

WHAT MAKES CITIES PLACES OF MOBILIZATION?

Social Movements in Urban Space and the Thursdays Demonstrations of Vienna

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I, the undersigned, **Carmelina Heinze**, candidate for the BA degree in Culture, Politics and Society declare herewith that the present thesis titled “What makes cities places of mobilization? Social Movements in Urban Space and the Thursdays Demonstrations in Vienna” is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis looks into which the deciding factors of urban space to facilitate social movements and their resistance are. It looks at literature, reviewing aspects such as diversity, proximity and connections. It continues by trying to find out whether and to which extent these movements are using the urban space around them, and it points out the role of the state. The thesis comes to the conclusion that while factors like the ones mentioned above might be important, it seems to be the network available in the city and how it facilitates strong tie and weak tie connections which predicts the success of social movement the most. With the Thursdays Demonstrations, which have been taking place every Thursday during periods of all right wing government, an example is pointed out which is analyzed using the aspects which appeared in the literature review.

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INTRODUCTION

The “Thursdays Demonstrations” having been held with a differing number of occurrences throughout exactly 25 years, the first on February 4th, 2000 and the last so far on February 4th 2025 , are a great example of this network of social movement which becomes possible in the city. The “Es ist wieder Donnerstag!/Donnerstagsdemos” (It’s Thursday again!/Thursdays Protests) demonstrations have emerged out of a need to resist the first ever entirely right wing government coalition, they were established as a space to, even if the parliament would be dominated entirely by the right now, also have a space where the left is dominant and gathering and to make sure presence could be shown well, these protest would be held every Thursday and while they were official demonstrations which did occupy public space, one could also argue that they were much more of a socializing than a resistance space for the left. One of their most famous slogans was “Fix Zam” which is a reference to the Viennese phrase one might use when they finally officially got into a relationship with a person they have been going out with for a while and I would argue by that also referring to the fact that the left is officially together at these protest, which in a city which hosts three different student communist parties alone seems quite impossible. These protests were ones where revolutionary communists would walk together with moderate social-democrats. How did these protest establish themselves and how did the urban space with its attributes add to that?

DEFINING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

This paper engages with the concept of the urban and within it the resistance manifesting itself in the forms of mobilizations and movements. Regarding the definitions of social movements, Viana defines them as the mobilization of social groups which is coined by belonging and objectives which originate from a social dissatisfaction, for example demands (Viana, 2015). These different aspects, as well as the different social compositions and their conceptions of social movements lead to a wide heterogeneity. Drawing on Viana (2015b) and Jensen (2014), Viana (2015a) states that there are three types of social movements: the conservatives, trying to keep or regain current/previous states, the reformists who want to reform, meaning to make change while staying within the current system and the revolutionaries who aim to radically change the social system. However social movements cannot only be split in terms of orientation or alignment, Habermas for instance makes a separation between liberation movements and defensive movements where the liberation movement is one which might use confrontational methods to achieve emancipation while the defensive movements are more propositional with the intension of safeguarding (1981).

What contrasts all the different types of social movements from waves or networks is that social movements are more structured, they have adversaries, a more cohesive identity and more specific projects and they are only the result of social contradictions (Santos, 2023). There is also a notable difference between social movements and justice movements which is relevant for thinking beyond the urban. Justice movements are often made up of multiple organizations which collaborate and form alliances for the purpose of gaining more power and having more opportunities to reach goals from different perspectives. Justice movements are given their organizational form by multiple formal and informal organizations and networks who divide tasks, who can mobilize a wide variety of resources and who, because of their diversity, also

have a lot of know-how (Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004). Justice movements' main task is to mobilize and advance their cause either through existing political structures or through a more radical approach through which multiple identities and ideas are framed and bound into one movement (Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004).

While so far these resistance struggles have been defined as movements, there is also a wide variety of literature preferring mobilization as the term for description. They are seen mainly as influxes, for example of tactics, information or narratives (Santos, 2023). Mobilization is constantly producing flow which is made up by many actions and also contingencies which can fluctuate but even when there is no high intensity action, flow is still produced. He connects social movements to the physical or virtual space in which they are happening through individuals occupying space and to shape politics, arguing that they are constituting spatialities (Santos, 2023).

