ERC Consolidator Grant 2015 - Research proposal [Part B2]

GROUPS AND VIOLENCE: A MICRO-SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH PROGRAMME

A. State of the art and objectives: Revealing group processes in violence

1. Introduction

Think of street violence. One probably imagines a perpetrator and/or a victim. So, too, does social science, which generally focuses on perpetrators and background factors. However, this picture is far from complete. Violence in public space mostly involves more people than only attackers and their victims. These others are often called bystanders. But in the flurry of action, bystanders do not only stand by. They may try to fuel the antagonism by repeating the insults expressed by the opposing parties, by shouting and cheering, by focussing attention on the scene, or by entering the fray themselves. Alternatively, they may try to intervene and engage in conciliatory action by urging others to calm down, by putting their bodies between the opponents, or by asking others for help. Or bystanders may remain aloof, which also impacts on how the interaction proceeds: their seemingly detached stance may legitimize the use violence, or prolong it. Bystanders, I propose, are always members of a group, even if the group identity is only situational.

Social scientists have paid insufficient attention to these group processes – both conceptually and empirically. Although one-on-one fights are the exception in most forms of public violence (Conway and McCord 2002; van Mastrigt and Farrington 2009; 2011), research on violence generally treats perpetrators as isolated individuals. And while studies that take group behaviour in violence more seriously have addressed collective identities and solidarity, none have empirically demonstrated how these group processes lead to violent behaviour. This programme will break new scientific ground by opening up to empirical investigation the relationships between group behaviour and violence.

AIM

To understand how group behaviour affects the likelihood and severity of violence.

Towards this end, I propose a novel micro-sociological theory of group violence as well as methods to test this theory and to develop it further. The theory builds on my previous micro-sociological work on the emotional dynamics of youth violence (Weenink 2013, 2014, 2015).

My prior work as well as the research programme proposed here advances the 'new sociology of violence' (Walby 2013; Kilby 2013; Kilby and Ray 2014; Ray 2011). Special issues on violence have recently appeared in the journals *Current Sociology* (2013), *European Journal of Social Theory* (2013) and *The Sociological Review* (2014). In addition, review symposia of Collins' *Micro-Sociology of Violence* have been published in the *British Journal of Sociology* (2009) and in the Italian journal *Sociologia* (2011).

To simplify matters, two perspectives can be identified in this emerging field. The first is the micro-sociological approach focusing on the emotional dynamics of violent interactions (Collins 2008). The second are subjectivist approaches that focus on the meanings of violence and (masculine) identity formation (Ray et al. 2004; Taylor 2013; Wieviorka 2009; Winlow and Hall 2009). However, none of these recent theories specify how group behaviour affects the likelihood and severity of violence. The theory proposed here considers both the emotional dynamics of violence and its relationship to identity formation as group processes. It thus responds to recent criticisms of the micro-sociological approach, most notably its lack of 'attention to the role of language in circumventing the emotional barrier' and 'what perpetrators say before and during the act' (Kilby and Ray 2014: 4; see also Wieviorka 2014).

Following Spierenburg (2009: 17), I define violence as: 'all forms of intentional encroachment upon the physical integrity of the body'. Compared to extended definitions (symbolic or institutional violence, etc.), this restricted definition has the advantage of being more precise, straightforward and clear. It highlights what is specific about violence yet captures a broad variety of violent social activity (see Walby 2013). I define a group as persons who are mutually aware of their bodily co-presence and who feel that they belong together, sharing a social identity that distinguishes them from other persons who are also bodily co-present (the out-group).

How does group behaviour affect the likelihood and intensity of violence? I answer this question by examining how groups influence emotional dynamics in antagonistic situations. In antagonistic situations, people do not attain mutual understanding but engage in confrontation, which produces emotional arousal: both parties feel tense and experience anger and fear. Note that the main source of the emotional arousal is the inability to attain situational solidarity; tension and fear arise because the antagonism thwarts a common (but variable) human propensity to establish social bonds (Baumeister and Leary 1995; Porges 2011; Von Scheve 2012). This emotional arousal will be referred to with Collins' (2008) summary term 'confrontational tension and fear' or 'tension/fear' for short. The crucial point is that tension/fear forms a barrier that keeps people from turning violent (Collins 2008). Scholars agree that due to this tension/fear, most people do not easily commit violence (Walby 2013; Levine et al. 2011; Grossman and Christensen 2008; Wieviorka 2014). This research programme will analyse the crucial role that groups play in how and to what extent individual group members experience tension/fear, and how they may or may not overcome this barrier to engage in violent behaviour.

When groups encounter antagonistic situations, three reactions are possible:

1. The group may decrease tension/fear. They may do so by engaging in conciliatory or de-escalating behaviour, or alternatively, by backing up, giving in, leaving or avoiding the scene altogether.

2. The group may increase tension/fear. This happens when its members fuel the confrontation, responding to the opposing group through moves and countermoves, provocations and challenges. Tension/fear also increases when the group feels trapped or immobilised, a situation that I call confrontational paralysis. In both cases, the group may be attacked if the other group attains emotional dominance.

3. The group gains emotional dominance and finds a way to move beyond tension/fear. If this happens suddenly after a period of confrontational paralysis, the violence is likely to be ferocious.

My theory proposes that these three reactions are related to two features of group solidarity: mutual attention and action alignment (hereafter: mutual alignment) and the sense of belonging to a moral community (hereafter: moral community). Mutual alignment refers to the degree to which group members focus and adjust their attention and actions towards one another. A sense of moral community means group members feel distinct from and perhaps superior to other groups through their symbols (typical, exclusive, recognisable behaviour or material emblems) and moral boundaries (how the group considers itself as distinctively worthy and valuable). My earlier work on the emotional dynamics of extreme youth violence suggests that these two features deserve greater conceptual and empirical attention as they seem to play key roles in how violent interactions unfold (Weenink 2014).

CENTRAL QUESTIONS
How, and to what extent, do mutual alignment and a sense of moral community affect the likelihood and severity of violence?

