

# White mice

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The title 'White mice' is chosen for the symbolic meaning this colored mouse received in history. The domestic offspring of the House Mouse were in ancient Greece considered as a good-luck charm and honored in the temple of Apollo. In India they believe that people who serve the gods reincarnate as white mice. The white mouse as a myth.

Likewise in my story 'From Counterculture to Cyberculture', in which I will look for the Provo tradition of today, the white mouse contributes to myth development. In 1966 the Provo movement made up a plan to release white mice at the wedding of crown princess Beatrix and Claus von Amsberg. This had to upset the horses of the Golden Carriage and create chaos. At the end of the 1980s patent was approved on a genetically modified white laboratory mouse: the OncoMouse™. The American biologist and philosopher Donna Haraway calls this mouse a cyborg, a machine-organism system<sup>1</sup>.

In this paper I'll tell my experience of the first one and a half year of my PhD research. It describes my search to clarify a phenomenon. It transforms the shape of the myth back to the meaning.

## Generation @

Something is going on: the digital generation arrives which has consequences for the future. With this idea I walked on January 2007 as an external doctoral candidate into the University of Humanistics. Many agree with me. Marketing experts Jeroen Boschma and Inez Groen name this young people Generation Einstein, the first generation of young people since the Second World War to be characterised by positive qualities. Generation Einstein is brighter, quicker and more socially minded.<sup>2</sup> Professor Education and Technology at Delft University of Technology Wim Veen uses the concept of Homo Zappiens. This generation learns different than former generations, is a multitasker and use this strategy "to manage different attention levels simultaneously".<sup>3</sup> In this informed bewilderment of the Internet society with the corresponding new communication technologies they seem to be at ease.

*Young people are fanatical media consumers. Television, magazines, radio, websites and weblogs – they are heavy users of this media and often at the same time. They zap freely from one channel to another, from one URL to another, make a phone call, send text messages and chat with friends all at the*

*same time. They listen to music of a streaming clip, while they play a game on their console and make an appointment by a text message.*<sup>4</sup>

For a school system that developed during the industrial era this is an unknown area.<sup>5</sup> Consequently there seems to be a need of a new vision of learning and new ways of teaching. Of new ways of thinking to maintain the motivation and passion of the students.

Nevertheless, the young people of now maybe bright, quick and socially minded, but are they brighter, quicker and *more* socially minded? If Msn was available to the older generations, they probably had done the same.<sup>6</sup> By no means you can lay claim to a radical change in history without looking to the situation in the past. I ended up with the sociology of generations.

## The sociology of generations

This notion was originally outlined by Hungarian-born sociologist Karl Mannheim. In a 1928 influential essay entitled 'Das Problem der Generationen' he formulates a theory of change of generation and social change at which he noticed three elements at the development of generations: generational location (Generationslagerung),

generation as actuality (Generationszusammenhang) and generational unit (Generationseinheit). The Internet generation can be explained with the latter.<sup>7</sup> Generational unit is the concrete expressions of a generation and characterized by a new answer that is being developed to new circumstances.<sup>8</sup> The young people adapt themselves just to fit the current situation. Actually, there is nothing new; the art of printing had the same effect. The Canadian communications theorist Marshall McLuhan wrote in *'The Gutenberg Galaxy'* (1962) and *'Understanding media'* (1964) that the societal impact of communications media (from clay to radio and computer) all sorts of social, cultural and psychological change had put in motion.<sup>9</sup>

*The uniformity and repeatability of print permeated the Renaissance with the idea of time and space as continuous measurable quantities. The immediate effect of this idea was to desacralize the world of nature and the world of power alike.*<sup>10</sup>

The art of printing has paved the way for the scientific revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.<sup>11</sup>

Dutch Professor emeritus Philosophy Hans Achterhuis says that developments of techniques on one hand imply change of society, but on the other hand socio-cultural factors determine the process of technological developments.<sup>12</sup> With "it is society that changes technology, not the other way round" Dutch media theorist Geert Lovink formulates it even stronger.<sup>13</sup> It is therefore not to the young, but to the changing way of communicating from what a new socio-technical pattern arises. All this placed within the historical and cultural context and processes.<sup>14</sup>

### **An American Dream**

It became clear to me. I must not focus on the different learning of the young people and link it with predictive principles. It is about the development of the medium in socio-cultural and historical coherence.

