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## **Jump-starting a Movement: Intentions, Approaches and Experiences of a new generation of squatting collectives in the Netherlands**

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## **Abstract**

The last years have seen a new rise of squatting collectives across the Netherlands. Compared to the peak of the Dutch squatting movement in the 80s this new generation of collectives acts in a completely different political climate. With that comes different intentions, goals and approaches of the squatters that are more focused on community building, creating a movement and fighting for an inclusive right to the city. In this new generation structures for communication, reflection and learning from each other in order to avoid making the same mistakes are not as established as they could be. Through adopting a militant auto-ethnographic approach I try to start such a process by facilitating a reflexive discussion amongst three squatting collectives. I conclude with a number of learnings for approaching the stated objectives that have emerged from the discussions which can help maintaining healthier and more effective forms of activism. Furthermore I position today's squatting movement in a continuous development of squatting from the early 2000s until today with the help of diverse literature on squatting, social movements and urban politics. I name the stronger orientation towards squatting as a means for other goals and the combination of disruptive and dangerous dissent as the strategical characteristics of the movement and the strive for more publicity, the engagement in Community and Movement Building and the promotion of alternative culture as the main objectives of the new generation within this development.

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## 1. Introduction

Squatting has a rich history in the Netherlands with a peak in the 70s and 80s. In the following decades more repressive policies came into place (Pruijt 2013b) and the squatting movement in the Netherlands declined. However, a new generation of squatting collectives with seemingly new goals and approaches has been born within the new wave of housing protests during the (student) housing crisis in the Netherlands around 2020-2022. Simultaneously across the Netherlands these collectives got active in a media-effective way (e.g. Kraken Doe Je Zo (NPO3 2022), Hotel Mokum (Alper, Meijman 2023)). As a part of a squatting collective in Groningen, I consider myself to be part of this new generation. The collectives are acting in a political climate that has noticeably changed over the last decades. In which notions of neoliberalism, creative cities and place branding are more and more advanced and restructuring processes are happening within the radical left (De Boer 2023a). Having to adapt to these changes, the new generation has to pursue different objectives and strategies compared to previous generations (Ibid.). Therefore the new generation might also differ from the previous literature on squatting typologies which are still heavily based on observations in the 80s although some adjustments have been made.

As a major pillar, the squatting collectives seem to try to promote an inclusive right to the creative city in the neighbourhoods and cities, opposing exclusive notions of the creative city in our modern neoliberal society. However there seems to be no clear line of how to approach these goals yet in this relatively young generation, which leaves the movement in an ongoing process of development, testing-out and reflection within the collectives. Therefore a lot of potential can be seen in facilitating a reflexive discussion within the movement to learn from each others experiences and develop new approaches.

## 2. Research problem

The aim of my Bachelor project is to facilitate a reflective discussion within the squatting movement guided by recent trends in squatting, social movements and urban politics. With these results I want to analyse in how far today's squatting movement fits into or differs from the discussed squatting typologies.

My research question is therefore:

How can the new generation of squatting collectives approach the promotion of an accessible and inclusive right to the creative city in the case studies of Groningen, Amsterdam and Nijmegen?

With the sub questions:

1. What strategies did these collectives test and what experiences were made with them?
2. What can the movement learn from this reflective discussion regarding an effective approach to their objectives?
3. Where can the new generation be positioned within or beyond the discussed squatting typologies?

The relevance of this is grounded in multiple aspects: Firstly, the focus on an uprising and yet not studied generation of squatters. Secondly the perspective from within the movement is still rarely represented and is missing even in Pruijt (2013a), Martinez (2020) or De Boer (2023b) who are only affiliated with the movements to varying degrees. Thirdly the focus on squatting in the whole country without a special focus on the Randstad as seen in Pruijt (2013a), De Boer (2023b) and a huge part of squatting literature in the Netherlands. Fourthly the explorative discussion as a vital topic for the movement which furthermore connects to Novy & Colomb (2013) who suggested further research about "The strategies of the movements to cope with existing internal contradictions and divisions as well as their capacity to create coalitions with other social groups with a stake in the transformation of their localities." (Novy & Colomb 2013).

### 3. Theoretical Framework

#### 3.1. Squatting Typologies

In my research I am focusing on the *squatters of the new generation*. With the term I refer to the simultaneously uprising squatting collectives during the peak of the (student) housing crisis in the Netherlands around 2020-2022 and less to the age of involved individuals. I use this term to make a distinction between the older parts of the squatting movement that were used as the research basis for previous squatting typologies and parts of the squatting movement that formed after the latest additions to the literature that were therefore not included in these research projects. In squatting typology literature the focus is mostly on *squatting projects* instead of *buildings* and the term *configuration* is used instead of *type* to highlight that different squatting projects can co-exist in the same building (Pruijt 2013a). It is important to note that squatting typologies are always a simplification of the reality and can never account for all nuances. The most influential contribution to squatting typology literature has been made by Pruijt (2013a) who developed configurations (see Appendices) that are based on experiences from the Dutch 1970s and 80s, dominantly Amsterdam and the Randstad, exclusively experiences from long-term squatting projects and social movement theories from the same time. In more recent literature it is still used as a starting point for new typologies.

Another important contribution has been made by Martinez (2013) who examined the political agendas of squatters and introduced the distinction between tactical (Squatting as a means of other ends) and strategic (Squatting as a means but also as a political end in itself) squatting. In contrast to Pruijt, Polanska (2017) saw an increasing value in short-term squatting projects and included them in the typologies. Further contributions have been made by Aguilera (2018) and González et al. (2018). In an attempt to combine multiple aspects of different contributions Martinez (2020) created a new typology focusing on the motivations of the squatters and the outcome of their actions. The typology consists of seven outcomes and motivations and four types of squatting which build on Pruijt's (2013a) configurations (see Appendices). These are presented in relation to the political agenda of the squatters (tactical/strategic) and the main activity (Housing/social centres) which also form the two axis of a spectrum introduced by Martinez (2020) that display the four types of squatting (Figure 1).

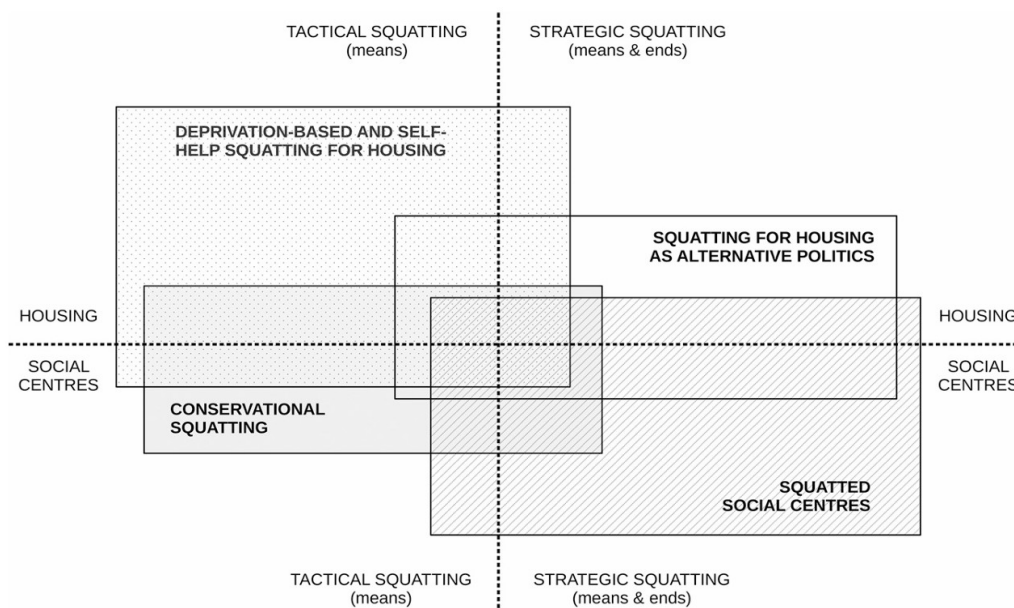


Figure 1 - Four types of squatting in a spectrum by Martinez (2020)

The spectrum is a useful tool for this research since it provides the opportunity to not only compare the new generation to the typologies but also position their strategies.

### 3.2. Discourses about recent trends in squatting, social movements and urban politics

Another important term from the research question is the *Right to the Creative City*. I borrow the term from the large *Right to the City* movement and literature which I want to extend with discourses about recent trends in society, social movements and urban politics.

Critical Urban Theory literature including the concepts of the Right to the city by Lefebvre (1996) and Harvey (2008) or Harvey's (2002) criticisms of the creative city play important roles since they are being referenced, applied and developed until today (Novy & Colomb 2013; d'Oviedo & Cossu 2017; Beaumont & Yildiz 2017). Novy & Colomb (2013) build on Harvey's (2002) hypothesis that the arts and culture scene will and has to step up against the creative city policies made in their name while observing new trends in left-wing political movements and especially the squatting movement. These oppose creative city policies that follow the notions of *creativity* and *creative cities* as outlined by Florida (2002) and Landry (2000) which were also criticised by Gormley (2020) as a construction of neoliberal discourse.

