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"*Identity Work*" and Clandestinity

Abstract

Entry into terrorist organizations has often been described from an extrinsic perspective, as a biographical rupture. However, the "careers" of activists from illegal Basque far-left and national liberation organizations show continuities, underscored by the players themselves. We used a model developed by Snow and McAdam [2000] to understand the "identity work" that accompanies integration and participation in clandestine groups. Two major forms of identity work characterize entry into the organizations studied: "identity convergence" and "identity amplification". These results suggest a need to reconsider the heuristic relevance of the concepts of radicalization and tip over into terrorism. They also help clarify the role of both cognitive and affective group identification within the identity redefinition process for the individuals involved.

Keywords: Terrorism; Clandestinity; Alternation; Radicalisation; Far left; ETA.

Introduction

Does becoming a "terrorist" involve a major biographical rupture?

TOTAL OR EXTREME COMMITMENT is often seen as undergirding terrorist movements. It has typically been approached in terms of the risks taken by agents [McAdam, 1986] and the consequences of their actions for their life trajectories. The idea is that "the social identity of the players who form a social movement is transformed by their activism" [Fillieule, Agrikoliansky and Sommier 2010: 215], and particularly by their integration into a so-called terrorist group. Contemporary understandings of radicalization cast it as a specific political bifurcation, wherein the new identity becomes difficult to reverse and challenge [see Tarragoni, 2012: 116] given the "complete" embrace of group beliefs and the identity reconfiguration.

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This paradigm dominates the literature because of the acceptance of "a logic specific to clandestine life in radical institutions. This life is circumscribed, because commitment to this type of group requires a major biographical rupture that involves jettisoning previous identities in order to be literally reborn, in particular by adopting a nom de guerre, internalizing meticulously codified rules of conduct, and sometimes even resorting to mortification techniques, etc." [Sommier, 2008: 92][1]. The question of identity transformation in the course of integration into armed groups is a constant, to the point that engagement has been conceived as "identification" [Hardin, 1995: 7]. Russell Hardin sees identification with a group as a condition for engagement in collective action, with the former presumably based on convergent interests between the individual and the group [*Ibid*.: 10]. Participation in the latter would benefit individual members materially (by securing a better situation if the group succeeds), symbolically, or in terms of satisfaction from participation [*Ibid*.: 53-54]. This logic, however, does not address how group identification occurs. It is to this question that we will devote our analysis. Our study will focus primarily on the micro-sociological level because we have explored the contexts of involvement in these groups in depth elsewhere [Guibet Lafaye, 2019, 2020a], as have others [see Della Porta, 1995, 2013; Della Porta and Rucht, 1995; Sommier, 2008].

In contrast to biographical-rupture and tip-over theories, we will show, from a critical perspective, that political involvement in clandestine organizations involves reconfiguring a player's social identity, in the sense that "collective action enables the foundation, or re-foundation, of identity that will give meaning to choices and calculations" [Pizzorno, 1978; 1990: 80]. What "identity work" [Snow and McAdam, 2000] underlies this reconfiguration? What are the terms of operating in violent political groups? Tackling these questions will take us away from the hypothesis that the search for material or symbolic "retribution" is the driving force of extreme political commitment, and from its interpretation as a tip-over into radicalization. We will propose a more detailed interpretation of the identity development and redefinition implied by this type of involvement. Our analysis will draw on the work of Snow and McAdam [2000] on identity transformation.

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[1] In fact, it involves not so much adopting a "nom de guerre" as abandoning one's civilian identity for security purposes in order to prevent identification by the security forces.

This model is particularly relevant to efforts to comprehensively understand the evolution of identities within the so-called terrorist organizations of the Basque far left and national liberation, such as Iparretarrak (IK) and Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA). We will consider these identity reconfigurations from a normative rather than a utilitarian perspective; that is, we will not consider the players' search for interests, retribution, and benefits. We will compare the interpretation of radicalism as a conversion [Strauss, 1959; Della Porta, 1995] with the one put forth by clandestine players, who most often perceive their trajectory as a "continuation of the self", and as a "logical" and "natural" phenomenon [Guibet Lafaye, 2018].

To this end, we will start with brief overviews of the survey and of Snow and McAdam's [2000] model. We will then consider the two major types of identity work that characterize entry into so-called terrorist far-left and national liberation organizations: "identity convergence" and "identity amplification". We will then discuss the heuristic relevance of the notions of identity radicalization and tip over in light of these results. Finally, we will analyse the role of cognitive and affective group identification within the identity redefinition process for the individuals involved.

The survey

In order to understand the identity transformation related to joining a clandestine group, we conducted a series of in-depth interviews between March 2016 and July 2020, which led us[2] to meet 128 people who were active between the end of the 1960s and today. The people were contacted either directly or via the "snowball" method [Laperrière, 1997][3]. Respondents included 38 women, ranging from ages 34 to 86 at the time of the interview. The interviews were recorded and fully transcribed. They lasted between 32 minutes and 4.5 hours. Appendix 1 (Table 4) presents the list of respondents and their socio-demographic characteristics, and Appendix 2 provides a brief summary of the history of illegal groups.

[2] The survey was conducted in collaboration with Alexandra Frénod (CNRS, Gemass) for the French part.

[3] In the specific case of this fieldwork, it was difficult to select respondents by age and gender, that is, to conduct strict profiling, because contact opportunities are random.

TABLE I

Distribution of respondents by political group[4]

Groups	Number
ETA	56
Commandos Autonomes Anticapitalistes [Anti-capitalist Independent Commandos]	1
Red Army Faction	3
Second of June Movement	1
Potere Operaio [Workers' Power]	5
Red Brigades	7
Lotta Continua [Constant Struggle]	4
Prima Linea [Frontline]	11
Autonomie ouvrière [Workers' Autonomy]	6
Groupe d'Action Révolutionnaire Internationaliste [Internationalist Revolutionary Action Group]	8
IK	12
Action Directe [Direct Action]	10
Noyaux Armés Pour l'Autonomie Populaire [Armed Units for Popular Autonomy]	2
Francs-tireurs Partisans [Partisan Snipers]	1
Antifasciste [Antifascists]	1
Total	**128**

With the exception of the ETA, these groups were barely active beyond the late 1980s. ETA disbanded on May 3, 2018[5]. Although the organizations operated in different contexts and at different times,

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[4] Some of the people we met were members of both GARI and AD, for example. In these cases of dual membership, the individuals were counted only once, in historically the most recent group. In the aforementioned example, that would be AD. Caroline Guibet Lafaye conducted the interviews supporting this analysis for France and the Basque Country, except for Olivier's interview, which was conducted by Alexandra Frénod (CNRS). Laura di Fabio (Univ. of Rome) conducted them for Italy, and Grégoire Le Quang (University of Paris VIII) translated most of them. They were conducted in Germany by Laura di Fabio and Juline Beaujouan (EHESS), who translated them. For the purposes of this analysis, RAF and Second of June Movement activists can be grouped together; as can the PO and Workers' Autonomy (the PO members interviewed, later joined the latter); the LC and PL because of the former's evolution into the latter; and finally the ETA and the CAAs, who partially emerged from it.

[5] The literature on the ETA is extensive. Examples include ALCEDO MONEO, 1994; BRUNI, 2001; LETAMENDIA, 1995; and MASSEY, 2010.

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they were all ideologically rooted in the far left or national liberation movements with strong Marxist leanings and socialist goals. They also shared the belief that reaching their respective objectives required political violence.

