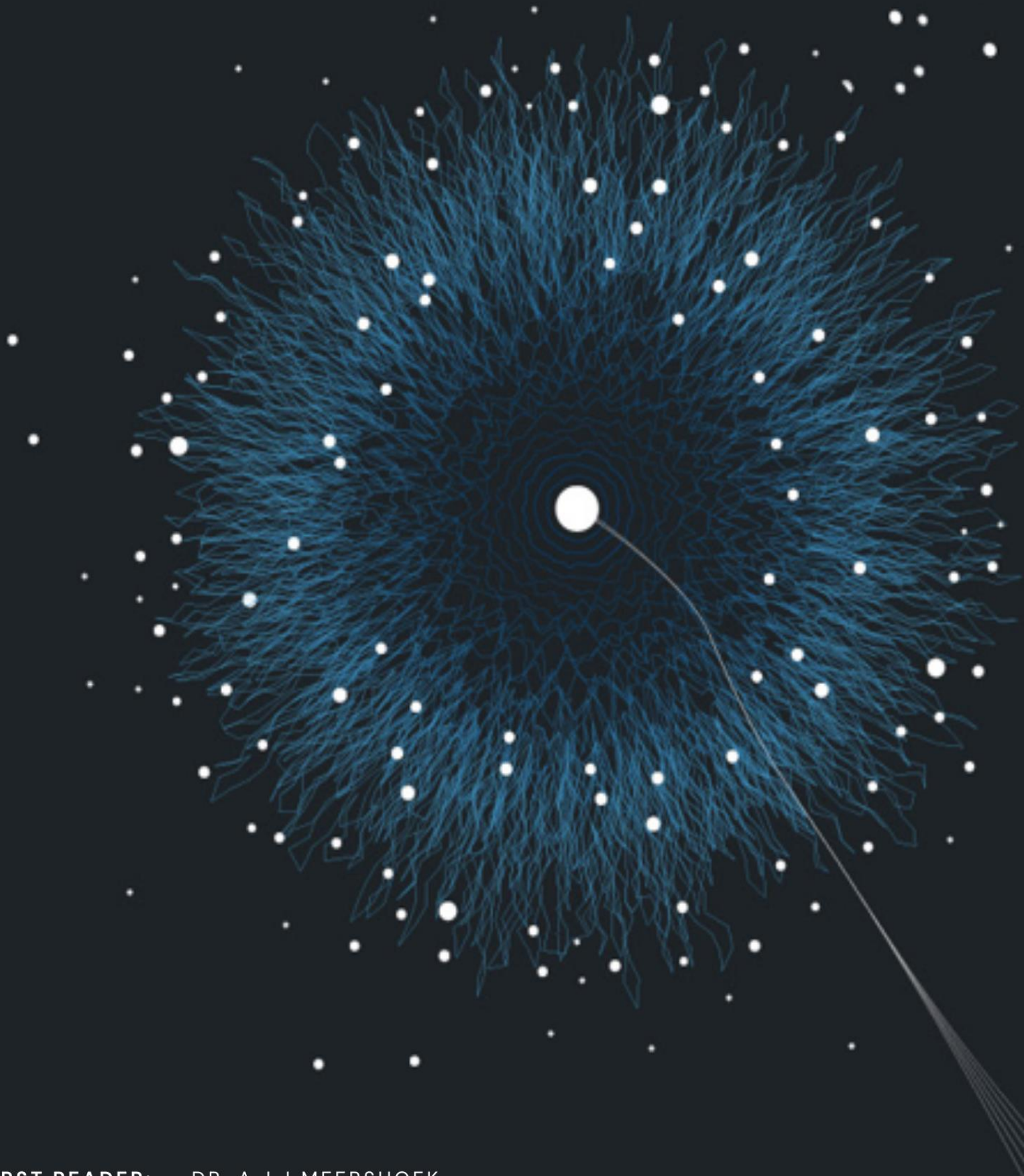# MITIGATING ANTI–CORPORATE ACTIVISM: AN EXAMINATION OF DUTCH DEFENCE COMPANIES IN THE NETHERLANDS

FIRST READER: DR. A.J.J MEERSHOEK
SECOND READER: PROF. DR. R. TORENVLIED

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Acknowledgements

In the final phase of my studies for the Master degree in Public Administration, I have been working on the thesis before you. I feel honoured to share this research, having recently immersed myself in the topic of anti-corporate activism. The research makes a contribution regarding new insights in the field of anti-corporate activism, and its connection to the defence industry in the Netherlands.

In advance, I want to thank you for taking some time to read this research.

Kind regards,
M. T. Wisseborn

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Abstract

This thesis examines how potentially violent protests against defence companies can be best managed in the Netherlands. Anti-corporate activism, which forms the basis for this research, can be seen as the deliberate targeting of corporations by social movements to change a corporation on a variety of aspects.

Various in-depth interviews with experts within the defence sector, and experts of public administrative organizations have been conducted to examine how public, potentially violent protests against defence companies can be best managed. Furthermore, this research incorporates empirical data, including records of activism incidents of the analysed corporations. Moreover, key concepts of social movement theory, activist groups, protest stages, trigger events, and protest management have been used to bridge the gap between theory and practice.

An examination of the trends regarding contemporary anti-corporate activism shows that all elements of the social movement theory are present in activism aimed at the examined corporations. Moreover, a mix of reformative and radical activism is present in which trends such as an increased professionalization, transnational activism, and the role of social media are important for activist movements. Disinformation, rejection of dialogue, activists' anonymity, and the role of corporate visibility can make it hard to manage protest even though past demonstrations show that violence and vandalism does not often occur.

This research shows that protest can arouse as a result of several trigger events which have to be taken into account by involved actors that manage activism. Protest against the defence sector stems from political, economic, symbolic, and amplified events that are triggered by existing contention, (emotional) framing, and trigger events regarding diffusion of innovations. As a result, defence corporations show that they are increasingly susceptible to collective action due to their politicized nature, economic ties to conflict, and symbolic targeting, with overlapping trigger events further reinforcing collective action.

Past management of protest shows that the focus on de-escalation, cooperation, and adherence to laws and regulations play a key role in managing activism during various phases of a protest. In this sense a successful balance between respecting activists' legal rights, and utilizing organizational capabilities is important. Furthermore, the existing Dutch approach can be used and improved by corporations to manage activism by utilizing the preventive and repressive measures laid out in this research.

To conclude, potential public violent protests against corporations can be best managed by understanding trends in contemporary activism, anticipating applicable trigger events, by continuously reinforcing cooperation with local public administrative organizations, and by utilizing the organizational de-escalating capabilities with respect to ethical proactive, and repressive measures.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Subject

This research explores anti-corporate activism aimed at *(company)* in the Netherlands. Anti-corporate activism can be seen as the deliberate targeting of a company by several organizations/groups to change the company on a variety of aspects (e.g. environmental and labour conditions) (Sadler, 2004). Moreover, anti-corporate activism can involve opposing excessive influence and control that multinational companies wield over nation-states and their citizens. In this sense, goals of anti-corporate activism are more generalized (e.g. trying to adjust rules and regulations regarding global trade). Anti-corporate activism is specifically interesting when looking at recent geo-political developments (e.g. wars and human rights concerns), which could affect how activist groups position themselves towards *(company)* and the defence industry its operating in.

(company) in the Netherlands is situated in *(cities)* (*(company)* Group, n.d.). In a broad sense *(company)* manufactures *(anonymized information)* (*(company)* Group, n.d.). Because of this, anti-corporate activism might occur in different capacities and intensity especially since products are being utilized within, and for the defence industry. More specifically, in *(calendar date)* a joint protest took place aimed at all *(company)* sites in the Netherlands, where banners such as 'break up the military industrial complex' were shown to employees and media.

Because of such events, and a possible increase in threat level, companies and local authorities (e.g. municipalities, the local police force) need to take this into consideration, and improve or change current management strategies with regards to anti-corporate activism. In addition, this is important to protect employees and safeguard their safety, and the reputation of *(company)* in the Netherlands. Lastly, the information following from this research may also provide valuable insights for other companies that encounter anti-corporate activism.

1.2   Historical context of anti-corporate activism

In the 1980's, corporations gained a stronger foothold in society because of the introduction of neoliberal policies, and the further developments on globalization. The Neoliberal State advocates for open functioning marketplaces, unrestricted trade, privatization, and deregulation in which it is considered a basic good for corporations to have the ability to function inside this neoliberal institutional framework (Harvey, 2005). As a result, multinational corporations were enabled to grow exponentially which made corporations a key target for activists. Politician Margaret Thatcher introduced, amongst others, neoliberal policies, stating that 'economics are methods', and 'the object is to change the soul' (Harvey, 2005, pp. 23). This strategy had the aim to reshape society by emphasising economic freedom, however economic inequalities and societal contention were the result, which laid a foundation for activism at the time.

Moreover, anti-militarist activist movements mobilized and protested against the placement of nuclear weapons during the Cold War in the 1980's (Hanselman, 2025). Historically during this period, anti-war movements conducted tactics in which the movement 'Onkruit' took over a company in Den Bosch that produced munitions, and seized data regarding the delivery of arms. Moreover, the headquarters of 'The National Defense Organization' was occupied, in which anti-militarists seized confidential documents. Another movement that originated from the growing globalization is the 'Provo' movement in Amsterdam. The Provo movement campaigned for and against various social matters, such as air pollution, traffic congestion, the tabaco industry, and against Dutch royal events (University of Michigan Library, n.d.). Additionally, one of the Provo magazines of 12 July 1965 also stated that they did not want to cooperate in a society of capitalism, militarism, and where a nuclear threat is present. This shows that the Provo movement was against the 'establishment', and the first signs of anti-corporate activism coming from an organized movement were visible in the Netherlands.

Hanselman's (2025) research shows that the Dutch government choose to utilize the 'Dutch Approach' to manage activism. The Dutch approach focuses on giving activists flexibility in their actions by accommodating them, and by only repressing when violence appeared (Hanselman, 2025, p. 281). Moreover, the research shows that parts of the anti-militaristic movements resorted to violence in their tactics. For this reason it would be interesting to research how public, potentially violent protest coming from such anti-militaristic movements can be best managed, and whether corporations can foresee radicalization within the movements since no research has been conducted related to such subjects. Lately, the rise of violence in the Middle East and Ukraine has created more protests with an anti-militaristic character globally, which are frequently connected to larger worries about human rights, international security, and geopolitical tensions (Hanselman, 2025). This shows the necessity and essence to further research the topic of anti-corporate activism. To conclude, historic movements grew as a result of civil unrest within society, and in contemporary days these movements are still present but they differ in methods and scope, tailored to contemporary societal problems.

1.3   Research questions

As stated previously, the focus of this research is to explore anti-corporate activism aimed at *(company)* in the Netherlands, and its associated risks with the goal to safeguard safety for the involved actors. Therefore the following main research question has been formulated:

How can (company) manage public, potentially violent protests against its operational sites in the Netherlands?

Additionally, several sub-questions have been formulated which will be answered in the research to provide an answer to the overarching main question.

Sub-research question 1: *What are the trends in anti-corporate activism against the defence industry?*

The units of analysis in the research question are anti-corporate activists and the defence industry. The variable that will be researched is the trends, which is sub divided into developments and threats aimed at *(company)*, and the associated degree of radicalization. The setting relates to the defence industry in the Netherlands. To measure the developments and threats amongst anti-corporate activists, in depth interviews will be conducted, and an analysis of incident reports will take place between the years 2018-2024. This analysis might show a trend in developments and radicalization. More specifically, the analysis will measure the degree of radicalization using a security risk management assessment. Furthermore, interviews with employees of *(company)* in the Netherlands, and other experts might give useful information regarding developments and threats in anti-corporate activism.

Sub-research question 2: *What kind of trigger events arouse and stimulate these kind of protest?*

The unit of analysis in the research question are trigger events. The variable that will be measured is also 'trigger events' by focusing on events that could unfold anti-corporate activism. Different causes (in the form of trigger events) that could explain anti-corporate activism will be shown in the sub-question. Moreover, information of interviews with experts (e.g. employee of the AIVD) will take place since important elements of the interviews (e.g. their views with regards on possible trigger events and its influence on contemporary protest management strategies) can be incorporated in the fishbone diagram.

Sub-research question 3: *What kind of events triggered protest against (company)?*

In the third sub-research question an examination will be done of specific trigger events related to protests against *(company)* Netherlands. An event analysis will be done in order to find out the specific trigger events that are aimed at *(company)* in the Netherlands. Ultimately, an overview of specific trigger events aimed at *(company)* will be created which might give insights into possible measures.

Sub-research question 4: *How was anti-corporate protest against (company) managed until now?*

The units of analysis in the research question are local cooperations with public organizations. Possible variables that can be measured are the involvement/interaction of actors in the cooperation, and adherence to laws and regulations of the involved actors. It is important to gain a better understanding of current local cooperation between involved actors that are related to *(company)* in the Netherlands. This helps to gain a better understanding of the current practical applications that are being used to mitigate anti-corporate activism by public administrative organizations. The link between rules and regulations, and how they are implemented in practice is crucial in this regard. Public administrative organizations operate on the basis of laws and regulations and for this reason it is important for *(company)* to gain a better understanding of this process. A legal analysis will take place, because this could give important insights into strategies which *(company)* could adopt to mitigate anti-corporate activism.

Sub-research question 5: *How can the risks of violent protest against (company) best be managed?*

An overview can be made of several scenarios by taking into account scenarios that can occur. Moreover, responsible security strategies can be categorized into preventative and repressive measures. This will allow *(company)* and local public administrative organizations to manage the risks of violent protest in an effective and ethical manner.

1.4 Social and scientific relevance

The scientific relevance of this research can be seen by the combination of theoretical frameworks regarding activism, and the empirical findings regarding activism aimed at defence corporations. This research might also prove beneficial for other scientific fields of study in which elements such as collective action, societal contention, and polarisation play an important role, since this research can add new information to already existing studies or future research. Examples of past research include: studies by Van Stekelenburg & Gaidytė (2023) regarding social movements and the psychological dynamics of collective action, and sociological studies such as those regarding new social movements and political opportunities in Western Europe by Kriesi et al. (1995). Furthermore, this also demonstrates the scientific importance of addressing issues involving themes such as collective action, contention, and polarisation with an approach from different disciplines (e.g. political science, psychology, sociology, and communication).

Furthermore, Hanselman (2025) describes in his research that anti-militaristic activism is often motivated by impatience and a rejection of passivity. Radical groups such as 'Onkruit' started to resort to violence which showed a shift from nonviolent movements to radical movements. As a result, this would cause new risks for corporations such as infrastructural disruptions, in addition to the already present reputational damage. Empirical evidence shows that direct threats have been present for defence corporations, and governmental organizations. Examples include: burglaries of military sites, publication of stolen materials, naming and shaming, and sabotage of military vehicles/communication systems. Furthermore, the movement 'RaRa' resorted to extremist acts such as bombings and other terrorist attacks (Hanselman, 2025, p. 94). These academic and empirical insights show the scientific relevance and necessity, -beyond the fact that little scientific research has been done on the specific link between defence companies and activism-, of examining ways in which public, potentially violent protests can be best managed by corporations. Furthermore these insights are scientifically relevant with regards to how such tactics have evolved, and how these can be compared to contemporary anti-militaristic activism, as well as the application of the 'Dutch approach' in corporate setting.

Socially, the research provides insights to manage activism in which harm should be mitigated for activists, employees, corporations, and society as a whole. The research contributes to promoting dialogue between involved actors by preventing/resolving conflict in which activist movements, local public administrative organizations, and corporations fulfil an important role. Moreover, the research contributes to underlining the societal importance of constitutional rights, in which activists, local public administrative organizations, and corporations must abide by their rights and obligations to safeguard public order. Lastly, other local public and private organizations may benefit from the research findings if a similar context applies elsewhere.

1.5 Thesis structure

The research is going to cover several chapters, starting with the background chapter. The background section provides an overview of information that shapes this research. In the background chapter the foundation will be laid out regarding contextual information, as well as the relevance of the research. *(company)* in the Netherlands, involved actors, and the safety triangle will be discussed. An explanation of the connection between *(company)* and activism will be provided. Moreover, the involved actors that are currently managing activism at *(company)* are described. Lastly, the safety triangle, being an important public partnership in managing activism, will be explained.

In chapter 4 the methodology of the research will be covered. In this chapter the processes will be explained that were used to conduct the research. Besides that, a description of the chosen tools will be given, as well as the techniques that were used to analyse and interpret the data. In chapter 5 until 10 the results and findings will be presented for each sub-question. The research will be finalized by a conclusion and discussion in which the main research question will be answered, followed by the recommendations.

2. Background

2.1 *(company)* in the Netherlands

Anonymized information about (company). In total 28 occurrences have been identified on the basis of internal *(company)* documents (*(company)* Netherlands, personal communication, 27 November, 2024). The occurrences can involve demonstrations, but also vandalism, reconnaissance and the spreading of anti-*(company)* messages through physical means (e.g. decals, stickers and pamphlets).

Figure 1: (company) Netherlands activism incidents (personal communication, 2024).

2.2 Involved actors and general procedure regarding demonstrations

Several parties may be involved during an activist protest. A stakeholder analysis has been made to identify possible involved actors that are required to manage activism (see appendix I for a detailed explanation). Various actors that are involved in managing activism must also conform to certain laws and regulations.

In general, anyone may demonstrate, because this is enshrined in Article 9 of the Dutch Constitution (College voor de Rechten van de Mens, n.d.). Organizers of a demonstration, however, must report the demonstration to local authorities. This allows local authorities to facilitate the demonstration, and to conduct an assessment regarding the risks. That no notification of a demonstration has been made, is insufficient for authorities to prohibit a demonstration. This has to do with the fact that not making a notification does not pass the test of the necessity and proportionality requirement (laid out in article 11 of the European Convention on Human Rights). Moreover, the authorities have an active responsibility to facilitate protests and safeguard those taking part against violent individuals or counter-demonstrations.