From a different perspective, Boer (2023a) describes the emergence of the *Smooth City* in which striving for optimization and control represses and displaces all forms of slightly alternative cultures, spaces and ways of living. Boer (2023b) also defines a set of suggestions how the squatting movement should adapt to the smooth city which most importantly include a shift of focus from traditional squatting topics towards fostering alternative cultures, spaces and ways of organizing society and a search for new coalitions within the movement and the city while preserving existing institutions and structures. By this, squats should be (re-)established as organisational centres for broader movements that can effectively give people the right to the city again.

A major changing dynamic concerning squatting in the Netherlands in the last decades has been the increasing criminalization (*Wet Kraken en Legstand 2010, Wet Handhaving Kraakverbod 2021*). Martinez (2019) draws an important connection of mutual reinforcement between the criminalisation and the public depiction of squatting in e.g. media which poses substantial challenges to the squatting movement.

Turning towards literature on social movements, O'Brien et al. (2018) developed a model to classify climate activism into three categories, dutiful (reformism within the system), disruptive (disrupting the system) and dangerous (constructing alternatives). Despite the focus on climate activism this classification can also be partially adapted to other social movements such as squatting.

I also want to apply recent reflections and discourses from within the closer and broader movement since the work of the new squatting collectives is deeply embedded by and shaped by those. Examples can be seen in the discussions influenced by experiences from Latin-America, especially from the *Zapatistas* such as concepts of free/radical schools (RSS 2023) or neighbourhood organisation worked out by groups like *Stadtteilgewerkschaft Solidarisch in Gröpelingen* ("District Union Solidarity in Gröpelingen") (The Lower Class Magazine 2021, *Solidarisch in Gröpelingen* 2023). But also products, concepts and actions from the collectives themselves have sparked discussions and inspiration within the movement (e.g. Kraai 2022, Mokum Kraakt 2023; Alper and Meijman 2023).

All these discourses influences the new generation's understanding of a Right to the Creative City. By analysing changes in society and the movement and contextualizing the environment in which new squatting collectives operate, this literature creates a bridge between the squatting typologies and today's squatting movement.

Finally, *Making this right accessible and inclusive* in this research means creating an easy access possibility for neighbours, citizens and other interested people of all societal groups to get engaged and collectively active themselves, this may be political, artistic or in any other way.

## 4. Conceptual Model

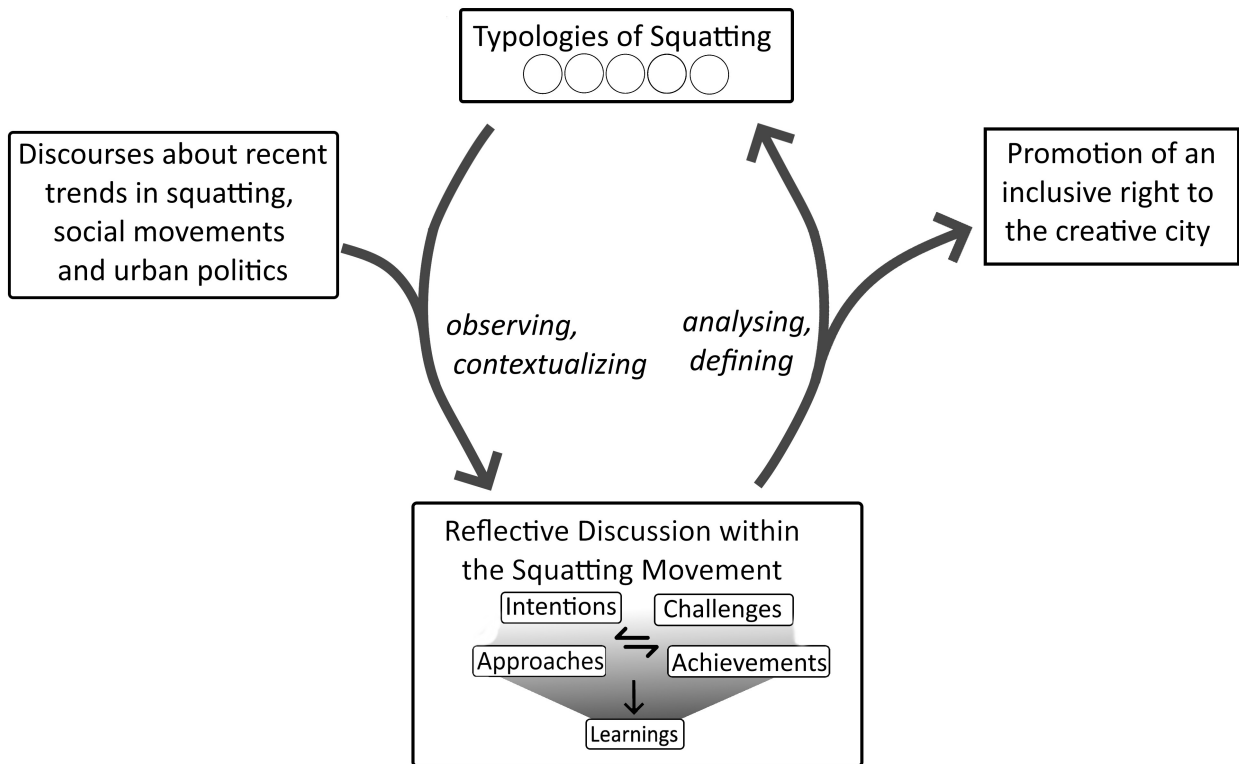


Figure 2 - Conceptual model (own figure)

The squatting typologies mainly based on Pruijt (2013a), Martinez (2013) and Martinez (2020) created the starting point for my research. Discourses about recent trends in squatting, social movements and urban politics helped me to contextualize the situation of today's squatting movement. With this foundation I entered a reflective discussion within the movement, focussing on three collectives. This discussion was based on an exchange and a reflection of intentions, approaches, achievements and challenges within and between the collectives and extracted from the political work of the collectives in the last two years. This discussion was designed to boil down to a set of learnings regarding an effective approach to their objective of promoting an accessible and inclusive right to the creative city. I did not expect to extract one single "best" approach from the discourse since there are many factors influencing the strategies. Rather, I searched for guidelines and criteria that can help developing individual approaches.

I defined the results of this discussion in terms of the squatting typologies and analysed in how far these collectives fit into or differ from the discussed squatting typologies. It was expected that collected evidence might support or more probably update and extend certain typologies by satisfying criteria from different configurations or applying tactics that have not been mentioned.

## 5. Methodology

### 5.1. Militant Auto-Ethnography

The vast majority of the literature is *about* and not *from* and *for* the squatting movement. Therefore the articles are rarely of use for the squatters themselves and also often incomplete or partly incorrect. As a person from the squatting movement in Groningen I followed an militant auto-ethnographic approach based on experiences and reflections from the collectives.

An auto-ethnography positions the self in a social context in order to critically examine roles and matters from this perspective (Reed-Danahay 2017). It therefore challenges traditional dichotomies and the supposedly needed academic objectivity since it comes with a strong bias. I want to argue with Apoifis (2016) that this sociological objectivity does not exist and we need to dismantle this idea because all academic research is inherently political and subjective. The dichotomy between subject and object actually hinders us from understanding social movements completely because the knowledge you can gain as an outsider is very limited (Ibid). Inaccessible knowledge and a mistrust towards academic institutions within the movements create barriers that can only be tackled by including inside perspectives (Plows 2008). Breaking the dichotomy can lead to new perspectives and deeper insights. The auto-ethnographic researcher positions themselves in between an inside and outside perspective rather than taking one side and upholding the dualism (Reed-Danahay 2017). Auto-ethnography attempts to “make the familiar strange” (Tarisayi 2023: 57) which means applying analytical distance to own experiences and requires ongoing reflexivity.

As a means for social activism, Jones (2018) also points out that auto-ethnography also assembles a collective memory and reflection.

Militant research aims to deconstruct the distance between academia and activism and produce knowledge that benefits the movements instead of just describing them (Russel 2014). This knowledge is gained through a critical reflexive discourse about applied strategies and actions within the movement (Ibid).

Combining these approaches Juris (2007), Apoifis (2016) and Valenzuela-Fuentes (2018) amongst others developed the methodology of militant auto-ethnography. It attempts to bridge the gaps between researcher and activist and inside and outside, build upon the knowledge from the own movement and provide a stage for collective reflection that should serve the activist community itself. My bias in this research is therefore less of a constraining than an enabling factor, that I have to treat with ongoing reflection.