---

2.   A novel micro-sociological theory of group violence

Mutual alignment

How do group members focus and adjust their attention and actions towards one another? Hochstetler (2001) identified three ways of mutual alignment. First, 'incremental signalling' concerns the use of small bodily or verbal cues to check whether others are receptive to the idea of a confrontation. Second, 'target convergence' comprises mutual and instantaneous recognition of a target. Finally, 'establishing identity' concerns recognising and appealing to group members' reputations as capable of violence, thus turning past experiences into expectations of upcoming action. In these ways, mutual alignment can create a sense of belonging, of being together in the action. Mutual alignment may also contribute to situational asymmetries or tactical advantages if the other group is less aligned (Weenink 2015). First, mutual alignment may simply result in bringing more group members to the scene, thus outnumbering the other group. Second, it may enhance group manoeuvres to attain an advantageous position or to move the other party into a more vulnerable position. The notion of mutual alignment is a specification of Collins's (2008) theory, in which supportive audiences that help to gain emotional dominance are seen as a pathway to circumvent tension/fear. I add that the sense that fellow group members will likely offer back-up may help to attain emotional dominance. Older interactionist analyses indicate that the presence of 'third parties' (bodily co-present persons who do not, at least initially, engage in physical harm) is related to more severe violence,

particularly when they encourage the opponents, and even more so when they enter the fray themselves (Felson 1982; Luckenbill 1977; Felson and Steadman 1983). Phillips and Cooney (2005) found that this effect is even stronger when the conflict is between members of different groups such as gangs or lineages (Collins 2008: 130; Decker and Van Winkle 1996: 24; Jankowksi 1991: 171-2). The latter study also found that third parties with unequal relational distance to the antagonists were more likely to engage in partisanship than third parties with cross-cutting ties were to engage in de-escalating behaviour.

When do group members retreat, look away or attempt to de-escalate? I propose that this happens in situations of low mutual alignment. Research on the behaviour of 'bystanders' suggests that weak, situational identities are associated with conciliatory actions, and that such de-escalatory behaviour is a collective effort involving group norms that emphasise helping others (Lowe et al. 2012; Levine et al. 2011). So far, however, 'there is very little research on bystander intervention when perpetrators are in-group members' (Levine and Manning 2013: 245). In Black's (1998: chapter 7) conceptualization of the role of third parties, one important dimension that determines the intensity of their partisanship – taking sides – is their unequal relational, cultural and functional closeness vis-à-vis the opposing sides: the greater the difference, the stronger the partisanship and the sooner it appears, while mediating behaviour is most likely when the distance is equal (Black 1998; Cooney 1998: 69-70). Experiments show that strong identification with an in-group leads to more in-group support of attackers' behaviour, while weaker identification leads to less support and greater feelings of anger towards perpetrating group members (Gordijn et al. 2006; Mummendey and Otten 1993). I thus propose that conciliatory norms may trigger helping behaviour particularly when mutual alignment and the sense of moral community are weak.
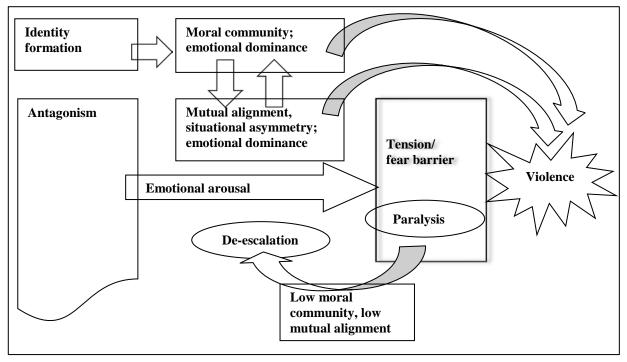
Sense of moral community

The more a group has distinctive group symbols and moral boundaries that separate it from other groups, the more likely that the confrontation will be experienced not just as an incident but as part of a history of confrontations through which the group has forged its moral identity. This moralising tendency affects the emotional salience of the confrontation and therefore the likelihood that the group fuels the antagonism. Alternatively, groups with a weak sense of moral community may be more likely to view other groups as equal, resulting in conciliatory action.

Groups that have a strong sense of moral community may simultaneously suffer from nagging but unacknowledged feelings of vulnerability and inferiority. Under these conditions, disidentification may arise, a process in which the group's own negative emotions are projected onto the other group, perceived as both fearful and inferior (Blok 2001; Scheff 2011; De Swaan 2015). In their study of racist street violence, Ray et al. (2004) show that unacknowledged feelings of humiliation and rejection among marginalised white men are projected as anger onto ethnic minorities. Experiments indicate that stronger social identities are associated with a greater likelihood of disidentification (Waytz and Epley 2012). In terms of the theory proposed here, disidentification may offer a pathway to circumventing tension/fear by enabling antagonists to reduce their opponents into non-human entities.

A group's sense of moral community is related to the degree to which it attracts members who seek to defend, transform or develop a social identity. Previous studies have identified a relationship between violence and the loss of masculine identity (Taylor 2013; Winlow and Hall 2009; Polk 1994), especially among men locked into structurally marginal positions. However, the role of groups in these processes – how they help to transform, direct and project negative feelings into disidentification with others, how positive emotions such as pride and enthusiasm arise from forging violent group identities, especially vis-à-vis out groups – has not been the focus of this work. The current programme thus advances the state of the art by analysing the role that groups play in the relationships between violence, structural marginalisation and identity formation.

The projects that make up the Group Violence research programme will empirically study all of the conceptual elements and their relationships as shown in Figure 1 below. Before I detail how the projects will assess and develop the theory further, I situate the theory within the existing literature on groups and public violence.

Figure 1. Moral community and mutual alignment generate emotional dominance, providing a way to overcome the tension/fear barrier in antagonistic situations.

3. A review of prior work on the role of groups and violence

How do groups feature in studies of public violence? In this section I discuss diverse traditions of research that emphasize the roles played by: 1) audiences, third parties and bystanders; and 2) collective identities and solidarity.

Audiences, third parties and bystanders

The interactionist tradition of research frames violence as impression management (Felson and Tedeschi 1993). Violent interactions are often a means to contest dominance (Weenink 2015; Athens 2005) – a series of challenges and provocations, a sequence of claims and counterclaims to the superordinate role that increases tension between the opponents. From an interactionist viewpoint, these are performances in which actors try to project a positive identity, claiming how they ought to be valued and treated by others. These others include the principal antagonists as well as 'bystanders' or 'third parties'. By focussing on the interaction rather than on the perpetrators, the interactionist tradition took a first step towards perceiving violence as a group process. Bystanders and third parties matter because they increase the salience of the reputational stakes; they form an audience that turns the antagonism into a stage contest (Collins 2008). As indicated above, prior studies have linked the presence of third parties to the increased severity of violence, particularly when they encourage the opponents, and even more so when they enter the fray themselves.