These networked movements clearly show that they are made up of collective subjects, meaning that they become a mobilized force meaning that the core substance of movements and mobilizations is sharing. The sharing of realities, of fates, aspirations and needs. When encountering to mobilize one comes across themselves, each other and the vision which binds the participants of movements together and while it is the shared goals bringing people to social movements, "Every movement is an expression of resistance before it is a proposition." (Santos, 2023, p.168). Therefore it is concluded that a social movement is an action to appropriate social values, processes and aspects, repressed by opponents and influenced by power relations (Santos, 2023). Social movements bring together agents who have different objectives or purposes, and thereby are "generating a transformative experience" (Santos, 2023, p.167). The Thursdays Demonstrations are, I want to argue, such a networked social movement:

MOVEMENTS USING SPACE

Social movements are entities connected to community and space: mobilizations build collective political bodies which unite individual outburst of resistance into a shared, collective practice and an us rises which gives space for the construction of new ways of feeling and perceiving (Santos, 2023). This bringing to life of a new community creates a space where a reality is made which provides belonging but also limitations which encourage transformation and thereby become a mobilized force (Santos, 2023). “The elementary substance of movements and mobilizations of any nature is the sharing of realities, destinies, and affections. When mobilizing, subjects encounter themselves, others, and the future that qualifies their efforts.” (Santos, 2023, p. 176).

In an article titled “Feminist Resistance against an all-right coalition” by Gundi Dick, she outlines the history and specifically the feminist history of resistance, one of the forms of resistance being the Thursdays Demonstrations (Dick, n.d.). She recounts from the first ever protest on the 4th of February 2000:

“Despite a bright blue sky and spring-like temperatures, February 4, with its new right wing coalition in power, was a truly gloomy day. Thousands gathered at Vienna's Ballhausplatz¹ continued their whistling and chanting for hours and formed the first spontaneous demonstration.” (Dick, n.d., p. 64)

She describes how the crowds move onto the Ringstraße² and occupies the social ministry for a short time (Dick, n.d.). The only good part of that day in her memory was thinking about that

¹ the square which is faced on one side by the President's office and on the other side by the chancellor's office and the place where government negotiation usually take place

² One of the most (if not the most) important streets of Vienna, it circles many of the most important historical sights and political buildings

the anger of the crowd had forced the future politicians to enter the negotiations through a special tunnel and being protected by a big group of police officer (Dick, n.d.). On that same day a women's protest had been planned as well which immediately got to feel the conservatism and repressing tendencies of the new government, it was forbidden by the police but happened nevertheless where the focus was on giving women from all different types a stage and finishing with the conclusion that sexism and racism always have to thought of together; demanding resignation of the new, all-right wing government (Dick, n.d.) marking an impressionable start to an intersectional left protest movement.

Space can serve as a platform and background for this (Santos, 2023). The dominant spaces in our cities are used and taken up by the dominant elites and their structures (Santos, 2023) which is why social movements have to make more and new public space available This making available or taking for the public is often happening in important or symbolic buildings/space; the occupations of space are often planned in spaces which are tightly connected to state, power or finance (Santos, 2023), occupation being an attempt at control of public resources which sooner or later becomes highly political. Taking the city-specific spaces like streets or squares also adds an interesting dynamic as it transforms a space which usually only serves everyday functions like commuting into a political, democratic space which is shared with many who have come together to voice shared concerns and fears. The fixed elements of the city as well as the non-fixed immerse the activist into an almost new environment, a new space given by the mobilization. The different ways movements and individuals use these spaces give room for different tactics and different performances, "the streets are significant canvases for these developments and impacts, and their conjunctures offer metabolites to the social fabric,

revitalizing the polis and catalyzing political meanings in time, space, and aspirations for change.” (Santos, 2023, p. 178).

Dick describes how the streets and squares are places which are rediscovered. In the beginning they were spontaneous protests which happened rarely and then the streets became sites of hiking on Thursdays (Dick, n.d.).

