Participation in collective action

Reasons for not participating in environmental demonstrations

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Master thesis Human Geography: Conflicts, Territories and Identities

Centre for International Conflict Analysis and Management (CICAM) Human Geography

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Summary

The goal of this research is to contribute to a relatively under-researched part of collective action: reasons for people to *not* participate in protest, although they would arguably benefit from such protest. Since students have historically made up an important part of protest movements and often are environmentally aware, the question arises as to why most do not participate in environmental demonstrations. Therefore, the following research question was formulated: *Why do environmentally aware Dutch students not participate in environmental demonstrations if they would arguably benefit from the environmental demonstrations?*

Given the lack of knowledge regarding this specific angle of approach, this research aimed to be explorative. To keep all possibilities open, the data needed to be broad and in-depth. An online survey was used to get a systematic overview and in-depth interviews were used to gain more understanding about underlying mechanisms.

The collected data indicate that there are various reasons why environmentally aware Dutch students have never participated in environmental demonstrations. The most dominant reasons are the expected inefficacy of environmental demonstrations, an unwanted association with environmental demonstrations or environmental demonstrators, preferring a large demonstration to participate, and already protesting for the environment in other forms.

It turns out there is often an interplay of reasons. Between the environmentally aware Dutch students who have never demonstrated, two groups can be distinguished: people who considered participating have more practical reasons to not attend, while people who never considered participating have more ideological reasons. It would be interesting for future research to further classify different sub-groups and their specific reasons, in order to get a better understanding of the participation level in protest.

Preface

Before you lies the thesis "Participation in collective action: Reasons for not participating in environmental demonstrations". This research focuses on mechanisms that explain why not all environmentally aware Dutch students do participate in environmental demonstrations.

       The choice for this topic has been a result of questioning why I have never participated in demonstrations. Since the news is filled with demonstrations, I felt like demonstrating is mainstream, especially among my peers. Then I realised that I also did not know anyone in my surroundings who had participated in demonstrations. This surprised me, because many of my friends seem passionate about topics like the environment or affordable housing. This made me wonder, why do not all people who would arguably benefit from a demonstration, participate in a demonstration, including myself?

       During my Master program Human Geography: Conflicts, territories and identities, I had a chance to do research on collective action. Since most research has focussed on people who do participate, I was excited to use a different approach. While Covid-19 made it challenging to design the research, it eventually took off. I would like to thank a few people who helped me with my research. First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor dr. Bomert for guiding me through all the steps of this research. Furthermore, I would like to thank the respondents for taking the time and effort to fill in the online survey and/or participate in the in-depth interviews. Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for their advice and support.

I hope you enjoy your reading,

Mascha Kappé

Nijmegen, September 29th, 2021

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1. Introduction

The news is filled with pictures of people collectively demonstrating in public for a shared cause. For instance, groups of people marching the streets or occupying an area to show their disapproval (sometimes approval) of a particular topic. The size of such demonstrations ranges from just a few people to mass gatherings. Some demonstrations are non-violent, while others turn violent. Either way, images of people demonstrating can be impressive.

Demonstrating is a form to protest against something. There are many other ways to protest; strikes, boycotting or refusing to pay taxes are just a few examples. Protesting may lead to civil resistance: a movement of people fighting in a non-violent way for their rights, freedom and justice (ICNC, n.d. a). More often than not the goal of civil resistance is to challenge an oppressive system or regime. Throughout history, civil resistance has therefore had an important impact on oppressive regimes. Research shows that, during the period from 1900 till 2006, peaceful resistance has had twice as big a chance of achieving its goals as compared to violent acts (Stephan & Chenoweth, 2008). One explanation is that more people support, and are willing to join, a non-violent movement, because of ethical and safety arguments. When the movement and the solidarity grow, increased pressure on the regime can also lead to increased conflicts among opponents.

Another reason why non-violent resistance achieves its goals more often than violent acts, is that a shift in loyalty among a regime towards the civil resistance movement is easier made (Stephan & Chenoweth, 2008). It is harder for members of a regime to use violence when the opponents don't use violence, since their use of violence would be more difficult to justify.

These are just a few mechanisms at play concerning the use of non-violent tactics in a conflict. More than a hundred various forms of non-violent tactics have been identified (Stephan & Chenoweth, 2008). Demonstrations represent one of the more familiar ones, arguably because the news channels are filled with examples. Given the development and spread of (social) media, images of demonstrations are more easily made and broadcasted.

While grievance is an important motivator for people to protest, there are other motivators at play as well, like efficacy, identification, emotions and social embeddedness (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). Most research in this area focuses on the question why people do participate in protests (Stuart et al., 2018). Although there are many motivators to protest and non-violent protests are useful tools to achieve a particular goal, not all people that would most likely benefit from these protests do actually join, one way or another.

This is especially interesting in the case of students, since students often play an important role in protest movements. Students and university graduates have (had) a leading position in protests all over the world (Dahlum, 2019). Student activism aims to create a 'new' future by reshaping society (East & Webster, 2014). One prime example concerns environmental protests. Research in the Netherlands shows that between 2012 and 2017, environmental awareness strongly increased (CBS, 2018). Among the Dutch youth (18-25 years), 80% thinks that the environment is important. This not only brings up the question why students engage in protests, but in particular also: *why do environmentally aware Dutch students not participate in environmental demonstrations if they would arguably benefit from the environmental demonstrations*? Is it because one or more of the prime motivators as described by Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2013) are missing, or are there other explanations?

1.1 Societal relevance

Over the last years, conflict-related research has primarily focused on violence (Chenoweth & Cunningham, 2013). Non-violent resistance has received less attention. One explanation for this focus on violence is that, partly as a consequence of technological developments within the media, people are constantly confronted with the violence taking place all around the world. Because of this public attention, the academic interest in violence-related issues increased as well. Furthermore, throughout the 20th century the number of casualties as a result of violence, and once more the reporting about it, has been large (Chenoweth & Cunningham, 2013). While research of Dupuy and Rustad (2018) shows that since 1950 the number of people killed in war has declined (with the exception of 2013), non-state conflicts and internationalized conflicts have generally increased. In other words, although the number of people killed in war has decreased, throughout the 20th century still hundreds of millions of people died of violence in war (Chenoweth & Cunningham, 2013), which is an explanation for the research focus on violence and violent resistance.

Another reason for a 'delayed' broader interest in non-violent resistance might be that the topic of non-violent resistance used to be approached from a predominantly moral perspective. According to Nepstad (2015), studies of non-violent resistance started when in India Gandhi's movement fought for gaining independence from Great Britain. Research emphasized the moral dimensions of this movement. Since scholars became more interested in the pragmatic causes and consequences of social movements – the publication of Sharp's 'The Politics of Nonviolent Action' (1973) is a prime example – research on non-violent resistance increased during the second half of the 20th century. The Arab Spring, characterized by strong social movements in various Arab countries, once more resulted in shifting research agendas (Chenoweth & Cunningham, 2013). During this revolution, large groups of activists protested in a peaceful way; in some countries, they achieved their goal of regime change. Many causes, mechanisms and results of this non-violent resistance could not be properly explained on the basis of the existing academic literature, since most research traditionally focused on violence and conflict.

It is, however, important to properly understand the mechanisms of non-violent protest movements, especially because they differ quite substantial from more traditional hierarchical organizations (ICNC, n.d. b). Policy makers also need research on non-violent resistance, so as to be able to better anticipate these kinds of protest. Moreover, a strong democratic society needs civilians who are politically invested. Protesting is one way to participate in a democratic society (Stuart et al., 2018). Therefore, it is relevant for society as well to investigate why people do not protest while they would most likely benefit from the protest.

1.2 Scientific relevance

As discussed in the previous section, research regarding non-violent forms of resistance has been catching up. Over the years, the focus of research concerning the participation in protests has shifted between various points of attention. It seemed like each and every motivator was an important part of the puzzle, but in itself could not fully explain why people do participate in protests. Research on motivators for protest has focused on grievances, efficacy, collective identity, emotions, and social embeddedness (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). These various motivators will be discussed more in-depth in the literature review. For now, it is important to note that the general consensus is that all of these motivators can play a part in explaining why people participate in protest. According

to Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2013, p. 896), "… in practice all these concepts are interwoven. And this is precisely what social psychological protest research to date focuses on." Research of Jost et al. (2018) shows how social media influence the participation in political protests. An important finding is that the increased reach of social media results in a faster and more efficient spread of information, as well as emotional and motivational support. This might in turn strengthen some of the motivators described previously.

In a large body of research, the respondents are those individuals that participate in protests (Stuart et al., 2018); motivators to join are addressed. It is quite likely to assume that when motivators are missing, people do not participate in protests. However, there might be other factors at stake that make why people do not participate in protests, for instance the so-called collective action problem (Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009) or an unwanted association (Stuart et al., 2018). Since little research has been done specifically regarding people that do not protest, this research intends to investigate a relatively under-researched part of collective action.

1.3 Research objective and research questions

The above considerations lead to the following research question:

Why do environmentally aware Dutch students not participate in environmental demonstrations if they would arguably benefit from the environmental demonstrations?

In order to be able to answer this main research question, several sub-questions have to be answered as well:

1. To what extent are the five dominant motivators (grievances, efficacy, identity, emotions, and social embeddedness) present?
2. To what extent are the motivators 'the collective action problem' and 'association' present?
3. In what ways do environmentally aware Dutch students who have not demonstrated for the environment, feel like they protested for the environment in other ways than demonstrating?
4. What reasons do environmentally aware Dutch students who have not demonstrated for the environment, give for not participating in environmental demonstrations?

2. Setting the context: The rise of environmental awareness

This chapter gives background information on how environmental awareness developed over time, so the current environmental movement can be better understood.

According to Dalton (1993), during the 1980s environmental problems were put on the political agenda in most Western countries. It is important to note however, that while the environmental movement really caught momentum in the 1980s, its roots go further back in time. For example, the first wave of environmental protests in Western Europa concerning the preservation of nature even dates back to the 1800s. A combination of the development in natural sciences and the results of the damaging industrialization, contributed to an increased attention for environmental issues. This was also the case in the Netherlands. For example, the city of Rotterdam was rapidly growing and this had negative consequences for the environment. To protect the environment, Rotterdam already established a commission for environmental policies in the 1940s (Canon van Nederland, n.d.).

Environmental awareness grew throughout the 20th century. According to Rome (2010), the 1970 Earth Day has had a major impact on the creation of the environmental movement. Earth Day was actual a week filled with millions of people protesting in favour of the protection of the environment across the United States. There was a large variety of speakers; among whom many politicians. Some speakers were already dealing with the environmental issues for some time, but for many the concerns about the environment were new. As a result, the general environmental awareness and dedication to environmental issues grew.

Thousands of people from all kinds of backgrounds contributed to the organisation of Earth Day (Rome, 2010). Many of these early-day organisers were still involved in the environmental movement over the coming years and decades; Earth Day had provided them with skills and a network in activism. In the aftermath of Earth Day, some long-term projects and changes were implemented; for example, lobbying became a more accepted way to influence politics, and education became more focused on discussing environmental issues. The subsequent increased environmental awareness, in combination with the skills and network of organisers, helped to create a widely supported environmental movement in the United States.

Not just Earth Day stimulated the growth of the environmental movement in the United States, however. According to Freudenberg and Steinsapir (1991), the rapid expansion of the polluting petrol industry after World War II led to health risks among the American population. Environmental organizations warned about these risks, and it resulted in a growing environmental awareness, at least among some parts of the population. At the same time, social movements had shown that different forms of protest can lead to changes in politics, and eventually in policies. Activists who were involved in those earlier movements, shared their experiences and strategies with the upcoming environmental movement, which also helped the environmental movement to grow.

Environmental awareness in the Netherlands
Rome (2010) as well as Freudenberg and Steinsapir (1991) refer primarily to the development of the US environmental movement. Since this research focuses on the environmental awareness and consciousness of Dutch students, it is important to see how the environmental movement in the Netherlands has evolved. According to McCormick (1991, p. 1), environmental movements all over the world developed more or less independently from the environmental protests in the United

States: "the movement did not begin in one country and spread to another; it emerges in different places at different times, and usually for different reasons." Local communities with their own environmental concerns began to cooperate, growing into a national – and later international – movement, fuelled by the spread of information. This illustrates how important local developments are in the environmental movement.

In the Netherlands, action groups like Provo – an anarchist group, using 'provocations' to shake up society – were instrumental in slowly creating more awareness for the environment (Rootes, 2008; Koops, 2020). It mostly operated in Amsterdam from 1965 till 1967. According to Provo, society was old-fashioned and authoritarian. Among other issues, Provo protested for the environment and came up with environmentally-friendly policies. One example is the 'Witte Fietsenplan' [White bicycle plan]: the suggestion to place white-painted bicycles all over Amsterdam that could be freely used by anyone. Provo specifically protested the pollution caused by cars: "the car-authority. The suffocating carbon monoxide is his incense, his effigy ruins in thousandfold canals and streets…. the white bicycles symbolise simplicity and hygiene opposed to the gaudiness and filthiness of the authoritarian car" (De Wildt, 2015, n.p.). In addition, the student protests during the late 1960s also contributed to the growing environmental awareness in the Netherlands (Rootes, 2008). The number of university students was growing fast and this resulted in great challenges, for example regarding housing. The student movement was originally set up to address issues like housing facilities. Over the years, the focus of the protests increasingly shifted to all kinds of issues outside the direct educational scope, including environmental issues (Moerings, 1983).

There were also important influences from abroad that helped the development of environmental awareness in the Netherlands (IsGeschiedenis, n.d.). In 1972, the first picture from the entire Earth was taken from 20,000 miles in space (Wuebbles, 2012). Since the Earth was lit up, the dynamics between air, water and land were emphasised against the black and empty background of the rest of space. This picture showed the uniqueness and vulnerability of the Earth, and environmental organizations used the picture in their activism. This also resulted in a growing awareness that the Earth needed to be preserved.

Another important influence from abroad on the environmental awareness in the Netherlands was the 1972 report 'Limits to Growth' from the Club of Rome. The main finding of this group of researchers was: "The earth's interlocking resources – the global system of nature in which we all live – probably cannot support present rates of economic and population growth much beyond the year 2100, if that long, even with advanced technology" (Club Of Rome, n.d., n.p.). To counter this threat, states had to cooperate to develop a sustainable world. Environmentalists pointed to this report to underline their message, but politicians on the other hand criticised the report; they incorrectly assumed that the report recommended a zero-growth economy (Colombo, 2001). While the report received criticism, it nevertheless brought the environment more to the people's attention.

Nowadays, the attention for the environment and sustainability is present in all kinds of aspects of society in the Netherlands. This concise history shows some important influences that increased the environmental awareness over time, but over the years many other forms of environmental activism, natural disasters and environmental reports contributed to an increase in the environmental awareness in the Netherlands.

3. Literature review

This chapter addresses the key concepts that are used in this research and provides an overview of the relevant theories. It will first address theories concerning demonstrations as a form of collective action. Next, it focuses on theories that discuss motivators to participate in a protest, followed by a discussion of the role of social media on protest. Then, it will discuss theories that explain why people do *not* participate in a protest. The chapter concludes with the conceptual model for this research.

3.1 Demonstrations as a form of collective action

Collective action

Collective action is often understood as a variety of social events that have as their main purpose the demanding of collective goods (Baldassarri, 2009). There are all kinds of ways for actors to show their disapproval (and sometimes approval) of the current situation. Some examples come to mind right away, like demonstrations, boycotts or riots. This research focuses specifically on the lack of participation in demonstrations. To discuss demonstrating as a form of collective action and eventually to conduct research into it, it is important to first define the notion of 'collective action'. A definition determines what concepts are relevant; different definitions shine their light on different relevant concepts.

According to Wright (2009), the definition of collective action is often not properly discussed in the debate. He rather emphasizes the importance of the various definitions of collective action.

A definition based on a psychological perspective, with a large academic following, argues that the psychology of an individual is at the base of collective action: "A group member engages in collective action any time she or he acts as a representative of the group and where the action is directed at improving the conditions of the group as a whole" (Wright, 2009, p. 860). In this definition, the number of protestors in a movement doesn't matter, for being considered as a form of collective action. In order to be categorized as collective action, it is important that the protestors are motivated to improve the position of the group they feel they belong to; the collective action movement is not used as a means to achieve their personal self-interests. If protestors are mainly motivated to improve someone's personal conditions, this should be categorised as individual action (Wright et al., 1990). According to another approach, with a less frequently used point of view, collective actions are defined by the behaviour of the protestors. In contrast to the psychological definition of collective action, cooperation between protestors and the number of protestors is seen as more important.

Regarding the psychology-based definition, some researchers have argued that choosing this definition implies that not all protestors who would demonstrate for the same issue, are part of the collective action movement (Wright, 2009). People who protest for a disadvantaged group, but who are not part of the disadvantaged group themselves, would in that case not be part of the collective action movement. Take the example of people in the Netherlands demonstrating against pollution in Asia. If the pollution in Asia has no negative results for these Dutch protestors, they are not part of the disadvantaged group, and therefore their demonstration would not count as collective action. Examples like this ignore or at least downplay their contribution to collective action, so Wright accepts the suggestion of McGarty et al. (2009) that people should be 'divided' by their opinion, not

just by the group they belong to. In other words, members and non-members of a disadvantaged group can both represent the disadvantaged group in collective action, as long as they share the same opinion concerning what the disadvantaged group is.

This research focuses on environmentally aware Dutch students who have never participated in environmental demonstrations. Since this group could very well fear the impact of environmental issues on their own lives, or/and on others' lives, a broad definition of collective action is fitting in this case. By just focusing on people who represent their own group, too many other contributors to social movements are left out. Therefore, this research sees collective action in agreement with the definition of Baldassarri (2009) as common activities in which people engage to demand collective goods. What connects people as participants of collective action, this research follows McGarty et al.'s suggestion: "... people form common cause with others by forming groups based on shared opinions, despite expectations that they should organize around social categories" (McGarty et al., 2009, p. 840).

Demonstrations

In light of this research, it is also important to define what events should be seen as a demonstration. Demonstrations are one of the most well-known forms of protest, arguably because they are visible. The number of people that have taken part in a demonstration varies from one country to the next, but in general there seems to be an increase in the participation rate (Walgrave, 2013). Walgrave defines demonstrations as: "… legal or illegal gatherings of people in the public domain (squares or streets) voicing economic, social, or political claims" (Walgrave, 2013, p. 347). According to this definition, to be considered a demonstration, the size of this kind of gathering in itself does not matter; however, the purpose of it does. Regarding this research, it also does not matter whether someone demonstrated for the environment alone or participated in a large environmental demonstration. Since it focuses on people who would also arguably benefit from an environmental demonstration, but who show other behaviour – not having participated in environmental demonstrations –, the definition of 'demonstrations' should distinguish the two groups. Since Walgrave's (2013) definition of 'demonstrations' emphasises the purpose of gatherings and not the size, it fits this research well.