Then my attention was drawn to the book by the American scientist Fred Turner *'From Counterculture to Cyberculture'* (2006). Turner describes the inseparable relationship of the counterculture from the sixties (the Protest

Generation) and the cyberculture from the nineties. He even argues that the cyberculture arose from the counterculture. By telling the story of Stewart Brand (Whole Earth Catalog, WELL and ultimately Wired) and the Whole Earth network Turner wants to show us the transformation of the image of computers and the Internet – from representation of the military-industrial complex and the cold war to the digital utopia by the 1990s – achieved by this network of San Francisco Bay-area entrepreneurs. As a main character Brand makes a big contribution in connecting Silicon Valley with the San Francisco counterculture, computers became the LDS of the nineties.<sup>15</sup> Turner, next to Assistant Professor at Stanford University also a journalist, describes the story as an ode. It is a portrait of dreams and technological development, a journey through time. There are of course also some notes to this rhetorical written story. The main one is that it selectively written: the focus is on well-educated elitist - eventually - successful western white male. Women, non-whites and the rest of the world play no role. The outsiders are not represented. In that case it means that the popular image of the Internet as an open participatory democratic medium is incorrect. In reality it is an anti democratic elitist highly controlled development, or as Lovink says: "Until recently the development of the Internet was run by a small consensus-driven group of (largely male) technologists".<sup>16</sup>

### **Continuity in the Netherlands**

Nevertheless, my curiosity was awakened. According to the literature, the sixties can be seen as a coherent set of political and cultural events at various places in the world which apparently took place simultaneously.<sup>17</sup> Is it possible that there is continuity between the counterculture from the sixties and the current cyberculture in the Dutch situation?

The quest begins with Dutch historian Hans Righart. In two books *'De eindeloze jaren zestig'* ('The endless sixties') (1995) and *'De wereldwijde jaren zestig'* ('The global sixties') (2003) Righart defines this period as a socio-cultural revolution. The Dutch counterculture in the sixties consists of three movements each with its own history: (i) the student movement, due to the increased social mobility; (ii) the teenager first deliberately created from commercial considerations, but later developed

its own momentum and finally (iii) the 'pleinersbeweging' (square movement), a colorful bohemian with a strong cultural dynamism.

These developments occurred especially in the city of Amsterdam. The Dutch-based American historian and professor James Kennedy argues that the freedom of artistic and cultural capital of the Netherlands served as a sheltered haven for the bohemian and adventurous young people were attracted.<sup>18</sup>

### **Provo**

Against this background arose in 1965 the Provo movement.<sup>19</sup> The two main founders, the anarchists Roel van Duijn and Rob Stolk, opposed conventions, taboos, systems and structures.<sup>20</sup> Their main purpose was to provoke the authorities. The authorities were in this case all officials, but also consumerism and the Dutch language.<sup>21</sup> In a 1965 written by Van Duijn Provo philosophy he constructed a contrast between 'het klootjesvolk' (authorities and addict consumers) and 'het provotariaat' (not economically active individual involved in the production process).<sup>22</sup> The opposition was expressive and focused on experience. Characteristic with this is the impulse toward action ('doing your own thing') - typical of the counterculture in the sixties as a whole - and their strong entrepreneurship.<sup>23</sup>

That the Provo significantly determined the image-forming in the middle of the sixties is due to the encounter between the artist Robert Jasper Grootveld and Van Duijn.<sup>24</sup> The 'Prophet of Amsterdam' Grootveld was known mainly by the performances of the by poet Simon Vinkenoog introduced 'happenings'. Dutch historian Niek Pas states that by joining image expert Grootveld the provos were in touch with a central person in Amsterdam.<sup>25</sup> This connection between art and politics made it possible for Provo to become world famous with their controversial actions, such as the White Bicycle Plan and the disruption of the wedding of Princess Beatrix, the heiress to the Dutch throne, and the German diplomat Claus Von Amsberg. At the same time they were inspired by Vinkenoog, Grootveld and visual artist Constant Nieuwenhuys. The latter was one of the founders of both COBRA and the International Situationists and developed for Van Duijn appealing concepts such as 'homo ludens' (the playing man) and 'New Babylon'.