Regarding the urban planning side, de Souza is arguing that it is easier for social movements to come up with alternative strategies for organizing space in countries where the state apparatus is not as present or efficient. This is because it makes for a bigger need of civil organization as well as the chaos that develops also leaves more room for different strategies and different approaches for the civil society (de Souza, 2006). In this sense social movements should try to implement “radical socio-spatial strategies” (de Souza, 2006, p. 339) through which it might be likely for non-strict and non-hegemonial hierarchies to develop.

In addition, for the social movement scenes, meaning a group of people which have many similarities in terms of values and beliefs who share a subculture, which develop alongside the movements, space is a crucial factor. These scenes are partaking in similar events so that they are in specific places and spaces of the city together which can be spaces like restaurants or shops as well as simple street corners (Creasap, 2012). For some social movements, the scenes are so present and reproduced because they want to try to change the urban landscape as to not give way to neo-liberalization and gentrification (Mitchell, 2003, as cited in Creasap, 2012).

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN SPACE

There are many aspects in the city which influence whether it is a place which social movements make their focus or a place where social movements can emerge and thrive. Nicholls and Beaumont present that these aspects are “the intensification of urban inequalities, increased political opportunities resulting from the devolution of state capacities to sub-national levels of government and new actors interested in pursuing innovative strategies and tactics.” (2004, p.119). The urban space is important for social movements that form in the urban as well as for movements which are multiscale, meaning working on multiple levels and getting influenced by the power relations in the city. Regarding inequalities in the urban space, Nicholls and Beaumont (2004, p.122) argue that “powerful cleavages” have been created in the urban areas and that urban governance is not eradicating these inequalities adequately which can be the reason for provoking mobilizations on the city-region. The fact that not all neighborhoods have the access to the same resources and economic opportunities due to segregation (Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004) also adds to this.

Another reason for social movements being more successful or more present in cities is the complexity of the urban system. “The sheer complexity of the metropolitan system” (Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004, p.123) makes it very hard to strictly enforce or govern with the traditional means as well as with few institutions. In cities, where there seem to be more and more institutions and authorities, this fragmentation of political institutions give rise to more political networks (Goldsmith, 2001, as cited in, Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004). Therefore, it is crucial for the actors who move in this area of enforcing and creating policy to think beyond traditional governing. For instance, there is much more of a diversity in different types of actors. Where literature so far has engaged more with businesses, other actors such as groups tied together by

cultural factors like religion or class factors like unions which also lead valuable partnerships within urban space tend to be not enough focused on even though they have these partnerships in the context of policy in a wide range of topics (Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004) . The urban space offers governing options beyond the bureaucratic or market logics (Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004).

However, there is not only diversity in terms of actor-organizations in cities but also a high diversity and density in its residents, Miller and Nicholls make a case for cities providing the opportunity for groups so large to meet that they could turn into critical masses that are necessary build collectives and cultures of solidarity which provide a refuge (2013) for more people to enter a safe space. The qualities of the city make it possible that relationships can be upheld which then also make it possible that mobilizations have resources for their actions/activism at their disposal (Nicholls, 2008) and even if an issue might at some point be too difficult to solve and the members of these networks might not have the resources to help, collectively these members can piece together what is needed (Miller & Nicholls, 2013).

Through the continued interactions of actors who are part of different campaigns, organizations or groups, a network is built. Over time these individual actors get membership which they develop through working together and thereby gaining the rights of requesting help but also the obligation of contributing with one's knowledge about the specific areas of expertise. and in this way also end up more linking their individual goals and causes and as the ties get even closer, social mechanisms (Nicholls, 2008) to assure that the exchange between the members stays reciprocal as well as having the effect that in this economy of exchange the shared the resources each member has becomes partially collectivized (Nicholls, 2008). However, this alone does not mean that these members have formed movements as such already instead it is a network with the intention of knowledge sharing. They can keep their ways of working and

their own specific subjects but also have to give credit to the fact that for intersectional and complex issues, they are situated within a network which is brought together by themes such as equality or justice (Nicholls, 2008).