Although the size of a demonstration may not matter for definition purposes in this research, it is nevertheless interesting to look at the numerical dimension of a demonstration. A larger demonstration obviously has some advantages over smaller ones (Somma & Medel, 2019). Politicians are more likely to listen to the demand of a larger group of demonstrators since, among other things, there are more potential votes to bring in. Furthermore, larger demonstrations get more attention from the mass media and this of course helps the demonstrators to reach more people with their message. Moreover, a larger demonstration often gives the impression to people watching that the cause of the demonstration is just and important. The demonstrators themselves feel more empowered and their connection with the protest movement grows even further. Organisers of demonstrations feel more empowered as well.

Given these advantages, the question arises why some demonstrations grow big while others stay small. According to Somma and Medel (2019), mobilization strategies influence the number of protestors, at least in liberal countries with a profitable environment for social movements to organise themselves. The relatively small group of individuals that is in charge of organising a demonstration often brings up the following questions: what are the demands, who will be targeted by the claims of the demonstrators, is there a need to ask formal organizations for help, and which

social groups can be the basis for mobilization? By discussing questions like these and choosing a strategy for mobilization, the size of the demonstration can be influenced. According to Somma and Medel (2019), the size of a demonstration benefits if the demands are profitable for a larger part of the population, if a national government is targeted, if (associations of) institutions are involved in the organization, and if potential protestors can be attracted from large, cohesive groups. While these findings are based on a multivariate analysis of demonstrations in just one country, from an organizational perspective it might nevertheless be a useful addition to find out why people do not participate in demonstrations.

3.2 Motivators to participate in protest

Grievances

Various theories try to explain why people participate in protests. Over the years, the focus of academic research has shifted. In the more classical theories, grievances are perceived to be important motivators to participate in protests (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). For example, the so-called Relative deprivation theory tries to explain how grievances develop. When people compare their situation to a 'standard' situation, they might feel that they have, in one way or the other, a disadvantaged position. If people think this difference is unjust, they may feel deprived and develop grievances (Folger, 1986). Regarding this research, it is likely that environmentally aware Dutch students developed grievances concerning the environment. They might, for example, feel like too little is done to lower the CO2 emission, preserve animal species or stop the cutting of the rainforest. If their 'standard' situation is a better protected environment, then the current situation is undesired. If they also feel like they deserve a better protected environment, they are likely to feel deprived and subsequently develop grievances. The Relative deprivation theory is comparable with distributive injustice in Social justice theories.

Another angle of approach to the motivator 'grievances' comes from Social justice theories (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013.) When people feel like they are treated unfair in a process, for example in resolving a conflict, they experience procedural injustice (Tyler & Smith, 1998). In the case of environmental demonstrations, when the message of demonstrators is not taken seriously by politicians, or representatives of the protest movement are excluded in discussions concerning relevant policies, a feeling of procedural injustice could motivate people to participate in protest.

Efficacy

Not everyone with grievances goes to the streets to protest, however. During the 1970s, academic research regarding protests focused more on the expected efficacy of protest (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). One example is the Rational self-interest theory (Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009). On an individual level, people relate the costs of protesting to the benefits of protesting. Some examples of costs are time, travel expenses, finding a babysitter for the children, or taking a day off from work. Examples of benefits are connecting with like-minded people or influencing policies. If the costs are too high in comparison with the expected benefits of protesting, people would, according to the Rational self-interest theory, not participate in protests. However, if people expect protests to be an effective method to influence policies, they might decide that the (high) costs of participating are worth it.

Furthermore, according to the so-called Efficacy theory, there are different form of efficacy that can influence people's willingness to participate in protest (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013; Bandura, 1997; Campbell et al., 1954). First, group efficacy is the perceived ability of protestors to work together as a unity. For example, if members of an environmental protest movement show trouble cooperating and then organise a demonstration, people are more likely to doubt whether the demonstration can voice one strong opinion. As a result of the expected lack of cooperation, the willingness to participate decreases. Next, political efficacy is the belief that political decisions can be influenced by certain events. If people are involved in politics and feel like political actors would listen to the demands of protests, the level of political efficacy is high and this makes people more eager to participate in protest.

Identification

However, the motivators 'grievances' and 'efficacy' could not fully explain why people participate in protest. Based on the Social identity theory, developed in the late 1970s, the concept of 'social identity' has been used to explain collective action (Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009). According to this Social identity theory, people aim for a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This can be achieved by comparing the in-group one belongs to, to the relevant out-group(s). The in-group must have (perceived) preferable characteristics that are missing in the out-group(s); in other words, the in-group is judged as better by its members. By specifically pointing out the negative characteristics of the out-groups, people in the in-group feel more pride and confidence. They also identify themselves with other members of their in-group, since they share similarities characterizing the in-group. By viewing themselves as members of the same social category, people develop a social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Regarding protests, the identification with members of the same in-group leads to a sense of common challenges (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). A shared enemy is held accountable for the grievances of the group. This enemy should meet their demands to achieve justice. If not, protestors will try to gain support from other parties in their power struggle. Those parties are categorised as partners or other opponents of the protest movement. To gain support, protestors get involved in actions that fit their identity. This process is called the politicization of identity and when this happens, collective identities develop into collective action (Van Stekelenburg et al., 2013). The stronger the identification with a group, the more people are driven to protest or even feel obliged to protest. According to Van Zomeren and Spears (2009), the so-called low-identifiers in general protest for individual gain, while high-identifiers protest for social change. In this research, it is interesting to see to what extent people identify with environmental demonstrators who they may personally know, as well as with demonstrators they see in the media.

Emotions

Another motivator for protest is 'emotions'; especially anger and to smaller degree guilt (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). According to the Appraisal theory, people evaluate specific situations on the basis of questions, in order to be able to judge how a situation will affect them. If people feel like they belong to a group and this group is even part of their identity, they will also judge how the situation affects the group. Both evaluations can lead to emotional responses.

In turn, personal emotions can also develop into group-based emotions if experiences and emotions are shared within a social network. Especially group-based anger as a reaction to grievances, drives people to participate in protest (Van Zomeren et al., 2004). It is too

straightforward to assume that people who participate in protests, do this because they have a disadvantaged position and have grievances, and therefore developed anger. It turns out that also people from advantaged positions may feel guilt and anger that motivate them to protest (Leach et al., 2006). These emotions result from being in an advantaged position, while others have a disadvantaged position. If this difference feels unfair, anger and guilt can develop. As a result, also people in an advantaged position can be motivated to protest for a disadvantaged out-group.

Social Embeddedness

According to Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2013), 'social embeddedness' is the fifth motivator for participating in protest. In line with the Social capital theory, information is shared through ties within a social network. The presence (or absence) of ties determines where information might possibly reach; this is referred to as the structural aspect of a network. There are three kinds of ties between people: bonding, bridging (Putnam, 2000), and linking (Woolcock, 2001). They resemble different relationships and are referred to as the relational aspect of a network (Granovetter, 1973).

To start, in a bonding network, people share characteristics. The advantage is that bonding ties are strong, since there is trust within the network. This makes that information is quickly being circulated within the network. The disadvantage is that the same information goes around and new information enters the network less easily. In regard to this research, bonding networks work great for mobilizing people. Everyone gets the same information regarding planned environmental demonstrations. Community members can also check on each other, so people are likely to feel pressure to participate in case their community values the environmental demonstration (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987).

There are also bridging networks (Putnam, 2000). Bridging networks consist of ties between different groups that do not share the same characteristics. Because the groups differ, there is less trust and the ties are weaker. It is more difficult to develop bridging ties, but their advantage is that they give access to new information. This can also be useful for the participation level in demonstrations, because communities who would otherwise not interact, can now exchange new information through bridging ties. As a result, many people from different social groups can be reached with mobilizing messages.

Finally, the linking networks. To some extent, these resemble bridging ties, because linking ties also connect networks that do not share the same characteristics. What makes them different is that they connect groups that differ in hierarchy (Woolcock, 2013). For example, a group of environmental demonstrators can have a linking tie with the township. This relationship can be used by environmental demonstrators to influence policies.

This shows that bonding, bridging and linking networks can all contribute to the development of a protest movement (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). While the relational aspect focuses on how much information can be exchanged through network ties, the cognitive aspect looks at mechanisms that transfer individual opinions and emotions into shared opinions and emotions (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). In a social network, people can discuss politics, learn from each other and support each other. As a result, a sense of similarity develops and this motivates people to participate in protest, which is known as a raised consciousness (Gurin et al., 1980).

3.3 Social media and protest

Social media is an important tool for contemporary collective action movements all over the world. The ever-increasing reach of social media influences and strengthens the motivators described above. Jost et al. (2018) provide an overview of empirical studies regarding protest movements and the role of social media. Important information concerning the organization and the development of protests can obviously spread quite fast on social media. This increased spreading might, for instance, enhance the rational self-interest motivation to join the protest, since more practical information regarding the protest might make it easier for individuals to join. Emotional and motivational messages can also reach a large group of people on social media (Jost et al., 2018). This, in turn, might stimulate the degree of identification between members of the in-group, which could lead to more group-based emotions.

Furthermore, the use of social media influences the participation in protests in another important way. Social media platforms have different designs that decide which information a user gets to see. For instance, an online group of friends a person is part of or the accounts he or she is following, determine which items this person gets displayed (Jost et al., 2018). One way or another, the past online activities of a user determine what a user gets to see in the future. This means that people are exposed to different information on social media.

For some groups social media function as an 'echo chamber', in which primarily existing opinions are confirmed, while counter-arguments and alternative examples are not being displayed (Jost et al., 2018). Often, people with specific political views come into contact with fake news on social media. It is obvious that differences between the various online social networks regarding the diversity and quality of available information, might influence the participation in protests. For example, some fake news might specifically touch upon the emotions of anger of the viewers and they might get stirred up more easily to join a protest. Some consider this to be dangerous, while others rather use this as an opportunity.

In addition to more people joining a protest, according to Freelon et al. (2018), social media can be of benefit to the collective action movement in other ways as well. On social media, protestors can develop linking connections to communicate with policymakers and politicians. Furthermore, social media can be used by the movement to get more attention from a variety of actors. Where large news stations have to select what items to cover, on social media more people have a platform to voice themselves. Arguably, not all collective action movements are equally visible on social media, but activists have more opportunities to present themselves and have more freedom on how to do so. There is also a downside in this regard, however. The focus of posts on social media could shift from spreading a message, to displaying content that either shocks or entertains people (Poell & Van Dijk, 2018). Also, the freedom of using social media means that more counter-attacks by opposite protest groups could be posted on social media (Freelon et al., 2018).

In other words, social media can and do have a great impact on contemporary protest movements in various ways; it has also changed the organization of protest movements (Poell & Van Dijck, 2018). Where there used to be a clear division between online and offline protest, nowadays this is intertwined, given the ever-growing reach of social media. Today, there is hardly any totally offline protest. According to Poell and Van Dijk (2018), some scholars suggest that there is no longer a need to have a leader of a social movement, because by using social media individual protestors are connected through a bonding structure. Poell and Van Dijk (2018) argue, however, that social media also facilitates new kinds of leaders: outspoken and well-known users of social media,

influencers who often also promote a protest movement in real life. They connect people rather than commanding them, while trying not to be labelled as leaders. Because social movements need leadership to exist, while at the same time looking for equality among protestors, the 'new' leaders present themselves not as themselves, but rather as one of the guys who protest.

In addition to this new form of leadership, Poell and Van Dijk (2018) also address the issue of whether or not the role of collectivism has changed over time. Some scholars argue that nowadays many protestors join a protest movement with their own motivations and goals. They share their own experiences online. These personal experiences replace the collective identity of a movement. Although social media functions as a personal sharing platform, Poell and Van Dijk argue that the sharing of personal experiences creates connectivity as well, albeit in another way. By sharing personal stories, emotions come into play. These emotions can help in developing ties between protestors; in other words, solidarity. Strong ties are needed to hold a protest movement together that misses a traditional leader, as is often the case with contemporary protest movements. Also, protesters often share features, for example a hashtag or image that represents the movement. These shared features also help to create a collective identity.

So, the role of social media in protests is enormous. Over the last decade, much research has been done on this topic, but there are still many unanswered questions regarding the specific relations between protest movements and social media. Despite the opportunities for collective action movements created by social media, it is important to acknowledge the downsides of social media in this respect as well. Social media are not designed as a tool for collective action movements (Poell & Van Dijk, 2018). Their revenue model is to collect data and sell them, as well as showing commercials. To keep the advertisers happy, social media platforms can exercise power over users by their terms and conditions. They can ban specific profiles, delete content, or pass on information of users to authorities. They can require users to use their real name, which can make activism more dangerous for protestors. Also, by using a real name, it is more difficult for leaders to present themselves as one of the many. The collective action movement is then perceived as being more hierarchical, which is not in line with the desire of contemporary collective action movements. It is therefore interesting – and relevant – how the opposing concepts of 'anonymity' and 'sharing personal stories' both play an important part in protest movements on social media.

3.4 Motivators for not participating in protests

So far, theories were discussed that focus on motivators to join a protest. Now, the focus will be on theories that could explain why people do *not* participate in a protest.

Collective action problem

To start off, the collective action dilemma could explain why people do not participate in protests, even though they would benefit from the goal that the protest aims to achieve. In line with the notion of rational self-interest as one of the motivators described above, people can be seen as intuitive economists (Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009). Rather rationally, the individual costs are weighed against the individual benefits. People arguably strive to keep the costs low and the benefits high. When a protest is organized, people can choose to participate. If they think they will personally benefit from the goal of the protest, they are stimulated to join. But in order to participate, they may

have to invest their time, energy and money. When the individual costs become too high, people are discouraged to participate.

If the protest concerns a public good, then obviously everyone can benefit from the good once it has been realized; public goods are non-excludable and non-rivalrous (Pfaff & Valdez, 2010). This means that people can still benefit from the public good without actually having to individually put in the effort of protesting. It is important that others are still protesting, otherwise the public good may not be realized. In other words, by free riding, individuals put in minimal costs and can still benefit from the public good (Olson, 1965). This is in contradiction to the assumption often made about collective action, namely that people in groups with common interests will naturally cooperate to achieve this common goal (Pfaff & Valdez, 2010).

The free riding problem increases when the group with common interests is large and there is no overarching organisation involved to check who participates (Pfaff & Valdez, 2010). People may feel like the need to get involved declines or they feel like not attending in a protest goes unnoticed. On the other hand, the free riding problem decreases when people are punished if they do not participate, if only the people who participate get rewarded, or if some other actor pays for the organization of the protest.

So, the free riding problem views people as rational decision makers who compare the costs of protesting to the potential benefits. According to Pfaff and Valdes (2010), this initial rational cost approach has changed over time to a focus on trust and preference heterogeneity. Baldassarri (2009) describes a shifting academic focus over the last sixty years as well: from free-riding to the conditions that stimulate cooperation. In the case of trust as a new focal point of research, the participation of people in collective action depends on the expectation whether others will protest or not. If the expectation is that less people will participate, and more people will act as free riders, then people are less willing to participate in collective action themselves. A lack of trust in others participating develops easier in a non-homogenous group, since members of this group do not share many characteristics and information. It is more difficult to know or check who participated in protest and who did not.

In the case of preference heterogeneity, the difference between people in their willingness to take part in a collective action movement from its onset, determines the participation level of the movement overall (Pfaff & Valdes, 2010). More often than not, a small, highly motivated group of people take the initiative to start a protest movement. Since resources and knowledge are needed to do so, a variety of initiators with different kinds of resources and knowledge is beneficial for a protest movement. Once the initiative has been taken, it is important how many others are willing to join at this point. Some people are eager to participate when the protest movement is small, while others are only willing to participate when the protest movement already has a substantial number of participants. The second case is less preferable for protest movements, because a high threshold for people to participate can make the movement grow slower and not reach its full potential in size.

Association

Research by Stuart et al. (2018) shows various reasons why people hesitate to take part in collective action, although they do support the goal of the protest. It turns out some people want to avoid being associated with protest. They may not agree with the intentions and actions of certain protestors, and even feel hostile towards them. Examples are extremists, or people that see protesting mostly as a(n) (end) goal, rather than a way to achieve what they stand for. Others do not want to be associated with collective action because they view this as more inefficient than personal

action. Even if people believe that protesting can be effective, they may not participate in protest because they think that others view protesting as inefficient.

It is important to note that being associated with collective action might also work the other way around; people may feel pride in being associated with (the cause of) collective action. According to the Social identity theory, belonging to a group has positive effects. Still, Stuart et al., (2018) show that people are afraid of potential downsides of protest and therefore do not participate.

In summary, the various concepts as discussed in the literature review are displayed in the following conceptual framework:

Conceptual framework

Concept	Sign	Outcome
Grievances	-	Not participating in protests
Efficacy	-	
Identification	-	
Emotions	-	
Social embeddedness	-	
Collective action problem	+	
Association	+	
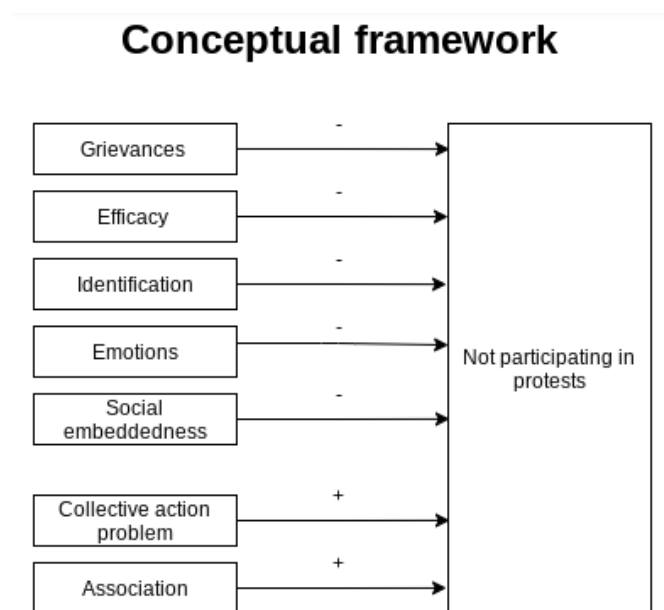
4. Methodology

This chapter addresses the practical aspects of this research. It will first discuss the research methods that were used to collect the data. Next, it addresses the respondents of this research, followed by the creation of the questionnaires. Then it will focus on the data collection. Last, it discusses the analysis of the data.

4.1 Research method

Motivators to participate in protests have been researched for decades. As a result, it is generally accepted that the notions of grievances, efficacy, collective identity, emotions, and social embeddedness are all interwoven pieces of the puzzle (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). This research does, however, specifically look at reasons why environmentally aware Dutch students do not participate in environmental demonstrations, although students generally make up an important part of protest movements and are environmentally aware. As explained in the section dealing with the scientific relevance, it is too straightforward and simple to assume that a (relative) lack of these various motivators will automatically lead to people choosing not to participate in protests. As Stuart et al. (2018) point out, people can also consciously and actively choose to not participate in protests. This means that other mechanisms could be at stake, regardless of and independently from the five motivators as described by Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2013).