A brief historical overview

Beginning in 1967–1968 a revolutionary spirit swept over part of Western Europe. At the end of the 1960s, Germany was in the midst of democratic reconstruction and experiencing an identity crisis. Confronted with the silence of older generations about the Nazi past, some of young people came to question the inherited order and executive power at a time when the Vietnam War was crystallizing political opposition. The perpetuation of national socialist elites was at the heart of the protest. In France and Italy, students challenged traditional social relations, power, and political parties. As in Germany, the new generation rejected elites suspected of fascist collusion. A general strike hit France in May 1968. The Fifth Republic faltered. In Italy, strikes, demonstrations, and clashes with the police flared between 1968 and 1979. More than 50 organizations engaged in armed violence in Italy between the mid-1960s and the 1980s, including 40 far-left organizations. In these three European countries, many young people who had participated in the events of May 1968 turned to extra-parliamentary activism, or even went underground with a political objective they intended to pursue through violent means. These commitments led to identity transformations that the individuals discussed during our interviews.

"Identity work" and group adaptation methods

Retrospective research, regardless of the method of investigation used [Auriat, 1996], depends on the effects of memory, which are particularly pervasive and difficult to control in the case of semi-structured interviews. This method may introduce distortions, misrepresentations, and slips that are exacerbated by the fact that the interviewer has little control over the principles of episode selection [Demazière, 2007: 88-89]. The narrator's account emerges from a selection of fragments – reflecting what is important to them – inserted into a story that makes sense. The semi-structured interview also runs up against the phenomenon of

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biographical illusion, because individuals are retracing their life story a posteriori and in a linear way [Bourdieu, 1986: 69]. These forms of rationalization, and of making sense of practices, opinions, and political orientations after the fact, raise notable methodological problems [see Collovald and Gaïti, 2006: 45]. The reorganized narrative, underpinned by ideological work, does not just produce a realistic description of how the individual became involved in a given organization. It also often aims to provide a rationale. Without endorsing the premise of a linear biographical development, we can nonetheless retain the notion of a "biographical arc", that is, a set of events that can be linked to one of the forms of individual engagement [Ogien, (1989) 1995: 81; see also Demazière, 2008].

These efforts to provide meaning and perspective specific to semistructured interviews reveal the "identity work" at play in the self-narrative. This work consists of all the discourse and practices through which individuals shape themselves [Alvesson and Willmott, 2002]. The identity appears then as the alignment of two forms of identity – personal and social – for the activist in this case. It occurs as the product of a complex "process of becoming" whereby individuals are constantly constructing, deconstructing, and reconstructing their subjectivity. The identity work thus results from a constant effort to align what individuals must be socially (social identity) and what they are privately (personal identity) [Watson, 2008].

In contrast to a micro-sociological perspective, a meso-sociological one emphasizes five factors in individual identity development: symbols (constitutive of the activist's identity), situational definition (through the attribution or reattribution of meaning to the social environment), roles (derived from specific values, norms, codes, and obligations), socialization (which adapts action to circumstances), and emergence of the self (influenced by context) [Arena and Arrigo, 2005]. While principles, norms, values, and their evolution remain underexplored, the effects of socialization on activist choices and individual trajectories have been studied extensively [Snow, Zurcher and Ekland-Olson, 1980; Gould, 1991; Passy, 1998; Diani and McAdam, 2003; Duriez and Sawicki, 2003]. With regard to roles and socialization in armed organizations, the literature has attempted to understand group identification processes, that is, "identification with" or "subjective identification, which entails motivation" [Hardin, 1995]. For example, R. Hardin considers group identification to be a condition for commitment to actions with shared objectives, but he does not explore the terms or processes involved in this identification.

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Secondary literature has explored identity work from a meso-sociological approach focused on the dynamics of clandestine life in small radical institutions. Commitment to these collectives is presumed necessarily to imply "a major biographical rupture that involves renouncing a previous identity" [Sommier, 2008: 92]. In the case of guerrilla-type armed organizations, this rupture is accompanied by a "reconstruction of the identity of the organization's members (men and women) in line with the combatant model" [see Felices-Luna, 2007]. Indeed, political bifurcation processes have identity implications that also raise identity dilemmas for individuals [Tarragoni, 2012: 116; Guibet Lafaye, 2019][6]. Commitment to illegal and "terrorist" movements transforms agents' social identity, as does commitment to activism in a social movement [see Fillieule, Agrikoliansky and Sommier, 2010: 215]. The commitment correlates with a reconfiguration of the individual's social identity, indicating that "the collective action context enables a foundation, or re-foundation, of identity that gives meaning to an individual's choices and calculations" [Pizzorno, 1978; 1990: 80].

Identity convergence and amplification

Several models can help shed light on the identity changes experienced by the individuals we met and the terms of their involvement. D. A. Snow and D. McAdam [2000] have highlighted two forms of "identity work" that can be broken down into several subsets. These models are useful for understanding the ways in which individuals adapt to groups and the adjustments involved.

The first form, called "identity convergence" refers to the meeting between individuals with an isomorphic social identity and the collective identity of a movement [Voëgtli, 2010: 216]. This convergence occurs through either "identity seeking" or "identity appropriation". In the first case, individuals seek to engage in movements with a collective identity that is congruent with their social identity, as is the case in some religious movements. Meanwhile, "identity appropriation" results from social movement entrepreneurs' conquest of pre-existing solidarity networks, making them amenable to sharing a common identity.

Identity work can also involve identity development. In this second case, aligning social identity and collective identity requires more substantial work, ranging from a process that marginally transforms an

[6] These are sometimes associated with normative dilemmas, especially when entering organizations that condone harming people. ETA is a paradigmatic example.

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actor's self-conception to a radical change. In Snow and McAdam's model [2000], identity development can result from several processes: "identity amplification", "identity consolidation", "identity extension", or "identity transformation".

The "identity amplification" process strengthens a preexisting identity that is congruent with a movement's group identity, the former having been insufficiently strong to result in participation and activism in the past. The "identity consolidation" process refers to the coalescence of two prior personal identities previously considered incompatible. This is the case, for example, of Christian homosexual movements[7]. "Identity extension" refers to the deployment of a spiritual identity that is congruent with the identity of a movement and that encompasses practically all aspects of an individual's life. This phenomenon is possible in religious or political groups, such as the French Communist Party [see Pudal, 1989; Leclercq, 2008]. Finally, "identity transformation" evokes "biographical reconstruction" [Snow and Machalek, 1984] or "alternation" [Berger and Luckmann, (1966) 1986; see 2.2 below], causing a clear break between the previous identity and that of the "convert" who has joined the movement.

In the trajectories analysed, the most salient phenomena fall under identity convergence, broken down into identity seeking (40 cases out of 128) and identity appropriation (31 cases), on one hand, and identity amplification (48 cases) on the other (see Table 2). Identity consolidation and transformation account for 3 cases, and identity extension, for 6.

According to the survey, identity amplification and, to a lesser extent, identity seeking, are the main categories structuring the "identity work" of activists in illegal organizations. Identity appropriation also stands out, as collectives, especially the Basque ones, sought recruits. The structure and forms of organization specific to each group (meso level) shaped their enrolment methods.

Several points are worth considering with regard to the results presented in Table 3. When individuals claimed to have intentionally sought contact with illegal groups, we placed them in the "identity-seeking" subcategory. While the number of individuals in the "identity appropriation" field is not insignificant, we did not systematically track organizations' recruitment strategies. We took a methodologically individualistic approach that applied to a period after the individual commitments. The 31 cases were identified on the basis of personal

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[7] See the David & Jonathan (D & J) movement and the Bethany Communion.

