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IS BREAKING THE LAW A CLIMATE  
NECESSITY?  
A QUALITATIVE STUDY ON THE  
EXPERIENCES OF EXTINCTION REBELLION  
MEMBERS ARRESTED FOR PROTESTING.

by

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ABSTRACT

Climate change has grown in importance over the last 20 years, with protest groups such as Extinction Rebellion (XR) becoming an interesting topic for green criminologists to study and analyse. Previous literature around green groups has been highly theoretical, with focus on the ways other societal groups view them and their actions, rather than qualitative data from the viewpoint of XR. Therefore this research aimed to fill this gap, using semi-structured interviews with 3 members of XR who have previously been arrested for their protesting actions. The data was analysed using NVivo and produced two themes: the interactions participants had with the police, the way in which formal and informal controls are used to attempt to discourage individuals from breaking the law and who the participants are and what motivations they had. This paper concludes that further research needs to be undertaken into the experiences of the BAME demographic within police custody and whilst protesting, as this study has shown how these protestors may have additional negative experiences and consequences of their arrests.

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*Chapter 1*

INTRODUCTION

Across the globe there is currently a time of unease surrounding the state of the climate and how humanity impacts upon it. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) released a report in 2018 documenting the catastrophic effects temperature changes will have on the weather (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2018). These variations in the temperature could lead to both droughts and floods. After the release of this information, it is logical that individuals are pressing for authorities to do more to prevent these effects from occurring. Societies in the west have seen a determined effort towards more sustainable and environmentally friendly policy making (Jørgens, Lenschow and Liefferink, 2014), as countries like the United Kingdom (UK) have a large involvement in several practices that cause significant damage to the environment. This includes actions such as funding oil exploration and extraction, and coal mining (Barratt, 2020), without taking satisfactory measures to establish procedures which could minimise environmental harms, or provide sufficient funding/policies to safeguard the climate (Ehrlich, 2002: Barratt, 2020). The failure to respond sufficiently has generated apprehension in society, culminating in an increased quantity of green groups (Wall, 1994).

The world environment remains under pressure and the IPCC concludes that governments have not achieved enough to halt the process of climate change (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2018). Without an immense determined drive by those creating policies and laws, it will become inevitable that there will be irreversible catastrophic effects. It is for these reasons that Extinction Rebellion was created, as a collective who demand their respective governments act to combat climate change (Extinction Rebellion, 2020a). By having a non-hierarchical, leaderless organisation (Extinction Rebellion, 2019), XR intends to demonstrate how the nation, as a collection of individuals, is pressing for environmental law advances, rather than one select group. This concept of collective concern for the planet has expanded across the globe, with Extinction Rebellion now having movements in several countries (Extinction Rebellion, 2020b).

Over the past 30 years, there has been a surge in the volume of groups protesting, demanding a focus on environmental issues, and the ways they can be combated (Wall, 1994). This is one of the focuses of green criminology, an emerging field which examines environmental crimes and harms, which this research hopes to expand. A contemporary example of a green group is Extinction Rebellion (XR), which has become one of the leading organisations worldwide, pressurising governments to change their attitudes and policies around climate change. XR have three demands: tell the truth about the state of the climate by declaring a climate emergency (Extinction Rebellion, 2020a), create a citizens' assembly on climate change (Extinction Rebellion, 2020a) which allows the public to have a more active role on environmental policy, and to "reduce greenhouse gas emissions to net zero by 2025" (Extinction Rebellion, 2020a). To have these demands listened to and enacted upon, the group holds non-violent protests and uses civil disobedience (Thoreau, 1993; Thackeray, 2020). This consists of measures such as lock-ons, which involves using padlocks to chain themselves to an object, making it more difficult for the police to remove and arrest them. Another method to delay the process of arrest entails gluing themselves to objects or the floor. Further actions include blocking roads, holding sit-ins and school walkouts to raise awareness for their movement. XR has received a mixed response from the population and governments, with some praising their efforts to create change (Hallam, 2019), and others condemning them as a nuisance to those whose lives are being interrupted by protests and a drain on police resources (Spicer, 2019).

This has resulted in controversial decisions, such as Extinction Rebellion's inclusion on the UK list of extreme ideologies supplied to teachers to help identify radicalisation in January 2020 (Dodd and Grierson, 2020). A large backlash resulted from this decision, with many social commentators from both within, and outside of, XR criticising the authorities (Gayle and Dodd, 2019). By placing XR on this list, the UK government was stating they regarded the green group as a terrorist organisation and that their goal of environmental protection was to be closely monitored, as care for the environment and the three demands of XR were signs of radicalisation (Dodd and Grierson, 2020). Acts of civil disobedience were undertaken to encourage the government addressing climate change in a more serious manner (Dodd and Grierson, 2020). XR were then placed onto the same list as various extremist groups, equating them to organisations involving neo-Nazis. The decision to have XR included was later repealed, and the group was removed from the terrorist watch list (Dodd and Grierson, 2020). Another decision which the UK government enacted was closing Trafalgar Square for protests (BBC, 2019). This was also highly criticised and labelled as unlawful, as it removed the right to peaceful protest. After temporarily withdrawing this human right, even those who did not

support XR or their methods of protest, collectively spoke out against the government's actions (BBC, 2019).

Since these events, Extinction Rebellion has continued to be active, with members willing to be arrested for their protesting (Gayle and Dodd, 2019; BBC, 2019; Extinction Rebellion 2020b). The UK government has currently not taken measures to enact the demands of Extinction Rebellion, which will result in the likelihood that XR will continue to protest with reasonable legislative resistance and perhaps, in some cases, by more radical means.

## *Chapter 2*

### LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a volume of research on environmental groups and the manner in which they interact with several distinct factions. Within green criminology there is a focus on the organisations that are perpetrators of environmental crimes (Lynch at al., 2009) rather than the activists involved with climate change protesting. This piece aims to shed light on this under researched area. For this dissertation, there will be a focus on three key sectors identified within research: the public, the media and the authorities. All three relate to the question of what experiences members of Extinction Rebellion encountered whilst protesting, as these are factions which have the most impact on such occasions.

The first of these sectors seen within literature is the public, and how environmental groups interact with them and shape their views. This is one of the most significant factions, which can drive the societal change required to deal with ongoing climate issues. A widespread consensus of society is needed to demand governing bodies strengthen laws and policies aimed at protecting the environment (Henderson, 2008). Without the population providing such pressure and encouragement, it is improbable that governments would make any changes. Within current academic research, there is a focus on how the actions of environmental groups impact on the attitudes of the public, and the positive or negative influence they have. Whilst there is a consensus in the academic community that green groups need to take initiatives to alter the publics' perception of environmental issues, there is some debate over their efficacy. This focuses on whether protesting methods used are acceptable and helpful, or if they steer the society towards a more negative view (Bain and Bongiorno, 2019). One example of this is the trend to employ non-violent civil disobedience, such as being arrested whilst protesting or performing school sit-ins. This technique has been utilized for many years by various bodies, namely Green Peace and Extinction Rebellion (Scarce, 2006: Bain and Bongiorno, 2019: Wall, 1994). Some academics praise this framework, emphasizing how this has positively impacted the justice system, evidenced through advances in law. An example of this is anti-whaling laws being established following Green Peace positioning their boats between whaling ships and whales (Scarce, 2006).

However, other academics have mixed views about the use of these methods, stating that they recognise implementing ‘immoral’ acts to bring about change can be an effective technique, but there is also an opportunity for such activities to backfire (Lewis, 1992: Bain and Bongiorno, 2019). Due to this behaviour breaking traditional social norms of what is acceptable and expected, there could be a negative view from the public towards instances such as members being arrested (Bain and Bongiorno, 2019). This has ramifications for how environmental groups conduct their protests, in particular Extinction Rebellion. They have become well known for deliberately performing arrestable acts and ensuring it takes a considerable amount of police effort to arrest and process them (Extinction Rebellion, 2020b). Conversely, it may also alter how individual members behave, as they may believe that being arrested whilst protesting would generate negative publicity.

The second sector examined within research is the media, and how environmental groups have both positive and negative interactions with them. This is a crucial observer for protests as the publicity media provides can ensure the public are informed of the issues being raised (Scarce, 2006). In stark contrast, there is apprehension that such exposure can be detrimental, leading to more widespread concern surrounding the techniques utilized by groups, rather than the environmental issues. In an article by Hutchins and Lester (2006), the relationship between media outlets and environmental protests is explored. It considers how it is characterized as a dance and then furthers the explanation provided in a more definitive manner. This piece of literature is one of many that examine the style in which protests require the media to provide up-to-date and relevant coverage of their actions (Scarce, 2006: Fulchand, 2019). It concludes that coverage keeps the issues established in the minds of the population, which often legitimises the core arguments used by protesting bodies.

The third sector regularly studied within the context of environmental groups is the authorities, and how the two interact (Gilmore, Jackson and Monk, 2017). Two sub-categories exist within this field regarding the authorities that protestors engage with. The first comprises of policy and law-makers, and others involved in politics (Read, 2019). Traditionally, those within green groups do not have direct contact with this form of authority, though their actions are aimed primarily at them (Extinction Rebellion, 2019: Extinction Rebellion, 2020a). One demand of XR is that the government pledges to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to net zero by 2025 (Extinction Rebellion, 2020a). This can only be attained by policies being instated which reinforce environmental protections. The second authority is the police, especially those present at protests (Kinniburgh, 2020). This is a critical relationship as it represents how protestors and the government interact at a fundamental level. With the police force

being a quasi-extension of the government, enforcing its laws, their behaviour and demeanour towards protestors will affect protestor's beliefs on how the government is reacting to the demonstrations (Gilmore, Jackson and Monk, 2017; Kinniburgh, 2020). Should the police respond negatively, it is feasible this may inform protestor's views (Gilmore, Jackson and Monk, 2017), potentially reinforcing an already negative attitude of the authorities.

Another key issue discussed in the literature is how the public and academics view XR's use of civil disobedience (Thoreau, 1993) as a method of protesting (Thackeray et al., 2020). This involves acts that are non-violent but break the law, for example setting up roadblocks or taking part in lock-ons. Literature around how Extinction Rebellion integrates these methods into their protests often denotes how this is an effective means of maintaining the attention of the government and raises awareness for the group and their cause (Galloway, 2018; Thackeray et al., 2020). This is due to the affects civil disobedience can have (Thoreau, 1993), as it takes more resources for the police to arrest people at protest rallies. Whilst at a demonstration an individual may deliberately go limp upon being arrested, as this requires more officers taking an extended period to take them into custody. By forcing more of these resources to be utilized, protestors are impacting the police in how they deploy their officers across the country. However, these approaches can create negative views on the group as members of the public may disagree with how XR's protests require more law enforcement to be drafted from different localities, causing strain on police resources. This may then harm the level of support the group receive.