### 5.2. Research Methods

For the reflective discussion I used a multi-methods approach including In-Depth-Interviews, Participatory visual methodology (PVM) and Participant observations. This approach helped me to adapt multiple perspectives on the matter and created a more holistic and multifaceted insight. In order to create a reflective discourse I brought in the different perspectives that I collected in the interviews.

Seven interviews of 56-74 minutes were conducted one-to-one or in a bigger group with people who consider themselves as part of the respective collectives in Groningen, Amsterdam and Nijmegen (see Appendices).

From the inside perspective I got the most direct knowledge about what I wanted to study.

The interviews mostly focused around *Intentions* and *Approaches*, *Challenges* and *Achievements* as shown in the conceptual model. I only briefly touched upon *Learnings* in the interviews since small hints to those can be extracted from all interviews but only an overarching analysis of all interviews have led to holistic results.

The interviews were semi-structured as I wanted the participant to lead most parts of the discussions. An outline for the interviews can be found in the appendices.

The recruitment of participants happened voluntarily within the collectives and the interviews took



place in a protected environment. The interviews were only be conducted in cases of informed consent, meaning my interview partners knew about the aim and context of the research, the handling of their data as well as any possible consequences of their participation.

For the PVM I used photo-elicitation using participant-generated images. I asked participants from the collectives to search for pictures that represent their ideals of squatting. The discussion of the pictures was often part of the interviews. With this method deeper engagement and comparisons were possible while at the same time power imbalances can be disrupted (Phelps-Ward et al. 2023). I received pictures from eleven people, of which four did not take part in an in-depth interview but explained the pictures.

Furthermore I observed and made note of parts of the work of the collectives to get an own impression beyond the interviews. I visited the collectives in Nijmegen and Amsterdam for a few days and stayed around them for the time being as much as I could. With these observations I could get a feeling of what they mean with and how they enact certain aspects mentioned in the interviews. Furthermore I could also refer to certain situations that I observed and mention or ask about them in the interviews.

### **5.3. Data Analysis**

For the data analysis I coded the interviews using Atlas.ti. I used a mixed coding approach with *Intentions, Approaches, Challenges* and *Achievements* and *Learnings* as deductive coding categories and further distinctions within these categories developed in an inductive coding process. In the analysis I used co-occurrence and code-document tables in order to draw more holistic conclusions. I analysed the results together with the collected data from the photo research, media analysis and the participant observations. The code-tree, codebook and the results of the analysis can be found in the appendices.

### **5.4. Ethical Considerations**

The movement from and about which I write is being criminalized by the state. Preserving anonymity and privacy was therefore a key aspect in my research in order to not cause harm to the movement. Regarding power relations in interviews I could reduce hierarchical structures to a minimum since I am part of the movement myself which secured trust. However, as I was in the role of a mediator of the discussion between the collectives I was still in a position of power, which have I am transparent and clear about.

I stored all data anonymously and blackened other names, places or other critical information. Any potentially criminalizing parts for individuals were neither stored nor used. I did not share any raw data with uninvolved parties (any parties except the participant themselves and the University of Groningen). After the grading of the research I will destroy all raw data.

## **6. Results**

Through the multi-method approach I was able to get a good insight into the collectives, who were also very interested in the project. In all interviews and discussions there was a mutual understanding and interest in the topic. It proved that there is a common ground within the collectives that justifies the term of a new generation of squatting collectives. This can also be seen in similar, but city specific intentions as well as a set of shared experiences. However, the analysis (see Appendices) also shows different approaches accompanied by different achievements and challenges, which made the discussions interesting and valuable. Comparing *Intentions* and *Achievements* we can observe a correlation in some categories such as *Politicizing People/Politicization of people* pointing towards a successful approach to this objective. Other categories such as *Community Building* or *Organizing people* where mentioned more often as

Intentions than Achievements, which means that the collectives did not achieve their objectives to the full extent yet. The other way around the collectives also achieved some objectives that were not mentioned to that extent as an intention such as the code *Change of Public Opinion*.

Most importantly, the discussions showed the necessity and value of more communication between the collectives.

Notably, a very common theme in the PVM compared to the interviews was inner-group community building, which might be explained in the emotional value of pictures.

In the following I will first outline the common ground of the new collectives before I will go into detail about some of the most important approaches, their successes and challenges and conclude with a comparison with the squatting typologies and a positioning within the discussed literature.

### **6.1. Shared intentions**

Throughout the interviews it was often mentioned that within the collectives squatting is more seen as a means to other forms of activism rather than only an end in itself. In this aspect they also acknowledge what Martinez (2020) stated, that “squatting seems like a practical and immediate alternative to capitalism in everyday life, although it is also a limited tool in order to change housing and urban policies at large.” (Martinez 2020, p.8). Therefore the collectives always search for new possibilities to make use of squatting, facilitate different forms of activism and expand their sphere of influence. The following quote exemplifies the situation and objectives of the new generation:

*Maybe good to say is that I don't live in a squat, I squat also for access to the city, for the right of the city, for affordable culture for everyone in Amsterdam. (Interview Karon)*

The provision of housing has been a starting point for some people and is still the most important factor. However, as the quote shows it becomes less relevant for their external appearance and for achieving their broader objectives which goes along with De Boer's (2023b) recommendation of defocusing the direct provision of housing as a traditional central topic in squatting given the current criminalization.

More importantly, *Community and Movement Building*, *Changing the Public Opinion* or *Promotion of Alternative Culture* became more central objectives. As stated in the quote from Karon, a majority of the analysed intentions is closely connected to the term *Promotion of an accessible and inclusive right to the creative city*, adapting an interpretation that is reflected in De Boer's (2023b) notion of (re-)establishing squats as a hub of a broad movement that gives people the power to change society again.

### **6.2. Community Building**

One of the most discussed aspects in all cities was the notion of *Community Building* that in some interviews was defined as a combination of *Politicizing* and *Organizing People*. This connection is also highlighted by the co-occurrence analysis of intentions. In the context of squatting this refers to in a first step (*Politicizing*) raising awareness and establishing relations with the neighbourhood, interested people and groups or organisations that are connected to the building, the neighbourhood or the specific political struggle and in a second step (*Organizing*) involving them in own structures, working together on certain projects or assist them in becoming active themselves. The relevance of community building lays in achieving to politicize people, change the public opinion and expand the movement which can further help with achieving political change. This includes also to provide people with the means and the voice that is necessary to exercise their right to the (creative) city. Furthermore it has a very practical side of public support in court cases or similar situations, visualized by Figure 3.



Figure 3 - Community Building in Court Case Support  
(Picture provided by Pingu)

The picture shows a broad support group that showed up for a court case in Leeuwarden of a collective from Groningen. It represents both a commitment for Community Building and its strengths in creating a movement.

There are different approaches to foster Community Building such as *Searching for Interpersonal Connections*, *Searching for new ally-ships* or *Improving Accessibility*.

With *Improving Accessibility* collectives work on deconstructing barriers for entering a squat that are created by a negative public image of squatting, the criminalisation of squatting (Martinez 2019) and internalized, structural forms of discrimination also within the movement. An important notion here is acknowledging people's standpoints and prejudices and “*picking them up where they are*” (Interview Marsi). This typically implies to lower the bar for people to engage to a certain extent that you are comfortable with by providing easy forms of participation or using different means of communication. *Searching for Interpersonal Connections* can be an approach to overcome hierarchies between the collective and other people and introduce people to squatting. Especially regarding marginalized groups in society improving accessibility requires various changes of perspective, listening to people as well as communal education in fields such as de-colonial or queer-feminist theories and practices. Therefore working on accessibility is an ongoing project for squatting collectives.

Expanding Community Building towards *Creating/Growing a Movement*, *Searching for new Ally-ships* is an approach that opens up a wide range of possibilities for the collectives such as increased publicity and legitimacy, better connections in the city and the achievement of tangible goals.

A picture from one of the interviewees (Figure 4) refers to the past to show an example of creating ally-ships.



Figure 4 - The squatted Gliphoeve (Picture provided by Karon)

The picture shows the squatted Gliphoeve in the 70s where squatters together with groups of immigrants from Suriname squatted a flat in order to provide housing for the people arriving. These ally-ships across nationalities are an act of *Direct Solidarity* and can foster Community Building. The collectives align with De Boer (2023b) who emphasizes the necessity to form new coalitions with all kinds of groups in different struggles. Depending on the project this can be everything between climate activist groups, homeless-walk-ins or regular neighbourhood groups. A common problem with Community Building in squats is the *Instability of Squats*, due to which the collectives have to almost start over again after every eviction. Unfortunately, squatting collectives don't have a significant influence on that, which is something to acknowledge and prepare for. However, the collectives adapt to the circumstances by finding ways to actively making efficient use of short-term squatting projects and continue squatting nevertheless. Often these actions do not stand alone but are part of a broader campaign or are made to kick off something bigger.