TABLE 2
Typology of the identity work involved in illegal trajectories

Groups	Identity convergence		Identity construction			
	"Identity seeking" (individual → group)	"Identity appropriation" (group → individual)	"Identity amplification" (strengthening a preexisting identity)	"Identity consolidation" (adopting two previously incompatible personal identities)	"Identity extension" (deployment of a spiritual identity)	"Identity transformation" (clean break between previous identity and that of the "convert")
ETA	15	19	18	1	3	
CAA					1	
IK	1	6	5			
RAF	2		1			
Second of June Movement	1					
BR	4	1	2			
PO	2	1	2			
LC	3		1			
PL	0	2	9			
Autonomy	3		3			
GARI	4		2		1	1
AD	4	2	4			
NAPAP	1			1		
FTP			1			
Antifascist					1	
Total*	40	31	48	2	6	1

* This correction takes into account the difficulty of assigning a single category to four of the respondents.

TABLE 3
Synthesis of identity work in the studied groups

Groups	Identity convergence		Identity construction			
	"Identity seeking"	"Identity appropriation"	"Identity amplification"	"Identity consolidation"	"Identity extension"	"Identity transformation"
ETA and CAA	15	19	18	1	4	
IK	1	6	5			
RAF and Second of June Movement	3		1			
BR	4	1	2			
PO and Autonomy	5	1	5			
LC and PL	3	2	10			
GARI and NAPAP	5		2	1	1	1
AD	4	2	4			
FTP and Antifascist			1		1	
Total	40	31	48	2	6	1

statements, in which individuals acknowledged they were contacted by their organization. Even if this contact took place, individuals may have made the decision to engage on their own for a number of rational reasons (lack of political opportunities, desire to strengthen their commitment, possibility of benefiting from infrastructure that would allow them to achieve their goals more easily, and so on). Finally, some respondents may have omitted to mention this "identity appropriation" work[8]. Admitting to having been contacted does not imply that people were forced. However, it is because the organization knew their background and anticipated they would be willing to plunge into illegality that it turned to them and offered an opportunity to join the group. In addition, groups' recruitment patterns changed over time, especially in organizations such as ETA, which were around for half a century.

We placed individuals under the "identity amplification" umbrella when they contextualized their political journey in terms of family background. Many respondents started their political journey when they were teenagers or very young adults. Participation in activist groups provided an opportunity to develop and fulfil a pre-existing identity that was congruent with the movement's collective identity. The former may not have been able to develop fully beforehand because of age or lack of access to the means to authorize illegal action and so-called violent activism. This was especially the case for ETA militants who become involved through the end of the 1980s [see Guibet Lafaye, 2020a].

The "identity amplification" subset also includes individuals whom the structure enabled to carry out illegal activities and deepen illegal political participation, regardless of their family background. Individuals went from being purposeful activists and determined militants to seeing their identity amplified to that of a "professional revolutionary" [Rapin, 2000] or even a terrorist. Finally, many of the people we met were founding members of the groups under study (GARI, AD, PO, PL, Workers' Autonomy, FTP, IK[9]). Their recruitment can therefore not be considered to have occurred via a preformed organization. The clandestine group allowed them to amplify their actions in accordance with their ideology and political ambitions. In general, entry into a clandestine group would make available superior military and logistical means.

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[8] In the survey, we probed the respondents' political trajectory, asking them how they entered the organization, and whether it was through "any particular person". Some respondents were evasive or failed to provide details about how they joined the group, revealing shared behaviour across these profiles.

[9] Such as Cyprien, Gabrielle, Frédéric, Vincent, Alberto Franceschini, Guiseppe, Paolo Margini, Sergio Segio, and so on.

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The recurrence of identity-based amplification is also attributable to the fact that most of the actors were pursuing conventional political careers before embracing armed struggle.

The collected narratives thus suggest that "identity transformation" occurred relatively infrequently in the lives of the members of clandestine far-left and national liberation organizations (see Table 2 and Table 3). This rarity is attributable to the continuity between their childhood experiences and involvement in an organization or its creation. Jacques dismissed the "identity transformation" hypothesis when he explained his objective in joining ETA:

> I see an individual identity issue, that is, I think I know who I am. I recognize myself in the values of the society that I want to change, that I don't like. And therefore I recognize myself in the somewhat humanistic or at least altruistic values of the organization, even if it is armed. When I was a teenager already—a teenager, not an adult—I used to say to myself, maybe one day I will be a militant. Maybe…

Jacques' journey illustrates an identity convergence process giving rise to identity amplification. The recurrence of this identity work within ETA was apparent over generations. It underlies the trajectory of Jacques, born in 1955, as well as that of Ianis, born in 1979. Before joining ETA, Ianis, from a "family of militants […] involved in nationalist politics" and then in cultural movements, participated in a group promoting the Basque language. He later became a left-wing nationalist youth activist[10]. When repression of young people was launched in the Southern Basque Country in the 1990s, sabotage operations were carried out around his high school. In this context, his entry into ETA is categorized as identity amplification[11]. In the case of ETA, covering 56 respondents, identity seeking, identity appropriation, and identity amplification processes all manifest themselves, in 15, 19 and 18 cases, respectively, underscoring the diversity of paths to armed activism in this group.

The most common paradigms characterizing the commitment of the actors we met are identity convergence and identity amplification[12]. Isomorphism (with regard to identity convergence) is especially applicable to the Basque case, given the strong influence of primary socialization and of the sociocultural environment [Crettiez, 1997; Della Porta, 2013; Guibet Lafaye, 2020a]. This process notably shaped the trajectories of all the individuals involved in the logistics of organizations such

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[10] Involvement in this group required a two-year training process in what are called pre-militancy drills. At the age of 14–15, Ianis used to discuss politics with a "neighbour who was very involved in the Basque youth".

[11] In addition to this macro-social context, this was the death, in August 2000, of two of his friends in an ETA activity.

[12] For AD, see Cyprien, Gabrielle, Jérémie; Damien and Sylvain to a certain extent.

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as ETA (Amandine, Benoît, Elliot, Élodie, Nicolas, Vicenzo), as well as those who were in commandos, such as Ekaitz, Fabienne, and François. Thus, the Basque case is a paradigmatic example of quasi-isomorphism between the social identity of the actor and the collective identity of the movement, in this case *abertzale* (i.e. patriot), although not all ETA members were Basque. When asked how she became involved with the organization, Elodie explains the beginning of her support for ETA in these terms:

> My father, he knew a lot of people here. In the family, all of them. One day, someone came to our house. He asked if it was my father's house. I said yes. [He stayed.] I was still living with my parents.

Thus began Elodie's direct support for ETA, as she gave shelter to militants in hiding.

The external perception of so-called terrorist organizations projects a normative and practical[13] rupture onto them. Contrariwise, the organizations reject the dichotomy between conventional modes of political intervention and their own. This projection is conducive to describing entry into an armed organization as a "leap" or biographical rupture, whereas the actors' accounts emphasize continuities. Approached comprehensively, or even immanently, this passage appears to be more akin to a linear path. Thus, Sylvain's entry into AD occurred without any real rupture: a friend got him into it at a time when he was already "robbing banks with a moped" but "there, it was well organized, with everything that was needed: protection, drivers and everything". Similarly, for Fabienne, who had always been an activist without being a member, the Burgos trial was the clincher: "From then on, I started to get more and more involved. There were steps". In Paris, she encountered "other fighting nations and peoples: the Occitan and Breton", and some Corsicans. She admits that following the executions of September 27, 1975 in the aftermath of the Burgos trial, she decided to "take up arms". But she had already become politicized by the age of 12. Her father, of Basque-Catalan origin, anticipated her entry into ETA… Her journey, once again, reflects identity amplification.