The right to demonstrate is a fundamental right that aligns with the rule of law, however, this may be limited under certain circumstances such as when societal necessities are at stake (e.g. public health and order, general safety, or traffic interests) (College voor de Rechten van de Mens, n.d.). However, authorities must use the least invasive approach (subsidiarity), and make sure that restrictions to a demonstration are appropriate and required. An important limit to the right of demonstration is that the protection of this right is limited to non-violent protests. Authorities may put an end to protests that include violence, vandalism, hate speech or discriminatory statements, only when the group as a whole, not just one person, is responsible for the violence. When an individual is violent, the authorities are not allowed to attribute this to the whole group, resulting in the consequence that the authorities may not impose restrictions.

2.3 Safety triangle

In the Netherlands the safety triangle (in Dutch: Veiligheidsdriehoek) consists of the mayor, the police, and the public prosecutor (Van Zuydam, Karsten, Hoogenboom, & Klaassen, 2023). The mayor is responsible for preserving public order. Participants of the safety triangle come together to coordinate and discuss matters regarding safety, public order, and criminal enforcement. In this sense the safety triangle fulfils an important role in preventing and mitigating possible harmful effects of anti-corporate activism aimed at *(company)*. The tasks of the safety triangle are in general:

- Having consultations about the task of the police and the policy regarding this;
- Agree on local priorities and deployment of police in both public order and criminal enforcement;
- Coordinating measures during incidents or crisis.

The safety triangle does not have formal decision making powers within the meetings, however the participants have their on responsibilities and power/authority which they must adhere to (Van Zuydam et al., 2023). The mayor is responsible for maintaining public order and safety within the municipality, and acts as the responsible authority during crises and incidents. Moreover, the public prosecutor is responsible for the detection and prosecution of crimes, and provides legal support and coordinates with police on criminal enforcement. The police implements policy in a practical sense, maintains law and order, and provides assistance in this capacity. Issues discussed within safety triangle meetings are mostly related to policy and incident handling. However, the agenda can be expanded to also include issues regarding activism, since activism can cause societal conflicts that affect security and public order.

The expansion of the safety triangle may take place so that other actors could also participate in it (Van Zuydam et al., 2023). In practice it is noticeable that many security themes have a strong connection to each other (e.g. activism at *(company)* and public order), so in practice it is increasingly common that companies can also be consulted by the safety triangle (within the legal frameworks of information sharing). In summary, the safety triangle is an important collaboration in managing activism and social unrest, which can play a crucial role regarding the management of activism aimed at *(company)* Netherlands.

3. Theory

3.1 Social movement theory

Social movement theory allows for a framework in which the emergence, the intensification, and radicalization of social movements can be understood and explained. Social movement theory is important for this research since it could give indications why certain activist groups specifically target *(company)*. Tarrow (2011) explains that social movements are a form of contentious politics in which people challenge authorities, elites, and their opponents, and often shifts in public opinion occur. More often, 'ordinary/common' people will participate in social movements since contentious politics is a method that is often the only method which is available to use against better-equipped and strong opponents. Contentious politics specifically emerge when individuals feel threats, and see opportunities, when the availability of allies is present, and when opponents' weaknesses are revealed. Furthermore, the waves in which protests take place, combined with the previously mentioned political opportunities, threats, and resources will ultimately determine the mobilization and escalation of activism.

Figure 2 shows that social movement campaigns consist of: political opportunities/constraints, networks and organizations, and cultural artifacts and frames. These three elements also intersect in practical sense, and they will be discussed below.
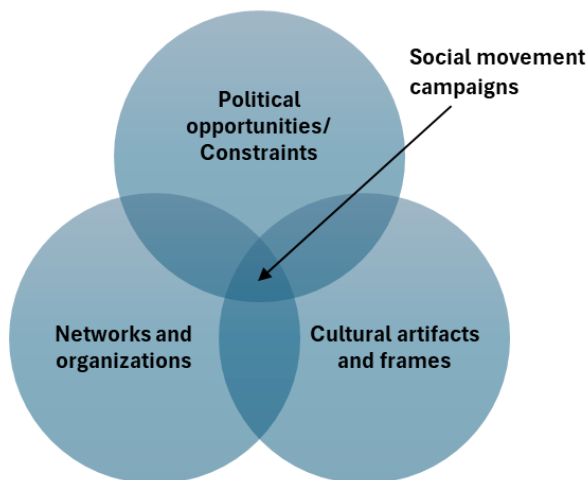
Figure 2: The Intersecting Elements of Social Movements (Tarrow, 2011, p. 121).

An element that is required for collective action in social movements is the presence of networks or organizations (Tarrow, 2011). Networks and organizations regarding activism mainly emerge because of contention between themselves, authorities, allies and other involved actors. Networks and organizations are important since they enable movements to coordinate, sustain, and it could increase efficacy of goals. Additionally, core elements within the group and amongst activists are trust, solidarity, and resource-sharing. Within social movements two distinctions can be made: the informal network, and the formal organization structure.

The informal network is based upon personal connections and common ideals that ultimately facilitate involvement at the basis of the movement (grassroot involvement), and quick mobilization (Tarrow, 2011). Formal organizations can provide resources, stability, and strategic planning. An example are civil rights movements or labour unions that demonstrate the importance of maintaining long-term activism. Successful movements are using informal networks, as well as formal organizations in which they function within. In contemporary movements hybrid organizational models are often present. Such models combine centralized coordination with decentralized action. An example of this is the usage of social media, while still maintaining local autonomy. In this sense the hybrid organizational model allows for flexibility while still having a consistent strategy.

Electronic networks have also altered activism fundamentally. These networks induce the mobilization capacity of movements since they broaden the geographical scope, and reduce the dependency on offline groups (Tarrow, 2011). Moreover, this allows for forums, planning sites, and protest calendars (Bennett, Givens, and Willnat, 2004, as cited in Tarrow, 2011, p. 137). Additionally, research of Reid and Chen (2007, as cited in Tarrow, 2011, p. 137) shows that electronic networks not only enable communication, fundraising, propaganda and training within the movements, but also enable capabilities to circumvent external threats such as law enforcement and military surveillance. To conclude, the new opportunities and challenges as a result of electronic networks illustrate how activism has been reshaped by digital technologies.

Solidarity can be achieved by framing, constructing a (movement) identity, and by using emotional elements (Tarrow, 2011). Framing plays an important role with regards to mobilizing collective action coming from a social movement, with the ultimate goal to increase solidarity within the movement. According to Snow and Benford (1992, as cited in Tarrow, 2011, p. 144) social movements are 'naming' grievances, and linking them with other grievances to create broader frames of meaning that align with individuals' preferences to convey a consistent message to those in power, and other individuals. Framing can be employed by different actors, in which the actors engage in 'framing contests'. Moreover, framing will help to create a collective identity within the movement. Framing can be employed by using two strategies: injustice framing and bricolage (Tarrow, 2011). Injustice framing focuses on how grievances should be seen as moral injustices. Gamson (1992a, as cited in Tarrow, 2011) states that injustice should be seen as a righteous anger coming from within. Moreover, collective adoption can only occur in an effective way if the frame is shared publicly. Bricolage focuses on combining known symbols with new ones, to create a new thinking path (Tarrow, 2011, p. 146). Additionally, this tactic allows for contention while supporting concepts that can be used for new purposes.

Another important element to create solidarity in a movement is the previously stated 'collective identity', which helps a movement to set a figurative boundary between 'us and them' (or X's and Y's) (Tarrow, 2011). This collective identity may help to increase legitimacy and unity. However, building on a solidary collective identity may also foster issues regarding the 'identity work' (Reger et al., 2008, as cited in Tarrow, 2011, p. 152). This specifically occurs when the movement has challenges regarding 'they/us', which can happen when the movement consists of different sub-movements. Ultimately, this can result in fragmentation of the movement since changes in priorities have to be made.

The presence of political opportunities decides whether collective action is enabled or constrained. Political opportunities can be seen as ''consistent – but not necessarily formal, permanent, or national – sets of clues that encourage people to engage in contentious politics'' (Tarrow, 2011, p. 32). Additionally, these 'clues' can start a series of events that could eventually result in ongoing engagement with authorities and other actors, eventually resulting in social movements and collective action. Moreover, opportunities are defined as ''the [perceived] probability that social protest actions will lead to success in achieving a desired outcome'' (Goldstone & Tilly, 2001, as cited in Tarrow, 2011, p. 160).

In practical sense opportunities within social movements are increased by any changes that alter the distribution of political and financial resources between a state and its opponents, impair a state's capacity to reward its supporters or opponents, to implement certain policies, or to divert support from the regime both inside and outside the country. Conversely, threats represent the expenses or dangers of acting or refraining from certain action. Moreover, Tarrow (2011) explains that risks and opportunities must be perceived and taken into consideration, since they are not merely objective conditions that can be perceived. To conclude, the interplay of opportunities and threats play an important role in whether a movement will mobilize, and possibly escalate their actions.

Emotional elements are present in social movements to induce solidarity, and commitment amongst members (Tarrow, 2011, p. 154). Furthermore, emotions are important in the mobilization of movements since emotions can channel into collective action. In practical sense, social movements can appeal to a variety of audiences by relating cultural emotional repertoires to the population. Additionally, transnational activism may occur as well, in which contention transcends national borders and involves people, claims, and organizations that are internationally active (Tarrow, 2011, p. 241). Such movements focus on local and international goals, in which resources and networks are globally shared.

Radicalization can occur within social movements when state repression, power struggles, and ideological rivalry is present resulting in extreme ideologies, and violent strategies (Tarrow, 2011, p. 207). Additionally, radicalization increases when moderates are starting to defect, and when core members sustain within the group, which shows that there is a link between movement solidarity and possible radicalization (Tarrow, 2011, p. 206). Alimi (2004, as cited in Tarrow, 2011) states that radicalization can be reduced when 'infrastructure of coordination' is present. Specifically, unified leadership and established rules of engagement can lessen radicalization. Radicalization is often accompanied by institutionalization which is present when a movement seeks electoral gain or elite accommodation. However, the movement then has to temper its ideals and adopt traditional tactics. In this phase of contention, conflicts occur between radicals and moderates since polarization is increased.

Moreover, protests management can be performed by coercive control, channelling contention, facilitation, or a mix of repression and facilitation. Coercive control prioritizes the use of force to supress a movement (e.g. police mobile unit), while channelling contention prioritizes bureaucratic techniques to manage activism (e.g. measures that increase the cost, and effort to mobilize such as more financial restrictions and the obligation to have a permit) (Tarrow, 2011, p. 171). Additionally, facilitation aims to decrease opposition by meeting the demands of activists partially, and by engaging in dialogue (Tarrow, 2011, p. 209). In this sense, small reforms and concessions can be made to legitimize moderate elements, and to isolate radicalism. A mixed approach in which radical elements are repressed by coercive control, and moderate elements are facilitated may also take place.

To conclude, within the study the following elements of social movement theory will be used: the presence of networks and organizations, political opportunities, framing, solidarity, electronic networks, collective identity, emotional elements, radicalization, and various protest management forms. The elements that have been discerned from theory can be seen as the most important information from the theory for this research, briefly summarized. The elements will be used within the research to test whether they are present and align with empirical findings. Furthermore, the elements align with the indicators that will be used to answer the various research questions (also see chapter 3.6 conceptualization). This way theory will form the basis for the research.

3.2 Different types of activist groups

Shared beliefs about ideal social societal conditions can inspire individuals to solve/change societal issues together, which can be seen as a social movement (Hond & de Bakker, 2007). Social movements can be stimulated by instrumentality, identity, and ideology of individuals. Ultimately, people might work together to change their situation/circumstances if these elements overlap in a sufficient level amongst those individuals. This in turn, will cause the emergence of activist groups that share common beliefs to achieve their goals (McCarthy & Zald 1977, as cited in Hond & de Bakker, 2007). Within a social movement several activist groups may take part that have different goals.

Changing corporations can be achieved by focusing on changing policies of a specific company (e.g. discouraging defence companies to not deliver goods to certain countries), or by focusing on a field-level change (e.g. defence companies being prohibited to deliver goods to certain countries in general) (Hond & de Bakker, 2007). Institutional change theory shows that the goals of activists that are targeting corporations can be attained in two ways. One way to achieve ideological goals is by focusing on individual firms to change them, and the second way is to focus on field level change (commonly state deregulation).

Research by Hond & de Bakker (2007) shows that a distinction between two types of activist groups can be made: radical and reformative activist groups. Radical groups often offer and prefer a drastic change in which the help of companies can not play a role, as opposed to reformative activist groups that see companies as collaborators to solve a certain societal problem. Tactics that activist groups may use are mainly focused on economic damage (e.g. stopping/delaying a production process within a company) or symbolic damage (e.g. damaging an organization's reputation with the goal to influence customers on a psychological level to damage the company) (Scott 1989, as cited in Hond & de Bakker, 2007). Moreover, activist groups may use their amount of participants to prove their legitimacy towards companies and gain more support.

Activist groups try to deinstitutionalize (mostly seen with radical activists) and reinstitutionalize (mostly seen with reformative activists) certain practices of companies to achieve their goals (Hond & de Bakker, 2007). When deinstitutionalising, activist groups try to undermine corporate practices, their legitimacy, and its power. Reinstitutionalization is focused on creating a new preferred situation by activists, by usage of moral arguments based on legitimacy (seen in radical groups), and arguments based on functional legitimacy (reformative).

Moreover, activist groups will use consequential arguments and structural arguments in the context of moral legitimacy (Hond & de Bakker, 2007). Reformative activist groups use consequential arguments, with the goal to demonstrate that a company's practices are inappropriate, and that it should reform. Radical activist groups use consequential arguments, as well as structural arguments. Structural arguments criticize the company's fundamental characteristics, and support a total overhaul or replacement.

Activist groups can make use of participatory tactics and non-participatory tactics to express dissatisfaction against a certain organization (Hond & de Bakker, 2007). Participatory tactics focus on a large participation of individuals. Specific examples are: boycotts, rallies, and buycotts. to express disagreement against a certain organization. On the contrary, non-participatory tactics require a small number of participants, and broad public involvement is not necessary. Specific examples are: sabotage, occupation of premises, and negative publicity.

The distinction between activist groups and their employed tactics can be useful since they can benefit the variables that could play a role in the sub-research questions, such as the type of activism and the degree of radicalization. Moreover, the insights can help in constructing responsible strategies to respond to activists, since the strategy can be tailored to the type of activists. An example: radical activists might be less inclined to cooperate with certain strategies (e.g. engage in dialogue to reach a solution), as opposed to reformative activists. To conclude, within the study the following elements regarding the different types of activists will be used to measure the radicalization scores: radicals and reformers, identity, ideology, deinstitutionalization and reinstitutionalization, and the various tactics.

3.3   Stages of a protest

When managing activism it is important to mention that conflicts only occur when two or more parties get into a confrontation (Dijkhuis, 1982, p. 10). This means that a conflict will not occur when one of the parties is not involved in the confrontation. However, if the confrontation is continued, than the escalation process might increase, in which radicalization could take part. Dijkhuis (1982) identifies several phases of a riot in which conflict can occur. These phases are specifically interesting to further examine since they can align with the phases of a protest which might result in a similar conflict. In figure 3 the different phases of a riot/conflict are shown.
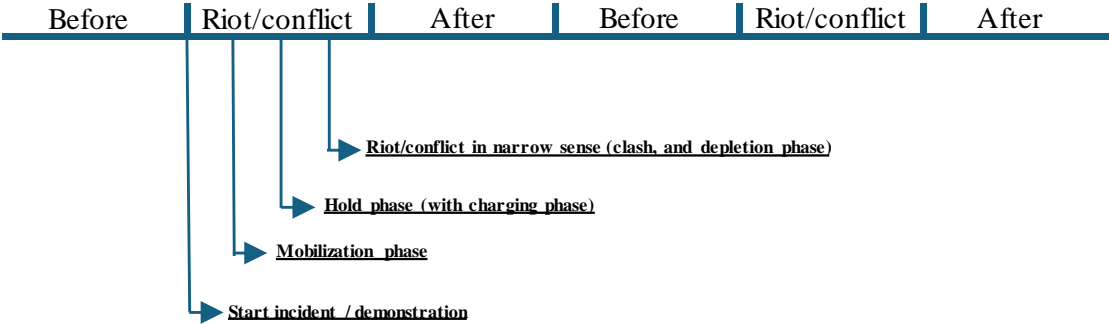
Figure 3: Stages of a protest (Dijkhuis, 1982, p. 12).

Before a conflict can occur a start incident or demonstration has to be present. A demonstration can have several characteristics depending on the involved movement: a form of exhibit/display (e.g. football supporters), an indignant group (e.g. unsatisfaction about societal issues), or a group that has the aim to confront. The first form often occurs on accident, while the tempers of people from the second form can quickly rise because of misconceptions, and in the last form a confrontation can often not be prevented. Moreover, a start incident can start mobilization during a tense situation.

The mobilization phase is characterized by high tensions amongst involved actors. An incident can only be classified as a 'start incident' when it has been made public, and it has the potential to escalate tensions causing mobilization. The way in which information is spread is important in this phase since this can motivate participants to be involved. Dijkhuis (1982) describes that mobilization can be enforced by using mass media, or by word of mouth advertising. Tarrow (2011) underlines this idea since such methods can cause solidarity amongst the movement. Moreover, accessibility and availability of the agreed place is important. According to Dijkhuis (1982, p. 94) people could be involved on the basis of curiosity, boredom, and people who enjoy being involved in conflict. Furthermore, the 'subject' is important in the mobilization of a movement, since this can influence the course of a protest and the composition of the group involved. For example: if the subject of a protest is not static and the motive why people join the protest is unclear, several groups may be involved that do not have the same goals initially (Dijkhuis, 1982, p. 95).

