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Trajectories to Radical Anarchist Activism

A QUALITATIVE STUDY ON THE MOTIVATIONS TO JOIN AND STAY INVOLVED IN THE DUTCH ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

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Abstract

After the violent riots in Hamburg during the G20-summit in July 2017, a negative public image emerged which depicts European anarchists and other radical left-wing activists as violent slobs and terrorists. Even though academic scholars have provided a variety of studies which explain individuals' motivations to join jihadist or radical-right wing groups and social movements, little is known about the radical left-wing movement, more specifically the anarchist movement. Through qualitative semi-structured interviews with 9 Dutch anarchists, this study tries to fill this gap of information by answering the question what motivates Dutch anarchists to become and stay involved in the movement. The analysis of the respondents' life histories reveals that the reasons for participation in the anarchist movement can be categorized into four groups: ideological motivations, social motivations, instrumental motivations and motivations which positively influenced the respondents' identities. Even though limited in its size, this research shows that more attention for radical left-wing movements in general and more specifically the anarchist movement is necessary as this research's findings show that there are significant differences between different radical groups.

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1. Introduction

During the G20-summit in Hamburg, Germany in June 2017, the media's attention was not only directed at the politicians who gathered in secured meeting rooms, but also at the thousands of protestors outside. There, the demonstrations such as 'Welcome to Hell' consisting of members of anarchistic and other radical left-wing groups throughout Europe, walked through the streets of Hamburg, leaving behind burning cars, broken streets, robbed shops and damages worth millions of euros. Around 400 activists have been arrested by the police during the summit, including members from foreign left-wing movements, for example from France or Italy. Also, two Dutch anarchists were arrested, from which one was convicted to two years and seven months in jail. In the end, a total of 51 arrest warrants were issued. Both police officers and activists were hurt, in some cases seriously.

Politicians, the media and the public reacted with outrage. 'Criminal slobs' or 'despicable extremists' are only two names used for the left-wing radicals (De Maziére, 2017). German politician Peter Altmaier categorized the violent demonstrations as 'left-wing terror' on Twitter and added that the actions can be compared with Islamist or right-wing terror (Altmaier, 2017, July 8). Other influential politicians from the leading parties made an appeal for an European-wide database for left-wing extremists (Drebes, 2017). In the Netherlands, an increase of alertness for the radical left-wing scene is visible in the most recent *Dreigingsbeeld Terrorisme Nederland* (DTN), a quarterly assessment of the extremist threat to the Dutch and European society published by the National Coordinator of Terrorism (NCTV, 2017c). This alertness translates to an increase of attention from police for demonstrations and actions taken by left-wing groups, for example during a demonstration in the Frisian city of Dokkum. After an earlier demonstration ended in a blockage of left-wing protestors by right-wing counter-groups on a Dutch highway, the local city council banned the demonstration and decided on an emergency order after it became clear that protestors would not obey to the ban. This emergency order let to the presence of a large number of police agents, as well as special forces who patrolled the city and searched individuals to avoid violent confrontations between leftist activists and members of the radical right-wing group *Pegida* and the use of illegal fireworks. In the end, the activists had to return and no remarkable events were reported (Naber, 2017). Altogether, these examples show that radical left-wing movements have regained popularity and the interests of politicians and the public, in particular the anarchist movement.

The interest is justified - numbers of members of anarchist, autonomous and similar left-wing

extremist groups have increased and the actions taken have become more visible throughout Europe in the last years: more than 1.500 protesters gathered in Amsterdam and The Hague to take part in the anarchist Occupy-movement in 2011 (Volkskrant, 2011), from 2015 to 2016, Germany registered an increase of 7% (Innenministerium, 2017, p. 101); in early 2017, a Greek anarchist group gained attention after sending parcel bombs to several official institution in Germany in France (Daerden, 2017) and two Italian anarchist groups claimed responsibility for a bomb that went of in front of a police station on December 7th 2017 (ANSA, December 2017).

Interesting though is how this renewed interest has been expressed: In the majority of reactions to these developments in Europe, anarchist radicals have been framed as a security issue, a threat to governments and societies. Two reasons seem to support this framing of the movement as a security issue. The first reason are the recent events in Hamburg which have shown that at least some members of the movement do not shy away from using violence as a one of their tactics. The second reason is based on the context of anarchist history. Since the emergence of anarchism as a political culture in the mid to late-19th century, the ideology and its supporters was framed as an issue of security by governments and media. Not only are attacks by anarchists in the second half of the 19th century categorized as the first wave of terrorism, anarchism of the early 20th century is known as the 'first red scare' especially in the US (Rapoport, 2002; Skoll & Korstanje, 2013). The Dutch context is comparable to the general Western situation (De Graaf, 2012). These two factors seem to influence the framing of anarchism today. There are only few examples of media outputs that use other perspectives when approaching the anarchist movement (Onkenhout, 2017; Van Bokkum, 2017). In the end, the relation between security and anarchism remains unchallenged by the media or the government.

Is this framing reasonable? Though this focus on security seems not completely unjustified, given the recent examples of the violent protests in Hamburg and the parcel-bombs send by Greek anarchists in early 2017, a neutral assessment of the threat from radical left-wing groups that goes beyond an argumentation based on specific events is missing. Especially the voice of anarchists themselves has often been neglected so far. This void of information has several significant consequences: The first potential consequence is that this negative framing of anarchists in the Netherlands could lead to stricter policies and more drastic repressive measures, for example an increase of the presence of the police during demonstrations, prohibitions of anarchist groups or closure of known meeting locations. Analyses of such policy measures on their effectiveness however have shown that repressive actions against radical groups could be interpreted as breeding ground for

further radicalization (Lindekilde, 2012). A second potential consequence of this negative framing is a further social division between 'us' and 'them' which is rooted in a lack of knowledge and misunderstanding of each other. Such polarisations lead to a decrease in social solidarity and cohesion.

The questions remain: How real is the threat by anarchists to societies? Do people join the anarchist movement to violently act out against the governments and its representatives or are there other motivations?

1.1 What Academics Have to Say on Dutch Anarchism

Another source for information on the contemporary anarchist movement are academic contributions made by independent researchers. In general, researchers have been interested in the motivations to join radical groups over the last few decades. Especially since the 1990s, there have been many contributions related to the racist or radical right-wing movement in Europe. Klandermans and Mayer, for example, have studied European right-wing groups and the members' pathways towards the movement (2005). Bjørgo even created a list of ten possible reasons to engage in extremist right-wing groups, from which only two could be related to an interest in violence. Even more scientific interest has been directed at the radicalization process and participation of radical jihadists, which has only been intensified with the emergence of the Islamic State (IS) and the growing number of European foreign fighters that became members of this extremist group. Again, a common question was: Why do people join these groups? Though no globally accepted answer was found, a number of studies have focused on the individual pathways and therefore contributed to a better understanding of the group in general by emphasizing that a variety of motivations can lead to involvement in radical groups, such as the search for an identity, social connections or other incentives (Dawson & Amarasingam, 2017; Petter, 2004; Reed, van Zuijdewijn, Bakker, & Brief, 2015).

However, looking at academic contributions related to the anarchist movement, in particular in the Dutch context, one quickly discovers a lack of information that could add to a better understanding of the contemporary movement. First of all, the scientific literature relating to European anarchist movements is mostly adapting a historical perspective by reviewing the different waves of anarchist insurgencies until the late 1970's (De Graaf, 2012; Faes, 2006; Kiedroń, 2011). Even though these scientific contributions are important for the understanding of the historical context of the today's Dutch movement, they cannot simply be applied to the contemporary context in

which the Dutch movement takes place. As the historical review of this research shows, Dutch anarchism has been expressed in different waves over the past hundred years, depending on the societal and historical background. Contemporary anarchism deserves its own analysis.

In other cases, Dutch anarchists were included as a sub-groups in a broader attempt to explore the radical left-wing scene in the Netherlands (Van der Varst, Zannoni, Bouabid, Van Ham, & Van Wijk, 2010). This categorization of the movement is no flaw in itself; however, it dismisses the crucial differences between anarchist and activists related to other ideologies, for example communists or socialists which both fall under the spectrum of left-wing ideologies but cannot be equated with anarchism, as a narrower review of the political culture of anarchism in ch apter 2will show.

Therefore, existing academic research is not able to answer the essential questions about contemporary anarchism: Who does become an anarchist? What makes anarchism a viable alternative to existing structures for some? What is the structure of the movement? What goals do anarchists pursue? Why do people join the Dutch anarchist movement?

1.2 Contribution of This Research

In the context of the renewed interest for the anarchist movement and the lack of academic contributions on this topic, this research aims at answering the following question:

What are the motivations to join and stay involved in the Dutch anarchist movement?

In relation to academic outputs on participation in other radical groups, the question can further be differentiated in the following sub-questions:

1. To what extend do individuals have ideological motives to join the anarchist movement?
2. To what extend do social motives influence the decision to participate in anarchist activism?
3. In which way have personal benefits played a role in the individual's decision to get involved?
4. What other factors motivate individuals to join this radical movement?

By answering these question, the researcher hopes to add some nuances to the debate around Dutch anarchism in order to potentially challenge the current framing of anarchism as a security issue or

to offer at least new approaches to address and perceive the movement.

1.3. Outline of The Thesis

Before the above outlined research questions can be answered, a look at existing research is necessary. This theoretical part of the thesis consists of chapter 2 and 3. Chapter 2 will review the relevant information on anarchism. Next to creating a common understanding of the concept of 'anarchism' by revising different definitions and interpretations, chapter 2 offers explanation to the two main factors in anarchist political culture – moral self-direction and antiauthoritarianism – and a short outline of the history of anarchist movements in Europe from mid-19th century until today. The chapter will conclude with a specific focus on the Dutch context.

Chapter 3 reviews academic contributions to social movement theory. Again, a definition of social movement is provided and its applicability to anarchist activism proven. Moreover, chapter 3 is going to answer the following questions: How do people enter a movement? What individual motives do individuals have to enter a social movement? And what have practical examples taught us? Whereas the first three questions can be answered by revising existing theoretical contributions on different forms of (self-)recruitment, different approaches on social movement theory and motivations for participation, the last question asks for information gathered by case studies. Given the lack of research on contemporary anarchist movements, other social movements will be discussed.

The methodological part of this research is discussed in chapter 4 which describes the approaches, methods and tools used in this research. Furthermore, the processes of analysing the gathered information and experienced difficulties in this research are revisited. Finally, chapter 4 concludes by discussing the trustworthiness of this research based on the applied tools and approaches.

Chapter 5 will analyse the gathered data and answer the first part of the question: Why did the participants of this research joined the Dutch anarchist movement. The structure of the analysis is provided by the theoretical implications on motivations to join social movements and the experiences from case studies, which resulted in four subcategories for analysis: ideological motives, social motives, practical motives and an open category for motivations that do not fit any other category. This structure relates back to the different sub-questions of this research. After the first part of the analysis follows chapter 6, which evolved around the second part of the research question: Why did the participants of this research stay involved in the movement? The structure of this

chapter remains similar to chapter 5. Eventually, the research is wrapped up by a conclusion of the analysis in chapter 7. Moreover, implications for further research are discussed.

2. Anarchism

In order to understand anarchism, it is important to review not only the various definitions that are attached to the term. In addition, this chapter will take a look at the core concepts and ideas, guiding the anarchists' ideas, as well as the history of social movements. Finally, the last part of this chapter will review the literature on changes in contemporary anarchism in Europe and the anarchist movement in the Netherlands. Considering that anarchism has existed since the early 19th century in different forms and has been expressed in different ways by a variety of movements, this study will focus mainly on Western European Anarchism, as it is related the strongest to the focus of this research, Dutch anarchists.

2.1 Definition of Anarchism

Literature has provided different definitions and meanings of 'anarchism', often depending on the time and context (Goldman, 1910; Newman, 2015; Proudhon, 1840; Rocker, 2004). This variety of definitions is caused by four factors: (1) a lack of available scientific literature about anarchism and the extensive grey literature written by activists who identify with anarchism and similar opinions themselves (Adams & Jun, 2015), (2) the different interpretations of anarchism over the years as a political theory, a philosophy, an ideology or other forms (Gordon, 2006), (3) the number of sub-groups connected to anarchism that provide their own definitions and (4) the unjust equation of contemporary anarchism with the wider anti-globalization movement by the media which produces assumptions of the general movement which do not necessarily apply to the anarchist groups.

Taking into account these difficulties in assessing anarchism from a scientific point of view and the resulting arguments against and for specific concepts of anarchism, this research follows the suggestion of Gordon (2006) that anarchism should be understood as a political culture. Gordon argues that the notion of 'culture' offers the space to analyse anarchism as a context- and time-specific set of ideas and practises instead of a fixed ideology or a simple theory that neglects all existing diversities.

In addition to the interpretation of anarchism, this study pursues by defining anarchism as what Saul Newman calls 'a diverse and heterodox assemblage of ideas, moral sensibilities, practices and historical movements and struggles animated by [...] an anti-authoritarian impulse - that is, a desire to critically interrogate, refuse, transform and overthrow all relations of authority, particularly those centralized within the sovereign state' (2015, p. 1) as it is applicable to the changing

anarchist-movement over time and contains the core concept of this political culture which are examined in the following section.

2.2 Core Concepts of Anarchism

The core ideas of anarchism were developed in the 19th century by a few theorists who are known today as the classical thinkers of anarchism: William Godwin (1756-1836), Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865), Michail Bakunin (1814-1876) and Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921) (Crowder, 1991). Next to the theoretical and philosophical influence of Rousseau, Foucault and, in some terms, each other, the historical context is of significance to understand how and why these classical thinkers developed the core concepts of anarchism. Mid-19th century Europe was marked by a general discontent with the repressive forces of governments, the lack of rights for citizens and a wave of liberalism. These political and social tensions erupted into violence in the revolutions of 1848 that collapsed only a year later. Even though some democratic reforms were introduced, European societies had to undergo a reactionary phase of intensified repression. Frenchman Proudhon, who was personally affected when some of his works were confiscated, described the state of mind of many European societies: "We have been beaten and humiliated… scattered, imprisoned, disarmed and gagged. The fate of European democracy has slipped from our hands".

2.2.1 Freedom and Moral Self-Direction

In this context, the struggle for freedom from authority caused the development of anarchist concepts during the 19th century. However, whereas the masses fought 'only' for freedom from repression of authorities, anarchist theorists pursued a more radical interpretation of freedom – total autonomy from governments, institutions, such as the church or even other individuals (Adams & Jun, 2015; Crowder, 1991; Gordon, 2006; Newman, 2015). According to Crowder's analysis of anarchist theory, classical thinkers pursued the idea that humankind would develop positively when living in freedom. The ultimate goal of freedom in the anarchistic thought can be 'understood as moral self-direction: self-direction in accordance with the will of the true or perfected self, which is the rational and right-willing part of the personality' (Crowder, 1991, p. 170). In other words, the classical thinkers believed that living in total freedom would improve and strengthen every human's moral compass, which, if not disturbed by other factors, can guide persons to a 'perfect' life in harmony with each other. Laws, as made by governments, are rendered unnecessary. Following this logic, anarchists have referred to arguments made by other philosophers with similar

ideas, such as Kant, stating that humans are not supposed to follow the laws made by a government or other person, but the laws that one has made him- or herself (Wolff, 1970). As Crowder (Crowder, 1991) notes, this perception of freedom follows a positive notion of freedom, rather than a negative which would 'only' include the absence of restraining factors; marking the difference between the common revolutionists from that time and anarchists.

Even though philosophers over time have strengthened the anarchist arguments, the arguments of classical thinkers cannot withstand the criticism of (even anarchist) postmodernists regarding the idea of total freedom and moral self-direction. The main criticism challenges the idea of the essentialist human being, the idea that every human is naturally good (Adams & Jun, 2015; Newman, 2010; Ritter, 1980). Eventually, it is argued, total freedom would lead to more misbehaviour as laws that could control crime would be abolished. Consequently, the misbehaviour would be met with punishment and control of the situation by others, which would contradict the idea of total freedom. Especially modern (post)anarchists have adapted this critical stance against the classical thinkers. Even though total freedom remains one of the core concept of anarchism, essentialist notions in total freedom and moral autonomy have been replaced by alternatives, for example communal freedom.

2.2.2 Anti-authoritarianism

Notwithstanding the historical changes of the interpretation of freedom and autonomy, the understanding of the causes for a lack thereof have remained the same over the years: Hierarchical structures in, and authority executed by governments, religions, capitalism and patriarchy are regarded as 'external limitations and encumbrances upon human freedom' (Newman, 2015, p. 3). Proudhon for example criticized the church claiming that the laws provided by this institution would contradict the moral laws that are necessary for complete moral self-direction (Crowder, 1991). The ultimate form of authority is represented by the state and its agencies, for example the police (Williams, 2007). The rejection of the state or any form of government is based on two criticisms: The first criticism is that governments ask for obedience of their citizens which does not resonate with the strive for moral self-direction. The second criticism is the government's use of domination and repressive forces (Crowder, 1991; Gordon, 2006; Newman, 2015).

Based on this criticism of authoritarian structures and the strive for freedom, classical anarchist theorists have developed different interpretations of the ideal anarchist society: 'Anarchistic

societies are stateless societies, in which social relations are autonomously, directly and cooperatively managed by people themselves, rather than through the mediation of alienating and centralized institutions' (Newman, 2015, p. 2). Repressive forces of governments which have acted as the regulating force are replaced by individual moral laws. However, the classical theorists could not find more common ground in their expectations for an ideal anarchist society. Some theorists were more radical than others: Goodwin for example even condemned cooperation in the work force with the argument that cooperation inevitably leads to some form of dependence which should not be acceptable in his vision of society (Crowder, 1991). Others, such as Proudhon followed a more moderate vision, which allowed cooperation and production in moderation. Mutualism should ensure the equality of all. Nonetheless, the ideas about an anarchist society changed over the years and so far, there has been no global common understanding of how life after the revolution and abolishment of the government should look like.

2.3 History of anarchist movements

In order to understand the development of anarchism and its core concepts throughout the years, it is important to take a look at the history of anarchist movements in Europe from its origin in mid-19th century until today. Looking at a general trend in Europe, authors have concluded that waves of anarchism correlated with peaks of social struggle, first in the late 19th century, after the end of the First World War and finally, after the Second World War up until the start of the 21st century (Gordon, 2006; Grubacic, 2004)

2.3.1 First Wave: late 19th century

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the anarchist movement of the late 19th century was mainly influenced by the social struggles against repressive regimes in most European countries which resulted in a wave of revolutions in 1848. Both Proudhon and Bakunin were heavily influenced by the experiences of the revolutions, picking up the ideas of revolutionists, such as Robespierre, to argue for communities that are free of repressive authorities (Kassel, 2009). Moreover, the examples of former uprisings led the classical thinkers to believe that anarchism could only be achieved by overthrowing the state for good by means of a revolution.

Another important development during this time significant to the unfolding of anarchism was the formation of the first international left-wing organisation, the International Workingmen's Association, often referred to as the First International (1846-1876). This organisation was open to

different factions of left-wing politics, including Marxists, federalists and the early anarchists (Levy, 2004). Theoretical disputes between these factions eventually led to the fragmentation of anarchists from Marxists in 1872 after which anarchists founded their own organisation, the Anarchist St. Imier International. Moreover, anarchists started organizing their own congresses, bringing together the most important thinkers of the time. Today, this break with Marxism is regarded as significant for the formation of anarchism as a distinct political culture (Grubacic, 2004; Kassel, 2009; Levy, 2004). However, a common understanding of anarchist theory, the use of violence as acceptable means to achieve freedom for humankind and an idealistic anarchist society was never achieved, as internal debates in the anarchist organisation continued.