Given the lack of knowledge regarding this specific angle of approach, this research needed to be explorative. It did not aim to find out which mechanisms are most important or how they interrelate and influence each other, although that is often the case in research focused on why people do participate in protest. Instead, this explorative research aimed to keep all possibilities open. In order to be able to answer the main research question, this research needed a broad and in-depth approach, in which both the researcher and subjects could reflect on personal experiences and the meaning interviewees gave to them. Since the perspectives of the interviewees were central in the research, an interpretive approach was fitting (Hennink et al., 2020), more specifically, qualitative research. With semi-structured interviews, there was enough space to anticipate and follow-up on the answers of the interviewees, while giving structure to the interview. Interviewees themselves had more opportunities to explain and articulate their own views and perspectives. The semi-structured in-depth interviews were therefore the primary research method used in this research.

In addition to the semi-structured in-depth interviews, this research is also based on an online survey. The aim of this research method was to get a more systematic overview of reasons why a specific group of people, i.e., environmentally aware Dutch students, have never demonstrated for the environment, while they would benefit from the environmental demonstration. Where the interviews gave an insight in the in-depth mechanisms, the online survey reached more respondents and therefore gave a broader answer. By mixing research methods, this research aimed to get a more complete data set.

4.2 Respondents

Respondents of the online survey

This research focused on environmentally aware Dutch students who have never participated in environmental demonstrations. These characteristics were chosen for a reason. To start, students have (had) a leading position in protests all over the world (Dahlum, 2019). Therefore, it seems like an important share of students participate in protest. The question arises, what makes not all students participate in protest? Likewise, 80% of the Dutch youth (18-25 years) thinks that the environment is important (CBS, 2018). The research assumed that respondents who are environmentally aware, would benefit from an environmental demonstration. These demonstrations try to improve or sustain what they value; the environment. Again, the question arises, what makes that not all environmentally aware young Dutch people participate in environmental demonstrations? It is interesting to see why these people who have characteristics that make them likely to participate in environmental demonstrations, have never participated.

Although this research looked specifically at reasons for not participating in environmental demonstrations, the online survey was also targeted at environmentally aware Dutch students who have demonstrated for the environment. This way, data from respondents who have never participated in environmental demonstrations could be compared to data from respondents who have participated. To reach these respondents, the researcher published an online survey on social media. She asked friends and acquaintances to publish the online survey as well. The researcher also sent the online survey to environmentally focused Dutch student organisations. By sending the online survey to student organisations, this research aimed to get respondents from all over the Netherlands. This way, the respondents of the online survey represent the targeted audience of this research.

Respondents of the in-depth interviews

The semi structured in-depth interviews were only conducted with environmentally aware Dutch students who have never participated in environmental demonstrations. The online survey acted as a filter to select the respondents for the in-depth interviews. At the end of the online survey, the respondents were asked whether the researcher could contact them to ask more questions. Respondents who answered 'yes' and who matched the above-mentioned criteria, were suitable to be contacted by the researcher with the request to participate in an interview.

In qualitative research, so-called theoretical saturation is often used as a tool to determine the sample size (Saunders et al., 2018). Theoretical saturation occurs when new data (interviews) does no longer lead to new findings and therefore continuing to collect data is unnecessary. Originating from the grounded theory, theoretical saturation has become 'the golden rule' in qualitative research in general. Despite its popularity in the academic field, practical guidelines to measure theoretical saturation are underdeveloped (Guest et al., 2006). Therefore, it often is a challenge to determine how many in-depth interviews are enough to get a complete picture of a specific case. Guest et al. (2006) specifically looked at this methodological issue. It turned out that, using sixty in-depth interviews in a homogenous group, after twelve interviews most of the relevant codes had already been found. It is important to note, however, that they did just one case study; therefore, it is difficult to generalize this number. Nevertheless, since the research population in this research is also homogenous, Guest et al., (2006) provided an estimation of the number of in-depth

interviews needed for theoretical saturation. With this in mind, the researcher paid attention to the flow of new information during the in-depth interviews to determine the sample size. Eventually, a sufficient level of theoretical saturation occurred and ten in-depth interviews were conducted.

4.3 Formulating the questionnaires

Formulating the online survey

To create the questions of the online survey and interview guide, the more abstract concepts in the theoretical framework have been operationalized first. Appendix 2 gives an overview. The operationalization shows how the abstract motivators often have multiple dimensions. Since this research needed to collect data on many topics and the online survey should stay concise to attract more respondents, the choice was made to leave some dimensions out. The questions of the online survey can be found in Appendix 3.

After creating the questionnaire, the online survey was created with Google Forms. Because this program is generally familiar to students, it was hoped that potential respondents trusted the safety of the online survey. The online survey was in Dutch, since this was in most cases the mother tongue of the respondents. The online survey opened with an introduction, stating the purpose of the online survey, the targeted group, the time it takes to fill in the online survey, and thanks in advance.

Then, the online survey started with some questions to check if the respondents were the targeted audience. To see if the respondents were students, they were asked at what level of education they currently followed an education. To see if they would benefit from environmental demonstrations, the respondents were asked to what extent they were environmentally aware and to what extent they thought the environment was important. They did not have to be environmentally aware *and* think the environment is important; the presence of one of those indicators was enough to expect them to benefit from an environmental demonstration. By letting the respondents rate these indicators themselves, the researcher wanted to avoid classifying the respondents herself. Classifying concepts like 'environmentally aware' and 'environmentally friendly' is challenging, because the concepts are broad. A certain behaviour might be beneficial to some aspects of the environment, while at the same time it might be damaging to other aspects of the environment. Therefore, just asking a few questions in the online survey would not cover such a broad concept. Obviously, the survey could have been longer, but in that case the number of respondents would most likely have been smaller and/or respondents might have lost their interests in answering the questions halfway.

It is important to note that there is arguably a clear disadvantage of letting people rate themselves: in general people tend to overestimate their abilities. Bergquist (2020) specifically shows that people overestimate how pro-environmental they are in contrast to others. Consequently, it is most likely that the respondents of the online survey have overestimated themselves as well. Since in the explorative set-up of this research the actual level of environmental awareness does not matter that much, the impact on the validity of this research is rather limited. Therefore, the choice was made to let people rate themselves.

Next, the online survey consisted of several statements. Respondents could rate on a five-point Likert scale to what extent the statements applied to them. The values of the Likert scale were switched (1=strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree), to make the respondents go through the questions more attentive. Each statement measured the presence of a motivator for (not) participating in

protest. To keep the online survey concise, most motivators were measured by one statement. The disadvantage of this choice is that often only one aspect of a motivator could be measured, so data on the other aspects is not collected. This could decrease the reliability of the data.

Furthermore, the second part of the online survey consisted of some closed 'yes/no' questions and open-ended questions. Until these questions, the respondents had all gotten the same questions and statements. Now, depending on their 'yes' or 'no' answers, they got different open-ended questions. This way, the respondents could answer the open-ended question fitting their situations. These open-ended questions focused on reasons why they had, or had not, participated in environmental demonstrations. To find themes in the answers, the researcher coded the answers later. This research did not provide clear answer categories to the respondents, because this research is exploratory in nature. By letting the respondents choose their own words, this research tried to be as open-minded as possible.

Finally, the online survey asked the respondents if they agreed to be contacted for answering more questions. It ended with the question if the respondents would be interesting in receiving a summary of this research, when it was finished.

Formulating the semi-structured in-depth interviews

In preparation for the semi-structured interviews, an interview guide was created. Since the interviewees were a homogenous group, just one interview guide was enough. The interview guide consisted of concepts to discuss; each concept had a set of questions. The conceptualization was used to determine which questions were useful in answering the sub-questions of this research. This was done so as to prevent unnecessary questions that could drown respondents in information (Vennix, 2013). The questions were in Dutch, because this is generally the mother tongue of the respondents. Appendix 4 shows the interview guide.

Prior to starting the in-depth interviews, the interview guide was tested on two people. First on someone who did not fit the profile of the interviewees, to check whether the questions were formulated clear enough. Then, the interview guide was tested on someone who did fit the profile of the interviewees. The goal was, once more, to test the formulation of the questions, but especially to check whether the questions covered every topic that was needed to answer the sub-questions. It turned out that some questions needed to be formulated different. Also, one interviewee said it felt like the questions were going on forever. To create more structure, announcements of what the following clusters of question are about, were added to the interview guide.

4.4 Data collection

Data collection online survey

The choice was made to use an online survey over a face-to-face survey, because during Covid-19, direct contact between the researcher and the respondents should be avoided. Other advantages are that the online survey is easily spread; many potential respondents could be reached at the same time and the researcher did not have to wait while respondents filled in the online survey. In addition, the chance of response bias could be smaller, because respondents stayed anonymous and there was no contact with the researcher (Duffy et al., 2005). Therefore, respondents could be less eager to adapt their answers to please the researcher. The anonymous set-up benefitted this particular research, because the respondents were asked how environmentally aware they thought

they were and how important the environment was. It is, in general, socially desirable to be environmentally aware, so respondents could more easily be tempted to say they were when the researcher does face-to-face surveys.

There are some disadvantages to online surveys over face-to-face surveys as well. Respondents might have paid less attention to the questions and finished the questionnaire sooner, because the researcher was not in sight and there was no feeling of being checked by the researcher. This research tried to tackle this problem to some extent, by putting in the introduction of the online survey how long it would take and what the goal of the online survey was; so as to make the respondents know what they were getting into beforehand, and not halfway through the survey. Another disadvantage of an online survey is that people often tend to choose midpoints in scales, and/or at the same time more often choose for the extreme sides on the scale (Duffy et al., 2005).

Data collection in-depth interviews

The potential respondents were approached over the phone or by email by the researcher, after they had indicated on the online survey that they were willing to answer some more questions. The researcher did not tell them the exact aim of the in depth-interviews, in order to limit the response bias. While it was probably already clear that the research was about environmental awareness and demonstrating – since these were the main themes of the online survey – the researcher just told the potential respondents that the questions would be in line with the questions of the online survey. The potential respondents who were willing to participate in the in-depth interview, planned individual appointments with the researcher, lasting about 60 to 90 minutes. While planning the appointments, the researcher already asked the potential respondents if they would agree to audio-recording the interview. The researcher explained what the benefits of recording the meetings were and emphasized that the recording would be deleted after the research was done. The researcher also mentioned that the audio would only be available for the supervisors of the research and the researcher. By discussing the audio-recording option beforehand, the researcher wanted to avoid surprising the respondent with the request just before the interview would start.

The interviewer tried to plan the interviews with some time in between, in order to have time to reflect upon the interviews that were already done. This way, the interview guide could be adapted according to the experiences of the researcher. She also had some time to transcribe some of the audio fragments. The advantage is that the interviewer could once more listen to how the questions were received by the interviewees. For example, it turned out that some respondents confused the terms 'protesting' and 'demonstrating'. The researcher noticed this after the third in-depth interview. To give the respondents in the upcoming in-depth interviews more clarity, the researcher added an explanation of the terms to the interview guide.

However, there could also be a possible disadvantage of listening interviews back while not all of them are done: a stronger researcher bias. By listening back, the researcher got a better idea what the possible answers of the research questions are. This could mean that the researcher started to look for confirmation of her expectations in the interviews, while an open mind during the interviews should be kept at all times. To limit the researcher bias, but still profit from reflection, the researcher tried to work out just some transcripts during the times that the interviews were conducted and did most of the transcriptions later on.

The interviews were done online, because direct interactions had to be limited during Covid-19. The preference was to do the interviews face-to-face, because more details are noticeable for the researcher. For example, small facial expressions of the respondents are clearer in real life than on

camera and these could be a cue for the researcher to ask follow-up questions. By doing the interviews face-to-face, also trust may be easier built between the researcher and the interviewees. Hands can be shaken and introductions of oneself may come across more personal.

Nevertheless, conducting online interviews also has its advantages. It was easier to plan the interviews, because no travel time had to be taken into account. To attend the interview, the researcher and respondent only needed a computer with a proper internet connection and a quiet room, preferable with no one else being present.

At the start of the interview, the researcher once more asked if the respondent felt comfortable with being recorded. The purpose to ask this again was to remind the respondent that the interview would be recorded, in case the respondent agreed to this beforehand. The purpose was in addition to record their consent, in case there might be disputes over this later on. When the interview started, the respondent was asked whether he or she had any questions. The researcher also emphasized that the respondent could ask questions any time he or she wanted to, and could quit at any time without having to give an explanation. This was all meant to build more trust. Likewise, the interview started with a couple of questions about their education and what they liked about it, to make them feel at ease more.

During the interview, the interview guide was a tool for the researcher to make sure all the topics were covered, while keeping structure. The interview guide was semi-structured, so there was enough room for the researcher to ask follow-up questions. The interview guide started with easier questions, working slowly to slightly more 'complex' ones. Between the various blocks of questions, the researcher tried to make logical transitions and explained what was coming next, so the respondent would not feel overwhelmed by a never-ending list of questions. The researcher also tried to summarize and paraphrase the answers of the respondents to make sure the message of the respondents was understood correctly. The role of the researcher was to stay as neutral as possible, while still trying to build trust. This was done trying to keep the language and facial expressions of the researcher neutral, while showing listening signs and keeping an interested tone (Vennix, 2013).

At the end of the interview, the researcher asked whether the respondent had anything else to add, so as to make sure the respondent had all the possibilities to express themselves and to end the interview on a good note. The respondent was obviously also thanked for his/her participation.

This was especially the case with respondent #5. At the end of the in-depth interview, the researcher noticed that the recording device had a default. The whole recording was lost, but fortunately, respondent #5 was willing to do the interview again. To prevent this from happening again, the researcher recorded the following in-depth interview on two devices.

4.5 Analysis

Analysis online survey

Eventually, 75 respondents filled in the online survey between March 30, and May 12, 2021. Various methods were used to analyse the data from the online surveys. To start, a quantitative research method was used to analyse the data from the statements. One goal of the online survey was to compare the presence of motivators among respondents who have never demonstrated, respondents who have demonstrated once, and respondents who have demonstrated multiple times. To do so, the data set from Google Forms was imported in SPSS. Next, the data set was adapted. This means that the ten respondents who did not belong to the targeted group of the online survey, were removed from the data set. The data set was also prepared to be used for

statistical analysis in SPSS. For each statement, a Crosstab was created in SPSS for the following sub-groups: respondents who have never demonstrated, respondents who have demonstrated once, and respondents who have demonstrated multiple times. This way, the division in answers regarding the presence of most motivators, could be compared between the sub-groups. In addition, a report was automatically created in SPSS that showed the mean and standard deviation of all the subgroups per statement. Appendix 5 shows all the tables from the quantitative analysis.

Another goal of the online survey was to find out what reasons respondents gave for having never demonstrated for the environment. To do so, the quantitative research method of coding was used for the open-ended questions. Since answers from the open questions was short, the coding had been done in Word. First, the answers of the open-ended questions were transferred from Google Forms into Word. The researcher subsequently translated the quotes from Dutch to English. Appendix 1 gives an overview of the original answers and their translations. Next, the researcher assigned codes for the reasons found in the text. When all the answers from the open-ended questions were coded, some alike codes were replaced by one code. Since this research is explorative, a certain level of details could be useful to find new mechanisms. Therefore, the researcher tried to keep the codes somewhat specific, while still discovering categories.

Analysis in-depth interviews

Between March 30, and May 13, 2021, ten interviews were held. The semi-structured in-depth interviews were audio-recorded, after which the interviews were transcribed, in preparation for the coding of the data. The transcriptions can be found in Appendix 6. The researcher read the transcriptions to get an idea of reoccurring themes and how these related to the research questions and the concepts in the theoretical framework. Next, the transcriptions were imported in Atlas Ti. The researcher started with labelling open codes to the transcriptions. Afterwards, the codes were reviewed, to see if some codes could be combined in one code. Eventually, most codes turned general. The researcher used such codes to compare all the answers of the respondents concerning that specific topic.

5. Analysis

In order to answer the main research question – *Why do environmentally aware Dutch students not demonstrate if they would arguably benefit from the environmental demonstrations?* – the various sub-questions have to be answered first. In this chapter, the sub-questions will be answered on the basis of the research data obtained from the online surveys and in-depth interviews. First, it addresses to what extent the five dominant motivators for participating in protests are present. Second, it discusses to what extent the two motivators to actively not participate in protest are present. Next, the third section reviews the level of participation in other forms of protest. Finally, the fourth section addresses the reasons given by the respondents themselves for not participating in demonstrations.

5.1 Dominant motivators

Based on decades of research, it is generally accepted that there are five dominant motivators that determine why people participate in protests and demonstrations: grievances, efficacy, collective identity, emotions, and social embeddedness (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). A lack of one or more of these motivators could explain – at least partly – why environmentally aware Dutch students, nevertheless do not participate in environmental demonstrations. With this in mind, the following sub-question was formulated: *To what extent are the five dominant motivators (grievances, efficacy, collective identity, emotions, and social embeddedness) present?* This section addresses these five dominant motivators one by one.

Grievances

First, the notion of grievances will be discussed. The term grievances can be approached from two angles. The relative deprivation theory focuses on the perceived (in)justice of the outcomes, while procedural justice focuses on the perceived (in)justice of the process (Tyler & Smith, 1998).

Relative deprivation theory

The Relative deprivation theory explains how grievances result from a feeling of injustice regarding the outcomes. Grievances can develop when people view their current situation as disadvantaged and unfair, as compared to their standard situation (Folger, 1986). Another term for this perceived injustice in the outcomes is distributive injustice (Tyler & Smith, 1998).

To start with, the online survey asked to what extent respondents agreed with the statement 'I think more needs to be done to solve environmental issues'. It turned out that respondents who have never demonstrated for the environment, were slightly less convinced that more needed to be done to solve environmental issues than those respondents who have demonstrated for the environment, be it once or multiple times (see Table A5 and A6). The respondents that did participate in environmental demonstrations all strongly agreed that more needed to be done (the mean being 1), while the mean of respondents who did not demonstrate was 1.55 (1=strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree). Five respondents took a neutral position, one respondent strongly disagreed. Although the respondents who have never demonstrated for the environment agreed less to the statement, with a mean of 1.55 the motivator 'grievances' appears present.