The next phase, the 'hold' phase consists of two processes: emotional charging of the movement, and the application of an organizational structure (Dijkhuis, 1982). The emotional charging has the aim to create a clear vision with respect to why the movement comes together. This clear vision should provide a 'culprit' (e.g. *(company)*) which elicits an emotional reaction, resulting in collective action. This collective action can result in an organizational structure in which some individuals give commands, while others carry out tasks. These elements align with Tarrow's (2011) intersecting elements of social campaigns regarding emotional framing and organizational structures. Lasty, the size of the movement could influence the charging process, in which large movements give more confidence. Additionally, the groups 'frame' can be very unnuanced since individuals constantly repeat their own opinions. 'A movements opinion can become its own reality, when it is secluded, and when the surrounding parties are seen as 'enemies'' (Dijkhuis, 1982, p. 99).

The transition to the actual conflict in which a radical character is present, often occurs after the hold phase (Dijkhuis, 1982). In this phase incidents can take place on an individual and collective level (e.g. throwing a brick or tipping over vehicles). Important during the conflict is the phenomenon that often only a select (small) part of the movement will participate in violence and vandalism (Dijkhuis, 1982, p. 101). As a result, large damage might be inflicted by select individuals when the conflict lasts longer than anticipated. Additionally, reinforcing effects with regard to radicalization and the normalization of certain violent behaviour, causing more people to use certain strategies. Moreover, the earlier mentioned importance of solidarity, as stated by Tarrow (2011), could produce side effects in which people within the movement may begin to justify their own violence when this is also used against someone within the same movement.

Chaos can also result in a radicalized character of a movement during a conflict, which can be further reinforced by rumours that frame the events in a different way resulting in an alternative truth (Dijkhuis, 1982, p. 102). Additionally, polarization will cause enforcement by involved actors to be seen as escalation, while an attempt at peace is seen as deceit. Ultimately, the conflict will end when involved movements are drained of their resources and energy. However, the way in which the whole process is managed will determine possible future events. In figure 3 additional main phases are visible with regards to possible future events.

To conclude, within the research the various phases of a protest will be examined and combined with empirical findings, as well as characteristics of radicalization and the described solidarity in which framing plays an important role.

3.4 Trigger events and shaping waves of protests

Koopmans (2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004) states that collective action is frequently misinterpreted as an independent event, however collective action is often connected to other events, involved actors, and historical contexts. Protest waves, times of increased conflicts, occur, and are influenced by the presence of contention amongst individuals over (inter)national and social boundaries. Protests waves occur in three stages: expansion, transformation, and contraction of contention. Trigger events can be seen as unforeseen/contingent events that have an impact on the trajectory of social movements, and they have the potential to quickly intensify mobilization. Within this chapter theory will be outlined which will be used for the trigger events that play an important role in this research.

The emergence of protest waves seem sudden, however they are often the result of networks, political alliances, and the way in which power is structured (2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004). Moreover, political opportunity and resources influence waves of protests, which aligns with Tarrow's (2011) view on movement campaigns. Shifts in political opportunities allow movements to further expand, however this can be dependant on the movements' and elites' perception as well as the risks that Tarrow (2011) previously underlined. Diffusion of innovation plays an additional role in the expansion stage of collective action. Diffusion allows for expansion by usage of new strategies, demands, or frames regarding disputes between various regions and organizations (Koopmans 2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004, p. 24). Innovations are specifically expansive when they are perceived as being effective or successful. As a result of successful expansion other movements might also mobilize (occurs when interests are at stake) or compete (occurs when a movement operates in the same constituency) as a counter measure. In conclusion, it can be said that political opportunities, diffusion of innovations, and counter mobilization are important elements in increasing expansion of collective action.

Protest waves can transform alliances, relationships and tactics, which is reliant on the way the involved actors interact with each other (Koopmans 2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004). Transformation can start from an activists point of view by anticipating possible responses with the goal to select the best tactic. If this does not work the process of 'strategic adaptation' is often used, in which tactics are refined on the basis of prior victories or setbacks. As previously stated, collective action is connected to other events, which in this case means that people often apply the process of strategic adaptation based on the tactics that were, or were not effective with other people. Moreover, external factors (e.g. public opinion and media coverage) influence which tactics or movements gain exposure and legitimacy.

Furthermore, protest waves are shaped on the basis of path dependency, and contingency of events. 'Path dependence is a particular way in which subsequent developments depend on prior events, namely when prior events increase the likelihood of subsequent events of the same type' (Pierson 2000, as cited in Snow et al., 2004, p. 34). An example of a trigger event in which path dependency played a role is the mistaken announcement by German spokesperson Schabowski which prompted thousands of Berliners to border crossings, resulting in the collapse of the Berlin Wall. Such trigger events in which path dependency can influence and shape the outcome of protest waves, can alter and disrupt the normal trajectory of events, showing the importance of the choices that involved actors make during waves of contention.

Protest waves eventually fade away as social connections stabilize, and because of the involvement of mediators (Koopmans 2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004). Protest waves may end when restabilization occurs as a result of a new equilibrium of power, co-optation or reciprocal demobilization. Restabilization relies on enhanced predictability regarding the intentions and behaviours of other parties. However, in practice it often occurs that attempts to demobilize are seen by the other party as a tactic to ease another party into complacency before using more severe strategies. Another way in which protests fade away is the involvement of third party actors. In practical sense mediators or international organizations, can contribute to conflict resolution and the stabilization of contentious relationships.

To conclude, the different phases of contention that shape waves of protests are important with regards to possible trigger events that could contribute to activism. Specifically, the types of trigger events can catalyse waves of contention as seen in the expansion phase. Moreover, the relational context to other events shows the importance in which such trigger events might result in collective action. Furthermore, the impact of trigger events can be disproportionate during waves of contention (e.g. Schabowski's mistaken announcement), underlining that trigger events can also have impact on the relational networks, and the (existing) contention in society. Other important elements include: political opportunities, diffusion of innovation, external factors, path dependence, and mediators.

3.5 Non-violent approaches to manage activism

Managing activism can be done in several ways of which non-violent methods should be prioritized since these could prevent and mitigate conflicts in an ethical manner. Furthermore, it is crucial to favour nonviolent methods to manage activism, because the potential consequences (after-effects) are less detrimental than situations in which violence is used (Dijkhuis, 1982). *(company)* plays an important role in managing activism, since the organization can adopt certain strategies that can help mitigate activism in a non-violent way. In this sense activism can be managed by utilizing social capabilities to avoid possible violent confrontations between involved actors (e.g. *(company)*, the police, and activists).

A technique to prevent violent outbursts amongst groups that could potentially become aggressive is the usage of 'diversion' (Dijkhuis, 1982). This technique focuses on distracting the group with the goal to change the moods/emotions within the group. Examples of these are: playing music to alter the moods of aggressive individuals (visual distraction), or sharing food with individuals (symbolic). However, one potential disadvantage is that one may feel insulted in a figurative sense, and this technique depends greatly on the group that is present. Additionally, this method can be enhanced by approaching the group from different angles. This method causes the group to fall apart since each side of the group that is approached is likely to attract more people from within the group. This causes other parts of the group to be weaker, which could ultimately take away possible aggression.

Another possible strategy that can be utilized by involved actors to reduce aggressiveness is the aim to isolate the crowd (Dijkhuis, 1982). The crowd can be isolated by blocking access roads which prevents other people from joining the crowd. Moreover, this separation may have the effect that people in the crowd no longer want to take part in it because people to not want to feel 'imprisoned'. Lastly, possible aggression from a group can also be steered in such a way that people and important physical objects are not impacted. For example: sometimes it may be more desirable to steer aggression towards a prearranged and designated area. To conclude, strategies such as diversion and isolation can be seen as techniques to discourage mobilization which are helpful for this research, and are underlined by Tarrow's (2011) 'channelling contention'.

3.6 Conceptualization

Babbie (2021) states that dimensions can be seen as aspects of a concept, and measurable indicators can be seen as a reflection of the identified variables. To provide a clear definition of the idea for the objectives of this research and associated sub-research questions, several indicators, and dimensions have been established in an overview for the sub-research questions. The dimensions and indicators are primarily selected and devised on the basis of the theory, and the information sources that are currently available within *(company)* in the Netherlands (e.g. incident records, and interviews). It is important to note that the dimensions are also selected to further specify the scope of the research. Lastly, only the variables for sub-question 1, 2, and 4 are discerned, since the other sub-question rely primarily on empirical data.

1. *'What are the trends in anti-corporate activism against the defence industry?'*

Variable	Dimensions	Indicators
• Anti-corporate developments and threats aimed at the defence industry	• Direct actions	• Activities/strategies employed • Frequency of protests • Political opportunities/transnational activism • Networks and organizations • Electronic networks
• The degree of radicalization amongst activists	• Composition of the movement • Utilized tactics	• Recorded incidents • Solidarity, framing, ideology • Reformative, and radical activism

Table 1 - Conceptualization sub-question 1 (own work).

The dimension that is identified for the variable 'anti-corporate developments and threats aimed at the defence industry' is specifically the direct actions. This can be researched by conducting interviews with experts. Additionally, direct actions could indicate the threats (and partly serve the second variable 'degree of radicalization'). The associated indicators are the activities/strategies employed by activists, and the frequency in which protests take place, since this could show developments and threats. Furthermore, the importance of political opportunities/transnational activism, networks and organizations, and electronic networks as underlined by Tarrow (2011) are important indicators in trends regarding the defence industry. Together, the indicators will be used to examine trends in anti-corporate activism, as described in the research question.

The second variable 'degree of radicalization', will be examined by looking at the dimensions: utilized tactics, and the composition of the movements. This will be further investigated by examining past demonstrations. Moreover, Tarrow (2011) describes that solidarity, framing and ideology are important with regards to radicalization behaviour, and potential. Lastly, the presence of reformative and radical activism, as underlined by Den Hond & De Bakker (2007), indicates radicalization. These indicators will be used to measure the radicalization scores and thereby the degree of radicalization. Lastly, radicalization can be an important element for all involved actors with regards to trends in anti-corporate activism, as described in the research question.

2. *'What kind of trigger events arouse and stimulate these kind of protests?'*

Variable	Dimensions	Indicators
• Role of trigger events • Unfolding of anti-corporate protests	• Types of trigger events	• Sudden events • Interconnected events • Political context/political opportunities • Amplification of impact

Table 2 - Conceptualization sub-question 2 (own work).

The dimension that is identified for the variable 'role of trigger events' is 'types of trigger events', since the types of trigger events could explain and stimulate the unfolding of an anti-corporate protest. The second variable, 'unfolding of anti-corporate protests will also be researched using the dimension 'types of trigger events', since this dimensions could explain the role of trigger events with regards to their characteristics. Sudden events, the interconnectedness of events, the political context, and the amplification of impact are important in this sense, since these are important contributors that shape waves of protests (Koopmans 2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004). Furthermore, in this sense the various causes for the emergence of anti-corporate activism can be shown on the basis of information from the trigger events, literature research, and interviews. The identified indicators will form the basis to examine what kind of trigger events arouse and stimulate protest, by connecting to the identified variables 'role of trigger events', and 'unfolding of anti-corporate protests'.

4. *'How was anti-corporate protest against (company) managed until now?'*

Variable	Dimensions	Indicators
• Management of anti-corporate protests	• Stages of a protest	• Phases (timeline of events)
• Strategies in joint cooperation	• Level of engagement • Coercion, channeling, facilitiation	• Number and types of stakeholders involved • Frequency of meetings amongst partners • Corporate actions
• Adherence of actors to laws and regulations	• Legal compliance	• Compliancy on the basis of previous cooperation

Table 3 - Conceptualization sub-question 4 (own work).

The dimension that is identified for the variable 'management of anti-corporate protests' is 'stages of the protest'. Dijkhuis' (1982) timeline forms the basis for the emergence of conflict during protests which ultimately forms the basis on how to manage protest. The dimension that is identified for the variable 'strategies in joint cooperation' is 'level of engagement'. The level of engagement could give relevant insights into whether actors are actively participating in the network and if the network requires additional expertise. This could especially be important when trying to mitigate anti-corporate activism. Specifically, the network itself will be researched (e.g. who is involved), and the frequency in which the actors communicate with each other.

Furthermore, protest management tactics that are underlined by Tarrow (2011), could show what kind of corporate actions are used during the management of protests. Lastly, legal compliance/accountability is important in the partnership since this could point out relevant aspects for mitigation (e.g. did the actors operate according to laws and regulations). All identified variables, dimensions, and indicators are interesting for the research question since examined information regarding the variables can be used to find out how anti-corporate protest was managed so far.

4. Methodology

4.1 Research design

Qualitative research methods are used to conduct the research. Interviews with experts will be conducted, and literature research will take place to gain data. A total of eleven interviews will be conducted. In table 1 an overview of the consulted experts can be seen. The experts have been chosen on the basis of purposive sampling (also see 4.2), since the selected experts can give relevant insights which help to answer the research questions. The experts have been selected due to the diversity of their roles, the associated different defence organizations, and finally due to their expertise and past experience in managing anti-corporate activism. All selected respondents were willing to cooperate in the study, so the pre-selected population was fulfilled and is included in the study. Perspectives of activists have not been taken into account in this research, due to the focus being on expertise regarding protest management (however, see chapter 10). Additionally, some data within the research contains quantitative characteristics such as a measurement of 'the degree of radicalization'. However, the data itself and the conclusions are qualitative. Furthermore, triangulation will take place since different types of methods are used to answer the sub-questions.

Participant	Role of expert	Organization
1	Security officer	Defence company
2	Security officer	Defence company
3	Director communications	Defence company
4	Security officer	Defence company
5	Safety advisor public order and crisis management	Municipality
6	Security officer	Defence company
7	Head of services (security)	Other defence company
8	Chairwoman Crisis Management Team	Defence company
9	Security director	Defence company
10	District agent	Police
11	Central Intelligence Services (orientation interview)	N.A.

Table 4 - Overview of consulted experts (own work).

4.2 Sample and sample design

Purposive (or judgmental) sampling will be used to conduct in-depth interviews. Purposive sampling involves choosing individuals on the basis of specific traits or information that are relevant to the research subject (Babbie, 2021). Because of this, interviews with several experts will take place which is advantageous for the research since these experts have specific knowledge regarding anti-corporate activism. By conducting interviews new theory will developed regarding 'anti-corporate activism', and its association with private and public actors. A disadvantage of purposive sampling with regards to the interviews is that it is harder to generalize the results of the research since it might be harder to represent the overall population. However, this will be prevented by using the earlier mentioned triangulation, in which several research methods and data sources will be used.

Besides that multiple 'cases' (or interviews) will be conducted with individuals in different capacities (e.g. security officers). By selecting different cases multiple aspects will be examined for the same object of study (e.g. trends amidst anti-corporate activism) which enhances the quality of the results.

4.3 Data collection and data analysis

Several transcripts of the interviews will be made, after which the interview data will be coded. Coding can be seen as a process in which the data is transformed to categories, so an analysis can be conducted (Babbie, 2021). By using a thematic analysis patterns in the qualitative data of the interviews can be identified, analysed and reported to organize and interpret the data regarding the units of analyses, and ultimately the main question (Verhoeven, 2022). Appendix III shows the steps that have been taken to analyse the data that will be used to answer the sub-questions. Lastly, the data collection will not be explained for research question 2 due to theoretical character, unlike the other research questions which have an empirical character.

1. *'What are the trends in anti-corporate activism against the defence industry?'*

The first sub-question will be answered by conducting interviews, and by analysing incident reports. The developments and threats amidst anti-corporate activists will be measured by conducting interviews with security officers, the chairwoman of the crisis management team, the director communications and the director security within *(company)*. Furthermore, information from other interviews might also provide information on possible developments and threats. Moreover, incident reports will be analysed to determine the degree of radicalization activists pose against *(company)* in the Netherlands. The utilized tactics of activists, and the composition of the group will be examined to measure the degree of radicalization. A risk management method will be used to give a radicalization score to past demonstrations.
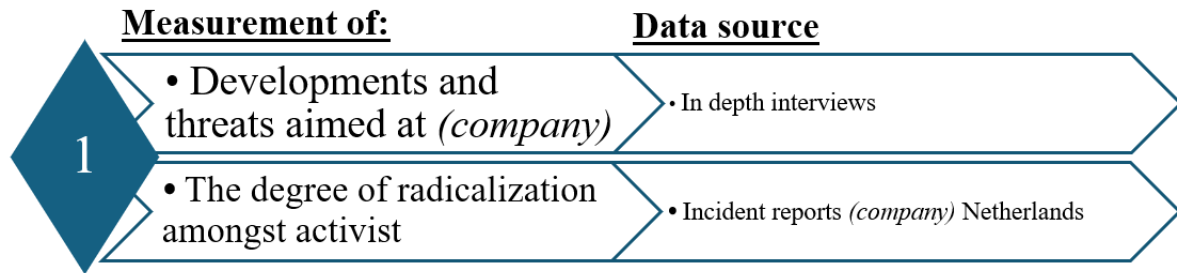
Figure 4: Data collection & analysis sub-research question 1 (own work).