Other traditions of research have also highlighted the importance of audiences. Studies of violence in the night-time leisure economy indicate that particularly the presence of male audiences increases the salience of masculine reputation for those involved in contests of dominance (Tomsen 1997; Polk 1994; Jackson-Jacobs 2013). Research on violence in severely deprived US and UK neighbourhoods has highlighted the importance of audiences as well, albeit for a different reason. Where the 'code of the street' (Anderson 1999) governs public behaviour, a fearful reputation – 'respect' – must be attained through a presentation of self that displays immediate responsiveness and the willingness to use violence (Jankowksi 1991; Sanders 1994; Brookman 2011). Given the withdrawal of police forces and the prominence of drugs crime in such hostile environments, respect provides protective deference (Jacobs and Wright 2006; Contreras 2013). An aggressive demeanour must be projected in the presence of others – an urgent matter because rumours of weak character spread quickly (Wilkinson and Fagan 2001; Paulle 2013). The crucial point that emerges from these studies is that group processes matter in antagonistic situations. But as of yet, we do not know exactly how. I propose that the key to understanding them is mutual alignment.

Collective identities and solidarity

Social psychological studies of violence mostly rely on social identity theory. In this theory, group behaviour – or more specifically, mutual attention and action alignment – is possible because group members share a common identity, a sense of moral community (Hogett and Stott 2010; Stott and Reicher 1998; Levine and Manning 2013; Levine and Crowther 2008). Social identity theory holds that identities are fluid, and depend on how groups respond to one another in unfolding situations. This means that strangers, connected to each other by being in the same situation, also make up a group. As noted above, Levine and colleagues (Levine and Crowther 2008; Levine et al. 2011) have shown that groups are more likely to engage in conciliatory than escalatory action and that this tendency is stronger when groups are larger. They explain this tendency by referring to norms that put a premium on helping others or on harmonious, peaceful behaviour. Group members then restrain fellow perpetrating members in order to restore peace.

Conciliatory norms may trigger helping behaviour particularly when a group's sense of moral community is weak. Stronger moral communities are more likely to trigger escalatory behaviour and to take sides. Research grounded in social identity theory again provides examples. Studies of the policing of crowds suggest that police officers – relying on a lay version of LeBon's theory of the maddening crowd – tend to view groups of citizens as a homogenous mass, susceptible to hysteria and violence if stirred up by agitators (Hogett and Stott 2010; Stott et al. 2001; Stott and Reicher 1998). This view encourages stereotyping, the spreading of rumours about the actions of the other party, and perceiving gestures and expressions as potentially dangerous, thus increasing tension/fear. Nassauer (unpublished manuscript) showed that the emotional cues of tension/fear (raised eyebrows, wrinkles in the centre of the forehead, open mouth, shoulders drawn up) always precede the occurrence of police and civilian violence at protest marches. In terms of my theory, the boundary-drawing related to a strong sense of moral community increases the likelihood of escalatory action.

The relationship between collective identities and violence has been observed by other traditions of research. Ethnographic studies of ethnic and racist violence (De Swaan 2015; Verkaaik 2003; Ray et al. 2004; Treadwell and Garland 2011), football hooliganism (King 1995; Spaaij 2008) and combat soldiers (King 2013) have found that collective identities are created and affirmed in antagonistic situations. For instance, stories of violent confrontations begin to circulate as symbols of the intense emotional moments shared by group members. These symbols can be positively or negatively charged. In the former case, the retelling of stories about violent confrontation become positive symbols testifying to the solidarity of group members when they were absorbed – 'acted as one' – in the thrill and excitement of the action. Such stories also reveal what it means to be a loyal, masculine group member unafraid of physical pain (Spaaij 2008; Jackson-Jacobs 2013; Weenink 2013). On the other hand, storytelling can be more negatively charged, capturing past humiliations and degradations, to 'never let them walk over us again' (Scheff 2011; De Swaan 2015; Ray et al. 2004). Here as well, rumours and exaggerated storytelling sharpen the moral boundaries of the group, even to the point of disidentification. In this and many other ways – to be discovered through empirical inquiry – the sense of moral community fuels the emotional salience of antagonism, offering moral justifications and mobilizing feelings of superiority and solidarity.

The strong collective identities that are often present in antagonistic situations provide an entry point for introducing the lived experiences of group members into my theory. I noted that moral communities often attract or recruit members who are seeking to transform or bolster their individual or social identities. While Wieviorka's (2009) theory on the role of violence in identity formation focuses on individuals, I expand its reach to cover identify formation among groups, leading to the creation of moral communities. In Wieviorka's (2014) terms, some forms of violence constitute 'subjectivation processes' for 'floating subjects' – alienated individuals whose identity formation is undermined by social exclusion and misrecognition (the studies referred to above that relate masculinity to violence provide examples of this). The theory also applies to 'hyper subjects' – individuals who violently forge strong, often ideological or religious, identities out of an earlier situation of loss of meaning. But violence may also undermine identity in a process of 'desubjectivation' that creates 'non-subjects' and 'anti-subjects'. For the former (individuals who are unable or refuse to be subjects), violence is the meaningless carrying out of bureaucratic orders. For the latter, acts of 'pure violence' are committed for the sake of violence itself; they dehumanize their victims, reducing them to things over which they can exercise absolute power (Wieviorka 2009). Building on this work, I propose to view (de-)subjectivation as a group process, part of the creation of moral communities. Moral communities thus provide their members with identity and infuse antagonism and violence with emotional meaning.

B. Methodology: the Group Violence research programme

This section outlines the methodological approaches of the projects that make up the Group Violence research programme. The project descriptions below detail the methods, data, sampling, coding/analysis, required inputs and expected outputs of the individual projects, as well as how they contribute to the overall research programme and advance our state of knowledge in the field.

1. Project descriptions

Project 1: Sequences of bodily cues in violent interactions

> *Questions: How and to what extent are expressions of tension/fear, emotional dominance and the enactment of mutual alignment related to the severity of violence?*

Project 1 will answer these questions by examining – down to the minutest detail – the bodily movements that make up violent interactions. It promises to advance our current understanding of the relationship between solidarity and violence by revealing precisely how group behaviour – in the form of mutual alignment – affects emotional and bodily processes in violent interactions. This will entail the close-up qualitative and quantitative video analysis of sequences of bodily cues in 50 incidents of public violence.

Data. The project will rely on a database of high-quality video footage of violent incidents in public space. Video fragments of violent interactions will be analysed with the aid of Observer Pro software (Noldus et al. 2000). Its options for repeated viewing, dissection through slow-motion and frame-by-frame analysis as well as comparison of cases using fast forward and rewind will allow us to observe violent interactions at a level of detail not even visible to participants (Knoblauch 2012).

