest power of expression. The more, the louder, the more conspicuous, the higher the visibility. The struggle for space does not only take place between opposing groups but also between demonstrators and police. Negotiation processes are difficult when the mood is tense. In a sense, police can be seen as a mediator between visibility and security in public space. They enable groups to assert freedom of assembly and thus create visibility and at the same time avoid insecurity for all participants. At the same time, they have a regulatory power that can restrict the freedoms of use of public spaces.

The effect of protests on public space, like the protests themselves, is context-dependent and case-by-case analyses are required. Individual perspectives of participants and their respective motivations play a role in the transported atmospheres. The example of CSD shows that an "event-driven protest" can contribute to supporting the qualities of public spaces. Heterogeneity and diversity are promoted and demanded. In accordance with the normative dimension of public spaces, however, opportunities

for participation and accessibility may not be restricted. This danger arises if experience orientation, consumption and commercialization become central motives of protest organization and participation.

Protests in public space are repeatedly confronted with the processes of negotiation. Without question there is an interplay of visibility and uncertainty: on the one hand, public space is used as a stage for representation and visibility; on the other hand, the clash of opposing groupings, ideologies, and lifestyles can lead to the emergence of uncertainties and insecurities. The creation of security, in turn, can lead to curtailments of protest possibilities and thus to restrictions of visibility. The more conflictive a demonstration, the higher the police deployment. This means that use of space is more restricted by barriers. Opposing groups are spatially separated from each other. Freedoms of space usage are restricted.

In conclusion, further research and comparisons with other parades and demonstrations are necessary to arrive at generalizable conclusions. Above all, a strengthening of (socio-) spatial perspectives in protest research would be desirable. Planning disciplines hardly play a role in the discussion about public spaces and social movements. It is precisely the aspect of space, in its physical and social function that plays an important role with regard to security and visibility.

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