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Donatella della Porta

Emotions in Movements. Eventful Protests as Passionate Politics

Reacting to a stigmatization of social movements as irrational and pathological, social movement studies have long asserted the “normality” of contentious politics. More recently, however, some authors have pointed out the specificity of protest as “passionate politics.” This presentation will discuss the debate on emotions in social movement studies by addressing the eventful protests since 2011. Looking especially at the *acampadas* and similar forms of action in Tahrir Square in Cairo, Puerta del Sol in Madrid, Syntagma Square in Athens, and Zuccotti Park in New York City for illustration, I will consider the emotional and cognitive mechanisms through which eventful protests change relations.

Donatella della Porta is Professor of Sociology in the Department of Political and Social Sciences at the European University Institute, Florence, where she directs the Centre on Social Movement Studies (*Cosmos*), and Professor of Political Science at the Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane (on leave of absence). She has directed the *Demos* project, devoted to the analysis of conceptions and practices of democracy in social movements in six European countries. She is now working on a major ERC project, *Mobilizing for Democracy*, on civil society participation in democratization processes in Europe, the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America. She is co-editor of the *European Political Science Review*. In 2011, she received the Mattei Dogan Prize for distinguished achievements in the field of political sociology. Her main fields of research are social movements, the policing of public order, participatory democracy, and political corruption.

She is the author or editor of several dozen books. Among the most recent are: *Can Democracy be Saved?* (2013); *Clandestine Political Violence* (2013); the *Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Social and Political Movements* (with David A. Snow, Bert Klandermans, and Doug McAdam, 2013); *Mobilizing on the Extreme Right* (with Manuela Caiani and Claudius Wagemann, 2012); and *Meeting Democracy* (ed. with Dieter Rucht, 2012).

Ute Frevert

Crowds and Executions

Well into the 19th century, executions in Europe, as a rule, were public. It was considered desirable for as many spectators as possible to be present. Since the late 18th century, however, public commotion and the emotions displayed in it increasingly came to be considered offensive. Many demanded to remove executions from the public gaze; some even went so far as to call for the abolition of the death penalty. In any case, execution sites, just like pillories, disappeared from public space, eliminating the emotional ambivalence they had created among spectators.

Ute Frevert is Director of the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin, where she also heads the Centre for the History of Emotions. Between 2003 and 2007 she was Professor of German History at Yale University and previously taught history at the University of Konstanz, the University of Bielefeld, and the Free University Berlin. Her research interests cover the social and cultural history of modern times, gender history, political history, and the history of emotions. In 1998 she was awarded the Leibniz Prize of the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*. Her major works include *Men of Honour: A Social and Cultural History of the Duel* (1991); *Mann und Weib und Weib und Mann: Geschlechterdifferenzen in der Moderne* (1995); *Eurovisionen: Ansichten guter Europäer im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (2003); *A Nation in Barracks: Modern Germany, Military Conscription and Civil Society* (2004); *Emotions in History—Lost and Found* (2011); *Gefühlspolitik: Friedrich II. als Herr über die Herzen?* (2012); and, most recently, *Vergängliche Gefühle* (2013) and *Vertrauensfragen: Eine Obsession der Moderne* (2013).

Ansgar Gilster

The I in the We. Collective Certainty of Individual Existence at the Protestant Kirchentag

The Protestant *Kirchentag* is Germany's largest civil society gathering. Started in 1949 by a small group of protestant laypeople, it has now expanded into a multi-day event with over 120,000 participants. What do all these people seek at the *Kirchentag*? What do they find? What do they feel? What makes the *Kirchentag* successful?

Classical theories of mass behavior cannot account for the phenomenon of the *Kirchentag*. Composed of hundreds of individual events, it is simply too complex; and the emotional bond that unites its participants is rarely provided by euphoria or ecstasy. It is more instructive to look at individual subjects and their sense of self. The *Kirchentag* reinforces participants' self-awareness and makes them experience that this feeling is shared by others in the group. It creates a space where both the I and the We resonate. It is in this space that the masses of participants turn their ideal of society into reality.

Ansgar Gilster was born in Hong Kong in 1986, and lives in Berlin and London. He works as a photographer and is also editor of *Osteuropa*, the main German-language journal on East European affairs. He was a member of the team that organized the 2013 *Kirchentag* in Hamburg.

Johannes Knutsson

Supporting Passionate Protesters with Dialogue Policing—a Means for less Crowd Violence?