Though the use of violence was disputed within the anarchist movements then, societies of the late 19th and early 20th century as well as today's scholars regarded the anarchist movements of that time as the initiators of the first wave of terrorism in Europe (Jensen, 2009; Kassel, 2009). Even though Russia experienced the heaviest influence of anarchist attacks, all European monarchies were exposed to violence. Some incidents of the series of assassinations against monarchs remain infamous until today, such as the killings of Elizabeth of Austria or the king and crown prince of Portugal (Jensen, 2009; Kassel, 2009). Though these attacks could often not be linked to anarchist ideology, 'to conspiracies of any size' or 'to a grand plan to destroy Western civilization', they heavily influenced the public perception of anarchism which persisted throughout the years until today and are therefore essential for contemporary understanding of anarchism (Gordon, 2006; Jensen, 2009; Kassel, 2009). The world started to fear a global network of bomb plotters and terrorists (De Graaf, 2012; Klem, 2014)

2.3.2 Second Wave: Anarchism between the World Wars

Whereas in other parts of the world, mainly South-America and Asia, anarchism was spreading, the European anarchist movement after the First World War was mainly influenced by repressive forces of the fascist regimes in Italy and Germany which led several infamous anarchists of that time to flee into exile (Gordon, 2006). Though anarchism did not vanish completely, it remained limited to small actions in the European underground.

In Spain however, anarchists established a stronghold after a social uprising against the Spanish Republic in 1936, resulting in areas that restructured according to a socialist or anarchist inspired collective (Ackelsberg, 2005; Gordon, 2006). For the first time in history, anarchists were able to test theoretical ideas in reality and until today, the collectivization of economy and social

life are celebrated as a success. However, not all areas of Spain experienced these profound changes and, together with international fascist influences, the counter-revolution ended the anarchist project after a year, followed by the Francoist regime (Ackelsberg, 2005; Casanova, 1992).

2.3.3 Third Wave: 1945-1990

In the first years after the Second World War, anarchists movement in Europe had to reorganize after, what Gordon calls the 'utter collapse' (Gordon, 2006). His analysis is based on the following three reasons: (1) the 'physical elimination of the European anarchist movement by both fascist and Leninist dictatorship', (2) 'relaxation of social struggle in capitalist states' and (3) 'ideological rigidities accompanying the bi-polar international framework of the cold war' (Gordon, 2006, pp. 83-86). Some anarchist theorists, such as Rudolph Rocker even suggested that new anarchist movements were doomed to failure (Vallance, 1973).

As it turned out, Rocker was mistaken as social circumstances supported a resurrection of anarchist movements during the 1960s, when several social movements developed anti-authoritarian ideas after being confronted with oppression from governments. Some of these infamous social left-wing movements are the anti-nuclear movement, radical environmentalists and the feminist movements (Gordon, 2006). Even though anarchism was not at the core of these movements, some of their members radicalized and formed anarchist groups. Some scholars regard these formations as the start of the so-called new anarchism, which differs significantly from the classical anarchism of the late 19th and early 20th century.

Before exploring these differences in the following section on contemporary anarchism, another aspect of anarchist movement after the Second World War should be discussed. Similar to the first wave of anarchism, left-wing terrorism during the 1960s and 1970s shaped the perceptions that societies had about anarchists. Some of the infamous left-wing terrorists groups are the *Rote Armee Fraktion* (RAF) in Germany, the *Brigate Rosse* in Italy and the *Euskadi ta Askatasuna* (ETA) (Shughart, 2006). Even though these groups may not have regarded themselves as anarchist groups, the developments have strengthened the public perception of anarchism as a synonym for terrorism, which remains in the collective historic memory. Though left-wing terrorism in the late 20th century conducted thousands of small terrorist attacks, Shughart paints a picture of a unsuccessful movement due to unrealistic goals and effective counter-measures by European governments (2006).

2.3.4 Contemporary anarchism

Finally, changes in the anarchist movements from 1990s on led scholars to identify a new wave of anarchism, often referred to as postanarchism (Franks, 2007; Gordon, 2006, 2007; Newman, 2011, 2015; Williams, 2007). The origins of this wave can be found in the anti-globalization movements which, arising in the late 1990s, criticized a new peak of repression and globalization. Successes of protests by the global movement caused governments to enter into negotiations and adjust policies. However, the hard core of the movement was not satisfied and radicalized in its anti-authoritarian ideas. The result: anarchist autonomous groups throughout Europe (Gordon, 2006). Though underrepresented in academic literature scholars who have conducted case studies on postanarchism have identified significant differences to classical anarchism in the areas of theoretical concepts, organizational forms, and tools and means to achieve goals (Gordon, 2006, 2007; Grubacic, 2004; Williams, 2007).

Whereas the concepts of freedom and the struggle against any forms of authority and power have remained at the core of contemporary anarchism, the majority of postanarchists do not refer to the thoughts of classical anarchist thinkers, such as Proudhon or Bakunin. The few modern anarchists that do, often criticize the interpretation made by them, for example the essentialist idea of the goodness in humankind, or the main idea of achieving anarchy through means of revolution (Newman, 2010, 2011, 2015; Williams, 2007). As Newman suggest, postanarchists do not theorize about an idealistic anarchist society, instead, they apply their interpretations of anarchism to everyday life by creating an anarchist lifestyle (2015).

These forms of anarchist lifestyles are mostly found on a local level in the formation of ad-hoc collectives or affinity groups (Gordon, 2006). Following the mantra of 'Be the change', postanarchists developed grass-root level self-providing communities in order to present an alternative to society, such as the Connewitz neighbourhood in Germany's Leipzig (Mania-Schlegel & Schönian, 2017) or the Dutch 'bajesdorp' in Amsterdam, a squat-housing which offers collective activities and room for critical discussions on Dutch politics (Dee, 2015).

2.4 Anarchism in the Netherlands

The 'bajesdorp' in Amsterdam is only one example for the variety of Dutch anarchist initiatives or groups. The following section will explore the history of anarchist movements and activities before taking a closer look at contemporary Dutch interpretations of anarchism. Lastly, the final section

reviews recent policies or official documents by the Dutch government regarding anarchism or other left-wing radicalism in order to offer a better understanding of the current situation of public perceptions of anarchists in the Netherlands.

2.4.1 History of anarchist movements in the Netherlands

Though the socialist movements became active with the establishment of the *Algemeen Nederlands Werkleden Verbond*, a worker's trade union, the anarchist had only little to no impact in the Netherlands until the beginning of the 20th century, when Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis averted from socialism to anarchism and started publishing *De Vrije Socialist,* an anarchist magazine in 1898 (Faes, 2006; Nieuwenhuis, 1911). Still, most significant radical left-wing activity was conducted by the socialist and communist movements whilst the fear of anarchism in the Dutch political arena was mainly based on the global attacks rather than a real threat to Dutch society (De Graaf, 2012). In reality, Dutch anarchism remained comparatively pacifistic (Faes, 2006).

After Nieuwenhuis' death in 1919, Dutch anarchism was mainly targeting the increasing militarization of the European relations up until the Second World War. One significant occurrence of that time, the annual meeting of Dutch anarchists during the so-called *Pinksterlanddagen* in the Friesian village of Appelscha with its first event in 1927 endured up to today (Faes, 2006). Nonetheless, comparable to other anarchist movements in Europe, the Dutch variant had to deal with declining membership due to theoretical issues concerning participation in the war and the strength of communism, which attracted a greater number of left-wing radicals in the Netherlands (Faes, 2006).

Up until the 1960's, anarchism in the Netherlands remained relatively silent during the years of war. However, social dissatisfaction in groups of mainly young people led to a revival of anarchism in Dutch society during the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's. Especially social movements and groups, such as *Provos*, *Kabouters*, as well as the squatter – and punk-movement were based on or showed features of anarchist culture (Kiedroń, 2011; Van der Varst et al., 2010). Looking back, there are two noteworthy aspects of Dutch anarchism in the late 20th century: First of all, its increase in use of violence. The violent clashes between the protesters and police, for example during the barricade of the squatted *Grote Keijzer* in Amsterdam or the *Piersonriots* in Nijmegen in 1981 had reached new proportions with police using special forces, tanks and other resources against the rioting youths (Duivenvoorden, 2000). A second aspect is the development of an anarchist sub-culture, with distinct features in music, clothing and other facettes (Faes, 2006).

2.4.2 Contemporary Anarchism in the Netherlands

Contemporary anarchism in the Netherlands is in its size not comparable with the social movement at the end of the 20th century. After 1990, involvement in radical left-wing groups declined steadily. The number of participants during the *Pinksterlanddagen* is cut in half to around 400 (Van Bokkum, 2017). However, Dutch anarchism is not dead: By 2017, there are a handful of groups spread over the country that regularly take action, for example the *Autonomen Den Haag* or the *Anarchistische Groep Nijmegen*. Together, these groups generate a variety of publications and events often in cafes, bookshops or similar public spaces which are run by anarchist volunteers.

The social issues that anarchist actions in the Netherlands are directed at, are diverse as well. Unannounced counter-protests during right-wing demonstrations are common, as well as smaller and local protests against capitalist companies or distribution of flyers. In the last years, the handling of refugees, ethnic profiling and excessive use of violence by the police and the rise of right-wing parties throughout Europe have been special concerns of anarchist groups (AIVD, 2013). Dutch anarchists are also regularly found at protests in neighbouring countries, for example during the Blockupy protests in Frankfurt, Germany. Whereas all of these activities remain rather small in comparison to the anarchist movement of the 70s and 80s, Dutch anarchist became part of the news headline after riots in The Hague in June 2015 in response to the death of Aruban Mitch Henriquez in a police cell (Mentink, 2015). Special forces had to stop the protesters from burning bus stops, throwing smoke bombs and attacking police officers with glass bottles or similar objects. As a consequence, the major of The Hague issued a ban against a number of anarchist who were not allowed to enter the district of The Hague in which the riots took place which was a highly discussed procedure considering that the law enabling this ban was originally directed at Hooligans (Haspels, 2015).

2.4.3 Policies Regarding Anarchism and Left-Wing Radicalism in the Netherlands

As the above-mentioned example illustrates, there are no specific policies that specifically deal with radical or extremist left-wing groups in the Netherlands. Even though there are several policies and programs against extremism in general, recent global developments caused a focus on extremist jihadist groups or individuals, for example in the national strategy against terrorism from 2011 (NCTV, 2011b). However, anarchist groups are often part of publications by the Dutch intelligence service AIVD and research conducted for Dutch ministries.

One example is the *Dreigingsbeeld Terrorisme Nederland* (DTN), a review of current threats to Dutch history which is published four times a year by the National Coordinator for Terrorism. In these publications, anarchist activities fall under the general group of left-wing extremist or –radicals. Even though left-wing activism is generally mentioned in all publication of the DTN, only little importance is given to these activities considering that the general conclusion is that extreme-left is no significant threat to the Dutch society, except for some vandalism and some individual cases of arson or robberies (NCTV, 2011a, 2016, 2017a, 2017b). A little change of this evaluation is visible in the most recent DTN which was published in November 2017 and therefore constitutes the first evaluation after the violent riots in Hamburg: Not only did the NCTV recognize the involvement of some activists in the riots In Hamburg, but they also acknowledged more attention for left-wing extremism or radicalism based on a few accidents. The chance for broader organized unrest by left-wing extremists is considered rather small, due to 'active police actions' (NCTV, 2017c, p. 8, translated by author).

In addition, there are two essential documents released by the Dutch governments in recent years which might shed another light onto the perceived threat of anarchists. In 2010, the AIVD send an open letter to local governments in the Netherlands, warning about the methods used by the *Antifascistische Actie*. The *Antifascistische Actie* (AFA) is a network of smaller groups with anarchist features which was established in 1992 with the intention of fighting against perceived fascist in the Netherlands, if necessary with violence. In the open letter, the AIVD states that techniques by the movement have diversified: instead of using street-violence, members of AFA have tried to gather personal information on right-wing radicals and their activities by covering up as a consultancy bureau for issues of discrimination and contacting local governments, such as municipalities. Information would then be used to personally attack the persons that AFA perceives as fascists. Altogether, the short letter emphasizes several times AFA's willingness to use violence which paints a picture of an imminent danger to local governments.

Another official publication worth mentioning which might contradict the picture of a weak movement is the '*Linksactivisme en –extremisme in Nederland*' from 2013 in which the AIVD reviews the state of left-wing activism and extremism in the Netherlands and its own role (AIVD, 2013). The report confirms the perception of a relatively harmless left-wing movement in general; yet exempting so-called anarcho-extremists which are described as the 'crème de la crème' of left-wing extremism (AIVD, 2013). In the context of the financial crisis, this report is also emphasizing

the unwillingness of anarcho-extremists to contribute positively to Dutch society. The AIVD creates a negative perception of anarchists. Nonetheless, the report does not include any direct measures regarding policies based on the analysis; only the general promise for further monitoring and cooperation with local institutions in order to prevent radicalization is made.

All in all, though the radical left-wing movement in the Netherlands is perceived as rather small by the Dutch government and security actors, some official documents prove that the potential of impact by the anarchist groups cannot be denied. Especially after the riots in Hamburg, one can expect an increase in attention for actions or demonstrations planned and taken by left-wing radicals, including Dutch anarchists. The question remains whether this attention is justified.

3. Involvement Processes in Social Movements

The second part of this theoretical review on existing literature and studies will focus on the processes towards and motivations for involvement in (radical) social movements. Since the 1960's, researchers have contributed a variety of theories to the field of social movement theory, including a number of different definitions and perspectives to address involvement in social movement or political activism. Given this large amount of information, this chapter aims at reviewing the theoretical contributions on their applicability to explain Dutch anarchists' motivations and integration processes into the movement. First, a short overview and definition of social movements will be provided, before taking a closer look at different pathways to active engagement in social movements. Secondly, former and present theories and conceptual models will be evaluated on their relevance for explaining active membership in a social group. The third part of this chapter present the social-psychological approach to involvement processes by reviewing a variety of motivations, as presented by Van Stekelenburg (2006). All of these theoretical insights will be used to reassess qualitative studies on different social movements and their outcomes in the last part. Altogether, this chapter should lay the theoretical grounds to understand the motivations of Dutch individuals for joining and staying in anarchist groups.

3.1. Social Movements

Similar to the concept of anarchism, scholars have produced many different definitions over the years (Blee & Taylor, 2002; Della Porta & Diani, 2009; Melucci, 1988). This research follows the suggestion by American sociologists McCarthy and Zald who use the following definition:

> 'Social movements are voluntary collectives that people support in order to effect changes in society. Using the broadest and most inclusive definition, a social movement includes all who in any form support the general ideas of the movement. Social movements contain social movement organization, the carrier organizations that consciously attempt to coordinate and mobilize supporters' (1977b, p. 2)

The choice for this definition is based on its inclusion of the main factors that can be found in the majority of descriptions of social movements: (1) their collective action, (2) their strive for some sort of positive change and (3) the mobilization of supporters via organizational means. Whilst handling a similar definition, Opp (2009) points out that social movements are inevitably linked

with the concept of 'protest', narrowing the first dimension down to 'irregular' or 'unconventional' action.

3.1.1 Forms of Social Movements

Considering that this definition could refer to a variety of movements, from short-term labour protests to a broader revolutionists or extremist groups, authors have developed guidelines for categorizing different forms of movements based on their level of activism, stage of existence and theoretical typology (Fitzgerald & Rodgers, 2000; Little et al., 2012; Touraine, 1985). However, there is no globally accepted system of categorizing social movements.

An interesting categorisation is made by Fitzgerald and Rodgers who used the variables of internal structures, ideology, tactics, communication and assessment of success to describe ideal types of either a moderate social movement organization (SMO), of which a social movement consists, and radical social movement organizations (see figure 1).

	Moderate SMO	**Radical SMO**
Internal Structure	Hierarchical leadership; formal bureaucratic organization; development of large membership base for resource generation	Nonhierarchical leadership; participatory democratic organization; egalitarian; "membership" based upon involvement; support indigenous leaderhip
Ideology	Reform agenda, emphasis on being a contender in the existing political system; national focus; support government military involvement	Radical agenda; emphasis on structural change; flexible ideology; radical networks; global consciousness and connections; antimilitaristic stance
Tactics	Nonviolent legal action	Nonviolent direct action; mass actions, innovative tactics
Communication	Able to rely on mainstream forms of communication	Ignored/misrepresented by media; reliance on alternative

		forms of communication (music, street theatre, pamphlets, newslerrers)
Assessment of success	Potential for plentiful resources; manipulate resources for the self-interest of the organizations' longevity; formal rationality; success measures in terms of reform of existing political/economic system	Limited resources; may be purposefully short-lived; substantive rationality; contribute to larger radical agenda; subject to intense opposition and government surveillance

Figure 1: Ideal Types Characteristics of Moderate and Radical SMOs (Fitzgerald & Rodgers, 2000, p. 578)

Whereas these variables seem to correspond mainly with the analysis of other academic scholars, some variables could be added. For example, Little et al. (2012) propose that a typology could be based on their level of activeness– local, regional, national, global -, whereas Abele develops 'categories that distinguish among social movements based on what they want to change and how much change they want', resulting in differentiation between reform -, revolutionary -, redemptive -, alternative -, and resistance movements, which provides more nuances to the simple differentiation between moderate and radical social movement organizations (Little et al., 2012).

To what extent can anarchism be categorized as a social movement? Comparing the previous definitions of both anarchism and social movement, the correspondence with the three variables of social movements and anarchism becomes clear: First of all, McCarthy and Zald (McCarthy & Zald, 1977b) argue that social movements have a voluntary collective nature. Though not explicitly listed, Saul Newman's definition of anarchism including the 'assemblage of ideas, moral sensibilities, practices and historical movements', strongly refers to some form of collective action (2015, p. 3). And indeed, with the exemption of post-anarchists, the history of anarchist actions shows a strong orientation towards collective actions during protests or squatting. One Dutch example is the anarchist camping in the Frisian village of Appelscha where members of the movement gather regularly. The second variable of a social movement is the strive for change, which is clearly formulated in the case of anarchism as 'a desire to critically interrogate, refuse, transform and overthrow all relations of authority, particularly those centralized within the sovereign state' (Newman, 2015, p. 3). Lastly, the third variable within the definition of social movements – the

mobilization of supporters via organizational means – is not included in the definition of anarchism, but can be detected in the daily practices and in the existence of a handful of explicit anarchist groups working as carrier organizations, e.g. the *Anarchistische Groep Nijmegen*, as discussed in chapter 2.

3.1.2 Anarchism as a Radical Social Movement

Next to a general classification of anarchism as a social movement, this research classifies the Dutch anarchist movement as a radical social movement, based on the typologies of social movement organizations by Fitzgerald and Rodgers (2000). Before starting a comparison between the Dutch movement with this typology, there are two factors that need to be considered: First of all, the indicators presented in figure 1 refer to *ideal* types. Consequently, not all indicators may be completely applicable to the anarchist movement. Second of all, even though the sociologists do specifically look at organizations within a movement, this research assumes that one can make a statement on the whole movement as well, considering that a movement consists of a number of SMOs.

To what extent can the Dutch anarchist movement be classified as a radical social movement? Fitzgerald and Rodgers propose an assessment based on five factors: (1) internal structure, (2) ideology, (3), tactics, (4) communications and (5) assessment of success (2000, p. 578). The first factor differentiates between hierarchical structures, which are typically associated with moderate social movements and radical, non-hierarchical and egalitarian groups. Concerning the factor of structure, the Dutch movement can easily be classified as a radical movement, considering its anti-authoritarian core concept and informal connections between members and groups. This stance is supported by a look at the second factor, ideology: the anarchist movement follows a 'radical agenda' with its strive to abolish governments and introduce structural changes to society and economy (Fitzgerald & Rodgers, 2000). In addition, the last three factors all support that claim that the Dutch anarchist movement should be considered a radical social movement: the use of illegal and sometimes violent tactics is accepted by at least some part of the movement, considering recent actions taken by groups within the movement; the use of common forms of communication is not fully available, considering the negative framing in the media and limited resources and repressive measures by governments are factors which significantly restrict chances for success. All in all, one can conclude that the Dutch anarchist movement perfectly fits into the type of a radical social movement.

3.1.3 (Self-)Recruitment in Social Movements

Even though this research is in the first place looking to answer the question on why individuals initially join the anarchist movement in the Netherlands, it is worth looking at theories on how people come into contact with these groups. Scholars have provided theories to explain the ways in which individuals enter a social movement or protest group, also known as the processes of recruitment. As Pauwels et al. (2014) correctly point out, recruitment is charged with rather negative connotations as it is often studied in relation to terrorism or extremism in recent years (for example in Blazak, 2001; Hegghammer, 2006; Jenkins, 2007).