Constant designed mid-fifties New Babylon, a society designed for a 'new man' who because of the miracles of technology has been freed of nature, has been broken away to each functional connection and can spend his entire life to travel, adventure and creativity: *the playing man*. In this 'anti-functional' city only creativity would remain.<sup>26</sup> Constant hereby was indirectly influenced by the book '*Homo Ludens*' ('Man the Player') (1938) of Dutch historian Johan Huizinga.<sup>27</sup> Van Duijn sees the homo ludens as a new, creative man, who in the new cybernetic society of tomorrow, the millennial New Babylon, would have plenty of free time at his disposal.<sup>28</sup>

The parallels between New Babylon and the Internet technology are useful to appreciate. In addition, the exploration of the phenomenon of time and space by Constant and New Babylon dominating the earth's surface through a series of linked centers - networks - maybe useful.<sup>29</sup>

### **Kabouter movement and the Orange Free State**

On 13 May 1967 Provo was liquidated. The movement has become a mania, a Provomania. According to Rob Stolk Provo threatened to become a 'bureaucracy' and should be 'destroyed'. Stolk was relieved, but Roel van Duijn saw the dissolving with disquiet. After having this disappointment processed Van Duijn founded in 1969 the Kabouter group as a kind of successor of Provo.<sup>30</sup> The kabouter (meaning gnome) was the symbol of the new man that not had to overcome nature, but had to live in harmony with it.<sup>31</sup> However, there were only a few other Provo personalities who are joining.

On 5 February 1970 the Kabouters proclaimed the alternative Orange Free State. Opposition to the authoritarian society in this way would be pooled. Serious proposals were mixed with playful and provocative actions. Kabouters campaigning against housing vacancy, housing problems, cars in the city center, for better education and more nature in the city.

The biggest publicity got the Orange Free State in response to the first National squatters' day on 5 May 1970. Divided by internal conflicts their influence declined soon after this.

### **Amsterdam during Provo and Kabouter**

The playful anarchism with the humorous approach was typical of the protests of the counterculture in Amsterdam. Also the movements which focused on the politics were followers of this style. In all actions that took place the Marxist ideology was added with playful methods, which the opponents made furious, confused and uncertain.<sup>32</sup> Even foreign anarchists were in state of despair because of the lack of theoretical knowledge of these movements.<sup>33</sup> Only the student movement with the Marxist student leader Ton Regtien abstained from playful elements.

In addition to the provos and kabouters a movement as Dolle Mina's (Wild Mina) appeared and were the youth centers Paradiso and Fantasio opened. According to a Dutch youth sociologist Amsterdam had largely replaced the cities Paris, London and San Francisco as a meeting place for young people and became the city "the international Mecca of the magical sixties".<sup>34</sup>

### **The Nieuwmarkt movement**

Although the Nieuwmarkt movement came in wide publicity only during an evacuation of a squatted house on 24 March 1975 buildings were already squatted in 1968 in the Nieuwmarktbuurt (New Market district) and the Aktiegroep Nieuwmarkt (Action group Nieuwmarkt) manifested itself in 1970. This neighbourhood was already threatened in the mid-sixties by the construction of a four lane highway and a subway line. The Nieuwmarkt movement opposed against these plans, as squatters they felt themselves involved in the immediate vicinity. "The struggle for the Nieuwmarkt was the crystallization of a series of political and ideological conflicts how the city in the future should look like."<sup>35</sup> The movement came to an end in 1975 with the evacuation and demolition of the squatted buildings and the construction of the metro.<sup>36</sup>

The Aktiegroep Nieuwmarkt arose from two initiatives in which the former provos Luud Schimmelpennink (The Street Foundation) and Rob Stolk (housing agency the Squatter) played a prominent role. Also the Provo legacy provided a solid financial basis and many provos moved in to the dilapidated houses. So there are strong ties between Provo and the Nieuwmarkt movement.

### **The squatting movement**

Until 1975 cracking was a matter of the neighbourhood and the squatters were mostly active local residents. After 1975 squatters went to organize themselves separately and ultimately there was an Urban Meeting for Squatting groups with their own newspaper: *the Kraakkrant* (Squatting newspaper), later succeeded by *Bluf!*.