Passionate people engaging in protest demonstrations might end up in confrontations with the police. As a means to decrease conflicts between police and protesters, dialogue policing was introduced as an element in the new crowd management tactic for the Swedish police that was implemented in the final years of the last decade. Dialogue policing can be described by its five elements: negotiation (facilitate compromises and agreements between police commanders and demonstrators), mediation (explain the police point of view to groups of demonstrators and demonstrators' views to the police), suggesting (come up with possible solutions to avoid conflict and confrontation), communication (exchange information between demonstrators and commanders), and monitoring (read moods and preparedness for action among demonstrators and how that is affected by police activities). Ultimately, the goal is to facilitate freedom of speech and the right to demonstrate. Its fulfilment will contribute to another important objective—to decrease confrontation between crowds and police and between opposing groups of demonstrators.

Johannes Knutsson received his Ph.D. in criminology at the University of Stockholm. He is Professor of Police Research at the Norwegian Police University College, Norway and has been employed at the Swedish National Police Academy and the Swedish National Police Board in a part-time position. He is also an associate of Jill Dando Institute of Security and Crime Science, University College London. He is a judge for the Herman Goldstein Award on best problem-oriented policing projects. He has published several evaluation studies of crime preventive measures as well as studies on policing. Selected publications: *Problem Oriented Policing: From Innovation to Mainstream* (ed., 2003); *Politiets bruk av skytevåpen i Norden*. (Police use of firearms in the Nordic countries, ed., 2005); *Putting Theory to Work: Implementing situational prevention and problem-oriented policing* (ed. with R.V. Clarke, 2006); *Evaluating Crime Prevention Initia-*

tives (ed. with N. Tilley, 2009); *Police Use of Force: A Global Perspective* (ed. with J.B. Kuhns, 2010); *Preventing Crowd Violence* (ed. with T. Madensen, 2011).

Ehrhart Körting

Emotion und Gegenemotion – Strategien zur Steuerung störungsfälliger Massenveranstaltungen

(Emotion and Counter-Emotion—Strategies for Managing Incident-Prone Mass Events)

Be it a football match or a May Day party and revolutionary demonstration in Berlin's Kreuzberg district, the Shi'ite Al Quds Day march or a far-right rally: groups with competing objectives often clash with one another at mass events. The fundamental freedom of assembly and demonstration is sometimes difficult to reconcile with security concerns. In this presentation I will present legal and practical solutions to this problem.

Ehrhart Körting, born in Berlin in 1942, studied law in Berlin and Munich, where he was admitted to the Bar in 1969. He served as a research assistant at the Federal Administrative Court in 1970-72 and as an administrative court judge in 1972-75. In 1975-79 he was a municipal counselor for city planning, and in 1979-81 for education, in the Berlin district of Charlottenburg. He has had his own law practice since 1981, and in 1992-97 he was vice president of the Berlin state constitutional court.

In 1989-91 and again in 1999-2000 he was a member of the Berlin House of Representatives for the Social Democratic Party. In 1997-99 he was Justice Senator (the equivalent of a government minister/secretary of state), and in 2001-2011 Senator of the Interior in the Berlin state government.

Catherine Lutz

The Emotional Life of the Uniformed Crowd

The question of what a “crowd” is and how its emotional life can be characterized has naturally directed scholars’ attention to political demonstrators, football spectators, and participants in large civic and religious revivals. This paper explores what we might be able to say additionally about these issues by examining the physical gathering together of the personnel of a modern military. The military is certainly a crowd when it gathers soldiers together for mass exercise, movements, and parade, or for mass engagements with the enemy. The notion that the military is the very definition of a highly regulated, regimented, and normatively superior group, however, has prevented its being seen as a crowd, particularly as the notion continues to have force that the crowd is emotionally volatile and tends to irrationality and that the modern professional military does not. This paper asks how the problem of managing soldiers’ emotions has been tackled by the modern US military, noting that it has tended to focus on the emotions of individuals who have somehow broken away from the mass either via mental breakdown or by taking putatively rogue small mob actions against civilians as has occurred regularly in Iraq and Afghanistan. The larger question of what the crowd feels and does as a result, that is, what the emotional life and impetus is of the normal gathering together of thousands of soldiers for military action, continues to go unmarked and unremarked.