Often, the distinction is made between self-recruitment – the active search by an individual for a group – or recruitment by third parties, mostly the movement or group looking for new members (Murer, 2011). One more distinctive contribution is provided by Pauwels et al. (2014) (see figure 2). The authors identify four ideal ways to get into contact with a social movement: deliberate recruitment, social recruitment – which can both be categorized as active recruitment – as well as peer group recruitment and classic recruitment, which are passive forms of recruitment.

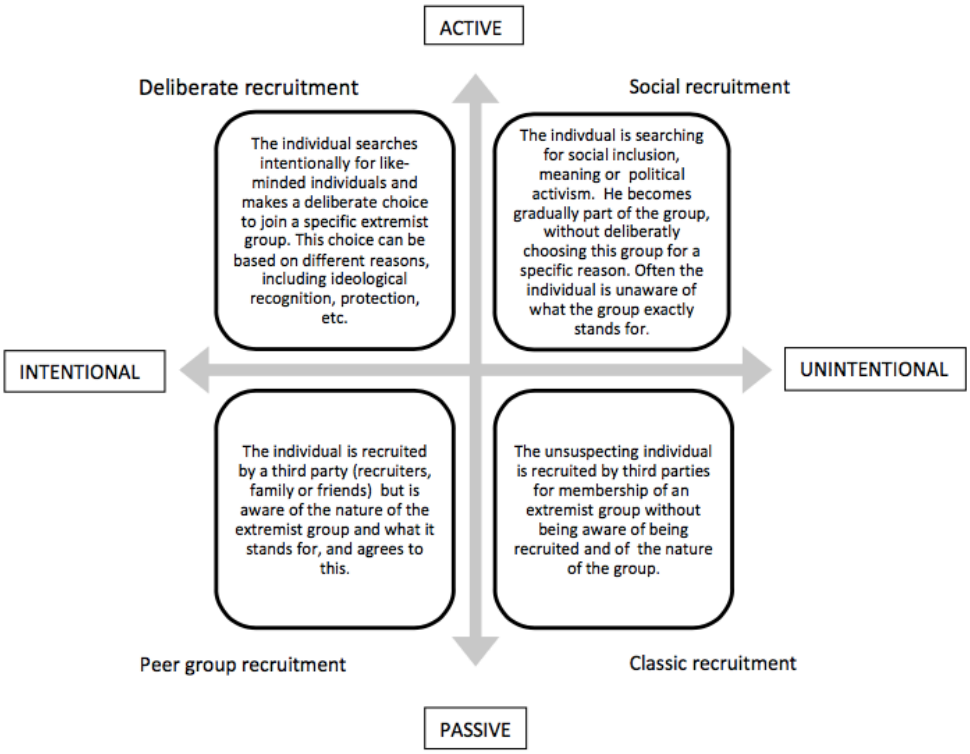

Figure 2: Ideal types of recruitment (Pauwels et al., 2014, p. 35)

Especially interesting are the categories of social recruitment and peer group recruitment as assign special roles to the existing social context of the individual. With that, they stand in between the two opposites of joining of personal initiative (deliberate recruitment) and the classical recruitment by the radical group. Pauwels et al. (2014) state that the recruitment by peers or family often eases the way for the individual to participate in radical or extremist groups as the nature of the group is not always clear in the beginning. However, according to the authors, the recruited individuals are often people 'who already placed themselves outside the mainstream political sphere' (2014, p. 36).

Altogether, this model suggests that a simple distinction between an active individual in search for a group and recruitment by a third party is not suitable to explain how people become involved in radical groups. Therefore, this research will take into account the significant role of family and friends in the pathway towards participation in the Dutch anarchist movement.

3.2 Social Movement Theory

Since the end of the 20th century, social scientists have wondered why social movements occur and what motivates individuals to come together and protest. Since then, scholars have developed a

number of theories that could explain the rise of these movements (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2009). All of these theories offer different perspectives and approaches. As van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2009) point out, there have been significant changes to social movement theory over the years, as the contexts of social movements in the world have changed. The authors differentiate between classical approaches, for example collective action theory and more contemporary approaches. Furthermore, the contemporary approaches are divided in structural and social constructivist approaches, with the latter concerning 'about how individuals and groups perceive and interpret these conditions and focuses on the role of cognitive, affective, and ideational roots of contention' (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2009). However, their common feature is that these theories mainly focus on macro-level explanations.

The following section will take a look at the most often used and influential theories within the studies of social movements and discuss their advantages and disadvantages as well as their applicability to the Dutch anarchist movement. More specifically, this research will take a closer look at two different structural approaches – resource mobilization theory and political process – and one social-constructivist approach, the social identity. However, before reviewing the contributions made by these theories to the study of social movements, the classical collective action theory is revised.

3.2.1 Collective Action Theory

Collective action theory is one of the first theories used to describe the rise of social movements, even though initially this theory was not developed for the use in this field (Opp, 2009). Nonetheless, several case studies show that social movements can be seen as a form of collective action and that the theory can be applied to social movements, for example for the protests in East Germany or smaller protests in a Spanish village (Linares, 2004; Pfaff & Kim, 2003). In general, 'theories of collective action concern settings in which there is a group of individuals, a common interest among them, and potential conflict between the common interest and each individual's interest' (Ostrum & Ahn, 2008, p. 23). More particular, Olsen, one of the most influential thinkers in collective action theories proposes that 'unless the number of individuals in a group is quite small, or unless there is coercion or some other special device to make individuals act in their common interest, *rational, self-interested individuals will not act to achieve their common or group interests'* (Olson, 1965, p. 2italics included in the original). In other words, Olson presents a collective action dilemma: if the collective action is successful and produces a public good, then individuals

who did not take part in the collective action will provided with this public good as well. This condition offers a high incentive for free-rider behaviour. Opp, in his analysis of Olson's theory, adds the proposition that individuals are more likely to take part in collective action, if they feel that their contribution is essential for a positive outcome of the action (2009).

How can collective action theory contribute to the question why people do or do not participate in social movements, such as the anarchist movement in the Netherlands? The collective action theory proposes that individuals will not take part in social movements, unless there are special positive incentives for joining or negative consequences for not joining. In other words, the public good provided needs to be very appealing to individuals and non-participation needs to result in significant restrains in every-day life. In the case of anarchism, the targeted public good is total freedom for every individual, whereas the significant restrain could be defined as the life under any form of authority, but most important under the control of a government (Crowder, 1991; Guerin, 1970; Newman, 2010; Wolff, 1970). Consequently, one could assume that participants in the anarchist movements are individuals who potentially suffer under authorities: 'alienated, frustrated, disintegrated, manipulated, marginalized' individuals (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2009, p. 3).

Even though this group has the potential to include a great number of individuals, chapter 2 of this thesis has shown that the anarchist movement can be regarded as rather small in comparison to historical contexts. Why is that? According to collective action theory, one could assume that the anarchist movement is not providing a special positive incentive for joining and that more people show free-rider behaviour. Looking at the Dutch and European context, there are two major factors that could limit the positive incentive for joining the anarchist movement: First of all, considering that the Netherlands, and Europe in general, have made no experience with authority-free societies, the positive incentive of total freedom can be rather abstract for individuals that are not accustomed with anarchist ideas. A second, and more influential factor is the democratic system in European countries, which theoretically offers individuals the opportunity to react on possible restrains by the government by voting for other parties. Together, these factors may significantly limit the positive incentive for taking part in the anarchist movement, as they increase the focus on alternatives, such as elections.

Lastly, advantages and disadvantages of this theory should be reviewed. In his extensive analysis of theories regarding social movement, Opp (2009) has identified seven advantages of applying collective action to social movements. One of the most important advantages is the theory's micro-macro explanation, meaning that the theory leaves room for explanations based not

only on the macro-level, such as specific events that change the context for social movements, but also the micro-level which contains the 'conditions for individual participation' (Opp, 2009, p. 50). Therefore, it is no surprise that there is only little criticism on collective action theory and its applicability to social movements. However, one criticism worth mentioning is provided by the critical mass theory, as described by Oliver and Marwell (1988). The authors not only deny Olson's proposition that a larger number of individuals participating in collective action would be incentives for free-rider behaviour, thus non-participation, but also argue that a larger collective action lowers the costs for joining and offers a positive incentive for participation. Even though this criticism may be valid, the contributions of collective action theory to the study of social movements have been proven by the large number of successful case studies. Nonetheless, scholars have developed important additions to the theory which resulted in different approaches.

3.2.2. Resource Mobilization Theory

One of these approaches is the resource mobilization theory, which van Stekelenburg and Klandermans categorized as a structural approach (2009). Whilst not denying the importance of significant negative restrains, in other words grievances, as a strong factor for participation, resource mobilization theorists make a stronger emphasis on the influence of available resources and the mobilization thereof. 'Indeed, in its most radical form, this approach argues that, if people have the resources for effective mobilization, they will engage in collective action irrespective of whether they feel that they have been unjustly treated' (Tausch et al., 2011, p. 130). One of the most influential works on resource mobilization theory is offered by McCarthy and Zald in their article 'Resource Mobilization and social movements: A partial theory' (1977a). Instead of looking at the question why people join collective actions, as the collective action theory does, the authors approach the question of growth of a social movement (Opp, 2009). The key part of the article of McCarthy and Zald are the hypotheses, the causal relations between tangible and non-tangible resources, the organizational structures and possibilities of SMOs, and the relations between different SMOs within the greater social movement (McCarthy & Zald, 1977a). For example, hypothesis 4: 'The more a SMO is dependent upon isolated constituents the less stable will be the flow of resources to the SMO' (McCarthy & Zald, 1977a, p. 1228). In other words, the stability of a SMO can be increased by building a relation between its members in the hope that this will strengthen their contributions (money, time, etc.) to the SMO.

Since its emergence in the 1970's, resource mobilization as presented by McCarthy and Zald

(1977a) has been met with a fair amount of criticism, regarding its lack of conceptual definitions, its strong focus on external resources and the macro-level, or its neglection of the free-rider dilemma as presented in the collective action theory (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011; Klandermans, 1984; Morris, 1981; Opp, 2009). However, instead of completely disregarding the theory scholars have offered different contributions and extensions to the theory, such as Klandermans who added micro-level socio-psychological individual motivations for participations in social movements within the broader approach of resource mobilization theory. Eventually, the theory has been used in several case studies on social movements: it was used in Eltantawy and Wiest's explanation of the importance of social media in the Egyptian revolution (2011) or in Morris' account of 1960's sit-in movement of Black students in North-America (1981).

Considering its broad account of macro-factors, without information provided by case studies, one could only speculate in which ways resource mobilization theory could contribute to a better understanding of the Dutch anarchist movement. In order to display its limited applicability, two hypotheses from the article by McCarthy and Zald (1977a) will be discussed shortly: The first hypothesis is hypothesis 4, which, again, states that personal connections between members of the anarchist movement should lead to an increase of resources for the anarchist movement and/or groups, for example an increase of free time invested for the social movement. The existence of various Dutch anarchist groups, such as the *Autonomen Den Haag* who offer regular activities seem to fit into this hypothesis. By offering their participants activities, they are not only supporting the development of personal relations between the different individuals, but they can also add their ideological basis as the connecting factor, which, potentially, binds the participants more to the group as well. Although this hypothesis seems to confirm the theory's applicability to the context of Dutch anarchists, a look at another hypothesis illustrates the limitations. Hypothesis 2 states that an increase in overall resources to a movement will most likely lead to an increase of competitiveness of different SMOs. Considering the horizontal and very cooperative context of the Dutch anarchist groups, as well as the blurry lines between the different groups, this development seems unlikely. However, this hypothesis could also be influenced by external factors, for example the overall size of a movement and numbers of SMO. In the end, resource mobilization theory offers insights into the macro factors that influence the development of the overall movement and its different groups and should definitely be included when analysing social movements.

3.2.3 Political process theory

Nonetheless, over time, resource mobilization theory has been overhauled by another structural approach to social movement, the political process theory. In comparison with the resource mobilization theory which offers insights into internal resources that influence growth and success of social movements, the political process model is more concerned with the opportunities for or restrains on the social movements by the external (political) context (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004). The latter proposes that 'social movements have enough resources and disruptive potential to induce social change, when confronted with a favorable political opportunity structure' (Giugni, McAdam, & Tilly, 1999, p. xix). In the years after the first theories of political process were tested, different scholars introduced different dimensions of opportunities for political process, or, in other words, circumstances in which social movements could strive. One of these scholars is Tarrow, who identifies five dimensions: (1) 'increasing access', for example through elections, (2) 'shifting alignments' in the established political arena, (3) 'divided elites', (4) 'presence of influential allies' and (5) changes in the government's approach to repression of the movement (Tarrow, 1998, pp. 77-80). Again, several case studies have proven the applicability of the political process model to social movements (McAdam, 2010; McCammon, Muse, Newman, & Terrell, 2007).

The clear advantage of this approach is its acknowledgement that political actions of social movements do not take place in a vacuum. Instead, external factors can heavily influence opportunities and resources used by SMOs. As an addition to the resource mobilization theory, which is focused on internal opportunities by means of resources, the political process model adds the necessary perspective on external factors. Nonetheless, it does not solve all the problems that are connected to resource mobilization. Opp questions the conceptual strength of the model, for example the usefulness of 'a priori classifications of dimensions' (2009, p. 167), whereas Koopmans criticizes the missing link to individual motivations for joining a social movement, the micro-level approach (1995).

As a consequence, this theory is not useful to explain the individual motivations to join the Dutch anarchist movement. Nonetheless, it could offer an important tool to evaluate the status of the current anarchist movement, which again could have influences on individual choices. However, when taking the five dimensions by Tarrow as a conceptual basis to test the model's applicability to the Dutch anarchist context, one significant constraint becomes obvious: the anarchists' ideology which permits any form of cooperation with the government. In this context, some political opportunities, such as the increase of access to the political arena, cannot simply be ap-

plied. Consequently, the usefulness of the political process model can be considered limited. Nevertheless, it partly offers a structure to evaluate the political context in which the Dutch anarchists and should therefore not be dismissed.

3.3. Motivations for Participation in a Social Movement

So far, this chapter has discussed the collective action theory, resource mobilization theory and the political process model. Whereas all of these theories emphasize the importance of structural factors for the emergence, growth and success of a social movement, they all have been criticized for lacking attention for the micro-level, the individual actors in the social movements. This gap has been filled with the social constructivist approaches. 'The social-constructivistic perspective concentrates on questions about how individuals and groups perceive and interpret these material and socio-political conditions' (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2009, p. 14). Even though there are a number of theories within the social-constructivist perspective, van Stekelenburg and Klandermans identified four elements which are discussed in the majority of approaches: (1) meaning construction, (2) collective identity, (3) emotions and (4) motivations (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2009; Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017). The following sections will take an in-depth look at the individuals' motivations, as they are central to this study. Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, two of the most influential authors in the field of social-constructivist approaches to social movements, discuss four types of motivations which will be laid out in the following sections: (1) instrumental motives, (2) collective identity motives, (3) group-based anger motivates and (4) ideological motives. All of these factors should answer the question: What motivates people to become part of a social movement?

3.3.1 Instrumental motives

The instrumental perspective is used to explain participation in social movements, by adapting a simple cost-benefit analysis as presented in the expectancy-value theory: If group -, as well as personal incentives weigh heavier than the costs of taking part in the movement, then individuals will participate only if they expect a successful outcome (Klandermans, 1984, 2004; Zomeren, 2013). For Klanderman, the expectations of behaviour of other participants play a crucial role: 'If someone expects that few will participate his motivation to take part will be low. If someone feel that many people participate he may conclude that he can afford to take a free ride. Organizers will, therefore, try to make people belief that their participation does make a difference' (Van

Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017, p. 46).

Next to the expectancy of other participant's behaviour, incentives play a crucial role. This idea is closely related to Olson's collective action theory in which he proposes that individuals can be motivated to join a social movement if they are offered strong positive incentives (Olson, 1965). Whereas the group incentive in the case of social movements often refer to some sort of social and/or political change, personal incentives are often related to material and non-material benefits for participating in a social movement. Material incentives could range from obtaining new goods or an improvement of the financial situation by the help of the movement, whereas non-material incentives could include advantages from new social relations, possibilities of starting a career within the social movement or similar benefits (Opp, 2009; Rydin & Pennington, 2000).

Even though there has been little criticism on the influence of instrumental motives in general, some scholars have argued that a simple focus on a rational cost-benefit analysis neglects social or emotional factors as well as group dynamics that may influence decisions of participation (Klandermans, 2004).

3.3.2 Collective Identity Motives

The second category of collective identity motives could be analysed as an answer to this criticism. These motivations are theoretically based on Melucci's collective identity theory (Melucci, 1988). Melucci, who could be considered to be the 'founding father' of the theory states that there are three factors necessary for creating a collective identity and to determine the strength of a social movement based on its collective identity: a clear definition of ideology and actions, social relations and personal identification with the group (Melucci, 1988, p. 343 as cited in Opp, 2009, p. 209). In this proposition, Melucci argues that the social movement can affect the individual's identity.

However, there are also other proposition that find a causal relation running from the individual's identity to the participation in collective action. Looking more specifically at the individual motivation related to a collective identity, Simon et al. who propose that 'identification with the respective social movement turned out to be a unique predictor of willingness to participate in collective action' in his two case studies on the elderly movement in Germany and the gay movement in the United states (Simon et al., 1998). In the end, Simon et al. create a dual-pathway model which combines the rational cost-benefit analysis of the instrumental perspective with the identity

theory (Stúrmer & Simon, 2004). 'For people taking the identity path to collective action participation, the focus changes from what "I" want to what "we" want' (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017, p. 48).

Though this perspective of collective identities as motivations for political action is widely accepted, there is only little academic research that specifically focuses on collective identity as a pathway towards collective action. More often, the topic of research is the formation of a common identity within the movement (Carastathis, 2013; Staggenborg & Taylor, 2005). Nonetheless, these studies indirectly offer interesting insights into the individual's perspectives and motives.

3.3.3 Group-Based Anger Motives

A similar dual pathway is presented by van Zomeren et al (2004). However, instead of collective identity motives, the authors identify an emotional pathway. In comparison with the other approaches to motivations for participation in social movements, this perspective was only recently introduced by van Zomeren (2004), Jasper (2011) and a few other researchers. Following the scholars proposal, 'participating in collective action can be seen as an individual emotional catharsis, that is, a purging of emotions through expression, which makes participating in collective action because of a group-based anger motive a goal in itself' (Stekelenburg, 2006, p. 20). Important accelerants to this emotional pathway are often considered be one or more grievances and perceptions of unfairness, which links the group-based anger motive closely to relative deprivation theory (Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2006; Van Zomeren et al., 2004). Relative deprivation theory argues that people take part in collective action when they *feel* deprived, which does not necessarily have to correlate with a real deprivation (Guimond & Dubé-Simard, 1983). The pathway to collective action is then interpreted as 'emotion-focused' coping with the experienced emotions of deprivation (van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012, p. 180).

Qualitative and quantitative case studies related to this dual pathway have provided two additional insights: First of all, Van Zomeren et al. argue that the perceptions at the group-level play a role which is just as important as the perceptions at the individual level which would suggest a relation between the group-based anger motives and the motives related to a collective identity (van Zomeren et al., 2012). An interesting second survey of three different cases of collective actions considered whether either the instrumental or emotional pathway could be positively related to normative or non-normative (radical) action: in their results, they conclude that the instrumental pathway is only a predicator for normative collective action, whereas the emotional pathway can

be linked to both, depending on the emotion under investigation. 'Anger was strongly related to normative action but overall unrelated or less strongly related to non-normative action; (…) contempt was either unrelated or negatively related to normative action but significantly positively predicted non- normative action' (Tausch et al., 2011, p. 2).

3.3.4 Ideological Motives

The final motivation for participation in a social movement is based on ideological grounds. The main hypothesis states that people join a social movement in order to express their ideologies, beliefs and values. 'They participate in a social movement not necessarily to enforce political change, but to gain dignity and moral integrity in their lives through struggle and moral expression' (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017, p. 53). Considering that all persons have values and beliefs, but only a small number of people take part in collective action, one can assume that the ideologies expressed within a social movement are only shared by a limited group of people. Consequently, the expression of ideologies through participation in collective action is closely related to group-based anger and perceptions of deprivation. According to these theories, only a perceived unfairness in relation with beliefs and values, for example non-acceptance by others, would eventually lead to some form of action (Linden, 2009). Though participation is initially motivated by this wish for personal expression, a shared ideology can create a strong social bond with members of a social movement, which strengthens a collective identity.