### 6.3. Promotion of alternative culture

In all collectives *Promotion of alternative culture* was another shared intention. Alternative culture refers to a very broad combination of alternative arts, living philosophies and ways of organizing society. Part of this is also a re-politicization of many all of these aspects that have been depoliticized by the neoliberal discourse in the last decades (compare Buller et al. 2019). Adopting O'Brien et al.'s (2018) framework this can be defined as Dangerous Dissent in which by promoting an alternative an actual threat to the system is being posed.

Cultural producers within or adjacent to the movement play a central role here, supporting Harvey's (2002) hypothesis and Novy & Colomb's (2013) observations of an uprising of the cultural producers against repression and appropriation of alternative local cultures. Moreover, they are an essential part of today's movement e.g. by “mak[ing] the revolution irresistible” (Original quote by Toni Cade Bambara, discussed in Interview Karon), which means to do and present actions in a way that appeals to people and leads to the enlarging or even creation of movements.

*Providing a space for alternative culture* is mostly done by creating social centres with a variety of events in inner city districts where processes such as gentrification are the most visible. According

to O'Brien et al. (2018) this aspect would also represent a Disruptive Dissent. The combination of Disruptive and Dangerous Dissent is therefore a key approach for the collectives which ties in with De Boer's (2023b) recommendations for the squatting movement, in which he advocates for the maximal disruption of the Smooth City and promotion of alternatives in order to “normalize the abnormal” (De Boer 2023, p.318). The spectrum of diversity can be demonstrated by the range of pictures from interviewees showing different cultural, political or artistic functions of squats (Figures 5,6,7).



*Figure 5 - Cultural event in a squat (Picture provided by Sami)*



*Figure 6 - Political Library in a squat (Picture provided by Wave)*



Figure 7 - Artistic expression on the facade of a squat standing out in the inner city  
(Picture provided by Wave)

Just by their existence in the inner city squatting collectives have this position which can however be always further exploited and used. Next to the direct form of protest the goal is also very much to politicize and organize people by showing these alternative cultures and giving them the space to explore and immerse themselves in them. Squatting collectives find themselves in a role of “leading by example” (Interview Van Geerwen), whereby leadership is meant in an inspiring rather than a hierarchical sense.

In combination with accessibility and outreach this comes with an important lesson of distinguishing the own radicality within the squat and how you depict it in the public, as portrayed in the following quote:

*I think if you want to build a political Community and radicalize them, people have to know about you. So you gotta somehow get the word out and if you then sometimes sound less radical, then that's it. But if it attracts people and you're actually radical in the space that you build, the work that you do will still radicalize people.*

(Interview Kaffebohne)

According to Kaffebohne, this means that squatting collectives can be less radical in their outreach as long as they are radical in their own space and fully promote the notion of alternative cultures.

#### **6.4. Media presence**

Media presence is a widely used approach in the new generation of squatting collectives as the following quote shows:

*I think doing very public squats and actions is a very good thing, especially now when you're kind of trying to jump-start the squatting movement again and to just being the public eye a lot.* (Interview Sami)

The intention hereby is mostly to politicize people and change the public opinion that is heavily influenced by prejudices. In order to reach those goals squatting collectives need to gain control over the narrative that is portrayed in the media which can be a difficult process. Many new squatting collectives engage with media on different levels from own Social Media channels, maintaining contacts to journalists, features in national television or the creation of own products. Some collectives reached a stage of legitimacy in which they “have a seat at the table now in terms

of the social discussion” (Interview Van Geerwen) and are approached by the press for housing related issues instead of the other way around, which comes with a great extent of control over the narrative.

As part of *Diversity of Tactics* action squats, resistance to an eviction other other forms of direct actions are sometimes used as harsh wake-up calls to attract media and politicize people.

A collective from Amsterdam went new ways with the creation of a book and a movie and also certain actions aimed at reaching the mainstream. Within the movement this caused a lot of criticisms concerning the loss of radical content with this level of engagement with the mainstream as well as the loss of values such as non-commerciality and usage of alternative media platforms in the process. This conflict between radicality and outreach is well depicted in the following quote:

*I think if they would have added more political context, it wouldn't have reached as many people and it was a basic way of introducing people to more radical activist views [...]. But just in my personal opinion I'm unsure of how radical I would consider their action.*

(Interview Sami)

Following the reasoning of Sami, on the one hand these new strategies can be seen within the notion of Diversity of Tactics, meaning the acceptance of the simultaneous usage of various strategies in order to reach a certain goal. Traditional mediums of the squatting movement are not able to reach huge parts of the mainstream any more. Therefore the usage of mainstream media in order to change the broader public opinion can be an effective way, as the following quote says:

*If your, or not necessarily your audience but people who still might have a somewhat negative or no opinion about squatting, if they are in the Van der Velde Bookshop and in the IMax cinema, then put your book into the Van der Velde Bookshop and into the IMax cinema, that's fine.* (Interview Marsi)

As mentioned by Marsi, this strategy is again very closely connected to the notion of “Picking people up where they are” (Interview Marsi).

On the other hand, the squatting collective themselves identified the disconnect to practices of the traditional squatting movement as a challenge posed by the demanding mechanisms and algorithms of mainstream media channels. Therefore this conflict has to be an object of ongoing reflections within and between the collectives.

## **6.5. Internal Conflicts**

A very common topic were internal conflicts mainly caused by different goals, intentions and capacities in the course of the projects as well as a lack of separation between living and social activities in the squat that led to unhealthy amounts of work and responsibilities. Clear communication of intentions and strategies that account for the capacities and needs of everyone in the collective are therefore essential to maintain a healthy and sustainable activism.

## **7. Discussion**

### **7.1. Comparison to Pruijt's squatting typology**

Since the introduction of Pruijt's (2013a) typology the context in which the squatting movement operates has drastically changed, one of the most important factors being the increased criminalisation of squatting (Martinez 2019). In order to adapt to that the collectives are exploring a variety of ways to use squatting for their political work. This dynamic is one of the main sources of why the new generation of squatting collectives differs from Pruijt's (2013a) typology to a certain extent. While aspects of all configurations with a focus on *Entrepreneurial Squatting* can be found

within today's movement, other aspects of the same configurations are not accurate. More recent literature can explain some of the differences of which I will outline the most important ones. Firstly, following a trend that Polanska (2017) observed, the collectives learn how short-term squatting actions can be effectively integrated in building a movement rather than being non-coordinated activist practices, a distinction that Martinez (2020) uses. Secondly, the demand of *Being left alone* that Pruijt connects to Entrepreneurial Squatting opposes the new generation's striving for deep engagement with its surroundings in various forms and constant attempt to expand this horizon. Thirdly, in the light of Diversity of Tactics aspects of *Political Squatting* gained more presence in today's squatting movement, although in an anarchist, non-hierarchical way and additionally closer connected and harmonised with other goals and configurations. Fourthly, while Pruijt (2013a) still argued against a configuration focusing on the promotion of alternative culture and saw it as a bonus, this aspect gained more importance over the years, especially since subcultural expression and the struggle against gentrification have been closely combined. This aligns to the observations made by Novy & Colomb (2013), d'Ovido & Cossu (2017) and De Boer (2023a, 2023b).

## 7.2. Characterisation of the new generation

In the spectrum (Figure 1, Martinez 2019) the new generation can be placed mainly on the social centre side, although some collectives started or still have an internal emphasis on the housing side. While, as depicted in the graph, social centres tend to be rather strategic than tactical, the new generation is trying to advance and open up more tactical ways as well in which squatting is mainly the means to facilitate other forms of activism.

Within this frame the nature of the actions is often a combination of disruptive and dangerous dissent (O'Brien et al. 2018). The disruptive element lies in the search for publicity, which is approached by choosing prominent inner city locations, creating an effective public appearance and producing own media and narratives. The dangerous element is represented by the various approaches to build up structures that promote the right to the (creative) city and alternative ways of organizing society. These include the provision of space for alternative culture, the local Community Building, the search for new ally-ships and the creation of a broad movement. Consequently, when turning towards Martinez (2020) seven motivations and outcomes we can observe a relatively high accordance with *Alternative culture*, *Political infrastructure and empowerment* and *Right to the city* as central topics while other aspects can also occur in combination. These combinations within the new generation of squatting collectives point towards the interpretation that there is a huge Diversity of Tactics but above all a unity in this diversity amongst the collectives.

Comparing the relatively low applicability of Pruijt's (2013a) typology with the relatively high applicability of Martinez' (2020) typology, the analysis suggest that the new generation of squatting collectives in the Netherlands continues an ongoing development of squatting from Pruijt (2013a) (and of course earlier) to Martinez (2020) and further.

## 8. Conclusion

In this research I searched for ways how the new generation of squatting collectives can approach the promotion of an accessible and inclusive right to the creative city, which materialises in the creation and promotion of political, social and cultural structures. A number of learnings can be derived from the discussions that can help the collectives in this process:

1. Adjust your activism to your capacities, needs and direct surroundings to make most use of the collectives potential and sustain a healthy activism.
2. Be aware of people's positions, try to pick people up where they are to a certain extent and always improve and reflect on your accessibility especially regarding marginalized groups.
3. Make use of diversity of tactics and distinguish between your own radicality and how you



depict yourself in order to reach certain goals.