3. *'What kind of events triggered protest against (company)?'*

The third research question will be answered by examining trigger events associated with activism aimed at *(company)*. More specifically, the data will be collected by conducting interviews with experts within the defence industry (e.g. employee of the AIVD, and another company employee), and by using information from previous interviews. The purpose of conducting interviews is to gain a better understanding regarding specific trigger events that are present in protests aimed at *(company)*. Additionally, an event analysis will take place on the basis of the interviews and literature research. By utilizing different methods of measurement, triangulation will take place, as well as a comparison which could give insights into different perceptions of the interviewees.
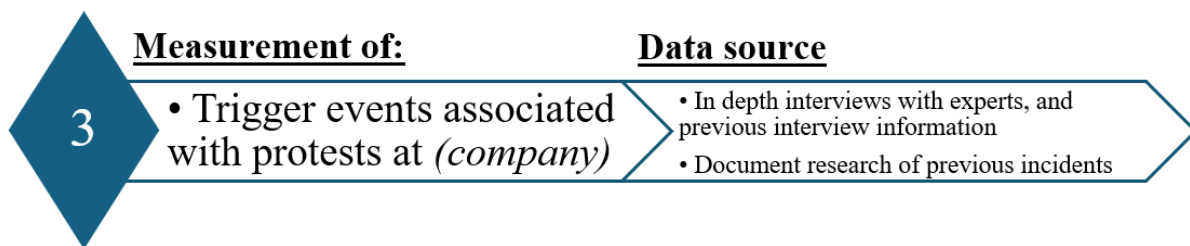
Figure 5: Data collection & analysis sub-research question 3 (own work).

4. *'How was anti-corporate protest against (company) managed until now?'*

The fourth research question will be answered by examining how protests are managed, and the level of engagement between involved actors (e.g. *(company)*, mayor, and police). Moreover, the degree of compliancy on the basis of previous cooperation is important to measure since this shows whether involved actors adhere to applicable laws and regulations. In this sense it is important to conduct a legal analysis to find out what laws and regulations are applicable to each involved actor. To measure the compliancy using past collaborations, interview data will be examined to examine whether actors complied with relevant laws, regulations, and policies. Ultimately, conclusions about the compliancy of involved actors can be made.
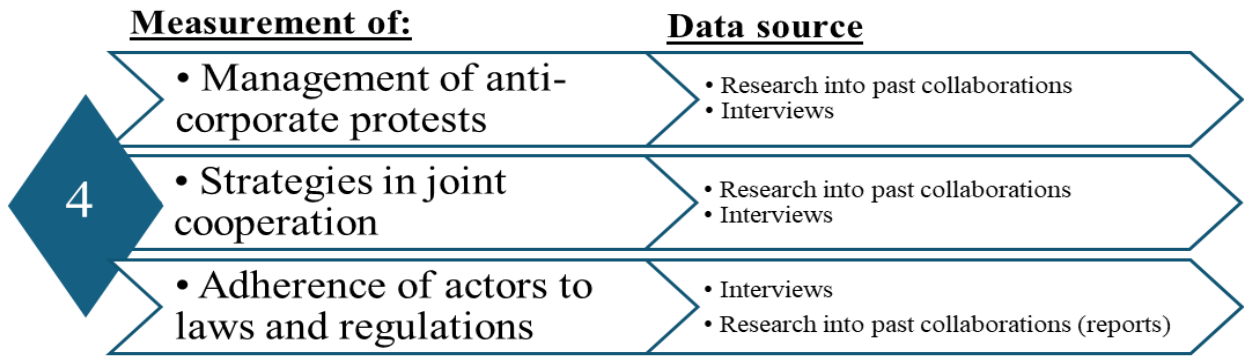
Figure 6: Data collection & analysis sub-research question 4 (own work).

5. 'How can the risks of violent protest against (company) best be managed?'

The last research question will be answered by examining current security protocols (and its preventative and repressive measures), by utilizing interview data, and by reviewing historical data between the years 2018-2024 (in 2018 anti-corporate activism aimed at *(company)* started) to gain insight into possible security scenarios that might occur. Additionally literature research will be conducted to examine responsible security responses that might not be known within *(company)* yet.

A knowledge gap between practice and possible strategies might be the result when comparing the current security response which is known within *(company)* to other responses. To examine this, an additional interview with the head of services (security) of another company will be conducted, as well as the usage of information from previous interviews. At last, this will result in theory in which various security scenarios will be shown along with ethical protest management strategies to examine how the risks of violent protest against *(company)* can best be managed.
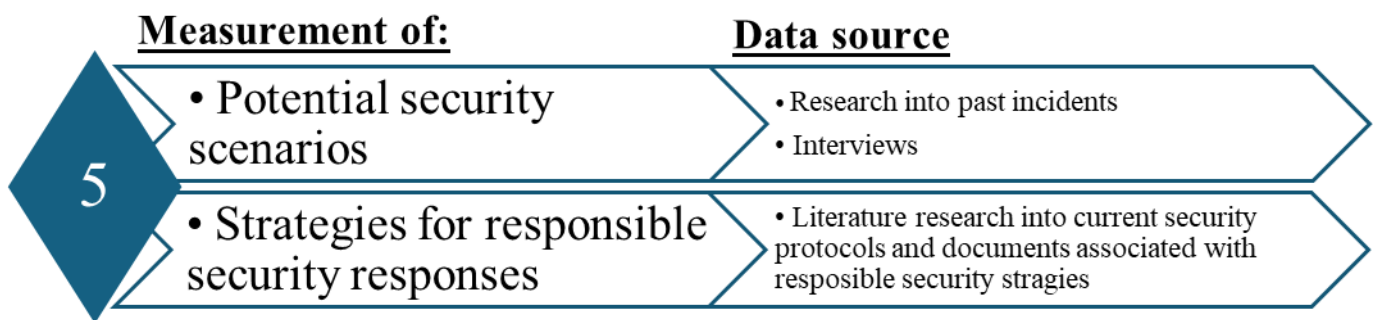
Figure 7: Data collection & analysis sub-research question 5 (own work).

4.4 Validity and reliability

Validity refers to the degree to which a scale or measure accurately captures that which it is meant to measure (Babbie, 2021). The reliability refers to the degree in which multiple observations of the same phenomena, the same data would have been gathered each time. Examination of the reliability can be done by using 'test-retest reliability', which means that the results should be the same even after a certain period of time. The 'test-retest reliability' will not be carried out for this research, but will be guaranteed by not only focusing on the collection of data by experts (e.g. interviews in information may be subject to change due to societal trends), but also by using other data collection methods (e.g. literature research, and various analyses) to test whether the given information from one source is correct in the other. An example could be the expectancy of an increase in protests, underlined by various interviewees with different arguments that confirm this. The inter-rater reliability is the degree to which the same results should be given, if another individual conducted the same measurement. Within the research the inter-rater reliability will be guaranteed by using the data collection methods and structure consistently (e.g. standardized procedure, experts in the same capacity will all receive the same questions to answer the same sub-question). Furthermore it is important to mention that the reliability is dependent on the transparency of the interview information and the honest cooperation of the interviewees. This is guaranteed by recording the interviews, and by sharing the transcript with the respondents. All respondents were sent the transcript so that they could correct it themselves for factual accuracy before the interviews were incorporated into this study.

The validity will be guaranteed by carefully choosing the measurement tools for each sub-question. Construct validity refers to the alignment/conformance between the measurement and theory. To guarantee this, theory will be the basis for the data collection methods in the research. The content validity will be assured by conceptualising the relevant definitions and theory in an orderly manner, so that all aspects of the theory will be measured. Furthermore, for each sub-question the most appropriate data collection method and sample will be used to increase the validity of the research. Due to the lack of quantitative data, it is important that triangulation is used to safeguard the reliability and validity by comparing the data results for each participant (e.g. trends in activism). Furthermore, the quality of the internal utilized corporate documentation regarding activism is important, and is guaranteed by selecting relevant documents for each sub-question. This way, an analysis of the documents measures that what is intended. It is important to mention that such documents have undergone a formal internal corporate review procedure in which several stakeholders (colleagues with different functions) are checking the documents factually. Lastly, validity is guaranteed because the questionnaires were carefully constructed in advance, for the interviewed experts, indicating which question is relevant to which sub-question within the study (see chapter 14.1).

5. Trends in anti-corporate activism

5.1 Introduction

For this chapter the sub-question: *'What are the trends in anti-corporate activism against the defence industry?'* has been formulated. Several interviews took place with specialists of *(company)*, the municipal public order and safety advisor, the district agent of the municipality, a security specialist of another company operating in the defence industry, and a background interview with an employee of the Dutch intelligence service (AIVD). In Appendix III the interview data for each interview is visible. In table 2 results are shown in which the contemporary trends regarding anti-corporate activism are shown according to the interview data and the conducted thematic analysis. For each trend the amount of participants ('P') are shown, indicating which participant mentioned the specific theme.

5.2 Developments and threats

Formalized operations (P1 up to and included P9, excluding P5)

A noticeable development is the 'formalized operations' that activists use to bring about collective action (see appendix III for interview data). The activities that activists use seem to be more organized, and professionalized with clear roles, and duties for the involved individuals (appendix III, participant 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9). An example of this is the systematic aspect in which it is presumed that leaders within the movements are choosing what will be targeted, and when this will be done (appendix III, participant 1). The demonstrations at *(company)* often include spokespersons who speak on behalf of the movement to guarantee consistent communication. Formalized operations are noticeable in a number of way including: the presence of identifiable press officers, possibly expense reimbursements, and specialized social media teams, further confirming the previously mentioned duties for involved activists (appendix III, participant 2, 3, 4, 7). In order to efficiently handle protests and reduce legal risks, activists are also sometimes legally prepared (appendix III, participant 3, 7, 9). They are frequently briefed by attorneys who make sure they that participants adhere to legal obligations. Additionally, material and financial support may also be present from other unknown supporting parties, and organizations (appendix III, participant 2, 3, 7, 9). Full-time activists have also been present at *(company)* who may also be supported by these resources.

Furthermore, there are indications that remote coordination is present when a group demonstrates at different sites showing the highly organized characteristics of such groups (see appendix III, participant 1, 2). Lastly, buses and other transportation possibilities are provided to activists, which could enhance their reach and mobility. To conclude, it is noticeable that the element of networks and organizations as stated by Tarrow (2011) is highly present regarding the activism aimed at *(company)* Netherlands which also aligns with the indicator 'networks and organizations' (see chapter 3.6).

Blending of movements (P1 up and including P10)

A development regarding the blending of activist movements has been mentioned by all participants in the interviews (see appendix III for interview data). Different movements, and activists come together in collective action even though diverse objectives, and backgrounds are present. During a demonstration at *(company)* six/seven different fragmented movements came together to increase the movements' group size despite differences in goals and objectives (appendix III, participant 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10). Moreover, the earlier mentioned professional activists are likely to join other protest groups despite the original motives of the movement. Blending of activism also increases in frequency, since various causes/subjects of different movements are combined into one. In practice this has been specifically observed by experts in the case of environmental movements joining pro-Palestine movements (appendix III, participant 4, 6, 7, 9). As a result, the growth of the movements are increased which could induce more reach, resources, and support. This also shows that the identity of the group is fluent, which could result in 'identity work' (Reger et al., 2008, as cited in Tarrow, 2011, p. 152). Amongst activists themselves there are also differences noticeable: ideological activists that are unsatisfied with certain policies, peace activists, and the earlier mentioned 'professional activists'. A mentioned possible risk as a result of the blending of movements is that it can be uncertain what kind of individuals join a protest, which could cause a conflict (see appendix III, participant 5). Furthermore, one expert stated to be disappointed that groups are blending with each other, since it might show that participants within the movement are focusing more on general contention and riots, relative to their original purpose which they always had (e.g. environmental activism) (appendix III, participant 4).

Transnational activism (P1 up to and included P10, excluding P5)

The participants stated various characteristics which shows that elements of transnational activism could also be present regarding the protests aimed at *(company)* Netherlands (see appendix III for interview data). The presence of transnational activism has also been underlined by Tarrow (2011), in which global contention intersects with political opportunities. International connections might play a role in collective action aimed at *(company)*, due to spillover of activism against other *(company)* sites internationally (appendix III, participant 9). Specific examples of occurrences that experts agree upon are: pro-Palestinian movements due to alleged ties of *(company)* to Israel, anti-Frontex movements, and framing to connect defence companies to other global significant issues (appendix III, participant 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10). Participant 1 (appendix III), also described that anti-Frontex movements do not acknowledge defence companies as a whole, which is further confirmed by participant 2 (appendix III) who states that the company is being seen by activists as the cause for refugee deaths.

Moreover, participants agree that multinational defence companies are being targeted on a local scale even though local business operations have not contributed to the claims activists protest against (appendix III, 2, 3, 7, 9). A specific example of this is the delivery of defence systems from an Australian company site, resulting in protest in the Netherlands. A specific aspect that was mentioned by one of the experts, but not confirmed by other experts, is the possible influence of foreign powers, who might have an interest in protests against European defence companies (appendix III, participant 2). Moreover, one of the experts mentioned that during the last three protests, in which the expert was involved, no Dutch speaking persons were present which further explains the internationalized character of protests (appendix III, participant 3). Lastly, themes have been broadened (e.g. militarization, refugee treatment, environmental injustice) which possibly connects to the earlier mentioned blending of activism, which in turn could induce transnational activism.

Increased role of social media (All participants)

All participants state that social media fulfils an increased role in activism (see appendix III for interview data). Tarrow (2011) also underlines the importance of electronic networks which have fundamentally altered activism. In practice this can be confirmed, since the role of social media causes many opportunities with regards to activism that otherwise would not have been possible. An important change is the ability in which movements can quickly plan events using social media platforms that act as focal points to induce collective action (appendix III, participant 1, 2, 5, 6, 8). Participant 2 (appendix III) mentions that social media is very dynamic, compared to the past where activist had to physically meet to plan their actions. Furthermore, a broad reach is enabled since movements can spread their claims using tools such as videos, and livestreaming (appendix III, participant 2, 4, 5, 7). Additionally, the uncensored nature of social media can enable movements to create its own narratives. Often privacy and secrecy plays a role in which movements use anonymized and restricted platforms (e.g. Telegram) making it difficult to supervise potential malignant activities (appendix III, participant 6, 9). As a result of these developments, the impact of activism can be increased specifically for those targeted. Targeted individuals might feel threatened and could experience fear when being filmed. Specifically due to the fact that it is unknown who watches the livestreams/videos and what possible (negative) thoughts such individuals have that may have implications for safety (appendix III, participant 2). Moreover, the role of social media in activism could induce polarisation in society since certain narratives can be framed. In this regard the indicator 'electronic networks' is also present (see chapter 3.6).

Other possible developments

An expected increase in demonstrations and other activist activities has been specifically stated, and is expected by three participants (see appendix III, participants 2, 6, 9). This has been demonstrated when looking at the NEDS (defence and security) convention in which demonstrations grow yearly (appendix III, participant 9). This also aligns with the identified indicator 'frequency of protest' (see chapter 3.6). Furthermore, two participants state that the geographical location of the companies sites might affect the amount of activism which is present (see appendix III, participants 2, 7). Specifically, sites that are located in the West of the Netherlands could be more prone to activism, possibly due to the availability of public transportation, and the high frequency in which protests already take place in nearby cities such as The Hague (appendix III, participant 2, 7).

Disinformation (P2 up to and included P10, excluding P9)

On the basis of the transcriptions it is noticeable that various participants state that disinformation plays a role in contemporary activism (see appendix III for interview data). Incorrect information plays a role in activism aimed at the defence industry which could cause challenges in dialogue, and understanding of occurrences. In practice, collective action proved to go wrong because it caused activists to misidentify the cities where a company would be located (appendix III, participant 2). As a result, actions could potentially be directed at a different company. Furthermore, due to the previously mentioned increasing role of social media, individuals can create their own narratives (appendix III, participant 5). This could result in confirmation bias in which disinformation is being further reinforced. Furthermore, disinformation is being shared amongst activist, and an experts stated that he noticed during a protest that activist are not aware of what kind of products *(company)* manufactures (appendix III, participant 2, 4)

This phenomenon can be compared to the COVID-19 pandemic in which social media played a comparable, and big role in disinformation as well (European Commission, n.d.). Another element which is a consequence of disinformation is the absence of nuance which could cause more polarization (appendix III, participant 8). This is confirmed by another expert stating that environmental activists may overlook the beneficial long term contributions of scientific research to sustainability of certain defence processes, rather than concentrating on fuel consumption (appendix III, participant 7). Lastly, the narrative framing by certain movements causes companies to have an inherent disadvantage since companies can not always respond and defend themselves against unfounded allegations (appendix III, participant 3).

Unknown activists (P1 and P2)

The presence of unknown activists can pose risks since it can lead to irregularity of a protest, and more probability of radical actions (see appendix III for interview data). A lack of regulation with regards to who takes part in a protest can form an obstacle for involved actors on how to manage the protest. In practice this has been seen at one of the *(company)* sites in which unknown individuals joined the protest (appendix III, participant 1). Moreover, reports have been made that activists often hide their faces at the protests that have occurred so far, which could be an indication that does not necessarily align with a peaceful character or intentions of a protest (appendix III, participant 2).

Corporate visibility significance (P4 and P9)

There are indications that corporate visibility further induces the probability of being targeted by social movements (see appendix III for interview data). In practice it is noted that visibility and exposure are important elements for activists. A company site experienced no activism for years, however after a visible logo was added the frequency of protests increased (appendix III, participant 4). Moreover, the logo along with activist banners and slogans was used for social media to increase media attention. Furthermore, company logos that are easily accessible are more often vandalized. Lastly, the increased importance and role of the defence industry for Europe could be an indicator for more focus of attention (appendix III, participant 9). Concludingly, the role of the visibility of the company itself can play part in the presence of possible threats.