Likewise, during the in-depth interviews it became quite clear that almost all respondents thought not enough was done to help the environment. Respondent #8 was an exception, however. According to him, the Netherlands may even do too much for the environment in comparison to, for example, China. He was fairly positive on how the environment is treated in the Netherlands, although he disapproved of some people littering their surroundings. He did experience grievances, but those were rather directed at Dutch policy makers in prioritising the environment too much or making wrong decisions. The other respondents thought governments did not do enough to protect the environment or reacted too slow to developments. This was considered to be a problem by respondents, because more regulations were needed to resolve environmental issues; otherwise, many consumers and companies would not make environmentally conscious choices.

While all of them could name at least a few examples of positive progress that has been made concerning the environment, overall, they described the current environmental situation as being far from their standard. The list of concerns was also significantly longer than the list of progress made. To give an impression of the current grievances the respondents held, as well as points of progress concerning the environment, Table 1 gives an overview. Some quotes about grievances focus more on the outcome, while others rather focus on the process.

Table 1 Grievances concerning the environment

Respondent # in-depth interview	Grievances concerning the environment	Counterexamples
1	But you see, those targets are not being achieved. So, I think that is bad. I think it goes way too slow. So, a lot of posturing about what we need to do or not.	I noticed that businesses made a big step in sustainability.
2	…I think the government responds too slow on changes and takes too little control. I think the environment in itself is taken seriously, just capital stays the motive. So, everything that happens, is based on money, instead of what would be best, and that is what you notice in society	…I think at the moment, most steps are made in awareness and the support base, and that is also the most important step. What used to always contain meat, has now alternatives without meat or animal products. I personally think that is the nicest.
3	I think that in society there is mostly more awareness. But with companies, depending on what companies, if you take oil companies like Shell, I think they do not do enough to innovate and perhaps experiment with or create sustainable energy sources.	People realize more how important it actually is and that is especially through companies that sell sustainable products, which shows it is somehow important for people. If people, if companies offer that.
4	I think we view the environment as a factory. We actually lost touch with the environment as humans. I have little goods to say if I am honest ….You would almost become depressed if you hear about all problems going on.	Whether it is greenwashing or not, companies are really working on it. Almost no one says anymore the environment is not an issue. It becomes more open to discussion. There are more and more documentaries; also about these things that just appeal to everyone, not only to people it used to already appeal to. So is gets broader viewed.

5	…I think that especially in the bio-industry, it goes very slow and there is a lot of resistance. So, it goes slow and with the current Cabinet definitely not fast enough. Or with the old Cabinet.	…I think indeed Albert Heijn places less plastic bags with the groceries, or with the groceries and fruit. So that are small improvements we can notice in the day-to-day live.
6	I think the way it goes now, goes totally the wrong way and then the earth will be in time simply not habitable and you need to want to prevent this.	So, I think if it continues, then it is again a step in the right direction.
7	But definitely in older generations and also in society as a whole, I think profits are more important anyway. And all other things are almost more important than the environment, so that is not totally good.	But there are companies that also really do their best. And you see more small companies that really do their best to be as sustainable as possible. And I think that is a good development.
8	But also, I started to be bothered by the contempt of the surroundings here. …the fact that the person who does not live there and does make the decisions flouts, is something that really dissatisfies me.	I think that people in the Netherlands are doing pretty well. …I am convinced that the ingenuity of Dutch people and humanity as a whole can really solve every problem if we focus on it. Therefore, I am quite positive about the whole happening.
9	I know it is on the agenda. But to what extent it actually becomes clear, like in actions taken, then I notice little.	For example, the measure that you are only allowed to drive a maximum of 100 on a highway, I personally do not like, but it is good for the environment. So, I get the measure. That example I support, because concrete steps need to be taken.
10	I think the government actually does way too little, because I think that with certain rules you can achieve way more, than just saying we have to do more ourselves.	But I think there is really more attention for it. You also see that young people for example really commit to the environment.

Procedural justice

Another angle of approach to the concept of grievances is procedural justice. This refers to the degree of fairness in the process of resolving conflicts (Tyler & Smith, 1998). Data on this specific topic in this research has only been obtained during the in-depth interviews, so as to keep the online survey concise enough.

The respondents of the in-depth interviews were asked to what extent actors who caused or contributed in major ways to environmental issues, were justly punished. It is important to note that various respondents said they knew (too) little about this topic and were therefore not sure, but generally, punishments were perceived as being too small. For instance, most respondents thought that many companies were getting away from punishments because their lobby is powerful, environmental laws lag behind, the Dutch government acts too soft and fines are not high enough. According to respondent #5, polluting companies like Shell even get a tax benefit. Although the respondents strongly agreed that procedural justice was lacking, a (counter-)example of the presence of procedural justice was given by respondent #6. She was in favour of the reduction of the speed limit on Dutch highways. Even though many people opposed, she thought that the Dutch government did justice by tackling the high speed that contributes to pollution.

Overall, the motivator 'grievances' was clearly present. The results of the online survey show that respondents who have never participated in environmental demonstrations experienced less grievances than respondents who have participated, but still 90% thought that more needed to be done to help the environment. The results of the in-depth interviews support this, and in addition show that respondents were more familiar with grievances as a result of the perceived (in)justice of the outcomes, and less familiar with grievances as a result of the perceived (in)justice of the process.

Efficacy

The second motivator to participate in demonstrations is 'efficacy'. Concerning this topic, the theory of Rational self-interest and the Efficacy theory try to explain why people participate in protest. The Efficacy theory consists of two elements: group efficacy and political efficacy.

Rational self-interest theory

To start, the Rational self-interest theory refers to a decision being made based on the cost of an action in comparison to possible benefits of an action. When a person thinks the ratio is favourable for him or her, the theory claims that this person is more likely to participate in a protest. This research obtained data on what the costs are for people to participate in environmental demonstrations, as well as on how effective they expected environmental demonstrations to be. During the in-depth interviews, the respondents also formulated conditions that would make them participating faster. These conditions showed how costs could be lowered, as well as how the perceived efficiency could be increased. For instance, the condition of 'going with friends together', could make joining a demonstration less intimidating and even a sociable event, so for some this may decrease the costs of participating. Another example is the condition of 'specific theme/addressed solution of the demonstration'. Since some may think a demonstration is not efficient because the message of the environmental demonstration is too general, a specific theme could increase the perceived efficacy of the demonstration. When these conditions were discussed during the in-depth interviews, (indirectly) more information about what the perceived costs and efficiency became available, and therefore a better overview of the costs and benefits equation could be created.

Efficacy

So, part of the rational self-interest equation is the expected efficacy. The online survey asked respondents to what extent they agreed with the statement 'I think demonstrations are not an effective means to protest for the environment'. It turned out that the respondents who never participated in an environmental demonstration, agreed most with this statement: the mean was 2.96 (1=strongly agree, 5= strongly disagree). In comparison, the respondents who have demonstrated only once scored 3.60, while the respondents who demonstrated multiple times had a value of 4.00 (see Table A7 and A8). Of the respondents who have never participated, the following distribution was found: neutral (32.1%), disagree (25.0%), strongly agree (17.9%), agree (14.3%) and strongly disagree (10.7%). This shows that the respondents were quite divided in their views on the efficacy of environmental demonstrations and overall thought environmental demonstrations were a slightly ineffective means to help the environment.

The in-depth interviews also showed that respondents were divided on the efficacy of environmental demonstrations. Table 2 gives an overview of statements made by respondents

concerning the efficacy. This table shows how some respondents seemed more convinced of the efficacy, while others questioned this or disagreed.

Table 2 Efficacy in-depth interviews

Respondent # in-depth interview	Estimated efficacy environmental demonstrations	Comments estimated efficacy
1	6.5/7 out of 10 (inquired later)	Yes, I think it is indeed an effective means to get media attention. Actually that. And with media attention you subsequently also get more attention in politics. I think I could make a bigger impact in other ways.
2	5 out of 10	Is it worth to demonstrate all day, while you know it does not yield much per definition? Except for making yourself heard once.
3	6 out of 10 (inquired later)	…it sends a signal that something needs to change and I think it is definitely effective.
4	7 (inquired later)	I think it becomes a bit less finger pointing. It keeps everything really focused. It stays urgent and it stays discussable. And I think that is very important with demonstrating.
5	5,5 out of 10 (inquired later)	I think it is an important step and a good part of how we and I will make things better, or recover.
6	4 out of 10	I wonder often to what extent it really contributes, and that is difficult to estimate.
7	5 out of 10	I think it could be indeed effective. Definitely when a lot of people show up. But I think other things also have more effect.
8	3.5 out of 10	Because I do not have the idea that people will take me serious if I just yell
9	2.5 out of 10	But also, because I personally do not feel like a demonstration will provoke action. So, I do not feel like things like a climate march or an environmental demonstration will help much.
10	6 out of 10	I have the idea that it has gotten more attention, but there have been quite a lot of demonstrations. I can remember that when I was in high school, a lot of young people demonstrated. I think that this really had an influence.

Costs

Another element of the rational self-interest equation involves the costs to participate. The data from the in-depth interviews give a more extensive and balanced view of the balance between costs and benefits. The results of the in-depth interviews are summarised in Table 3. Most respondents named investment of time as an important issue to whether or not to participate in an environmental demonstration. While the length of the actual environmental demonstration was mentioned as part of the time invested, most respondents also emphasized that the time to travel to and from an environmental demonstration had to be included in their potential costs. Many respondents said that environmental demonstrations often take place in cities further away and this longer distance and subsequently travelling time makes the costs of participating higher. For some it even seemed to be the deal-breaker. Respondent #3 named the time to travel as the most important costs for her and later explained: 'If it would have been closer, I would definitely have joined. I have

this with many environmental demonstrations. If these would take place in Nijmegen or its surroundings, then I would be more likely to join.' She also added that financial costs of travel increase when an environmental demonstration is further away; this would involve another investment for her. Likewise, for respondent #2 the costs and time to travel further away were also a dealbreaker. He was asked if he ever considered participating in an environmental demonstration. His answer showed the importance of distance to him: 'I considered it once. Only, it is always very far away or it was very far away. That was in Amsterdam. And if you yourself live in Nijmegen, I think it is quite far.'

These examples illustrate the decisive role of distance in the cost calculation of some respondents. Other respondents thought the distance was indeed an investment, but they still considered to go to an environmental demonstration. For instance, respondent #6 explained her views regarding the issue of distance: 'And then I think, preferably the location is close by, but I think if for example a large demonstration takes place in Amsterdam, I would still be willing to join.' It seems that for respondent #6 the expected benefits of a big demonstration outweigh the travel costs.

Other costs explicitly named were the energy to participate and informing oneself of the rules of the demonstration, but these costs were only named a few times. Overall, the time to travel, the time being at the environmental demonstration and the financial costs of travel were the commom investments the respondents expected to make. To what extent these costs held respondents back to demonstrate, varied.

Table 3 Rational self-interest

Respondent # in-depth interview	Costs to participate in environmental demonstration	Conditions to faster participate in environmental demonstrations
1	-Free time -Time to travel -Hours of demonstrating	-Many people that are personally known need to go -Going together -Big -Specific theme/addressed solution of the demonstration
2	-Free time -Travel costs -Time to travel	-Specific theme/addressed solution of the demonstration -Other format, festival like with guest speakers
3	-Free time/study time -Travel costs	-Many friends need to go -Demonstrations needs to be max. 30 min from home
4	-No costs if she really thinks the demonstration is important	-Not too crowded -People that are personally known need to go
5	(not explicitly named, but indicates time)	-Invitation or announcement needs to be on time -People that are personally known need to go -Needs to be nearby
6	-Free time/study time	-More information on the efficacy of demonstrations -Beforehand information on goal and set up of demonstration -Close at home; for a bigger demonstration willing to travel further -Going together with people that are personally known
7	-Being there -Research the rules of demonstration	-Be available -Demonstration needs to be permitted -No news beforehand of expected violence -People that are personally known need to go

8	(not explicitly named, but indicates time)	-Being invited by a rational environmental demonstrator
9	(none were named)	(no conditions, would never go)
10	-Time -Energy	-Going together with people that are personally known -Specific theme/addressed solution of the demonstration

Conditions to participate faster

During the in-depth interviews, everyone – except respondent #9 – could name conditions that would to some extent increase their willingness to participate in an environmental demonstration. These conditions (indirectly) show the perceived effectiveness or costs. Table 3 gives an overview.

A few conditions were mentioned more often. First, most respondents wanted people they knew to be at the environmental demonstration. Some explicitly wanted to go together with friends; others formulated it in more general terms and wanted people they knew to be there. Respondents #1 and #7 argued that they would feel awkward standing alone for hours in an unfamiliar city. Although they knew they could talk to like-minded people they don't know, the threshold seemed (too) high for them. Furthermore, respondents #5 and #10 would participate faster if familiar people went as well, because for them it is important to be able to identify themselves with environmental demonstrators. According to respondent #10, she did not really have an idea who environmental demonstrators are; going with a friend with whom she identified, gave her some kind of feeling of security. Other respondents said that going together was just more sociable. Whatever the reason, knowing people who go or going together seems to lower the costs to participate.

A second reoccurring condition is that the demonstration needs to be about a specific environmental topic or propose a solution to an environmental issue. Some respondents argued that environmental demonstrations often have a message that is too general. When, for instance, respondent #2 saw a demonstrator holding a board with the text 'Climate Justice', he did not know exactly what the demonstrator wanted: 'And then I think that is true, but what do you concretely want to achieve? It misses so to speak, the vision is nice, only the plan behind it is often missing.' He explained that he would be more willing to participate if the demonstrators come up with solutions during environmental demonstrations. Respondent #10 agreed that she would be more willing to participate if the demonstration has a more specific message – in that case it is easier for the government to determine what people actually want and would be more difficult to ignore environmental demonstrators: 'And if you really come up with examples, then one can react to these. Otherwise, it is way too easy to just let these people demonstrate and subsequently not do anything with that.' These examples show that respondents expected an increase in efficacy when the environmental demonstration has a specific message or proposes a solution.

Other conditions that were mentioned a couple of times were that the environmental demonstration needs to be close by and have a certain size. Respondent #1 preferred a large demonstration, so she would not feel like she is the centre of attention, which she generally disliked. In contrast, respondent #4 disliked places that are too crowded. Table 3 also shows conditions that were mentioned once.

Overall, almost all respondents brought up their costs to participate, the conditions to make them participate faster and their perceived efficacy. Since the respondents weigh all these elements differently, it is obviously challenging – if not impossible – to figure out what exactly the sweet spot for participating is for each and every respondent. Still, all this information combined, offers some relevant insights. For some respondents, the perceived efficacy seems to be too low to ever

participate. Respondents #8 and #9 are examples of this. In contrast, respondent #2 also thought environmental demonstrations were not effective, but if the message would be more specific, he may participate. Then, some respondents seem to be willing to participate, but viewed specific costs as very important. For example, for respondents #2 and #3 the distance was a deal breaker. Especially respondent #3 appeared to be willing to participate if the environmental demonstration is nearby. Another example is respondent #6, who argued her costs to participate was her own free time, and she often valued this more than participating. Finally, some respondents did not value their costs highly and thought environmental demonstrations as such were effective, like respondents #4 and #10, so their threshold seems to be low.

Efficacy theory

Secondly, the Efficacy theory explains why people might participate in demonstrations. According to this theory, people are more eager to join a demonstration if they expect that the demonstration will achieve its goals. One specific form is group efficacy, which refers to the notion that the environmental demonstrators can work together. Another form is political efficacy, which refers to their own knowledge regarding the political system and the expectation that politicians are willing to listen. Table 4 gives an overview of how the respondents of the in-depth interviews thought about these forms of efficacy.

Looking at group efficacy, all respondents thought that environmental demonstrators were able to work together as a group, but they had different views on the extent of possible challenges. For example, respondents #1, #2 and #10 seemed quite convinced that environmental demonstrators can work together, because they described no obstacles for cooperation. Other respondents were more doubtful and they expected certain challenges. Many thought that environmental demonstrators had different views on how to approach a demonstration to get their message across. Proponents of a more peaceful approach may clash with proponents of a pushier approach. According to respondent #7, especially when more people participate and more opinions are involved, challenges to cooperation increase. Despite differences in approaches and opinions, most respondents thought environmental demonstrators are able to work together, because, ultimately, they share the same goal.

Regarding political efficacy, more doubts were expressed in the answers of respondents and they were more divided on whether or not environmental demonstrations can influence politics and to what extent. Many respondents were careful in expressing their opinions and underlined that they did not know the answer or had difficulty to answer the question. Still, everyone was able to give an estimate. It turned out that most of the respondents thought that politics can be influenced to some extent by environmental demonstrations. Especially larger demonstrations or a series of demonstrations were expected to get attention from political actors. Some specifically named the role of the media, because through media attention, the attention in politics would increase. How political parties were expected to respond to the attention for the environment varied. For instance, respondent #9 thought that politicians do feel pressure to respond, but would only give attention to environmental issues in the short-term. She questioned the long-term impact. Respondent #3 also thought political parties can be influenced. Mainly political parties that do not have the environment high on their agenda, would be more eager to cooperate with environmentally focused political parties.

While in general the increased attention for the environment was seen as the main reason why environmental demonstrations are to some extent an effective way to influence politics, some

respondents pointed out that there was no actual political action as a result of this increased attention. Environmental demonstrations were seen as an efficient way to get more political attention, but not always as effective in getting action going.

A smaller group of respondents thought that environmental demonstrations had no or, at best, very little influence on politicians. For instance, respondent #6 thought that political parties that have not prioritised the environment by now, will not be affected by environmental demonstrations. Respondent #7 also thought the political efficacy is limited, because political parties have already set their agendas. They may change their political agenda in order to gain votes, but she thought the effect of this to be very small. Thus overall, the respondents were quite divided on the level of political efficacy of environmental demonstrations.

Table 4 Political and group efficacy

Respondent # in-depth interview	Group efficacy:	Political efficacy
1	Yes. Environmental demonstrators definitely can work together, since they have the same goal and mutually little differences.	Yes. Demonstrating for the environment is effective to get media attention, and through media attention political attention.
2	Yes. Environmental demonstrators can work together on this specific topic.	Yes. During environmental demonstrations different minded people come together.
3	Not sure, but probably quite well. Environmental demonstrators have the same goal and message, but some groups are extreme.	Yes. No immediate response from politics, but eventually. Environmental demonstrations can especially influence political parties who have they environment low on their agenda.
4	Yes. Only when environmental demonstrators discuss with each other what their common goal is, because they differ in opinions and approaches.	Yes. When demonstrations get a lot of media attention and this shows society's support, then politics need to answer.
5	Yes. Because the group of environmental demonstrators is diverse, it can't really be one group. Still since they have the same goal, they can work together for an event.	Not sure. Difficult to measure, but it feels like environmental demonstrations can influence politics.
6	Yes. Environmental demonstrators can work together, since they have the same goal and therefore different opinions can be put aside.	Not sure. Political parties who do not have the environment high on the agenda, will not change their opinion by environmental demonstrations. Still, there may indirectly be an effect. People may vote for more environmental focused political parties because of demonstrations.
7	Yes. It is possible, because environmental demonstrators have the same goal. However, when the group gets bigger, the challenge to work together grows.	Yes, but not too much. There may indirectly be an effect. When environmental demonstrations cause more people to vote for environmentally focused political parties, other parties may change their opinion to get more of these voters.