Within the current research conducted into environmental organisations, there are some gaps. A sizeable one is the absence of green criminological literature that examines the actions of environmental groups from the viewpoint of its members. Most studies examine them from an outsider perspective, often retrospective in terms of their actions and evaluation (Scarce, 2006; Wall, 1994), rather than interviewing the individual members to determine why they perform the actions they do. There is also a gap within green criminology surrounding the experiences of those within environmental activist groups. Instead, the focus is primarily on the corporations perpetrating such crimes (Lynch et al., 2009; Spapens et al., 2014) or on the government, who is stated to be unfulfilling their moral role to protect the environment on behalf of the public (Walters et al., 2013). The proposed research to be performed within this dissertation can fill this gap. To achieve this, interviews with Extinction Rebellion members would be held to establish their mind-set. It would also include

protestor's own views towards performing non-violent disruptive acts, such as being arrested at demonstrations.

Another issue with present research available is its relative infancy as a subject. Climate change concerns only became mainstream in the 1980s (Scarce, 2006) and as a consequence there is a scarcity of literature prior to this date. This has resulted in a lack of depth in research. There is insufficient literature examining the development of trends and focus. Any investigation scrutinising past occurrences of environmental groups or protest must observe these in a historical context (Wall, 1994), being unable to perform any qualitative empirical research on members. Therefore, the literature has a large element of subjectivity.

In conclusion, the current research on green groups covers a range of issues, including interactions with the government, with law enforcement and the public. This literature is in depth and rich, especially when examining different organisations and their history. However, in the case of analysis on Extinction Rebellion specifically there is a gap. There are virtually no studies using qualitative data or interaction with members to inform their analysis. Most of the literature is theoretical, and does not cover reasons why individuals seek to be arrested for the XR cause, or as to the effects this may have on their lives. Instead, there is a focus on how the population view them, and how they interact with the police. Beyond this, there is a lack of credible research on the topic.

From the gaps identified in the literature above, this research piece has formed three research questions. These have been created for the purpose of informing what methodology should be utilised to fill these research gaps. The questions are as follows:

1. Using a ground up approach, what are the experiences of Extinction Rebellion protestors who have been arrested?
2. How do these experiences differ between participants and what sociological implications may this have?
3. In light of the study's findings, what area should further research be directed towards?

## *Chapter 3*

### METHODOLOGY

#### **Methodology/Data Collection**

This research will aim to conduct three online semi-structured interviews via video call with members of the group Extinction Rebellion who have been arrested for their activities whilst protesting. These interviews will be recorded and transcribed for analysis.

Semi-structured interviews method (Bryman, 2016) will be utilised as it allows participants to answer queries freely, which in turn produces the in-depth answers required for this piece (Crowther-Downey and Fussey, 2013). By establishing set questions, the interviewer can ensure the responses provided are relevant. It is also beneficial in circumstances where the researcher has not previously conducted an interview, as the process offers a working framework. These methods were the preferred choice over quantitative ones, as the type of data produced by the latter would not support the depth of knowledge required (Bryman, 2016), nor present the information with suitable explanations and descriptions of the participants' thought processes (Crowther-Downey and Fussey, 2013). For example, if responding to a survey, they may not be as willing to divulge the same level of detail.

A further reason that semi-structured interviews will be employed is the present scarcity of research (Crowther-Downey and Fussey, 2013) that adopts this method when studying Extinction Rebellion members arrested whilst protesting. Most studies regarding this group are primarily theoretical and lacking input from members; this paper endeavours to address the gap (Bryman, 2016). By asking those who have been arrested about their experiences, instead of theorising about them, a more defined view of their motives can be presented. This draws the group into the discourse they have previously been excluded from.

#### **Sample**

The sample will be composed of three members of Extinction Rebellion who have been arrested for their actions whilst protesting. These participants will be obtained through contacting the organisers of local meetings throughout London to establish potential contacts. Once individuals have been identified, snowball sampling (Bryman, 2016: Crowther-Downey and Fussey, 2013) will be deployed

by enquiring whether they can recommend or refer others who fit the criteria. The researcher will also contact members of local Extinction Rebellion groups through social media (Facebook) as another method of enquiry.

### **Data Analysis**

Once the interviews have been conducted and transcribed, the researcher will then employ NVivo software and grounded theory analysis (Charmaz and Belgrave, 2015) to examine the data.

Charmazian grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000: Charmaz and Belgrave, 2015) is an analytical method based around the process of collecting and analysing empirical data, in which interpretation occurs throughout the research to inform the collection of further data. As a result of data collection and analysis happening simultaneously, themes are quickly identified and developed (Charmaz, 2000). This version of grounded theory will be applied over constructivist's proposals, as those devised by Strauss and Glaser (Strauss and Glaser, 2017), and later Strauss and Corbin (Strauss and Corbin, 1994), were based on the opinion that qualitative researchers should be objective. They observed qualitative data can only be descriptive and was therefore judged as lesser than quantitative (Strauss and Corbin, 1994). Glaser was also of the opinion that the original grounded theory was not to be used within literature, but as a tool in theoretical debates (Glaser, 2007). However, this piece does not follow Strauss and Corbin or Glaser's theories. Instead, it accepts that a researcher cannot be completely objective, as there will inevitably be subconscious beliefs that influence how results will be scrutinized. Charmaz focuses on not the objective 'truth', but the ideologies and knowledge constructed by the participant for the researcher (Charmaz, 2000: Charmaz and Belgrave, 2015). This methodology is applicable as it is investigating how members of Extinction Rebellion view their arrests, how they depict their experiences and the reasons for them. Consequently, Charmaz's grounded theory will be employed in this study.

Furthermore, grounded theory analysis will be applied over alternative methods as the use of data collection and examination occurring simultaneously can help inform further collection (Charmaz, 2000: Charmaz and Belgrave, 2015). Semi-structured interviews are being used in this piece, as the first interviews may highlight an issue with the questions, or suggest a follow-up question to be included. By allowing the later interviews to be altered by the analysis of the first, further themes could be identified that would have otherwise been overlooked by the initial set of participant questions (Charmaz, 2000). This is more beneficial than other methods of analysis, such as critical

discourse analysis, due to the focus being on the language used and themes created. Critical discourse analysis examines not purely the vocabulary but also non-verbal communication to probe underlying ideologies and views on society (Dijk, 1995). It would not be feasible in this piece as the interviews occur online, potentially resulting in participants not wishing to activate their video links. Therefore, non-verbal analysis would not be possible. Also, this studies key focus is on how participants view their arrests, rather than on underlying societal issues such as racism or sexism (Dijk, 1995). Hence grounded theory is the best method available for the topic and the limitations of this research.

## **Ethics**

### *Anonymity/Confidentiality*

One ethical issue requiring consideration is maintaining the anonymity and confidentiality of participants within the study (Crowther-Downey and Fussey, 2013). There are two reasons why it is important to preserve. The first is that the participants require their data to be kept secure to maintain their privacy (Bryman, 2016). If it becomes known they had participated in the research and could be identified, they may experience negative repercussions. To avoid such circumstances, any information provided should be anonymised and kept protected (Crowther-Downey and Fussey, 2013). The second reason that anonymity and confidentiality are significant is to protect the reputation of social science (Crowther-Downey and Fussey, 2013). If a participant were to experience any negativity due to their interactions with the research, then it would impact on how the public trusted academia (Bryman, 2016). They may no longer wish to be involved in any studies, and without willing and consenting contributors then research would cease.

To maintain their anonymity, the names of participants will not be recorded, and instead assigned pseudonyms within the transcripts. Any identifying comments or information will also be redacted. By removing these, subjects will be unidentifiable through their participation in the research.

To provide confidentiality, several other measures will be adopted. First, for the interviews, the researcher will ensure they are alone and cannot be overheard, ensuring any answers given will only be known by themselves. Second, all information will be stored on a password-locked computer, which only the researcher has access to, preventing anyone else from seeing or hearing the dialogues.

### *Consent/Consent Forms*

Due to the interviews being conducted online, the subjects will be prevented from being able to sign a consent form in person. Therefore, the research will have to rely upon verbal consent after the interviewee has been informed of the aims of the study, as well as their right to withdraw (Crowther-Downey and Fussey, 2013). The participants will be sent a consent form containing pertinent information before the interviews. From the outset they will be asked to confirm they have read this and that they consent to partake in the study.

### *Protection from Harm*

To safeguard from possible psychological harm for any of the participants, several measures will be established (Crowther-Downey and Fussey, 2013). Whilst it is very unlikely that this will be an active concern or raise major issues, it will nevertheless be considered whilst conducting the research. To prevent any of the questions raising concerns or issues for the interviewees, they will initially be advised of the study's aims and intentions, as well as informing them of their right to withdraw from the research at any point. This will ensure they are prepared for the subject, identifying the nature of the questions in order to guarantee they understand what will be asked of them from the outset. Furthermore, it also allows them to stop the dialogue at any point should they feel overwhelmed or reluctant to continue. This prevents any question from being invasive into any psychological concerns or trauma. Following the interview, the interviewer will ask the participant if they have been disturbed by the topic or any of the questions to ensure they are within the same frame of mind with which they began the interview. The researcher will also have a list of charities and organisations that can support them if they are distressed.

The research will also maintain the safety of the interviewer (Crowther-Downey and Fussey, 2013). There is a limited risk due to the researcher not meeting the participants in person, however there may be concerns over the language used within the interviews or attempts to contact the interviewer after the study is completed. To avoid any harm, the researcher will be in regular contact with their supervisor, thereby allowing any arising issues to be discussed, and subsequent advice to be received.

## **Limitations**

### *Time Constraints/Resource Constraints*

One constraint on the research was the limited time available for it to be completed. As a result, only a very limited sample was possible. If there were a larger number of participants then it would take a considerably greater amount of time to conduct, transcribe and analyse the interviews (Crowther-Downey and Fussey, 2013). Due to this there may be a lack of generalisability within the findings. However, the conclusions can still be used as an indicator of possible trends running throughout those affiliated with XR who have been arrested for their protesting actions.

Another constraint was the outbreak of COVID-19. This hindered the research slightly as it led to some sections of the methodology being changed, primarily the introduction of online interviews and calls instead of face-to-face meetings. It also meant that gaining participants was slightly delayed as it relied heavily on organisers of meetings to be active online and reply to emails. This was necessary as they needed to relay the information regarding the study to those who usually attend their meetings so that contact could be made. Therefore, the number of people available was impacted as there was difficulty in contacting key individuals able to recommend others to participate.

#### *Possible Improvements to Methodology*

One of the possible improvements there could have been to the methodology would be increasing the number of people participating in the research. By having a larger sample, the data collected within the study would achieve a higher level of external validity.

#### *Skills Developed*

By conducting this methodology, the researcher will have developed multiple skills. The primary skills will be those involved in interviewing participants. Due to this piece being a dissertation, it is the researcher's first time conducting interviews in a social sciences capacity. Therefore, there will be significant learning from the experience.