Initially the squatters left the cracked premises silently when it had to be evacuated, but after an evacuation in 1978 in which police used violence many squatters decided to hit back. From that moment on the history of the squatters' movement would occur in evictions with great resistance. The squatters became widely known during the riots at the coronation of Queen Beatrix on 30 April 1980 ('no house, no coronation').<sup>37</sup>

Within the squatters' movement, there were no ideologists or an ideological core group who was leading. Several groups of squatters gave a changing content to squatting. In general the squatters refer to their feelings 'the personal is political and many called their self anarchist. Basis democracy and autonomy were the two main topics. Campaigning was a way of life.<sup>38</sup> Squatters from the Nieuwmarkt movement played an important role during the late seventies in the development of the squatters' movement, the basis of the squatters movement lies at the Nieuwmarkt. People like Auke Bijlsma, Tjebbe van Tijen, Theo van der Giessen and Piet Veling played a significant role in both movements.

According to political-geographer Virginie Mamadouh two parallel developments distinguish between the playful action of Provo and the harsh actions of the squatters movement: one by 'ideologue' Roel van Duijn with the kabouter philosophy, responsible for cracking of vacant business premises and by 'hands on' men as Luud Schimmelpennink and Rob Stolk who became involved in local actions by cracking abandoned houses.<sup>39</sup>

### **Techno-anarchists**

According to sociologist Manuel Castells, the Amsterdam computer counterculture (hackers) and the techno-activists have "a long tradition of interest in cybernetics and alternative computer development".<sup>40</sup> In the eighties these hacker culture came into contact with the squatters' movement.

The squatters were seeking support for their struggle at alternative computer networks and constituted the most political hackers a social movement led by Rop Gonggrijp: Hack-Tic. In 1989 they started the first hacker magazine.

*Hack-Tic is a new monthly magazine for hackers. It contains all the tricks and tips that other magazines do not have. News about [...] forms of techno-anarchist you always find first in Hack-Tic. [...] 'Hacking is a way of life' cried distant ancestors back in the sixties. Of course, Hack-Tic also comes along with the world of the hacker, a wonderful, open world full of their own humor. Hacking isn't in any case reserved for people who are creative with a computer. There are other technical areas where hackers are active, and if you loosely uses the definition anyone who opposes the established order, use existing resources creatively and does not bother with rules is a hacker.*<sup>41</sup>

Connective factors between the squatters and hackers were Caroline Nevejan and Marleen Stikker. Nevejan was part of the squatters' movement and was employed at the cultural centre Paradiso. At the end of the eighties, she organised together with the Hack-Tic group, according to Castells at that time the key actors in the hacker culture, international conferences. They were accompanied by a network of political techno-anarchists.<sup>42</sup> The best-known events are the 'Galactic Hacker Party' (1989) and the 'Seropositive Ball' (1990). This last event was organized as an alternative conference on AIDS after the U.S. authorities refused anti-aidsactivists a visa to participate in the International Conference on AIDS in San Francisco. It was an important meeting and characterized the emergence of the Amsterdam public digital culture.<sup>43</sup> Stikker was familiar with the early Internet, organized cultural events and experimented with new media.<sup>44</sup>

After Stikker and the leaders of Hack-Tic, Gonggrijp and Felipe Rodriguez, in 1993 were invited by Nevejan to participate in its cultural program at the cultural centre De Balie they designed "a Citizen's network that would provide an open platform to cultural expression and common debates about public issues and a design for the new communication medium to experiment with".<sup>45</sup>

The Digital City (DDS) was born. In this virtual city were houses, squares, cafes, kiosks, culture and art houses, coffee shops, a sex shop and there was even a squatters legislation. The central station offered access to the global Internet.<sup>46</sup> The city metaphor was deliberately chosen:

*[I]t explains unfamiliar things on the basis of familiar things. The behavior of the electronic city will be more or less has to join the image (mental model) that the target group has of a real city. This doesn't automatically mean that a Digital City should be an exact copy of a real city. [...] [o]n the contrary, a Digital City can very well deviate from the expectations of the user, surprises and discoveries invite precisely to visit the city more frequently. [...] The 'city' draws ideas and provokes to make wild plans. [...] The Digital City can give now as a returned metaphor some protection against the high resolving power of the new technologies. Next to utopian characteristic it also features nostalgic.*<sup>47</sup>

The Digital City, in addition to linking the squatters' movement and hacker community, also includes a connection to artists who were interested in experimenting with new media.<sup>48</sup>

In the middle of the eighties the municipality of Amsterdam started to legalise the squatted buildings.<sup>49</sup> Until the mid-nineties squatters put vacant warehouses and other large buildings into use. The political group of squatters was in company of creatives, who were looking for living and working space. In particular, the warehouses at the Oostelijke Handelskade grew inspired by anarchism into political-cultural complexes, complete with theatre, film, exhibition rooms, a cafe and a restaurant, workshops and studios.