In addition to sharing information and collecting resources, also having the knowledge of how to merge the different resources “assemble coalitions”(B. Miller & Nicholls, 2013) in contrast to simply collecting information from individual members or organizations available in the local area is a factor of local networks. Therefore actors in these urban networks learn not only how to build networks for an exchange of knowledge but also how to establish and run “complicated multi-actor campaigns” (B. Miller & Nicholls, 2013). This constant exchange and interaction of different activists does not only help with the collection of information and the building of networks of resources, but also with collectively constructing discourses (B. Miller & Nicholls, 2013)

People are positioned at the nexus of various concepts that make up the urban activist space through networked exchanges. This stance gives people the opportunity to adapt and transform the concepts of other groups into their own (B. Miller & Nicholls, 2013). For instance, undocumented immigrant groups have been using terms mainly associated with the queer community like "coming out" to characterize their own attempts to come out of a socially influenced position of hiding (B. Miller & Nicholls, 2013). In addition to facilitating the exchange of ideas, arguments, and mobilizing frames between various groups, these interactions also enable other groups to empathize with the worries, hardships, and suffering of other groups. Activists from different fields are encouraged by multi-layered, complex networks to consider the similarities among their different struggles (B. Miller & Nicholls, 2013). However, even though Miller and Nicholls argue that there can be conflicts but they are

conquerable considering that there are still power imbalances present also in spaces of activism there is a need for safe spaces also within the social movement.

The ties present in these groups can still be useful however not only the strong but also the weak tie connection needs to be present. The ties of many different diverse individuals and groups has (as already mentioned) many benefits. Nevertheless, there needs to be a combination of strong ties and weak ties, meaning that while close relationships or strong ties are essential, the urban space can only truly fulfill its potential as a connector when these strong ties are in connection with weaker ties. These strong tie connections might have the ability to help with issues in specific areas but this is usually a quite limited area and the resources might not be sufficient (Nicholls, 2008). Therefore, especially in urgent cases, there still needs to be an option for activists and organizations to get assistance, which is not part of these strong ties and somehow use their other connections. Especially considering the fact that problems in urban spaces can often be multifaceted (Nicholls, 2008) and run along many dimensions, fostering thereby also weaker connections by reaching out combining to create intersectional problem solving.

For social movements, neighborhood associations can also be important strategic partners in two important ways: the “intimate knowledge of localities” (Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004, p.124) which means to understand the local areas and more importantly know the people from that area and how to mobilize them best. and Nicholls and Beaumont (2004) also argue that neighborhood associations are quite fixed in a time where the workplace is not anymore. Not only this network of associations is tied to the area, it is also a factor tying the residents to the area and other residents in that area thereby providing the breeding ground for organizing a movement (Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004) What we should also consider about the urban space is not just its actual space and physical borders that define it but rather, Miller and Nicholls

argue we should be concentrating on the systemic processes which go through the city and influence the social relations within them (2013).

At another Thursdays Demonstration, protestors occupy the Public Employment Service of Austria to critique the restrictive labour and economic politics to protest the structural issues of the Austrian state and demand to separate” labor law, worker protection, and unemployment insurance”(Dick, n.d., p. 66) from the ministry of economics and instead to ensure a fair access to the labor market for migrants and a financial support for women and since the Public Employment Service does not fulfill any of the demands, therefore the building had been occupied for 10 hours after which the occupants seamlessly disappeared into the crowd of another Thursday Demonstration which had shown solidarity with the occupants (Dick, n.d.).

Once the networks are already built and developed, urban space can offer “cultures of resistance” (Nicholls, 2008, p. 7) whose main impact is a meaning-giving to the forms of resistance which is happening jointly in the city and to engage with the culture which is produced in relation to resistance (like performance art pieces, architecture, storytelling etc.) (Nicholls, 2008). The culture which comes out of insurgent network-building can disconnect from the resistance itself and become their own strong cultures which are often also place-based for paying tribute to that place while recruiting and paying homage to current or former fighters of an urban social movement or activist network (Nicholls, 2008).

What sometimes also happens in cities is when is that counter publics start to form once a shared understanding of common problems as well as a shared understanding on how to move forward is established. (B. Miller & Nicholls, 2013) Which has the intention of distributing parallel discourses and interpretations of identity or what is needed and desired by that community (which is usually a subordinated one) (B. Miller & Nicholls, 2013) and a space is made in which the social order can be critiqued instead of having to adhere to the course of

thought that equality had been reached for all members of society and that emancipation is something which is possible for all and thereby create the possibility for committing to resistance and social critique (B. Miller & Nicholls, 2013) instead of a place whose goal it is to make people fit into society and make them assimilate.