4. Don't be afraid to expand your horizon and try out new ways while always reflecting on them in the collective and the movement.

Further research could go more into detail about some of the approaches or completely change the perspective towards how the new generation of squatting collectives is being perceived by outsiders and what the movement can learn from that.

Since I was able to only include a few people from three collectives I can not make general statements about the whole new generation. The voluntary sampling might have also led to a bias towards parts of the collectives who are more open towards certain ideas. Therefore it has to be assumed that the new generation of squatting collectives is more heterogeneous and diverse than portrayed in this study. However, there is enough evidence to arrive at learnings and conclusions about a significant part of the new generation. I want to highlight again that I don't want to demand anything from the squatting movement but provide the parts that are interested in this form of political work with a set of experiences and a starting point for inner- and inter-collective reflection that can help working more efficiently and healthy in the future.

## **9. Acknowledgements**

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# Appendices

## Appendix I: Glossary

<b>Term</b>	<b>Description</b>
Squatting	Unlawful occupation of a vacant building/plot of land. In the context of squatting in the Netherlands, this vacancy has mostly been longer than a year and/or used for speculation
Squatting collective	Mostly loose group of squatters with a core group and more people around. No memberships or similar structures
(Squatting) Scene	In contrast to “movement”, I use “scene” to refer to the existing internal social network that is rather stagnating than growing
(Social/Political) Movement	I use the term movement to refer to a constantly and necessarily growing body of people, collectives and organisations that fight for some objective.
Diversity of Tactics	The promotion or use of a variety of non-violent to violent tactics to reach an objective
Direct Action	Direct use of agency to achieve certain goals. Squatting in itself can be considered Direct Action, the collectives make use of various other forms as well
Radicality	I use the term with a positive connotation for having certain beliefs and standing up for them

## Appendix II: Squatting configurations by Pruijt (2013a)

	Deprivation-based Squatting	Squatting as an Alternative Housing Strategy	Entrepreneurial Squatting	Conservational Squatting	Political Squatting
Activists' goals	Providing housing for needy people	Creating housing for themselves, while adding to the affordable housing stock	Setting up an establishment	Preserving a cityscape or landscape	Building up a counter-power to the state
Class	Working-class squatters supported by middle-class activists	Middle class (but not exclusively)	Middle class (but not exclusively)	Middle class (but not exclusively)	Middle class (but not exclusively)
Organization	Top-down, division between activists and beneficiaries	Horizontal	Mixed	Mixed	Top-down
Type of buildings	Regular low-income housing stock inexcusably left empty	Buildings that are either too bad or too good to be rented out as low-income housing	Non-housing spaces	Buildings emptied because of a planned change in land use	Few restrictions
Demands	Modest; temporary housing or alternative accommodation; (better) place on waiting list	To be left alone	To be left alone	Reversal of planning	Confrontation is the essence, demands are at most supplementary
Framing	Clear message: insensitive bureaucrats ignore needs of homeless people	Focus on action, framing not very important	Valuable role of the establishment in the community	Against technocratic planning and destruction of the environment	Depicting social-democrats as traitors
Cultural and political embedding	Sometimes a tenuous link with radical politics	Embedded in counterculture; ties with other movements	Embedded in counterculture; ties with other movements	Embedded in counterculture, ties with other movements	Links with Marxist organizations or movements
Outcomes	Cooptation likely	Repression and legalization	Repression and legalization	Sometimes concessions won	Makes squatting a more prominent target for repression; may also – in the short term – help squatters win concessions
Specific problems	Does not work for people whose housing needs are not widely acknowledged; top-down organization limits movement spread and increases vulnerability	Social control	Preserving identity after legalization; trade-off between alternative identity and wide appeal	None	Conflicts with squatters in other configurations

## Appendix III: Seven outcomes and motivations by Martinez (2020)

<i>Outcomes and motivations</i>	<i>Types of squatting</i>	<i>Main activity      Political agenda</i>			
		<i>Housing</i>	<i>Social Centres</i>	<i>Tactical</i>	<i>Strategic</i>
Provision of housing	Deprivation-based and self-help squatting for housing	***	*	***	*
	Squatting for housing as alternative politics	***	**	**	***
Resistance to home eviction	All forms of squatting for housing	***	*	*	***
Defence of urban commons	Conservational squatting	**	**	***	*
Environmental benefits	All forms of squatting	***	***	***	***
Alternative culture		*	***	**	***
Political infrastructure and empowerment	Squatted social centres	*	***	**	***
Right to the city	All forms of squatting focused on gender, ethnicity, and nationality	***	***	***	**

## Appendix IV: Interview Outline

### Introduction

1. Do you want to tell me a bit about yourself?
2. For how long have you been part of the squatting movement?
3. How did you join the squatting movement?

### Intentions/motivations

4. What were your intentions/motivations to start squatting?
5. Have your intentions/motivations developed over the time?
6. Are there different intentions per squat?
7. Are there overarching aspects?
8. Are there any conflicts between certain goals?

### Experiences with squats in the past and present

9. What are/were your goals with the squat x?
10. What did you achieve with the squat x?
11. How did you achieve that?
12. Which problems and challenges arose?
13. Looking back would you do something differently?

### Contrast with other approaches and critical perspective on squatting

14. What do you think of approach x?
15. Where there any other approaches that inspired or influenced you?
16. How can these approaches be adapted to squatting/to your collective?
17. Are there any aspects that you miss in squatting, realizable or not?
18. Do you think squatting is the right approach for you in general and why?

### Possible questions about presented images or published media (specific)

### Conclusion

19. How would you describe your ideal squat (building, neighbourhood, activities, etc.)?

## Appendix V: Interview Guide

Part	Related Sub-questions	Related codes
Introduction	1	Intentions
Intentions/motivations	1	Intentions
Experiences with squats in the past and present	1,2	Approaches, Achievements, Challenges
Contrast with other approaches and influences	1,2	Approaches, Achievements, Challenges, Learnings
Possible questions about presented images or published media (specific)	1	Intentions, Approaches, Achievements, Challenges
Conclusion	1	Intentions, Approaches

## Appendix VI: Letter of informed consent

### Consent Form

University of Groningen

### Participation in Semi-Structured In-Depth Interview

**Title of Project (Working title):** “Ideeeën ontruim je niet, Kraken gaat door”: Goals, Approaches and Strategies of a new generation of squatting collectives in the Netherlands

**Date:**

**Time:**

**Location:** Amsterdam, Nijmegen, Groningen

**Researcher Name:** Nils Müller

**Email:** n.m.muller@student.rug.nl

**Phone number:** +4917650600239

### Purpose of this Research

This interview is a part of the Bachelor Thesis: “Ideeeën ontruim je niet, Kraken gaat door”: Goals, Approaches and Strategies of a new generation of squatting collectives in the Netherlands.

The purpose of the research is to reflect on intentions and approaches within the new generation of squatting collectives to foster a collective learning process.

### Procedures

You are invited to participate in a semi-structured in-depth interview. This interview will last a minimum of 40 minutes. The audio of the interview will be recorded with your explicit permission. The participant is also asked to search for and send the researcher images that represent their vision of squatting in any way and if necessary elaborate on them. The participant can decide if the researcher can use the pictures in the thesis, any details can be blurred. Persons on the pictures will be blurred in any case.

### Risk and Benefits

The Data collected during the interview is to gain insights and to collect individual's views, opinions and experiences. You will have the opportunity to review your interview transcript, confirm the information you have provided, clarify any statements if necessary and remove any information you do not want to have included in the study.

### Extent of Anonymity and Confidentiality

By taking part in this research, you agree to give your views and opinions in any chosen name/pseudonym. Audio recordings will be kept until the completion of the dissertation and can be reviewed by the interviewer and University of Groningen supervisor. At no time will the researcher release any information to anyone other than individuals or institutions working on the project without your written consent.



The final report will be published in a database at the University of Groningen.

### **Compensation**

A coffee or another beverage of your choosing

### **Freedom to Withdraw**

Please note that you may withdraw at any moment. If you wish to do so, send an email to the email address stated above, or contact the provided phone number of the interviewer.

### **Question or Concerns**

You are welcome to ask questions at any time during your participation in this research. Should any questions or concerns come up once after the completion of the interview, feel free to contact the researcher directly via email or phone.

### **Participant Consent**

I have read the consent form, have had the nature of the study explained to me, I agree with the consent and agree to participate in the research.