The meeting of these three countercultures made a great success of DDS and attracted much interest from the international Internet community. But just as the provos this success resulted in a major image problem. From the independence of anarchic and idealistic activists DDS was increasingly influenced by commercialism and the government, which led to internal tensions. Eventually, DDS, as with the provos, liquidated itself. "In only a few years, there had been a

dramatic shift from the dreams of the electronic free commune to the harsh world of a dot.com business in crisis".<sup>50</sup>

The founders would then go each their own way again. Gonggrijp and Rodriquez started XS4all, named after the hackers' principle 'Access for All'. Stikker and Nevejan started The Waag Society.

### **Conclusion**

The historical context is clear. There is a long way gone from the by Constant inspired Provo to the present cyberculture, but the tradition has continued. Noticeable in the principles and the fact that different individuals took part in several movements.

But what is the relevance of these movements, what is the (political) impact? Still many questions, but in any case they give rise to the creation of myths and certainly Provo became an icon. According to the French philosopher Roland Barthes, it provides the possibility to follow such a myth until their current form. It is about prospective history, one of the two forms which, according to Barthes the myth is connecting to the history.<sup>51</sup>

Connecting factors and characterizations of these movements at the end of the twentieth century are primarily (i) the anarchist principles with a unique interpretation<sup>52</sup>; (ii) aversion against massification, bureaucratisation and consumerism, (iii) the romance, (iv) entrepreneurial and (v) the 'do it yourself' culture.

The most glaring however is the use of all these movements of modern techniques and communication. They were able to make fruitful use of these means into their social struggle and to appropriate these techniques. This took care that the network of all these movements were supplemented by sympathetic intellectuals, experts, media, (leftist) political parties and the government. It gave national and international publicity to the Amsterdam movements.

My quest continues. There are still some questions to answer, but I will be looking to the current actors within the Provo tradition. According to Lovink I can't ignore cyberculture: "The days of offline activists – condemned to perform street actions while fighting with the print media to get recognition and a hearing for their arguments – are numbered".<sup>53</sup> Unraveling the myth at all events makes the contexts visible in which the young

people grow up today. It tells an undescribed history. Maybe it even meet the needs of a call "a book highlighting the sociopolitical dimension of Provo activism remains to be written" by historian Gerd-Rainer Horn made in an article in 2006, or at the instigation of Lovink in his dissertation from 2003 "we might wait in vain for the aging 1968 generation to grasp the Internet and take it serious as an object of theory ".<sup>54</sup> To be continued...