One of these axes along which clear separations within the urban space is made is the social division of labour, the city is a space where hierarchies and relations can be more clear or obvious because of the control over the environment is stronger and social division of labour is bigger in a way that it makes the city to an environment of class domination coined by capitalism and the proletariat and the bourgeoisie it creates (Viana, 2015). This separation of labor, also referred to by Viana as the social division of work is one which is shown as a spatial separation (2015), it can be seen in the city looking at how many fields have their own areas where one specific activity like distribution, consumption or leisure is predominantly taking place through which a spatial hierarchy is established (Viana, 2015). However, cities are also spaces where hierarchies are dismantled and freedom and alterity can be in focus (Nicholls, 2008). The tight roles which can sometimes be laid onto individuals in traditional spaces can be much different in cities.

People are more free to avoid constrictive subjective categories of self and other due to the concentration of various social relations in urban areas, which also relaxes the cognitive restraints that prevent connections across differences. (Nicholls, 2008) It is now feasible to think beyond the box, use a variety of resources and ideas, and develop fresh approaches to long-standing issues thanks to these new relationships between varied people. However, the urban space can actually also be more strict because the diversity of the city wants to be tamed (Nicholls, 2008). It might seem that the urban has become much more a means to an end rather than a cause itself which people are passionate about, it is a great example with

which activists can challenge different types of power within our society (B. Miller & Nicholls, 2013).

CITY AGAINST THE STATE

While this paper concentrates on the role of the city within social movements, it is also crucial to discuss the role of the state. Social movements are in some sense also a tool of urban planning and transforming spatial organization, in this sense they have to come up with their own solutions which need to differ from the ones provided by the state as it doesn't always serve the public or common good (de Souza, 2006).

It is also about the combining of the local and the knowledge of the state. Social movements do this by using their local knowledge, meaning their knowledge of the space and of people's needs and combining it with the technical knowledge which is produced by established institutions like the university or the state (de Souza, 2006). The strength of social movements which are placed in the urban is that they, through their heterogeneity and diverse methods and networks, generally have a good local knowledge which sometimes might be undervalued and therefore also underestimated (de Souza, 2006). There are the two positions where one extreme is the complete centering of the state while the other is the position which wishes to work entirely disconnectedly from the state; for social movements which are engaging in an urban planning perspective it seems to be needed to provide on one hand the perspective of a autonomy of civil society as well as careful cooperation with the state, ideally with non-conservative parties even if cooperating with state-power can be risky for social movements (de Souza, 2006).

Social movements are to some extent in a vulnerable position interacting with the state when thinking independently and presenting their own proposals and it is more safe for them to participate in proposals coming from political parties, then their participation can be useful however it poses challenges regarding respectability and reliability and the ability to be critical,

in this case specifically being self-critical (de Souza, 2006). In the example of urban planning, it can be good to get help from professionals however social movements should not be giving away control to institutions which might be connected to the state or have a non-radical political background. Even if a political party might seem to have similar values to the social movement, de Souza still argues that it is not a good tactical decision (2006). The fact that they are state centered structures implies that they are directly involved with state power and corruption as well as the fact that state institutions tend to problem-solve conservatively are all battles political parties have to solve already (de Souza, 2006).

One reason for social movements to make the urban space their focus is, among others, that there are more political opportunities because the state capacities are transferred onto sub-national levels of government (Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004). As mentioned above, there is this importance in the binary of highlighting civil society and the state since the extent to which urban justice movements are territorialized as well as the evolution of such movements depends on the regional power relations between state and civil society (Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004). Social movements are in this sense very interesting as they showcase the gap between local movement and structural problem.

While movements and mobilizations often emerge in cities, they do not always stay there. Social movements, especially when engaging with laws often must engage with the national or even the international level to be more effective and efficient, especially if the social movements want to tackle the structural level. Miller and Nicholls argue that if the relations between the activists moving in the urban field are close-knit and well-structured, the structural and systemic aspect of social problems is realized quicker and therefore plans for action include going beyond the city, making the possibility and need for movements to shift to a national or transnational scale more evident (2013).