The very small number of (N = 1) trajectories that show an "identity transformation" process involving a "biographical reconstruction" [Snow and Machalek, 1984], or a clear break between the previous identity and that of the "convert", suggests the limited relevance of the

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[13] For example, in relation to the illegal channels needed to procure weapons and explosives.

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tip-over thesis in elucidating the trajectories of the individuals involved in the groups under study.

Redefining identities vs alternation

As a counterpoint to these analyses based on first-hand empirical materials, the thesis of a clean break between the prior identity and that of the "convert" flourished in the 2010s [see Benslama, 2015; Boutih, 2015; Bouzar, 2015]. This form of identity "redefinition" or "identity transformation" corresponds to the last column of Table 2 and Table 3, which show a very low number of occurrences (N = 1) for the political organizations studied. Given its weak heuristic relevance, the activist trajectories should not be interpreted through the prism of "identity transformation", biographical rupture, or a tip over into radicalization, but rather by using the notion of alternation, in addition to identity convergence and amplification. Alternation refers to a set of subjective transformation(s) [Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Guibet Lafaye and Rapin, 2017] occurring over the respondents' "moral careers". It describes a process of "near-total" transformation of subjective reality that leads individuals to "become other" as they embrace a subjective "new world" [Berger and Luckmann, (1966) 1986]. Margareth's testimony (BR) is explicit on this point. When we talk about what might have held her back or made her hesitate to commit, she admits:

> There are many inner blockages, but we identify our needs as obstacles to be overcome—as counter-revolutionary elements—and we therefore think it is necessary to break these inner chains that hold us back to our previous condition. I would say that it is rather the opposite process [...]. I think that all the necessary inhibitions are there to stop me. But I proceed in the exact opposite way.

This subjective transformation can go as far as redefining an identity that can be considered constitutive of total [Yon, 2005] or radical commitment. The study of individual trajectories, based on the actors' narratives, thus brings to light the analytical relevance of the concept of alternation, rather than radicalization or tip-over, to exploring the paths of individuals in the revolutionary left and Basque national liberation movements[14]. In the case of identity transformation, the key is not so much to observe biographical reconstruction as to uncover the mechanisms and "plausibility structure" [Berger and Luckmann, (1966) 1986],

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[14] Studies on religious conversions have also shown the mixture of continuity and discontinuity and the bifurcations that this process involves over time [see MARY, 1998; LE PAPE, 2015; GALONNIER, 2017].

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in other words the representation of the world and the objective conditions that the actor faces and that enable a lasting conversion [Renou, 2010]. The effects of Jacques' (ETA) confrontation with repression underscore the mechanisms of this evolution:

> I think that mentally I was already committed. I was not yet a member of the organization but… If I had been tortured, it would have accelerated things, but it did not lead me to question my beliefs – quite the contrary. When I saw the attitude of the Civil Guard, they could have crushed us with their feet. That humiliation you feel and all that! Of course, it made me feel better about my choice. That is to say: "Wow, this is it". And I didn't experience any torture at that time. But I said to myself: "Boom! It's obvious, it's obvious". Franco, he was still alive.

In the late 1960s, political activists opted for the armed route. This type of "radical" commitment took root in a socio-political context of repression by the public authorities [Sommier, 2008]. This repression persisted in the Basque Country from the 1950s through the early 2010s [see Ianis, Elyana, and Dimitri for the ETA members), and in Italy from the late 1960s to the 1980s[15]. Margareth (BR) testifies to this when reminiscing about the attack on the Agricultural Bank in Milan on December 12, 1969[16]. Similarly, the words of François, who is very religious and part of the Liberation Theology movement, are unambiguous. While on a spiritual pilgrimage to El Salvador, where he met with Christian communities involved in the struggle of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and visited the tomb of Monsignor Romero, Archbishop of San Salvador, who was assassinated by death squads during mass on March 24, 1980, he asked himself:

> What do I do? Stay here and give my life to these martyred people? The answer is no: go home. Here there are thousands of people ready to die for freedom, but not at home. I decided this in 1986. I am going to take my revolutionary path to its end. I believe in Liberation Theology, so I did not experience any contradiction. Imperialism and capitalism must be fought wherever they are.

When he returned to the Basque Country, François informed ETA of the symbolic actions he had already performed. The organization later organized a meeting that would lead him to join the Nafarroa commando (Navarro). The subjective transformation and re-socialization implied by

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[15] We have studied these repressive contexts and their effects on illegal engagement in detail elsewhere [GUIBET LAFAYE, 2019, 2020a].

[16] "There was also, of course, the Piazza Fontana 'massacre', which was a turning point, especially with regard to the subject of violence, that is to say, on the necessity of resorting to violence to assert one's rights and political goals. Yes, that's it, a kind of obligation, without which nothing is possible. These were the years of talk about the "betrayed Resistance" which refers to all the years since the Liberation. Close identification with the Resistance movement and with certain Resistance fighters occurred during these years." On this subject, see MATARD-BONUCCI, 2010.

the alternation could be described as "radical", insofar as the individual's subjective reality was shaken. This subjective transformation nonetheless differs from the political radicalization process itself, which necessarily had to occur beforehand and at a different level in order to create an alternative "structure of plausibility" [Berger and Luckmann, (1966) 1986], that is, a subjective reality different from the subject's original one. In this case, the reality included international geopolitical developments of the 1980s and the activists in the Basque Country questioning the democratic character of the post-Franco transition in Spain[17]. This new inter-subjective representation of the world, born of a political radicalization process, formed the framework within which individuals internalized the images surrounding national and social liberation, associated with the dashed hopes that the end of Francoism had elicited. This political radicalization process undoubtedly occurred in the Italian and Basque cases, although Third World and guerrilla struggles also informed the emerging organizations studied.

Group attachment and identity construction

Beyond the "plausibility structure" and the reference group, relationships with significant others must also be taken into account, on the meso- and micro-sociological levels, in the identity work that accompanies these commitments. What role does this otherness, i.e. interpersonal relations and the organizational structure, play in these actors' identity construction? This work, like the evolution of self-conceptions, depends on acceptance by significant others. Interpersonal relationships and the networks they form are cardinal in group attachment and the development of group consciousness [Foote, 1951]. Group identification has often been analysed using the concepts of "militant habitus" and "protest identity". It must also be interpreted using the notion of attachment. This identification results from a process in which an individual cognitively and emotionally embraces the identity image associated with a particular role and thus wishes to practice and represent it [Goffman, 1961][18]. Many studies have explored cognitive and emotional investment in the development of a group identity. For example, in studying the trajectories of women in the Shining Path and the IRA, Felices-Luna notes that "interviewees who continue their involvement voluntarily

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[17] For background on this point, see BABY, 2015: 52; LOPEZ GARRIDO, 1987; JAIME-JIMÉNEZ and REINARES 1998: 173. On the effect of contextual developments on the engagement of different generations of militants within ETA, see GUIBET LAFAYE 2020b.

[18] Cyprien, Laurent, Justin, and Ianis in particular are ideal-types of this identification.

describe a strong ideological conviction, envisioning their identity as a firm and reliable fighter, and feeling affection for their comrades and pride in their involvement. They thus demonstrate a strong attachment to their career and attendant identity" [Felices-Luna, 2008: 173].

Attachment becomes a catalyst in the identity work. It contributes to the self-definition that actors achieve through the identity mobilized by activist careers (revolutionary, national liberation fighter). It translates the effects of high-risk activism at the personal and interpersonal levels. It also has moral implications stemming from moral obligation to one's peers, and from the representation of one's moral career in terms of the struggle to defend one's country, language, or class struggle. Some IK activists, such as Laure, emphasize the decisive role of a sense of moral obligation:

> In relation to these people who had fallen and who believed in the same thing as you, it would not honour them… to stop everything. On the contrary, they fell and they cannot have fallen for nothing – that's not possible.