### **Quality Assurance**

An important part of literature is ensuring that it is of the highest quality, increasing the level of trustworthiness. To maintain this, several measures were used to follow Lincoln and Guba's (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) criteria. The first criteria is credibility (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), which is the verification of the 'truth' around the findings of research. To ensure this, triangulation (Lincoln and

Guba, 1985) was utilized, which is the method in which a third-party auditor discusses the conclusions with the initial researcher. This confirms that they are remaining truthful and limit any potential bias which may affect the interpretation of the data or earlier points in the study. Within this piece, the third party was the researcher's supervisor.

The second criteria is transferability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), which is described as the ability to apply the findings of the study into other contexts. The research will achieve this by providing an account in full detail, therefore it can be easily evaluated as to whether it could be applied within another context. Consequently, external validity is reinforced.

The third criteria is dependability, which is defined as ensuring that the findings of the study are consistent and can be repeated (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). To ensure the research incorporates this, the third-party auditor will observe the data and guarantee the conclusions are supported.

The fourth criteria is confirmability, which is the lack of bias from the researcher and is instead based solely on the participants (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This can be realized through the use of the third-party auditor, as by relaying to an outside party how each stage of the research is progressing, it ensures that any biases the interviewer may have are negated, avoiding significant influence on the study.

## *Chapter 4*

### **Controlling Civil Disobedience**

The consequences that occurred following the interviewees' arrests was the first theme identified. There were some universal experiences that appear to be established to discourage perceived negative behaviour, in contrast to certain geographically based events which encourage support for XR. Importantly, this educates both researchers and XR members of the potential aftermath when individuals are arrested for protesting actions. By informing other researchers, further studies can be conducted to address the current gap in research. This could possibly focus on the effects that arrests have on the support for XR and those taken into custody.

#### *Formal Controls*

A key discovery that emerged from interviewing members of Extinction Rebellion was centred on the effects that participants experienced following their arrests. Participant 1 spoke of the consequence it had on their application for citizenship within the UK, stating:

“... it wasn't still clear to me what the process for applying for citizens status would be, and then it turned out that the Home Office was delaying your application [...] if you had like an open prosecution [...] it didn't mean that it would be used against you, it just meant that your application was on hold until the solution of the trial...”

Participant 1

Others spoke of the issues with obtaining insurance due to having a record, resulting in applications for home and car policies being rejected:

“... we renew our insurances every year and one of the insurance policies actually come and said if there is anything to declare[...] I told them the honest truth and I said I was arrested but this is what I was arrested for [...] and they came back – no.”

Participant 2

“...one of the few things that are like really troublesome for people, we found out that a lot of people didn’t know about it [...] is insurance[...] if you have to do it while you’re being prosecuted it’s a nightmare.” Participant 1

This is reflective of the covert salient formal controls that are theorised in Desistance Theory (Sampson and Laub, 1993) that dictates how governmental organisations and their quasi-affiliates can damage an individual’s standard of living by directly impacting them as a form of punishment for breaking social norms and boundaries. These restrictions can determine whether an individual is likely to repeat such behaviours, as they may not be able to access sectors within society after operating outside of the social norm, for example being unable to obtain insurance. By having the ability to impact people’s lives in such a way, a governing body can encourage citizens to follow its rules or suffer the consequences. Sampson and Laub (Sampson and Laub, 1993) also created a concept around the use of social controls to discourage offending behaviour, supporting Desistance Theory. It explains some of the restraints constructed within society that punishes perceived negative behaviour. The interaction of the government and companies could be described as a symbiotic relationship (Green and Ward, 2004), as authorities require funding and support of large corporations to remain in power, and the latter requires the approval of the government to continue operating. This may explain the use of the formal controls as to gain the continued favour of large corporations, it may be necessary for the government to prevent an image of being lenient towards climate activists. However, whilst the data produced from this research supports the existence of such formal controls, it demonstrates these to have the opposite of their desired result on participants. All stated that despite the negative outcomes they may have felt as a consequence of being arrested, the only aspect they would change about their arrests would be to make it more difficult for the police to take them into custody:

“... it might have been better for us to maybe lockdown, or glue or something like that to make, for the for the process to take longer” Participant 1

“I would get arrested again if we have to” Participant 2

“we looked into having a lock on” Participant 3

Creating negative experiences for those arrested also results in the process itself being a punishment, as theorised by Feeley (1992). Instead of the focus being on the prosecution, it is the long, drawn-out

process that is the true punishment. This can have a more substantial ramification on an individual's life, and the period of uncertainty and negativity is used to further discourage a repeat of the exhibited behaviours.

This protracted procedure was demonstrated through the participant's responses. All three were originally arrested under Section 14, which is a law prescribing how protesting can be conducted under legal circumstances (HM Government, 2020b), and breaching these conditions can lead to arrest. The respondents all felt very strongly about the environmental concerns Extinction Rebellion are exposing, as well as lobbying for government action. From their responses, it was clear that whilst they may have some apprehensions over the impacts these formal controls can have, they are not deterred by them. They stated that, due to their strong beliefs, they would still be willing to repeat the process, regardless of the potential punishment. This understanding can inform how formal controls are used within society, as they fail to persuade those who are protesting. Instead, it has the opposite outcome, encouraging disenchantment towards governing bodies and institutions on such individuals:

“...you mustn't raise your voice basically... you must sort of be obedient and not do something otherwise we will come down on you, on your ratings – whether it is on your financial ratings or whether it's on your insurance, or whether it's somewhere else...” Participant 2

“we're brought up to be so obedient, to conform” Participant 3

This applies directly to policy reform as it indicates there needs to be a change in the way society treats those who break the law whilst protesting. Since it has no influence on the driving factors that cause these individuals from XR to get arrested, they are simply not effective and therefore a differing approach is required.

### *Informal Controls*

Another theme raised in the interviews was the reactions to their arrests within various communities, and how this affected whether or not they were supported. The different localities relevant to the data are the larger population within London, and a more rural village in Wales. Whilst those from London did not experience any particular reaction from their communities (outside those belonging to XR),

the participant in the Welsh neighbourhood found they had the support of those in the locality, as well as the regional police:

“[...] there was quite a few of Welsh XR groups there so they had gone round the town and they had come back and there was some drumming outside and singing outside, it was all very supportive” Participant 3

“my husband saw the inspector who arrested me in Cardiff and said oh how are you doing and he said oh how’s your wife and said oh I’m with you all the way” Participant 3

This demonstrates how the level of assistance offered can differ depending on the location. Another manner in which members of the community have supported the movement is through the use of legal observers. These individuals are legally trained members of either XR or the local community who closely monitor demonstrations to safeguard the protestors and ensure police observe the correct legal procedures and do not act outside of their bounds. The interaction between activists and law enforcement agencies illustrates how other community members can extend backing to those arrested for protesting actions. In this manner, members of XR can feel a deeper sense of connection with the community and the ways in which they can legally offer support to protestors. It can also impact the policing format at protests, as acting negatively may aggravate the communities they serve. This could detrimentally impact the quality of policing and may encourage a gap between the neighbourhood and the law enforcement. This is contrary to theories surrounding informal social controls, described as Hirschi (1969) as ‘Bonds of Attachment’. Traditionally, this theory states that reoffending can be discouraged by the negative reactions of family and friends, caused by committing crimes and breaking social norms through being arrested (Hirschi, 1969). Whereas, in this situation, close communities are often supportive of those protesting on behalf of XR, encouraging further such actions. This identifies that more needs to be undertaken regarding informal control theories (Hirschi, 1969) as they currently do not apply to the activities of environmental protestors.

#### *Professionalism vs. Friendliness*

A key finding within the data is the boundary between professionalism vs. friendliness when the police are interacting with protestors. In accordance with professional standards, there are clear established boundaries for law enforcement agencies to adhere to. These include operating in

conformity to the law, not showing a personal bias whilst on duty towards an organisation or individual and following procedures and guidelines on how to treat people whilst they are in custody. Guidance, such as the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (HM Government, 2020a), are there to protect both officers and those in custody by outlining the ways citizens should be handled. However, these may not be robust enough to ensure each individual interacting with the police force is treated equally. Whilst there was an expectation for some biases to be shown from the law enforcement, it was believed these would be signs of negativity when interacting with protestors. Nonetheless this was not the case, instead the opposite was found to be true. The instances where the officers seemingly overstepped professional boundaries was when they acted friendly and over-compensated for elderly participants. This was apparent in the case of an elderly white woman, who also fits the ideology of the 'ideal victim' (Christie, 1986). Her description of her time in custody for protesting involved:

“the inspector even came in and said we’re sorry for having to keep you for so long would you like something to read [...] I was treated really well” Participant 3

These actions are contrary to Feeley’s theory that the process of going through the criminal justice system is the punishment (Feeley, 1992). The findings of the participant’s experiences in custody do not support these concepts as they were handled in a pleasant and amenable manner. Whilst the other participants expressed how professional their arresting officers had been, there was not the same level of friendliness exhibited whilst in custody:

“they were very professional they were very nice. I was arrested [...] early in their shift so they were like in a good mood. [...] And the process was like really efficient we didn’t have to wait a lot in the van, we didn’t have to wait a lot in the police station, things were running smoothly” Participant 1

“ the police were quite nice actually [...] they didn’t mistreat us. They warned us. [...] I asked somebody, I asked the policeman to bring me something to read. So they brought me an evening standard that was 2 days old..” Participant 2

The focus of the other participants was on how they had been treated fairly and quickly, rather than how the police made special efforts in custody to make sure the participants were well treated. By going a step further for the elderly white woman instead of the Black Asian Minority Ethnic (BAME)

men, it shows how even in an institution in which bias should be removed there can still be an influence on how individuals are handled.

This also links to Žižek's neoliberalism theory (Žižek, 1997), as it demonstrates how the police offer a 'friendly face' to compensate for the difference in treatment between individuals. Žižek speaks of cultural capitalism (Žižek, 1997), in which capitalism is presented by a human face. Consumerist acts are interwoven with charitable deeds for the purpose of making society feel more comfortable about purchasing material goods. However, providing such charity prevents the societal change required to remove the need for aid (Žižek, 1997). The same can apply to the experience of participants, who found the police to be friendly. In the short term it enhances their experience, but this is a temporary measure aimed at reducing the anger felt by those protesting for societal shifts. As a result progress may be hindered, prolonging the environmental harms that XR members are highlighting by breaking the law.

This is an important theory as it indicates how, whilst being friendly facilitates a peaceful relationship between protestors and the police, it can undermine the causes that groups such as XR are championing. Other research should take this into consideration and examine whether the police exhibiting a 'friendly face' is affecting the implementation of societal change required to accomplish climate control is realised.

## Chapter 5

### Arrest Demographics

The second of the major themes recognised within the data involved the identity of those who were arrested whilst demonstrating as members of XR. This encompasses their experiences within XR, their demographic makeup, and their reasons for participating in protesting actions. It is critical to include this final area, as by understanding who the individuals are that attend demonstrations, we have a deeper insight when conducting further research. It is particularly poignant as the gap in literature has led to a shortfall of knowledge on issues such as why these people are sufficiently motivated to risk their own welfare in order to enact change.