Sampling. This project samples on the dependent variable but allows for variation in the severity of violence: the amount, type (slapping, punching, kicking, stabbing, shooting, etc.) and duration of the harm-doing, as well as the number of attackers and victims involved. The sample will consist of 50 violent interactions, each captured by at least two video recordings. These interactions will be retrieved from the internet (sources such as TV coverage or documentaries and a broad range of amateur footage) as well as CCTV footage from the Rotterdam and Amsterdam police. The latter material is available through my collaboration with Marie Rosenkrantz Lindegaard at the Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement (http://www.nscr.nl). Only material that meets the following requirements will be included in the database (see also Von Lehm and Heath 2012):

- The incident should be captured by at least two recordings, each from a different angle;
- The incident should involve at least four people who are bodily co-present;
- The recordings must allow analysis of the bodily movements and facial expressions of all people involved;
- Both recordings should start at least half a minute before the actual physical harm-doing takes place and continue until the violence stops;
- Additional written information on the incident should be available in the form of case files, police reports, news media coverage or other digital sources.

A preliminary internet search yielded 75 video fragments, of which 7 met the above requirements, taking variety in the severity of the violence into account. Given the large pool of available video fragments, and the availability of CCTV footage from the Amsterdam and Rotterdam police, we can reasonably expect that the desired sample size will be attained.

Coding and analysis. Bodily cues that express tension/fear and emotional dominance will be coded for each person present at the scene, based on coding schemes developed by Klusemann (2009), Ekman (2003) and Nassauer (unpublished manuscript). For instance, fear can be seen in specific facial indicators such as raised eyebrows and wrinkles in the centre of the forehead. These cues are generally reliable since the expressions are rarely consciously controlled (Ekman et al. 1972). The coding of mutual alignment will rely on the coding of non-verbal behaviour developed by psychologists working on kinesics (body and head movements), which distinguish between body actions and body positions (Harrigan 2008: 150). Body actions

are considered expressive movements that have discernible beginning and end points. Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori (2012), for example, offer a coding scheme for three explicit transformations of the basic 'straight-faced' expressions, including the lifting of the mouth, the pursing of the lips and the raising of the eyebrows. Body positions are always present in the sense that a person's body assumes a certain arrangement of torso, arms and legs.

While coding the behaviour of an entire group of interacting persons may seem like a daunting task, two features reduce the complexity (Harrigan 2008). Prior research in kinesics shows that the movements of hands and heads are the most revealing within interaction sequences; we will thus focus on these body parts. Second, movements that are temporally related to each other simplify the coding process: taken together, they are easier for the coder to detect than single behaviours, thus reducing the likelihood of omission errors (i.e. not coding behaviour that occurred).

The sequence of body actions and changes in body positions will yield a 'score' for each person involved in the interaction (Luckmann 2012). This score translates visual data into written language, capturing all actions in their simultaneous and successive order. These scores will then be recoded as numerical indicators to enable quantitative analysis, where the dependent variable will be the severity of violence (as a composite measure as well as of its various forms indicated above). Independent variables will include the number of persons present per group, the circulation of tension/fear, the occurrence and degrees of mutual alignment among the persons present, and the appearance of emotional dominance.

Required input. Video analysis is a slow, meticulous process that requires repeatedly going back and forth through the material. Video analysts recommend that footage be analysed by at least two researchers to enhance the reliability of interpretation (Knoblauch 2012). Based on my experience with a pilot study in which we analysed video footage of robberies, I estimate that the qualitative interpretation of one violent interaction (consisting of two video fragments) will require at least three days of analysis by two researchers. The first year of project 1 will be devoted to the analysis of 50 interactions; the second year to reporting our findings. The PI will spend 0.6 fte on project 1, together with a post-doctoral researcher who will be appointed at 0.8 fte. As the criteria for the selection of the video and additional written sources are stringent (see above), data collection will be time-consuming. A research assistant (0.3 fte) will thus be hired. In addition, project 1 requires investments in Observer Pro software licenses as well as hardware with sufficient capacity to support video analysis.

Expected output. Two articles, reporting the findings of the qualitative and quantitative analyses respectively, in high impact journals.

Project 2: Mutual alignment and situational asymmetry in violent interactions

> *Questions: How are mutual alignment and situational asymmetry achieved, and how and to what extent do they affect the severity of the violence?*

While project 1 zooms in, project 2 zooms out to examine an extensive range of 200 violent situations based on judicial case files, thus allowing for the triangulation of findings. The aim of project 2 is to understand how mutual alignment by groups creates situational asymmetry, and the extent to which situational asymmetry fuels the severity of violence. The project promises to advance our current understanding of the relationship between solidarity and violence by showing how group behaviour – in the form of mutual alignment – affects violent interactions in a wide range of situations.

Data. A detailed dataset of 200 violent incidents will be assembled from judicial case files. As my earlier work has shown, judicial case files – containing the perspectives of perpetrators, victims and witnesses – are a treasure trove of information (Weenink 2014, 2015). Case file data will allow us to reconstruct forms of situational asymmetry and to analyse how they affect the severity of violence. The case files will be provided by the archives of two judicial courts (see below). The Netherlands Judiciary has positively advised on this project – a formal requirement to gain access to the files.

Sampling. Case files will be drawn from the archives of two of the largest courts in the Netherlands, located in Amsterdam and Arnhem. These two courts process a large number of cases concerning a broad range of violent incidents. The sample will consist of 200 case files, 100 from each court. At the outset of research, each court will provide a list of all cases processed over the past five years. From this list, cases will be

selected that pertain to the relevant sections of Dutch penal law, for instance *mishandeling* (abuse) and *openlijke geweldpleging tegen personen* (public violence against persons). Taking the distribution of these crimes into account, interval sampling will be used to select cases (e.g. every second or third case). Case files that do not contain all of the required information (including information in which the absence of indicators, for instance the use of weapons, can be verified) will be replaced by the next case file on the list. Case files that concern situations in which less than four people were present will likewise be replaced.