8	Yes. Since more demonstrators result in achieving the goal of the demonstration easier, which is getting on the news, they work together by being at the demonstration.	Not sure. Growing environmental awareness in society, environmental demonstrations and growing political focus on the environment all seem to happen at the same time, but it is unclear what the causality is.
9	Yes. Environmental demonstrators can work together, since they have the same goal. Still, their approaches to get the message across can vary a lot and cause challenges in cooperation.	Yes, but only in the short term. Demonstrating for the environment is effective to get media attention and through media attention, politicians feel pressure to response. Still, concrete actions may hold off.
10	Yes. Environmental demonstrators are on the same page and can work together well.	Yes. To influence politics, many environmental demonstrations are necessary. The government now thinks more about the environment, but actual steps need to be made.

In sum, the motivator 'efficacy' seemed to be moderately present. Some of the data was more challenging to interpret, but a few things stood out. First, the online survey shows that about one third of the respondents, who have never participated in environmental demonstrations, thought environmental demonstrations were an effective means to protest for the environment. Second, regarding the Rational self-interest theory, the in-depth interviews show that the respondents appeared divided on how heavy their estimated costs to participate and the perceived efficacy weight in their choice to participate. Many respondents thought the costs were too high and/or perceived efficacy too low to participate. It seemed like a few would never demonstrate, a few would quite easily participate, and most would participate if first some conditions were met. Third, regarding the Efficacy theory, the in-depth interviews show that the respondents were quite like minded in regards to group efficacy; they thought group efficacy was generally present. Looking at political efficacy, the respondents knew less about the topic, were more divided in their opinions and thought political efficacy was present to a lesser extent.

Collective identity
The third motivator to participate in demonstrations is 'identification'. The stronger the identification with a group, the more people are driven to protest (De Weerd & Klandermans, 1999). This research looked at the level of identification in several ways. The online survey measured to what extent the respondents recognised their points of views in environmental demonstrators they saw in the media, as well as in environmental demonstrators they may personally know. The in-depth interviews focused more on the image of environmental demonstrators held by the respondents, and to what extent they recognised themselves in this.

Recognition point of view
The online survey showed that, generally, respondents who have never demonstrated for the environment, recognised to some extent their point of view concerning the environment in environmental demonstrators they knew from the media or personally (see Table A11, A12, A13 and A14). First, focusing on environmental demonstrators in the media, the online survey asked to what extent respondents agreed with the statement 'I recognise my points of view in environmental demonstrators I see in the media'. With a mean of 2.66, 12.5% strongly agreed, 35.7% agreed, 32.1%

was neutral, 12.5% disagreed and 7.1% strongly disagreed. This suggests that respondents who have never demonstrated, recognised some of their points of view in environmental demonstrators in the media. In comparison, the respondents who have demonstrated once or multiple times recognised their points of view more; each group scored 2.00 as their mean.

Second, focussing on environmental demonstrators they may personally know, the online survey asked to what extent respondents agreed with the statement 'I recognise my points of view in environmental demonstrators I personally know'. The following answers were given: strongly agree 8.9%, agree 30.4%, neutral 8.9%, disagree 5.4%, and 'I don't know people who demonstrated for the environment' 26.4%. It turned out that only the respondents who have never demonstrated, knew no environmental demonstrators personally; of these 56 respondents, 26 did not know any environmental demonstrators in person. Concerning the other 30 respondents who have never participated – with a mean of 2.20 – they agreed with the statement to some extent. However, they recognised their point of view less than respondents who demonstrated once (mean 1.40) or multiple times (2.00).

Image of environmental demonstrators

During the in-depth interviews, the various respondents described many characteristics of environmental demonstrators. Those characteristics are summarised in Table 5. The respondents often made a distinction between several groups of environmental demonstrators. Some groups had more characteristics that were favourable to the respondents, while other groups had more characteristics that were seen as unfavourable. It is important to note here, however, that it obviously depends on the respondent what they themselves perceive as favourable and unfavourable. For instance, respondent #6 referred to an example of an environmental demonstration where some demonstrators blocked the road by sitting down. She approved of this tactic, because attention for the environment had to increase. Respondent #8 referred to a similar example: 'I believe that Extinction Rebellion once, a few times, for example set up roadblocks at important main roads in Den Hague and Amsterdam. Like our problem is more important than you going to your work or something like that. Look, there are probably many environmental demonstrations that went normal. And not with such, with such strange stunts.' This quote illustrates his disapproval of blocking the road as a way to protest, as well as his distinction between groups of 'normal' and more 'extreme' environmental demonstrators.

Because some respondents distinguished several groups of environmental demonstrators which they often valued differently, they were also asked to make a guess of the distinction between 'normal' environmental demonstrators and 'too extreme' environmental demonstrators. If respondents recognise themselves in environmental demonstrators they consider to be 'normal', but think this group is quite small, the identification with environmental demonstrators as such could be hindered. By making an estimate of the ratio, a more balanced view of the level of identification with the group as a whole might evolve. Many respondents mentioned that they experienced difficulties in making such an estimation, because they did not have a clear image of environmental demonstrators. Eventually, almost all made an estimate.

Identification with environmental demonstrators

The in-depth interviews show that the level of identification was generally present. Many respondents felt like most environmental demonstrators represented their opinions well, but these respondents also mentioned some differences. They saw themselves as moderate versions of

environmental demonstrators; for instance, because they thought they were less active in undertaking action or less environmentally aware. Nevertheless, when asked about their level of identification with environmental demonstrators, respondents said they might demonstrate for the environment in the future.

A few respondents identified only with some specific aspects of environmental demonstrators. For example, respondent #1 partly recognised her attitude towards the environment, but she did not identify with the image of screaming environmental demonstrators who come across as too short-sighted: 'And environmental activists are already a bit short-sighted. So, what I said earlier about Shell needs to close now and this and that point… Very surrealistic. They are just less realistic and I prefer realistic.' She recognised herself more in the action group Urgenda, which she described as a group that does a lot of research and proposes substantiated solutions.

Respondent #2 also partly identified with her image of environmental demonstrators. She was brought up with an anthroposophical lifestyle, described by her as 'hippie and living together with the environment'. She recognised the anthroposophical mindset in the group of environmental demonstrators she described as extreme and judgemental towards her. At the same time, she also saw them as sweet and sensitive. She recognised herself in the importance they attach to the environment and also their sweet and sensitive side, but at the same time she did not recognise herself in the extreme and judgemental side.

Respondents #8 and #9 were exceptions regarding the respondents' general level of identification with environmental demonstrators. Respondent #9 had a rather neutral image of environmental demonstrators, and did not recognise herself at all. Respondent #8 had a negative image of environmental demonstrators. Characteristics like misguided, highly-educated people who never had a real job and irrational are just a few examples. In contrast, he described himself as a benevolent and a rational person. He was also the only respondent who thought that most environmental demonstrators are too extreme, rather than normal.

Looking at the level of identification with the perceived image of environmental demonstrators, the biggest share of respondents of the in-depth interviews recognized themselves in most environmental demonstrators, although they believed they themselves were a moderate version. About one third of the respondents did not recognise themselves – or just a little.

Table 5 Identification with environmental demonstrators

Respondent # in-depth interview	Characteristics environmental demonstrators	Level of recognition	Ratio 'normal' and 'extreme'
1	-Scream -Short sighted -Sometimes looking crazy with crazy clothes or painted faces	She recognizes the importance of asking for attention environment, but she does not identify with her image of environmental demonstrators.	Did not make an estimation
2	Two groups: 1.-alternative people -hippies -radical -misuse the right to demonstrate	Recognizes his goal in the second group. Group 2 is not always effective, but he supports the way they demonstrate.	Quite a lot of people from group 1

	2.-peaceful -decent -legal		
3	-Left orientated -Young people -Families who demonstrate for future of their children	Identifies with her image of environmental demonstrators and their ideas, but thinks demonstrators are more active in undertaking action.	Environmental demonstrators are in general normal
4	-Judging -Extreme -Fierced -Anthroposophic -Sweet -Sensitive	Identifies a bit with the sweet and sensitive side of environmental demonstrators and the importance for the environment, but thinks that her opinion is more moderate.	The group that is normal is much bigger than the group that is too extreme.
5	-Make aware choices in daily life -Left orientated -Young people (especially under 35) -Higher educated	Identifies with her image of environmental demonstrators and sees herself participating in the future	Environmental demonstrators are in general normal
6	-Think environment is important and want to express this -Some are extreme -Some destroy stuff	Identifies with her image of environmental demonstrators; shares the same opinions. Thinks that her opinion is more moderate and she values demonstrating less.	80% normal, 20% too extreme
7	-Young people -Many fit the labels 'annoying vegan', intense -Many are normal	Identifies with her image of 'normal' environmental demonstrators and sees herself participating in the future	Did not make an estimation
8	-Have good intentions -Misguided -Look crazy -All agree -Pat each other on the back -Irrational -Often not a good example considering the environment -Feel like they are better than people who they demonstrate against -Left orientated -Highly educated people who never had a real job	Not at all. Sees himself as a benevolent and rational person.	30% normal, 70% too extreme
9	-Hippie -Long hair -Alternative clothing	Not at all. Thinks she is not proactive in improving the environment or discussing this with others.	1/3 too extreme, 2/3 normal

	-Walking around with a microphone -Think environment is important		
10	-Regular people who think the environment is important and want to express this	Identifies with her image of environmental demonstrators, but thinks that her opinion is more moderate. Sees herself participating in the future	90% normal, 10% too extreme

In summary, the motivator 'identification' was fairly present. To start, the online survey showed that almost half the respondents who have never demonstrated, recognised their points of view to some degree in environmental demonstrators in the media. About 40% recognised their points of view in environmental demonstrators they knew personally. Then, the in-depth interviews show that most respondents identified with parts of their image of certain groups of environmental demonstrators, but often viewed themselves as a more moderate version.

Emotions

The fourth motivator is 'emotions'. People who think they have a disadvantaged position and develop grievances as a result, may experience all kinds of negative emotions. Especially group-based anger motivates people to protest (Van Zomeren et al., 2004). Also, people who think they have an advantaged position may develop feelings of anger and guilt in response to injustice done to others. In particular anger – and to some extent guilt – motivates these people to protest (Leach et al., 2006).

This research looked at the emotions experienced in watching news about the environment and news about environmental demonstrations, as well as emotions when people think about environmental issues. News about the environment may cause the strongest emotions that can drive people to demonstrate, since the news shows all kinds of environmental issues that could develop into emotions of anger or guilt. News about environmental demonstrations may not cause emotions that directly drive people to demonstrate; however, it could influence the level of sympathy with environmental demonstrators. Therefore, these emotions may influence the participation in demonstrations as well, albeit indirectly.

Emotions regarding environmental issues

The online survey included the following statement: 'If I think about environmental issues, I can feel guilty and/or angry'. It turned out that the respondents who never demonstrated, felt the least anger and/or guilt (2.46), as compared to respondents who demonstrated multiple times (1.75) or once (1.60) (see Table A3 and A4). Focusing on the respondents who have never demonstrated, 26.8% strongly agreed, 26.8% agreed, 16.8% was neutral, 12.5% disagreed and 7.1% strongly disagreed.

Emotions regarding environment on the news

The in-depth interviews showed that respondents experienced all kinds of positive as well as negative emotions when watching news about the environment. Some only experienced negative emotions, while others felt a mix of positive and negative emotions. Table 6 gives an overview of these emotions and their causes. A few respondents explained that their emotional response was

limited, because they either hardly watched the news, just did not feel anything while doing so or were rather sceptical about the news.

Specifically looking at the emotions of anger and guilt while watching news about the environment, anger was named by six respondents and guilt by none. When anger was mentioned, it was as a result of how badly the environment has been treated. This was also the case for respondent #8, but his anger was more specifically directed at the news on specific environmental topics like the cutting of the rain forest. In case of other environmental topics, he generally felt sceptical about the media. To generate 'clicks' on online media, he suspected the media may exaggerate and therefore he tends to distance himself from the media.

Other negative emotions were mentioned by the respondents as well, like irritation and disappointment. To illustrate where the negative emotions were coming from, various respondents gave the example of news concerning environmental goals that are not (expected to be) reached, like the Paris agreement. While most of these negative emotions were a result of the bad treatment of the environment, respondent #4 experienced a general frustration over the media's choice what to cover and how. She thought the media mainly looked for sensation, not for what really mattered. News about the environment had little impact on her emotions, however, because she already knew a lot about that topic.

In addition to all the respondents experiencing negative emotions (unless they felt no emotions at all), half of the respondents also experienced positive emotions while watching news about the environment. Respondents #5 and #8 described a feeling of pride when they saw news items about environmental progress. Respondent #1 also got positive emotions while watching news about the improvement of the environment and considered this as an encouragement to personally work to further help the environment.

Overall, while watching news, almost all respondents experienced negative emotions because of how unjust the environment was treated. Focusing on anger and guilt, only the emotion anger was to some extent present, among about half of the respondents of the in-depth interviews. Moreover, about half of the respondents who experienced any negative emotions, also experienced positive emotions as a result of environmental improvement reported in the news.

Emotions regarding news about environmental demonstrations
In regards to experiencing emotions while watching news about environmental demonstrations, positive emotions like happiness and pride were most frequently mentioned. People were primarily glad because environmental demonstrations got attention, especially when the news showed safe and peaceful demonstrations.

In addition, some people experienced negative emotions for various reasons. Specifically looking at guilt and anger, only respondent #8 experienced feelings of anger. This emotion was caused by environmental demonstrators, because he felt they point their fingers at others while not doing better themselves than the average person. Later on he indicated, however, that anger may not be the right term for his emotion, but he did experience some negative emotion towards environmental demonstrators: 'Yes, and I do not know if that is anger, but more like, don't you have anything better to do? Kind of like your father said perhaps sometimes in the past.' Respondent #3 also experienced a negative emotion while watching news about environmental demonstrations, but this was not aimed at environmental demonstrators themselves. When the police violently intervened in an environmental demonstration, she described her feelings: 'Because I think it is awful how actually a form of freedom of speech almost gets knocked down this way. I think that is difficult

to see.' Towards environmental demonstrators themselves, she had a positive attitude. Finally, respondent #1 experienced pride while watching news about environmental demonstrations, but at the same time a feeling of awkwardness and uncomfort. She supported the attention for the environment as a consequence of these demonstrations, but her lack of identification with screaming and yelling demonstrators seemed to cause negative emotions.

Overall, news about environmental demonstrations often led to positive emotions that showed support for environmental demonstrations. Some respondents also experienced negative emotions, however, which was for a large part aimed at (a part of) the environmental demonstrators; in one case it had to do with how environmental demonstrators were treated by the police.

Table 6 Emotions

Respondent # in-depth interview	Emotions regarding news on the environment	Emotions regarding news on environmental demonstrations
1	-Irritation (treatment environment) -Encouragement (to work harder) **-Anger** (treatment environment) -Fear (treatment environment) -Happiness (progress)	-Pride (attention for environment) -Awkwardness (environmental demonstrators) -Uncomfortable (environmental demonstrators)
2	-Powerlessness (treatment environment) -Disappointment (treatment environment)	-Happiness (normal demonstration) -Disappointment (too extreme demonstration)
3	-Fear (treatment environment) -Insecurity (treatment environment) **-Anger** (treatment environment)	-Hope (for change) -Sadness (violence police)
4	-Frustration (aimed at the media)	-Not a positive feeling (environmental demonstrators)
5	**-Anger** (treatment environment) -Happiness (progress) -Pride (progress)	-Happiness (environmental demonstrators)
6	-Shame (treatment environment) **-Anger** (treatment environment) -Happiness (progress) -Satisfaction (progress)	-Happiness (attention for environment)
7	(experienced no emotions)	(experienced no emotions)
8	-Scepticism (aimed at the media) -Painful (treatment environment) -Slight disappointment (treatment environment) **-Slight Anger** (treatment environment) -Pride (progress)	-Irritation (environmental demonstrators) **-Anger, but not sure** (environmental demonstrators)
9	(experienced no emotions)	(experienced no emotions)
10	**-Anger** (treatment environment)	-Happiness (attention for environment)

In sum, the motivator 'emotions' was fairly present. The online survey showed that half the respondents who have never demonstrated, experienced some anger and/or guilt when they thought about environmental issues. Likewise, data from the in-depth interviews show that half the respondents named anger while none named guilt as their emotions while watching news about the environment.

Social Embeddedness

The fifth and final motivator that is addressed here is 'social embeddedness'. Emotions and information can be shared within a social network. In a shared social network with environmental demonstrators, a shared consciousness can develop, which mobilizes people to participate in environmental demonstrations. Social embeddedness consists of a structural, relational, and cognitive dimension (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). First, the presence of connections between the respondents and environmental demonstrators will be discussed. The structure of these network ties determines to where information can reach (Putnam, 1993). Next, it is important to determine the kind of relationship the respondents have with environmental demonstrators, since the different nature of bonding, bridging and linking ties also influence which information reaches who (Granovetter, 1973). Finally, the focus will be on the cognitive aspect of a social network. As a result of sharing information and emotions in a social network, shared consciousness can develop (Gurin et al., 1980). This is the end phase of the process of mobilization for demonstrations.

Structural aspect

Results from the online survey showed that 46.4% (see Table A13) of the respondents who never demonstrated for the environment, knew no environmental demonstrator personally. During the in-depth interviews, the respondents were asked whether they knew environmental demonstrators. Since social media has in various ways a great impact on the participation in demonstrations, also environmental demonstrators that the respondents only knew online were taken into account. In focusing on the formation of the structure of ties in a social network, it is relevant to find out whether respondents have personal ties as well as online ties with environmental demonstrators, like influencers. The results of the in-depth interviews are summarized in Table 7.

Except for respondents #3 and #8, the respondents knew at least one person who have demonstrated for the environment, either online or in person. From this group, respondents #9 and #10 knew just one person who have demonstrated for the environment, while the other six respondents knew multiple people. Some respondents who knew more than one person, estimated how many environmental demonstrators they actually knew. However, in the case of respondents #1, #2 and #4 the exact number is unclear, because they just referred to their connections in plural. With this in mind, respondent #6 seemed to have by far the largest social network with people who demonstrated for the environment: between 16 and 21 people. Respondent #7 knew about six to seven people who have demonstrated for the environment, while respondent #5 knew two; as said respondents #1, #2 and #4 knew multiple people.