Catherine Lutz is the Thomas J. Watson, Jr. Family Professor of Anthropology and International Studies at Brown University and holds a joint appointment in the Department of Anthropology. She received her BA in sociology and anthropology from Swarthmore College in 1974 and her PhD in social anthropology from Harvard University in 1980. She is the author or co-author of many books and articles on a range of issues, including security and militarization, gender violence, and transportation. Writing and speaking widely in a variety of media, she has also consulted with a variety of civil society organizations as

well as with the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the government of Guam. She is currently a Guggenheim Fellow.

Selected publications: *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and their Challenge to Western Theory* (1988); *Language and the Politics of Emotion* (ed. with Lila Abu-Lughod, 1990), *Home Front: A Military City and the American 20th Century* (2001); *The Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle against US Military Posts* (ed., 2009); *Breaking Ranks: Iraq Veterans Speak Out Against the War* (with Matthew Gutmann, 2010); *Carjacked: The Culture of the Automobile and its Effect on Our Lives* (with Anne Fernandez-Carol, 2010)

Felix de Mendelssohn

Alone Together—How Does it Feel to be (in) a Crowd?

Crowds may gather to mourn, to celebrate, to protest, to take flight, or out of sheer curiosity. The large group dynamic oscillates between feelings of depression, elation, fury, persecution and prurience and it always centres on a specific individual or a specific event (real or imagined). Individual and collective reactions in crowd behaviour emerge out of a constant dialectic between fear and desire.

This presentation will connect and compare subjective and collective emotional experiences of participation in mass gatherings from a psychoanalytic perspective. One hundred years of studying these phenomena theoretically and clinically take us from Sigmund Freud and Wilfred Bion to contemporary work by Earl Hopper, Haim Weinberg and others.

Felix de Mendelssohn is a psychoanalyst and group analyst in private practice. He is former Chairman of the Group Analytic Section of IAGP (International Association for Group Psychotherapy and Group Processes) and currently teaches at the Sigmund Freud Universities in Vienna and Berlin. Selected publications: *Das Psychoanalytische Subjekt: Schriften zur Theorie und Praxis der Psychoanalyse* (2010) und *Die Gegenbewegung der Engel: Psychoanalytische Schriften zu Kunst und Gesellschaft* (2010).

Gunter Pilz

Emotionen beleben das Geschäft. Wandlungen des Zuschauer- und Fanverhaltens im Profi-Fußball (Emotions are Good for Business. Changes in Spectator and Fan Behavior in Professional Football)

“Here is what mass sports are today: twenty-two people play football, watched by thousands or tens of thousands. They encircle the field, criticizing, hooting, whistling, giving their expert opinion, rooting and cheering for their favorite players, applauding individual feats, excoriating the referee, whipping themselves up into a frenzy, and projecting themselves into the game. [...] They fall prey to football psychosis, and they behave on the field as if not only their own well-being, but the weal and woe of the entire world depended on the result of this paltry football match.” This is how the social democrat Helmut Wagner painted the dangers of mass emotions at football matches in 1931. Yet football *is* emotion; football as human drama depends on emotions. This is most readily apparent in the person of the referee. Because he is fallible, yet is supposed to base his decisions on facts, his role is problematic and may be conducive to violence; however, it is also cathartic in the sense of Greek drama. The sports arena, and the football match in particular, is one of the last remaining public bastions of emotionality. Perhaps this is precisely what accounts for football’s popularity. Taking emotions out of football would mean robbing that sport of its soul, and society of an important safety valve.

Zinnecker has argued that football’s commercialization alienates fans from their clubs, their capacity for violent behavior no longer contained; conversely, the persistent acceptance of violence in football culture is what attracts young men to football in the first place.

No other team sport provides its spectators with a larger physical space for action, allowing them to display deviant behavior to such great public effect. Yet football’s evolution into a mass sport increasingly defined by commercialization, professionalization, and eventization, has not only led to the creation of a multitude of groups of spectators and fans, but also transformed their behavior as well as the

mood and atmosphere in the stadium and thus the ways in which emotions are experienced and expressed there.