#### *'Vanguard' of Climate Protest Specialists*

A connection seen within multiple interviews was the training of specialists within the XR group, who are prepared to be arrested and have the legal knowledge required. Many of the participants also stated they had attended training sessions (though not specialized ones):

“...it’s more like a strategic move like sometimes it’s necessary [...] you need people who have been legally trained for arrests [...] but we probably don’t need everybody to take that risk [...] we probably have more than enough people now who are willing and trained to face arrest...” Participant 1

This follows the early communist praxis ideals (Mcadams, 2017). Within this theory, there is a vanguard of specialists that fight on behalf of the public, and perform acts which others may not have the personality or determination to do so. In the case of XR, being arrested and possibly receiving a criminal record. There are similarities between the communist ideals and those of XR as both movements aspire to work towards global change (Mcadams, 2017; Extinction Rebellion, 2020a). However, there are differences in the execution of methods regarding the vanguard. Communist parties often had scientists as the ‘heroes of the people’ (Mcadams, 2017), for example in the Greek vanguard political party, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (Spourdalakis and Tassis, 2009). Whereas in XR it is those who have the training required to be apprehended in a safe way with minimal impact upon themselves:

“you need people who have been legally trained for arrests or they are just going to push everybody” Participant 1

Historically, there have been problems with vanguards, stemming from the group unable to deliver the social justice they were created for (Pavlou, 2009: Mcadams, 2017). It can be observed within Greece by the homophobic tendencies of the scientists involved (Pavlou, 2009). However, XR does not appear to suffer such complications, possibly resulting from a lack of official leadership roles, and possessing the structure of a public movement (Extinction Rebellion, 2020b). Hence, individuals are prevented from being idolised or set up in a hierarchical structure. Contrary to Lenin’s beliefs, the communist notion of a vanguard failed. This was due to the lack of equal social justice accomplished by those within the vanguard (Pavlou, 2009: Mcadams, 2017). Vanguard theory is imperative to take into account when investigating XR, as it could have ramifications on further research, especially on studies examining the social formation of the group. There may be impacts on how members are regarded based on whether they attend training designed to identify how to respond in the case of arrest and being taken into custody:

“getting arrested [...] within XR I suppose it’s a tick box of sorts” Participant 3

This indicates there is already a degree of glorification for those arrested whilst protesting. Exacerbating this could cause grievous issues within XR, as it creates a risk of fundamentally altering the structure of the group.

### *Demographic Makeup*

Within both research and popular media there is criticism of the perceived demographic makeup of XR, often depicting them to be white, affluent, middle-class individuals.(Cowan, 2019). The issue with public perception has, at times, affected how their actions are regarded (Cowan, 2019: Kinniburgh 2020), as some of XR’s practices can be disruptive to commuters, thereby causing frustration in their daily lives. This characteristic of XR members was especially intriguing when interviewing participants, as there were varying demographics of the interviewees. Even though the sample was small and therefore cannot be generalised to the wider population of those arrested for XR related protesting, of those interviewed two individuals were first-generation immigrants. There was also a range of financial statuses, consisting of those with their own businesses, and others still applying for UK citizenship:

“...I put my money into some properties basically. And we borrowed mortgages [...] So I didn’t have much problem in terms of employment to worry about in terms of that although a lot of people were worried that if their employers found out...”

Participant 2

Whilst other research may have been correct in the analysis that those casually protesting on behalf of XR are the Caucasian, middle-class demographic criticised previously (Cowan, 2019; Kinniburgh, 2020), this may not be reflective of those who are more proactive and are therefore arrested. Further research should take this into consideration, and examine whether it is apparent within the wider population of XR. It would also be important to establish whether previous research has based assumptions of demographics on either popular media or interactions with members. Throughout other studies, there is a gap in literature in relation to research communicating with active members of this community, which may have led to beliefs being taken as fact within theory without obtaining data to support such ideas.

### *Motivations*

Throughout the interviews, differing reasons emerged as to why participants wished to engage with the XR protests, though some distinct themes were evident. The older interviewees all mentioned the notion of preserving the world for their grandchildren, and that this idea was a driving factor in their support for XR:

“... I owe it to my grandchildren. [...] People leave a lot of things in their will but I mean the best thing that anyone can leave in their will is a planet that they can thrive. Without that everything else is worthless.” Participant 2

“...I’m 64 years old, I mean I can say, who cares, who cares about you lot – you’re young. But I got 4 grandchildren! We’re thinking about you, the younger ones that us basically – they’ve got to have a life. They’re entitled to a life. Are you the last generation? Are you not entitled to have children yourself?” Participant 2

“...I have two grandchildren [...] I couldn’t possibly not do anything” Participant 3

This can indicate the potential driving forces behind the actions of those arrested within XR. Particularly with older individuals, there appears to be raising concerns over the state of the planet their descendants will inherit. This could also explain why the sample itself is primarily composed of older people, as those with older children and grandchildren may feel more compelled to take affirmative action by breaking the law, rather than ‘casually’ engaging in protests. The moral argument for why these individuals are prepared to commit illegal acts supports Situational Action Theory (SAT) by Wikström (2004). The theory suggests that humans are guided by social rules and that if they break these by being arrested, then it is due to the situation experienced and the associated morals (Wikström, 2004). As the participants are protesting to protect the futures of their grandchildren, as well as to highlight environmental abuses and insignificant governmental response, they are acting for a moral purpose. Therefore, SAT is supported by their behaviours.

The other finding that can be observed in all the participant’s responses is the lack of planning to be arrested. None of them expressed any intentions of breaking the law before attending the event at which they were taken into custody. Instead they were stirred by their surroundings, the speeches of others, or held a sense of frustration at the inaction on climate change. These factors had a direct causation on their decision making process:

“...we saw that the police were like slowly moving to make arrests, a couple of us decided that we would join the group of people who was sitting down on the road [...] we kind of decided that that was the right thing to do for us to put ourselves in that position at that moment.” Participant 1

This finding illustrates how there is often a lack of planning to seek arrests, with no intention to disrupt the police beforehand. Instead, the sample presents a range of individuals who were emotionally moved by the cause they are championing. They were willing to offer themselves and their reputations for potential condemnation in order to raise awareness of the ecological issues currently prevalent throughout the world.

#### *The Ideal Victim as the ‘Ideal Climate Protestor’*

A theme apparent within the data is that of who constitutes as the ‘ideal victim’, as theorised by Christie (Christie, 1986), and how this affects the behaviours of those working within the criminal justice system. Christie described this to be a person who evokes the most sympathetic reactions to

their victimhood. This image, of an old Caucasian woman (Christie, 1986), could be observed within this research as participant 3 reflects this description. Despite having the highest number of arrests of the sample group, she was apparently treated the most leniently. She recounted her time in custody as:

“...the police were very very polite very nice... I’m guessing being old, being a woman... the police were lovely, they were fine” Participant 3

“the inspector even came in and said we’re sorry for having to keep you for so long would you like something to read [...] I was treated really well” Participant 3

Whereas the other participants, both first-generation immigrant men, had a different experience:

“And the process was like really efficient we didn’t have to wait a lot in the van, we didn’t have to wait a lot in the police station, things were running smoothly”  
Participant 1

This supports the theory of the ideal victim and demonstrates how it may not be the act committed by those within Extinction Rebellion (XR) but the person themselves that can influence how the criminal justice responds to them breaking the law. Those who fit the ‘ideal victim’ (Christie, 1986) are seen as the ideal climate change protestor, and are treated with a higher level of friendliness, with less scrutiny of their actions. Even the female participant recognized the bias open to her and how it could be used to her advantage, stating:

“I don’t think people would be that awful to me [...] I can put on the old lady act”  
Participant 3

This shows how actions committed by different people have a form of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989). They can be perceived in different ways based on a range of preconceived ideas, covering issues such as an individual’s age, gender, race or ethnicity. Currently, many green criminology research pieces focus on companies behind environmental concerns rather than the activists attending demonstrations (Green and Ward, 2004: Spapens et al., 2014). By recognising the lack of research and highlighting the issue within the current criminal justice system, it becomes apparent for academics and the government that there needs to be initiatives to make certain the authorities treat each of its

service users equally. It can ensure that it does not alter the conditions in which people are detained, or the sentences people are subject to, based on prejudices’.

## *Chapter 6*

### CONCLUSION

Extinction Rebellion is currently a pertinent subject for discussion, especially with the alarming reports released by the IPCC identifying the drastic effects that a 2°C temperature rise would have on the planet. The group's protests are frequently represented in the media, and environmental issues are strongly debated regarding laws and policy making, as well as societal attitudes as a whole.

The examination of previous studies discovered that, whilst there is research in respect of green groups, the majority is theoretical and does not involve qualitative data. Therefore a gap was identified in the literature, specifically Extinction Rebellion and the reasons why individuals were not only arrested but the impact this leaves on their lives. This informed the formulation of the research questions as it indicated it would be valuable to examine why XR members break the law, what transpired at their arrest and what affects this resulted in. The method adopted in the study was semi-structured interviews. It allows participants to speak in detail about their reasoning behind the arrest, meaning the data generated would be in-depth and descriptive. To amass participants, snowball sampling was employed through contacting individuals on Facebook who support XR, and enquiring whether they were willing to participate, or if they knew of others arrested for protesting actions. The research collected three contributors.

The data produced from the interviews generated three themes. The first of these entailed interaction with the police, which examined how the participants interacted with law enforcement agencies during and after their arrests. The second theme was controlling disobedience, which considered the consequences the interviewees had encountered as a direct influence of being arrested. The third theme consisted of arrest demographics, which observed the identities of the participants and the reasons why they had joined the XR protests, subsequently making the choice to be arrested.

#### *Research Question 1*

The answer to the first research question: 'Using a ground up approach, what are the experiences of Extinction Rebellion protestors who have been arrested?', is somewhat varied. All the participants acknowledged that whilst they had not originally planned to break the law during a protest, after

attending the demonstrations they were motivated by the moment. Each decided that they were willing to risk potential consequences of arrests to join protesting actions. There was the theme of the arresting officers behaving professionally, however the elderly white woman was treated with a higher level of friendliness than others. It could also be observed that each of the individuals were older people, and two of them were inspired to join protests by the hope of providing a more environmentally stable world for their descendants. Overall, they each had a relatively agreeable experience, concluding they had been treated fairly by the police at the time of their arrest, although subsequently this was not reflected by certain service providers. Despite some negative impacts, they were all willing to repeat the same actions to highlight ongoing environmental issues, and demand the government act.