Table 7 Social embeddedness 1/2

Respondent # in-depth interview	Structural	Relational	Cognitive: Sharing experiences
1	1.Personally, multiple	1.Acquaintances from university	1.Did not discuss experiences, but saw posts on social media of experiences, got a neutral impression
	2.Social media , multiple	2.Influencers like Tim Hofman	2.Saw posts on social media of experiences, got a positive impression

2	Personally	Not known	Did not discuss experiences, but saw posts on social media of experiences, got a positive impression
3	-	-	-
4	1.Personally, multiple	1.A few classmates (too extreme)	1.Discusssed experiences
	2.Personally, one	2.Sister	2. Discussed experiences, positive impression
5	1.Personally, one	1.Friend	1.Did not discuss experiences, but saw posts on social media of experiences, got a positive impression
	2.Social media	2.NOS	2. Saw posts on social media of experiences, got a neutral/positive impression
6	1.Personally, one	1.Roommate	1.Discussed experiences in person, saw posts on social media of experiences, got a neutral/positive impression
	2.Personally, multiple	2.15-20 people from travel Association	2.Saw posts on social media of experiences, got a positive impression
7	1.Personally, multiple	1.5-6 old classmates	1.Discussed experiences with 1 person, got a positive impression
	2.Social media, one	2.Member of Extinction Rebellion	2. Saw posts on social media of experiences
8	-	-	-
9	Personally, one	Roommate	Discussed experiences, got a positive impression
10	Personally, one	Old classmate	Discussed experiences, vaguely got a positive impression

Relational aspect

The structures of the respondents' social networks with environmental demonstrators have just been discussed. While more network ties create more opportunities for information to spread, this alone in itself says little about the information someone actually gets. Another element is the nature of the ties; the relationships between the nodes in the network. Table 7 shows the various relationships of the respondents with environmental demonstrators.

Most relationships between respondents and environmental demonstrators personally known appear to be weak to moderate. For example, respondent #1 referred to environmental demonstrators she personally knows as acquaintances from university. Respondent #6 also described environmental demonstrators from her travel association as acquaintances: 'But they are not really friends, but people I know, so then it gets a bit more. I think there are like fifteen of twenty people who regularly participate. But they are not in my direct surroundings.' Furthermore, respondent #10's description of her former classmate suggested also a more distanced relationship: 'She and I joined the same football team and primary school. So, I have not seen her in a while, but I know that she participated in a demonstration when she was in high school.' Finally, some other respondents referred to their connections as roommates or current classmates, or only knew their connection online. While it was difficult to estimate the stength of these relationships, these examples rather point at weak or, at best, moderate ties.

However, some respondents appeared to have stronger ties with people who demonstrated for the environment. For instance, respondent #4 refered to her sister as someone close to her and respondent #5 named her connection a friend.

Cognitive aspect

When information and emotions are shared in a social network, a shared consciousness can evolve. During the in-depth interviews, it was tried to measure the exchange of information and emotions within the social network of the respondents in several ways. Respondents were asked how much they knew about experiences at environmental demonstrations of people in their social network, as well as if they were ever invited or received an announcement. In addition, the online survey asked the respondents if they saw messages about the environment on their social media, and in particular announcements of environmental demonstrations.

Sharing experiences environmental demonstration

To start with, the respondents were asked whether they spoke with environmental demonstrators they knew about their experiences with environmental demonstrations, or saw posts on social media about this. Table 8 summarizes the answers. With the exception of respondents #3 and #8, all respondents knew someone who had participated in an environmental demonstration. Roughly, half the respondents talked in person about this, while the other half saw posts of the event on their social media. Regarding respondents #9 and #10 it is not clear how they nevertheless got information about the experience of their connections, but they had an impression.

Overall, eight respondents had a neutral or positive impression of how their connections experienced environmental demonstrations, although some knew more details than others. For example, respondent #10 said she has a vague memory of the experiences of her former classmate, but she knew that many people joined the environmental demonstration. She thinks it is empowering for the people that participate. Respondent #2 mentioned that he only got information about these experiences through social media; the smiling faces on photos gave him the impression that his connections were having a good time. Respondent #4 was also positive about her image of the experience her sister had, and this may even influence her own willingness to participate in the future: 'Yes, especially positive. They are often people who are really close to me, like my sister for example. I feel positive emotions from that. So, I think that is also why I feel space now to experience this myself for once.'

Invitation

Another way in which this research tried to measure to what extent information and emotions were exchanged over the social networks, is by looking at invitations or announcements to participate in demonstrations. The online survey showed that respondents who never participated in environmental demonstrations, saw less posts about or announcements of environmental demonstrations than those who have demonstrated (see Table A17 & A18). Of the respondents who never demonstrated, 14.3% often saw these messages, 37.5% rarely and 44.6% never; 3.6% did not use social media. In comparing this to messages about environmental issues on social media, it turned out that respondents who never participated, see more posts about environmental issues than environmental demonstrations (see Table A15). In this case, 57.1% saw these posts often, 37.5% rarely, and 1.8% never.

During the in-depth interviews, it turned out that half the respondents had seen announcements or gotten invitations for an environmental demonstration. Table 8 gives an overview. Most invitations or announcements came from people they personally knew, although respondents #1 and #7 got them from people they only followed online. Furthermore, five people did not receive an invitation to participate in an environmental demonstration or did not see an announcement, although some respondents were not completely sure. For instance, respondent #8 thought he might have seen an announcement on Instagram, but he cannot exactly remember.

Table 8 Social embeddedness 2/2

Respondent # in-depth interview	Cognitive aspect: Ever got an invitation or seen an announcement?	Details
1	Yes, announcements	Acquaintances and influencers share announcements. Positive impression from announcements, but also some feeling of not wanting to go.
2	Yes, two or three times invitations	On social media by friends. At the time not that interested in the environment.
3	No	-
4	Yes, announcements and invitations	Invitations on Facebook from people she knows well, but often does not check Facebook
5	No	-
6	Yes, a few times announcements and invitations	An invitation to join on the Instagram page of her travel association. Also announcements on her timeline on Facebook of who would attend
7	Yes, a few times announcements and invitations	One example from Extinction Rebellion. Positive impression from invitation.
8	No	Only stickers in public that refer to an environmental action group
9	No	Only stickers in public that refer to an environmental action group
10	No	-

In summary, the motivator 'social embeddedness' was moderately present. Several aspects have been discussed. To start, the online survey shows that about half the respondents who have never demonstrated, knew no environmental demonstrator personally. The in-depth interviews show that most respondents knew at least one environmental demonstrator personally and some knew environmental demonstrators only through social media. Therefore, the structural aspect seems partly present. Then, the in-depth interviews show that the relational aspect was limited, since the respondents generally seemed to have weak ties with environmental demonstrators they knew. Furthermore, the cognitive aspect was measured by looking at different kinds of exchanges of information in a social network. The in-depth interviews show that respondents who knew environmental demonstrators, had some impression what their connections' experience at an environmental demonstration was. It became also clear that about half of the respondents had seen an announcement or gotten an invitation for an environmental demonstration. Likewise, the online survey shows that about half the respondents who have never demonstrated, had seen an announcement of, or an invitation to, an environmental demonstration on social media. Finally, 57% of the respondents who have never demonstrated, often saw messages about the environment in general on their social media. All of these different kinds of exchanges of information show that

some respondents who have never demonstrated, were somewhat part of an active social network with environmental demonstrators, and therefore the social embeddedness is limited.

5.2 Motivators for not participating in protest

In the previous section, the presence of motivators to participate in demonstrations was discussed. For a long time, within academia it was assumed that people who did not demonstrate, just missed one or more of these motivators. However, over the years it turned out that other motivators may be at stake. The collective action problem and association are two motivators that focus specifically on why people *don't* protest. With that in mind, this section tries to answer the following sub-question: *To what extent are the motivators 'the collective action problem' and 'association' present?*

Collective action problem

The first motivator refers to the so-called collective action problem. People were often seen as rational decision makers. This focus has changed and nowadays, trust and preference heterogeneity are central in academic research concerning the collective action problem (Pfaff & Valdes, 2010).

Trust

When people trust that others will participate in collective action and not free ride on the efforts of others, they are more eager to participate in collective action themselves (Pfaff & Valdes, 2010). In this research, the respondents of the in-depth interviews were asked to what extent they thought people they knew were willing to participate in environmental demonstrations. If the willingness is expected to be high, the level of free riders is expected to be low, so respondents may have more trust in others and therefore participate faster. This trust is easier built within bonding networks, so by asking about the respondents' expectations of people they knew, the question especially aimed at their bonding network. Unfortunately, this question was not asked to everyone, but still some valuable insights were gained. It has to be noted that the number of environmental demonstrators people personally know, could influence their trust in the willingness of others to go. If respondents see many people in their surroundings participating in an environmental demonstration, their trust may grow that in general many people will participate. For an overview; in the previous section dealing with 'social embeddedness', the connections with environmental demonstrators were already discussed.

Focussing on the expected willingness in their surroundings, the in-depth interviews give a few insights. To start with, some respondents estimated that in their social network, some people would be willing to go to an environmental demonstration. Respondent #1 thought that many of her friends and some colleagues might be willing to go. She expected their willingness would increase if certain conditions were met. For example, the message of the demonstration should not be too general and the demonstration should propose a well-considered solution. Respondent #7 also thought some friends would be willing to go. Respondent #5 was more general in her answer and thought enough people in her social network would be willing to go. On the other hand, respondents #8 and #9 expected that no one they knew would be willing to participate in an environmental demonstration, except for the roommate of respondent #9 who had already participated.

In addition to trust, preference heterogeneity partly explains the free-riding problem. Depending on the size of a collective action movement, people have different preferences regarding whether or not to participate (Pfaff & Valdes, 2010). Some are willing to join when the movement is small, while others are more eager if the movement is bigger.

During the in-depth interviews, the respondents explained to what extent the size of an environmental demonstration mattered in their willingness to participate as well. It turned out that seven of the eight respondents who discussed this topic, preferred to participate in large(r) demonstrations. Although they did not mention an exact threshold number, it was clear that many people needed to participate. Several reasons were given for this. For example, respondents #1 and #5 preferred a large demonstration, because it would be easier for them to stay anonymous or outside the spotlight. Respondent #4 preferred a big demonstration as well. Although she disliked large crowds, the advantage is that many demonstrators can form a strong front together. Furthermore, respondents #6, #7, #9 and #10 preferred large demonstration as well, because they expected that larger demonstrations are more effective. Respondent #7 in particular explained how smaller demonstrations are less effective: 'And if you stand there with twenty people in a park, than the effect is also not that big anyway. And then you almost stand there as a group of tree-hugging people or so. I do not know. Then people who are passing are more likely to think what are you all doing there?' Therefore she would be more willing to join a large demonstration, although she did notice that if everyone had this attitude, no one would show up. Only respondent #8's willingness to participate would not be influenced by the size of a demonstration. He would participate when the topic is important enough to him, if he thought the topic well through and fully supports it.

Two respondents also discussed how a bigger crowd did not motivate them to participate. Respondent #1 gave as one of the many reasons why she never participated, that already many people participate. Therefore, she felt less need for her to join. Likewise, respondent #3 questioned whether her presence would make any difference. So, while most respondents prefer a large environmental demonstration they can join themselves, for some this may also be a demotivating factor.

In sum, the motivator 'the collective action problem' appeared to be partly present. To start, looking at trust as an approach to the collective action problem, there seems to be a basic level of trust with a part of the respondents who have never demonstrated, that others would be willing to demonstrate for the environment. The following points have been discussed that indicate this. To start, the section on 'social embeddedness' showed that about half the respondents who have never demonstrated, knew someone who has demonstrated for the environment, although the exchange of information in that social network seemed limited. This could mean that these respondents have more trust that others will demonstrate for the environment, since they have proof of this in their own social network. Furthermore, when asked about the expected willingness of people in their surroundings to participate, some of the respondents of the in-depth interviews thought that friends or colleagues would be willing to go, while others strongly disagreed. This all shows that the trust in others to participate seemed only partly present and therefore the motivator 'the collective action problem' is partially present; with those who do not have that trust.

Furthermore, looking at preference heterogeneity as an approach to the collective action problem, this appeared to be quite strongly present. During the in-depth interviews, it turned out

most respondents preferred a certain size of an environmental demonstration to participate themselves. This increases the collective action problem, because the threshold to participate for them is higher than for people who are willing to participate from the beginning. For a demonstration to grow, it is preferable to have more people who are also willing to participate if the demonstration is smaller.

While most respondents preferred a large demonstration, a few others seemed to be demotivated to participate if the demonstration is large, because they felt their presence would then not be valuable. This seems to relate more to the original idea of 'the collective action problem', where people rely on the efforts of others to achieve something they can benefit from as well. Overall, these results indicate that through the presence of preference heterogeneity, the motivator of 'the collective action problem' is fairly present.

Association

The second motivator why people do not want to take part in protest is 'association' (Stuart et al., 2018). People may not want to be associated with (specific groups of) protestors, because they disagree with the intentions or actions of these protestors. Also, people may not want to be associated with collective action in itself. They may think collective action is inefficient, or think that others view collective action as inefficient.

To start, this research asked the respondents of the online survey to what extent they agreed with the statement 'I do not want to be associated with environmental demonstrators.' It turned out that of the respondents who never demonstrated, 28.6% was neutral, 26.8% disagreed, 16.1% strongly agreed, 14.3% agreed and 14.3% strongly disagreed (see Table A9 and A10). I comparison, none of the respondents who ever participated in an environmental demonstration chose strongly agree or agree; most opted for strongly disagree. Looking at differences in the means, respondents who never participated agreed most (3.09), followed by respondents who participated multiple times (4.50), and respondents who participated once (4.60) coming last.

Then, during the in-depth interviews, there was more room to find out why people (not) wanted to be associated with environmental demonstrators. Table 9 shows the results regarding the statement: 'I do not want to be associated with environmental demonstrators'; it also includes more details given during the in-depth interviews. To start with, respondents #1 and #9 supported the efforts environmental demonstrators took to help the environment, but they did not want to be associated with them. Although respondent #1 said she did not avoid being associated with environmental demonstrators, she did get a feeling of awkwardness seeing them, as she explained a number of times. Respondent #9 also did not identify with her general image of environmental demonstrators at all, but her expectations of the inefficiency of environmental demonstrations seemed to be the main reason for not wanting to be associated. Respondent #8 even appealed to be hostile towards environmental demonstrators. He absolutely did not want to be associated with environmental demonstrators, because he viewed most of them as condescending towards people who do not demonstrate for the environment, while not setting an example themselves.

Furthermore, in the online survey respondents #2, #4 and #10 viewed the topic of association with environmental demonstrators more neutral. During the in-depth interview, respondent #10 said she supported the approach of demonstrating for the environment, but she did not have a specific image of who the environmental demonstrators were. Respondents #2 and #4 were also more neutral in the online survey, but later it showed that they did not want to be associated with specific small groups of environmental demonstrators they view as too extreme. Respondent #2 wanted to

distance himself because they break the law, whereas respondent #4 wanted to distance herself because she did not want to come across as a judgemental and whining person.

Finally, respondents #3, #5, and #7 disagreed and respondent #6 strongly disagreed with the statement, 'I do not want to be associated with environmental demonstrators.' Respondent #5 was not sure what environmental demonstrators actually do, but she still had a positive image of most of them. Respondents #3, #5 and #6 also viewed most environmental demonstrators in a positive way and thought only a small minority may act too extreme or use violence. In comparison, respondent #7 also thought many environmental demonstrators act normal; however, according to her, there are also many intense and pushy environmental demonstrators. She explained being pushy could annoy people and put them off to become more environmentally conscious. Therefore, in her own life, when the environment is brought up, she highlights the positive sides and avoids being pushy. Despite viewing many environmental demonstrators as pushy, and considering being pushy as a negative characteristic, she disagreed that she did not want to be associated with environmental demonstrators.

Table 9 Association

Respondent # in-depth interview	I don't want to be associated with environmental demonstrators	Details association environmental demonstrators
1	Agree	-Said she did not *not* want to be associated with environmental demonstrators, but she felt awkwardness when she saw environmental demonstrators. -Especially when they dress up society views them as crazy. -She did not identify with her image of environmental demonstrators: screaming, short sighted, sometimes looking crazy. -She also felt pride, because environmental demonstrators act for the greater good.
2	Neither agree or disagree	-He only did not want to be associated with a group of environmental demonstrators, which he described as radical. They abuse the right to demonstrate. -He supported environmental demonstrators who demonstrate peaceful. -He described the first group as small, but also said there are quite a lot of too extreme environmental demonstrators.
3	Disagree	-Almost fully agrees with the opinions and actions of environmental demonstrators. -Just a few groups may use violence, although she never heard this. She viewed them as too extreme.
4	Neither agree or disagree	-She wanted to prevent being viewed as someone who whines about the environment. -Many of the environmental demonstrators she knew were too extreme. They scare her off. -It was difficult for her that they judge her for making some non-environmental aware choices, while she tried her best. -The normal group is much bigger than the groups that is too extreme.
5	Disagree	-She was not sure what environmental demonstrators do, but she agreed with asking more attention for the environment. -She viewed most activists positive.
6	Strongly disagree	-She thought most environmental demonstrators demonstrate peaceful and she supported and admired their efforts to ask more attention for the environment.

		-Perhaps are some environmental demonstrators too extreme or use violence, but she said she never saw or heard this. -The environmental demonstrators who use violence, probably do not come for the environment, but to cause troubles. -80% normal, 20% too extreme.
7	Disagree	-She thought many environmental demonstrators are intense and pushy, which could annoy people. Also, many demonstrators are normal. -She tried to answer people's questions about the environment or veganism when the topic comes up. Because she did not push her ideas about the environment, she thought she did not belong in the group of annoying people. -When environmental demonstrators were negatively in the news because of violence, she thought certain people just attend random demonstrations to cause troubles.
8	Strongly agree	-He said he not want to be associated with environmental demonstrators in any way. -He thought environmental demonstrators think they are better than the people they demonstrate against and lecture others, while not setting an example concerning the environment themselves. -30% normal, 70% too extreme.
9	Agree	-She supported the efforts environmental demonstrators take to help the environment, but not demonstrating as a method to do so. -2/3 normal, 1/3 too extreme
10	Neither agree or disagree	-She did not have a concrete image of environmental demonstrators, but still described them as normal people who think the environment is important and actually take action to help. -She agreed with their approach, but thought others who do not think the environment is important will probably view them negatively. -90% normal, 10% too extreme

In sum, the motivator 'association' seemed to be partly present with the respondents who have never demonstrated. The online survey shows that about one third of this group did not want to be associated with environmental demonstrators. The data from the in-depth interviews support this and show that these respondents did not want to be associated with the demonstrators who participate or with demonstrations as a method. Other respondents who were more neutral or did want to be associated, often did not want to be associated with only a small group of environmental demonstrators they thought were too extreme. Generally, they supported the efforts of the majority of environmental demonstrators.