Interviewer's Name:

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Interviewer's Signature:

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Participant's Name:

-----

Participant's Signature:

-----

Date:

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## **Appendix VII: Interviewee Table**

<b>Interviewee (Pseudonym)</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>Duration (in minutes)</b>
Marsi	Groningen	65
Kaffebohne	Groningen	74
Fern	Groningen	56
Lentil	Amsterdam	59
Karon	Amsterdam	63
Van Geerwen, Joey, Orange	Nijmegen	63
Sami	Nijmegen	72

## Appendix VIII: Code Tree

### Experiences of the Squatting Collectives

#### Intentions

- Adventure and Fun
- Change public image of squatting
- Community Building
- Direct form of protest
- Direct solidarity
- Housing for yourself
- Influence (local) politics
- Means to other forms of activism
- Organizing people
- Personal Expression
- Politicizing people
- Preservation of buildings
- Promoting alternative culture
- Tradition

#### Approaches

- Action Squatting
- Diversity of Tactics
- Engaging with Authorities
- Interpersonal Connections
- Media Presence
- Neighbourhood Organisation
- Politicizing every step
- Providing Education
- Providing Space for Alternative Culture
- Providing Space for Other Groups
- Provocation
- Searching for New Ally-Ships
- Using the Uniqueness of the Building
- Without Strategy
- Working on Accessibility

#### Achievements

- Cause Financial Loss to Owners
- Change of Legislation
- Change of Public Opinion
- Creation of Case Law
- Creation/Growth of a Movement
- Establish an Entry Point for Activists
- Establish Legitimacy of Squatting Collectives
- Internal Community Building
- Organisation of People
- Personal Learnings
- Politicization of People
- Preservation of a Building
- Promotion of Squatting as a form of Activism
- Provision of Housing
- Successful Cooperations

#### Challenges

- Barrier of Squats
- Being recognized as a Regular Venue
- Burnout
- Capturing of the Movement
- Conflicts with older Squatting Generations
- Criticisms from within the Movement
- Dependancy on (local) Political Contexts
- General Depoliticizedness of Society
- Hierarchy in Interpersonal Connections
- Image of Squatting
- Increased Risk for Discriminated Groups
- Internal Conflicts
- Instability of Squats
- Lack of Capacities
- Loss of Radicalness with Outreach
- Mechanisms of Social Media
- Missing Division of Living and Social Activities
- Politicizing without Organizing
- Racial Inaccessibility
- Stagnating Outreach
- Too general Media Coverage

## Appendix IX: Code Book

Code	Description	Example
<b>Intentions</b>	<b>Understanding of the Right to the Creative City and other possible goals/objectives</b>	
Adventure and Fun	Having fun, going on an adventure, connecting to and spending time with friends	<i>"And also, it was just cool, you know?"</i> Marsi
Change public image of squatting	Addressing the mostly negative image of squatting and change it in the broader society to gain acceptance or support.	<i>"I think, Squatting always has a good case to make. And I think bringing that case out there for people to understand more [...] might just change their mind on state repression or in terms of like, I actually don't want this squat to be evicted. And I think that's something that can help the squatting movement."</i> Kaffeebohne
Community Building	Building up connections to all kinds of actors (neighbors, interested people, other groups, organisations) and creating a strong community. In the frame of this thesis also defined by the combination of politicizing and organizing to various extents	<i>"I think it would be really nice if you can actually have a building, we could be in for long-term and really build something up. And you can also involve more people and involve different collectives and have more people who have no idea what squatting is be involved with it or at least become familiar with it."</i> Sami
Direct form of protest	Squatting as a way to directly protest against the housing crisis or the system of a capitalist housing market	<i>"it's a very effective way of protesting the housing crisis."</i> Sami
Direct solidarity	Squatting to provide a space for other people (friends, immigrants homeless people, organisations)	<i>"squats where people squat a vacant house in order to provide housing for homeless people directly not for themselves, right"</i> Kaffeebohne
Housing for yourself	Squatting to provide yourself with housing	<i>"I think for us, because we have a couple people who depend on living spaces, I think housing is always the first priority."</i> Van Geerwen
Influence (local) politics	Using squatting to gain	<i>"The municipality is there to</i>

	leverage on (local) politics and pushing for certain changes in legislation. Mostly seen as pragmatic short-term goal rather than long-term vision	<i>facilitate, get the society to get better. Sometimes the ideological views on that differ, but to be able to at least try to influence them in some kind of way, that's a plus. I think we have to try it because we're all human."</i> Joey
Means to other forms of activism	Squatting to facilitate other forms of activism/political work	<i>"I think squatting should also not be an activism in itself only. It's a means of activism so it has to come with other forms of activism and of political work,"</i> Kaffebohne
Organizing people	Squats as a place to create structures that helps people to become active in political work/activism in all forms themselves	<i>"it actually has a lot of potential for organising and for building up a network"</i> Fern
Personal Expression	Squatting to facilitate own needs, interests or hobbies. Although focused on the personal, it can be political in practice	<i>"Just being able to create something so unique..."</i> Marsi
Politicizing people	Raising awareness and making people become politicized. First step towards organizing people (making them become active themselves)	<i>" And then they might come visit and slowly they get convinced of your political work and then at some point, you might actually radicalize them"</i> Kaffebohne
Preservation of buildings	Squatting buildings in order to prevent demolition and secure a long-term preservation	<i>"building of historical value or something that deserves to be preserved"</i> Marsi
Promoting alternative culture	Mainly connected to creating social centres and places to host subculture music and art but also alternative forms of education, organizing etc. Often combined with making it very visible in order to promote it	<i>"Squatting within the inner city to interrupt it even if it's just for a couple of days. And then, yeah, providing spaces where you have alternatives"</i> Kaffebohne
Tradition	Squatting motivated by a rich history of squatting and the wish to keep that alive	<i>"Also I would say even to keep alive a certain tradition in Amsterdam, that really made Amsterdam the way it is"</i> Karon

Code	Description	Example
<b>Approaches</b>	<b>Tactics and strategies applied by the collectives in attempt to achieve their objectives</b>	
Action Squatting	Squatting projects with a focus on a big direct impact and media attention in the first days rather than a long-term vision	<i>"So that's like these these different things coming together in a in Physical location in the city. And that's, I think this type of action which I would call an action squat where you know in a month we're going to get evicted like that's where that works really well I think."</i> Lentil
Diversity of Tactics	Actively promoting and facilitating different tactics that pursue the same goal at the same time	<i>"I think if you have the time and energy it's good to try as many approaches at the same time."</i> Joey
Engaging with Authorities	Establishing good relations with authorities mostly passively in order to get less trouble but sometimes also actively in order to influence politics	<i>"I know a couple of people who've also been with our collective sort of who are very busy behind the scenes to lobby around that [municipal politics]"</i> Van Geerwen
Interpersonal Connections	Searching for interpersonal connections that takes people by the hand and introduces them to squatting, workflow within the squat etc. in a way that reduces hierarchies. Part of this can be sharing own experiences when starting to squat	<i>"the neighbors is one thing but sometimes it's easier even to start with friends, there are still people who are ok with squatting who still never been in a squat and I think there is value in sharing that and also sharing the homey living site of it."</i> Marsi
Media Presence	Actively inviting and talking to media in order to produce positive articles/reports about squatting	<i>"I have good connections with journalists [...] and that's really good because it means that you're always in conversation and you have a bit more of a say in the narrative and it kind of humanize [...] us towards the journalists and as a result also in the article on us."</i> Van Geerwen
Neighbourhood Organisation	Organising with a focus on the neighbourhood, establishing	<i>"I think you should focus on first listening what the</i>

	structures in which the squatters and the neighbours can work non-hierachically on the present and future of the neighbourhood and/or the squatted building	<i>neighbourhood wants and look at how you can facilitate. And then tell them what your idea is about it., if it differs and then also ask for sort of consensus is about that in the neighbourhood."</i> Joey
Politicizing every step	Trying to publicly depict every aspect of squatting and show the political importance of it from vacancy lists to the reveal and the eviction of a squat	<i>"I think what's definitely an important point especially with this new generation of squatters compared to the older one, try to make things political in the public"</i> Kaffebohne
Providing Education	Facilitating alternative forms of mutual, non-hierarchical education. Often with a focus on politicizing topics again and show the value of collective action	<i>"Because if you are a student and you have housing and you study political science, you study you know how political all these problems are. If you don't do that and you have a 40-50 hour work week plus all your problems you don't really have the time to politicise what is being consistently depoliticized. But then we can try to bridge sort of bridge that by politicising the individual problems again."</i> Kaffebohne
Providing Space for Alternative Culture	Promoting Alternative Culture by providing a space (social centre) for artists, bands, political education, donation-based events etc.	<i>"Concerts always worked, especially free ones or donation based ones and that shows that culture is lacking in the city."</i> Marsi
Providing Space for Other Groups	Providing space for other groups in the squat for them to operate which also strengthens the connections	<i>"we worked together with other organisations such as the homeless Walk-in organisation. And so we were being able to help them and give them a place was really cool and I really hope we can do that in the future"</i> Van Geerwen
Provocation	Doing actions (e.g. during an eviction) that provoke state violence	<i>"I mean we have discussed things about some people who would be willing to get beat up by the police if it would get</i>