Even though the importance of ideological motives is generally supported, some scholars have shed some light on limitations to this perspective: Especially case studies in religious radical movements and groups show that ideological development often happens after the integration in a group (Schils & Verhage, 2017). The critique which is indirectly uttered is that the factor of ideology often assumed to be a motivational factor in hindsight, but it does not necessarily be part of the pathway towards a social movement and the organizations thereof. Consequently, it remains important to look at the individual cases of participants in social movements to identify which (combination of) motivations have influenced the individual's change of behaviour towards participation in a social movement. for whom will what pathway to collective action prevail, and why? Why are people attracted to one social movement organization rather than another?

3.4 Theories in Practice: Case Studies on Motivations to Join Radical Social Movements

These remaining questions can partly be answered by international case studies that have been

conducted over the years, as case studies are directed at the actor's behaviour and therefore go beyond theoretical implications or assumptions based on statistical data. With each motivation, some examples of research on social movements have been provided. However, in the beginning of this chapter, it was concluded that the anarchist movement could be defined as a radical social movement. Therefore, the following two sections will focus on case studies conducted about other radical movements, in particular the contemporary jihadist movement and radical right-wing movement. What can research on these radical movements teach us about potential participation in the contemporary Dutch anarchist movement?

3.4.1 Involvement in radical Jihadist Social Movement Organizations

With the rise of the Islamic State (IS) in the last four to five years, and a growing awareness for home-grown radicalism and participation in jihadist groups, more and more European scholars have directed their attention at this movement. Whereas some have focus more on the process of radicalization in general, a few have looked specifically at the motivations for participation in the movement or a SMO related to it.

For example, Wiktorowicz adapted a social-psychological approach to explain participation in the UK-based Al-Muhajiroun (Wiktorowicz, 2004). In his paper, Wiktorowicz presents a linear approach towards the different motivations for participation with the following four stages: 'cognitive opening', 'religious seeking', 'frame alignment' and 'socialization' (Wiktorowicz, 2004, pp. 7-20). Central in his analysis of pathways to participation in the jihadist movement is the ideological aspect. However, the author states that the first phase, cognitive opening to participation, is initiated by a personal, economic or social crisis in the life of the individual, in the case of Al-Muhajiroun often racism. This process could be linked to the group-based anger motives in which the participants experience relative deprivation, based on their religious beliefs.

Other studies disagree with Wiktoriwicz use of ideology as the main motivational factor: Silke for example emphasizes the importance of the social identity of the individual. 'Individuals tend not to join the jihad as isolated individuals. Rather, it is within small groups that individuals gradually become radicalized' (Silke, 2008, p. 111). Other scholars seem to agree with the notion that social relations play a more significant role in the pathways towards engagement in a radical jihadist group (Buijs, Demant, & Hamdy, 2006; Post, Sprinzak, & Denny, 2002; Roy, 2008; Venhaus, 2010). In other words, the initial pathway is opened by social connections, whereas the significance of ideology and alignment processes with the identity of the group happen after the

initial contact is established.

Even though not mentioned as often as the social and ideological dimensions, some insights into instrumental motivations are given, for example by Silke (2008). In his analysis of a variety of case studies, the scholar argues that participation in jihadist terroristic actions is rewarded with an honourable status in some societies or social groups (Silke, 2008, see also: Post et al., 2002).

Altogether, case studies on participation processes in jihadist SMOs seem to suggest that social connections play a significant role in the pathway to engagement, which is entailed in the collective identity motive. Nonetheless, ideology and emotional responses to perceived relative deprivation, often caused by racism and discrimination, should not be neglected in the study of jihadist radicalization pathways. Noticeable is the relatively limited role of the instrumental motive.

3.4.2 Involvement in Radical Right-Wing Social Movement Organizations

Whereas participation in jihadist SMOs is linked to religion, participation in the right-wing movement is more similar to could be more comparable to the anarchist context as both movements can be considered political movements.

In a review of existing case studies, Bjørgo identifies ten reasons or motives to join right-wing extremist groups which can be sorted into the four categorizations of motives offered by social constructivist approach (Bjørgo, 2002): the search for (1) ideology and politics fall under the category of ideological motives. (2) provocation and anger, and (7) an extension and radicalization of youth rebellions could be regarded to be part of a group-based anger pathway, which is initially caused by perceived deprivation. The motives of (3) protection, (5) thrill seeking and (6) attraction by violence and weapons may fall under the broad category of instrumental motives as the group answers personal incentives of the potential participants. And finally, social relations and collective identities are addressed by the motives of a (7) search for extended or surrogate family, (8) for new social connections and friendships as well as the search for (10) an identity and status. The sort of participants found by Bjørgo which cannot simply be sorted in one of the categories are (4) drifter, who only join the right-wing or racist groups for a short time before moving on to the next organization. Other researches confirm these findings (Demant, Slootman, Buijs, & Tillie, 2008; Doosje, van den Bos, Loseman, Feddes, & Mann, 2012; Linden, 2009; Valk & Wagenaar, 2010).

Another study that should be look at in-depth is the European-wide study on participation in right-wing groups as presented in ‘Extreme Right Activists in Europe: Through the Magnifying

Glass', edited by Klandermans and Mayer, as their contribution build the methodological inspiration and basis of this study (2005). In their study of 150 right-wing activists in several European countries, Klandermans, Mayer and cooperating scholars were able to confirm that the motives for joining political parties or groups can be differentiated in three categories of identity motivations, ideological motivations and instrumental motivations. The scholars are able to highlight the importance of the historical and local context in which activism takes place: In Germany, for example, the experiences of family members during the Second World War played a significant role for a feeling of relative deprivation and the development of a collective identity with the right-wing group, whereas in Italy, the ideological remnants of fascism heavily influenced the pathways of right-wing activists (Klandermans & Mayer, 2005).

Especially interesting for this study is a discussion made in Klandermans and Mayer's study on the applicability of these findings to an extremist left-wing movement. Based on difference in attitudes, for example on hierarchy, solidarity or justice, the scholars conclude that they only have one thing in common: 'their interest in politics and their faith in its capacity to change the world and make things better, at least from their point of view, remarkable at a time when the membership of mainstream parties is declining and when political disenchantment seems to be growing' (Klandermans & Mayer, 2005). This discussion provides the methodological inspiration for this study.

4. Life-histories of anarchists

Chapter 3 has elaborated on the variety of pathways that lead individuals to involvement in radical social movements. As some examples of case studies have shown, in particular the study by Klandermans and Mayer on right-wing activism, a close look at individual motivations for participation in a movement is necessary. Though studies provided information on right-wing movements, Klandermans and Mayer argue that their findings cannot simply be applied to radical left-wing movements. As other scholars in the Netherlands have overlooked this gap of information on the Dutch anarchist movement, this aims at answering the question on the motivation to join and stay engaged in the Dutch anarchist movement.

Research on this personal topic however can be difficult for several reasons: (1) participants are difficult to approach as there are no official lists of members of social movements, (2) participants are not willing to talk about personal and sensitive information and (3) in the case of radical social movements, participants could be suspicious of the research(er's) intentions. Given the events during the G20-summit in Hamburg and the historical negative connotations that are attached to the ideology of anarchism and its supporters, one could expect that these difficulties can also be experienced when researching the Dutch anarchist movements and its participants. To overcome these potential obstacles, Therefore, a rigor choice of methods is necessary.

The following chapter give an outline of the choices made by the researcher. The first section will reveal the choices for the group of respondents and different methods used by the researcher to approach individuals and groups within the movement in order to find participants. Moreover, their advantages and disadvantages for this research will be evaluated. Eventually, the groups of respondents gathered by the applied approached will be shortly presented in section two before the third part of this chapter will review the method chosen by the researcher to gather life-histories: semi-structured interviews. Finally, the processing of the gathered data will be described before an evaluation of the experienced difficulties will show their influences on the research's outcomes.

4.1 Sampling

In general, a random selection of individuals of the study groups would be desirable in order for the research's outcome to be representative for the whole study population (Ritchie, Lewis, & Elam, 2003). Whereas this form of sampling is often used in quantitative studies, most qualitative

studies ask for purposive sampling. In this form of sampling, the researcher choses specific individuals from a study population. 'The sample units are chosen because they have particular features or characteristics which will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and puzzles which the researcher wishes to study' (Ritchie et al., 2003).

As the theoretical chapter of the concept and its movement has shown, anarchism is defined and interpreted in a variety of ways. Moreover, in the Dutch context, blurring lines between anarchists and other left-wing radical groups make a clear distinction between different study populations difficult. Therefore, it is important to make careful choices for the samples of the study group of this research. Should one only include anarchists that see themselves as members of an anarchist group? Should members of social movements which do not define themselves as anarchist but have anarchist features be included? Are post-anarchists without an affiliation to a specific group or the general movement interesting useful potential respondents?

4.1.1 Study Population(s)

These questions are answered in the following definition of the study population. In order to be able to answer the research questions as proposed in the introduction, the researcher initially searched for individuals with one simple criterion: the respondent had to be a member of an anarchist group. However, a closer look into the context of the Dutch anarchist movement and small talk with some anarchists revealed that this would lead to difficulties: (1) there are no to only a handful of official 'members' of anarchist groups whereas the majority of activists is loosely affiliated to one group or more, and (2) the lines between 'purely' anarchist groups (see figure 1) and other Dutch radical left-wing groups with some anarchist features are blurry. Members of issue-specific groups that do not call them anarchists could still identify as anarchists as well. Also, posts in Facebook-groups and on their websites show that 'purely' anarchist groups often cooperate with other radical left-wing groups, for example *Antifascistische Actie Nederland.* Judging by these two facts, partners of anarchist groups could also be considered part of the anarchist movements in the Netherlands.

Therefore, the criteria for participation in this study have been broadened to attract a greater number of potential respondents and to fit the study to the Dutch context with its blurring lines in the radical left-wing scene. This results in the following criteria: Respondents have to (1) (partly) identify themselves as anarchist, (2) feel affiliation to the movement and/or a group with anarchist

features and (3) be activists within the movement. The last factor, activism, is also broadly interpreted: actions could range from demonstrating, distributing flyers, squatting or publishing articles in anarchism-related (online) magazines.

Whereas most of the respondents (80%) fall under this category, two exemptions have been made: In one case, a person who identifies as anarchists but has no longer any affiliation with a Dutch anarchist group since the 1980's has been interviewed and a second interview has been held with, what Saul Newman (2015) would categorize as a post-anarchist – someone who identifies as an anarchist but wants no connection to a group or the active movement but rather adopt an individual anarchist lifestyle. Both cases could add significant information to this study: The former participant could shed some light on the questions why people join but eventually do not stay involved, therefore, what the costs are of being member of the movement. The post-anarchist could offer insights into the availability of the movement to some people, the obstacles to join the movement or to negative perceptions on the movement by someone who considers him- or herself as part of the political culture of anarchism.

4.1.2 Approaching respondents

One of the biggest difficulties of this research is connected to the sampling of respondents. As there are no official lists available with active participants in the Dutch anarchist movements, potential respondents had to be approached in different ways.

The first step to find suitable respondents included online research on anarchist groups in the Netherlands on websites of anarchist groups or left-wing related media-websites, such as indymedia.nl. However, as already mentioned in the section on the study population, it became clear that lines between anarchist groups and other left-wing groups which are loosely affiliated with the anarchist ideology are blurry. In the light of this context, the researcher chose to approach all groups with public anarchistic features for the following reasons: (1) Members of groups with anarchistic features could identify as anarchist activists and should therefore not be excluded as potential respondents and (2) given the small number of anarchists in the Netherlands in general, all possibilities of approaching potential anarchists should be used. After deriving the information on Dutch anarchist groups, the second part of the online-research was focused on finding possibilities of contacting members of these groups. As there are no public lists with all anarchists in the Netherlands, there are only few other opportunities to approach potential respondents: (1) via the Facebook-pages of the different anarchist groups, (2) via email and (3) via personal contact.

In 63 cases, the potential participants have been approached via mail which was either available online (61 cases) or has been made available by another participant of this research (2 cases). In the initial mail, the researcher introduced herself and the outline of this research before asking whether the receiver of the email would be willing to be interviewed. The possibility of participating anonymously or under an alias was mentioned in this mail, in the hope to offer an incentive to potential suspicious activists. In eight cases, the receiver of the mail agreed to an interview. 87% of the receivers were unresponsive.

In a number of cases, the respondents were approached personally. The online-research revealed that all of the anarchist groups in the Netherlands are connected to either a library, a bookstore or café which are (mostly) run by members of the anarchist groups. All these places were accessible to the public during opening hours. During these open hours, the researcher approached the individuals present at these locations. Initially, small talk was used to gain the trust of the potential participants. Considering possible ethical issues, the researcher revealed the purpose of the visits to this location by introducing herself as a student searching for information about the anarchist movement in the Netherlands. This approach resulted in one interviews.

Finally, 22 potential respondents were approached via Facebook. The choice for potential respondents was dependent on a number of factors: activity in Facebook-groups related to the Dutch anarchist movement, visible and public support of anarchist values for example by the use of the anarchist symbol as a profile picture or public posts mentioning anarchism as well as activity on the account. Similar to the approach with the email, a short message was sent introducing the research and the researcher. This approach resulted in one interview. 95% of the approached individuals were unresponsive.

In total, the researcher conducted nine interviews. 85 potential respondents were approached from which nine were responsive which equal a responsiveness rate of 11%.

4.2 Respondents

Considering the high non-responsiveness (89%) of the approached potential respondents, the researcher was left with a ‘highly selective sample of individuals’ (Louise Barriball & While, 1994). However, the respondents’ contexts still vary. The first factor is the age of the respondents: seven out of the nine interviews were taken with respondents older than 40, whereas two respondents were between 20 and 30 years old. Eight out of the nine respondents identify as male, one as female.

Another factor that could be of influence is the place of residence. During the time of the interviews, seven out of the nine respondents lived in the Eastern part of the country; one lived in the middle region and one in the Southern part of the Netherlands. All of the respondents live in big cities or in the nearby region thereof. None lives in a rural area.

Considering the background and occupation, there are some similarities between most of the participants of this research. Most of the respondents have studied at a university. All have finished the Dutch equivalent to a high school and are currently working. Two of them are self-employed.

One factor deserves special attention which is the historical context in which the respondents entered the movement. Seven of the respondents became actively involved in the radical left-wing movement during the 1970's and 1980's. The two other respondents became involved in anarchism after 2010. This is of importance as the societal context varies greatly between these two periods of entry (as discussed in chapter 2.4). Whereas the general left-wing movement can be considered rather strong in the late 20th century, this strength has faded and number of activists has declined after the start of the new century. Moreover, specific policies, such as the squatting-ban have limited the power of radical left-wing movements. Therefore, one could predict that becoming involved in the anarchist movement differed according to the context which stimulated, accepted or stigmatized such forms of activism. These differences become apparent during the interviews with the respondents.

4.3 Life-Histories as a Tool

Social sciences offer several methods to gather personal information of respondents. None, however, fit this research's framework as well as the gathering of life histories by qualitative semi-structured in-depth interviews. Semi-structured interviews can be defined as 'conversations in which you know what you want to find out about (…) but the conversation is free to vary, and is likely to change substantially between participants' (Fylan, 2005). With this form of interview, the researcher makes use of an interview guide, which provides a structure for the interview and standardized questions.

The use of semi-structured interviews in the context of gathering life-histories from activists of the Dutch anarchist movement has several advantages in comparison with other methods, which are discussed by Blee and Taylor: 'Life histories can be fairly unstructured. The researcher simply asks the interviewee to tell the story of her/his life, how s/he be came to participate in the movement, the nature of her/his participation, and how it influences who s/he is today' (Blee & Taylor,

2002).

The usefulness of this method has also been proven in similar studies: Weggemans, Bakker and Grol used semi-structured interviews to gather information on the life histories of Dutch jihadist foreign fighters to explain their routes to participation in the violent fight in Syria and Iraq since the emergence of IS (2014). Moreover, Demant et al. used life-histories not only to explain trajectories of radicalization but also the processes and motivations for exiting a radical movement (Demant et al., 2008). Another supporter of using life-histories to explain individual's motivations is Klandermans. In several studies, he presents a variety of life-histories of right-wing radical or extremists. For Linden and Klandermans, 'Life-history interviews are like travels through time as the interviewee is asked to go back in the past. In the course of the interview, the interviewer and the interviewee try to reconstruct a specific part of the interviewee's life' (Linden & Klandermans, 2007, p. 185). Finally, Klandermans and Mayer's use of life-histories in 'Extreme right activists in Europe: through the magnifying glass' offered the inspiration for conducting this research in its existing form.

4.3.1 Structure of Interviews

The structure of the interviews is mainly adapted from the study on participation in right-wing groups by Klandermans and Mayer (Klandermans & Mayer, 2005), as their study searches for the same answers in a different study population. Nonetheless, the question should be applicable to the study population of Dutch anarchists as well and lead to valid information.

In their interview guide, the authors chose a biographical structure with three main categories which have been applied to this research as well: (1) 'Becoming involved', (2) Becoming a member and (3) Staying a member. The sub-questions in these categories are directed at the four levels of motivations: practical motivations, motivations related to identity, to the ideology or social motivations.

Whereas the main structure and the question by Klandermans and Mayer (Klandermans & Mayer, 2005) offer a good basis, the researcher of this study made two main changes. First of all, the semantics of the questions was changed in order to fit the anarchist study population. Specific words were adjusted to the vocabulary most often used by anarchists, for example 'organization' became 'movement'. These adjustments were made under the guidance of a helpful anarchist, who did not take part as a respondent himself but offered his help in other ways. The purpose of the changes was to show that the researcher had some knowledge about the movement and to make

the respondents feel more at ease during the interviews. Also, the adjusted semantics could contribute to a better understanding of the questions.

The second change made to the adapted interview guide by Klandermans and Mayer (Klandermans & Mayer, 2005) is the inclusion of additional questions. By using existing academic literature on anarchism in the Netherlands as an inspiration, a few questions relating to the specific context were added, for example a question about the influence of the squat-ban from 2006 which made a common life-style of anarchists illegal. Another question which has been added is a question about change of affiliation with anarchist groups: considering the demise of the *provo*- and *kabouter*-movement during the 1970's and 1980's, activists often changed affiliation of groups. Also, examples show that activists of the anarchist movements may had affiliation with other radical left-wing movements. Again, this change should lead to a better understanding of the anarchist movement in the Dutch context.

4.3.2 Conducting Interviews

In almost all cases, the semi-structured interviews were conducted face-to-face. In 1 case the interviews was held via Skype, due to conflicting time schedules and/or distance, for example a stay abroad. In all other cases, the researcher conducted the interviews personally. In order to limit the negative extraneous influences on the interviews, for example distracting noises, the interviews were held in relatively private and quit spaces, such as small cafés or at the respondents' homes.

Before starting the interview, the researcher introduced herself and gave a short outline of the research and the structure of the interview. In each interview, it was emphasized that the information given by the respondents will be anonymized in order to guarantee the privacy of the respondents. The respondents were also offered to sign a letter of anonymity. Finally, the interview asked permission to record the conversation with a recording device. To make the respondents feel more at ease, the researcher offered to send a transcript of the interviews afterwards so that mistakes or parts of the interview that the respondents do not want to disclose can be erased by them from the transcript.

In average, the interviews were conducted in 62 minutes. The shortest interview was 39 minutes long, the longest lasted about 116 minutes.

4.4 Data processing

In order for the interviews to become analysed results, the researcher used different processes. First

of all, all interviews were transcribed ad verbatim in the language that the interviews were conducted in: Dutch. In the cases where interviews were recorded, the researcher could listen back to the interview and write out every word. In the cases where the researcher was not able to record the interview but had to make notes, the notes were translated into a provisional transcript right after the interview was held in order to limit the human bias of forgetting specific details.

As mentioned before, the respondents were offered to adjust or delete parts of the transcript. In three cases, respondents made use of this option. In one case, the anarchist retracted the interview in total after reading the transcript and is therefore not part of this research anymore. The majority of these changes were adjustment for clarity. However, in some cases the respondents erased comments that could shed a negative light on the movement.