### *Research Question 2*

The answer to the second research question of: ‘How do these experiences differ between participants and what sociological implications may this have?’, was that there were formal controls that made the process of securing citizenship more difficult and being blocked from successfully applying for policies, such as insurance. The issue of insurance was highlighted throughout the interviewee’s responses, detailing instances their applications had been denied. These formal controls affected some participants more than others, as those who were middle class did not suffer the impacts of these procedural complications. The way in which experiences differed was based on the demographics of the interviewees. The individual who was elderly and white was treated with an enhanced level of friendliness. The sociological implications of this are that those from a BAME background may be treated differently within the criminal justice system, even if they have committed identical crimes as a white individual. There is the potential for discrimination and prejudice despite the guidelines in place to avert such occurrences. Therefore, more must be accomplished by both the government and quasi-related organisations in respect of reviewing current formal control methods aimed at discouraging re-offending. Currently, these both discriminate and fail to deter environmental activists.

### *Research Question 3*

The third research question was: ‘In light of the study’s findings, what area should further research be directed towards?’. To answer this, the connection between the question and what this piece was unable to achieve due to its limitations must be examined. By focusing on this, fields first identified

within this research that could not be expanded upon, can be explored. One issue encountered was the small sample size, giving the study a lack of generalisability. This negative means that the findings cannot be applied to a wider population, or reason that these findings be applicable to those arrested whilst protesting for XR. To improve in further research, quantitative methods could be used to construct a more generalizable sample. This may alter how in-depth the data generated is, however it would provide a much wider outlook of the identities of those taken into custody, which would be decidedly advantageous when further research is being formed. Another issue was that this study did not have a focus on a specific demographic; instead it was considering a broad spectrum of individuals as it was one of the first to narrow the gap in literature on the subject area.

Further research may be conducted to develop this field and focus on specific demographics to study the different instances they may have. For example, this research has shown how BAME individuals have been treated differently whilst involved within the criminal justice system, and therefore had an alternative encounter to that of the caucasian woman. These points would be valuable to examine, as they address the gap this research piece has identified and initiated work on. By furthering this, criminology would have a higher understanding of the experiences of protestors being arrested for environmental causes, and have the ability to utilize such information to ensure that they are being treated fairly and equitably. This would prevent institutions from exhibiting formal social controls to impede these individual's lives.

### *Final Conclusion*

In conclusion, this research identified a gap within green criminological literature surrounding environmental groups protesting on behalf of the planet, and has performed some of the ground work to begin to fill it. There is still work to be done, particularly around the experiences of BAME activists whilst in custody, and the formal controls exhibited upon individuals after they are released. By furthering our knowledge on these areas, more can be done to ensure these people can exercise their human rights to demand action from the government, without the concern of having their lives negatively impacted by organisations who would rather they be silent.

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## **Appendix A: *Participants Consent Form***

### Participants Information Sheet

Thank you for showing interest in participating in this research. This sheet will explain the aims of the study, what will happen during the interview and your rights as a participant. To give consent to participate, you must first read through this sheet before giving verbal consent at the beginning of the interview.

This research piece is based on interviewing members of Extinction Rebellion (XR) about their interactions with the criminal justice system, as well as examining as to what impact members think their arrests will have on the XR cause. Within the interview, there will be six core questions, though there may be follow up questions when required. The interview could be up to an hour long, though it will vary based on your answers.

As a participant, your data and information will be kept confidential, and you will be anonymised within the final research report. The interview will be recorded but once the interview has been transcribed, the record will be deleted. All of your data will be kept secure and only the interviewer will have access to it. Should you want to withdraw your data at any point you are free to do so. You can also refuse to answer any specific questions if you wish to.

The questions do not aim to bring out any negative memories or experiences. However, if you experience any emotional distress due to the interview, then we can provide you with a list of charities and contacts that will be able to assist you.

*Thank you for your participation!*

## **Appendix B: Transcript 1**

*R-Researcher*

*P- Participant*

R- Hi

P-Hi Amy

R- Hiya, thank you for responding to my emails. I'm Amy, did you get a chance to read through the word document I sent you?

P- Yeah

R- Fabulous. I just basically need you to confirm that you've read through that and that you give your verbal consent to participate in the study.

P- Er, yep, I give my verbal consent to participate in the study

R- Perfect thank you. Er, are you alright? How are you doing?

P- (2) er ok, I feel like I'm just trying to adjust to daily life

R- Yeah it's a bit of a nightmare at the moment isn't it. So basically, what I'm going to do, I've got six questions, erm, but it might be more if there's any kind of follow up questions to anything that you might say I may also ask them if that's alright?

P- Yep

R- Perfect, so mainly what I'm going to be asking about is erm, kind of around Extinction Rebellion and also your arrest and things so what were you arrested for?

P- Mm, I was arrested in April, um, so initially I was arrested for um, obstruction of the highway and failure to comply er, with a section 14, but I was only charged with a section 14

R- Ok, what was the police response when you got arrested?

P- mm, from like the police officer?

R-Yeah

P- Yeah they were very professional they were very nice. I was arrested like er, early, I think er early in their shift so they were like in a good mood. It was something like noon or one pm like that. And the process was like really efficient we didn't have to wait a lot in the van, we didn't have to wait a lot in the police station, er, things were running smoothly, so I think everybody was in a good mood yeah.

R- Good. So do did you feel your arrest was justified?

P-Mm (2) I guess yes and no. Er I think like, my arresting officer, had been briefed (2) to basically go out and arrest people like me who were sitting on the road. So I think that this is still fine, no? But I still think that the section 14 was not clearly com-communicated to me, like that's one thing I tried to throw out in court, and I still think that the section 14 was not justified, I think it was, I mean I still don't believe it was necessary for the police or the commanding officer on the ground to restrict our freedom of assembly based on, er, the public order act and like the wider problems and I still believe that er, it was necessary for us to cause that small disruption to London in order to highlight the ecological emergency.

R- Yeah. So did, when you were sitting on the highway and things, erm, did you intend to get arrested, or was that just kind of part of your protesting actions?

P- Mm (2) so my, not initially when I sat on Waterloo bridge I was arrested on Waterloo bridge. And, so, I got there with my (inaudible) group and we were like, initially we were just like basically, er, having a look at what they had done on Waterloo Bridge like the structure, the trees, they had like a yogurt hut, er and they were doing like ... performances so we were like enjoying that. And then when we saw that the police were like slowly moving to make arrests, er a couple of us decided that we would join the group of people who was sitting down on the road and it was very obvious that if you were going to that section of the bridge to sit down then eventually you would get arrested er so yeah... yeah we kind of decided that that was er the right thing to do for us to put ourselves in that position at that moment.

R- Yeah, so it wasn't something that you had like planned ahead, it was something that on the day you thought like this is right for us.

P- Yeah

R- Perfect, er, what impact were you hoping that your arrest would have on the Extinction Rebellion cause?

P- Mm (2) so this was (2) on Tuesday so was er only the second day er of the April rebellion, and and we knew that they had been doing arrests on Waterloo Bridge since since Monday afternoon and it looked like the police was er like serious about trying to clear the bridge, and and they they had basically been doing arrests non-stop since the previous Monday so like we saw like that it was very important like to keep the site because like it was an amazing site no with all the trees and all the activities they were doing, and it had like, it was very special because there was lots of people walking by, crossing the bridge on foot and on bike, who were connecting and that with us so it was like a very special place no for protest and demonstration, and we knew that as soon as the police had managed to

move people out of the way and clear the structure they would just open the road and it would be done. So so we felt like it was very important like to keep keep the bridge as like a site for protest and demonstration as long as we could.

R- Yeah, do you think that kind of public interaction is something that's quite important to the XR cause?

P- Er yeah, yeah, so so it's tricky but sometimes you manage to create like a protest demonstration er that is disrupting but er people still feel like it's safe and its welcoming enough and (inaudible)...To approach you and chat about it and I think we were very successful in creating that atmosphere at Waterloo Bridge and also .. in particular, people were like actually curious about it and they were like coming and taking the initiative, like asking us what was going on, why we were doing it and you know like asking for more information about the climate and ecological emergencies and yeah it's like a big part of the action and the (inaudible).

R- Yeah, looking back at obviously the actions of that day, do think that it kind of helped, you getting arrested, do think that kind of helped erm, the cause, and also from preventing he police from trying to close down the Waterloo protesting site?

P- Mm... yeah, I think Waterloo managed like to (2) to remain closed for cars, er, and to traffic for a couple more days, er, I don't remember exactly like on Friday or, no I think it remained open for the weekend, er, but yeah it it was very nice to go back and to see that er, that the activities were still going and we were still doing outreach, er, and that people were still being very positive in general at the site, so yeah it felt like it was like er, a good, a good call like a good decision to try and keep that going, and I feel like er, the less people we got there that would not face arrests, the easier for the police to clear the site.

R- Yeah, do you feel like, obviously looking back do you think you would have done anything differently, kind of a year on sort of time?

P- Mm... yeah, I think so, er, so on Waterloo Bridge er people were (2) they were basically just sitting down in front of the officers, not to get arrested, and so the process was like super-efficient from that point of view, er and then we we kind of realised that erm... there were certain targets for commanding officers, their priorities were actually number of arrests, er they didn't have like er a priority to open the bridge per se? So like their commendations and promotions and stuff like that are decided on arrests, not actually on successfully reopening the bridge, not on that kind of small something or ground operation or officers, so I think we might have made their job of arrests maybe too easy? And in retrospect I think that er... it might have been better for us to maybe lockdown, or

glue or something like that to make, for the for the process to take longer er... and try to maximise that not whilst you have decided you are willing to get arrested, maybe it was a process of figuring not doing anything away from, making it take as long as possible for (inaudible) from the sides. So yeah I think we, if we had done that and tried to find glue or something like with a lock on or something like that to delay.

R- To delay the process yeah.

P- Yeah.

R- Yeah, do you feel like, the actions of getting arrested, do you think that's something that should be used more within Extinction Rebellion? Kind of like do you agree with the, the encouragement to get arrested?

P- Mm, I don't know, I think it like it has its place but it (2) its more like a strategic move like sometimes it's necessary, not when the police are obviously using the threat of arrest not to (inaudible) or ... about, then you need people who have been legally trained for arrests or they are just going to push everybody and reopen the road, erm (2) but we probably don't need everybody er to take to take that risk, so er I think like even like ... in October to now, we probably have more than enough people now who are willing and trained to face arrest er, er that's my impression at least. I don't think we actually need to keep attracting more people er, to take arrests that that, I mean, we can already overwhelm er London's police, met police and city of London's police response, er (2) so I say we (2) I don't know, we might start looking at other things, other ways for new members to participate that don't necessarily involve getting arrested.

R- Yeah. Just kind of, last set of questions, just wanted to ask, do you think that you have anything in your life that would prevent you from wanting to be arrested and follow-up to that, do you think that people who have things like children or who have jobs who do criminal record checks, do you think that would prevent people from wanting to get arrested?