		<i>people a wake up call"</i> Sami
Searching for New Ally-Ships	Searching for connections with other groups/organisations in order to create a movement and strengthen the own impact	<i>"I don't really like to stay in these micro scenes, I think should really make ally-ships with other movements, like anti-gentrification groups. The fight for proper housing should really go beyond squatting as well."</i> Karon
Using the Uniqueness of the Building	Taking the potential of the building and its context as a starting point to develop strategies	<i>"So I think the character of the building or the story of the building always should also influence sort of the squatting action."</i> Kaffebohne
Without Strategy	Seeing value in not planning out a strategy but relying on the power of euphoric, spontaneous action	<i>"So we didn't have a huge plan of "then we are going to do this, this and this". But that was really a big part of the success of the place."</i> Karon
Working on Accessibility	Taking measures to make the squat more accessible for marginalized groups or neighbours by e.g. smoking policies, safe spaces for trans people etc.	<i>"I think that setting really high standards immediately for people, I think I feel like you loose a lot of people that you could kind of get along with"</i> Sami

<b>Code</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Example</b>
<b>Achievements</b>	<b>Achievements that have been made by the collectives in the last 3 years</b>	
Cause Financial Loss to Owners	Causing financial loss to owners, mostly companies speculating with vacant buildings	<i>"Also the fact that we caused X financial loss, I see that as a gaining."</i> Marsi
Change of Legislation	Contributing to a change of legislation to an extent	<i>"But I mean I don't think X [our collective] should take too much credit, but I do think we've contributed to those kinds of things happening in the municipal Council."</i> Van Geerwen
Change of Public Opinion	Contributing to a shift of the public opinion on squatting	<i>"What is nice is that I think a lot of people in Amsterdam are</i>

	from negative to neutral or positive	<i>a bit more pro Squatting or the people on the streets really don't see the problem so much especially when there is such a big crisis now"</i> Karon
Creation of Case Law	By winning court cases creating positive case law for other squatting groups to build upon in their court cases	<i>"And another thing that we achieved was just the case law that did help people out"</i> Marsi
Creation/Growth of a Movement	Continuously making and upholding connections, attracting new people, organizing them and creating structures that facilitate a ongoing and growing movement	<i>"I don't think that we would have been so successful in this city here, to build up a network without having had squatted"</i> Fern
Establish an Entry Point for Activists	Being able to provide an entry point and quickly integrate people that moved to the city and want to be politically active instead of them having to build up new structures from scratch	<i>"But just generally having a place for people to come that have political motivation to do things similar as we do and just having anywhere to go to. Because that was for us also a bit frustrating coming to the city, right?"</i> Fern
Establish Legitimacy of Squatting Collectives	Establishing squatting collectives as legitimate and serious actors in mostly housing topics	<i>"Nowadays if something happens in the city in terms of housing journalists will approach us and ask what does X [our collective] think of this? So we have a seat at the table now"</i> Van Geerwen
Internal Community Building	Strengthening bounds within the collective	<i>"When I meet people that I'm not living now with any more from X [our collective] I always feel like we're still housemates. So there is something kind of that sticks from the feeling of belonging together."</i> Fern
Organisation of People	Assisting people to become active themselves in existing or new political structures, not necessarily in squatting but also other forms of activism	<i>"But I think there are definitely some new people coming in, who haven't been involved for instance, with climate action, or with anti-racist action, and things like that, who started with the squatting and then</i>



		<i>get into it."</i> Van Geerwen
Personal Learnings	Taking personal or also collective learnings from past actions that can help you in the future	<i>"The most important thing that I achieved personally was a lot of learning. So I think also what I'm going to do in the future is gonna be very influenced by the things that I learnt from what we did now and what I took from that"</i> Fern
Politicization of People	Giving people a first and catching experience of squatting that politicizes them. In comparison to Change of Public Opinon this code is on a more individual basis and requires contact with the squat or at least intensive contact with its media coverage. In comparison to Organisation of people it misses them becoming active themselves	<i>"I think especially non-squatting people developed like a bond to the building when they went to events or hung out there might be quite shocked at that [the eviction]."</i> Marsi
Promotion of Squatting as a form of Activism	Promoting especially squatting as a form of activism and proving that it is still possible and valuable. Can also be a special form of organisation of people if it means the creation of new squatting groups	<i>"The biggest thing was that our squatting action showed that resistance in the form of squatting is still possible."</i> Kaffebohne
Provision of Housing	Successfully providing housing for some time for people and therefore helping them directly	<i>"I think the for me, the main achievement is that we've been able to give people a roof over their heads for months at a time in different buildings."</i> Van Geerwen
Successful Cooperations	Taking positive results of all forms from cooperations with other groups/organisations	<i>"And also the X [other organisation] talk, there were also quite some new people. Maybe thats a good approach to connect"</i> Marsi

Code	Description	Example
Challenges	<b>Challenges that the collectives faced with their work in the last 3 years</b>	
Barrier of Squats	General inaccessibility of	<i>"Because going to a squat,</i>

	squats simple due to it being a squat. Closely connected to negative image of squatting. Often connected to the question of accessibility vs. security and values	<i>there is a certain gate-keepy vibe to squatting for good reasons as well of course."</i> Karon
Being recognized as a Regular Venue	Due to people not being used to squats (anymore) but only to commercial venues, pattern of behaviour are taken over to squats, leading to overload for the collective and the political message not getting across	<i>"I think that is actually very basic but very important to just make clear to people because people are not used to these spaces a lot. They are used to spaces where they come and they consume and they leave."</i> Fern
Burnout	An overload or a missing spread of tasks and capacities especially in the first weeks leading to stress and burnouts	<i>"...we didn't know when we would be evicted. So we just wanted to do as much as possible. And that became not really good for us."</i> Sami
Capturing of the Movement	(Fear of) the movement getting co-opted/captured by authorities and therefore pacified. Especially relevant in engagement with authorities and in addressing the legalization of squatting	<i>"I can only imagine a way of achieving it in a way that is more threat to [...] the radical squatting, the political squatting than it is to the market."</i> Kaffebohne
Conflicts with older Squatting Generations	Different intentions and approaches leading to conflicts with older squatting generations	<i>"I think it's also the thing that the [older] squats are autonomous, so they exist in the neighborhood and they see themselves as autonomous and they don't necessarily have to integrate and I think that's where maybe the problem starts."</i> Karon
Criticisms from within the Movement	Similar to Conflicts with older Squatting Generations but also including criticisms from the same generation or other parts of the movement. To an extent not a direct challenge but a necessary discussion, in which the challenge would be setting up structures facilitating this discussion	<i>"And I think some people in the squatting scene don't really like this. So I think we also have some haters."</i> Karon
Dependancy on (local) Political Contexts	Connected to engaging with authorities and influencing	<i>"I can imagine if you're in some rural right-wing municipality,</i>

	legislation changes in which you are dependant on governing parties	<i>there's less of a point to do that [trying to influence local politics]."</i> Joey
General Depoliticizedness of Society	Neoliberalism creating problems while depoliticizing them leading to squatting collectives having to politicize topics again to be able to start actual organizing	<i>"I think something like actual neighbourhood organisation is just quite foreign to a lot of people in this city or in this country."</i> Joey
Hierarchy in Interpersonal Connections	Dealing with natural hierarchies in interpersonal connections created by the person from the collective knowing their way around in the squat and the other person not and trying to reach a situation where the other person is on eye-level and also perceives that	<i>"But this is like actually something that I have been struggling with a lot. How do I help people be an independent actor in a particular space without them feeling that I am the experienced kind of, not even leader but just like without the hierarchy."</i> Fern
Image of Squatting	Being confronted with prejudices and stereotypes coming from a mostly negative image of squatting in society	<i>"I think it [Changing Public Opinion] only really became a goal when I realized how many prejudices there were against squatting and [...] than I also had internationals who told me that they are scared to come by because squatters are scary..."</i> Marsi
Increased Risk for Discriminated Groups	Squatting is more risky for discriminated groups since they often face more legal consequences such as deportations. Therefore it is more difficult to get these people involved	<i>"We have a couple people of colour with immigration background, so for me it's not always very comfortable to have those in the situation where police are going to show up in like full armour with a big club and a shield"</i> Van Geerwen
Internal Conflicts	Conflicts within the collectives mostly due communication mistakes that lead to stressful situations and ineffectivity	<i>"But for the recent place, we definitely failed in agreeing on the goals of the place before doing it or in the beginning."</i> Fern
Instability of Squats	A lot of especially long-term objectives are complicated by the often short time span the collectives have in every squat due to quicker evictions, leading to time and energy lost	<i>"with every time you change location [...] you lose a bit of the community that you build and you got to start, not over again because a lot of people stick, but you still, the situation"</i>