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## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Described in her essay *A Manifesto for Cyborgs* (1985).
- <sup>2</sup> Boschma and Groen, *Generatie Einstein*, 1.
- <sup>3</sup> Veen and Vrakking, *Homo Zappiens*, 62.
- <sup>4</sup> Boschma and Groen, *Generatie Einstein*, 114.
- <sup>5</sup> Castells, *The Internet Galaxy*, 294-295.
- <sup>6</sup> PhD student at the University of Amsterdam Schouten states on the website of EduSite that they are no different than previous generations ([www.edusite.nl/edusite/specials/16370](http://www.edusite.nl/edusite/specials/16370) - approached 7 March 2008).
- <sup>7</sup> Diepstraten, *De nieuwe leerder*, 49
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>9</sup> Inaugural lecture by Paul Hoftijzer at the acceptance of the post of Honorary Professor in the history of the book at the University of Leiden on 5 September 2003.
- <sup>10</sup> McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 191.
- <sup>11</sup> Inaugural speech Paul Hoftijzer.
- <sup>12</sup> Achterhuis, *Van stoommachine tot cyborg*, 12.
- <sup>13</sup> Lovink, *My First Recession*, 9.
- <sup>14</sup> Castells, *The Internet Galaxy*, 16-17.
- <sup>15</sup> Several American book reviews on the book by Turner like to make reference to the Hippie subculture, marijuana and LSD in connection with computers.
- <sup>16</sup> Lovink, *My First Recession*, 261.
- <sup>17</sup> According to PhD student at the University of Utrecht Manders in an essay *De sixties: We're only in it for the money* ([www.volkskrantblog.nl/bericht/145060](http://www.volkskrantblog.nl/bericht/145060) - approached 7 March 2008); Righart, *De wereldwijde jaren zestig*, 13; Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*, 21.
- <sup>18</sup> Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*, 130-131.
- <sup>19</sup> The term Provo means *to provoke*.
- <sup>20</sup> Pas, *Imaazje!*, 19.
- <sup>21</sup> Mamadouh, *De stad in eigen hand*, 70.
- <sup>22</sup> Pas, *Imaazje!*, 138.
- <sup>23</sup> Pas, *Imaazje!*, 335-338.
- <sup>24</sup> Mamadouh, *De stad in eigen hand*, 54; Pas, *Imaazje*, 103-104.
- <sup>25</sup> Pas, *Imaazje!*, 104.
- <sup>26</sup> Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*, 9.
- <sup>27</sup> Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*, 22.
- <sup>28</sup> Pas, *Imaazje!*, 138.
- <sup>29</sup> Nichols is doing research at the University of Adelaide (Australia) to Constant's New Babylon, the modern city and virtual networks and sees interesting connections here.
- <sup>30</sup> Righart, *De eindeloze jaren zestig*, 251.
- <sup>31</sup> Mamadouh, *De stad in eigen hand*, 89; Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*, 138.
- <sup>32</sup> Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*, 137.
- <sup>33</sup> Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*, 132.
- <sup>34</sup> Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*, 139.
- <sup>35</sup> Statement of Geert Mak in an interview with the magazine *Opnieuw*, newspaper for the Nieuwmarkt.
- <sup>36</sup> Mamadouh, *De stad in eigen hand*, 125.
- <sup>37</sup> Mamadouh, *De stad in eigen hand*, 142-144.
- <sup>38</sup> Mamadouh, *De stad in eigen hand*, 176-177.
- <sup>39</sup> Mamadouh, *De stad in eigen hand*, 226.
- <sup>40</sup> Castells, *The Internet Galaxy*, 162.
- <sup>41</sup> Hack-Tic 1, 3-4.
- <sup>42</sup> Castells, *The Internet Galaxy*, 161.
- <sup>43</sup> Castells, *The Internet Galaxy*, 162.
- <sup>44</sup> Castells, *The Internet Galaxy*, 161.
- <sup>45</sup> Castells, *The Internet Galaxy*, 162.
- <sup>46</sup> Castells, *The Internet Galaxy*, 160.
- <sup>47</sup> Rob van der Haar, one of the designers of the interface for The Digital City 3.0, during a lecture entitled '*De Stad als metafoor*' ('The City as metaphor') ([www.thing.desk.nl/bilwet/TXT/ESSAY.DDS.txt](http://www.thing.desk.nl/bilwet/TXT/ESSAY.DDS.txt), - approached 16 March 2008).
- <sup>48</sup> Castells, *The Internet Galaxy*, 161.
- <sup>49</sup> According to Hessel Dokkum, squatter of the first hour, it was thanks to the combination of the harsh actions of the squatters' movement and the bankrupt city at that time. Recorded in an essay by Maria Luyten *Stadgist in Amsterdam* (November 2005) ([www.marcialuyten.nl/cms/publicaties/essays/stadgist-in-amsterdam-nov-2005.html](http://www.marcialuyten.nl/cms/publicaties/essays/stadgist-in-amsterdam-nov-2005.html) - approached 16 March 2008).
- <sup>50</sup> Castells, *The Internet Galaxy*, 152.
- <sup>51</sup> Barthes, *Mythologieën*, 236.
- <sup>52</sup> Although every movement gave an interpretation in their own way. Common, however, is the *unique* interpretation that was given to anarchism. The English philosopher and historian Peter Marshall even suggests that "Holland has developed one of the most original anarchist movements in Europe" (quoted in the dissertation of A. Faes *Hedendaags anarchisme in Nederland en Vlaanderen*, 189). Maybe you can call it *nederanarchism*.
- <sup>53</sup> Lovink, *My First Recession*, 22.
- <sup>54</sup> Lovink, *My First Recession*, 13.

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