Rejection of dialogue (P4 up and including P7)

A possible threat which is also present during demonstrations is that several participants stated that they were not able to start any dialogue with the movement at hand, making it impossible to know exactly what the activists' goals are, making it difficult to find a solution since polarization is further induced (appendix III, participants 4, 5, 6, 7). An example of this was that participant 7 stated that coffee was offered to activists to start a dialogue, however this was not accepted and it was called 'blood coffee', and activists acted to have gotten the coffee all over them (appendix III, participant 7).

Other possible threats

A common method of operation for activist is the blocking of several gates of a company. However, this ensures that workers can not always leave the building, and it could pose risks regarding evacuations (appendix III, participants 1, 2, 4). Furthermore, there are indications that the size of a company also influences the impact collective action has on its employees (appendix III, participant 4). Lastly, general trust deficits might be present amongst involved actors which could further increase other trends (e.g. disinformation).

On the basis of the trends that have been identified in contemporary anti-corporate activism, table 2 has been constructed.

Trends in contemporary activism	
1. Formalized operations	8. Unknown activists
2. Blending of movements	9. Corporate visibility significance
3. Transnational activism	10. Rejection of dialogue
4. Increased role of social media	11. Restricted staff movement
5. Expected increase of demonstrations	12. Remote coordination
6. Role of geographic location	13. Size dependant threat potential
7. Disinformation	14. Trust deficits

Table 5 - Trends in contemporary anti-corporate activism (own work).

5.3 Radicalization

On the basis of the interview data it can be concluded that elements of radical activists as well as reformative activists are present at demonstrations on the basis of the interview data (see appendix III). Examples of elements of radicalism present in practice, as underlined by de Hond & Bakker (2007) are: focus on material damage, activities to deinstitutionalize, confrontational strategies, and the presence of structural arguments. Material damage occurred in various instances where activists used graffiti and fake blood to vandalize buildings (appendix III, participant 3 up to and including 9). Deinstitutionalization is also seen in situations where entire premises have been blocked with the goal to dismantle processes. Furthermore, structural arguments are being used such as 'stop the arms trade', and more extreme texts in which (personal) accusations are made, showing that the company is not being acknowledged (appendix III, participants 4, 7). Moreover, indications of confrontational strategies are present in which employees are being personally confronted by activists, and in which hate speech takes part (appendix III, participant 2 up to and including 10).

On the contrary, reformative elements are also present in anti-corporate activism aimed at the defence industry. Examples include instances where no radical actions have been taken, and actions that focus on enlarging the network with the goal to employ mass-participation tactics. In practice, this is seen in the spreading of stickers, decals, and pamphlets (*(company)* Netherlands, personal communication, 10 January, 2025). However, it is important to note that such tactics can also contain radical slogans.

Finally, appendix II shows the radicalization score of past demonstrations on the basis of the conducted tactics (radical behavior), and the composition of the groups (radicalism potential). The conducted tactics are examined since behavior could indicate whether a radical or reformative character of a movements is present (Hond & de Bakker, 2007). Furthermore, the composition of a movement in which high solidarity is present can increase the dedication to a cause, which could result in a radical character of a movement (Tarrow, 2011, p. 206). Important to mention is that the potential for radicalization is increased when there is a high solidarity and ideological alignment within the movement, and when peripheral members (moderates) start to defect or are completely absent.

For both the radicalization tactics, and composition, scales have been constructed that were used to give radicalization scores to past demonstrations (also see appendix II for further explanation). Practice shows that radicalization levels are usually measured using a wide range of indicators. Examples include: Koopmans' (1996) study regarding right wing radicalization in which he used quantitative data for his measurements (e.g. amounts of extreme right violence, intensity of asylum debates, xenophobic attitudes). Furthermore, Hafez & Mullins (2015) state in their research regarding radicalization that no universal model can be used to measure radicalization. However, they found that empirical measures regarding radicalization always contain one or more elements regarding grievances, networks, ideologies, and support structures. Within this research, the constructed tables in appendix II help to quantitatively measure radicalization on the basis of conducted tactics and the movements' composition. Furthermore, the elements: grievances, networks, ideologies, as underlined by Hafez & Mullins (2015), are also noticeable in my approach. Lastly, the indicators as described in chapter 3.6 are used by looking at: recorded past incidents/protests, solidarity, framing, ideology, and the distinction between formative and radical activist movements.

A qualitative security risk assessment is conducted in which the method of 'scoring' is used for the conducted tactics, and composition of the groups (Landoll, 2021). A distinction between radicalization behavior (tactics) and potential (composition) has been made on the basis of past demonstrations to show that highly moderate movements can still have members that participate in violent behavior, and that movements that have a high potential for radicalization can still behave peaceful in practice. On the basis of the results in appendix II, a bar chart has been constructed in which the radicalization scores for the employed tactics (radical behavior), and the movement compositions (radicalization potential) are shown for past demonstrations.
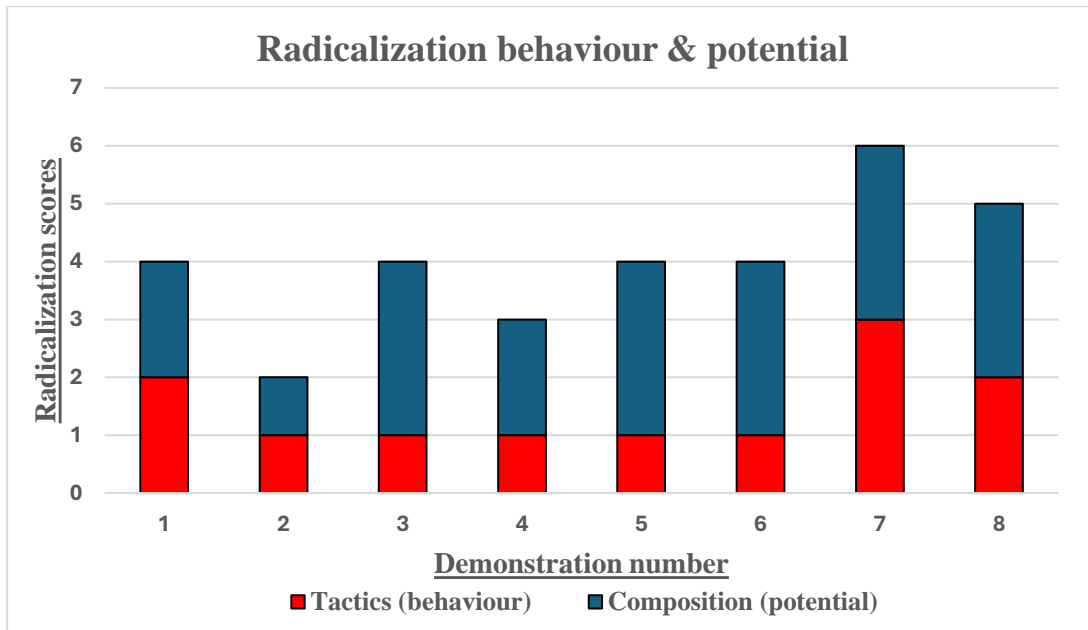
Figure 8: Radicalization scores past demonstrations (own work).

It is noticeable that the tactics during past demonstrations do not often include vandalism and violence. This shows that the presence of radical behavior is not prominently present during the demonstrations, since Den Hond and De Bakker (2007) underline that radicalization during deinstitutionalization focuses primarily on tactics to inflict symbolic damage, and more importantly material damage. On the contrary, the radicalization potential is higher due to the fact that past demonstrations showed that the solidarity, ideological alignment, and presence of core members within the movements are relatively high. Lastly, it is noticeable that the amount of physical anti-corporate demonstrations decreased between the years 2020-2022, in which the presence of the Covid-19 pandemic could be a possible explanation for a decrease/shift in the number of demonstrations aimed at *(company)*.

5.4 Conclusion

The first sub-research question: *'What are the trends in anti-corporate activism against the defence industry?'* can be answered using the identified information. The trends within the defence industry show that various developments, and threats are present on the basis of the interview data. All elements of the social movement theory by Tarrow (2011) are present, which explains collective action arising out of social movements. Specifically, developments that align with networks and organizations such as formalized operations in which the movements are further professionalizing. Furthermore, the role of transnational activism shows that activists are also targeting the defence industry due to global contention which often arises from, and aligns with political opportunities. Moreover, social media plays a crucial role in framing (making meaning) in which emotions and the construction of a shared identity are important for the social movements to accomplish collective action.

Disinformation is an important factor that actively contributes to the collective action aimed at the defence industry, and which is further fuelled by the presence of social media. Moreover, polarization and confirmation biases can occur, which can result in misguided acts against companies, and unfounded accusations. Furthermore, the presence of unknown activists leads to uncertainty, and can make it difficult to manage a protest. Additionally, exposure plays an important role and it forms a trend in contemporary activism, since corporate visibility is identified as a possible element that could increase the likelihood of being targeted by movements. Activists' rejection of dialogue is another element that is identified as a trend which increases polarization, and obstructs communication and possible compromises. Besides that, operational processes of corporations can be directly targeted (e.g. blocking of supplier gates) which can have implications for the business and its employees (e.g. evacuation during emergencies). Conversely, protests aimed at organizations that are more service oriented (e.g. Dutch House of Representatives) do not directly have implications for the business since it does not rely on producing physical goods.

On the basis of the interview data, and other isolated events it is noticeable that the presence of reformative, and radical activism is present. Radical activism is noticeable in practice by causing symbolic and material damage, utilizing confrontational strategies, and the presence of structural arguments in slogans. Whereas reformative elements, such as the spreading of pamphlets, stickers, and decals is also used to further enlarge the network.

Lastly, the radicalization scores of the physical demonstrations of the past shows that no physical violence occurs. However, disobedience with regards to laws, and peaceful protest are usually taking place with the exception of events where vandalism does occur, also taking into consideration other isolated events that were not part of a demonstration but where *(company)* was mentioned.

6. The unfolding of anti-corporate protests, and associated trigger events

6.1 Introduction

For this chapter, the second sub-question: *'What kind of trigger events arouse and stimulate these kind of protests?'* has been formulated. Several trigger events can be identified that arouse and stimulate an anti-corporate protest. Sudden events, interconnected events, political opportunities, and the impact/amplification of events can influence whether a protest takes place (Koopmans 2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004). Furthermore, as previously stated, contention, transformation, and contraction are important indicators that serve as catalysts for waves of protests.

6.2 Unfolding, and stimulation of protests

The unfolding of protests can specifically arise as a result of contention, and political opportunities (Koopmans 2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004). Political opportunities create a new balance of power between challengers (e.g. activists), and the authority (e.g. companies, and governments) by reducing power differences (Koopmans, 1993, as cited in Snow et al., 2004). Such opportunities can be utilized by individuals to realize collective action. Furthermore, the destabilization of social structures can further increase contention in society serving as a catalyst for the emergence of protests (Koopmans, 2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004, p. 23). Moreover, sudden events can have impact on whether collective action occurs. This has been previously underlined during a mistaken announcement by Schabowski in which thousands of Berliners came to border crossings, resulting in the collapse of the Berlin Wall (Pierson 2000, as cited in Snow et al., 2004, p. 34). Again, this sudden event caused a trigger which resulted in collective action, underlining the importance of such events.

Additionally, events are also interconnected, meaning that one event can influence the outcome of another event, underlining that events can be path dependent (Koopmans 2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004, p. 34). In practice this could mean that companies may choose to not suppress a movement at t1, causing the movement to grow which could ultimately make it harder for the company to suppress at t2, and other later stages. On the contrary, this path dependence may also influence certain tactics of movements (e.g. focusing on minor changes systematically due to its proven success). Lastly, the impact of events and how it is amplified can influence whether a protests unfolds, and is later stimulated.

Specifically, emotional framing as underlined by Tarrow (2011, p. 154), and Dijkhuis (1982) is used to induce solidarity, and to trigger collective action. The impact of events can be further reinforced due to media coverage which is often not neutral, and wherein the media decides the prominence of the actor, the importance of the issue, and/or the level of conflict (Koopmans, 2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004, p. 32).

6.3 Types and impact of trigger events

The following types of trigger events have been discerned on the basis of the literature research that has been conducted regarding the factors that play a role in the unfolding and stimulation of protests. An important common denominator among the trigger events is that they have a strong connection to the activities, and processes that defence companies conduct. Several trigger events also align with the codes in the interview data as seen in appendix III. Furthermore, looking back at the identified trends in contemporary activism (sub-question 1), it is noticeable that several trends in contemporary activism are activated by trigger events on the basis of the literature by Koopmans (2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004), and they will be covered in the text below.

Political trigger events

Political events are specifically important with regards to collective action due to the previously mentioned political opportunities that challengers utilize to accomplish their claims and expand power (Koopmans 2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004). Specifically, political changes cause opportunities for collective action during the expansion phase. Examples could include: geopolitical conflicts (e.g. wars), political changes (e.g. elections), and certain policies (e.g. defence trade regulations). An historical example is Gorbachev's policy of glasnost which created a political shift and conflict as a result of the policy (2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004, p. 24). This also aligns with the identified indicator regarding political opportunities (see chapter 3.6). Furthermore, the identified trend 'formalized operations', can also be the result of political opportunities for movements. Koopmans (2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004, p. 24) describes that this can be the case when new organizational forms (e.g. formalized operations) can challenge the regime (in this case a corporation). Moreover, political opportunities explain why such movements institutionalize and professionalize towards formal operations, due to the fact that political systems allow for this to happen (Koopmans 2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004, p. 32). Furthermore, the trend 'blending of movements' can occur due to political trigger events that urge a group to further unite and strengthen their position towards those they are challenging against (Snow et al., 2004, p. 202). In this sense the new alliance will try to politically overcome the prevailing repertoire. Furthermore, Snow et al. (2004, p. 320) mentions that globalization can be seen as a political opportunity in general sense, which accounts for the identified trend of 'transnational activism'.

Economic trigger events

Contention in society can also be the result of the destabilization of social structures (Koopmans, 2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004, p. 23). Economic grievance could be an underlying driver for contention resulting in collective action. An example could include: dissatisfaction amongst public due to increases in military budget. The identified trend 'transnational activism' is also triggered by economic globalization in general sense, however transnational activism is also strongly activated as a result of political trigger events due to globalization (Snow et al., 2004, p. 320.

Symbolic trigger events

As previously stated sudden events, which is also identified as an indicator in chapter 3.6, could also play an important role with regards to the emergence of collective action. However, such events can often hold a strong connection with other events due to their path dependence (Koopmans 2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004, p. 34). Moreover, such events hold a strong connection with emotional elements that appeal to the public opinion, acting as a focal point for collective action. For this reason the symbolic character of such events is important. An example could include: events of severe violence in conflict areas.

Amplified trigger events

Collective action can also result as a consequence of amplification such as the role of the media (also see chapter 3.6). In this sense the media can trigger collective action due to the earlier mentioned coverage of themes in which the media can frame information, further reinforcing emotional elements. Furthermore, the identified trend 'transnational activism' is activated by amplifiers such as the media since movements might be locally activated by transnational news, which is also called 'the transnational public sphere' (Snow et al., 2004, p, 324). Lastly, the rise of electronic networks, as underlined by Tarrow (2011), enables people to easily gain knowledge regarding (inter)national news which specifically reinforces the identified trend of the 'increased role of social media'.

Diffusion of innovations

Diffusion of innovation could also be a trigger for collective action since successful strategies might be utilized again enabling the movement to grow, which also partly aligns with the earlier mentioned path dependence. Examples could include: blending of movements to reframe claims with the goal to reinstitutionalize, or to deinstitutionalize. Diffusion of innovations also triggers the earlier mentioned 'transnational public sphere' since tactics are being utilized and innovated across borders (Snow et al., 2004, p, 324). This means that diffusion of innovations also triggers the identified trend of 'transnational activism'. Furthermore, continuous developments regarding electronic networks, as underlined by Tarrow (2011), explain the increased role of social media in contemporary activism.

6.4 Conclusion

At the start of this chapter the second sub-question: *'What kind of trigger events arouse and stimulate these kind of protests?'* has been formulated. Several kinds of trigger events have been identified, and the unfolding and stimulation of protests can be attributed to political, economic, symbolic, and amplified events, as well as diffusion of innovations. More specifically, political shifts, the change/implementation of policies, geopolitical conflicts, monetary spending, sudden impactful events, the role of the media, and continuous innovations within corporations and activist movements are important regarding the identified trigger events. Furthermore, it is noticeable that a part of the identified trends in contemporary activism (identified in sub-question 1) are also activated by trigger events found in the literature. Specifically: formalized operations, blending of movements, transnational activism, and the increase of social media. Such events can trigger collective action since movements can take advantage of contention in society which are often paired with strong emotional elements. The timing and framing of certain events can influence the capacity of collective action, in which path dependence plays an important role. Furthermore, the interplay of the different trigger events underlines the importance for actors to understand the impact that different types of trigger events can have on corporations, and public order and safety. Lastly, anticipation of such events is important in this sense since they could explain the emergence and expansion of collective action.

7. Trigger events for *(company)* in the Netherlands

7.1 Introduction

To answer the third sub-question": *'What kind of events triggered protest against (company)?'* the specific trigger events for *(company)* in the Netherlands will be examined on the basis of the interview results, and previous incidents. This will be aligned with previously identified general trigger events that can arouse protests. Moreover, currently *(company)* already takes into account elements of the identified trigger events (*(company)* Netherlands, personal communication, 24 February, 2025). Examples include monitoring of political events (Russia-Ukraine and Israel-Palestine, specifically conflicts and cyber warfare), the media (e.g. social media tracking software), and new innovations coming from *(company)* themselves.