P- Mm, yeah, yea so basically so for my case before I got arrested so in April, it wasn't still clear to me what the process for applying for citizens status would be, er and then it turned out that the Home Office was delaying your application if you, if you had like an open prosecution, so it was kind of like a weird thing because it didn't mean that it would be used against you, it just meant that your application was on hold until the solution of the trial. Er, so I didn't know that before getting arrested and that was like ... ah ... but hopefully for my case, my trial was er, was pretty soon, was in October, er and I managed to, to convince the judge to give me a fine, instead of the conditional, you know, the conditional sentence, so so I managed to get my citizens status pretty soon, not before, before January,

erm but I think that yeah I think that like I had a good idea from the (inaudible) workshop and training that to try to .. review of what could be the legal ramifications and consequences for ... people in the UK for being arrested for something like this. Er, and I think that like one of the few things that are like really troublesome for people, we found out that a lot of people didn't know about it and it has been something they have been sharing online and ..... is insurance. So if you're like renewing like an insurance for like a mortgage or for something like that or car insurance or house insurance, and you have an open prosecution it makes it super hard, and I think that it's something that wasn't highlighted you know, in the ... workshops, like something simple as something like renewing your insurance before you getting arrested or before you're charged and then you're ok, but if you have to do it while you're being prosecuted it's a nightmare. And and I know people who have for example, people in professions where they have DBS checks and they're employers check whether they have been arrested but the strategy is to talk to your boss or to talk to your manager and to tell them that you're thinking about this and just to see how they react because most of the cases you should talk to your manager, er, if you're (inaudible) or something like that or you work for ... people, and er I think that's good advice no? Start with your colleagues, start with your boss and try to (2) to see how they would react to you getting arrested for something like this.

R- Yeah, (2) yeah that's been great, thank you so much, that's kind of all the questions that I have, it's been really informative thank you.

P- Yeah, no problem.

R- Yeah, hope you have a good day and I hope you're all ok during this quarantine.

P- Yeah.

R- Cool, thank you so much for speaking to me.

P- All right, good luck with your project.

R- Thank you, bye.

P- Bye.

## Appendix C: *Transcript 2*

R- Researcher

P- Participant

R: Hello, Hi. Sorry, I'm just trying to see if this sound will work, for some reason... Is that better? Hello? My sound doesn't seem to be working. Errrrm. Can you hear me? Nod if you can hear me... Don't think you can hear me either. Errrrm. (5) Hello?

P: Hello, ahh I can hear you now

R: Hi yeah sorry, sorry about that. I'll just see if this can work...

P: I was going to try and see if I could un-mute you but you had to do it from your end

R: yeah, no, I'm sorry

P: How are you? You OK?

R: I'm good thank you, how are you?

P: Yeah not too bad, yeah. Getting fed up at home actually.

R: yeah, no it certainly is a nightmare

P: I'm not used to being at home locked up like this at home, and it's hard

R: definitely

P: but, yeah, what's more difficult is hearing of people falling ill, and actually we've lost few people as well today, just had one bad news today a friend of ours, an ambulance driver, he's died.

R: Oh, I'm so sorry

P: And yeah, it's hard to just look around you and seeing, seeing what's happening around. I mean it's terrible

R: yeah it's definitely very surreal at the moment

P: you just can't believe it... I don't... I mean... you're thinking we're going through a nightmare. Is it real? Are we going to wake out of it? Or, that's the feeling you're living with at the moment. Thinking, maybe it's not true, it's not happening but... (3) it's real

R: Yeah, it's very... it's very difficult at the moment. Yeah... Yeah...

P: How are you coping? What are you doing? You're?

R: I'm good thank you. Yeah, errr, I'm kind of getting lots of obviously stuff done with this project. Errrm. Ooh! I think you've disappeared.

P: (3) sorry someone's trying to get through about... (inaudible)

R: That's all right.

P: have you lost the v...?

R: Yeah, no I can't see you at the moment.

P: Right someone's trying to get through. I'm trying I'll just... err decline them.

R: That's OK

P: Go Back. Right... OK

R: Snazzy, yeah I can see you now. Perfect.

P: Right

R: Err yeah, no so I'm kind of, basically just doing a lot of work on this project at the moment. It's keeping me busy which is always good. Errrm

P: and university is closed now I take it?

R: Yes university is closed. Err, we've unfortunately also had news today that, errm, one of the members, not of my department actually, but of a different department has passed away. Erm as well from Corona Virus.

P: (inaudible)

R: Yeah it's very unfortunate

P: Sorry, who was that? A lecturer or...?

R: Yeah, A senior lecturer, yeah, has passed away yeah. Errm

P: Oh no

R: Yeah, It's definitely, it's very unfortunate and hits a bit closer to home than definitely the rest of the people that I know so far so. Bit difficult but, we're kind of carrying on and holding some remembrance stuff for him so... that'll hopefully be... be good to kind of attend and things. But yeah, no, kind of carrying on, trying to get on with daily life

P: we have to. We have to

R: Yeah

P: We have to... this... I mean... It's a lot of anger going on at the moment as well because this, for a lot of people, this was absolutely unnecessary. I mean this level of... I don't think we can blame anyone for the pandemic. No-body knows where it's come from. But the management of it is (2)

R: No its, yeah it's not been done very well.

P: it's not been done very well. And look at America now, because I mean, America is always a country of extremes and they've ignored it completely. They've still not shut down what 7 states? Yeah 7 states

R: Yeah, which is crazy

P: It is. And it's cost? I mean in America it's gone past 11 million, sorry 11 thousand now.

R: Yes, Yeah, now they've got the, err the highest record of cases. Erm they've passed China and Italy and everything now. Errm, which is unreal.

P: It is

R: You'd think people would learn but apparently not.

P: Yeah I think after this, I mean everyone is talking about basically we need to hold people to account. I mean, why did, why did they do this? They didn't shut schools until the 20th of... the 20th March

R: Yeah

P: People came out of airports, they were landing and (inaudible) there were people who came to watch football from Spain where there was an epidemic and they didn't even do any tests. Nothing at all.

R: Yeah, no the lack of tests is worrying as well. It's... (inaudible) so may more by now

P: I mean look at South Korea. They did very successfully because they tested. Germany is doing it well as they're testing people.

R: and for some reason we're just not!

P: Well, I don't know if you've heard. It's not... at first I thought it was conspiracy theory but when you read it in the Guar... I mean even the Sunday Times revealed that and then the Guardian, then the Independent, but unfortunately not the BBC, that Dominic Cummings actually said that "So what if some old people die"

R: Oh no...!

P: You didn't hear that?

R: No, I did not hear that!

P: It's amazing, I mean, because he's the mastermind behind the, this herd immunity that they were pursuing. And herd immunity, they thought that that is the best course of action, in other words let everybody catch it. But then they are saying that then everyone would develop an immunity. But that's politicians. That's what happens when politicians are making decisions and not the medical experts. So they're ignoring science. They're ignoring, err, all the medical opinions and they're just doing, they were doing their own thing. Until basically err France and err... I think it was France and Germany said to this government " You carry on with your stupid herd method... herd immunity- we're gonna shut you out because you're threatening our populations". They're banking that if 60% of

the population will catch that then they will develop and it will start fizzling out after that. But that's at the expense of potentially... nobody knows...

R: Yeah there is no point in risking that number of deaths

P: thousands of people with underlying conditions and old age... very old people

R: Yeah

P: Oh that's gone again

R: That's alright

P: Sorry! But there we are. I think a lot of people are saying, I mean well certainly a lot of people within extinction rebellion are saying that we need to... we can't separate this... we cannot separate this from the climate crisis because that is the next crisis. But in the same way all the warnings I hear now and basically everyone is... they're all ignoring it- what are we gonna wait for? The situation where there won't be any food supplies, there'll be hunger, starvation and what's the next generation? What are they gonna be? We've seen this year- all the rivers were overflowing with floodings everywhere. And we've seen in Australia, what's happened in Australia – where next? What is next?

R: Yeah extreme weathers and like droughts and floods and things. It's, yeah, you think people would take more notice but here we are!

P: And when the IPCC is saying we got 10 years to turn things around... it's harrowing... it's frightening. I'm 64 years old, I mean I can say, who cares, who cares about you lot – you're young. But I got 4 grandchildren! We're thinking about you, the younger ones that us basically – they've got to have a life. They're entitled to a life. Are you the last generation? Are you not entitled to have children yourself? Is that what they're deciding for us so that a few companies err, fossil fuel companies can make their fortunes now?

R: Yeah so some companies can profit for the downfall of everyone else!

P: Yeah, that is what we're facing unfortunately! But anyway, let me not do all the talking! Sorry

R: It's all right, it's interesting! I do like talking about this stuff. Erm. Did you get a chance to read through the word document that I sent you?

P: I did... I did

R: Fabulous! So basically what I just need you to do at the moment is just confirm verbally that you've read through that and you give your consent to participate in the study.

P: I read through that and I agree to participate in your questioning, questionnaire or interview

R: Fabulous that's great thank you

P: That's fine

R: Yeah so basically I've got 6 main questions at the moment but it might be a few more depending on what your answers to things are. And we'll basically just go through them and just chat about a few things particularly around obviously your arrest erm and kind of the impact that had erm and then yeah that's kind of what we'll mainly talk about really erm. Yeah so...

P: I'm listening

R: Good! Erm so, firstly what were you arrested for?

P: Right well on the 10th of October as part of the rebellion. Extinction rebellion decided they were going to go and basically do a sit in at the city of London airport as well. So I'll turn up there early in the morning, it's quite an experience actually! I went there, I didn't, I wasn't intending to get arrested. But then I thought - there was a group of people there, quite a large group - we had a sit in (2) and basically it was that the... the... I mean the problem was that it was the DLR entrance to the city airport. So I sat there and there was a Doctor and I think the other one was a hospital consultant and a surgeon. And they made a speech and they were prepared to be arrested. And I thought it's not fair, what shall I do, I mean everyone is prepared. They're not moving from there. Shall I just get up because we're being warned you got to disperse. And I thought I'm gonna sit down, they're sitting down you know? I will sit down and not get up either! I mean that... one of the doctors actually made a speech that really filled my heart and she gave her experience of what she's experiencing. And she said basically that, err I mean, last year there was 20% reduction in food production in this country. The farmers are facing crisis because they can't predict what the weather is going to be. They don't know what to plant so food production is going to suffer. What is it... what is going to happen as this situation gets worse? This was all before these floods and we seen an even worse situation after that. Then she's saying what the medical profession is predicting in terms of pandemics... future pandemics coming up. This was all before this... this happened as well because as the weather patterns change there is gonna be medical crises. She went through all the lists of all the medical crises that we're going to be facing and basically everyone is frightened of the runaway climate situation with the point of no return. So we're sat there and then unfortunately we were warned get up and go or you're going to get arrested and we thought no we're going to stand our ground and one by one we were arrested. It was an experience - I've never been arrested in my life and we were taken to... do you want me to explain the rest or?

R: Yeah, no explain all you'd like! Yeah yeah!