Gunter Pilz was born in 1944. He studied sociology, psychology, and economics at the universities of Freiburg, Munich, and Zurich. In 1981 he obtained his PhD from the University of Hannover, where he worked as a researcher at the Institute of Sports Science from 1978 to 2010. Since 2012 he has directed a project on Social Work as Applied to Fan Cultures and Sports at that institute. He has also been an Honorary Professor at the Hannover University of Applied Sciences since 2000. He has worked as an expert for the German Ministry of the Interior and the German Football Federation (DFB), among other institutions. Since 2006 he has been DFB counselor on fans and violence prevention. In 2012 he received the Golden Clasp of the North-Rhine-Westphalia Football Federation, and the Ethics Prize of the German Olympic Federation. Selected Publications: *Sport, Fairplay und Gewalt: Beiträge zu Jugendarbeit und Prävention im Sport* (2013); *Jugend, Gewalt und Rechtsextremismus: Möglichkeiten und Notwendigkeiten politischen, polizeilichen und (sozial-) pädagogischen und individuellen Handelns* (1994); and *Wandlungen des Zuschauerhaltens im Profifußball* (2006).

Bruno Preisendörfer

**Die Polizei der Freuden. Wie kommen Massen in Bewegung?
(Policing Joys. How do Masses Get Moving?)**

The police should be the “Maître des Plaisirs of the great Heap,” Johann Peter Frank demanded in his *System of a Complete Medical Police* in 1783. The 18th century is the incubation period of modern management of crowds, then known as “great Heaps.” At the time, “Policey” referred not just to those deployed on the ground, but to the entirety of administration, from the regulations elaborated in government offices to the enforcement of those regulations and the use of violence in cases of insubordination and turmoil. The “police of

joys,” as Justus Möser called it in his *Patriotic Fantasies*, was charged with “sapping folly’s ferment,” so it wouldn’t “blow up the barrel.”

Bruno Preisendörfer, born in 1957, lives in Berlin. He studied German literature, political science, and sociology at the Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main and at the Free University Berlin. He received his MA in German literature in 1986, and his PhD in political science in 1997. From 1987 to 1999 he edited journals on various topics. Since 1999 he has been a freelance journalist and writer. Latest publications: *Staatsbildung als Königskunst: Ästhetik und Herrschaft im preußischen Absolutismus* (2000); *Das Bildungsprivileg: Warum Chancengleichheit unerwünscht ist* (2008); *Candy oder Die unsichtbare Hand: Nach einem berühmten Vorbild des Herrn von Voltaire erzählt und auf den Stand der neuen Weltordnung gebracht* (2011); *Fifty Blues* (novel, 2012); *Der waghalsige Reisende: Johann Gottfried Seume und das ungeschützte Leben* (2012); *Hat Gott noch eine Zukunft? Glaube—Alltag—Transzendenz* (2013); *Die Schutzbefohlenen* (novel, 2013).

Stephen David Reicher

The Passion and the Reason. Understanding the Emotionality of Crowds and Masses

The social psychology of crowds and masses has traditionally counterposed reason and emotion: specifically, the loss of identity and of reason in the crowd is held to lead to an excess of emotion. Crowds are represented as passionate, fickle and ever liable to excess. More recently, there has been a shift to emphasise the reasoned and meaningful nature of crowd action. It is constrained, normative and reflects the belief systems of the social groups that are involved. However, the emphasis on reason has been accompanied by a neglect of emotion. Crowds are treated as dispassionate phenomena. In this presentation, I will seek to integrate the reason and emotion of crowds using evidence from a range of crowd events, from riots in the UK to mass pilgrimages in India. First, I will examine the psychological transfor-

mations that occur when people become members of a unified crowd. Second, I shall show how shared social identity creates intimacy between people and thereby empowers people to act agentically, able to shape their own world rather than living in a world shaped by others. Third, I will show how intimacy and agency are experienced as extreme positives, accounting for the passion of crowds. In short, the emotion of crowds is tied to the enactment of reason, not its suppression.

Stephen D. Reicher is Professor of Psychology at the University of St Andrews and a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He is a leading authority on crowd psychology. Publications: *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-categorization Theory* (co-author, 1987); *Adolescence and Delinquency: The Collective Management of Reputation* (with N. Emler, 1995); *Self and Nation: Categorization, Contestation and Mobilisation* (with N. Hopkins, 2001); *The New Psychology of Leadership: Identity, Influence and Power* (with S.A. Haslam and M.J. Platow, 2010).