In the case of the Thursdays Demonstrations the politicians of the national level have not been too fond of the protests. For instance, many politicians from the parliament from the conservative fractions have called for stopping these protests (Preglaus, 2025) as well as at the televised presidential debates, the conservative politician made the allegations that the green candidate was supporting a supposed violence-ready protester group and that he should distance himself from the violence of the 'left-extremists' (Preglaus, 2025). Another interesting example of the hostile attitude of the national politicians towards the Thursdays Demonstrations is the request by a member of parliament of the right wing party to the minister of interior affairs on the 20th of November 2024 where it was asked: "Which measures are you taking to avoid potential attacks by these protestors?" or "How are you planning to protect the employees of the far-right party from them?" (Hafenecker, 2024) In a speech of the right wing politician as a more moderate coalition is being formed he seems to mock the protestors outside, asking if they will still be protesting for the left when the left is inside the government (Direction of Austrian Parliament, 2020).

The relationship of states and social movements can also vary depending on the economic situation. In the case where poverty is more widespread and the state cannot fulfill the responsibilities it should, this leads to more disagreement and conflict which leads to a radicalization of social movements but gives the opportunity to present new ideas and changes due to the intensity of the situation (Viana, 2015). In case of the social movements becoming urban popular movements, disagreements and conflict will be shown more clearly, creating and opening opportunities for new ideas and chances for the urban popular movement, among these the chance of radicalization (Viana, 2015). Then state-involvement and action in urban social movements could become more evident through higher repression which however according to Viana cannot be solved without a drastic change of our accumulative system (2015).

This economic aspect is relevant as it is closely tied to spatialities in the city. An economic system which has the final goal of accumulation ultimately produces inequalities in the distribution of space also in the city. This is important remembering the systemicness of urban social movements. Miller for example argues that there is a discrepancy between the “geographies of lifeworlds” and the “geographies of systems” (Miller, 2000, p. 67, as cited in, Miller & Nicholls, 2013) which poses one of the most difficult issues for social movements. Social movements gather around everyday identities and values while many political processes are systemic and they each have their separate geographies (Miller & Nicholls, 2013) and therefore it is the challenge of social movements to bring these different geographies together and make political mobilization possible, especially in cities where the conditions for encounters in this two-fold way are often found however the cities have their own geographies of influencing how easy it is to build networks with activists.

This is also a point which is critical about the Thursdays Protests, they are just rich, white kids.

However it can also go from the state and then adding the local level: through territorialization, the national becomes only one of the spaces of mobilizing and organizing (Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004). In the process of urbanization, it means the territorialization on a city-region level as well as practical things like opening local offices which leads to two major moments during this process for social movements: when regional locations are being opened for gaining local support for national issues or “being territorially grounded at the urban level” (Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004, p.122) and when networks are developing between different actors and are benefitting the local engagements as well as serving the national or in general broader goals of that movement (Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004).

CONCLUSION

For many, the Thursdays Demonstrations have truly become a tradition and something which stayed constant across the years full of changes. While it does not only facilitate network-building for the left-wing and social justice groups, it happening so regularly (every Thursday in periods of all-right coalition governments) I would argue also help foster strong tie connections between protestors, who might or might not otherwise be engaged in the countries politics.

This paper has shown that there are many factors going into the building and maintaining of resistance. Cities inhabit many factors like the positives such as better opportunities for finding a network and one's own subgroup which might help to ease struggles of being or seeming different from the mainstream society and generally a group of possibly more diverse inhabitants. Urban spaces seem also to provide spaces for its businesses, political organizations, neighborhood associations, or individual activists, which seems to make it possible more easily to build activism.

The Thursdays Demonstrations are a great example of building a social movement network with the intention of uniting behind a shared objective. They showcase how different members of activist groups come together and connect and share their resources whether they are actual physical resources or more mental, intellectual resources. For further writing it might be helpful to continue research into the possible reasons why the Thursdays Demonstrations have not come close to the magnitude they had in Vienna in other Austrian cities which are even more left wing, for example the 2nd biggest city of Austria, Graz which is even ruled by a communist mayor, is the network simply not big enough?

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