P: Yeah, then yeah we were taken to... we were warned... the police were quite nice actually. I'm holding nothing against the police- they didn't mistreat us. They warned... they warned us. We knew

what was going to happen. We had respect for the police that they were doing their job as well. So we were taken to Lewisham... the group of us were taken to Lewisham err police station and basically spent the day until 10:30 at night in a police cell basically. Had my fingerprints taken and DNA swab. And basically now I'm on police records. I never was on a police records at all. Never been arrested. And I think the police were actually apologising... it was... some... there were police that were actually apologising... "we're not treating you like a criminal" the accept... one of them accepted you're not a criminal but in other words we're just doing our job. And I said " well, I understand basically that is what you're doing... well that is what you're doing". But yeah, I'm always a person that never has enough time to do anything. There is so much to do – I'm always chasing the clock but for a very very long time I sat in a cell and I was getting so bored. I asked somebody, I asked the policeman to bring me something to read. So they brought me an evening standard that was 2 days old. I read that from the first page to the last page, even starting reading all the adverts in there.

R: Just to pass the time!

P: Just to pass the day! They were good, they brought us (inaudible), they were regularly checking that we were not suicidal through the door to make sure we were alright. I just waved- I'm alright I'm alright.

R: Yeah, oh no, it's good to hear that they obviously, that police response was... would you say that police response was quite a welcoming, quite a like kind of ...

P: it is... it is... completely

R: ...professional sort of response that they had

P: yeah, I mean they um, they knew what they had to do, we knew they had to... what they had to do. So I'm holding nothing against the police officers that actually arrested us. We had some conversation. I mean I asked one of them in the police van (inaudible) "do you have any children?" and he said "yes, 3" errr. "Do you believe there is a climate crisis?" and he said "yes". He wouldn't say any more but yeah I mean they are human beings just like us and they... it wasn't heavy... I mean what I'm trying to say is there wasn't no heavy handed approach or... it...

R: Yeah, no , yeah it was professional

P: they did what they do. We knew what we were being arrested for. It was a little bit, sort of, there was a sense of being offended when they're holding your fingers and pressing it and taking your finger prints and your... they're treating you like anyone else coming into the police station and I thought for a moment is this really necessary? But that was just a thought going through my mind.

Now at the end of the day I knew that they had to do... they had to do that. That's their orders to do that. But what next then?

R: Did you feel that when you got arrested do you feel like that was a justified thing to get arrested for?

P: Yeah, definitely. I mean we knew, we knew what... I mean... there is... there are people that say basically you cannot do anything... you cannot justify anything breaking the law. That's an open sort of philosophical question. I mean then again, you look back and then the suffragettes were breaking the law, basically. Was that justified? Well it was justified. Now then... the second question... when you look at the anti-apartheid movement in south Africa and all over the world people were supporting - they were breaking the law, basically. So do we... do we accept everything the way it is? Then... there's... they would argue and say well you can... we have got democracy in this country, you can just not elect these politicians who are not doing anything about the climate change. If only it was that simple.

R: Yeah unfortunately not so...

P: If it was only that simple that we could. Now we won't have the time... I mean, OK we can make that decision but what about those who do not have the right to vote – the children who will be facing picking all this up later – can we consult them? We are not consulting them and they are the ones who are going to pick up the price. They are the ones who are going to clear up all the plastic and the mess everywhere in the world. I mean... do we have the right to do that? So... how far do you use democracy as a justification for... you know...

R: Yeah, no, it's definitely a kind of contentious point sometimes as to how far do you follow the law if you don't agree with what they're saying.

P: Yeah right – they said in south Africa, I mean, people were breaking the law... they were creating... well they had to break the law because the majority of the population didn't have the right to vote. Only a small section or the apartheid... the minority government actually justified saying that we were voted in. They were voted in – there was democracy but there was a minority of white population who was able to vote. The majority didn't have the right to vote. So automatically it is accepted that they had the right to rebel against such a... such a democracy. So in the same way we can bring our children in to this and say- they don't have the right to vote and they are the ones who are gonna pick up the tab of this. That's my theory.

R: It is an important point yeah. You also... you mentioned earlier about how you didn't actually... you didn't go there originally intending to get arrested. At what point did you kind of think, you know what actually I think "yes I accept that this is going to happen and I'm willing to get arrested"?

P: Like I said after that speech, that that doctor and the surgeon made it really filled my heart to be honest with you

R: so it was the speech, yeah

P: I mean we can put in our minds - that is on the one hand people should argue you shouldn't go breaking... you should not break the law. I didn't think there was any moral issue because I think that most people would understand that anyway. Then there was other issues that went through my mind. Oh, if I were to get a criminal record what about if I'm... and I did, subsequently I did have insurance declined because of that and all the records... how it will play on your record. Then I thought - my economic situation is not that bad. I mean- I'm not going to be thrown out of work. I'm more or less self-employed. I wasn't... I wasn't worried about that. And I thought- it might play against me but I thought that would be a bit selfish to start thinking of myself and how it would play against my record against mortgages and against other things. And I thought- No, I'm not gonna let that... because... I owe it to my grandchildren. So... it's not... we would all like when we pass away to leave material things for our children. People leave a lot of things in their will but I mean the best thing that can be... than anyone can leave in their will is a planet that they can thrive. Without that... nothing... everything else is worthless.

R: Yeah, definitely. You also just said there, about like... obviously... about the errrm... issues with insurance and things. Do you find any other kind of issues? Did it have any other kind of negative impacts with you? Erm, from kind of getting arrested... did you find any other like... obviously you said about mortgages as well... any other systems that seem to be negatively impacted?

P: I mean I was in business, we were, I was in soft drinks distribution before. And I had sold the business err, that was back in 2010. Sorry, err no, err 2004 I sold the business, sorry. Then I started another business, I was importing err frozen chips from Belgium and then at one point the euro went bezerk and the business... we just shut the business down completely. So I put my money into some property... some properties basically. And we had mortgage... we had mortgages... we borrowed mortgages. So I've got a few properties and then basically I'm involved in managing. The other work I'm doing... I have been doing is managing some warehouses for a friend of mine and I've been earning from... earning from that. So, I didn't have much problem in terms of employment to worry about in terms of that although a lot of people were worried that if their employers found out... a lot

of people that were arrested were... was... were worried what their employers would do. And some didn't get arrested because they thought it might impact on their employment prospects as well. So that didn't play on my mind but afterwards... I mean... when... I mean I've got some of the mortgages already. Now we... we had... we renew our insurances every year and one of the insurance policies actually come and said... if there is anything to declare because if you don't declare everything on the insurance proposal form... now when it comes to paying out if you have a fire or anything... a building burns down they will not pay out. So I thought – I'll put it past them and I'll tell them. I told them the honest truth and I said I was arrested but this is what I was arrested for. They came back to me saying sorry. I mean I asked, the offense I had when I was charged was actually 6 months suspended... (3) suspended sentence. It was suspended, would that constitute... is that an offence if it's suspended? So I thought I'll put it past ... I'll put it past them and they came back – no. I mean I made my statement and I told them basically if we didn't do this – you insurance companies are going to be suffering more than anybody else. When there is a huge... if there is a... winds are blowing down everything, I mean we've got extreme weather conditions – your payouts... you should be grateful to us for what we're doing basically because... you're gonna get some massive disturbing weather patterns coming up... so anyway. But that's the way it is, the whole established system is like that – it's geared... it geared towards stopping... (3)

R: Yeah kind of stopping people

P: Yeah you mustn't raise your voice basically, you mustn't do that... you must sort of be obedient and not do something otherwise we will come down on you, on your ratings – whether it is on your financial ratings or whether it's on your insurance, or whether it's somewhere else. I think most people would have sort of experienced that as well in one way or another. I mean when we were at court one of... one of the arrestees was a teacher and she didn't want... she was facing sort of disciplinary... and she was from Bristol... and there was disciplinary... they took disciplinary action. Although... even though they had taken the disciplinary action, in a way there were looking did she actually break the law? So...

R: No, it's definitely...

P: That's what you face basically

R: Yeah. Err, and you said about erm, the kind of issues... did you know it was going to be an issue like with your insurance before you got arrested or was that just something you found out afterwards?

P: I didn't... I didn't exactly have insurance at the forefront of my mind at the time but I knew somewhere down the line...

R: Yeah that that could be an issue...

P: there would be.... Different kind of issues may come up and I thought if its gonna come up its gonna come up.

R: Yeah. And when you like... when you originally... when you kind of got arrested what impact were you hoping that your arrest would have?

P: I think it's a collective thought of everybody and basically we are going along with extinction rebellion who's actually taking extreme action and being arrested is one of the strategies of actually moving... moving... society... I mean... being arrested is a last resort call of basically raising the alarm to people and it worked. It worked because it raised the question. I mean we had a lot of radio presenters... the media turned against extinction rebellion trying to make big noise. But that noise – they were making a noise against extinction rebellion so whatever noise (inaudible) people against us. At the same time I think there were enough sensible people who could understand. Although... even people who didn't agree with our... with the methods of extinction rebellion they thought... OK... we are going to be sort of disrupted going to work, we might be disrupted from getting on the plane. And we didn't target to sort of take an action and be horrible to people who are gonna be impacted as such. We knew that they would get on their plane anyway- we had nothing against those people but it made people sort of sit back and think... why are these people doing this? Is there a... is there a climate crisis? Then people started reading and learning and you've got... unfortunately that was the only way you could bring that... and the agenda for people to start thinking about it

R: Yeah

P: And that's the impact we we hope... I think we succeeded on that

R: Yeah it its do you think that kind of like one of the things that you would personally find is one of the more important aspects of what Extinction Rebellion does particularly with the arrests, but bringing public awareness to the environmental issues?

P: It is it is, its public awareness because I mean a lot of leading people within XR have had the opportunity to be interviewed on radio and by the media... you have some outlets like the Guardian that does support and presents the truth... and to some extent the Independent newspaper as well... because they have brought about discussion on what it what is carbon dioxide in the atmosphere... what does it do... it's a very serious thing is there a climate emergency how will it impact people... now... is climate change, although we may not feel it now to a big extent here, is it here? Climate change is here... we've seen what happened in Australia... in a huge big way... so that was the intention basically, it's to raise the alarm, when someone raises the alarm they do not do it calmly, you

don't say lets tiptoe and go slowly you musn't run... you must raise the alarm slowly and follow the rules, you just raise the alarm it doesn't matter... you are going to be disturbing people when you raise that alarm, people might be swearing at you... why I was just sitting down... you could leave them to burn there but... you're raising the alarm at the end of the day, you're disturbing people... so I think people understood that... that was that was the theory behind it basically.

R: Yeah so you do feel like you achieved what you set out to achieve

P: I think so I mean there were a few things that er... backfired on us and er... a lot of people within XR disagreed with it I didn't agree with it when a few members of Extinction Rebellion decided to do something silly, they went into the underground at Canning Town and actually got on top of the tube... and that (laughter)... that backfired on us... I think that was quite obvious, we should have been yeah... it doesn't mean we musn't be careful, but things like that will happen and well... with what the media amplifies... that... that we're horrible people we want to... but XR has got has all actions taken by local independent groups of Extinction Rebellion, those actions are done locally as long as they are by guidelines, within certain guidelines, they take those decisions independently. But there were quite a lot of voices raised within Extinction Rebellion saying that don't do tube stations because that will backfire and it did... so that's where we are...