Coding and analysis. A codebook will be developed as a further elaboration of my previous work. As in project 1, the severity of violence will be coded as the amount, type, and duration of physical harm-doing, as well as the number of attackers and victims involved. The following forms of situational asymmetry will be coded: 1) difference in size between the groups supporting the attackers and the victims (consisting of group members who do not engage in physical harm-doing, at least initially). My previous work on youth violence (Weenink 2014) suggests that this form of numerical dominance has a significant effect on the severity of violence; 2) how and to what extent group members are able to manoeuvre into advantageous positions or move the other party into vulnerable positions (such as causing victims to stumble or fall to the ground); 3) differences in the intimacy of ties between group members in the opposing parties; 4) differences between the parties in their mobilisation of members possessing effective fighting techniques (e.g. karate or kick-boxing) or weapons. Control variables such as gender, age, alcohol use and location will also be coded. The codebook will take the form of an SPSS data file. Inter-coder reliability will be assessed for a sub-sample coded independently by the PI and two research assistants. The severity of violence (as a composite measure as well as of its various forms) is the dependent variable; forms of situational asymmetry, gender, age, alcohol use and location are the independent variables.

Required input. Based on my prior experience with this type of data, it takes about one day to code a single violent interaction. The construction of a dataset containing 200 violent interactions (including testing of the coding scheme) will require one year of research time, based on 0.6 fte input from the PI with the help of two research assistants (each 0.3 fte). The second year of the project will be devoted to reporting its findings.

Expected output. One article in a high-impact journal.

Projects 3-6: Comparative studies of group behaviour in antagonistic situations

> *Questions*
>
> 1. *How are tension/fear and emotional dominance experienced by group members during antagonistic situations, and how do they relate to the possible outcomes of these situations?*
>
> 2. *How are mutual alignment and sense of moral community enacted preceding and during antagonistic situations and how do they relate to the possible outcomes of these situations?*
>
> 3. *How do group members give meaning to antagonism and violence and how do these meanings relate to masculine identity and the moral community of the group?*

Projects 3-6 promise to further our understanding of how antagonistic situations and violence are experienced by persons present at scenes of violence in public space. Although earlier ethnographic studies have focused on people's experience of fear in violent confrontations, it remains unclear how tension/fear develops during antagonistic situations, and how it may be transformed into feelings of emotional dominance under the influence of group dynamics. Similarly, while previous work on groups and violence has underlined the importance of solidarity and collective identity, projects 3-6 aim to break new scientific ground by examining how these are enacted in actual situations and how solidarity and collective identity – in the form of mutual alignment and moral community – affect the outcome of antagonistic situations. Through their focus on group behaviour, projects 3-6 also promise to further our understanding of how group members attach meanings to violence and how these relate to masculine identity. Finally, whereas most ethnographic studies have intensively observed single groups, the comparative approach of projects 3-6 allows us to examine how solidarity and collective identity influence the outcome of different antagonistic situations.

Each project will compare similar groups:

- Project 3: compares 5 police teams
- Project 4: compares 5 groups of delinquent street youth
- Project 5: compares 5 groups of football hooligans
- Project 6: compares 7 smaller groups of bouncers

All of these groups regularly encounter antagonistic situations. They also provide contrasting cases that illuminate the conditions under which emotional dominance, mutual alignment, sense of moral community and masculine identity take shape. Police teams are trained in mutual alignment; emotional dominance is considered the normal state of affairs, while failure to be in control of a situation results in high tension/fear (Van der Torre 1999; Alpert et al. 2004; Terill 2003). Bouncers like to view themselves as prestigious targets of young male aggression; the feeling of being at risk often justifies violence – even enjoying violence against unruly clients, deemed 'rubbish' (Monaghan 2002, 2003). Football hooligan groups are known for their masculine pride and strong sense of moral community, in which ritualized mutual alignment and symbols of violent antagonism flourish (King 1995; Spaaij 2008). Finally, feelings of disrespect and humiliation are prominent among street youth, who are generally less focused on confrontation than territory, transforming physical space into a moral space that can be invaded by others (de Jong 2007; Werdmölder 1995). The question is how these – and many other – differences influence group behaviour in antagonistic situations, and how they reduce or contribute to the likelihood of violence in public space.

Data. Data will be generated primarily through qualitative interviewing. In preparation for the interviews, all groups will first be observed for a period of two months. This observation phase will consist of joining in group activities and talking informally with group members. The aim here is to gain a basic understanding of groups' sense of moral community (moral symbols, sense of uniqueness, the drawing of boundaries, feelings of superiority) and how their members engage in mutual alignment.

The aim of the interview phase is to introduce the lived experiences of group members into the research programme: how they experience increasing and decreasing levels of tension/fear and emotional dominance, how mutual alignment and moral community are enacted in antagonistic situations, and the meanings group members attach to conflict and violence. Prior research indicates that people are capable of talking about the details of violent interactions as they are generally experienced as emotionally intense moments (Brookman 2011; Phillips 2003; Lindegaard 2010). In the interviews, group members will be asked to describe – in as much concrete detail as possible – their experiences in the following antagonistic situations:

- one that ended without violence;
- one in which confrontational paralysis appeared and which may or may not have ended in violence;
- one in which the group started to commit violence first;
- one in which the group was attacked by another group.

Researchers will then ask group members about their experiences of tension/fear, emotional dominance, and the enactment of mutual alignment and moral community in each of these four situations.

Finally, interviewees will be asked about what conflict and violence mean to them, about their understandings of masculinity and identity more generally, and about any possible anxieties surrounding issues of identity, or processes of (de)subjectivation (Wieviorka 2009). After a first round of interviewing, the most frequently mentioned antagonistic situations will be reconstructed for each group. These constructions will then form the focus of a second round of interviews in which interviewees will be asked to provide additional or contrasting information to verify the reconstruction.

The table below summarizes the data collection plan for projects 3-6.

	Groups	Interviews per group	Reconstructed situations	Interviews
Project 3: police teams	5	6	20	60
Project 4: delinquent street youth	5	6	20	60
Project 5: football hooligans	5	6	20	60
Project 6: bouncers	7	3	28	42

The interviews will be semi-structured, meaning that interviewees will be asked to address a series of already chosen topics – the role of moral communities, the meanings of antagonistic situations, and issues of identity – in their own words. To realise the advantages of qualitative interviewing, interviewees need to feel free to introduce their own issues, experiences and perspectives. Interview topic lists will contain a common section, developed together by all PhD students and the PI, and a section specific to each project. The topic list will be tested and reformulated on the basis of four pilot interviews conducted by each PhD student; the findings here will inform a collective evaluation of the interview guide. The topic list will also include a series of more structured questions that will provide data for the statistical analysis in project 7. All group members will be interviewed twice. The procedure outlined here will be repeated to prepare topic lists for the second round of interviewing.