Attachment occurs through the internalization of both moral and collective norms that discourage breaking with the group [Ulmer, 1994]. Indeed, entering a new peer group establishes new sociability. For example, Nicolas, who provided ETA with substantial logistical support, emphasized that, as a security measure for himself and his entourage, he had to distance himself from his friends. The relationship with other meaningful people contributes to a re-socialization of the individual, showing once again the heuristic relevance of the concept of alternation. This re-socialization assumes both an ideological and an affective adherence to a new reference group, wherein the individual's identity experiences a reconfiguration [Melucci, 1995] and, over time, attachment. Collective identity and group identification provide emotional and cognitive stability, based on shared ideals and beliefs [Post, 2005]. Margareth recognizes this when she looks back on the early stages of her involvement:

> In 1970, I was 20 years old, and I had attended a Catholic high school with a very closed, strict education. I arrived in Milan in 1969, and in 1970 I was already quite close to the BR. But a little by chance, I think, because of this history of friend networks. I didn't have much political background, but *I felt good with them* (emphasis added).

When she talks about her decision to join the movement, Margareth mentions key encounters: "In my own birthplace, I met resistance fighters from the other side, the Reds, who welcomed me with a lot of love". The separation from the family environment when going clandestine is

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sometimes experienced as a difficult moment [see Grégoire[19], Frédéric[20], Anna Soldati]. Women are more likely to mention the affective dimension, particularly in Italy and France. Group identification becomes an emotional and affective commitment, as opposed to a simple organizational partnership or membership. The notion of family is often used to describe this emotional dimension, as William suggests: "The prisoners and other RAF members [...] were like a family and never were like one's own family, which is a fortress, with which we were at odds, and which we never saw". This interpretation is prevalent in organizations with a communal life, such as the PKK.

Roy Wallis, borrowing Weber's term, calls holistic groups a *gemeinde*, that is, a community or camaraderie in which the leader and followers motivate and recognize each other through mutual love [Wallis, 1982: 35-36]. Affective relationships and even love become a force in groups formed around a charismatic figure, although such a figure is often absent from the collectives we studied. Group loyalties can draw on brotherly love and gain strength from the extraordinary sacrifices that terrorists are willing to make for their causes and/or the perpetuation of their group[21].

At the meso-sociological level, socialization into the activist role and "organizational shaping" [Sawicki and Siméant, 2009: 115] use various mechanisms to promote attachment to the group and to the social movement over time[22]. These methods promote the celebration of member unity and solidarity [Fillieule, Agrikolianski and Sommier, 2010: 217; see Lacroix, 2013 for the Basque case]. At this level, networks also play an important role in individual identity work, attachment to the collective, and the development of group consciousness. The Italian, German and Basque examples attest to this. An "esprit de corps" [Blumer, 1939] emerged, consisting of "the organizing of feelings on behalf of the movement" – in other words, in activists' feeling "of belonging together and of being identified with one another in a common undertaking.

[19] "I rather quickly became aware of the consequences of my commitments, not so much in terms of the potentially dramatic side – when you use weapons, damage can inevitably ensue – but rather the family and friendship side. I was turning the page in my social and family life… There was a time of rupture when I had to process. Especially since I could not talk about it with my family. That's what can also be a little difficult: you prepare a rupture but can't talk about it to the people you love the most for security reasons."

[20] "When I went underground, I felt more free than ever. It's a very… very special feeling. You feel free from all the shackles of everyday life. [...] There are other forms of constraint, but they are inherent to the struggle, especially to going clandestine, and to security measures, etc.".

[21] See ATRAN, 2011: 33-34; BALLEN, 2011; SAGEMAN, 2004: 1-3, 107-119, 125-130; SAGEMAN, 2008: 8, 56, 64, 66-70.

[22] Most of the groups studied are part of larger "social movements", not only in the emblematic case of Italy, but also in the Basque Country, Germany and, to a lesser extent, France.

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In developing feelings of intimacy and closeness, people have the sense of sharing a common experience and of forming a select group" [Blumer, (1939) 1953: 205-206]. The esprit de corps unfolds across three levels: first, the development of in-group and out-group relationships; second, the existence of informal camaraderie [Turner and Killian, 1957: 442; see Fillieule Agrikolianski and Sommier, 2010, chap. 9]; and third, formalized ceremonial behaviours.

These ceremonial behaviours, particularly apparent in the Basque Country, constitute a means, alongside a shared ideology and common principles, of developing value adhesion and attachment to the social movement enterprise [Melucci, 1988]. They operate like "sensitization mechanisms" and "tools to adjust and shape the militant habitus", and appropriate "militant memory". They enable "experiencing, in the most personal way possible, an indignation and an anger that motivate a full commitment to action" [Traïni and Siméant, 2009: 24-25]. This is particularly observable in the prisoner release operations carried out by several of the organizations studied, such as IK[23] and RAF[24], or in retaliatory actions following the violence committed by government or paramilitary repression (such as the GALs) against organization members. More generally, these methods socialize members into the culture of the group [Fillieule, Agrikolianski and Sommier, 2010: 218]. They contribute, at a meso-sociological level, to the construction of individual identity, in a way that is complementary to ideology, often considered as "the operator through which identification with the role of 'professional revolutionary' provides a total identity" [Yon, 2005: 142].

The "esprit de corps", nourished by these "sensitization mechanisms" and supported by a "shaping of the militant habitus", also involves sharing and defending the same values. This axiological dimension contributes to the "identity work" and identity construction. It is especially reflected in solidarity, which constitutes the fundamental and cohesive axis of these groups, as Julien[25], Martial[26], Laureline, and

[23] With the release of Gabriel Mouesca and Maddy Heguy on December 13, 1986, from Pau prison.
[24] Even though this deviation from the goals of the organization has led to strong criticism from its members, as Hans Joachim Klein and William stated.
[25] When asked about the possible ethics of armed struggle, Julien answered: "It is, we'll say, revolutionary ethics all around, and I mean real revolutionary ethics. When you have to share, when you are obliged to keep an eye on the person next to you to keep them safe, you will never abandon a fellow. Solidarity is core. So is understanding and empathy. And so is openness – despite the closed environment. Solidarity is the basis of all movements, be they revolutionary or other".
[26] Martial, released from detention a few weeks before the interview, says of his comrades who are still in prison or who died in the struggle: "You have to understand that in the end everything these people did, they did for others. And that gives you a sense that… the

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Louisa underscore. For them, in "this struggle, the main thing is the solidarity we had amongst ourselves and with our people, and with other people, and the many citizens who helped us" (see also Julien)[27]. This "esprit de corps" thus has ideological, affective, axiological, and normative dimensions that shape individual identity. It is a matter of embracing the same values and a common ideology, of collectively standing up to repression, of using the same interpretative schemes to think about social reality according to an "us vs them" dichotomy, and of uniting around a goal of liberation or emancipation. All of these meso-sociological factors contribute to the players' transformation and identity work.

Conclusion

This analysis is based on retrospective life stories. "All this leads us to believe that the life history draws closer to the official presentation of the official model of the self (identity card, civil record, curriculum vitae, official biography) and to the philosophy of identity which underlies it, as one draws closer to official interrogations in official inquiries – the limit of which is the judicial inquiry or police investigation" [Bourdieu, 1986: 71]. The subject and object of the biography (the investigator and the investigated) unquestionably have a common interest in accepting the premise of meaning in the life story. But to "consider life as a history, that is, as a coherent narrative of a significant and directed sequence of events, is perhaps to conform to a rhetorical illusion, to the common representation of existence that a whole literary tradition has always and still continues to reinforce" [Bourdieu, 1986: 70]. These oral sources should therefore be used with caution, because they are often typical reconstructions. However, they are also the main sources we have on individual trajectories. These biographical reconstructions capture activists' representations and perceptions of their environment (social world), their definitions of the costs and benefits of political participation, their

people who are still locked up in prison are still giving their all. Even though they are suffering and have suffered through an extraordinary situation, they remain committed. They're not straying from our path. So I have very special feelings for these people".