4.4.1 Coding & Analysis

After the transcriptions of the interviews were approved by the respondents, the researcher will use the method of content analysis. Part of content analysis is the coding of the interviews. In qualitative research, the process of coding is often conducted in several stages (Burnard, 1991). Whereas the first stages entail 'open coding' – the freely arrangement of the information within the transcript into different categories – subsequent stages focus on more details, such as sub-categories and every single fragment of the interview.

In the context of this research on Dutch anarchists' motivations, the researcher opted for the use of an existing coding scheme, provided by Klandermans and Mayer (Klandermans & Mayer, 2005). This choice has two advantages: the categories applied in the study on right-wing groups can be expected to be accurate and precise. Not only did several researchers look over the proposed code-categories but the results of the study seem to be valid answers to the main questions asked. The second advantage is that a free adaption of this existing code-scheme offers a valid basis whilst leaving room for specific adjustment that could occur in the relation to the Dutch anarchist context.

During this process of coding the researcher will make use of the qualitative-data analysis system *atlas.ti*. With the help of the program, the content related to different codes can be assembled in a neatly arranged document. The different codes offer the possibility for the researcher to analyse in details the different sub-categories of all interviews. Contents of the different categories are compared and evaluated, resulting in the comments provided in chapter 5.

4.5 Pitfalls

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, there are a few pitfalls that one could expect from this research, including difficult approaches to the Dutch anarchists as well as non-responsive, due to the sensitivity of the topic. The following sections will review the difficulties encountered in the conduction of this research and discuss possible solutions.

4.5.1 Defining the Study Population

The first difficulty is caused by the varying interpretations of anarchism. Whereas most respondents clearly identified themselves as anarchists, some were hesitant to take on this categorization. As a consequence, each case of interested potential respondents had to be looked at individually. For example: one respondent identified as socio-anarchist, and for the rest as socialist. In this case, the respondent's activism in the general anarchist movement was the decisive factor be included in the research.

A second difficulty is due to the blurring lines between Dutch radical left-wing groups and movements. As mentioned in section 4.1.1, blurring lines complicate the search for suitable respondents. Even though a broader definition of the study population which includes left-wing groups with anarchist features and issue-specific anarchist groups seem to increase possibilities on a first glance, there are also constraints to this approach. Whereas some radical left-wing groups publicly reveal anarchist features, for example on their websites, some do not. Considering the limited timespan, the researcher was not able to approach all groups that may be associated with anarchism which could exclude potential respondents from the research.

Consequently, the definition of the Dutch anarchist movement asks for a whole research project on its own. In order for future research to make a reasoned definition of the study population, a preliminary questionnaire or survey under different left-wing groups in the Netherlands on their interpretation of the anarchist movement could add to the desired clarity.

4.5.2 Approaching Respondents

The second pitfall that crucially influenced this research was the difficulty to persuade potential respondents to take part in this research. Given the recent context of negative framing in the media, some suspicion was expected. Nonetheless, this research had to suffer a high non-responsiveness of 89%. Moreover, there were a number of negative responses, some of which added explanations: the most common explanation for declining to take part in this research was suspicion that the collected data could be misused in the future. In the eyes of some anarchists, the university remains

an institution which is directly connected to the government, the 'enemy' within anarchist ideology. The fact that the researcher is a student of 'Crisis and Security Management' added to the perception that data could be misused against the anarchists in the future. Extensive clarification and the offer to remain anonymous did not change the attitude in any cases which started with a negative response.

4.6 Trustworthiness of the research

Originating from quantitative research, the concepts of reliability, validity and objectivity are three components often used to evaluate the quality of conducted researches (Golafshani, 2003; Hox, 2009; Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002). However, there have been ongoing criticism by academic scholars claiming that these concepts cannot be applied to qualitative research, such as this one. Instead, a variety of alternatives have been developed over the last years. Even though scholars have not found a consensus yet for applicable components for qualitative research, this research will follow the suggestion made by Guba who presented four criteria that should ensure the trustworthiness of qualitative research: (1) credibility to assess the truth value (comparable with internal validity), (2) transferability to assess the applicability (comparable with external validity), (3) dependability to assess the consistency (comparable with reliability) and (4) confirmability to assess neutrality (comparable with objectivity) (Krefting, 1991).

Though there are some constrains to the trustworthiness of this research, due to a limited time frame or considerations between privacy and generalizability of the results, the following sections will show that all possible measures are taken to limit these constrains to a minimum.

4.6.1 Credibility

The factor of credibility ensures that a study 'measures or tests what is actually intended' (Shenton, 2004). Shenton presents a variety of measures that can be taken by a researcher to strengthen the credibility of the research. The following have been applied in this research: First of all, the methods chosen are widely used and well-established methods for qualitative research on social movements (Blee & Taylor, 2002). Above mentioned case studies on (radical) social movements all make use of interviews, small talk and similar qualitative methods applied in this research. Secondly, the research has developed an 'early familiarity with the culture of participating organisations' by reading essential documents on anarchist ideology and culture before starting the data collection and by visiting an anarchist group for gathering first impressions (Shenton, 2004). Also,

previous research has been taken into account. A third important strategy used by the researcher to ensure the credibility of the gathered data and 'honesty in informants' is the possibility for participants to take part anonymously or to make use of an alias. Any data that could be related to a specific individual is generalized in the resulting report (eg the location Nijmegen will be generalized to West-Netherland). Moreover, participants were enabled to read through the transcription and cancel out parts they did not want to be used in the research. Together, these tactics should erase any reasons to offer false information and leave the research with credible information.

4.6.2 Transferability

According to Shenton (2004), transferability in the qualitative equivalent to the quantitative concept of external validity which 'is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations' (Shenton, 2004). In general, the aim of this research is to provide a better understanding of Dutch anarchist activists to join the movement. However, whilst life-histories offer the necessary details to understand personal perceptions and motivations, they are difficult to generalize. Together with the limited number of respondents of this research, one could conclude that the transferability of the research is rather small.

Nonetheless, by giving detailed account of the respondents who took part in the research and their context as well as definition of the intended study population, the researcher hopes to clarify the ability to transfer this study to similar cases.

4.6.3 Dependability

A third criteria for the trustworthiness discussed by Shenton (2004) is the dependability. A study can be considered dependable 'if the work were repeated, in the same context, with the same methods and with the same participants, similar results would be obtained' (Shenton, 2004). Closely related to the concept of credibility, credibility can be increased by accounting for every step taken in the process of the research. By given detailed information about the participants, the contextual academic literature as well as the processes of conducting the research and its analysis, other researchers should be able to repeat this research.

One significant restrain to complete dependability is the anonymity of the respondents. Another researcher will not be able to contact the exact same respondents as this research does not provide names or contact information. Considering the problematic study population and the pitfalls described in section 4.5, this constrain has to be accepted and should be considered a small

loss in comparison with the potential gains.

4.6.4 Confirmability

Lastly, 'the concept of confirmability is the qualitative investigator's comparable concern to objectivity' (Shenton, 2004). This concepts mainly refer to the researcher's own conscious or unconscious biases that could have influences on the study. Even though measures can be taken to limit these biases, for example by adopting existing interview guides or coding-schemes, human error can never completely be avoided.

In the case of this study, there are a few biases by the researcher that should be mentioned. First of all, a bias related to language could be at place. Whereas the German researcher is fluent in Dutch, the language in which all interviews were conducted, a few misunderstandings during the interviews could have taken place. Second of all, even though not members of a specific party or a group, the researcher feels affiliated with left-wing politics. One possible influence on the research is that some concepts that need to be explained for readers without knowledge on left-wing politics remain unclear as the researcher misses an objective perspective.

5. Motivations for Participation in the Dutch Anarchist Movement

Following the framework as described in the first part of this thesis, the following chapter will discuss the pathways to anarchist activism and the different motivations that the participants of this research experienced. Theories and case studies on other radical social movements by Klandermans and Mayer (2005) and other scholars suggest that motivations can be categorized in ideological and instrumental motives, as well as motivations related to grievances or a collective identity. To what extent can these findings be applied to explain involvement in the contemporary Dutch anarchist movement? Before evaluating the influence of these four categories in four different subchapters, the first part of this chapter discusses the extent with which the respondents experienced their participation in the movement as an active and consciously motivated choice. Altogether, this chapter should answer the question why individuals came to participate in the Dutch anarchist movement.

5.1 The Influence of the Movement on Motivations

However, before discussing the different categories of motivations to join the movement, it should be noted that the participants have not perceived influence on their motivations by recruitment by the anarchist movement before already being involved. Only in some cases, some influence may be detectable:

> "[I was reading] 'de Vrije', an anarchist magazine (…) and there was an advertisement by an anarchist group and that they were gathering and when I was studying, I did not go to the study association but to the anarchist group." (Respondent 1)

Though this example of an advertisement could be interpreted as an indicator for recruitment, the fact that this advertisement was placed in an anarchist magazine show the limited reach of this recruitment. In order to be able to act on this advertisement one already had to have access to the anarchist magazine and show interest in the movement.

This assessment of very limited recruitment by the anarchist movement is supported by a number of participants when the possibilities to grow the movement were discussed:

> "We sure don't tell people 'Hey, come to the anarchist movement'" (Respondent 9)

> "The [anarchist environmental] group is something fluid. So, what we try to do, when we have a campaign, we try to involve people and to get people to help us. You could

call these members, but it's not like we have a list of members or that we try to keep a specific number of members" (Respondent 4)

Another respondent indicates that it is not easy for potentially new members to find and join the anarchist groups as a result of a lack of active recruitment. Interestingly, the respondent recognizes that the lack of a recruitment strategy is part of anarchist ideology:

> "And if you come to a new town and you are interested in a topic, then you have to be able to find the groups. And if you see that they have a gathering, then you have to feel welcomed and that you can play a role and that other people have thought about what you could do and about the different tasks. And if those things are not present, then the threshold [to join] is enormously high. And this again has to do with the anarchist attitude: We won't tell you what to do. You want to change something? Well, so change it." (Respondent 8)

In summary, the participants have not perceived any recruitment by the anarchist movement before already being involved. Moreover, it was indicated that the movement intentionally refuses from recruiting new members. "That's why we [the anarchist movement] are so small" (Respondent 9). Therefore, the factor of recruitment by the movement can be neglected when reviewing the different categories of the respondents' motivations to participate in the radical left-wing activism.

5. 2 Ideological motivations

The first sub-chapter of this analysis of the interviews held with participants of the Dutch anarchist movements takes a closer look at the ideological factors that motivated participants to become an activist. As described in chapter 2, there is no common understanding of the anarchist ideology. Historical and local contexts have provided different interpretations of the classical thinker's theories which resulted in a number of political sub-movements. Nonetheless, there are some values and beliefs which are recognizable in all different interpretations of anarchism: the strive for total freedom and moral self-direction, as well as antiauthoritarian tendencies against any form of governments, hierarchy or other authoritarian structures and the idea that people are able to form their own life in solidarity with each other(Crowder, 1991; Gordon, 2006; Newman, 2010). The will answer the following questions: To what extent were the respondents already familiar with these concepts of anarchist ideology before becoming active in the movement? How did they acquire these beliefs and values? What a role did the ideology play on the pathway towards participation

in the movement?

5.2.1 Free-thinkers

The above-mentioned concepts of freedom and antiauthoritarianism were reoccurring topics in all of the interviews held with Dutch anarchists. In a few cases, the respondents even went back to their early childhood to emphasize how important these concepts have been all their lives:

> "From a young age on, I was always critical based on, yeah, I don't know. For example, black people, when I felt that they were discriminated, I was on their site. The idea to be solidary, even though I did not know the word back then. All of this happened when I was still living with my parents." (Respondent 5)

> "From early on I had an enormous allergy against authority. I still do (…)" (Respondent 1)

> "I was brought up with anarchism – or at least anti-authoritarianism. (…) The word 'anarchism' was never mentioned" (Respondent 7)

Others indicated that they were mostly socialized with other left-wing ideologies or values.

> "So, you got a lot of Marx [to read]. We even got texts from Stalin – unimaginable for today. And some other left-wing headpieces came along, maar never anarchism. The word 'anarchism' was mentioned sometimes but in the meaning of chaos and non-commitment" (Respondent 5)

Interestingly, none of these values or beliefs were directly associated with anarchism by the respondents of this research. Instead, other leftist ideologies, such as socialism, Marxism or Trotskyism played a more prominent ideological role in the lives of the respondents. Still, apart from one exception, not one of the respondents now see themselves as participants of one of these movements. Nonetheless, one could conclude that these respondents were to some level engaged in the theoretical part of left-wing ideologies, and sometimes even anarchism.

5.2.2 From practical issues to ideology

Whereas the first section described that the broader anarchist ideology and its concepts were only a limited presence in the pre-activist lives of the respondents, the interviews with the respondents

revealed that it was most often a focus on a very specific topic, such as feminism or environmentalism that connected the values and beliefs of the participants with the anarchist movement.

> "I became active pretty fast in the environmental movement where I joined the first organization that I encountered. It was all well-behaved and mainly concerned with spreading information and awareness. But I quickly met people who were involved in somewhat disorderly activities, with squatting houses and that attracted me a lot more and eventually, it became the reason for me to found my own eco-anarchist group with some friends" (Respondent 4)

> "Feminism drew me. And she [a friend] told me 'There is an anarchist weekend in Appelscha – a feminist weekend' But it was on an anarchist camping. (…) This opened my eyes for anarchism. But for many years I was there via feminism – Did I call myself an anarchist? We called ourselves anarcha-feminists" (Respondent 5)

> "You know, I already thought that animals are equal and had value and I thought that I should do more, that I had to act. Try to make the world a little better, or to make it at least more difficult for the people that destroy the world" (Respondent 9)

All of these examples show that the participants were already politically active in issue-specific groups and that a broadening of their perspective eventually led to participation in the anarchist movement. In total, three of the respondents indicated that they join the anarchist movement as a succession of another issue-specific activism. However, in all of the interviews it became clear that the broader ideology was not necessarily part of the initial attraction of the movement. Instead, the practical implications of the ideology and the activities of the movement on specific topics caused the interests of the participants:

> "But I still find it difficult to estimate the advantages of presenting yourself as explicitly theoretical as an anarchist. I think it's still scary, that people are fed up with the big theories" (Respondent 8)

Or, looking back at the answer by respondent 4 who entered the anarchist movement from an ecological perspective:

> ""But it was more that we were doing this [activism] as – we were 21 years old or something – as young naive activists and only through that example from another

country did we later recognize 'Oh. What we are doing is eco-anarchism'. And then you indulge in the theories and the history of the movement. Only then you put it in a more theoretical framework."

All in all, the majority of respondents declared that the interest in anarchism which led to participation in the movement was mostly rooted in rather practical issues such as "the squatter movement, nuclear weapons, antiracism" (Respondent 2) but also feminism, environmentalism or animal rights activism.

5.2.3 The squatter movement

One of the practical matters that initiated the interest in anarchism for the majority of this research's participants is the squatter movement. For five of the respondents, involvement in the squatter movement can directly be linked to the introduction to the anarchist movement, for example because they met anarchists or became involved in activities by the movement.

"And the other route [how I was introduced to the anarchist movement] was when, as a student, I moved from the one bad landlord to the next and at some point, I got invited like 'Hey, why don't you go squatting with us because we are going to squat a house next week'. And I was like 'Well, I can move every six months and pay a lot of money for it as a student, or I can just squat a house with my friends'. This was my introduction to the squatter movement in the Netherlands. And it is very anarchist-minded." (Respondent 4)

Answering the question how the first contact with the movement looked like, another respondent answered that he was involved in a squatter activity:

"We had a lot of threats, immediately in the first days [of the activity]. And there was this number for alarms that you could ring as a squatter when your house was in danger. And we called the number and really quick, the house was full of people [anarchists]" (Respondent 7)

"I came to the city for the squatter movement, or originally to study, but I was already planning to get involved. That was at the beginning of the 80's. And it was quiet unideological. I think this is typical for many activists from then but also now, that you start with a practical goal. But in there you had many smaller anarchist groups (…) in

which I became active." (Respondent 8)

Though these examples show that the squatter movement has played an important role in some of the participants' lives, there are two limitations to the conclusion that involvement in the squatter movement leads to involvement in the anarchist scene: The first limitation is grounded in the openness of the squatter movement to all people:

> "You had a lot of this macho-shit in the squatter movement. (…) Punks who were macho, who used drugs, who did not care about the police at all. But they were not idealistic." (Respondent 9)

> "Squatting is not only a movement but also a place for people to live and as a squatter movement, you cannot decide by yourself who is part and who is not. So, in this case, in such an open environment, everyone can join with his own motives. There have also been extreme-right squatters (…) and what you see often is that it is a mix of people and dropouts. People who in some way or another cannot find their place in society, who have no option of finding an affordable house. For this group, squatting is the solution to housing need. But you also see some ideological anarchists in there and for another part people who have nothing to do with political beliefs and who want their quiet." (Respondent 4)

The second limitation has to do with the political context in which the participants joined the squatter movement: the Dutch squatting ban, which was introduced in 2010 and not only illegalized squatting but also reduces the threshold for local authorities to vacate squatted buildings (Schaap). According to the participants, this has limited the number of squatters and its popularity. As a consequence, less activity in the squatter movement is related to less chances to come in contact with the anarchist movement.

> "The function that the squatter movement or the squatted houses had at the time that I was a could have parties and where you could build something up for long-term use, all of this has become less now, It is some kind of infrastructure what are missing now." (Respondent 4)

5.2.4 The (limited) influence of upbringing and education on ideological attitudes

After concluding that one can make a differentiation between participants that join on a more theoretical ideological basis and others that engaged in the practical issues that are implied in the anarchist ideologies, the question remains how these attitudes led to participation in the anarchist movement. What sources are responsible for the socialization with the anarchist ideology?

A first factor that is often discussed in case studies that try to understand the obtaining of specific radical ideologies is the influence of upbringing and education. Duriez and Soenens (2009) for example suggest that right-wing values such as racism is transmitted through generations. Chapter 5.1.2 already discussed that the families had no to only a little role as a facilitator to entrance in the movement but could it be that parents nonetheless transmitted anarchist values and beliefs to their children, the participants of this research? The information given by the respondents suggest that there is no significant relation between political values transferred by the parents and the values that led to participation in the movement. In only two of the nine cases discussed, participants mentioned that their perception of the politics and the social arena is directly linked to a family member's opinion.

> "My grandfather was a socialist. (…) I had a lot of contact with him, I talked with him a lot. He was very political, against the Labour Party, even back then. He thought that the Labour Party betrayed the people. I talked a lot with him about this. I thought that this is the reason why I became left, because I identified with my grandfather" (Respondent 1)

However, none of these two respondents entered the movement as a result of recruitment, demand or invitation of a family member.

In the other cases, the political attitudes of family members ranged from apolitical to right-wing attitudes and can therefore not be connected to the political activism of the participants:

> "I come from an apolitical family" (Respondent 2)

> "My parents are typical obedient CDA-peasants" (Respondent 4)
> (CDA = Christian Democratic Appeal, a Dutch party with a centre-right political position)

> "My parents were progressive, religious, protestant. Increasingly broad-minded. But religion remained important" (Respondent 5)

> "My father was more on the right. (…) My mother was more a freethinker" (Respondent 9)

Altogether, these cases show that one cannot predict anarchist activism based on the political attitudes by parents or other family members that had an influence on the participants' upbringing. Nonetheless, two participants were already raised with left-wing values which may have paved the way to the anarchist ideology.

A second factor is the education of the participants. And indeed: participants who joined the movement in the 19070's and/or 1980's all remember political influences from their education.

> "I was studying political studies and back then, it was a leftist faculty. The teachers and professors called themselves bluntly Marxists or socialists. I was taught political theories by a professor, who was some kind of ex-Maoist. (…) And he was teaching political theories, so Marxism and anarchism and similar things came along. So, this was really nice for the students back then, expect if you were right" (Respondent 1)

> "And it was a very left school. There was a democratisation-movement in the beginning of the 1970's and the pupils or students were actually in power, or they were equal to the professors. At least they thought so and many of the professors did too. So, I felt that really fit into this school" (Respondent 4)

Though none of the participant mentioned that this leftist education directly influenced their choice to join the Dutch anarchist movement, it may have opened up their minds to indulge in left-wing ideologies. Interestingly, this may be especially applicable for the participants who were more interested in the theoretical framework behind the anarchist ideology before joining.