7.2 Specific events

Political trigger events

Political trigger events cause contention which can ultimately result in collective action, as underlined by Tarrow (2011), and Koopmans (2004, as cited in as cited in Snow et al., 2004). This dynamic demonstrates how changes in political or social situations arouses and stimulates activism, which aligns with the concept of political opportunities. Due to the characteristics of *(company)*, being a defence company, it is important to note that political opportunities highly influence the organizational position in society. Moreover, *(company)* is indirectly affiliated with the government, giving it characteristics of a governmental organization (appendix III, participant 3). Thus, *(company)* can influence public sentiment, and public sentiment can influence *(company)*. Contention within society is a key driver for collective action. In practice, international and national contention play a role in activism aimed at *(company)*.

International contention

An important conflict that plays a role in activism aimed at *(company)* is the Israel-Palestinian conflict, and the associated Israel-Hamas war. Activism in which the pro-Palestine movement plays a role can be contributed to the fact that *(company)* is being associated with Israelian companies (appendix III, participant 9). Violence and suffering in Gaza result in strong emotional responses around the world, resulting in people feeling a moral obligation to take action. These feelings can be further amplified due to the increased role of social media, and the media in general in which narrative framing might take place. Moreover, activism intensifies due to the presence of disinformation, and misinformation which result in more emotional trigger responses. Additionally, pro-Palestine movements hold a strong connection with other movements causing the earlier mentioned blending of movements, in which claims are broadened (appendix III, participant 4, 7).

The global refugee crisis is another example in which advocate movements directly target *(company)*. Specifically, due to migration policies such as 'The Pact on Migration and Asylum' in which Frontex plays a prominent role (Frontex, n.d.). In practice, movements link defence corporations to making profits from selling systems. In this sense, narrative framing plays an important role since nuance is often not present (appendix III, participants 1, 8, 9).

Lastly, other international development (e.g. Ukraine-Russia war) could further increase instability resulting in activism aimed at *(company)* (appendix III, participant 9). To conclude, transnational activism plays a crucial role in activism aimed at *(company)* in the Netherlands due to the internationalized character of the claims, the themes, and due to the international corporations themselves, resulting in political opportunities (Tarrow, 2011, p. 241).

National contention

National contention also plays a crucial role in the rise of activism in the Netherlands. The interview data shows that various events can specifically be related to the increase of contention amongst the population in the Netherlands. It is noticeable that all mentioned events have a direct relation with the national political climate, creating political opportunities. Examples include: the widespread farmers protests, the childcare benefits scandal, Covid-19, issues regarding the oil and gas industry in Groningen, and the latest elections which could result in more polarization, and ultimately collective action (appendix III, participant 6, 9, 10). However, it is important to mention that these examples are not directly used as a claim against *(company)*, or the defence industry but could explain a broader dissatisfaction in general, as well as contention amongst anti-government and anti-corporate movements. Furthermore, the blending of movements could result in international, and national dissatisfaction against certain corporations. Lastly, polarization and distrust makes it hard for involved actors to manage activism, or to reach a joint and acceptable solution since enforcement is often seen as escalation, and proposed solutions are seen as deceit (Dijkhuis, 1982, p. 102).

Economic trigger events

An important element that is described as a possible explanation for anti-corporate activism aimed at *(company)* as a defence corporation is the increase on defence spending (appendix III, participant 1, 4, 6). This increased since the budget for defence will be further increased as stated in the budget memorandum for 2025, in which the cabinet decided to invest €716 million euros extra on defence (Rijksoverheid, 2024). Increased defence spending is attributed due to geopolitical instability, which defence corporations can benefit from. Activism is stimulated since activists could see defence companies as a system that profits from conflicts. In this sense, activism may emerge due to individuals that make a connection between human suffering, and on the other hand, the companies that make money from it that have a commercial interest.

Additionally, activism may be increased due to the growth of the defence industry which could induce corporate visibility (appendix III, participant 1, 4). As a result, emotional elements regarding the economics of international conflicts could increase solidarity and commitment amongst members of movements that focus on defence corporations (Tarrow, 2011, p. 154).

Symbolic trigger events

Symbolic triggers could also be the cause for activism aimed at *(company)*. An example of this were protests due to the government signing contracts for the F-35 fighter planes. *(company)* was also mentioned as a supplier for the fighter planes, however this is not the case. Such symbolic events could be a trigger for activism aimed at *(company)* (appendix III, participant 9). Moreover, as a result of this suspicion, activists demonstrated against *(company)* (appendix II, demonstration 7). Furthermore, corporate/brand signage is a subtle stimulator, since activists seek exposure (appendix III, participant 4). It is important to mention that symbolic trigger events can have an overlap with other trigger events as seen in practice (e.g. political, economic, amplified).

Amplified trigger events

The continuous media coverage with regards to the geopolitical events reinforces events aimed at *(company)* in the Netherlands. There has been no specific media coverage that resulted in direct collective action. However, the continuous presence and duration of conflicts in which media coverage fulfils an important role fuels and explains activism aimed at *(company)* in the Netherlands. Participant 8 (appendix III) stated that the media can be seen as an 'attention generator', which covers a lot of topics that give the public all kinds of ideas.

Diffusion of innovations

Diffusion of innovations is noticeable in practice due to the characteristics of activism, and those of *(company)* in the Netherlands. Specifically, formalized operations and the blending of movements are seen as effective developments that are re-used during demonstrations (also see sub-question 1). These development are not specifically triggers, but can be seen as innovations within the movements. *(company)* in the Netherlands is continuously improving its business wherein defence systems fulfil a prominent role. The improvement of these defence systems is also a trigger for activism. An activist stated: *"(company) produces drones and military technology in cooperation with the Israeli military industry, and the average Dutch citizen doesn't know that, that's what we want to expose. (company) is doing many other types of things, but is also in a very bloody business"* (Business & Human Rights Resource Centre, n.d.). This shows the importance of the technology that *(company)* produces, which other companies are not able to do (in comparable advancement, and capacity) underlining the influence of diffusion of innovations as a trigger for activism aimed at *(company)*. As a result, emotional, ethical, and humanitarian concerns are linked to such innovations.

7.3 Conclusion

At the start of this chapter the third sub-question: *'What kind of events triggered protest against (company)?'* was formulated. To conclude, in contrast to other businesses *(company)* is being targeted by activism due to the highly politicized conditions in which the corporation operates. This is underlined by the fact that governmental choices, and national and global political opportunities effect the business. Moreover, the economic aspect of the company could increase scrutiny and collective action, since the prevalent frame is that products are linked to violence and conflict, of which the company profits. Furthermore, due to the possible harmful character of defence products the company is more susceptible to symbolic targeting (e.g. signing of specific contracts, high-profile conflicts). Additionally, successful diffusion of innovation can, beyond the fact that *(company)* systems are used for civilian applications, also be utilized for military applications increasing contention and ethical, and humanitarian concerns. It is noticeable that the different trigger events interplay since they support and overlap each other.

8. Managing anti-corporate protests

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter the fourth sub-question: *'How was anti-corporate protest against (company) managed until now?'* will be answered using the information from the interviews, and past collaborations between *(company)* and local public administrative organizations (e.g. safety triangle). This could indicate whether improvements can be made on the basis of how protests were managed so far. Ultimately, this information can be used on how to best manage future protests. For this sub-question the indicator 'phases' is used to examine the various stages in protest management. As well as the involvement of stakeholders, the frequency of meetings that are held, and corporate actions, to examine the strategies in joint cooperation. Lastly, the dimension 'legal compliance' will be examined.

8.2 Phases in a protest

On the basis of the interview data in appendix III, it can be concluded that three phases in the managing of anti-corporate protest can be discerned: a preliminary phase, a main phase, and after phase. Dijkhuis (1982) describes various phases during the conflict, however the various phases can be further supplemented with information from the interviews. Moreover, Dijkhuis (1982) discerns three types of characteristics about movements: groups that exhibit/display, indignant groups (e.g. dissatisfaction about societal issues), or groups that have the aim to confront. In practice it is noticeable that all different types of characteristics have been historically present during *(company)* demonstrations, showing that conflict situations are probable to occur dependant on the movement at hand (*(company)* Netherlands, personal communication, 11 January, 2025).

According to *(company)* security management the various phases of Dijkhuis (1982) are applicable in practice as well. Specifically, the main and after phase in which the crisis management team and all involved actors come together to monitor/manage the protest, and to identify the goal of the protest (*(company)* Netherlands, personal communication, 24 February, 2025). However, the preliminary phase which is identified in this research, as well as the other phases, can be supplemented with company information on how anti-corporate activism is managed within the various phases with regards to specific anti-corporate protest, which is not recognized by Dijkhuis (1982). In the following text the various phases in anti-corporate protest will be discussed that have been discerned on the basis of the research data.

Preliminary phase

The preliminary phase can be seen as a phase in which all involved actors make preparations for collective action. Sometimes exploration and reconnaissance by movements takes place: ''you can see that exploration and reconnaissance takes place'' (appendix III, participant 2). Furthermore, several interviewees confirmed this (appendix III, 1, 2, 3, 4). The involved movement will then plan the protest which is often done using hidden communication channels (appendix III, participant 10). However, before protesting activists should adhere to the legal obligation to notify the municipality (appendix III, participant 5). The municipality can then check whether the protest needs additional measures, and the campaigners will receive a municipal acknowledgement (WOM letter). This way legal compliance and communication between actors is safeguarded. Subsequently, *(company)* may be notified by cooperating actors (police, municipality) if reporting requirements are met, or if there are other indications that a protest is going to take place. If *(company)* gains knowledge beforehand all involved actors including employees can be informed regarding: what kind of movement, what the goals are, and possible involved risks. However, it often occurs that no notification of a protest is made, meaning that a protest suddenly emerges. In such instances, the police will be called as soon as possible to monitor the protest. Furthermore, a security officer described: '' the district agent and I went out together and did an assessment of the movement. Then I have sort of, an emergency line with the actors. And then I can call the crisis manager'' (Appendix III, participant 1). During this process, the main phase will start.

Main phase

The main phase starts when the protest is initiated by activists. In practice activists often use tactics such as banners, blocking of access point, and occupation of buildings (see appendix II). *(company)* will then assess the situation which is done by the security officer who will then inform the crisis management team. Dependent on whether the protest is announced, emergency services are already present, or they are called as soon as possible. Furthermore, dependent on the location of the site, company first responders help in managing the activists by observing what happens, and by informing the chief first responder that takes part in the crisis management team (appendix III, participant 8). Additionally, *(company)* will notify the employees including those that want to visit, and update them where necessary. Following this, communication between the organization and authorities takes place to share information, monitor, and to coordinate a response. Within the crisis management team the current situation is discussed, as well as the possible risks and the next steps that have to be taken. Furthermore, an expert described asking activists: ''What are your intentions?'', 'How long will you stay?', and we determine the impact at that moment of what should we do'' (appendix III, participant 9).

This shows that the organization also continuously tries to start a dialogue to assess the situation. Furthermore, the organization prioritizes de-escalation in which violence and destruction are boundaries that may not be crossed (which is also shared with authorities). Lastly, continuous monitoring takes place by *(company)* and authorities to ensure when the protest is over.

After phase

After the protest takes place it often occurs that the media (including activists' media) contacts *(company)* for statements or stories, which further influences exposure as underlined by Koopmans (2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004). Evaluation of the protest also forms an important aspect with regards to lessons learned within *(company)* (e.g. effectiveness of response, agreements, and areas for improvement) (appendix III, participant 4). Furthermore, the protest can have significant (psychological) impact on employees (appendix III, participant 9). The security department and human resources will assist employees and educate them regarding the impact of the protest, so that employees feel supported and so that they have somewhere to turn for help.

8.3 Applied strategies, and adherence to laws- and regulations

The current strategy that *(company)* uses to manage activism focuses on de-escalation in which vandalism and violence are not allowed, during such events intervention will take place in cooperation with the authorities (*(company)* Netherlands, personal communication, 24 January, 2025). The various protest management strategies as underlined by Tarrow (2011) can be examined on the basis of past demonstrations (appendix II), and on the basis of interview data (appendix III) to find out what strategies were being used by *(company)* to manage protests.

Coercive control

The utilization of coercive control does not take place on the basis of the decision making of the company, but on the basis of the mayors' decision making. Moreover, the municipal expert states that coercive control can, and will only be used when: ''you have an actual observation'', and ''suppose people are spotted at *(company)* with weapons, you can agree with the triangle that a security risk area should be designated. That way you can also do preventive searches'' (appendix III, participant 5). In this sense coercive control will only be used when a threat is observed, or highly expected due to intelligence. Past demonstrations show that coercive control has not been used often, also due to the de-escalating strategy. Moreover, coercive control has only been used against activists that committed vandalism and housebreaking (appendix II, demonstration 2 and 7). In practice, coercive control is not used proactively due to the de-escalating strategy of involved actors, but during demonstrations police is always present to monitor, and to exercise their authority when deemed necessary.

Channelling contention

The strategy of channelling contention focuses on bureaucratic/administrative tactics to discourage mobilization (Tarrow, 2011, p. 272). Examples could include: notification and permit requirements, area-specific rules, legal action. However, it is challenging to impose such requirements due to Article 9 of the Dutch Constitution in which is stated that everyone has the right to demonstrate (College voor de Rechten van de Mens, n.d.). Moreover, high financial costs and an important role of the government has to be present to utilize the strategy of channelling contention. Concludingly, *(company)* can only use bureaucratic tactics which align with their own capabilities (e.g. public statements, initiate partnerships with other companies, reporting to police). In practice police reports have taken place as a result of activists trespassing, and for vandalizing.

Facilitation

Facilitation of activism prioritizes negotiation with activists, as well as a partial granting of demands (Tarrow, 2011, p. 209). The goal is to tolerate moderate activists, while isolating radicals. Examples could include: hosting meetings to engage in dialogue, acknowledging concerns, communication campaigns to show business transparency. Facilitative elements are present: '' If you have questions, you call me and then you ask those questions or, if necessary, get an NGO to communicate'' which shows the willingness of the company to engage with each other (appendix III, participant 3).

Laws and regulations

On the basis of the interview data it can be concluded that all relevant laws and regulations were upheld during the managing of past demonstrations. Moreover, participants state that cooperation was successful, with one of the participants describing: '' I have no doubt that any party within the triangle is acting outside the law. The police can only intervene when something actually happens, so often they stand back and watch'' (appendix III, participant 9). Moreover, the district agent states that they are highly dependent on the decision making of the mayor: ''if your mayor wants it to stop then we will make sure of that, but if the mayor wants to allow it and facilitate it then we will be in the background to ensure that nothing escalates'' (Appendix III, participant 10). Lastly, quarterly safety triangle meetings take place between *(company)* and the municipality, which already take place (appendix III, participant 5).

8.4 Conclusion

At the start of this chapter the fourth sub-research question was formulated: *'How was anti-corporate protest against (company) managed until now?'*. The managing of anti-corporate protests can be characterized by de-escalation, cooperation, and adherence to laws and regulations, showing legal compliance. The dimension 'stages of a protest' (identified in chapter 3.6) consists of a preliminary phase, a main phase and an after phase. The preliminary phase primarily focuses on information sharing to cooperate with all involved actors. By doing this a thorough preparation takes place to anticipate potential threats, and by reducing uncertainty about elements such as the duration, and information about the involved movement(s). This process can be enhanced if the municipal notification requirements are met. Often, no notification is made requiring actors to respond ad hoc to the situation at hand.

During the main phase de-escalation will be prioritized by attempts to start a dialogue, by continuously monitoring, and by coordinating with involved actors. The de-escalating character is underlined by the fact that coercive control will not be used by the company itself. Instead, order is maintained by involving first aid responders, security personnel, the Crisis Management Team, and involvement of public actors. The after phase is characterized by focusing on the lessons learned for future occurrences, by supporting personnel, and by communicating with media.

Furthermore, the dimensions coercion, channelling contention, and facilitation were examined in this chapter. The reliance on channelling contention is limited due to the fact that *(company)* can mostly only rely on internal capabilities (e.g. police reports, initiating communication), due to constitutional protection for activism. However, *(company)*' protest management strategy can rely upon facilitation and de-escalation in which collaboration with law enforcement and municipal entities is important. *(company)* successfully balances activists' legal rights by avoiding coercive control, and by prioritizing communication to control the emergence of conflicts. It is important to mention that this strategy requires high flexibility of *(company)* and other actors, in which a proactive approach could benefit future occurrences.

9. Potential security scenarios, and responsible responses

9.1 Introduction

The fifth sub-question: *'How can the risks of violent protest against (company) best be managed?'* will be researched by first identifying potential security scenarios on the basis of the interview data. Furthermore, strategies for responsible security responses can be examined by identifying non-violent strategies that *(company)* can utilize, divided into preventive and repressive measures. Preventive measures could help to understand causes for activism, and to prepare and anticipate possible protests. Furthermore, repressive measures can help to contain protests once they are initiated. Lastly, other specific measures examined in the interview data, are shown in chapter 11 'Recommendations'.

9.2 Security scenarios based of the data

The participants in the research were asked which security scenarios they deemed most challenging and foreseeable on the basis of past events, or what scenarios they could foresee in the future. The data in appendix III shows that participants explained several scenarios which will be further described below.

Trespassing, housebreaking, stopping production, vandalism

Several participants explained that unauthorized trespassing onto private property poses a risk (appendix III, participants 1, 2, 6, 7, 9). Specifically, during situations in which the activists know that they are aware of their legal wrongdoing but will still proceed. In another defence company in the Netherlands this has been demonstrated in practice: '' They tried to get in. We have a vendor entrance, someone entered in a wheelchair. Fortunately we got there just in time. They also tried to get into the other building by asking if they could go to the bathroom'' (appendix III, participant 7). Furthermore, other countries in which *(company)* operates already had to endure radical vandalism tactics: '' My fear lies, and this has happened in other countries, that they will climb over the fences and actually start destroying things in five to ten minutes'' (appendix III, participant 9). As a result, activists might inflict damage to products and other sorts of vandalism posing serious risks the safety of individuals and the business.