Sampling. Each PhD project will be co-supervised by an expert with in-depth knowledge of the group being studied and with experience gaining access to group members through their own ethnographic fieldwork (see 'Collaborations' below). Projects 3-6 will study groups in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and the town of Nijmegen – the locations where the PI and the respective experts have conducted research or maintain relationships with the groups under study or with intermediaries. Project 3 will compare two police teams stationed in Amsterdam, two teams in Rotterdam and one team in Nijmegen. Project 4 will approach groups of delinquent street youth hanging out in Amsterdam (2), Rotterdam (2) and Nijmegen (1). Project 5 will approach football hooligans in Amsterdam (Ajax fans), Rotterdam (Feijenoord and Sparta fans), The Hague (ADO fans) and Nijmegen (NEC fans). Finally, project 6 will compare groups of bouncers who work in the night time economies of Amsterdam (3), Rotterdam (3) and Nijmegen (1).

Analysis and coding. A common coding list will be developed for projects 3-6, with specific additional codes for each project if necessary. This list will be the result of collective preliminary work to enhance reliability. PhD students and the PI will also code (blind) a sub-sample of interviews from a different project, comprising one quarter of the sample, to gauge inter-coder reliability.

Required input. Each project requires one full-time PhD student. Supervision by the PI amounts to 0.1 fte per year for the four projects together, for the duration of these four-year projects.

Expected output. Four PhD dissertations, of which at least two chapters in each are published as articles.

Project 7: Overall comparative analysis of group behaviour in antagonistic situations

> *Questions: How and to what extent are the experience of tension/fear, a sense of moral community, and mutual alignment related to the outcome of antagonistic situations? How and to what extent do these relationships differ between groups?*

Project 7 will synthesize the findings of the four PhD projects through the comparative qualitative and statistical analysis of coded interview data, thus producing results that score high on both precision and validity. The aim is to provide an encompassing assessment of the theory proposed here for a range of different situations and groups, which will also enable the further development of the theory.

Data. Interview material gathered in projects 3-6.

Coding. The coded qualitative interview material and the answers to the structured interview questions from projects 3-6 will form the basis for numerical indicators. The recoding of the qualitative codes into numerical indicators will follow the same inter-coder reliability procedures used in projects 3-6.

Analysis. Project 7 will employ comparative qualitative as well as multinomial logistic regression analyses. For the latter, the dependent variable is the outcome of the antagonistic situation. Independent variables are various numerical indicators of tension/fear, a shared sense of moral community, and mutual alignment.

Required input. The (re)coding of the material, the analyses, and the publication of our findings will require 0.8 fte from the PI and the hiring of a post-doctoral researcher at 0.8 fte.

Expected output. One article in a high-impact journal and a monograph.

2. Collaboration

Established experts will contribute to the research programme as co-supervisors for projects 3-6. Given their contacts and experience, they will also facilitate access to the studied groups. Edward van der Torre (Dutch Police Academy) has conducted extensive ethnographic research on police teams; Marie Rosenkrantz Lindegaard (Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement) on delinquent and violent street youth; Hans Werdmölder (University Professor at Roosevelt Academy) on delinquent street youth; (Ramón Spaaij (University of Amsterdam and Victoria University, Melbourne) on football hooligans; Ton Nabben (University of Amsterdam, Bonger Institute of Criminology) on bouncers. Their key publications on the studied groups are:

- Van der Torre, E. 1999. *Politiewerk. Politiestijlen, community policing, professionalisme* (*Policing. Police Styles, Community Policing, Professionalism*). Alphen aan den Rijn: Samsom.
- Lindegaard, M., J. Miller, and D. Reynald. 2013. Transitory mobility, cultural heterogeneity, and victimization risk among young men of color: insights from an ethnographic study in Cape Town, South Africa. *Criminology* 51: 967-1008.
- Spaaij, R. 2006. *Understanding Football Hooliganism: A Comparison of Six Western European Football Clubs.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Nabben, T., J. Doekhie, and D.J. Korf. 2011. *Buitenstaander en bondgenoot: de werkbeleving van portiers in de Amsterdamse binnenstad.* (*Outsider and Ally: The Work Experiences of Bouncers in the Inner-City of Amsterdam*). Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers.
- Werdmölder, H. Forthcoming. *Voorgoed ontworteld. De teloorgang van een criminele groep tweede-generatie Marokkanen.* (*Irreversibly Uprooted. The Decline of a Criminal Group of Second Generation Moroccans*). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

The Group Violence programme will also benefit from the confirmed collaboration of the 'Interactionist Approaches to Violence Workshop', consisting of sociologists, social psychologists and criminologists from the UK (Mark Levine, University of Exeter), Denmark (Poul Poder and colleagues, University of Copenhagen) and the Netherlands (Wim Bernasco, Marie Rosenkrantz Lindegaard, Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement). We will meet regularly to discuss theoretical work as well as the coding and analysis of data. An international conference in the programme's fifth year will gather 30 experts on violence.

Bibliography (abbreviated titles)

Alpert, G., G. Dunham, and J. MacDonald. 2004. Interactive police-citizen encounters that result in force. *Police Quarterly* 7: 475-488.

Anderson, E. 1999. *Code of the Street.* New York: Norton.

Athens, L. 2005. Violent encounters: violent engagement, skirmishes, and tiffs. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 34: 631-678.

Baumeister, R. and M. Leary. 1995. The need to belong. *Psychological Bulletin* 117: 497-529.

Black, D. 1998. *The Social Structure of Right and Wrong*. Revised edition. San Diego: Academic Press.

Blok, A. 2001. *Honour and Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge Polity Press.

Brookman, F., T. Bennet, A. Hochstetler, and H. Copes. 2011. The 'code of the street' and the generation of street violence in the UK. *European Journal of Criminology* 8: 17-31.

Collins, R. 2008. *Violence, a Micro-Sociological Theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Contreras, R. 2013. *The Stickup Kids.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Conway, K. and J. McCord. 2002. A longitudinal examination of the relation between co-offending with violent accomplices and violent crime. *Aggressive Behavior* 28: 97-108.

Cooney, M. 1998. *Warriors and Peacemakers.* New York: New York University Press.

De Jong, J. 2007. *Kapot Moeilijk*. Amsterdam: Aksant.

De Swaan, A. 2015. *The Killing Compartments.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Decker, S. and B. Van Winkle. 1996. *Life in the Gang.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ekman, P. 2003. *Emotions Revealed.* New York: Henry Holt.

Ekman, P., W. Friesen, and P. Ellsworth. 1972. *Emotion in the Human Face.* New York: Pergamon.

Felson, B. 1982. Impression management and the escalation of aggression and violence. *Social Psychology* 45: 245-254.

Felson, B. and H. Steadman. 1983. Situational factors in disputes. *Criminology* 21: 59-74.