[27] Louisa, who spent 11 years in exile, points out that "in Mexico and Venezuela, it was very good to be structured as a collective and we were able to take in people who were not doing well. We had a great solidarity. For me... in this struggle, the most important thing was the solidarity that we experienced amongst ourselves, from our people, and with other people. Many citizens helped us. And in this situation, I think that Europe, and the Rose Movement... the Basque people's struggle was somewhat of a reference for everyone".

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political socialization, and the dynamics of producing and maintaining a collective identity [Della Porta 2013: 28]. They also offer subjective explanations for the decision to join and remain in a radical organization. Discrediting the words of militants in the groups studied would represent a failure to appreciate the real value of the interview methodology [Horgan, 2011: 8].

While bearing in mind the illusion of the life story as a linear and coherent sequence, it is possible to account for the identity work involved in belonging to violent political organizations. In this regard, we highlighted the heuristic relevance of the notions of alternation and "bifurcation" – rather than "tip over" or radicalization. Alternation implies identity work, which draws mainly on forms of "identity seeking" and gives rise to "identity amplification", which is most apparent in groups such as ETA and Prima Linea. Neither the "tip over" thesis nor the "commitment by default" paradigm [Becker 2006] account for individual commitments in the groups studied. The trajectories of far left and Basque national liberation activists illustrate that "the capacity for existential decisions or radical choice of self always operates within the horizon of a life history, in whose traces the individual can discern who he is and who he would like to be" [Habermas (1991) 1992: 103].

The conscious highlighting of this continuity[28] by the actors themselves, and as attested by their trajectories, enables reconsideration of the "redefinition of identity" thesis as a transformation accompanying the alternation process. Although this continuity could be considered the product of an *a posteriori* reconstruction, some of the actors we met came from a communist or resistance background [see Guibet Lafaye 2018, 2019]. Thus, using the "tipping point" theory and paradigm as a heuristic model to grasp the entry into radicalism or the acceleration of radicalization processes entails adopting an exclusively subjective and psychological perspective on a complex and multifactorial situation. It assumes that only the individual evolves without considering that the situation could escalate to a point where it might become intolerable not to act. In some cases, consideration of the socio-political or geopolitical context reveals that not just individuals were "tipping over" into radicalism (see Italy from the end of the 1960s through the 1980s or the Basque Country).

Our analysis diverges from the conclusions in the literature on terrorism insofar as it favours a micro-sociological rather than a meso-sociological approach. When describing these clandestine groups as

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[28] Which does not mean linearity.

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holistic or "total" organizations[29], authors are inclined to consider integration within them as a biographical rupture, and identity reconstruction as a renunciation of a previous identity. A micro-sociological perspective, however, posits continuity as the dominant dynamic. It can take the form of either " identity seeking" which consolidates a pre-existing identity, or "identity amplification" wherein actors secure the means to achieve objectives that are congruent with those of a collective movement. Identity reconstruction inevitably occurs, but it does not involve the renunciation of a previous identity, nor necessarily a biographical rupture. Such processes reflect only "alternation". These conclusions we established for clandestine far-left and national liberation groups are also plausible for the far right[30], but would require empirical verification for violent political Islamic organizations.

[29] Even when they are small.
[30] We conducted 18 interviews with individuals involved in extra-parliamentary right-wing organizations that tend to validate this hypothesis.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

T A B L E 4
List of respondents with their socio-demographic characteristics

Pseudonym	Gender	Year of birth	Organization	Years of detention*	Father's occupation
Héloïse	F	1946	GARI	-	Schoolteacher
Rebecca	F	1946	GARI	-	Employee
Peter	M	1946	GARI	6 months	Supervisor (workshop manager)
Norah	F	1947	GARI	-	Accounting services employee (accountant)
Dyane	F	1947	GARI	9 months	Civil aviation executive (airline pilot)
Jérôme	M	1948	GARI	2 years	Medical equipment specialist (orthopedics expert)
Natalia	F	1948	GARI	2 months	Administration executive (administrative inspector)
Maurice	M	1949	GARI	1 year and 9 months	Farm worker
Laurent	M	1946	NAPAP	2 months	Worker
Olivier	M	1952	NAPAP	10 months	Senior manager in the private sector
Cyprien	M	1952	AD	More than 10 years	Schoolteacher
Damien	M	1952	AD	6 years	Policeman
Sylvain	M	1951	AD	3 years	Engineer
Mirko	M	1954	AD	3 years	Skilled construction worker
Jérémie	M	1955	AD	10 years	Blue-collar worker

TABLE 4 *(Continued)*

Pseudonym	Gender	Year of birth	Organization	Years of detention*	Father's occupation
Gabrielle	F	1957	AD	More than 10 years	Boilermaker
Yvon	M	1958	AD	-	Serviceman
Vincent	M	1959	FTP	3 and a half years	Employee
Ziggy	M	1985	Antifascist	-	NR
Ludwig	M	1944	RAF	20 years	Accounting service employee
Marie	M	1948	RAF	7 years	Ranked serviceman (soldier)
William	M	1952	RAF	21 years	Journalist and unemployed
Rana	F	1953	Second of June Movement	4 and a half years	Merchant
Alberto Franceschini	M	1947	BR	18 years	Blue-collar worker
Paola	F	1947	BR	17 years	-
Alexandra	F	1950	BR	15 years	Lawyer
Margareth	F	1950	BR	3 and a half years	Merchant
Federico	M	1951	BR	23 and a half years	Mason
Aloys	M	1956	BR	1 and a half years	Blue-collar worker
Pietro	M	1957	BR	18 years	Public servant
Melchior	M	1948	Prima Linea	17 years	Blue-collar worker
S. R.	F	1950	PL	7 and a half years and 20 years of probation	Self-employed craftsman
Paolo Margini	M	1950	PL	5 years	Small business owner
B. L.	M	1953	PL	11 years	Blue-collar worker

Table 4 *(Continued)*

Pseudonym	Gender	Year of birth	Organization	Years of detention*	Father's occupation
Jeronimo	M	1953	PL	30 years	Blue-collar worker
Sergio Segio	M	1953	PL	24 years	Blue-collar worker
M. F.	M	1955	PL	7 and a half years	Administrative worker (bank employee)
Paolino	M	1956	PL	14 years	Blue-collar worker
Massimo Battisaldo	M	1956	PL	11 years	Merchant
Anna Soldati	F	1962	PL	2 months and a half	Entrepreneur
B. L.	M	1965	PL	11 years	Blue-collar worker
Marco Boato	M	1944	Lotta Continua	6 days	Artisan
Patrizia Pistagnesi	F	1951	LC	12 hours	Air force general
Guillermo	M	1953	LC	-	Film director, screenwriter
E. B.	M	1954	LC	5 years	Blue-collar worker
Théodore	M	1933	Potere Operaio, Autonomie ouvrière	11 years	White-collar worker
Guillem	M	1947	PO	4 years and 9 months	Construction worker
Saro	M	1948	PO, Autonomie ouvrière	3 months	Lawyer
Emilia	F	1951	PO	1 year	Engineer
Alessandro Stella	M	1956	PO, Autonomie ouvrière	6 months	Professor
Dennis	M	1946	Autonomie	10 years	Doctor
Guiseppe	M	1947	Autonomie ouvrière	1 year and a half	Carpenter