5.3 Other forms of protest

The previous sections have focused on motivators of why people do or do not participate in demonstrations. Demonstrating is only one specific form of protest. Since people can protest in many other ways and this may influence their choice of whether or not to demonstrate, the following sub-question has been formulated: *In what ways do environmentally aware Dutch students who have not demonstrated for the environment, feel like they protested for the environment in other ways than demonstrating?* This section discusses the data concerning other forms of protest, as obtained during the in-depth interviews.

First of all, it is important to note that respondents defined protesting for the environment in different ways. Some view their personal actions aimed to help the environment as a way to show

protest, while others do not. For instance, respondent #8 viewed his own actions, such as preventing the waste of food and to be economical with water, as ways to show protest. Respondent #10 tried to act environmentally conscious as well by eating less meat, separating waste and not throwing away any food. The actions to consciously help the environment of respondents #8 and #10 are comparable, but respondent #10 claimed she has never participated in any form of protesting for the environment. Since this research is focused on an interpretative approach, whatever personal actions respondents viewed as a way to show protest, will be discussed here. With this in mind, Table 10 provides an overview of the ways in which the respondents of the in-depth interviews felt like they protested for the environment, or emphasized their actions in other ways.

To start with, six respondents thought they protested for the environment. For some, their ways of protesting seemed fulfilling and efficient. For example, respondent #1 explained that demonstrating is good to get attention, but in addition people should contribute to the environment in their day-to-day life to really make a difference. She did so by working as an environmental adviser and discussing the environment with others. Furthermore, respondent #8 seemed content with his way of protesting. By making choices in his personal life to help the environment, he tried to influence others in his direct surroundings. Setting an example in his own actions is more effective to protest than demonstrating: '… I try to behave as good as possible in my own actions, as well as in my own surroundings or around people I know, friends and family. This way I try to influence … Yes, and the people in my surroundings do this in their surroundings and this way I influence. Because I do not think that people will take me seriously when I just yell in the void.' Respondent #2 also thought demonstrating for the environment is not efficient. Instead, he signed petitions for environmental issues and participated in organised climate actions. He considered both ways to be more efficient than demonstrating. Likewise, respondent #5 also signed petitions to help the environment and viewed this as her way of protesting, but she was not sure whether or not it is effective.

Four respondents did not think they protested for the environment in any way. They all consciously took personal measures in their life to help the environment, just as the other six respondents did, but they described none of their actions as protest. For example, respondent #3 tried to buy sustainable products and discuss the environment with others, but she did not view this as a form of protest. The other three respondents just mentioned they did not protest for the environment in any way.

Table 10 Forms of protesting

Respondent # in-depth interview	Forms protesting in other ways	Remarks
1	-Posting infographics about the environment on social media -Discussing the environment with others	She viewed her actions to inform people about environmental issues as protest. Although she questioned if this is efficient, she hoped this makes people more environmentally aware.
	Working as an environmental advisor	She believed tackling the source of environmental issues has most impact. She preferred to coorperate with big companies through her work, instead of yelling unrealistic demands for big coorperations at environmental demonstrations.
2	Signing petitions for the environment	He thought signing petitions is more effective than environmental demonstrations, since your name will always be on a petition.

	Participating in organized climate actions for the environment, such as 'Warmetruiendag', 'Nationale Week Zonder Vlees' and 'Earth Hour'	He thought participating in organised annual climate actions is more efficient than demonstrating, because people focus in the short term on a specific theme and this could result in more environmental awareness.
3	Did not think she protested	She focussed on her personal actions to help the environment, like discussing the environment with people or being a vegetarian.
4	Discussing the environment with others and helping them to find practical solutions for environmental issues	Her biggest way to protest was helping people in her direct surrounding who are not aware, how they can adjust their actions to be more environmentally friendly.
5	Signing petitions for the environment	She was not sure whether petitions are efficient.
6	Did not think she protested	If there would be an environmental protest action on social media, she would definitely participate, because that takes little time.
7	-Sharing products -Discussing the environment with others	She likes these forms of protest, because they are easy to conduct.
8	Personal measures to help the environment	He viewed his own behaviour in regards to help the environment as a form of protest.
9	Did not think she protested	She may participate in a boycott or some organized actions in the future, like not eating meat for a day/week, but not in demonstrations.
10	Did not think she protested	-

In sum, the in-depth interviews show that about half the respondents thought they protested for the environment in another way than demonstrating and almost all seemed quite content with their methods, often because they thought these actions were more effective or easier than demonstrating. Some of the other half who did not think they demonstrated seemed open to a form of protest, or focussed on how they can help the environment with their own actions.

5.4 Reasons for not demonstrating for the environment

The previous sections focussed on various motivators for (not) participating in environmental demonstrations. Most data that have been discussed earlier, focussed on the presence or absence of specific motivators and other methods to protest. While this data is important to answer the main research question, it is also interesting to look at the reasons respondents gave themselves for not participating in environmental demonstrations. Therefore, this section focuses on the following sub-question: *What reasons do environmentally aware Dutch students who have not demonstrated for the environment, give for not participating in environmental demonstrations?*

Results of the online survey
In the online survey and during the in-depth interviews, respondents were able to express their reasons for not participating. To start, Table 11 and 12 show all the answers the respondents of the online survey gave, as well as the codes the researcher attributed afterwards. Most respondents gave just one reason why they did not participate, although others listed several. All these (sub-)reasons were coded. A distinction has been made between respondents who never considered

participating and those who did consider participating, because it may be interesting to see if there are important differences.

Table 11 Reasons for not demonstrating for the environment: never considered

Reason not to demonstrate	Original answer (translated)
-Other method preferred	I prefer to have a conversation with municipal councillors and Dutch parliamentarians than going out on the street and yelling.
-No time -Inefficient	No time and the idea that there is never anything done with it.
-Inefficient	I do not see the use in it.
-Uncomfortable feeling -Inefficient -Other method preferred	I do not feel comfortable to demonstrate. I do not think it is effective. I think there are better ways to draw attention to this and I think politics have a great role in that. In addition, countries need to cooperate to improve the environment and a demonstration will not take care of that.
-Hostility towards ED -Other method preferred	In my opinion, people should look at their own behaviour first, before they lecture others on their behaviour. Thereby, I think it is more effective to have these conversations with people in my direct surroundings, because you can be an actual positive influence on these people.
-Hostility towards ED -Distancing from ED -Other method preferred	The points of view of demonstrators are regularly extreme and aimed to transmit guilt. I cannot support this. At the same time, it feels more efficient to spend your time to get things done online, through local politics or through your work.
-Uncomfortable feeling -Other method preferred	I think it is important that environmental demonstrations take place, because it gets media attention. However, I personally do not feel comfortable with the idea of having to stand there with a board. I prefer to take action myself and make a concrete impact through for example, my work.
-Too many people -Never thought about it -Inefficient	Now with the Corona virus I am more aware that I do not want to be with many people at a demonstration. Before, I did not think about that and I do not feel like an environmental demonstration is the most effective way to improve the environment.
-Other method preferred -Inefficient	I try to improve the environment as much as possible by myself. I do things that are in my possibilities. Therefore, I did not consider demonstrating, because I do not think it will have a lot of effect.
-Distancing from ED -Hostility towards ED	I do not feel at home with radical revolutionists who cannot clean their own room, but think they can save the whole world.
-Uncomfortable feeling -Inefficient	I do not feel comfortable to demonstrate and I am not convinced it is the means to improve the environment.
-Not knowing ED personally	I do not know anyone in my surroundings who sometimes demonstrate. I think that then the step to join in a demonstration is bigger.
-No announcement	I never know where and when or someone who joins, so I usually find out about it afterwards in the newspapers.
-Other method preferred	I think awareness is most important. I prefer to see that on television, at for instance, 'Op1'.
-Personal preference	I support the right to demonstrate; only I never felt the need myself.
-Inefficient -Lacking necessity	I think it had relatively little use and the Netherlands are not 'the biggest problem'.
-No announcement -Inefficient	I never know when they take place, and I also wonder if they are useful.
-Personal preference -Fear violence	I just do not feel like demonstrating. Sometimes, I am scared it will end wrong.
-Inefficient -Hostility towards ED	Demonstrations are often not effective. Aggressive undertone. Often quite lacking content.

-Lack of content	
-Inefficient	I do not feel like demonstrations in general make an impact.
-No announcement	Never seen or received an invitation, otherwise I would perhaps join.
-Inefficient	Do not find it an effective way to improve the environment.
-Inefficient	Fucking useless, my time is worth more. Greeting (name respondent).
-Personal preference	Not my way to help the environment.
-Inefficient	Demonstrations in general seem quite useless to me.
-Too much time -Too much effort	Especially because it takes too much time and effort.
-Personal preference	Because I would never want to participate.
-Inefficient	Not sure how effective that would be.
-Enough people already participate	There are already enough people who demonstrate.
-Personal preference -Inefficient	Do not feel like it, doubt the efficacy.
-Never thought about it	I never thought about it.
-Never thought about it	Never consciously thought about it.
-Personal preference	It does not feel like something for me.
-Enough people already participate	Many other already do this.
-Too many people	Too many people and too busy.
-No time	No time.
-Inefficient	Seems meaningless.
-Personal preference	Am not crazy.
-Personal preference	I do not want to.
-No time	Especially time.
-Hostility towards ED	Too extreme.
-Inefficient	Useless.
-Inefficient	Meaningless.

Table 12 Reasons for not demonstrating for the environment: considered

Reason not to demonstrate	Original answer (translated)
-No time	No time.
-Other method preferred -Not fitting in ED -Hostility towards ED -Inefficient	I prefer to keep the environment and the importance of personal actions discussable in daily life. Demonstrations are important to keep the urgency high enough, but for me it feels like they are reserved for quite a specific group of people, where I do not fully fit in. They also come across as judging and hostile towards other minded people. I think I am less extreme, make good choices for myself and stimulate people around me to also think about the environment by telling them facts and options to do better. Many people do not know that they do not do well, for instance, waste separation. I noticed that watching documentaries or 'Keuringsdienst van Waarde' works best to help people make conscious choices and that people are quickly scared by demonstrators or if they feel corrected.
-Not available -Too far away -Inefficient	The only one nearby was on a day I was not available. I did not feel like going further away, because I have the idea their effect is minimal.
-Not available -Too far away -Fear reaction others	I often was not able to go, because of classes or it was too far away, and it felt like a burden to join because of the fear for the reactions of others.
(invalid answer)	I was around. I also thought it was important for people to come together to emphasize the need to help the environment.

-No announcement **-Not available**	I mostly hear about it afterwards. If I knew beforehand and did not go, it did not work.
-Uncomfortable feeling	Because I feel a bit suffocated to demonstrate with so many people at once.
-No opportunity to go yet	During the period I was consciously occupied with it, no demonstration has been held.
-Not available	I became sick during that day, but I will definitely participate next time.
-Inefficient **-Lacking necessity**	Not an effective means (and probably not idealistic enough myself)
-Personal preference	The threshold to really demonstrate is high.
-Inefficient	I thought it would not be useful.
-Inefficient	Felt like it would have no effect.
-Not available	I had already planned something else.
-No announcement	I do not know where, how and when.
-No time	No time at certain days.
-No time **-Too far away**	No time and too far away.
-Not available	I was not available that day.

To see how frequently specific reasons were given, Table 13 was designed. This table shows first of all how often specific codes occurred, per group and in total. Each code represents a (part of the) reason why the respondents did not demonstrate for the environment. The table also shows the percentage of how often the codes were named in a group, as compared to the total codes in that group. This makes it easier to see what the difference in the occurrence of reasons was, as well as possible differences between groups.

It turned out that overall, the code 'inefficient' occurred most often. Some respondents doubted the effectiveness of environmental demonstrations, while others expressed more convincingly that environmental demonstrations were not effective. The second most frequent code is actually a cluster of codes that all relate to time issues. The code 'no time' refers to respondents who had no time to participate; the code 'too much time' refers to a respondent who thought that environmental demonstrations take too long, while the code 'not available' refers to respondents who had other plans or were ill at the time of an environmental demonstration. The third code in frequency was 'personal preference'. Some respondents wrote reasons down that were too general to interpret. In essence, they thought demonstrating was not for them, but it is unclear why exactly. Two examples: 'The threshold to really demonstrate is high', and 'I support the right to demonstrate, but I have never felt the need to do it.' Next, the fourth code in frequency was 'other method preferred'. Some respondents mentioned as a reason not to demonstrate for the environment, that they preferred other methods over demonstrating to help the environment or increase environmental awareness. A few mentioned they preferred incorporating ways to help the environment in their day-to-day life, for example through their work or discussing the environment with others. Others focussed more on general methods that seemed more efficient to increase environmental awareness or influence other actors. Next came 'hostility towards ED (environmental demonstrators)'. Some respondents described environmental demonstrators only in negative terms, like 'too extreme' and 'hostile'. In total, these five codes combined make up for roughly two third of all codes.

In addition, fourteen other codes were attributed to reasons why respondents did not demonstrate for the environment. In terms of the frequency of reasons, it may seem less interesting to discuss these separately. However, since this research focuses on an under-researched topic and

therefore aims to be explorative, these reasons are also important to take into account. To start with, the code 'no announcement' was attributed to five respondents. Some wrote down they did not know when environmental demonstrations took place, while others explicitly said they did not receive an announcement or invitation. Quite often they found out about environmental demonstrations after these were held. Furthermore, the codes 'uncomfortable feeling', 'never thought about it' and 'too far away' were all attributed three times. The codes cover exactly what they say. The code 'uncomfortable feeling' covered respondents who wrote down they would not feel at ease at an environmental demonstration. Next, the following codes were all attributed two times. The code 'distancing from ED (environmental demonstrators)' refers to respondents who somehow distanced themselves from environmental demonstrators in their answer. While they also described environmental demonstrators negatively and therefore that part of their answer was coded as 'hostility towards ED', the distancing is an extra aspect with a separate code. The code 'too many people' was attributed to two respondents who thought there were too many people at environmental demonstrations. One respondent specifically avoided large gatherings because of Covid-19. The code 'enough people already demonstrate' referred to respondents who thought many others already demonstrate for the environment. The code 'lacking necessity' referred to respondents who did not feel the need to participate because they were not ideological enough or thought other problems were bigger.

      Finally, six codes were attributed only once. One respondent did not know an environmental demonstrator personally and therefore thought the step to participate was bigger ('not knowing ED personally'). Another respondent had had no opportunity to go yet, because since this respondent became interested to participate, no environmental demonstrations were held ('no opportunity to go yet'). Other respondents missed the right content ('lack of content'), feared a wrong ending ('fear violence'), thought participating was too much effort ('too much effort'), or feared the reaction of others if he or she participated ('fear reaction others').

Table 13 Overview codes for reasons not participating

Code	Group: never considered	Group: considered	Total
Inefficient	18 (29.5%)	5 (19.2%)	23 (26.4%)
No time	3 (4.9%)	3 (11.5%)	6 (6.9%)
Too much time	1 (1.6%)	0	1 (1.1%)
Not available	0	6 (23.1%)	6 (6.9%)
Total:	4 (6.6%)	9 (34.6%)	13 (14.9%)
Personal preference	8 (13.1%)	1 (3.8%)	9 (10.3%)
Other method preferred	7 (11.5%)	1 (3.8%)	8 (9.2%)
Hostility towards ED	5 (8.2%)	1 (3.8%)	6 (6.9%)
No announcement	3 (4.9%)	2 (7.7%)	5 (5.7%)
Uncomfortable feeling	3 (4.9%)	0	3 (3.4%)
Never thought about it	3 (4.9%)	0	3 (3.4%)
Too far away	0	3 (11.5%)	3 (3.4%)
Distancing from ED	2 (3.3%)	0	2 (2.3%)
Too many people	1 (1.6%)	1 (3.8%)	3 (2.3%)
Enough people already participate	2 (3.3%)	0	2 (2.3%)
Lacking necessity	1 (1.6%)	1 (3.8%)	2 (2.3%)
Not knowing ED personally	1 (1.6%)	0	1 (1.1%)
Lack of content	1 (1.6%)	0	1 (1.1%)
Fear violence	1 (1.6%)	0	1 (1.1%)

Too much effort	1 (1.6%)	0	1 (1.1%)
Fear reaction others	0	1 (3.8%)	1 (1.1%)
No opportunity to go yet	0	1 (3.8%)	1 (1.1%)

Comparing respondents online survey

If the two groups of respondents are compared – respondents who have never considered participating in an environmental demonstration and those who had –, it turns out there is a difference in frequently occurring reasons for not participating. The most occurring codes for not participating for the first group are 'inefficient' (29.5%), 'personal preference' (13.1%), 'other methods preferred' (11.5%) and 'hostility towards ED' (8.2%). The most occurring codes for not participating for the second group are 'time' (34.6%), 'inefficient' (19.2%), 'too far away' (11.5%) and 'no announcement' (7.7%). This shows that for both groups the expected or questioned efficiency plays a big role in the choice to not participate. It also suggests that for the respondents who never considered participating, their main reasons often show a certain disagreement with environmental demonstrations. In comparison, respondents who considered participating often gave more practical reasons why they did not participate after consideration.

Results of the in-depth interviews

During the in-depth interviews, the respondents were asked if they ever considered participating, and why they never demonstrated for the environment. Table 14 gives an overview of reasons the respondents themselves gave for not having demonstrated for the environment in the past. It also shows the environmental demonstrations they considered participating in, in case they mentioned this.

Respondents who considered participating

Half of the respondents considered participating; most of them did consider this once or twice. The demonstrations that were considered, were often described by respondents as large in some way. For example, respondent #2 considered participating one time in an environmental demonstration as a response to Greta Thunberg. The reason why he only considered this specific event, was because many people were going. He described this as follows: 'That was really when everybody started, everyone wanted to go. And then you hear from everybody, 'Yes, we want to go, let us go'. Some go, others will not go.' Respondent #3 also once considered participating in a nation-wide environmental demonstration. She was not sure, but she thought students were allowed to skip classes and go demonstrate if they wanted to participate. Respondent #7 named two occasions she considered participating in an environmental demonstration. One of these demonstrations was part of a nation-wide environmental demonstration, that took place in larger cities. In addition to these environmental demonstrations that were somehow described as large, other specific occasions were mentioned as well. Respondent #6 was invited to join some members of her travel association in an environmental demonstration, and respondent #7 thought about going to an environmental demonstration organised by Extinction Rebellion. In contrast to all these respondents, only respondent #4 often considered going to environmental demonstrations.

It is interesting to see what reasons they gave themselves for not participating even if they did consider to participate. A few reasons were reoccuring. Respondents #2, #3 and #6 questioned the efficacy, or thought environmental demonstrations were inefficient. Respondents #2 and #3 thought the locations of the environmental demonstrations were too far away. Respondents #2 and

#3 wanted to spend their time otherwise. Respondents #6 and #7 were not availible during the environmental demonstration.