Malte Rolf

**Bewegte Massen – bewegende Emotionen? Festplanung und Emotionsmanagement in der Sowjetunion
(Moved Masses—Moving Emotions? Celebration Planning and Emotional Management in the Soviet Union)**

Mass celebrations were a central element of the Soviet propaganda state. Their elaborate choreographies didn't just serve to represent power; they were also forms of emotional community-building. During the celebratory parade, the enthusiastic crowd was supposed to become aware of its own collective identity and approach the utopian goal of New Soviet Man that the regime had proclaimed as its vision for the future. The celebration planners in the party and state apparatus placed great faith in the emotional and transcendent effect of such mass orchestrations of jubilation. They developed intricate methods for a politics of emotions that aimed to animate, but also to

control all the senses of the moved festive masses. For one of the concerns of the authoritarian regime was always to control and to discipline participants' emotionality.

In my talk I will consider these conflicting objectives of the Soviet management of festive emotions. On the one hand I will discuss techniques of mass emotionalization, focusing on the spatial dimension of the politics of emotions. On the other hand I will question the long-term effects of these techniques on ways in which mass choreographies and the attendant emotions are experienced. I shall focus on the 1920s and 30s, but also discuss long-term developments, including the erosion of the Soviet mode of celebration and emotionality.

Malte Rolf studied history, German and Russian literature, and sociology at Humboldt University in Berlin, the University of Tübingen, Saint Petersburg State University, and the University of Voronezh. In 2004 he obtained his PhD at the University of Tübingen for a dissertation on Soviet mass festivals. In 2012 he defended his habilitation on "Imperial Rule in Vistula Land. The Kingdom of Poland and the Russian Empire (1864-1915)." From 2007 to 2011 he was Junior Professor of East European History at Leibniz University in Hannover. In 2011-12 he was Visiting Professor of East and Central European History at Bremen University. In 2012 he was named Professor of Central and East European History at Otto Friedrich University in Bamberg. Selected publications: *Zwischen partei-staatlicher Selbstinszenierung und kirchlichen Gegenwelten: Sphären von Öffentlichkeit in Gesellschaften sowjetischen Typs / Between the Great Show of the Party-State and Religious Counter-Cultures: Public Spheres in Soviet-Type Societies* (hrsg. m. Gábor T. Rittersporn und Jan C. Behrends, 2003); *Das sowjetische Massenfest* (2006, in English: *Soviet Mass Festivals*, 2013); *Rausch und Diktatur. Inszenierung, Mobilisierung und Kontrolle in totalitären Systemen* (hrsg. m. Árpád von Klimó, 2006); *Fest und Diktatur / Festivals and Dictatorship* (hrsg. m. Dietrich Beyrau, 2006); *Imperiale Biographien* (Themenheft Geschichte und Gesellschaft, 40:1, 2014).

Program

Thursday, Jan. 30th

19:00
Susan Neiman, Potsdam
Welcome

Mischa Gabowitsch /
Rüdiger Zill, Potsdam
Introduction

19:30
Stephen David Reicher,
St Andrews
*The Passion and the
Reason. Understanding
the Emotionality of
Crowds and Masses*

Friday, Jan. 31st

10:00 Ute Frevert,
Berlin
Crowds and Executions

11:00 Johannes
Knutsson, Oslo
*Supporting Passionate
Protesters with Dia-
logue Policing—a
Means for less Crowd
Violence?*

12:30 Ehrhart Körting,
Berlin
*Emotion und Gegen-
emotion.
Strategien zur Steue-
rung störungsanfälliger
Massenveranstaltungen*

15:00 Bruno Preisen-
dörfer, Berlin
*Die Polizei der Freuden.
Wie kommen Massen in
Bewegung?*

16:00 Felix de Mendels-
sohn, Berlin/Wien
*Alone Together.
How Does it Feel to be
(in) a Crowd?*

17:30 Donatella della
Porta, Fiesole
*Emotions in Move-
ments. Eventful Protests
as Passionate Politics*

Saturday, Feb. 1st

10:30 Gunter Pilz,
Hannover
*Emotionen beleben das
Geschäft. Wandlungen
des Zuschauer- und
Fanverhaltens im Profi-
Fußball*

12:00 Ansgar Gilster,
Berlin
*The I in the We.
Collective Certainty of
Individual Existence at
the Protestant Kirchen-
tag*

15:00 Malte Rolf,
Bamberg
*Bewegte Massen – be-
wegende Emotionen?
Festplanung und Emoti-
onsmanagement in der
Sowjetunion*

16:00 Catherine Lutz,
Providence
*The Emotional Life of
the Uniformed Crowd*

17:00
Mischa Gabowitsch /
Rüdiger Zill, Potsdam
Resumé