	in moving, rebuilding and adapting to new situations	<i>has changed.</i> " Kaffebohne
Lack of Capacities	A lack of capacities within the collective leading to being not able to facilitate certain objectives and approaches	<i>"But you need a lot of people putting in the social energy for that it feels like. Everyone's overworked already..."</i> Sami
Loss of Radicalness with Outreach	A fine line of wanting to reach more people and therefore trying to appeal more to them which sometimes means losing some of the political content	<i>"I think if they [another collective] would have added more political context, it wouldn't have reached as many people. But just in my personal opinion I don't think I'm unsure of how radical I would consider their action."</i> Sami
Mechanisms of Social Media	Struggling with the mechanisms of Social Media, especially regarding a conflict between using popular platforms and underground ones	<i>"what is one mistake is that we sometimes think we are smarter than Instagram but we are really not because these systems are so nasty"</i> Karon
Missing Division of Living and Social Activities	A missing division of living and social activities in the squat leading to a loss of privacy, unequal shares of responsibility and overloads for the people living in the squat	<i>"I think that [squatting and hosting a social center] can take two completely different sets of people"</i> Marsi
Politicizing without Organizing	Raising awareness and bringing people in contact with squatting but not involving/helping them to get involved, mostly due to a lack of structures	<i>"Maybe we should have put more of an actual plan into how we want to achieve that [organizing people] because that was an idea, but we kind of took the thought, okay, by maybe just showing people that it's possible and inspiring people we might just spark this idea in them and they'll just go ahead and do it."</i> Kaffebohne
Racial Inaccessibility	Inaccessibility of squats for marginalized people, mainly focussed on people of colour, not only due to a higher risk for them but also because of internalized racism within society which includes the squatting scene.	<i>"I think the squatting scene in the Netherlands is still quite white and in order to change that you really need to confront yourself with the blind spots of the squatting scene, everyone has blind spots, right? And I think if you have privileges your blind spots are bigger."</i>

		Karon
Stagnating Outreach	When hosting regular events the outreach began stagnating and new people rarely came to the squat	<i>"if it was either like a new event or like a big thing that we organized a long time in advance there would be quite some people and also new people, I think once it became a regular thing is also began stagnating a bit."</i> Sami
Too general Media Coverage	Media coverage about the squat that is either on the wrong level or portrays it wrong with consequences for the people of the collectives	<i>"having that image is also powerful and important, but not to glorify it entirely because yea.. that does do something to you..."</i> Marsi

## Appendix X: Pictures from the PVM with most related Codes



Internal Community Building

Provided by Brocoli



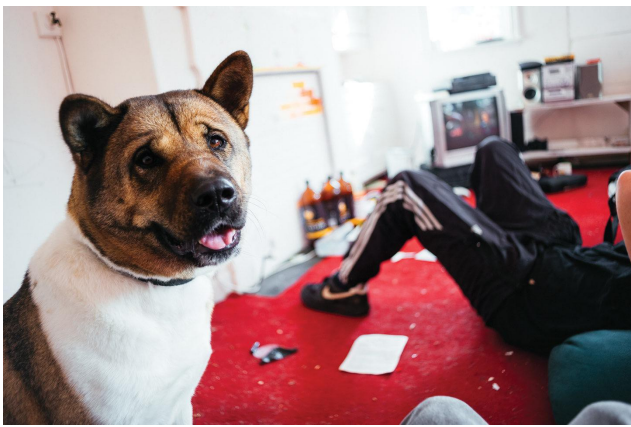
Internal Community Building

Provided by Dog



Adventure/Fun

Provided by Dog



Adventure/Fun

Provided by Dog



Internal Community Building

Provided by Fern



Internal Community Building

Adventure/Fun

Provided by Fern



Internal Community Building  
Adventure/Fun

Provided by Fern



Internal Community Building  
Adventure/Fun

Provided by Fern





Internal Community Building

Provided by Fern



Internal Community Building

Provided by Fern



Direct form of Protest

Provided by Joey



Promotion of Alternative Culture

Provided by Kaffebohne



Direct Solidarity  
Provided by Karon



Direct Solidarity  
Provided by Karon



Community Building  
Provided by Lentil



Internal Community Building

Provided by Pingu



Promotion of Alternative Culture

Provided by Pingu



Community/Movement Building

Provided by Pingu



Promotion of Alternative Culture

Provided by Sami



Internal Community Building

Provided by Van Geerwen



Promotion of Alternative Culture

Provided by Wave



Promotion of Alternative Culture

Provided by Wave



Promotion of Alternative Culture

Provided by Wave



Promotion of Alternative Culture

Provided by Wave



Promotion of Alternative Culture

Provided by Wave





Direct Solidarity

Provided by Wave


























Promotion of Alternative Culture  
Community/Movement Building  
Direct Solidarity

























Provided by Wave

## Appendix XI: Code-document-Analysis
























### Intentions

		 Amsterdam  2  76	 Groningen  3  155	 Nijmegen  2  88	Totals
◇ Adventure and Fun	 9	1	7	1	9
◇ Change public image of squatting	 11	3	3	5	11
◇ Community Building	 22	3	13	6	22
◇ Direct form of protest	 20	9	8	3	20
◇ Direct solidarity	 15	1	6	8	15
◇ Housing for yourself	 9	1	4	4	9
◇ Influence (local) politics	 7	4		3	7
◇ Means to other forms of activism	 15	6	6	3	15
◇ Organizing people	 14	4	8	2	14
◇ Personal Expression	 5		5		5
◇ Politicizing people	 23	7	9	7	23
◇ Preservation of buildings	 3		3		3
◇ Promoting alternative culture	 16	5	8	3	16
◇ Tradition	 1	1			1
<b>Totals</b>		45	80	45	170

## Approaches

		 Amsterdam  2  76	 Groningen  3  155	 Nijmegen  2  88	Totals
◇ Action Squatting	 9	4	3	2	9
◇ Diversity of Tactics	 10	1	3	6	10
◇ Engaging with Authorities	 5			5	5
◇ Interpersonal Connections	 18		15	3	18
◇ Media Presence	 24	11	8	5	24
◇ Neighbourhood Organisation	 6		4	2	6
◇ Politicizing every step	 5	3	1	1	5
◇ Providing Education	 7	3	4		7
◇ Providing Space for Alternative Culture	 14	2	6	6	14
◇ Providing Space for Other Groups	 5			5	5
◇ Provocation	 2			2	2
◇ Searching for New Ally-Ships	 16	9	1	6	16
◇ Using the Uniqueness of the Building	 3		1	2	3
◇ Without Strategy	 5	5			5
◇ Working on Accessibility	 18	4	9	5	18
<b>Totals</b>		42	55	50	147

## Achievements

		 Amsterdam  2  76	 Groningen  3  155	 Nijmegen  2  88	Totals
◇ Cause Financial Loss to Owners	 1		1		1
◇ Change of Legislation	 3			3	3
◇ Change of Public Opinion	 13	2	5	6	13
◇ Creation of Case Law	 1		1		1
◇ Creation/Growth of a Movement	 8	1	4	3	8
◇ Establish an Entry Point for Activists	 1		1		1
◇ Establish Legitimacy of Squatting Collectives	 5		2	3	5
◇ Internal Community Building	 3	1	2		3
◇ Organisation of People	 4		2	2	4
◇ Personal Learnings	 6		4	2	6
◇ Politicization of People	 10	5	3	2	10
◇ Promotion of Squatting as a form of Activism	 7	3	2	2	7
◇ Provision of Housing	 1			1	1
◇ Successful Cooperations	 4		2	2	4
<b>Totals</b>		12	29	26	67

## Challenges

		Amsterdam 2 76	Groningen 3 155	Nijmegen 2 88	Totals
◇ Barrier of Squats	5	2	3		5
◇ Being recognized as a Regular Venue	8		8		8
◇ Burnout	2			2	2
◇ Capturing of the Movement	3		3		3
◇ Conflicts with older Squatting Generations	5	4	1		5
◇ Criticisms from within the Movement	3	3			3
◇ Dependency on (local) Political Contexts	3	2		1	3
◇ General Depoliticizedness of Society	6		5	1	6
◇ Hierarchy in Interpersonal Connections	3		3		3
◇ Image of Squatting	4	3	1		4
◇ Increased Risk for Discriminated Groups	4	2	1	1	4
◇ Instability of Squats	9		6	3	9
◇ Internal Conflicts	11	4	5	2	11
◇ Lack of Capacities	9	2	3	4	9
◇ Loss of Radicalness with Outreach	5			5	5
◇ Mechanisms of Social Media	3	3			3
◇ Missing Division of Living and Social Activities	6	2	3	1	6
◇ Politicizing without Organizing	6		5	1	6
◇ Racial Inaccessibility	3	1	2		3
◇ Stagnating Outreach	3		1	2	3
◇ Too general Media Coverage	1		1		1
<b>Totals</b>		<b>28</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>102</b>