Employee resistance

Participants 3, 4, 7, and 8 explained that employee resistance might also occur as a reaction to activism (appendix III). When activists employ their tactics employees of the company might react emotionally, or even physically causing a confrontation between activists and employees. At another company employee resistance was present: ''Some employees wanted to fistfight right away, so there were also all kinds of emotions from employees'' (appendix III, participant 7).

Furthermore, questions such as: '' What may I do if I am pulled off my bike?'' are asked by employees (appendix III, participant 4). As a result, confrontations might occur, and situations might spiral out of control.

Insider threat, and management of activism

Another possible scenario is the presence of insider threat creating vulnerabilities as a result of actions coming from certain movements. The presence of insider threat is influenced by employee turnover and growth of the organization (appendix III, participant 4). Furthermore, the presence of proactive management should be prioritized since practice shows that reactive management occurs due to limited planning and timing flexibility, contrary to those of activists (appendix III, participant 3).

9.3   Ethical responses

Dijkhuis (1982) describes various non-violent strategies to manage activism. Furthermore, the social movement theory by Tarrow (2011) forms the basis as to what elements are required for collective action. Using these theories and non-violent strategies, preventive, and repressive measures can be formulated and utilized to manage the risks of violent activism in which radicalization is reduced.

Dijkhuis (1982, p. 10) describes that conflicts and violence will primarily occur when a confrontation is present between two or more parties. *(company)* already utilizes this approach by focusing on a de-escalating strategy as seen in scenario 1 of figure 9. Escalation will only occur when scenario 3 is present (vandalism, violence). However, from a practical perspective it is noted that the scenarios can also be seen as a choice in which protestors are given a set of terms and conditions which they should preferably adhere to (*(company)* Netherlands, personal communication, 24 February 2025). Furthermore, an improvement could be to prioritize in scenario 1, instead of already focusing on de-escalation.
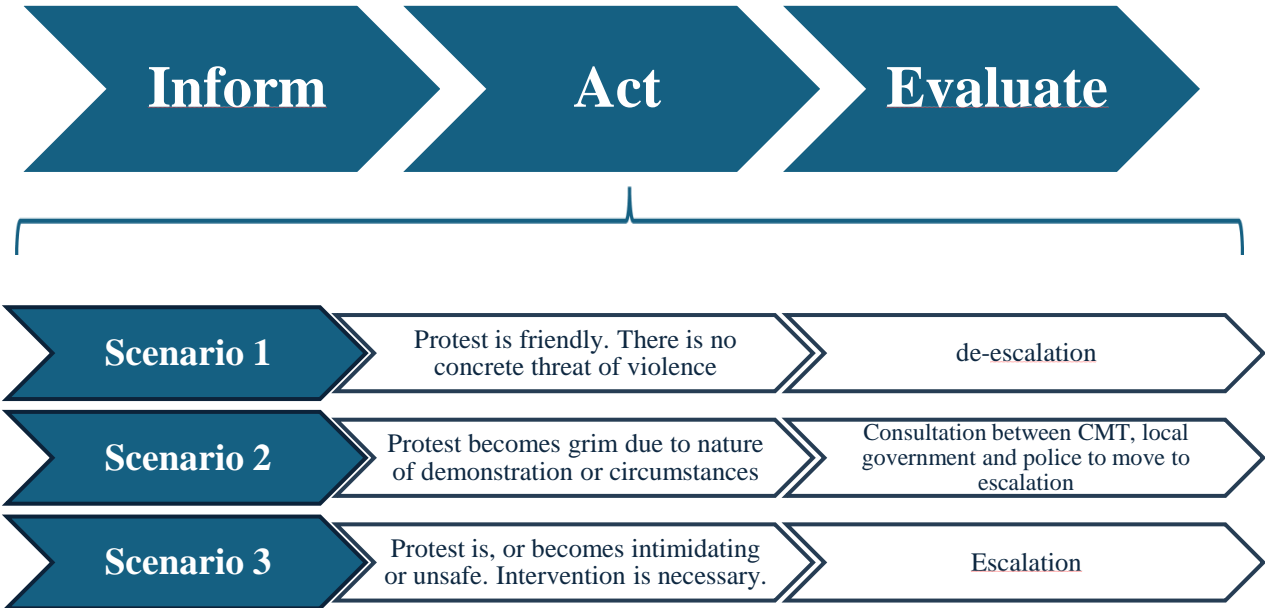

Figure 9: current protest management scenarios (own work).

9.3.1 Preventive measures

Understanding contention and context

Collective action occurs as a result of the presence of political opportunities, organizational networks, and framing (Tarrow, 2011). For this reason it is important that involved actors that manage activism start by always staying informed regarding the latest grievances/contention within society. If all involved actors that manage activism stay informed regarding the political, social, and cultural context, protests can be anticipated in a better way reinforcing the previously mentioned 'proactive management'. Moreover, by monitoring the earlier mentioned trigger events that could result in conflict, the associated events can be classified which may indicate that an event/contention could possibly result in a protest. Additionally, periodic information sharing regarding the context could help cooperating parties and *(company)* to gain new insights that can be used to prepare for possible collective action. This could be discussed, for example, during the quarterly meetings between *(company)* and the municipality, which already take place (appendix III, participant 5). Furthermore, this could help align a shared strategy for all involved actors that manage activism. Lastly, local business cooperation might be beneficial to anticipate activism: '' I don't know if surrounding companies can still have a role here? I think they might also be able to inquire about what happens as 'good neighbours' say for *(company)* itself'' (Appendix III, participant 5).

Trust building

Reformative activists are more inclined to start a dialogue and cooperate to achieve their goals (Den Hond & De Bakker, 2007). Various past demonstrations at *(company)* show that a peaceful character, and reformative activists were present (appendix II). *(company)* could proactively share information with such movements to show transparency and to counter possible disinformation. As a result, such movements will be less inclined to escalate their actions since the company shows accountability. This strategy can be further reinforced by strengthening the usage of electronic networks, such as social media, since trends in activism show the prominent role of social media as seen in practice (sub-question 1), and as underlined by Tarrow (2011).

Decreasing 'perceived' threats

Perceived threats can increase collective action, and ultimately escalation (Tarrow, 2011). Furthermore, as previously stated, Dijkhuis (1982) states that conflict only occurs when a confrontation between two or more parties is present. As a result, the threats that activists perceive should be as minimal as possible to avoid violent protest. In practical sense this can be achieved by further prioritizing the already present de-escalating strategy. Furthermore, organisational matters such as trained security personnel (see 11. recommendations), and trained *(company)* personnel is crucial. Specifically, trained *(company)* personnel is important since 'employee resistance' has been identified as a possible security scenario. Lastly, the organization seeks decrease perceived threats and to counter emerging violence through facilitating elements that accommodate activists such as portable toilets (Dixi's) (*(company)* Netherlands, personal communication, 24 February 2025).

9.3.2 Repressive measures

Channelling contention

Contention can only be channelled by *(company)* by using strategies that are within the organization's own capabilities. An example could be: blocking certain roads to reduce/prevent more activism from taking place. This also aligns with Dijkhuis' (1982) concept of isolation techniques to separate radicals from moderates. Furthermore, Tarrow (2011) describes that moderates often defect from the group themselves when isolated. However, it is important to mention that such non-violent strategies can have implications for future activism due to its path dependence of such events. Path dependence was mentioned: ''Yes and if you start restricting it then maybe next time they will demonstrate more violently'' (Appendix III, participant 7). For this reason, it is important to make a careful decision as an organization regarding when to reduce/limit activism.

Infrastructure of coordination

Alimi (2004, as cited in Tarrow, 2011) states that unified leadership and established rules of engagement can lessen radicalization. For this reason, authorities and *(company)* should always coordinate their actions to avoid conflicting strategies that could increase contention, preferably by the presence of an independent mediator (Koopmans 2004, as cited in Snow et al., 2004). Moreover, in practice a security officer underlined the importance of established rules of engagement: ''As an organization you shouldn't go in with an offensive attitude. So together with the activists, *(company)* and the police, you have to make clear where the boundaries are and you can make clear agreements about that'' (Appendix III, participant 6). Lasty, establishing rules of engagement also increases facilitative elements since it could give an opening for constructive dialogue.

9.4   Conclusion

The last sub-research question: *'How can the risks of violent protest against (company) best be managed?'* can be answered using the identified information. *(company)* mostly has to rely on their own capacities to use security measures, and to defuse tensions and increase trust. Managing possible violent protests in which de-escalation is prioritized requires proactive measures such as understanding the context, trust building, and decreasing perceived threats. The de-escalating character and repressive measures when violence, or vandalization occurs aligns with the Dutch approach, as described by Hanselman (2025). Specifically due to the fact that activists are given a lot freedom, except when certain boundaries are crossed. Repressive measures have to be carefully implemented due to *(company)*' private nature, and thereby its limited capacities to maintain public order in which path dependence plays an important role. Moreover, this shows the reliance and importance of cooperating with public partners to effectively manage activism.

Furthermore, the corporate setting presents internal challenges such as employee resistance and insider threat which require specific measures (e.g. internal training, and communication). As a result, it is important for the organization to prioritize cooperation, responsibility (regarding public opinion), and flexibility since protest can also be unannounced (see sub-question 4). Ultimately, the effective combination of the underlined preventive and repressive measures will ensure an effective and ethical approach to managing the risks of violent protests.

10.   Conclusion and discussion

At the beginning of the study, the following main research question was established:

'How can (company) manage public, potentially violent protests against its operational sites in the Netherlands?' In this chapter an answer will be provided for the main research question.

Activist movements that target the defence industry are characterized by professionalized networks that use social media, transnational claims, and political opportunities to collectively mobilize. According to Tarrow (2011), collective action occurs when organizational networks, political opportunities, and framing are present. In practice the emergence of activism is confirmed since all elements of collective action are present. Trends regarding possible threats are further increased due to elements such as disinformation, and activists' rejection to dialogue. Although previous demonstrations have been mostly non-violent, activism takes both radical (e.g. vandalism, symbolic harm) and reformative (e.g. leaflets, stickers) forms. In this sense it is necessary to understand the dynamics of collective action, specifically regarding the identified contemporary trends in order to manage activism.

Scientifically it is noticeable that partial alignment of the empirical findings regarding activist tactics is present when comparing empirical findings in this research to the historical findings Hanselman (2025) presented. Earlier mentioned tactics of anti-militaristic movements include sabotage, occupations of buildings, infiltration, and stealing materials. Hanselman (2025) describes that movements resorted to violence, however no direct physical violence against individuals was identified in this research regarding the examined defence corporations when looking at the radicalization scores for past protests. Comparable tactics include infiltration and vandalization, and occupations of company sites. This demonstrates that contemporary defence corporations in the Netherlands are facing different risks that focus more on disrupting operational processes, and reputations rather than engaging in direct attacks as seen with movements like RaRa (Hanselman, 2025).

Various types of trigger events including political, economic, symbolic, amplified, and diffusions of innovations, can arouse protest. Collective action occurs when activist movements take advantage of such events, which are often paired with strong emotional elements to further increase solidarity. Effectively anticipating and preventing protests requires an understanding of how and when such trigger events emerge. *(company)*, unlike other companies, operates in a highly politicized environment where public opinion matters, and is influenced by governmental choices and transnational occurrences. Such characteristics of *(company)* show the presence and importance of political trigger events. Moreover, *(company)* is economically scrutinized, symbolically targeted, and targeted due to successful diffusion of innovations. Lastly, the role of the media in activism can arouse protest against the company on a broader level.

(company)' protest management focuses on de-escalation, cooperation, and legal compliance. Past protest management shows that there are various phases in which preparation, monitoring, and evaluative elements are present. The preliminary phase prioritizes information sharing, and anticipating possible threats, Although a lack of municipal protest notifications frequently necessitates ad hoc actions. In the main phase security personnel, and the crisis management team de-escalating, monitoring, and coordinating with other actors, rather than using coercive control.

In the after phase media communication, support to personnel, and an evaluation takes place. Although *(company)* can mostly rely on its own capabilities to manage activism due to the constitutional rights for activism, it works with public administrative organizations to facilitate peaceful protests to safeguard public order, and the safety of personnel. By using *(company)*' capabilities, preventive measures such as understanding the context, trust building, and decreasing perceived threats help to anticipate and defuse contention. Moreover, repressive measures such as channelling contention, and having a clear infrastructure of coordination can help to maintain public order and safety specifically when violence and vandalization takes place. In this regard, it is noticeable that the Dutch Approach can still be effectively utilized by companies to manage the risks of violent protest, and that this approach can be specifically improved by utilizing the previously mentioned preventive and repressive measures while also taking into account internal challenges that are present, requiring specific organizational measures.

To answer the main research question, public potentially violent protests against *(company)*' operational sites can be best managed by understanding trends in contemporary activism, anticipating applicable trigger events, by continuously reinforcing cooperation with local public administrative organizations, and by utilizing the organizational de-escalating capabilities with respect to ethical proactive, and repressive measures.

In this chapter I will also outline the limitations of this study which could be improved for further research. The limitations may have arisen since some elements have not been taken into account in this research, or because more research is needed on such elements. Below are the limitations listed for each part of the research.

- The trends in anti-corporate activism against the defence industry have been researched amongst various company sites, and different companies. Although many trends have been named by different respondents which align, it would also be good to get even more substantiated insights from experts from more defence companies within the Netherlands;
- It is noticeable that the identified trigger events which can arouse protest overlap with each other, with political trigger events laying the groundwork. Further research should investigate to what extent this is true, and which specific trigger events influence each other in this context;
- Organizations can mostly manage the risks of violent protest by utilizing strategies/resources within their own capabilities. However, the managing of activism should be done carefully due to its path dependent character. For future research, activism management strategies (understanding contention, trust building, decreasing perceived threats, coercive control, channelling contention, facilitation, and infrastructure of coordination) should be tested in practice for their effectiveness, specifically with respect to different types of activist groups;
- Empirical data shows that all experts state that involved actors adhered to applicable laws and regulations during past activism occurrences. This data is an indication regarding the level at which activism within laws and regulations is managed, however, additional research is needed to confirm this using a larger target population;
- For the fifth research question the company activism protocol has been used as a source to answer the question. However, the protocol is still under development which can be seen as a limitation. For this reason the most important information regarding the protocol (figure 9) was used to answer the question, which is further supplemented by using the data from the interviews.
- Lastly, in this research only experts' perspectives were included because they can provide insights into how activism can be managed. However, it would also be good to include perspectives from activists in future research, so that all perspectives (e.g. regarding why activism manifests itself according to activists) can be further highlighted.

11. Recommendations

In this chapter various recommendations will be given on the basis of the research that has been conducted. Furthermore, specific recommendations have been made by respondents during the interview. The recommendations are primarily useful for the involved actors and experts that have been involved in the research, but the recommendations can also be used by actors operating in a similar context.

- Involved actors should take into account the various trends in anti-corporate activism since these are important with respect to the specific characteristics of the movements they are dealing with. Examples include organizational related trends in activism (e.g. formalized operations, blending of movements, unknown activists) and trends related to their strategies (e.g. transnational activism, spreading of disinformation, rejection of dialogue). Based on these indicators, the cooperating partners can anticipate possible implications of the developments and threats;

- Actors involved in managing protests should be aware and anticipate political, economic, symbolic, and amplified trigger events, as well as diffusion of innovations, that could possibly arouse protest by continuously monitoring the organizations' actions, public perception, and societal contention;

- The cooperation between the organization and public administrative organizations should be continually prioritized, maintained, and improved since these cooperations are the foundation in maintaining, on the one hand, public order and safety, and on the other safety for organizations and individuals. This can be done by sharing relevant information during quarterly safety triangle meetings, and by proactively sharing information that is relevant to manage activism (e.g. new identified trends within activist movements, and private/public organizational protocols that other actors should be aware of);

- In managing activism the role of path dependence should be taken into account since current actions may reflect future (positive/negative) consequences. This underlines the importance for involved actors to carefully select activism management strategies on the basis of the context at hand. Involved actors could examine past protest management strategies to find out what worked best, by also considering counter-reactions from the same movements later on;

- Trained security personnel who are specifically trained to manage activism, or who have experience with it, are recommended instead of the current supporting role of first aid responders;

- The presence of an independent mediator during activism could increase trust, and reduce tension. It is important that the mediator is also independently selected (e.g. by the municipality);

- Unified exchange of information should always take place between different organizational sites, and between different public organizations (e.g. police units from different cities) to avoid conflicting strategies, and the absence of certain information from and for some actors, which can result in more contention;

- Involved actors should prioritize the existing de-escalating strategy in which confrontation is avoided, which can be further improved by working on increasing trust amongst movements by proactively sharing information on issues that create contention. Moreover, by decreasing perceived threats by always avoiding confrontation, and by channelling contention in which radicals are separated from moderates. Lastly, by facilitating, and by having a clear infrastructure of coordination regarding unified strategies and rules of engagement;

- Lastly, practical recommendations such as the aftercare for personnel, practicing activist scenarios, covering 'activism' in onboarding, and increasing local business cooperation could help in preparing and improving the organization as a whole to manage public, potentially violent activism.

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12.   Appendix I – Stakeholder analysis

A stakeholder analysis has been made to take into account all relevant actors that are involved in the managing of anti-corporate activism, since this also takes the interests of the actors into account. Below an inventarisation of all stakeholders has been made. The stakeholders that are included in the inventarisation have been grouped on the basis of this direct/indirect involvement, and whether the specific stakeholder is part of *(company)* or external. This first categorizations shows that *(company)* as an organization fulfils a key role in this research, also due to the fact that *(company)* requested the research. Moreover, it interesting to see that actors that take place within the safety triangle (mayor, police, and public prosecution service) can affect the research outcomes, since they could be involved in eventually adopting results of this research.