Felson, B. and J. Tedeschi (eds.) 1993. *Aggression and Violence. Social Interactionist Perspectives.* Washington: American Psychological Association.

Gordijn, E., V. Yzerbyt, D. Wigboldus, and M. Dumont. 2006. Emotional reactions to harmful intergroup behavior. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 36: 15-30.

Grossman, D. and L. Christensen. 2008. *On Combat.* Milstadt: Warrior Science Publications.

Harrigan, J.A. 2008. Proxemics, kinesics, and gaze. In: J. Harrigan, R. Rosenthal, and K. Scherer (eds.) *The New Handbook of Methods in Nonverbal Behavior Research*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 137-207.

Hochstetler, A. 2001. Opportunities and decisions. *Criminology* 39: 737-763.

Hogett, J. and C. Stott. 2010. Crowd psychology, public order police training and the policing of football crowds. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 33: 218-235.

Jackson-Jacobs, C. 2013. Constructing physical fights. *Qualitative Sociology* 36: 23-52.

Jacobs, B. and R. Wright. 2006. *Street Justice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jankowksi, M. 1991. *Islands in the Street.* Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Kilby, J. 2013. Introduction to special issue. Theorizing violence. *European Journal of Social Theory* 16: 261-272.

Kilby, J. and L. Ray. 2014. Violence and society: toward a new sociology. Introduction. *The Sociological Review* 62: 1-12.

King, A. 2013. *The Combat Soldier*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 1995. Outline of a practical theory of football violence. *Sociology* 29: 635-651.

Klusemann, S. 2009. Atrocities and confrontational tension. *Frontiers Behavioral Neuroscience* 42: 1-10.

Knoblauch, H. 2012. *Video Analysis.* 3rd edition. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Levine, M. and S. Crowther. 2008. The responsive bystander. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 95: 1429-1439.

Levine, M. and R. Manning. 2013. Social identity, group processes, and helping in emergencies. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 24: 225-251.

Levine, M., P. Taylor, and R. Best. 2011. Third parties, violence, and conflict resolution. *Psychological Science* 22: 406-412.

Lindegaard, M. 2010. Method, actor and context triangulations. In: W. Bernasco (ed.) *Offenders on Offending*. Cullompton: Willian Publishing, 109-129.

Lowe, R., M. Levine, R. Best, and D. Heim. 2012. Bystander reaction to women fighting. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 27: 1802-1826.

Luckenbill, D. 1977. Criminal homicide as situated transaction. *Social Problems* 25: 176-186.

Luckmann, T. 2012. Some remarks on scores in mulitmodal sequential analysis. In: H. Knoblauch, B. Schnettler, J. Raab, and H. Soeffner (eds.) *Video Analysis*, 3rd edition. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 29-34.

Monaghan, L. 2002. Regulating 'unruly' bodies. *British Journal of Sociology* 5: 403-429.

Monaghan, L. 2003. Danger on the doors. *Health, Risk & Society* 5: 11-31.

Mummendey, A. and S. Otten. 1993. Aggression: interaction between individuals and social groups. In: R. Felson and J. Tedeschi (eds.) *Aggression and Violence: Social Interactionist Perspectives*. Washington: American Psychological Association, 145-167.

Nassauer, A. From peaceful marches to violent clashes: a micro-situational analysis. Unpublished manuscript.

Noldus, L., R. Trienes, A. Hendriksen, H. Jansen, and R. Jansen. 2000. The Observer Video-Pro. *Behavior Research Methods, Instruments & Computers* 32: 197-206.

Paulle, B. 2013. *Toxic Schools.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Peräkylä, A. and J. Ruusuvuori. 2012. Facial expression in an assesment. In: H. Knoblauch, B. Schnettler, J. Raab, and H. Soeffner (eds.) *Video Analysis*, 3rd edition. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 127-142.

Phillips, S. 2003. The structure of vengeance: a test of Black's model. *Criminology* 41: 673-708.

Phillips, S. and M. Cooney. 2005. Aiding peace, abetting violence. *American Sociological Review* 70: 334-354.

Polk, K. 1994. Masculinity, honour and confrontational homicide. In: T. Newburn and E. Stanko (eds.) *Just Boys Doing Business?* London: Routledge, 166-188.

Porges, S. 2011. *The Polyvagal Theory*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Ray, L. 2011. *Violence and Society*. London: Sage.

Ray, L., D. Smith, and L. Wastell. 2004. Shame, rage and racist violence. *British Journal of Criminology* 44: 350-368.

Sanders, B. 1994. *Gangbangs and Drive-bys*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Scheff, T. 2011. Social-emotional origins of violence. *Aggresion and Violent Behavior* 16: 453-460.

Spaaij, R. 2008. Men like us, boys like them. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 32: 369-392.

Spierenburg, P. 2009. Violence: reflections about a word. In: S. Body-Gendrot and P. Spierenburg (eds.) *Violence in Europe: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. New York: Springer, 27-40.

Stott, C., P. Hutchison, and J. Drury. 2001. Hooligans abroad? *British Journal of Social Psychology* 40: 359-384.

Stott, C. and S. Reicher. 1998. How conflict escalates. *Sociology* 32: 353-377.

Taylor, N., R. das Nair, and L. Braham. 2013. Masculinity as a risk factor for violence: a meta-ethnography synthesis. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour* 18: 774-783.

Terill, W. 2003. Police use of force and suspect resistance. *Police Quarterly* 6: 51-83.

Tomsen, S. 1997. A top night. *The British Journal of Criminology* 37: 90-102.

Treadwell, J. and J. Garland. 2011. Masculinity, marginalization and violence. *British Journal of Criminology* 51: 621-634.

Van der Torre, E. 1999. *Politiewerk. politiestijlen*. Alphen aan de Rijn: Samsom.

Van Mastrigt, S. and D. Farrington. 2009. Co-offending, age, gender and crime type. *Criminology* 49: 552-573.

———. 2011. Prevalence and characteristics of co-offending recruiters. *Justice Quarterly* 28: 325-359.

Verkaaik, O. 2003. Fun and violence. *Social Anthropology* 11: 3-22.

Von Lehm, D. and C. Heath. 2012. Discovering exhibits. In H. Knoblauch, B. Schnettler, J. Raab, and H. Soeffner (eds.) *Video-Analysis,* 3rd edition. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 101-114.

Von Scheve, C. 2012. The social calibration of emotion expression: an affective basis of micro-social order. *Sociological Theory* 30: 1-14.

Walby, S. 2013. Violence and society. *Current Sociology* 61: 95-111.