5.2.5 Music, Literature and Activities: Other Sources to Learn About Anarchism

What about the group of participants that joined based on issue-specific reasons or the ones that experienced no influenced by the upbringing or education? The interviews revealed three major sources of information on the anarchist ideology: music, literature and discussions with members of the anarchist movement, for example during gatherings or other activities.

For the majority of the respondents, books or other forms of literature provided by the movement were the first sources of information after the initial interest in anarchism.

> "I just recognized that [anarchism] often appeared in the music that I was listening too. And then I started reading more about it on 'What is it now exactly? And how and what?' (Respondent 3)

When asked whether the interest on anarchist theories followed immediately with the interest in feminism, respondent 4 answered:

> "Not, not then. Not too much. But at some point, I started reading some things, but I don't remember wat exactly that was. But eventually we started reading a lot" (Respondent 4)

> "I could totally find myself in [the author's] ideas" (Respondent 9)

In the last case, the respondent even acknowledged that a book, written by a Dutch anarchist, was the first time that the concept of anarchism was explained and that it directly led to the respondent's interest and eventually participation in the anarchist movement. What followed was the first contact with the movement, which was often at the same time another source of information as the respondents

> "There were whole afternoons with gatherings about what they were doing in the national anarchist [movement] and which activities they want to carry out" (Respondent 1)

5.2.6 Conclusion: How Does Ideology Work as a Motivator to Join the Anarchist Movement?

The previous sections of this thesis have discussed the role of ideology in the pathway towards activism in the Dutch anarchist movement in the life of the participants. The first remarkable finding is that the majority of the participants did not enter the movement with a complete understanding of the broader ideology. Instead, an interest in specific issues, for example feminism or animal rights led to a curiosity in a theory that could connect these specific interests with a broader understanding of life. In some cases, the participants only started reading or informing themselves over anarchist theories after the initial contact with the movement had already been established.

However, a further differentiation between anarchist values and the whole ideology, including the history of the movement reveals that one has to reject a simple conclusion that the participants were not driven by ideological motivations. Even though the participants may not have known about the ideology before actively participating in the movement, they all expressed identification with anarchist values, such as antiauthoritarianism and the strive for total freedom from institutions or persons. Some of them expressed these values in other activist groups, such as an animal rights group that fights for freedom and equality of animals; others developed these values

during childhood or as young adults.

Altogether, one can conclude that the participants were partly motivated to join the anarchist movement by their values and beliefs but that it should not be assumed that these values were completely developed into an anarchist ideology before joining. Instead, the participants suggest that this socialization with the anarchist ideology happened after joining the movement, which only required identification with some specific values.

5.3. The Quest for Identity as Motivator to Join the Anarchist movement

The second group of motives that academic theories and other literature produced are motives related to collective identity. Simon et al.'s (1998) dual pathway states that identification with a social movement is a good predictor for collective action. Necessary for this identification is a shared ideology and actions, social relations and personal identification (Melucci, 1988). Moreover, the case study by Klandermans and Mayer (2005) added that all factors that make the new participants of the social movement feel good about themselves and that add to a perceived positive identity can influence the choice for collective action in this movement. The following section take a closer look at these factors that had influence on a positive feeling of identity which led to participation.

5.3.1 Anarchism as a Subculture

Before one can assess the influence of identity motivations for participating in the Dutch anarchist movement, a question needs to be answered: What anarchist identity was portrayed to the participants of the research before they became actively involved in the movement? Respondent 2, for example, shared his impression that the anarchist movement shares a collective identity by appearance to the outside:

> "It is a subculture. And this means that you need to follow specific basics – unspoken basic conditions – to find connections. And this is about appearance, this is about preference of music, this is nowadays about nutrition. Do you eat meat or not. How do you look? These are all independent – well, nutrition is a real biological argument – but in general, these are independent arguments [from ideology]. You know, if your hair looks nice, you cannot be a real anarchist. This is absolute nonsense but this is how it works. And on the one hand, the movement offers an opening for young people who do not fit into the mainstream but on the other hand, they close themselves off from people who are not willing to pierce their eyebrow or whatever" (Respondent 2)

This quote shows that Dutch anarchism – or at least some parts of the movement – have created an identity which is visible to the outside as it contains specific marks about appearance.

According to Melucci (1988), a second factor that could influence the anarchist identity to outsiders is a common ideology which is conveyed to outsiders. However, as already discussed in chaoter 3 and the analysis of ideological motivations, the message of anarchist ideology is not always clear, due to a variety of interpretations, theories and contexts.

> "Well, it is also confusing of course that no clear story is posed by the anarchists, that it goes in all directions. At least from an outsider's perspective" (Respondent 8)

Together, these two factors indicate that the Dutch anarchist presents itself with a specific cultural identity. The advantages: it makes it easier for the activists within the movement to recognize each other and it attracts people who have not found a place in another culture yet. Consequently, even if people have no knowledge on the ideology or anarchist values yet, the portrayal of the movement to outsiders could attract a number of people who become acquainted with the ideological factors once included in the movement. However, one should not forget the disadvantages mentioned by several participants:

> "But if you don't feel at home in this kind of culture, you have only little connection" (Respondent 4)

5.3.2 Creating a Meaning of the World

After discussing how the anarchist movement presented itself to this research's respondents and the potential advantages and disadvantages, it is necessary to take a look at the desires regarding identity that were filled by joining the movement from the perspective of the participants. One of the most present desires of almost the majority respondents was the search for guidance and a meaning of the world that fit to their values and beliefs. Again, the context is important: Apart from one exception, all of the participants that took part in this research became actively involved in the movement in their teenager years or in their early 20's (more on the context in chapter 4.2). Two of the respondents recognized a direct connection between this search for identity that led to a pathway towards political activism in several radical left-wing groups and the age:

> "I mean, I was a teenager and as a teenager you look for and have a need for a group. It is a time full of anxiety and uncertainties and a social cohesion around you is very

important"
(Respondent 2)

> "But it is also the age, which I described. You are in a phase in which you discover 'Who am I really? And what do I want?' (…) Ideologies know how it should be and what to do and what is good and bad and that's why it's so attractive to let them give your identity some form. (…) And if I am looking for my identity, then some ways of thinking become really attractive. So, religion can be attractive, [or] political ideologies that divide the world in two groups that oppose each other. Good and bad becomes attractive" (Respondent 1)

Whereas both respondents agree that the context of age is an important factor in determining someone's quest for identity, the second quote already indicates that the respondents were not only looking for some kind of identity, but more specifically for an identity that offered a positive meaning to their lives, especially the political activism. They were looking for something meaningful and goods, which the anarchist movement offered them. The question why became an anarchist was answered by Respondent 9 in the following way:

> "It is more because I already had this background in [animal rights] activism and I thought that I had to extend this. You know, I already thought that animals were equal and had worth and I thought that I had to do more, that I had to act. Try to make the world a little better, or to make it at least more difficult for the people that destroy the world" (Respondent 9)

> "Actually, this [anarchism] is the normal situation for me. I don't think it is very special. I actually belief that everyone is an anarchist deep inside, that no one likes to have someone else above them or to command someone else. This can never be the ideal situation. I like that I am conscious of that. But I don't feel special because of it. I think it has to do with the course of [life] histories, that one ends up here and the other doesn't. I am happy with it, definitely" (Respondent 5)

> "Back then I think I made a choice, something like 'Hey, I agree with all of this [anarchist values]'. And it was of course also very exciting to do something with like-minded people, something that has a high symbolic value of which you think 'Hey, I can mean something'. There were things from which we gained publicity and thought

'Hey, we can convince other people'. It was exciting to do and I found my role in it" (Respondent 7)

All of these reactions by participants show how they individually found an identity or a positive and meaningful role in the anarchist movement which eventually influenced their decision to become involved more structurally after attending a few events or activities. The anarchist movement offered an "idealistic way of living", as respondent 7 sums up.

5.3.3 Quest for excitement

Whereas this quest for a meaningful life seem to be the most important, because most often mentioned driver to participate in the anarchist movement in this category of identity motivations, there are two other factors related to identity that also influenced the participants' pathways to anarchist activism. The first factor is a quest for excitement, which is also closely connected to the context of age that was discussed in the previous section.

Though they all experienced different exciting events or moments that paved their ways to activism, a common thrill for excitement is visible in the majority of the respondents' life-histories.

"They [colleagues] don't know anyone who has been in prison for some activity. Or someone coming from Athens, who tries build a life in Amsterdam. Or people -, who do you meet in the movement? People who have fought somewhere else in the world, really fought. Or people with some psychiatric condition who find a place in this community. So yeah, it's a real exciting perspective on the real world" (Respondent 2)

"When I think about it, a lot of people travelled for example to Berlin, to be part in a big eviction, that was more because of the excitement and the sensation and to be part in a big riot. (…) The reason why you really came was to be part of a historic riot" (Respondent 8)

Later on, the respondent added:

"There is always a pie-chart of reasons [to become active in the anarchist movement] and excitement and sensation sure are a part of it. This means more for some then for others. I know for sure that there were people who were absolute not interest, that only came along for the excitement. Later you see them again with the right-wing extremists"

This last comment adds a subjective assessment on the quest for excitement as a motivator to join

the anarchist movement: Whereas the big riots, public evictions or demonstrations have sparked the interest of some of this research's respondents and therefore played an important factor in the route to anarchist activism, the excitement on its own is not enough to structurally involve individuals in the movement. Interest in anarchist values and the ideology seem to be necessary for long-term commitment.

5.3.4 Stigmatization

The second factor which is not only mentioned in the academic literature of chapter 3 as collective anger motives, but also plays a vital part in the respondents' life-histories' is stigmatization based on values, beliefs and identity. Van Zomeren et al.'s (2004) study suggests that common perceptions of unfairness and the belief that these problems can be overcome together increases the chance that individuals take part in collective action. Earlier in this chapter, one example on how a grandfather's story on stigmatization of 'the left' may have influenced later participation in activism was already mentioned.

Another example how stigmatization has influenced the choice for activism in the anarchist movement is given by respondent 9, who not only hinted that violence by police has been part of the family's history, but also that left-wing activism is automatically related to repression and stigmatization by governmental forces:

> "People who are activists, also in the environmental activism are treated so much worse than every other criminal and I knew this back then [before being involved in anarchist activism]. I was aware of that. I found it strange back then and not appropriate. It's ridiculous – a good example is [an Americana activist] who has been in prison now for a few years and he set three or four fur factories on fire. And in America you have laws that categorize these acts as terrorism but as a pyromaniac who does not even have good intentions for the animals, you are not a terrorist and you get a less severe sentence. Even though we all knew that he was doing it for the greater good" (Respondent 9)

In this case, the anarchist ideology of antiauthoritarianism and its strive to abolish governments and its repressive forces such as police or the military could have been one of the reasons to join the anarchist movement as an activist. In another case which has also already been mentioned before, the anarchist movement actively offered their help against stigmatization and repression by police forces during an eviction of a squatted house:

> "We had a lot of threats, immediately in the first days [of the eviction]. And there was this number for alarms that you could ring as a squatter when your house was in danger. And we called the number and really quick, the house was full of people [anarchists]" (Respondent 7)

In all of the cases in which the respondents felt some form of stigmatization based on their values as an activist or ideologies, the anarchist movement presented themselves as part of the suppressed group and as a tool to fight against this suppression, either with its theory of abolishment of authorities or through practical help. Especially for individuals who are looking to overcome the perceived suppression together with a larger group, activism in the Dutch anarchist movement could be interpreted as a viable solution.

5.3.5 Conclusion: What Role Does Identity Play in the Pathway Towards Anarchist Activism?

Based on this discussion on the value of identity as a motivator to join the Dutch anarchist movement one can make a number of different conclusion: The first conclusion is that the age of the participants seems to be a significant factor when assessing the role of identity. Without exception, all participants started their political activism between the age of 13 or 14 to the early 20's in some activist organization which (a little) later turned into anarchist activism. The uncertainties and searches for identities opened up the minds of the respondents to look for groups or ideologies that could offer not only a significant role for the respondent, but also values or an ideology on which the meaning of life could be built upon. One specific factor through which some of the respondents were able to identify with the anarchist movement was suppression and/or stigmatization. The movement presents itself – intentional or unintentional - both as a group that shares the same experiences with perceived unfairness but also as a group that strive for the same goals of abolishing the mechanisms causing the stigmatizations. This relates back to what van Sterkelenburg and Klandermans (2017) categorized group-based anger motives. However, especially given the media portrayal of anarchists in general, group-based anger motives are less prominent in the talks with the respondent than one could have expected.

Another factor through which the participants could identify with the movement is related to the subculture that exists within the movement. Clothing or other appearances, music, and other cultural aspects clearly differentiated anarchists from the mainstream in the eyes of some participants. Whilst this was and can be interpreted as an attractive feature for people who cannot find

themselves in the mainstream, it closes the movement off for people who may be interested in the theoretical and ideological framework of anarchism but who do not feel at home in the subculture that at least some parts of the anarchist movement seem to project to outsiders.

A third factor which is part of the category of identity motives and again, closely related to the age of the respondents, is a quest for excitement or thrill in live. Especially during the 70's or 80's when some of the respondents entered the world of political and/or anarchist activism, demonstrations, riots or the squatting of houses seem to be to some extent public events which attracted some participants of this study. However, during the interviews, participants mentioned that this motivation alone is not enough to predict long-term involvement in the movement as other radical groups, for example right-wing radical movements may offer the same thrills and excitements, only with a different ideological framework.

5.4 Social motives to join Anarchist Groups

After presenting the categories of ideological and identity motives for joining the Dutch anarchist movement, this chapter will reveal the findings about the social factors that influenced the pathways of the respondents. In chapter 3, in which the theoretical theories were elucidated, the search for a social environment and social relations was categorized under the collective identity motivations. During the talks however, it appeared that this search for like-minded friends was such a crucial motivation to join the anarchist movement, that it deserves its own sub-chapter. Moreover, different case studies (e.g. Bjørgo, 2002; Silke, 2008) have already demonstrated that the social context outside of a radical group or movement – or the lack thereof – and the social connections that a movement can offer are important factors.

5.4.1 Anarchists Are No Loners

The first factor that could hint at a social motivation is a lack of social contacts before joining the movement. However, apart from one exception, none of the respondents remarked that they felt lonely before joining the movement. Nonetheless, social contexts had different functions in the pathways. The first function is that friends can act as facilitator to the movement, either because they are themselves involved or they become involved together with the participants:

> "Yeah, that's how I rolled into it [the movement]. It's the same as in other group of friends. In the end, you have a friend that you know who helps you further in the group" (Respondent 9)

> "At some point, I got to know some people, some from school and a girl outside from school that sometimes came along and she had a brother who was an anarchist. Via her, I got into discussions in which I had to tell why I had against anarchism. And there was a magazine, 'de Vrije' [Dutch anarchist magazine] was the name, and she sometimes brought it with her" (Respondent 5)

Another respondent indicated that the personal pathway towards activism in radical left-wing groups was part of a general development of the social context that the respondent lived in:

> "Well, all of my friends were like that, so it was a subculture. All of my friends had a similar development and this, of course, was part of the attraction" (Respondent 2)

This connection to the movement via existing social connections offers several advantages for the participant: the threshold to attend gatherings from anarchist groups is less high and the "confusing" different ideological interpretations can be more accessible if explained by a well-known person.

Though the participants did not complain about a lack of social contacts before joining the movement, some made remarks about the quality of these friendships in to what extent political beliefs could be discussed. When asked whether social contacts played a role in respondent 2's participation in the movement, the following answer ensued:

> "I don't think consciously, but maybe unconsciously. Yes, because in my professional surroundings, there are a lot of really nice and inspiring people. I love most of my colleagues. Nothing to the detriment. But they are living in a really limited world. And generally, they are really mainstream in political or social issues. So, in the range from GroenLinks, D66. In this sense, they have little exciting to offer"

These examples illustrate that there is not one common way in which peers influenced the activist pathway of the participants. In some cases, such in the case of respondent 5, it looks like the friend(s) targeted at involving the participant in discussions around anarchism or political activism. In other cases, the social context may have unintentionally brought the values and practical lives of anarchists closer to the respondent. For example in the case of respondent 7:

> "When I left home, I lived in a residential group and we chose people that somewhat took the same stance in life. They weren't activists or something. But one of them

involved me in a squatting of a house" (Respondent 7)

Nonetheless, they all let to the outcome that the participants perceived the step into anarchist activism less as a threshold.

Deriving from these findings, there is no evidence to state that the participants joined the anarchist movement as a result of loneliness. Almost all of them had a well-established group of friends who, in some cases, even facilitated the entry into the movement.

5.4.2 Support and Lack of Opposition by Family Members

As Pauwels et al. (2014) already stated in their framework that family members can play a crucial role in the pathway towards radical activism. Other case studies on Islamic and right-wing radical groups, as discussed in chapter 3.4 seem to agree with this assumption. Therefore, the participants were asked to discuss the influence that family members had on their motivations to join the Dutch anarchist movement. As the ideological influences have already been discussed in 5.1.4, this section will focus on the support or lack thereof that parents or other family members have shown for the activism of the participants and to what extent this facilitated or complicated the participation in the movement.

First of all, almost none of the respondents explicitly mentioned that they were actively supported by their family members. However, there were some exceptions. Respondent 9 explained how his activism changed the (step-)parents' behaviour towards governments or police which resulted in support for the respondent's actions within or for the movement:

> "So, I got arrested for the first time. (…) and my mother had my back: 'Police agents suck, you beat up my son again'. And I still know, since I've become an anarchist (…) her perspective on the police has changed as well. (…) So, know she thinks: 'Police sucks. I am proud of my son'. I am happy with that"

In another case, a close family member of the participant did not only transmit socialist left-wing values, but introduced the participants also to injustice and stigmatization connected to these values.

> "He [the grandfather] told the story that his family, so my great grandma and great grandpa, (…) was buying bread at the cooperation [name of the bakery]. The cooperation was a socialist bakery. Even though they only bought the bread because it

was cheaper there, they were evicted by their catholic landlord because they were buying their bread at the cooperation." (Respondent 1)

This story seems to be of great importance to the respondent, as he partly explained his left-wing political values based on it. Though the participant did not directly declare that this story has led to his activism, according to the theory on group-based anger motives, van Zomeren et al. (2004) and Leach et al. (2006) this perceived unfairness and injustice could have opened the emotional pathways towards political activism, which, together with other motivations, led to participation in the anarchist movement.

Next to active support for the participant, a lack of opposition by family members could have also influenced the participants' decisions to join the radical social movement of anarchists in the Netherland. In two cases, the respondents declared that their activism has caused resistance within the family:

"My whole family did not like it" (Respondent 1)

"My parents are typical obedient CDA-peasants. They did not like it" (Respondent 4)

In all other cases however, the respondents neither experienced support or resentment of the activist values, but rather a neutral attitude, such as in the example of respondent 2:

"She [the respondent's mother] thought that it was interesting. She wasn't politically active herself – I come from an apolitical family. But she always had some sympathy for it [the activism]"

Eventually, these two factors – the active support or a lack of resistance to radical political activism – could have positively influenced the participant's motivations to join the Dutch anarchist movement as in most cases, they did not have to fear social costs, such as grievances within the family.

5.4.3 A Place for Social Gatherings

Though the previous section concluded that the participants had not necessarily a strong need for new social contacts, this does not rule out that the participants did not perceive some social advantages for joining the movement. Especially for the participants that started their anarchist activism during the 1970's and 1980's, the squatter movement acted as a place for social gatherings:

"It was a cooperative press where left-wing literature was produced, also a lot about the

> gay movement. And it was sort of a meeting place because it was in a somewhat conservative village where I grew up and there weren't that much placed to come together. But this place (…), it had this function. So, the guys came together there to grab a beer or to drink a coffee and to talk about politics. We also had a left bookstore there. And from there, actions were taken: against politics of apartheid, against racism in general. Also actions together with people from the trade union movement" (Respondent 6)

> "But what you see is that this function that the squatter movement or squatted houses had during my time as a student as a social meeting place, as a place where you could gather and have parties but also as a place where you could start something for the longer run, all of this is much less now" (Respondent 4)

Though these statements show that the respondents perceived the advantages of the social movement as such, two remarks have to be made: The first one is, as already was mentioned before, that the squatter movement does not equal the anarchist movement during the 1970's, the 1980's or now. Still, the respondents often started talking about the squatting movement when asked how they perceived the social advantages of the anarchist groups before participating. This indicates that they perceive that the beginning of their activism started within the squatting movement, which makes their statements about the social advantages of squatting viable to explain the social advantages of anarchist activism from their perceptions.