Continued

TABLE 4 *(Continued)*

Pseudonym	Gender	Year of birth	Organization	Years of detention*	Father's occupation
Paloma	F	1947	Autonomie ouvrière	1 year	Hairdresser
Gihen	M	1948	Autonomie ouvrière	-	Plant manager
Mateus	M	1954	Autonomie	-	Engineer
Martin	M	1957	Autonomie	Several months	Blue-collar worker
Elliot	M	1941	ETA-m	1 year and 3 months	Blue-collar worker
Tanguy	M	1945	ETA-V	8 years	Accounting services employee
Justin	M	1946	ETA-m	2 years and 2 months	Farmer
Amalia	F	1946	ETA-m	8 years	Farmworker
Zachary	M	1946	ETA-m	-	White-collar worker
Estrella	F	1949	ETA-pm, then ETA-m	1 year	Farmer
Isabella	F	1949	ETA-m	7 months	Disabled
Pedro	M	1950	ETA-m	11 months	Senior officer
Gaya	F	1951	ETA	6 months	Farmer
Faysal	M	1952	ETA-m	4 years	Certified plumber
Iwann	M	1952	ETA-m	-	Certified construction carpenter (carpenter)
Madeleine	F	1952	ETA-m	5 years	Blue-collar worker
Pantxo	M	1952	ETA-m	9 years	Baker
Fabienne	F	1953	ETA-pm	4 years	Blue-collar construction worker
Adrien	M	1953	ETA-pm, then ETA-m	2 months, 12 years of deportation	Farm worker
Franck	M	1953	ETA-pm	-	Civilian security and surveillance (security guard at a large company)

TABLE 4 *(Continued)*

Pseudonym	Gender	Year of birth	Organization	Years of detention*	Father's occupation
Ferrucio	M	1953	ETA-m	23 years and 5 months	Peasant
Amandine	F	1955	ETA-m	-	White-collar worker
Jacques	M	1955	ETA-m	4 years	Blue-collar worker
Idris	M	1955	ETA-pm	-	Farmer
Ilyann	M	1955	ETA-pm	14 years	White-collar worker
Leonardo	M	1955	ETA-pm	11 years	White-collar worker
Pharel	M	1955	ETA	16 months	Blue-collar worker
Thibault	M	1956	ETA-pm, then ETA-m	1 year	Small business owner
Mathieu	M	1956	ETA-m	22 years and a half	Official
Carlito	M	1957	ETA-m	3 months	Factory worker
Jaad	M	1957	ETA-m	3 years	Farmer
Pierre	M	1957	ETA-pm	7 years	Sales technician (tooling representative)
Elodie	F	1958	ETA-pm	18 months	Baker
Laureline	F	1958	ETA-m	-	Business owner
Benoît	M	1959	ETA-pm	10 days	Blue-collar worker
Jayden	M	1959	ETA-m	1 year	Auto-body repairer
Julien	M	1960	ETA-m	2 years and a half	Merchant
Rémy	M	1961	ETA-m	14 years	Farmer
Louisa	F	1963	ETA-m	-	Blue-collar worker
Nicolas	M	1963	ETA	6 and a half years	Boilermaker

Continued

TABLE 4 *(Continued)*

Pseudonym	Gender	Year of birth	Organization	Years of detention*	Father's occupation
Jules	M	1963	ETA	5 years	Marine secretary
Ekaitz	M	1964	ETA-m	1 year	Carpenter
François	M	1964	ETA-m	8 years	Professor
Isée	F	1964	ETA-m	23 years	Cabinetmaker
Xavier	M	1965	ETA	8 years	White-collar worker
Jovani	M	1966	ETA-m	22 years	Commercial employee
Elikia	F	1971	ETA	3 years	Small business owner
Etan	M	1971	ETA	3 years	Carpenter
Dimitri	M	1973	ETA	18 years	Heavy lifting equipment operator (crane operator)
Martial	M	1975	ETA	1 year (awaiting sentencing)	Butcher
Blandine	F	1971	ETA	4 years	Small business owner
Ianis	M	1979	ETA	6 years	Engineer
Inola	F	1980	ETA	3 months	Farmer
Sandrine	F	1981	ETA	3 years	Factory worker
Jérôme	M	1981	ETA	3 years	Doctor
Mona	F	1982	ETA	13 years	Janitor
Elyana	F	1984	ETA	5 years	Livestock worker (beekeeper)
Vicenzo	M	1962	Mouvance d'ETA	1 year	NR
Flavien	M	1962	Mouvance D'ETA	22 months	Bank employee
Assya	F	1979	Mouvance d'ETA	3 months	Logger

TABLE 4 *(Continued)*

Pseudonym	Gender	Year of birth	Organization	Years of detention*	Father's occupation
Tanya	F	1944	IK logistique	-	Restaurant clerk (waiter)
Maud	F	1953	IK logistique	-	Farmer
Frédéric	M	1953	IK	More than 10 years	Certified roofer (carpenter)
Alexis	M	1957	IK politique	6 months	Farmer
Nicolo	M	1957	IK	10 months	-
Grégoire	M	1961	IK	More than 10 years	Policeman
Patxi	M	1961	IK	5 years	Certified driver of construction site machinery (bulldozer driver)
Thierry	M	1962	IK	1 year and a half and then pardoned	Deliveryman (potato delivery)
Paul	M	1963	IK	6 years and three months	Farmer
Laure	F	1963	IK	9 months	Farmer
Florian	M	1966	IK	4 years and eight months	Agricultural technical advisor
Nahil	M	1968	IK	6 years and a half	Blue-collar worker
Xavière	F	1960	Commandos Autonomes Anticapitalistes	-	Certified mason

* These years do not always correspond to sentencing years. For some respondents, the number of years of detention is indicative because the exact number will allow to identify people in the small organizations.

Six of the respondents declined to remain anonymous, namely Marco Boato, Patrizia Pistagnesi, Paolo Margini, Sergio Segio, Alessandro Stella, and Anna Soldati. Two people agreed to have their identity revealed (Massimo Battisaldo and Alberto Franceschini). The eight therefore appear in the table under their true identity.

Appendix 2

Presentation of the organizations to which the aforementioned militants belong

Euskadi Ta Askatasuna

Basque Marxist-Leninist students founded ETA on July 31, 1959. The organization carried out its first – spectacular – attack against Luis Carrero Blanco, head of the Franco government, killed on December 20, 1973. It is also known for the explosion of a car bomb in the underground parking lot of the Hipercor shopping centre in Barcelona on June 19, 1987. ETA disbanded on May 3, 2018.

Commandos Autonomes Anticapitalistes

The Autonomous Anti-Capitalist Commandos (CAA) were created in the Basque Country in 1976. Their conception of struggle consists of providing support to worker and popular movements. On February 23, 1984, the CAA executed Enrique Casas Vila, a socialist senator, a candidate in the Guipuzcoa elections, and a key figure in the coordination of Antiterrorist Liberation Groups (GAL). The commando that carried out the attack took refuge in the Northern Basque Country and was ambushed on March 22, 1984 in Pasajes, where four of its members were killed. This liquidation marked the end of the Autonomous Commandos.

Iparretarrak

Iparretarrak (IK) includes activists from the Northern Basque Country who decided to pursue their struggle independently of the one that ETA conducted in the South. IK was founded on December 11, 1973, when it took action against a company that refused to allow its employees to unionize. Actions continued after the arrest of Philippe Bidart, a leading figure in the organization, on February 20, 1988. IK's last claimed attack occurred in April 2000.