Waytz, A. and N. Epley. 2012. Social connection enables dehumanization. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 48: 70-76.

Weenink, D. 2015. Contesting dominance and performing badness. *Sociological Forum* 30: 83-102.

———. 2013. Decontrolled by solidarity. *Human Figurations* 2: 1-13.

———. 2014. Frenzied attacks. *The British Journal of Sociology* 65: 421-433.

Werdmölder, H. 1995. *A Generation Adrift.* London/The Hague: Kluwer.

White, M.D. 2002. Identifying situational predictors of police shootings using multivariate analysis. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 25: 726-751.

Wieviorka, M. 2014. The sociological analysis of violence: new perspectives. *The Sociological Review* 62: 50-64.

———. 2009. *Violence, A New Approach*. London: Sage.

Wilkinson, D. and J. Fagan. 2001. A theory of violent events. In: R. Meier, L. Kennedy and V. Sacco (eds.) *The Process and Structure of Crime*. New Brunswick: Transaction, 169-195.

Winlow, S. and S. Hall. 2009. Retaliate first: memory, humiliation and male violence. *Crime, Media, Culture* 5: 285-304.

Resources

1. **Budget**

Cost Category			Total in Euro
Direct Costs	**Personnel**	PI	413,732
		Post-docs	167,322
		PhD students	777,951
		Research assistance (RA)	40,004
	i. Total Direct Costs for Personnel (in Euro)		*1,399,009*
	Travel	Field work	6,700
		Conference participation	35,000
	Equipment	Soft- & hardware	16,036
	Other goods and services	Expert meetings	13,600
		Conference	18,100
		Publications (editing, Open Access fees)	36,000
		Audit	3,000
	ii. Total Other Direct Costs		*128,436*
A – Total Direct Costs			*1,527,445*
B – Indirect Costs (overheads)			*381,861*
C- Subcontracting			*9,000*
Total Estimated Eligible Costs			**1,918,306**
Total Requested EU Contribution			**1,918,306**

For the above cost table, please indicate the duration of the project in months:	**60**
For the above cost table, please indicate the % of working time the PI dedicates to the project over the period of the grant:	**72%**

2. **Explanation of the budget**

Personnel costs

- *PI.* The calculation is based on the PI's current personnel costs and required inputs into the research programme: 0.6 fte in the first year (project 1), 0.7 fte in the second year (project 1 and supervision of projects 3-6), 0.7 fte in the third and fourth years (project 2 and supervision of projects 3-6) and 0.9 fte in the fifth year (project 7 and supervision of projects 3-6). This results in an average input of 0.72 fte.

- *Post-doc researchers.* The calculation is based on standard costs for this category of personnel and required inputs: 0.8 fte in the first and second years (project 1) and 0.8 fte in the fifth year (project 7).

- *PhD students.* The calculation is based on standard costs for this category of personnel and required inputs: 4 PhD students, each 1 fte in projects 3-6, during years 2 to 5 of the research programme.

- *Research assistants.* The calculation is based on standard costs for this category of personnel and required inputs: 1 research assistant 0.3 fte in project 1, and 2 research assistants, each 0.3 fte, in project 2.

Travel costs

- *Field work.* These costs cover local travel (on average €20 per journey) and remuneration (on average €10 per interview) for conducting interviews. The PhD students will conduct a total of 222 interviews, resulting in a total budget of €6,700 (rounded figure).

- *Conference participation.* Participation in international conferences is part of the research programme's dissemination strategy, allowing us to share intermediate results with the larger research community and to obtain early feedback. The PI will attend a total of eight conferences, four within the EU and four outside the EU. The post-doc in project 1 (years 1 and 2) will participate in three conferences, two within the EU and one outside the EU, while the post-doc in project 7 (year 5) will attend one conference within the EU and another outside the EU. Each of the four PhD students will attend on average one conference per year, resulting in 16 conferences, eight within the EU and eight outside the EU. For the research programme as a whole, this results in 15 conferences within the EU (€650 each) and 14 conferences outside the EU (€1,800 each), for a grand total of €35,000 (rounded figure).

Equipment

Licenses and training costs for the Noldus Observer XT software required by project 1 amount to €13,236, based on an offer from the Noldus Company. For the video analysis in project 1 by the PI and post-doc, we intend to purchase two appropriate computers such as the Dell Precision Tower 5810, currently on the market for €1,400 each. Total equipment costs thus amount to €16,036

Expert meetings

Two 2-day expert meetings (in years 2 and 4) will be organised to gather the members of the 'Interactionist Approaches to Violence Workshop' (see 'Collaborations' above), a group of 11 scholars who will serve as expert advisors to the project. The budget covers:

- *Travel costs*: average €250 round trip for the 6 non-Dutch EU experts and €800 round trip for the 2 non-EU experts, amounting to €6,200 for the two expert meetings.
- *Accommodation:* 2 nights at €125 per night for the 8 non-Dutch scholars, amounting to €4,000 for the two expert meetings.
- *Catering:* For 17 participants (11 experts, PI, 1 post-doc and 4 PhD students), catering costs (€25 per participant per day) and costs for dinner (€50 per participant) are estimated at €3,400 for the two expert meetings.

The grand total is €13,600.

Conference

A final 2-day conference will gather an estimated 20 scholars, 10 from the EU and 10 from outside the EU.

- *Travel costs*: average €250 for each EU expert, €800 for each non-EU expert, amounting to €10,500
- *Accommodation:* 2 nights at €125 per night for each participant, amounting to €5,000.
- *Catering:* For 26 participants (20 experts, PI, 1 post-doc and 4 PhD students), catering costs (€25 per participant) and costs for dinner (€50 per participant) are estimated at €2,600.

The grand total is €18,100.

Publications

The research programme will produce 13 articles, 4 dissertations and 1 monograph.

- *Editing.* Estimated at €4,450 for the articles (€350 each) and €10,000 for the dissertations (€2,500 each). The monograph will require high-end editing, estimated at €7,500. The editing costs amount to €22,000 (rounded figure).
- *Printing.* 4 dissertations, €1,500 each, totaling €6,000.
- *Open access fees*. Estimated costs of €2,000 per article for 4 articles amounts to €8,000.

The grand total is €36,000.

Audit

These costs cover the final audit by the University of Amsterdam's external auditor. This follows standard procedure, requiring all financial figures to be audited.

Subcontracting: website

Estimated €5,000 to build the website in the first year, and €1,000 per subsequent year for maintenance and updating over the five years of the research programme, totalling €9,000.