Furthermore, a few reasons occurred once. In the past, after consideration, respondent #4 did not participate, because she wanted to distance herself from environmental demonstrators who were too extreme. She personally knew many environmental demonstrators who were judgemental towards her. She explained she did not want to be disliked by others, and therefore did not want to be associated with environmental demonstrators. She explained: 'So, I find it indeed difficult when people say here you have [name respondent] with her environmental crap. Maybe because of that, I find it difficult to exercise that … Yes, I think I find it difficult to be labelled as that.' More recently, she wanted to challenge her assumptions regarding environmental demonstrators by participating herself, but because of Covid-19 she did not participate. In addition, respondent #7 did not participate because she was afraid that specific environmental demonstration could end badly.

Respondents who never considered participating

The other half of the respondents never considered participating. They gave several reasons for this. To start with, while respondents #5 and #10 were not sure what exactly the reason for not considering was. However, they both mentioned they never received an invitation or saw an announcement. Respondent #9 thought environmental demonstrations were inefficient and she was not actively involved in helping the environment. Respondent #8 did not want to be associated with environmental demonstrators, because he thought environmental demonstrators felt 'better' than others. And finally, respondent #1 listed many different reasons.

Table 14 Reasons for not participating, according to the in-depth interviews

Respondent # in-depth interview	Reasons the respondents originally gave for not participating in environmental demonstrations	What environmental demonstrations did the respondents consider
1	She never considered participating. She named many reasons. She thought the demands of an environmental demonstrations were too general and unrealistic. She would feel uncomfortable to demonstrate, because she disliked to be centre of attention. She felt awkward seeing environmental demonstrators. She preferred to help the environment in other ways. She thought these demonstrations were too far away. None of her friend go, so she was not invited to go. **Lacking content, uncomfortable feeling, uncomfortable feeling ED, other method preferred, too far away, no announcement**	-
2	He considered participating once. Eventually he did not participate, because the demonstration was too far (costed too much money and took too long), he wanted to spend his time otherwise and thought demonstrating for the environment is inefficient. **Too far away, inefficient**	It was an environmental demonstration in Amsterdam. He was not sure, but thought it was organised in response to Grete Thunberg.
3	She considered participating once. She did not participate because she had other	She remembered a nationwide request to participate in protest. Classes were

	priorities to spend her time. Also, she thought the demonstration was too far away, which was the most important reason not to go, and she questioned the efficacy. **Other priorities time, too far away, inefficient.**	discontinued and students were tolerated to go.
4	She considered participating often. Last time she considered this, she did not participate because of Corona. Before, she did not participate because she wanted to distance herself from environmental demonstrators who are too extreme. **Corona, hostility towards ED**	-
5	She never considered participating. She is not sure why, but she mentioned she did not consciously saw announcements of environmental demonstrations. **No announcements**	-
6	She did consider participating once. She eventually did not participate because she was at her parents' home that weekend. In addition, she said it costs her time and she questioned the efficacy. **Not available, too much time, inefficient**	At her travel association, some people participated in environmental demonstrations. She was invited to join them to an environmental demonstration in Utrecht or Amsterdam.
7	She did consider participating twice. Once she did not participate because she was not available that day. The other time she did not participate because some of the demonstrators who organised that environmental demonstration, were arrested at a previous environmental demonstration. Therefore, she was a bit scared to participate. **Not available, fear violence**	The first demonstration mentioned on the right, was a nationwide movement with environmental demonstrations in several big cities in the Netherlands. The other demonstration was organised by Extinction Rebellion. She thought it took place on a square in Den Hague during the day and night.
8	He never considered participating, because he did not want to be associated with environmental demonstrators. He thought they felt better than the people they demonstrate against, while not setting an example in their day-to-day life. Also, he had better things to do with his time. **Hostility towards ED, distancing from ED**	-
9	She never considered participating, because she did not think environmental demonstrations are efficient. Therefore, she expected her presence would not make a difference. As an additional reason, she did not think she was actively involved in the environment, so it would be hypocritical to participate. **Inefficient, not that involved in environment**	-
10	She never considered participating. She has no specific reason why she did not consider, but mentioned she has never been invited to participate. **No announcement**	x

In sum, the online survey and in-depth interviews show many different reasons the respondents gave for not having participated in environmental demonstrations. To start, the online survey indicated that the most occurring reasons were the expected or questioned (in)efficiency, time issues such as not being available or not having enough time, having a different personal preference somehow, and a preference for other methods to protest for the environment. In addition, about fifteen less occurring reasons were mentioned. Comparing the most occurring reasons not to participate, the respondents who have not considered participating named more often reasons linked to their disagreement with environmental demonstrations, while respondents who have considered, named often more practical reasons.

Although the online survey shows that a large share of the respondents who have not demonstrated gave multiple reasons for this, the in-depth interviews in particular show that many respondents had multiple reasons for not participating. Reoccurring themes were the expected or questioned (in)efficiency, demonstrations were too far away, not getting an invitation or seeing an announcement, time-related challenges and distancing from (some) environmental demonstrators.

6. Conclusion and Discussion

This research aimed to contribute to a relatively under-researched aspect of collective action: reasons for people to not participate in protest, although they would arguably benefit from such protest. Since students generally make up an important part of protest movements and are environmentally aware, it is interesting to see why most do not participate in environmental demonstrations. Therefore, this research formulated the following main question: *Why do environmentally aware Dutch students not demonstrate if they would arguably benefit from the environmental demonstration*?

To start with, this research looked at the presence of the five dominant motivators that explain why people take part in protest: grievances, efficacy, collective identity, emotions, and social embeddedness. A lack of one or more of these motivators could explain at least partially why Dutch students who claim to be environmentally aware, nevertheless have not participated in environmental demonstrations. To start, the motivator 'grievances' was clearly present; almost all respondents thought more needed to be done to help the environment. The motivator 'efficacy' was moderately present; about one third of the respondents thought environmental demonstrations were an effective means to help the environment. The motivator 'identification' was fairly present, in the sense that about 40% of the respondents recognised their points of views in environmental demonstrators. It also seemed like most respondents (partly) identified with most environmental demonstrators. Also, the motivator 'emotions' was fairly present. Half the respondents experienced some feelings of anger and/or guilt when they thought about environmental issues. Finally, the motivator 'social embeddedness' was moderately present. Half the respondents knew environmental demonstrators personally, but the exchange of information regarding environmental demonstrations in their social networks was rather limited.

Overall, only the motivator 'grievances' was clearly present. The motivators 'identification' and 'emotions' were more often present than 'efficacy' and 'social embeddedness', but all of these appeared to be present among half of the respondents, at maximum.

In addition, this research focused on the presence of the motivators that specifically explain why people do not participate in protest: 'the collective action problem' and 'association'. To start, the collective action problem was partially present. The preference heterogeneity aspect tuned out to be more dominant than the trust aspect; almost all respondents preferred an environmental demonstration to be of a large size to participate themselves, while only a part of the respondents seemed to trust others to participate. The motivator 'association' was partly present. About one third of the respondents did not want to be associated with environmental demonstrators. It seemed like some did not want to be associated with any environmental demonstrator, while others did not want to be associated with specific groups of environmental demonstrators, or demonstrations in general.

Overall, the motivators 'the collective action problem' and 'association' were present among a part of the respondents.

Next, this research looked at other ways in which the respondents may have protested for the environment, since demonstrating is just one form of protest. It turns out that half the respondents of the in-depth interviews did not think they protested in any form for the environment. The other half thought they did protest for the environment in another way and often preferred this over

demonstrating, because it was easier or more effective. It seemed like many respondents were (partly) satisfied with the way they protested for or helped the environment.

Finally, this research asked the respondents directly why they have never demonstrated for the environment. The reasons most often given (ranging from large to smaller) were the expected or questioned (in)efficiency, time issues, having a different personal preference somehow, and a preference for other methods to protest for the environment. In addition, it turned out that respondents who had considered participating, eventually did not participate because of more practical reasons, while respondents who have never considered participating, more often gave reasons related to their disagreement with environmental demonstrations.

In sum, the data shows that there could be various reasons why environmentally aware Dutch students have never participated in environmental demonstrations. Looking at the motivators, a share of the respondents doubted the efficacy, did not identify with environmental demonstrators, felt no anger or guilt concerning the environment, were not actively integrated in a network with environmental demonstrators, showed little trust that others would participate, preferred a large size of the demonstration to participate themselves, or did not want to be associated with environmental demonstrators. When respondents were asked directly why they did not participate, it showed that (in)efficacy, time issues, having a different personal preference somehow, and a preference for other methods to protest for the environment, were the most often mentioned reasons. Insofar as having a preference for other methods to protest for the environment, it turned out that about half of the respondents of the in-depth interviews thought they protested in other ways than demonstrating – and they seemed quite content with this. Since respondents often named multiple reasons for not having participated in environmental demonstrations, it seems reasonable to conclude that an interplay of (some of) these reasons resulted in not participating in environmental demonstrations.

Discussion

The goal of this research was to gain a better understanding of why people who would benefit from a protest, do not participate in protest. Specifically, this research focused on environmentally aware Dutch students who have never participated in environmental demonstrations. Several sub-questions were formulated; the answers to these various questions, based on the collected data, have already been given. In doing so, this research aimed to complement some under-researched academic fields concerning the motivators for and drive to not participate in collective action. This final section aims to interpret the results of this research, and discuss its limitations.

Discussing research results
Taken together, the findings of this research indicate that there could be several reasons for environmentally aware Dutch students to not participate in environmental demonstrations. Since this research aimed to be explorative, several approaches to the topic were used: the presence of the five motivators to participate, the presence of the two motivators to not participate, other forms of protest, and reasons for not having participated – all according respondents themselves. When the data from these approaches is combined, a few interesting things stand out.

To start, the motivators to participate in protest were less present with respondents who have never participated in environmental demonstrations, as compared to the total of respondents who have demonstrated. Based on the statements in the online survey, these groups could be compared to some extent. Often only one statement was used per motivator, although each motivator had various dimensions and was more complex. Therefore, the validity of the data is lower. Nevertheless, these results do not contradict what is often assumed: a relative lack of these five motivators can explain why people not participate in protest. Since most research focuses on people who do take part in protest, it is interesting to see that another perspective also confirms that the five motivators were present to a lesser extent. However, it is important to note that the results in itself do not show that a smaller presence of the five motivators was (partly) the reason for respondents for not having participated in environmental demonstrations. It is not clear if the difference in presence of the five motivators between the two groups is big enough to cause other behaviour among the groups. In addition, looking at the relatively new literature on why people specifically do not participate in protest, there are probably other reasons at stake that are not measured by these motivators.

Likewise, the motivator to not participate in protest, 'association', showed the biggest mean difference between the two groups. Again, this difference in itself does not explain the different behaviours of the groups, but it suggests that the unwanted association could be an important reason to not participate in environmental demonstrations. Data from the in-depth interviews show that most respondents did not mind being associated with (the largest share of) environmental demonstrators, although a few did not want to be associated with environmental demonstrators, or environmental demonstrations as a method for protest. This is all in line with research of Stuart et al. (2018), who argue that unwanted association can be an active motivator to choose to not participate in a demonstration. It is interesting to see that in the open-ended questions of the online survey, no respondent named 'not wanting to be associated' as a direct reason for not having demonstrated for the environment. However, some answers seemed to indicate that respondents did not want to be associated with (some) environmental demonstrators or demonstrating as a method. For example: 'I do not feel at home with radical revolutionists who cannot clean their own room, but think they can save the whole world.' The answer shows the respondent looking down on environmental demonstrators. The respondent also distanced him- or herself, so it seemed like the respondent did not want to be associated. Such answers imply that an unwanted association was still present, but more research on the motivator of 'association' could offer more clarity.

Another interesting finding is the difference in frequency for reasons for not having participated between respondents who considered participating in an environmental demonstration, and those who did not. Both groups often named the questioned efficacy as a reason. Looking at the other often named reasons, the respondents who never considered participating, often named reasons that showed their disagreement with environmental demonstrations or environmental demonstrators. In comparison, the respondents who considered participating, named more practical reasons. This is not surprising, because it is unlikely that someone who thinks badly about environmental demonstrations, would consider participating. Still, this indicates that certain levels of willingness to participate correlate with specific reasons for not participating. It would be interesting for future research to further classify different sub-groups and their specific reasons.

Linking research to previous findings

The results of this research are generally consistent with the theories discussed in the literature review. To start with, it has already been argued why a smaller presence of the five motivators for protest does not prove causality with the participation rate in environmental demonstrations.

It does, however, make sense that the five motivators for protest were less present with respondents who have never demonstrated, especially regarding the motivator 'efficacy'. Van Zomeren et al. (2008), showed that the number of people who participate in protest, is strongly correlated to the perceived efficacy. Regarding this research, just one third of the respondents thought environmental demonstrations were an effective means to help the environment. Since the majority of respondents took a neutral position or though environmental demonstrations were ineffective, and the respondents named the inefficacy of environmental demonstrations most often as their reason for not participating, the relative limited presence of the motivator 'efficacy' seems to be consistent with the existing literature.

Another important consistency is the presence of the motivators that specifically drive people to not participate in protest. While the trust aspect of 'the collective action problem' and the motivator 'association' were present with a part of the respondents, the preference heterogeneity aspect of 'the collective action problem' was present with almost all respondents of the in-depth interviews. It is important to mention that the respondents did not directly say that the size of an environmental demonstration was a reason for not having participated in the past. Instead, they mentioned – either spontaneously or when asked – that they would be more eager to participate if the environmental demonstration was large. According to Pfaff and Valdes (2010), if a demonstration needs to be large to meet the threshold to participate for a large group, the participation rate is lower. Therefore, the general preference for a large environmental demonstration in this research is an important reason for not having participated in environmental demonstrations.

Furthermore, the literature shows that the increasing reach of social media can strengthen the motivators to participate in protest. Regarding this research, the respondents who have never participated in environmental demonstrations, less often saw posts on their social media about environmental issues than people who have participated in environmental demonstrations. Moreover, about half the respondents who have never demonstrated for the environment, have never seen an announcement of, or an invitation to, an environmental demonstration on their social media. In comparison, all respondents who have participated in environmental demonstrations had seen at least one. This shows that respondents who have never demonstrated for the environment, were less exposed to posts on their social media that could motivate them to participate in environmental demonstrations. While this research did not go into depth on the role of social media, and the existing literature focuses on people who use social media, these findings seem consistent with the literature.

While most findings were consistent with the literature, there is also an issue that stands out. To start with, the existing literature on emotions and protest focuses most on anger and guilt. In this research, respondents often described multiple emotions, including many other ones. While the literature underlines the importance of anger and guilt and does not reject other emotions, it still seems like the role and the coherence of the other emotions is underrated. For example, in this research, positive emotions like pride and happiness were present when respondents saw news about environmental innovations or progress. These emotions could counter the effect of negative emotions and subsequently make people less eager to participate in environmental demonstrations.

Therefore, it may be interesting to focus more on the role, and interplay, of other emotions as drivers to (not) participate in protest.

Limitations of the research

Specific limitations of this research can be seen as topics for future research. To start, this research aimed to contribute to the larger debate on why people do not participate in protest, while they would benefit from the protest. To select respondents who would benefit from an environmental demonstration, the online survey asked respondents to estimate how environmentally aware and how environmentally conscious they were. Only the respondents who thought they were environmentally aware or environmentally conscious, were part of the targeted audience of this research. Since people tend to over-estimate themselves, it could be possible that respondents presented themselves as more environmentally aware or environmentally conscious than they really are. This would mean that the results of this research are less valid; respondents could not have demonstrated because they were less concerned with the environment and therefore missed an incentive to participate.

In some analyses of the data of the online survey, respondents who have never demonstrated were compared to those respondents who have demonstrated once or multiple times, in order to find some kind of baseline. The group of respondents who have demonstrated consisted of only nine people in total. This group is arguably too small to make strong comparisons with the group of respondents who have never demonstrated.

Another limitation is that in the online survey, most motivators were measured with one statement per motivator. This choice was made to keep the online survey concise enough, so more people would be more willing to fill it in. As a result, not all aspects of motivators were questioned in the online survey, and therefore statements from the online survey may be too short-sighted. However, there were more possibilities to create a broader picture during the in-depth interviews, but it is important to keep this limitation in mind.

In addition, the order of the answer options in the online survey may have resulted in some invalid answers. The more traditional order of the Likert scale was switched on purpose, so answer options ended up as 1=strongly agree, 2= agree, 3=neutral, 4=disagree and 5=strongly disagree. By doing so, the researcher aimed for respondents to go through the questions more attentive. Unfortunately, the different scale was not obvious enough in the online survey, since a few respondents contacted the researcher on this matter. They only found out that the Likert scale had been switched after sending in the online survey. In order to solve this, a remark was added in the online survey, emphasising the order of the answer options. Because a different scale was used, some answers of the online surveys may be invalid. This could (partly) explain why ten respondents did fill in they were not environmentally conscious and/or environmentally aware, although the introduction to the online survey specifically said the targeted audience consist of those that are environmentally aware or thought the environment was important.

Furthermore, some response bias may have occurred during the in-depth interviews, because the researcher knew most of these respondents personally. Only one of the ten respondents was unfamiliar to the researcher, but was still a friend of a relative of the researcher. While respondents in general could be tempted to adapt their answers to please the interviewer, it is likely that the response bias grows if the respondents know the researcher. Once it became clear that the planned in-depth interviews were all with familiar people, the researcher hoped to limit the response bias by contacting specifically unfamiliar people to participate in the in-depth interviews. This was

challenging, because of the 18 potential respondents for the in-depth interview, 15 respondents were familiar to the interviewer. Eventually, the in-depth interviews were done with mostly familiar respondents. To encourage the respondents to answer honestly, the researcher emphasized in the introduction of the in-depth interviews that only her supervisors and she would hear the recordings, and that the results would be published anonymous. Still, the response bias could have decreased the validity of the results.

Likewise, most respondents of the online survey seemed to be familiar to the researcher. To reach potential respondents, the researcher first sent out the online survey to peers and requested them to send it on to others. Then, the researcher sent the online survey to student organisations all over the Netherlands, who were involved in environmental issues. By approaching people through these organisations, it was hoped to get respondents representing the targeted audience as a whole. If the respondents were only reached through peer groups, it is likely that a large share lives in one area. This could decrease the reliability of the results, because this research focuses on Dutch students in general. It is difficult to tell for sure, but looking at the moments the researcher sent the online survey and subsequently received the results back, it appeared like most were filled in by acquaintances rather than by members of student organisations. A member of a student organisation who responded to the request to share the online survey, gave an explanation for the challenge to get respondents through student organisations: since student organisations often get requests to share online surveys or requests to participate in research, their audience may get tired of seeing these messages and their willingness to participate decreases. Regarding this research, the presumed lack of respondents reached through student organisations could obviously mean that the reliability is lower.

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