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Red Army Faction

The birth of the RAF is usually linked to the "liberation" of Andreas Baader on May 14, 1970 by a commando led by Ulrike Meinhof. Several generations followed one another within the RAF before it dissolved by publishing a statement on April 20, 1998, entitled: "Why we are stopping". The RAF notably attacked the German embassy in Stockholm via the Holger Meins commando on April 24, 1975, executed the prosecutor Buback on April 7, 1977 via the Ulrich Meinhof commando, and kidnapped and then murdered the "boss of bosses" Hanns-Martin Schleyer on September 5, 1977, via the Siegfried Hausner commando.

Second of June Movement

The somewhat anarchist "Second of June Movement" (Bewegung 2. Juni) was close to the RAF. The group's main action was the kidnapping on February 27, 1975 of Peter Lorenz, a CDU candidate for Berlin mayor, in order to free comrades and political prisoners. The group dissolved in 1980.

Potere Operaio

Potere Operaio (Workers' Power, PO) embodied Italy's "operaist" elevation of the worker as fundamental to socio-political struggles. This movement started in the 1960s, via magazines such as *Quaderni Rossi* and *Quaderni Piacentini*. PO was created in 1969. Its most famous leaders were Antonio Negri, Oreste Scalzone, and Franco Piperno. The group dissolved in the spring of 1973.

Autonomie ouvrière

In the mid-1970s, a series of regional groups with various acronyms (Comitati Autonomi, Collettivi Politici, Comitati Comunisti, etc.) and changing names, banded together to form a movement called Autonomia Operaia. Its militants partly came from PO, and partly from Lotta Continua (LC) and were mostly new and often young activists.

Lotta Continua

The "operaist" LC emerged from the worker and student movement. It was active mainly between 1974 and 1976 and was responsible for the execution of the commissioner Luigi Calabresi by one of its commandos on May 17, 1972. In 1976, LC joined the "Proletarian Democracy" coalition to take part in the general elections, but did not achieve any real success. This result, among other things, led to the dissolution of LC.

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Prima Linea

PL was founded in April 1977 as the result of a split within the Comitati Comunisti per il Potere Operaio (CCPO), after repression affected some of its members. PL's first action was an intrusion on Fiat headquarters on November 29, 1976. The organization executed policemen, judges, judicial "collaborators", factory managers, and university professors. At the end of the 1970s, PL experienced repression. Some militants sought to leave the organization, which dissolved in April 1981.

Red Brigades

The Red Brigades (BR) emerged in the context of the workers' and students' revolts in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The group's first action was to set fire to a car belonging to a Siemens executive on September 17, 1970[31]. The BR are best known for kidnapping the Christian Democracy (DC) leader Aldo Moro, who was executed on May 9, 1978, after 55 days of detention. The last action claimed by a BR group was the execution of Massimo D'Antona, advisor to the Minister of Labor, on May 20, 1999, by a BR-PCC commando.

Internationalist Revolutionary Action Group

The Internationalist Revolutionary Action Group(s) (GARI) formed in March 1974 after the Franco regime sentenced to death Puig Antich, a militant in the Iberian Liberation Movement (M.I.L.), and convicted four other M.I.L. members. In order to influence the fate of these prisoners, the group kidnapped the banker Angel Baltasar Suarez on May 3, 1974. More than a structured organization, GARI coordinates anarchist groups operating on an affinity basis.

Noyaux Armés Pour l'Autonomie Populaire

The Noyaux Armés Pour l'Autonomie Populaire (NAPAP) were formed at the end of 1976 from the International Brigades. They were joined by members of Vaincre et vivre[32], former militants from the Gauche Prolétarienne (GP), and people active within the independence movement. On March 23, 1977, they claimed responsibility for the assassination of Jean-Antoine Tramoni, who on February 25, 1972 had killed Pierre Overney, a worker at Renault. The group dissolved in the summer of 1977. Some former NAPAP members joined the Coordination Autonome and then Action Directe.

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[31] Actually instigated by the Collettivo Politico Metropolitano (CPM).

[32] Vaincre et vivre is a group that originated from the Proletarian Left. While it pursued legal actions, it also embraced violence.

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Action Directe

Action Directe (AD) claimed its first action on May 1, 1979, when it machine-gunned the façade of the Conseil National du Patronat Français (CNPF) in Paris. Two of the most striking actions carried out by the internationalist core of AD were the execution of General Audran, director of international affairs at the Ministry of Defence, on January 25, 1985, and of Georges Besse, CEO of Renault, on November 17, 1986. On February 21, 1987, Joëlle Aubron, Georges Cipriani, Nathalie Ménigon, and Jean-Marc Rouillan were arrested. The latter believes that AD ended with his release on parole on May 18, 2018 (La Dépêche, 26/02/2018).

Francs-tireurs Partisans

The Francs-tireurs Partisans (FTP) are a small clandestine organization that started on July 14, 1991 with a Molotov cocktail attack on the headquarters of the Front National (FN) in Marseille. All the group's actions targeted structures and had antifascist objectives. Following the death of Ibrahim Ali[33] in February 1995, FTP pursued two operations on FN buildings, on February 21, 1996, and on June 9, 1998.

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[33] Young 17-year-old Frenchman of Comorian origin who was killed by FN militants during a poster-pasting event.

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Résumé

L'entrée dans les organisations dites terroristes a souvent été décrite, à partir d'un point de vue extrinsèque, comme une rupture biographique. A contrario, les « carrières » des militants d'organisations illégales d'extrême gauche et de libération nationale basques mettent en évidence des continuités, soulignées par les acteurs eux-mêmes. Afin de comprendre le « travail identitaire » accompagnant l'intégration et la participation à des groupes clandestins, nous avons mobilisé le modèle élaboré par Snow et McAdam [2000]. Deux formes majeures de travail identitaire caractérisent l'entrée dans les organisations étudiées : la « convergence identitaire » et l'« amplification identitaire ». Ces résultats permettent de reconsidérer la pertinence heuristique des notions de radicalisation et de basculement dans le terrorisme. Ils contribuent en outre à préciser le rôle de l'identification au collectif, dans ses modalités cognitives et affectives, au sein du processus de redéfinition des identités individuelles ainsi engagées.

Mots-clés : Terrorisme ; Clandestinité ; Alternation ; Radicalisation ; Extrême-gauche ; ETA.

Zusammenfassung

Aus einer extrinsischen Perspektive wurde der Eintritt in sogenannte Terrororganisationen wurde oft als biografischer Bruch beschrieben. Im Gegensatz dazu weisen die „Karrieren" von Aktivisten illegaler linksextremer baskischer oder nationaler Befreiungsorganisationen Kontinuitäten auf, die von den Akteuren selbst betont werden. Um die „Identitätsarbeit" zu verstehen, die mit der Eingliederung in und der Beteiligung an Untergrundbewegungen einhergeht, haben wir das von Snow und McAdam [2000] entwickelte Modell herangezogen. Die beiden wesentlichen, den Eintritt in die untersuchten Organisationen kennzeichnenden Formen der Identitätsarbeit sind: die „Identitätskonvergenz" und die „Identitätsverstärkung". Diese Ergebnisse fordern dazu auf, die heuristische Relevanz der Begriffe Radikalisierung und Abgleiten in den Terrorismus neu zu überdenken. Darüber hinaus tragen sie dazu bei, die Rolle der kognitiven und affektiven Gruppenidentifikation während der Persönlichkeitsneudefinition der Beteiligten zu präzisieren.

Schlüsselwörter: Terrorismus; Untergrund; Alternation; Radikalisierung; Linksextremismus; ETA.