The second remark relates back to respondent's 4 commentary that "all of this is much less now". Considering that the squatting ban from 2010 made squatting illegal, you should expect that the social role of the squatting movement has changed as well and that younger activist in the anarchist scene have different experiences. The one participants of this research that joined the movement only five years ago has made different experiences with the squatting movement:

> "In the squatting scene, you had a lot of macho-shit and so on. Especially in the city where I am from. Punkers that were really machos, who used drugs and didn't give a shit about the police. But they weren't necessarily idealistic. This was how I perceived anarchism to be at first, but I didn't feel at home there" (Respondent 9)

Though this experience could be an exception, as there is no other data to confirm this perception, it could support the idea that the contemporary squatting movement works less as an entry to the

anarchist movement via its social benefits than it did 30 to 40 years ago.

5.4.4 The Paradox of Being Open and Closed Off

During the interviews, the respondents were asked to reflect on the changes that the squatting ban has inflicted on the way that new activists enter the movement.

> "Well, this is a good question. They don't. This is the best answer to this question. And of course, it still happens, but I think that they enter via other topics." (Respondent 8)

Later on, the respondent explained how some features of the movement make it less accessible to new potential participants, mainly because it creates a group which does not focus on attracting new people but builds a social network with the existing participants. In the end, this closes off the group for people from the outside and cancels out the benefits that activists have seen in the squatting movement:

> "It's all about a lot of social and emotional factors that play role [when entering the movement]. All of these things are important and all of them are forgotten. Since I have children myself, I always think that it is bizarre that there are no children parties during the squatting parties. Or that people were still smoking in the beginning and it started at 10 o'clock in the evening. For people with smaller children inaccessible. Well, this is extreme. But it starts with, if you come to a new town and you are interested in a topic, then you have to be able to find the groups. And if you see that they have a gathering, then you have to feel welcomed (…)" (Respondent 8).

As was already discussed in a previous section on the disadvantages of having a subculture within the anarchist movement, the paradox of being open to everyone, at least theoretically, stands against the feeling of being closed off to outsiders which effects possible perceptions that interested individuals have on the social group that the movement represents. Though not explicitly mentioned, this social distance is also mentioned by respondent 9 who describes the first reactions from members of the movement after attending a few activities:

> "But I know for sure that in the beginning, some people thought that it was really strange, something like 'What the fuck is this guy doing here every day all of the sudden?' I really was attending every activity. So, as an outsider, this stood out"

5.4.5 Conclusion: Perceptions of social benefits change over time

The findings surrounding the social motivations show that the social component has several functions in the pathway towards anarchism: First of all, pre-existing social connections can be the ones that introduce the participants to the anarchist movement in the first place. This could ease up the entry and connects the participant to a new social group, the anarchists. Second of all, respondents have recounted that the pathway into radical left-wing activism can be taken by a group of friends together which could have the same effects of reducing possible obstacles along the way. However, it became clear that the social advantages as perceived by the participants are at least partly dependent on the infrastructure of the movement which in itself is dependent on other factors, such as the political contexts. During the 1970's and 1980's, the squatter movement offered not only a social culture for young adults, but it also provided locations for social gatherings of the anarchist movement. Taking these together, the participants experienced the passage from the generally left squatter movement (with some exceptions) to the anarchist movement via overlapping social groups.

Nowadays, in the context of illegal squatting, this impression has changed. Together with the decrease of anarchist activists in the last 40 years, the respondents now experience a more closed off social group within the movement which could hinder new activists to join the group. As one respondent described it as

> "inherent exclusion based on bad structures or bad media. (…) They [potential activists] come because they are interested in a specific topic, they want to do something and then it starts late and then the group is so closed off that everyone knows each other and you are standing next to it, feeling like an idiot. Or you don't have a lot of time because you have kids and they keep on going but the real decisions are taken in the bar afterwards" (Respondent 8)

5.5 Instrumental motives to join Anarchist Groups

The last category of motivations to join the Dutch anarchist groups – the instrumental motives – was prominent in more than one theory that tries to grasp the complex process of joining a radical social movement. Based on the resource mobilization theory, Olson (1965), Klandermans (1984) and other scholars developed the idea that individuals' decisions to become politically active is

based on a rational cost-benefit analysis. The benefits are considered to be incentives that the movement offer intentionally or intentionally to the potential participant. The second factor that is part of the cost-benefit analysis, according to academic literature, is the expectation of the potential activists whether he or she could reach the goals with the help of the movement and whether his or her role would be significant. In order to receive this information, the respondents were asked which advantages and disadvantages they perceived before joining the anarchist movement. Even though most of the respondents could only point to the advantages that they received after joining, a few factors were discussed

5.5.1 The Advantages of Squatting Back Then and Its Disadvantage Now

The first factor is related to part of the anarchist culture – at least in the 1970's and 1980's: squatting. In previous sections of this thesis the social advantages had already been discussed and will therefore not be repeated. However, some of the participants of this research also mentioned the practical advantages of squatting houses:

> "Well, I think that there was always a split during squatting, or maybe, there have always been two directions in the Dutch squatting movement. The political squatters, as they are known, and the convenient squatters who think that this is an easy way to find a place to live and sometimes you see that a squatted house has a big group. Sometimes these groups are more one of the two [directions], other groups the other. Sometimes you see that groups have both and people have an easy way to step over [to the other side]. But these motives exist next to each other. Squatting is next to the movement just a way to live and you, as a squatter movement, cannot choose who is part of it and who isn't anyway" (Respondent 4)

The same respondent was someone who stepped over from the convenient squatting to the political squatters, or, more precisely, the anarchist movement.

> "And the other route [how I was introduced to the anarchist movement] was when, as a student, I moved from the one bad landlord to the next and at some point, I got invited like 'Hey, why don't you go squatting with us because we are going to squat a house next week'. And I was like 'Well, I can move every six months and pay a lot of money for it as a student, or I can just squat a house with my friends'. This was my introduction to the squatter movement in the Netherlands. And it is very anarchist-

minded." (Respondent 4)

Though the financial incentive of living in a squatted house remains, in the current political context in which squatting is illegal, this incentive has lost most of its attraction to potential activists for the anarchist movement. Though some respondents mentioned that illegality may not necessarily a disadvantage for everyone, the convenience of squatting has faded. As one respondent describes:

> "But well, the disadvantage of squatting in the Netherlands today is that you get evicted every other week" (Respondent 2)

5.5.2 Other practical incentives to join the movement

Other case studies on radical groups found that there can be other incentives that can draw individuals towards a movement or a group. One of these incentives could be a potential career within the movement (CASES). Whereas this incentive may apply in most of these contexts, the structures of the anarchist movement prevents this:

> "Where there are no hierarchical structures, there are no spokespersons, so this was never a reason [to join the movement]. Internally maybe, of course there were some special people. But it was never like that to the outside" (Respondent 8)

Nonetheless, in retrospective, around half of the respondents' work is related to the movement and their activism. However, as they only acquired these jobs or workplaces later on, this cannot be counted as a motivation for joining the Dutch anarchist movement.

Finkel and Müller (1998) identified a few other selective incentives, for example 'financial gain', 'entertainment' or 'knowledge gain'. However, none of these incentives were mentioned by the respondents of the research. To find out whether an analysis of the benefits and costs really did not play a role, a few respondents were asked to evaluate whether their participation in the movement was accompanied with such a rational consideration.

> "I think it's a little bit more complicated than that. It's is more about a lot of social and emotional factors that play a role" (Respondent 8)

Another respondent agrees:

> "Well, that isn't something very rational. There may be rational considerations part of it, and one of them is: Can I mean somethings there? And also: Can I afford this? Because

there are of course disadvantages connected to it [activism]" (Respondent 7)

5.5.3 The Need to Matter

Can I mean something in the movement? According to Olson's (1965) theory, this question must be answered with a 'yes' as the rational individual would otherwise wait for other people to bring the social change. Indeed, this question was raised by several respondents during the interviews, but with varying results.

On the one hand, some respondents perceive their activism as crucial for a success. Respondent 7 for example was inspired by the feeling of being able to matter:

> "And it was of course also very exciting to do something with like-minded people, something that has a high symbolic value of which you think 'Hey, I can mean something'. There were things from which we gained publicity and thought 'Hey, we can convince other people'. It was exciting to do and I found my role in it" (Respondent 7)

However, there are also comments made by the respondents during the interviews that show another perspective on the personal role within the movement:

> "I don't have the illusion that my contributions are a key factor in the improvement of the world. If I get hit by a train after this talk, then history won't change. So, the movement could do without me, but personally I would lose [if exiting the movement]" (Respondent 2)

In the talk with respondent 8, it was mentioned that actions taken by just a few activists have little to no meaning if the number of activists remains limited:

> "If you ask me: Are you an anarchist or not?' then I try to not answer. With the reason that you can only be an anarchist if there is an anarchist movement. If this is not there than you can call yourself [an anarchist] but what are you doing?"

Therefore, these comments show that the hypothesis by Olson cannot simply be verified by the collected data. Though the respondents personally want to contribute to a better world, not all of them perceive their role as crucial for the success of the whole movement which remains the first priority.

5.5.4 Perceived disadvantages

Though these advantages may have drawn activists to the anarchist movement, there have also been disadvantages that the respondents of this research have known before entering. Instead of preventing them from using their voice for the anarchist movement, they have decided to work against these disadvantages. Nonetheless, these negative factors could paint a picture of the difficulties surrounding the image of the Dutch anarchist movement in the Netherlands.

The most often mentioned perceived disadvantage that the respondents were aware of before regularly participating in the movement is the risk of having to deal with repression by the police.

> "Yes, I see this as a risk of the profession. There was at some point a demonstration against right-extremists in the 1980's. A few hundred people were arrested (…), I was one of them. You know, this happens" (Respondent 6)

Respondent 9 who has been active in the animal rights movement before joining the anarchist scene also comprehended that his relationship with the police would change:

> "Yes, because you shift your activism from the one thing to something else. If you take action as an anarchist then this action is mostly directed against the authority to say it nicely. And then you expect a severe backlash. Of course, the police first think 'The animal rights activists only hurt the industry, but now they [the anarchists] hurt us. Now they come to stand in front of my door instead of the manager of the fur fabric'. They take this a bit more personal. So, I understood this a little" (Respondent 9)

However, none of the respondents saw this as a reason to rethink their interest in the anarchist movement. "I am not afraid of the police" (Respondent 9). Other disadvantages did not play a role in the decision-making process to join the anarchist movement, at least not according to the respondents.

One interesting point is made by respondent 3, who decided against taking part in anarchist protests or the involvement in a group and opted for an individual interpretation of anarchism. One explicit disadvantage mentioned in the interview was the connection between violence and anarchism:

> "I would never support that [the use of violence] and would never take part in it. It is really ridiculous. I don't get what you are doing. But I think that is it a form of expressing anger

that is directed at other things. (…) To summarize, I don't think that anarchism has anything to do with violence but I don't see that the [anarchist] groups have the same idea"

5.5.5 Conclusion: Little Rationality, but Practical Approach to Join the Movement

Altogether, the findings show that the rational analysis of advantages and disadvantages has played a less important role than one could have predicted based on the academic literature. Whereas Olson (1965) stated that no individual would join a social movement if there are no selective incentives, the talks with this research's respondents have demonstrated no such hypothesis. Even in the 1970's or 1980's, when the anarchist – and other left-wing movements were evidently stronger with bigger influenced on everyday politics, the participants joined the movement regardless of potential repressive forces.

The practical reasons for joining, which were reviewed in this section, where mainly based on two grounds: either a practical need for housing, which was answered by the "anarchist minded" (Respondent 4) squatter movement or because one perceived the own role as valuable to the movement. However, the latter perception was mostly not build on specific talents, but rather on the impression that the bigger the mass, the bigger the influence.

6. Motivations to Stay Involved in the Dutch Anarchist Movement

The second part of this analysis evolves around the question why the respondents stayed involved in the Dutch anarchist movement over the years. The easiest explanation for continuous involvement in the radical political activism is the positive development of the factors that have influenced the respondents' decisions to join the movement at one point. However, criticism about the movement was also part of every talk with the respondents. Consequently, one has to look at the development of all factors, positive and negative as well as the process of integration into the movement that the participants experienced.

6.1 Structural Integration

This first chapter will discuss the different ways in which the respondents of this research have been structurally integrated into the movement. This process is important to evaluate why the respondents stayed participants of the anarchist movement for several years.

6.1.1 Events and Other Activities Fostering Structural Integration

After the first contact with the movement was established, the participants of this research became more invested by participating in more activities organised by the radical social movement and other befriended radical groups. These events ranged from social gatherings to political activism, which promoted the integration on a variety of levels. For the one, experiences with police violence has further radicalised the values and connected the respondent further with the movement and its goals:

> "What you learn, and what I see happening a lot is that there is no better way for the radicalization of people than police violence but also a lot of discussions at the bonfire over structural violence in this society and that what we perceive as a peaceful existence is not possible without extreme violence in other places" (Respondent 4)

For respondent 6, the social events seemed to be a factor for increasing integration into an anarchist group in the Eastern part of the Netherlands:

> "The direct occasion [to become engaged in the movement] was the meeting place of the radical left-wing party and there was also a collective press. And yes, after school you just go there and one follows the other. (…) It was a place to meet each other, to do nothing

special but also to talk about activities and to assemble and it was also sociable" (Respondent 6)

Another respondent explained how involved in a variety of activities, for example demonstrations gradually led to further integration. Interestingly, this development seems to happen quite unconsciously:

> "Yes, I went to some demonstrations, but that was no conscious choice for the activism I think. I also squatted a house but in retrospective, this wasn't an active choice either. But altogether, you start with it. And in the meantime, you get more contacts with like-minded people and find your role [in the movement]" (Respondent 7)

Only in one case, the respondent invested all his time in the movement, instead of gradually integrating as the other respondents did:

> "But I know for sure that in the beginning, some people thought that it was really strange, something like 'What the fuck is this guy doing here every day all of the sudden?' I really was attending ever activity. So, as an outsider, this stood out" (Respondent 9)

6.1.2 Feeling Cramped: When Integration Goes Too Far

How strong this integration into the movement and the influence of it on the individual's life can be is depicted in the following two statements by respondents of this research. They describe some negative experiences concerning the extent of integration and influence of the movement on everyday life:

> "Because the club of activists, or the activist-scene, which can be very broad by the way, but it can feel crampy nonetheless. First of all, you talk a lot about activism even though I it a lot more than just activism in my experience" (Respondent 7)

Or another respondent which paints the picture of a similar experience:

> "No, I need some periods of rest [from activism] in which I am with people who have nothing to do with politics. This is really nice sometimes, and also healthy I think. For example, my girlfriend, she is not involved with politics at all. I really like it that I have a relationship with her and not with another anarchist because otherwise I wouldn't be able to

escape and it takes some effort to live like this [as an activist]" (Respondent 9)

Both of these respondents are still actively and happily involved in the movement. However, their comments show that the movement can take over the whole life which results in the feeling of being cramped.

Other respondents share similar accounts, for example in the social category:

"And you are left with only a few friends that have another life" (Respondent 4)

"(…) And then I think: Is it worth making the movement your holy grail if it consumes so much of your life? In my opinion, you estrange yourself from the rest of the society. (…) And this is also caused by a big part of the movement which hides from the rest of society and misses the chance to show uncles and aunts, cousins, friends and old classmates what your life is like. And then you lose each other." (Respondent 8)

Though these experiences seem very similar to the above-mentioned comments by respondents 7 and 9, the other respondents did not categorize these experiences as negative. Moreover, even though an external observer could classify this information as a reason to exit, none of the respondents thought about stepping out of the movement. Instead, the respondents found ways to create free space for life outside of the movement or to corporate the activism in such a way that it is not perceived as negative.

6.2 Development of costs to stay part of the movement

However, there are other factors of participating in the movement that can be classified more clearly as experiences which might be able to negatively influence the participants' motivations to stay involved in the movement. Before they joined the Dutch anarchist movement, the respondents only regarded the repressive force of the police as a possible disadvantage. This chapter will take a closer look at how this perception may have changed over time and whether the respondents now experience other disadvantages. In the end, these reasons could be motivations to leave the movement.

6.2.1 Material costs: Time, Prison and Restrictions

The first category of costs and disadvantages are material costs. Important to notice is that material costs do not only include money: the most often mentioned factor in this category is time. Almost

all of the respondents agree that the activism within the anarchist movement demands many hours.

> "It sure claimed some time, maar I don't regret that. But it sure costs time. And when you get older you see that you have to be more careful. There were periods in which I had some activities every night and at some point, it gets difficult to carry on because you get responsibilities for a child" (Respondent 6)

Not only does the movement take time from the family, but in another case, it has prevented the respondent from finishing the study:

> "And then I had to choose between a big eviction or this big protest and the test and then it all gets too much. Too bad" (Respondent 4)

Another respondent describes how and why activism in the anarchist movement of the early 21st century may seem to cost more time than before:

> "Look, when you compare it, then one important factor is that we still had a welfare state in the 1980's which allowed you to be unemployed. The movements relied on that. Or some small jobs. A lot of the costs from now, we did not have back then. And there was shoplifting. Now you have to work the whole day just to pay the rent. And as a student you have to study harder. So, there is way less time to build up a social movement" (Respondent 8)

Interestingly, the respondent hinted that this is part of the 'neoliberal offensive'. This statement does not only support the impression that the activism costs a lot of time for the activists themselves, but it adds the hypothesis that the social movement would not work without the 'long-term commitments' (Respondent 6) of its participants and all the hours they spend for it.

Whilst the factor of time is the most mentioned factor, there are three other practical disadvantages. For respondent 5, the environmental part of anarchism restricts the respondent from riding a car.

> "When I hear how people go on vacation to France with a car and they just look where they will end up. If you go by train, then you need to plan more. But I wouldn't want to be less principled, I don't want that" (Respondent 5)

Similar to this restriction is the comment by one of the respondents who expressed concerns about

restrictions in the work field that come with the anarchist ideology and the belief that capitalism is an authority that should be abandoned:

> "And then they [the parents] thought 'Now you are going to look for a job' and I really wanted to but I didn't know what I wanted exactly. I did know that I had to be able to fully support it. And in the beginning, I thought that I could find it. (…) I was educated to support groups and then I would be above the group, at least that's a way how you can look at it. But in the meantime, it became a taboo in the movement to even have a chairman. That was too much in the anarchist sphere of the movement. You did not do that. Everyone was responsible. That's how I wanted to work, but this kind of work does not exist of course' (Respondent 5)

The consequence: unemployment for many, which then opened up more time to become active in the movement or connecting the work to the activism.

Moreover, six of the participants that exposed their life-histories were imprisoned, even just for a night after an illegal demonstration. Though none of them directly mentioned this as a disadvantage, the costs that are connected to being imprisoned or having a criminal record are indirectly included in the following statement:

> "You have to watch out of course to not get arrested because generally, an arrest means that you are imprisoned for a night and that you won't be on time for work the next day, these kind of things" (Respondent 6)

Another respondent concluded his perception of disadvantages in the following sentence:

> "Disadvantages? Well, next to a long criminal record and a thick AIVD-file and a specific social stigmatization that other give you… Maybe I should have finished my study and started a career. But I never regretted what I did and where I am now" (Respondent 4)

6.2.2 Social costs: Loss of Social Contacts Outside of the Movement

Another category of experienced disadvantages evolves around the social costs that the respondents had to pay for their participation in the movement. One of the disadvantages that the majority of the participants were exposed to was the loss of friends from outside of the movement.