Stakeholders	Primary Directly affects research approach or outcome	Secondary Indirectly affects project research or outcome
Internal stakeholder Involved in the research from their own organization	*(company)*	*(Company employees)*
External stakeholder External party (that can be) involved in the research	Municipality (mayor) Regulators Public prosecution service Police	Activist groups / activists Media Other nearby companies *(company)* clients Local residents

The stakeholders have been categorized on the basis of the interest they have regarding the research, and on the basis of the influence they have on the research. This is important since it could show the best way in which certain actors should be handled.

		Interest of stakeholder			
		Low	Moderate	High	Very high
		Influencer - (sustain their needs)		Key stakeholder - (fulfil desires)	
Influence of stakeholder	Very high		Regulators		*(company)* organization
	High		Activist groups / activists Media *(company)* Clients	Police Municipality (mayor) Public prosecution service	
		Bystander - (monitor)		Interested stakeholder - (Inform)	
	Moderate			*(company)* employees	
	Low		Other companies nearby companies Local residents		

The desires of the key stakeholders need to be fulfilled since they could directly influence the research and its outcomes. Specifically, involved actors have been identified as key stakeholders since these actors can have a positive or negative influence regarding how the results of the research will be handled. Influencers have an important role since they can influence the research but do not have much interest in the research. For this reason the influencers' needs need to be sustained since they can also negatively influence the research process and its outcomes. Lastly, bystanders need to be monitored, and interested stakeholders need to be informed.

13. Appendix II – Radicalization level past incidents *(company)* Netherlands

Several past incidents regarding activism/demonstrations have been identified on the basis of internal literature research, during the period 2018-2024. The incidents took place across various *(company)* sites including: *(cities)*. Radicalization levels can be measured by looking at the utilized tactics, and the composition of the groups in which protests might take place also give relevant information about the general trend of activism aimed at *(company)*.

The radicalization level will be measured by first assessing the tactics that were used during the incident since this can show the presence of reformative activists, or radical activists **to examine radical behaviour** (Hond & de Bakker, 2007). Furthermore, the group composition will be measured by focusing on the solidarity of the group, and the ideological alignment **to examine radical potential**. As stated by Tarrow (2011), movements with high solidarity are able to sustain collective action, and challenges which could increase their capacity for escalation. Moreover, ideological conflicts (opposing the prevalent ideology) can further increase radicalization. A qualitative security risks analysis has been used to devise the tables for 'tactics', and 'group composition'. A qualitative analysis, 'scoring' (a descriptive scale), is chosen due to its simplicity, ease of measurement, and since it is easily comprehensible (Landoll, 2021). However, disadvantages include subjectivity and lack of precision. To prevent this an explanation for the choices has been given for each incident, and an explanation of what exactly took place during the incident. Finally, as previously stated, only actual demonstrations will be assessed, since most information is available for these events, allowing them to be treated as a case.

Tactics	Description	Score
Peaceful demonstration	Non-disruptive, no unlawful actions	1
Disobedience	Non-violent, but involves breaking laws	2
Vandalism	Property damage without physical harm	3
Violent actions	Physical harm to individuals or groups	4

Group Characteristic	Description	Score
Moderates	Mostly peripheral members (moderates), showing low cohesion, minimal solidarity, and diverse ideologies.	1
Mixed composition	A combination of peripheral members (moderates) and a smaller group of core members; moderate solidarity and partial ideological alignment.	2
Mainly core members	Primarily core members, with strong cohesion, solidarity, and significant ideological alignment.	3
Unified core	Core members, exhibiting very high cohesion, strong solidarity, and complete ideological alignment.	4

Demonstration #1 (2018)

As part of a campaign called 'stop the war on migrants', several individuals (approximately 25 to 30 people) protested against *(company)* and *(other company)* at the University of *(city)*. The main goal of the message was to target societal issues regarding 'militarization of border security by the EU', and on 'companies that influence or make profit of and on these policies'. Protestors used signage such as: '*(company)* war profiteers out of our universities', since it was an open day for companies to promote themselves to students. The police arrived eventually, and protestors were given permission to protest despite the fact that the protest had not notified to the municipality. Moreover, arrests took place and people were fined since people refused to identify themselves, and because the protest was not notified to the municipality, however no violence was present during the demonstration. Lastly, moderate cohesion and solidarity was present during the demonstration since there are indications that two movements were present: 'stop the war on migrants', and 'Antifa' (due to the presence of anti-fascist flags).

Radicalization score: 2 (disobedience) + 2 (mixed composition).

Demonstration #2 (2018)

Two peaceful demonstrations took place within the same month. The first peaceful protest took place at the company itself involving less than five individuals. It was a peaceful protest in which roses were hung with the text 'international day of peace, stop the arms trade'. The second protest was aimed at a cultural institution in which ties and cooperation between the cultural institution and *(company)* should be terminated. The protests were peaceful, and even though the solidarity was high there were only moderates present.

Radicalization score: 1 (peaceful demonstration) + 1 (moderates)

Demonstration #3 (2018)

A group of ten individuals was present during the demonstrations in which the supplier gates were blocked. The demonstration lasted ten hours, and police was present but no laws were broken. The involved movements were: stop the war on migrants, and the 'Anarchistische anti-deportatie groep *(city)*'. The demonstration was peaceful, and significant ideological alignment and strong cohesion was present.

Radicalization score: 1 (peaceful demonstration) + 3 (mainly core members)

Demonstration #4 (2019)

A demonstration by the 'anti-fascist party *(city)*' took place in *(city)* and *(city)* central station. Various pamphlets were distributed in which is stated that *(company)* makes the gates for public transportation and that such technology is similar to the technology that they are producing to maintain Fort Europe. Moreover, it is argued that *(company)* profits by lobbying for certain border policies, and then makes money from such policies.

Radicalization score: 1 (peaceful demonstration) + 2 (mixed composition)

Demonstration #5 (2020)

Various small scale demonstrations took place over the course of eight days in which *(company)* was targeted. The protests emerged as a reaction to the export of various systems to *(country)*. The protest consisted of the movements: stop the war on migrants, and the 'Anarchistische anti-deportatie groep *(city)*'. The demonstrations were peaceful, however strong ideological alignments were present in the movements.

Radicalization score: 1 (peaceful demonstrations) + 3 (mainly core members)

Demonstration #6 (2023)

A demonstration took place in a commemorative setting due to the War in *(region)* which happened 25 years ago. A commemoration took place due to the various deaths that occurred as a result of the war. Moreover, the demonstration took place at *(company)* in the Netherlands and in Australia due to the fact that activists suggest that the specific *(company)* location symbolizes the place that supplied arms that contributed to the war. The demonstration lasted 1,5 hours, and was peaceful since activists read testimonies and sung songs. Lastly, two different movements were involved: 'distrupt wars', and *(movement)*. The demonstration was peaceful, and the members had a strong ideological alignment.

Radicalization score: 1 (peaceful demonstrations) + 3 (mainly core members)

Demonstration #7 (2023)

A demonstration took place by approximately fifteen pro-Palestine activists. De activists claimed that *(company)* supplies components of the F-35 fighter plane, and wanted to stop *(company)* from doing this. However, important to mention is that *(company)* has not been involved in that program. The demonstration was not notified to the municipality. The activists unlawfully entered the balcony of the company causing housebreaking. Moreover, vandalism took place and the activists made a lot of noise, used Bengal fireworks torches, and smeared red paint over the facades of the building. Ultimately, ten activists were arrested for housebreaking, and vandalism. Two groups were present: 'workers for Palestine', and 'Justice Now' which is part of the movement 'Extinction rebellion'.

Radicalization score: 3 (vandalism) + 3 (mainly core members)

Demonstration #8 (2024)

During a demonstration four different locations of *(company)* were occupied and blocked during the same day. The groups opposed the *(company)* Group role in violence against Palestinians, as well as possible ties that were held with Israeli arms manufacturers. The demonstration took place as part of international actions against the *(company)* Group in which the locations in the United Kingdom, United States, Ireland, Scotland, and Belgium already were targeted. Ten activists groups along with Extinction Rebellion, and Justice Now took part in the demonstrations. Moreover, activists tried to enter the premises' unlawfully, and the police intervened when necessary. It is noticeable that a strong ideological alignment and solidarity between the involved movements was present, however due to the large amount of participating movements a complete ideological alignment was not present (e.g. pro-Palestine movements, and climate movements).

Radicalization score: 2 (disobedience) + 3 (mainly core members)

14.   Appendix III – Interviews

Key data from the interviews were analysed. The important information in light of the sub-questions were examined in an ordered fashion by employing thematic analysis (Verhoeven, 2022). The stages listed below show how the analysis was conducted.

Steps	Description
1. Exploration	The interviews are carefully transcribed and read in a global manner
2. Coding	The transcripts have been carefully read through, and every important sentence or segment that covers the same topic is marked with the same color. Codes are then grouped if they relate to the same sentences/segments.
3. Thematizing	An overarching theme is formulated for each code. The overarching themes align with units of analyses for each sub-question.
4. Revise and refine	whether all relevant data is linked to a theme. Additionally, codes and themes are verified to ensure they received appropriate naming by comparing them with the sentences/segments.
5. Finalizing and structuring	Definitive names are formulated for the themes. The names of the themes align with the conceptualization and units of analyses.
6. Present	The main results from the interviews are described textually for each sub-question, as these follow logically from the coding process.

For each interview the thematic analysis is employed on the basis of the steps as shown above. For each important data element in the transcription a color code has been made. The relevant information in the transcript was also marked using the same color code, so that codes could be linked to the same colors in an orderly fashion. These codes then refer to the units of analysis, and relevant elements from the conceptualization chapter. In this way, the most important information from the interviews has been extracted so that it could be incorporated into the research, and so that it could be compared to the theory where this was possible. The codes for each specific interview can be found below, the transcriptions are not included in this appendix with regards to reliable information, consent and the length of the thesis. However, the transcriptions are at all times available upon inquiry to the author. In this research references will be made to the participant number.

14.1 Interview questions

Three interview questionnaires were created to suit each specific participant. The questionnaires were made specific to three groups: *(company)* employees, external organizations (other companies), and public organizations. Although most questions are similar this is not always the case. Some participants are asked more questions relevant to a specific sub-question. The questionnaires are Dutch since the interviews were also held in Dutch.

(company) employees questionnaire

Interview and respondent data	
Name interviewer:	
Name of interviewee:	
Date and time:	
Location interview:	
Auxiliary means:	
Agreements regarding confidentiality:	

Introductie en de scope

- Kunt u uw rol beschrijven? Hoe lang werk je al in deze functie?

- Kunt u iets vertellen over de afdeling of het team waarin je werkt, vooral met betrekking tot hoe u omgaat met sociale kwesties zoals (anti-corporate) activisme?

- Wat is uw algemene mening over de impact van bedrijfsactivisme op bedrijven?

Inhoud

- Zijn er specifieke kwesties of onderwerpen waar activisten zich de laatste tijd op zijn gaan richten die specifiek relevant zijn voor *(company)*? **(SQ-1)**

- Welke recente ontwikkelingen en dreigingen zijn u opgevallen in de tactieken of berichtgeving van bedrijfsactivisten tegen *(company)* in Nederland? **(SQ-1)**

- Welke ontwikkelingen heeft u opgemerkt in de frequentie en in de organisatorische structuren van activistische groepen die nieuwe uitdagingen vormen? **(SQ-1)**

- Hoe beoordeelt u de huidige mate van dreiging van *(company)* door bedrijfsactivisten (radicale versus hervormingsgezinde activisten)? En is dit dreigingsniveau veranderd sinds 2018? **(SQ-1)**

- Welke factoren dragen volgens u bij aan de radicalisering van activistische groepen? **(SQ-1)**

- Hoe hebben strategieën van activistische groeperingen zich de afgelopen jaren ontwikkeld, met name in relatie tot de defensie-industrie als geheel? **(SQ-2)**

- Welke methoden gebruiken activisten om zich te organiseren en mobiliseren? **(SQ-2)**

- Hoe heeft het handelen van *(company)* invloed gehad op escalatie of de-escalatie? **(SQ-2)**

- Welke interne- en externe factoren (of trigger events) dragen bij aan het ontstaan en verloop van een protest? **(SQ-2)**

- Welke factoren (trigger events) dragen volgens u bij aan het ontstaan van activisme gericht aan *(company)*? **(SQ-3)**
- Is er specifiek beleid binnen de defensie-industrie dat bijdraagt aan de toename van activisme? **(SQ-3)**
- Welke uitdagingen doen zich voor bij de coördinatie tussen de verschillende stakeholders tijdens een incident? **(SQ-4)**
- In welke mate houden stakeholders zich aan afspraken en wettelijke verplichtingen in deze scenario's? **(SQ-4)**
- Wat zijn de meest uitdagende scenario's ten aanzien van activisme op basis van gebeurtenissen uit het verleden? **(SQ-5)**

Einde

- Toelichting op transcriptie, codering en toesturen hiervan waarna goedkeuring is vereist.

Other organization questionnaire

Interview and respondent data	
Name interviewer:	
Name of interviewee:	
Date and time:	
Location interview:	
Auxiliary means:	
Agreements regarding confidentiality:	

Introductie en de scope

- Kunt u uw rol beschrijven? Hoe lang werk je al in deze functie?
- Kunt u iets vertellen over de afdeling of het team waarin je werkt, vooral met betrekking tot hoe u omgaat met sociale kwesties zoals (anti-corporate) activisme?
- Wat is uw algemene mening over de impact van bedrijfsactivisme op bedrijven?

Inhoud

- Hoe hebben strategieën van activistische groeperingen zich de afgelopen jaren ontwikkeld, met name in relatie tot de defensie-industrie als geheel? **(SQ-1)**
- Welke ontwikkelingen heeft u opgemerkt in de frequentie en in de organisatorische structuren van activistische groepen die nieuwe uitdagingen vormen? **(SQ-1)**
- In welke mate denkt u dat internationale bewegingen of trends activistisch gedrag in Nederland beïnvloeden? **(SQ-1)**
- Hoe beoordeelt u de huidige mate van bedreiging van bedrijfsactivisten (radicale versus hervormingsgezinde activisten) in Nederland? En is dit dreigingsniveau veranderd sinds 2018? **(SQ-1)**

- Welke factoren dragen volgens u bij aan een toename in de radicalisering van activistische groepen? **(SQ-1)**

- Wat zijn de stadia of fasen van een protest? **(SQ-2)**

- Welke methoden gebruiken activisten om zich te organiseren en mobiliseren? **(SQ-2)**

- Hoe heeft het handelen van de organisatie invloed op escalatie of de-escalatie gehad? **(SQ-2)**

- Welke interne- en externe factoren (trigger events) dragen bij aan het ontstaan en verloop van een protest? **(SQ-3)**

- Is er specifiek beleid binnen de defensie-industrie die bijdraagt aan de toename van activisme? **(SQ-3)**

- Welke uitdagingen doen zich voor bij de coördinatie tussen de verschillende stakeholders tijdens een incident? **(SQ-4)**

- Welke lessen zijn er geleerd uit eerdere samenwerkingen met andere bedrijven ten aanzien van publiek-private samenwerking? **(SQ-4)**

- Wat zijn de meest uitdagende scenario's ten aanzien van activisme voor bedrijven? **(SQ-5)**

- Wat zijn essentiële elementen om activisme op een verantwoorde manier te managen, zowel vanuit het perspectief van een bedrijf als voor activistische groeperingen? **(SQ-5)**

Einde

- Toelichting op transcriptie, codering en toesturen hiervan waarna goedkeuring is vereist.

Public organization questionnaire

Interview and respondent data	
Name interviewer:	
Name of interviewee:	
Date and time:	
Location interview:	
Auxiliary means:	
Agreements regarding confidentiality:	

Introductie en de scope

- Kunt u uw rol beschrijven? Hoe lang werk je al in deze functie?

- Kunt u iets vertellen over de afdeling of het team waarin je werkt, vooral met betrekking tot hoe u omgaat met sociale kwesties zoals (anti-corporate) activisme?

- Wat is uw algemene mening over de impact van bedrijfsactivisme op bedrijven?

Inhoud

- Welke recente ontwikkelingen en dreigingen zijn u opgevallen in de tactieken of berichtgeving van bedrijfsactivisten? **(SQ-1)**

- Welke factoren dragen volgens u bij aan de radicalisering van activistische groepen? **(SQ-1)**

- Wat zijn de stadia of fasen van een protest? **(SQ-2)**

- Welke interne- en externe factoren (trigger events) dragen bij aan het ontstaan en verloop van een protest? **(SQ-2)**

- Welke stakeholders zijn meestal betrokken bij het managen van activisme-gerelateerde incidenten bij *(company)*? **(SQ-4)**

- Hoe vaak komt *(company)* samen in de vorm van publiek-private samenwerking ten aanzien van het thema activisme? **(SQ-4)**

- Welke uitdagingen doen zich voor bij de coördinatie tussen de verschillende stakeholders tijdens activisme? **(SQ-4)**

- In welke mate houden stakeholders zich aan afspraken en wettelijke verplichtingen in activistische scenario's en hoe wordt dit gewaarborgd? **(SQ-4)**

- Welke lessen zijn er geleerd uit eerdere samenwerkingen met andere bedrijven? **(SQ-4)**

- Heeft u zelf nog een specifieke toevoeging die u van belang acht ten aanzien van activisme en publiek-private samenwerking? **(SQ-4)**

<u>Einde</u>

- Toelichting op transcriptie, codering en toesturen hiervan waarna goedkeuring is vereist.

14.2 Interview data

The interview data has been anonymized in this version of thesis after consultation between the author, the company and the involved supervisors from University of Twente. The data can be obtained by contacting the author.