> "Yes, I lost some friends through that. After school, when I became active in the feminist anarchism. (…) But after school, when I participated in a group that chose for unemployment and in the house for women in the city where I studied, I lost a few friends back then, but also grew apart. But I still had the idea of 'Oh, now they think that I am strange'. This happened a few times" (Respondent 5)

> "I think that it is typical for this kind of movements, also for sure in the squatter movement, that your social context and your circle of friends become the same. And you only have few friends left that have another life" (Respondent 4)

Another respondent also agreed that the activism in the movement cost a few friendships:

> "I saw that I cared about the friendships with the people and that they don't even have such a different life but that they just didn't make the same choice. But I lost them through it. I became estranged, even a little bit from myself. If you only sit in your circle and only plan activities that fit to your own perspective then you miss to let other people in a broader circle see who you are in a relaxed way. Then this is a missed chance, I think" (Respondent 7)

Even though these disadvantages are recognized by the respondents in retrospective, none of them complained about social isolation which, as a later section will reveal, show that the members of the anarchist movement become the new social context, new friends. Together with the time that the participants invest, the movement's strength could profit from this development. As respondent 4 concludes:

> "And yes, the whole anarchist movement is really build on friendships"

6.2.3 Identity costs: Stigmatization Outside of the Movement

Finally, the respondents shared some negative aspects related to identity. Klandermans and Mayer (2005), who used similar categories in their study on European right-wing radicals, included all factors that can have negative impact on the respondent's identity, such as disappointment, stigmatization, or the feeling of being excluded. Whereas some of these feelings are inflicted from members of the movement, others are based on people from outside the anarchist scene. One of them is the feeling of being stigmatized and to be part of specific prejudices.

> "I would not find my place everywhere in our society and I think that I am more of an outsider than most other people. But well, everything has its advantages and disadvantages. I think that there are more barriers because of it, but that I don't experience them as barriers" (Respondent 7)

> "And very often, at least in the media, there you totally miss the complexity. There you only have the violent activist or the well-behaved anarchist. And there is no room for the grey area in between" (Respondent 4)

Whereas these examples mostly deal with the identity that is generally ascribed to the respondents, there are other examples that show the consequences of such stigmatizations. One respondent explains how this stigmatization of anarchists has grown in recent years:

> "But there is a trend in Europe and outside of it to stigmatize anti-authoritarian and anarchist activities, demonstrations and ways of living as terrorism" (Respondent 9)

In another case, the denunciation by others went as far as receiving personal hate mails

> "From the moment that you speak in public in the radio or the television, you get a lot of aggression against you. From specific websites or a full mailbox with hate-mails saying that I am a traitor to the country and that I should be shot – these kinds of jokes. At first, I thought that it was kind of funny, but with time it started to be annoying. That sure was a disadvantage. But well, it sure did not surprise me but it is crazy to experience it (…). The public aspect made it personally for the first time. People suddenly think that you are very dangerous because you have a face and a name with it" (Respondent 2)

Altogether, these examples show the different stages and consequences of prejudices ascribed to the Dutch anarchist movement and its members. Interestingly, the respondents agree that these prejudices are generally unjustified. Some have direct answers to some of these accusations, for example respondent 7:

> "I indulge in scientific literature about activism and try, as spokesperson for activities and campaigns, to adjust the perception that exists about it and to get it more realistic. And on the other hand, I try to convince my fellow anarchists to do some better PR and marketing"

6.2.4 Identity costs: Fragmentation within the movement

Next to these stigmatizations, which are inflicted by parties outside of the movement, there are also a few factors that play within the anarchist scene that the respondents view as problematic and which, potentially, could have consequences on their perception about activism.

The first factor is the social pressure and the norms within the movement. In an earlier section, it was already mentioned that anarchist activism can be associated to specific cultural norms for example for appearances. However, after some time in the movement, some of the respondents criticize those norms:

> "And my critique on a lot of my fellow activists is that they try to strive to some kind of ideal of purity. A little like 'I want to be a perfect anarchist' and then only cooperating with other perfect anarchists and then you end up in a sort of anarchist bubble. But you achieve nothing with that" (Respondent 4)

> "Especially the old squatter movement can be extremely conservative and really dogmatic and sectarian. And the rest of them are still there, specific clubs. If you go there with a proposal to do something completely different and they won't just take you not seriously but behind your back, they will gossip about you" (Respondent 8)

Moreover, as chapter 2 has already explored, there are many ideological discrepancies and interpretations in the movement which could aggravate cooperation:

> "There is a factor on the basis of which people feel at home, so there has to be some kind of link between the people, or it is all a big misunderstanding. But I do think that there are people [in the movement], who call themselves anarchist but who are just against everything, who go in all directions. But I think that the majority has something in common. But also, a lot of things not. There is a basis, but then the differences are enormous" (Respondent 6)

For the respondents, this fragmentation in ideologies or approaches to political action has been disappointing which negatively affected the belief in success of the movement.

This disappointment or doubt in the success of the movement was expressed in different ways and on the basis of a variety of factors. For respondent 9 for example, the lack of openness to outsiders is reason to see problems in the future:

> "I don't like it myself, I want it all to be more open. I plead for more involvement of other people. But it is still a big part of the group that doesn't feel safe with this. It really is closed off. (…) That's not how you grow as a movement, it really is not. And that is a problem"

Others have problems with the tactics that the anarchist movement is using, for example during the riots in Hamburg:

> "What surprises me now for 20 years already is that you attack your opponents at a time that is the most convenient for them, when he is most prepared with the tools in which your opponent is the best with, which is violence. And then you do this in a way in which your partners and fellow activists are also put in a disadvantage. That is nothing else than waiting, waiting until you get slapped. I don't think that this is the right way to approach this"
> (Respondent 4)

One respondent even went so far to state that the size of the movement does not allow for it to be called a movement anymore:

> "If you ask me: Are you an anarchist or not?, then I try to not answer. With the reason that you can only be an anarchist if there is an anarchist movement. If this is not there than you can call yourself [an anarchist] but what are you doing? Then you are a capitalist in reality or something else. From time to time you do something with an anarchist group but that is something different than being an anarchist" (Respondent 8)

6.2.5 What makes it harder to stay?

Though these commentaries by the respondents seem very negative from time to time, they are all to some extent involved in the anarchist movement. And when asked whether they have thought about quitting their activism, all of them denied. Therefore, the factors mentioned above cannot be described as reasons to exit the movement, but rather reasons which may make it harder to continue. The respondents still are motivated to work and improve whatever possible. Fragmentation seems to be a crucial part in the problems surrounding the movement: not all activists follow the same ideology or approach tactics in the same way.

Another source of irritation evolves around stigmatization by outsiders of the movement.

Negative perceptions by friends or the whole society have an impact on the respondents' image, and in some cases, the prejudices had very personal consequences.

6.3 Development of benefits of being part of the Movement

Considering that all of the respondents are still involved in the Dutch anarchist movement, one can assume that there have been positive developments of the benefits of being an activist as well. The following sections will review the benefits related to practical factors, social benefits and identity benefits that the respondents of this research experienced and are still experiencing during their time in the movement.

6.3.1 Material benefits

One very practical benefit that a number of respondents have mentioned is the connection between their activism in the anarchist movement with the work that the participants practise.

> "I live self-sufficient now. The things you see over there, we have made them ourselves (…). First for the anarchists, but then I found out that a lot of people like them. Then we got them printed" (Respondent 5)

Another respondent even made a conscious choice regarding the education and later the professional career in order to contribute to the movement in as many ways as possible:

> "I became that [the job] from my experience with activism. I saw a lot of wrongs there in society and I thought 'Hey, there are also a lot of regulations and power relations which I could do something about from my perspective; improve something by oppose it with knowledge. (…) And at this moment, my activism is overlapping a lot with my work and some people might not call me an activist because they think that it is more work than activism, but I think it is [activism]" (Respondent 7)

Whereas some of the respondent see this combination of work and activism as a necessity, there are also direct benefits that can be drawn from this connection from which the participants gain financially, intellectually and on other levels related to their work. One example:

> "I met people there [in the movement] who come with new ideas, who ask questions after a reading which I or my colleagues didn't think about before, so question from

their experience as an activist in the movement which I can then use for my work. So, this is really productive, it really adds something, yes" (Respondent 2)

Whether the financial or work-related gains are a significant reason to stay involved in the movement is doubtful, not only because none of the participants refers to them as such, but also because the capitalist attitude is generally not part of the anarchist ideology. Next to this factor, the respondents did not detect other practical advantages of being involved in the movement, except, as already stated before, the advantages of the movement's connection to the culture of squatting.

6.3.2 Social Benefits: Broadening the Social Context

Looking at the social benefits however, the respondents had a lot of positive experiences to share. The first, and one of the most significant advantages, is that the involvement in the movement created "life-long friendships" (Respondent 8). Even though section 5.4.1 has shown that the participants already had a social life before joining the movement, the anarchist scene offered friends with new perspectives that support the participants' values and beliefs. Also, through the national as well as international cooperation between different anarchist – and other radical left-wing groups, the respondents were able to build a network with people they may not have met otherwise.

"Through the different activities, I know people from South-Africa, or other parts of Africa and in America. I suddenly know people from all over the world. (…) If I ever go travelling the world, I will find places to sleep everywhere. This is the beautiful thing about anarchism and the squatted houses. If you have the connections, you can go everywhere" (Respondent 9)

Another respondent emphasized the differences of members within the movement which adds to the attractiveness of the movement:

"The movement is for some part really young, for another is it my generation. But a big group are people that were born after I stopped with my activism [in other radical left-wing group] which makes it nice to hear that their experiences are to some extent the same as mine but still different. Yes, it is really exciting to get to meet new people" (Respondent 2)

Whereas these examples, and a great number of others in the interviews show that the anarchist

movement did broaden the social context for most of the respondents of this interview, a few emphasized that these friendships are also deepened by the experiences that the activists share with each other.

> "I made really good friends and people who help each other unconditionally"
> (Respondent 9)

Other comments by the respondents show that this social cohesion within the movement goes beyond the times that the group gathers or comes together for other activist activities:

> "(…) for example putting up posters, or organizing information events. But well, when this was done, then you went for a beer and before you know it, it is late again" (Respondent 6)

> "We had this specific idea for an anarchist and vegan village. We looked for people back then and this was a way to bring other people to us" (Respondent 5)

Therefore, one can conclude that the respondents also had social motivations to stay involved as they have developed friendships which evolved around the activism for and within the movement.

6.3.3 Identity benefits

The last category of advantages that the respondents experienced during their activism in the Dutch anarchist movement are identity benefits. In other words, all other aspects that affect the identity of the participants positively.

One of these aspects is the good feeling to reach specific goals. One respondent recalls the time in which the left-wing movement including the anarchist movement was supported by other people:

> "But as a social movement, you had the idea that you had some power and that you could enforce some changes. (…) We had the population behind us and were really popular, even though some really violent things happened. These moments were there for sure. (…) Especially in a few districts you had the power. The police did not come in these districts and if they did, they had to behave. And if they really wanted to evict [a house], then they came with the military and strong repression that made them really unpopular and we even influenced the policies for a big part" (Respondent 8)

Another respondent had similar experiences:

> "There were things through which we gained publicity and thought 'Hey, we can convince other people as well'. It was amazing to do and I definitely saw my role in this" (Respondent 7)

Another aspect that is perceived as a positive factor by the respondents is the inspiration that other members have offered which significantly influenced how the world and life is conceived.

> "And then I find it really inspiring to get to know more radical people and yes, they inspire me more. The things that are new and which made and still make me really happy" (Respondent 2)

This happiness is also experienced by another respondent who compares the anarchist life with the fellow anarchists with a stereotype everyday life of non-activists:

> "(…) A big advantage are of course the people who just accept you. It really is a strange group of people. You know, the world is so different if you spent a few days in a well-established anarchist group. Then is it so different than working from 8 to 5, sitting in your house in the outskirts of a big city. Life is so different, it is so much better" (Respondent 9)

6.3.4 Reasons to stay involved

In conclusion, one can see that the reasons to get involved have not only been strengthened but also extended which resulted in a motivation to stay involved in the movement. For some, involvement in the movement offered a chance to plan a professional career not within, but for the foals of the movement. However, the most important benefits are experienced in the social and identity categories: Many of the respondents have established a number of good friendships within the anarchist scene which make up the majority of the social connections for them. A second factor is that these friendships create a feeling of belonging to other activists across borders. Finally, the respondents felt positive influences on their identity, for example by experiencing successes with the movement or by expanding one's views.

7. Conclusion

In the introduction, the author stated that this thesis could contribute to a better understanding of the Dutch anarchist movement which has been subject to negative perceptions due to a public and political debate on the use of violence within the movement. Though recent events, such as the riots in Hamburg justify this debate, little attention is given to look behind the stereotype of a 'hormone-driven lover of violence' as one of the respondents phrases it. Looking at scientific contributions, a lack of information on the contemporary movement and a generalization of the left-wing scene in the Netherlands offers only little to create another perspective in this discussion. By conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews with a number of Dutch anarchists throughout the country, this research aimed at answering the following main question: What are the motivations to join and stay involved in the Dutch anarchist movement?

7.1 Ideological, Social, Practical and Identity Benefits

Similar research on other (radical) social movements have argued that the answers to this question can be categorized into three sections: ideological motives, social motives and practical incentives. Indeed, these categories played crucial roles during the interviews with Dutch anarchists.

One sub-question of this research - In which way have personal benefits played a role in the individual's decision to get involved? – has been answered by chapter 5.5, which discussed the influence of instrumental incentives as a motivator to join the Dutch anarchist movement. As concluded in the last section of that chapter, it has become obvious that the respondents of this research perceived only little personal practical advantages. One common practical need – the need for housing – was met by the generally left-wing squatter-movement during the 1970's and 1980's. Further than that, the respondents perceived little to no other practical incentives. These findings are interesting, considering that they partly contradict the statements by Olson (1965) and other collective action theorists which propose that individuals would only participate in (radical) social movements if they can expect personal advantages. Moreover, the findings of some case studies that respondents stay involved because they gain personal advantages, such as a career could not be verified in the case of Dutch anarchists.

A second category which has been discussed in theoretical academic literature as well as in case studies of other radical groups and movements is the ideological factor. Whereas in theory, scholars expect people to join a movement to express their values and beliefs and therefore, see similarities between personal beliefs and the ideology within the movement, other case studies, for

example on radical jihadists, have already shown that ideology is not always the initiator for joining a movement. In this research, the question was raised to what extend individuals have ideological motives to join the anarchist movement. The respondents all felt belonging to the movement based on its beliefs and values. However, this research has shown that it is necessary to make a difference between the whole anarchist ideology and specific values and concepts, such as anti-authoritarianism. As the conclusion in section 5.2.6 shows, most of the respondents entered the movement based on a specific interest in one of the practical issues that contemporary anarchism is dealing with, for example feminism or environmentalism. Some of the respondents were brought up with general left-wing values. Later, mostly after joining discussions, demonstrations and other activities and being integrated in the movement, a broader interest in the anarchist ideology was established.

The third category of social motives to join the Dutch anarchist movement was extensively discussed during the interviews in order to answer the question to what extend social motives influence the decision to participate in anarchist activism. That is due to the findings that social connections, such as friends, can act as facilitators by introducing the respondent to the movement. Moreover, the squatter movement, through which the majority of the respondents were introduced to the anarchist movement during the 1970's and 1980's acted as a place for social gatherings. Therefore, social connections play an integral part. However, one cannot claim that the respondents of this research were necessarily looking for new social connections due to a lack thereof. Instead, a need for social connections that share the same political values became partly visible. Once integrated in the movement, the social connections are broadened even across borders, as section 6.3.2 has proven. Nonetheless, the activism has seemed to cost some of the respondents' friendships outside of the movement as it consumes time and offers other social advantages.

Finally, the last sub-question of this research asked whether there were other motivations that could possibly influence the decision to become active in the movement. The respondents perceived a participation in the Dutch anarchist movement as advantageous for their identity, which adds a fourth category to Klandermans and Mayer's (2005) suggested framework. As section 5.3 already concluded, there are three main factors which influenced the individuals' motivations for joining the movement: The first two factors are related to the young age in which most of the respondents joined the anarchist scene. In the early teens or young adulthood, the respondents seemed to look for thrill and excitement as well as a meaningful life. Both of these quests were answered by the anarchists and their ideology as the participants were intrigued to fight for the perceived positive greater goods – total freedom for all – and to bring change by their activism.

The third factor that motivated some of the participants to become active as an anarchist was perceived stigmatization based on political values and beliefs which correlated with what van Stekelenburg and Klandermans call "group-based anger motives" (2017).

7.2 Limitations of this research

Though these findings can contribute to a better understanding of the anarchist movement in the Netherlands, there are a few limitations that should not be neglected but taken into account for further research on this topic.

The first limitation is a lack of generalizability of the findings. As this research was restricted by time and resources, only a small number of respondents could be interviewed. Though their personal stories shad a light on a under-researched topic, one cannot adapt these findings on the whole movement. Especially the fact, that only two of the respondents have entered the movement after 2000 could indicate that the findings can explain motivations why people entered the movement during the 1970's and 1980's, but less so for individuals who joined in later decades, considering that specific social and political contexts have changed that may exacerbate the involvement in the anarchist movement. In order to develop a more distinct picture of the 'younger' generation of Dutch anarchists, one would have to limit the study population based on their year of entry in the movement.

For this research, a focus on the younger generation was not feasible based on the second limitation, the difficult access to the Dutch anarchist scene. Distrust in official institutions, such as universities, and researchers (especially from the media) as well as fear of possible misuse of information by the government were common reasons given by potential respondents for not participating in this research. Therefore, in order to gain their trust, personal contact, small talk previous to the interviews and extensive explanations of the goal of the research and the use of the findings is necessary, which requires more time and resources than were available for this research.

Lastly, the use of semi-structured interviews as the main method can be questioned. Even though semi-structured in-depth interviews are a viable method to gather information on personal perceptions, experiences and feelings, they harbour some limitations. For example, there is little to no possibility for the researcher to verify the statements made by the respondents during the interviews. This is problematic, considering that respondents could follow their own agenda, which could include presenting the anarchist movement in a specific way. Though these risks could be limited by verifying the statements to some extent via public records, news articles and similar

sources, only the use of other methods, such as observations, can enhance the reliability of the findings.

7.3 Relevance of Research on Dutch Anarchism

Nevertheless, this study has shown that there are a variety of factors that influenced the participants' decision to get involved in the Dutch anarchist movement. These findings both have societal as well as academic relevance. Looking back at the public picture of the violent anarchist, these findings do not necessarily reject such a picture. The use of violence has not been subject of this research. However, some of the findings may indicate that the public perception of these radical activists need to be revised: in contrary to some expectation, this research's respondents were not ideologically driven to participate in radical activism. They did not start with the goal to achieve the revolution against government and any other form of authority. Instead, most of the respondents were interested in recent social issues, such as environmentalism or anti-militarism or they were searching for a positive meaning in life. This is not reflected in the recent debate on radical left-wing groups, and in particular the anarchist movement.

This situation is partly caused by a lack of information of the anarchist and other radical left-wing groups. European academic scholars have mainly focused on other forms of radical activism in the last years, especially jihadist radicalism and to some extent activism from radical right-wing groups. Whereas research on these groups can add to a better understanding of radicalism in general, this research shows that a specific focus on left-wing radical activism, in particular anarchist activism, is important as well. The first reason to support this statement is that even this limited number of interviews have rejected some theoretical theories on radical activism, for example the importance of personal benefits gained by involvement in a radical social movement (Olson, 1965; Opp, 2009). Moreover, even these limited number of interviews have raised new questions about specific issues surrounding and within the left-wing movement: How and why do different left-wing groups cooperate? What is the distinction between these groups? What kind of influenced had the anti-squatting policies on the anarchist movement and could this explain the decline of anarchist activism? How does the anarchist movement deal with internal discussions, such as distrust to outsiders or the use of violence as a legitimate tool against governments and other authorities?

Academic literature or case studies offer little to no answers to these questions, especially in

the Dutch context. A renewed attention for the left-wing movement with all its sub-groups is necessary. However, it is not only crucial to give more academic attention to the (radical) left-wing movement in general, but also to specialize more within this category. Whereas in some radical left-wing groups might be possibilities for professional careers, anarchist ideology theoretically prohibits such a development. Consequently, one can expect that the factors which might influence involvement differ from group to group or movement to movement. Therefore, this research calls for more academic interest in the diverse world of left-wing movements in the Netherlands and other European countries to contribute to a better understanding of their participants which could avoid the emergence of stereotyping in societies, politics and the academic world.

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