R: Looking back at the day, you know a couple of years on, do you think you would do anything differently?

P: No, I would do exactly the same, and I would get arrested again if we have to, I mean Extinction Rebellion was planning another rebellion on the 23rd of May, that's cancelled now because of this pandemic but... I'm sure I can see myself going through this again... it's not about myself it's not what's going to happen, I mean if you look like other countries where, in Brazil for example, other environmentalists... if you took this kind of action in Brazil you would have people knocking on your door and a revolver held to your head you know... and people have lost their lives in Brazil, so to me... we have a duty to do that, so compared to what other people have gone through in other areas of the world we don't have any choice

R: Yeah. Have you been to any workshops or any... have you had any kind of training with getting arrested or do you know of anything around XR like that?

P: Most people who are in our group... I belong to [REDACTED], that's my local group I go to... and I mean there are so many different workshops and courses and sessions and that are... I haven't had a chance to... because I'm also working... but yeah I do intend to do some courses but I have, online there is also some material that you can read before getting arrested about what to expect what

to do... but it is an independent decision no one is forcing you, do not feel obliged to, the manual does, it goes into, it depends on your own conscience without any sort of anyone egging you on to do that or become a hero that's not what you are doing it for, if you feel like you want to do it then that's up to you completely... so when you get arrested er, basically there were... XR stewards who are... their attendance is to witness the whole thing so... they were witnessing but the police... now... basically there were, they are quite a few principles to go through to learn how to, if you are being arrested, but never to commit any violence and not to like swear at the police, it is not necessary... but yeah to make it as difficult as possible, yeah there are people who put super glue on their hands, I mean I did that too... it was a bit comical really (laughter)... I put superglue on my hands but it didn't stick on the floor... but I pretended anyway... and the police man came and he asked have you got superglue and I said yes... he brought a syringe with some compound in it to sort of spray under my hand... afterwards I thought I could've just gone like that (lifts hand)... I thought I won't, just to delay things and to be a bit difficult... I told him afterwards it didn't actually stick... you've just done that for nothing... and he laughed as well... it was a little bit of fun as well

R: Always good to have a bit of fun as well. Well I've just got one more question, I just wanted to ask if you think there's anything that kind of, a bit like the insurance and things, that might stop people from wanting to get arrested within Extinction Rebellion?

P: Yes, they've got to deal with climate change... otherwise no... we have got to be as difficult as we can... I mean they can threaten to take our lives and we won't give up, because we know we're right, they know we're right, the public knows we're right... and it's a matter of time when more and more people will join us... and we will look back generations later if we are successful and we do avert a climate disaster, then people will look back and... at least my grandchildren can look back and say even if we don't then at least I tried for them, that's what's important to me and I'm not going to give that up, there's no method that can stop me from doing that and... at the end of the day the whole movement is not just to be difficult but to wake the public and for people to realise for their own sake what is happening... otherwise unfortunately... it's sad that this has to go forward... so yeah there is nothing that will stop me from doing that again.

R: Yeah. It's been great talking to you, thank you it's been really informative

P: It's been great to answer, to listen to your questions as well

R: Great, I've got everything that I need, thank you so much! If there is anyone that might be interested in the study, please pass on my details.

P: Thank you for listening.

R: It's been great, if you have any concerns or questions send me an email

P: I will do, thank you... bye

R: Bye

### **Appendix D: *Transcript 3***

R- Researcher

P- Participant

R: Hello... hello... I don't think you're sound is on...

P: Hello, sorry about that I don't know what happened, I mean we do Zoom calls, too many... anyway how are you?

R: I'm good thank you, how are you?

P: I'm doing well I'm doing well, I've just come up from the garden yeah, on the outside planting beds, lovely weather but rain tomorrow apparently, kind of needs it

R: Yeah the plants need it don't they... Have you had a chance to read through the word document I sent you?

P: ... is that the one that said that's expected of the participants?

R: Yes it is

P: Then yes I've read through

R: Fabulous, I just need you to confirm that you've read through that and understand it and that you're like ok to participate in the study if that's ok?

P: I am

R: Perfect thank you, so whats going to happen is that I've got six main questions, and I might have some extra questions depending on what you say, it's all going to focus around mainly your arrests and different things to do with arrests within Extinction Rebellion if that's alright?

P: Yeah that's fine

R: So er... first question, what were you arrested for exactly?

P: I was actually arrested three times last year, I don't know what event you are particularly interested in or if you want to know about any of them?

R: You can talk about all of them if you want

P: It started off in Cardiff in March last year, there was an event in Cardiff... and I was arrested in Barclays bank... er for.. well erm... aggravated trespass yes aggravated trespass, there were four of us and we actually set up a little display inside Barclays bank and showed a globe with oil being poured over it they really support, well at the time they really supported oil based foil fuels supporting loans and stuff... and we didn't leave when we were asked to and they closed the doors on us they brought

their security round and they were fine but yes we got arrested so... yeah that was not very exciting (laughing)... there was quite a few of erm er... Welsh XR groups there so they er they had gone round er the town and er they had come back and there was some drumming outside and singing outside, it was all very supportive... er yeah no they took us away each of us away in a cage in the back of a police vehicle to Cardiff and we were interviewed and swapped and god knows what and we were released in the early hours of the morning to some XR Cardiff people who took us home and put us to bed... it was very nice...

R: That's nice... and your second arrest?

P: My second arrest was in London in October... it was on Whitehall, no it wasn't sorry... my husband had had very swollen ankles after we'd been sleeping on the pavements and stuff, you know we're in our seventies so isn't the best of times to be sleeping on the pavements probably, but anyway we had been sleeping in Trafalgar square the rest of our group was mainly in Vauxhall gardens or in this Chinese hostel place... erm... anyway so we were given a piece of paper by the police on the Monday saying we could be anywhere... no the only place we were allowed to be was in Trafalgar square and that was going to be reserved for people who were demonstrating... so on that particular day, on a Monday, they came round at half past eight at night, it was dark, it was raining, it was miserable weather, I'd been up at the bank of England that day I think and erm... so we were in our sleeping bags and this police man says anybody in there anybody in there er you've got to be out by nine o'clock, so we said what's this about, we're minding our own business and we've got half an hour to leave in the dark. And er so we actually did we packed up all of our things because police were actually taking tents down if people were there, they were just removing everything... so [REDACTED] said he was going to go and stay with friends in Muswell Hill and I said well I'm sorry, I got to the point where I said I'm not leaving so I put a ground sheet down and laid on the groundsheet down and I said I'm just staying here and they can arrest me because traditionally Trafalgar Square is the place where you allowed to demonstrate and erm, protest and erm... it was quite funny really, someone came up to me and said oh do you want some glue? I said really? Glue? And they said yes you can glue yourself down, yes oh that's a good idea and they produced this tiny thing of superglue so I unscrewed it and put some on my hand here and glued myself, well more to the groundsheet than the ground really... and I tried to give them this glue and the lid back again and I said I can't put it on I've got one hand stuck to the ground, and they put more glue on the other hand! So I had two hands and I put both hands down on the ground... so people came up and... and people are very supportive of XR... er and they asked do you want a chocolate brownie and they had to feed

it to me er... and they asked oh would you like some water, and they gave me water anyway I think I actually laid there for about three hours and a young man I know from the [REDACTED] group, when someone came to arrested me and they were saying the words at me about getting arrested for a section 14... and he started saying what are you doing this for what are you doing this for why are you doing this, and he and somebody else started singing so I couldn't hear the police and I said oh for goodness sake I'm actually very happy to be arrested, I'm cold and I'm miserable and I'm wet and I would have been very happy to be arrested... so then I was arrested when the police came back again, and then they took me to Charing Cross police station and the police were very very polite very nice... I'm guessing being old, being a woman... the police were lovely, they were fine... anyway and er yeah I was interviewed there and eventually I got out and two days later there was another demonstration in Trafalgar Square against the fact they had closed Trafalgar Square for demonstrations basically... so [REDACTED] was there who we have some dealings with because he lives in [REDACTED] which [REDACTED] miles away from where we live... and erm there was some other friends there... and we had planned that our Welsh group would form an XR symbol laying down in Trafalgar Square and then we would have a photograph... but as we were planning this [REDACTED] who has been speaking came through Trafalgar Square running and so we said oh look there's [REDACTED] he was meant to be joining our group for this photo so we ran after him and he then sat down at the end of Whitehall... and I saw some other friends there so I thought well I'll sit down with [REDACTED] and be supportive... so then that was when I was arrested again and then I was taken to Brixton station, that was very nice actually yeah they were very polite, the inspector even came in and said we're sorry for having to keep you for so long would you like something to read, the only thing he could find me to read was rubbish but anyway... anyway the interesting thing about that was afterwards each time... the first time I hadn't been able to speak to a solicitor, the first time in London because they were just so busy... the second time I had asked to speak to a solicitor and I never did, never spoke to a solicitor and when I got a letter from the solicitor afterwards because obviously my name had been passed on to her erm, she said she was really sorry she wasn't able to speak to me, she had phoned the police station but apparently I was too ill to come to the phone which was a complete lie... she was either protecting herself or the police were just lying about it... so that was my experience and I, I haven't been called back to court so I'm presuming it's all been sorted out now because of course it was all ruled as not a legal thing

R: Yeah so like each of the times you got arrested would you say the police response when they were actually physically dealing with you was professional or was it like friendly, what kind of response did you get?

P: It was professional but it certainly wasn't unfriendly... yeah, a little further story was actually that we were in Cardiff in July, and my husband who had been a legal observer at the time in Cardiff because nobody knew about legal observers particularly at that time we had to be well, well he was quite neutral but he was my husband (laughing) anyway my husband saw the inspector who arrested me in Cardiff and said said oh how are you doing and he said oh how's your wife and said oh I'm with you all the way but you know I'm paid so I, I can't... a lot of police on our side really but they can't show it... yeah I was treated really well, I couldn't complain at all

R: Good, good... and do you feel that each of the times you were arrested did you feel like they were justified reasons for getting arrested?

P: Yes, absolutely, I mean it was an intentional thing to get arrested, it was a conscious act of civil disobedience basically

R: Yeah, and did you intend to kind of get arrested before going to those events or was it something that on the day no this is something that is right for me?

P: Well... my background is philosophy apart from being a farmer as well but my qualification is in philosophy... so I do support civil disobedience when the government isn't doing what it's supposed to which is protect the people and as far as climate change is concerned they're just protecting themselves or their investments or lobbying or whatever it is... so I felt... completely justified and I have nothing to lose, I don't have a job I'm too old to yeah to stop me from going to the States or whatever, well I've never been to the States I don't mind I'm very happy staying at home, I'm quite happy with lockdown so I really have nothing lose and I have two grandchildren who live next door to us in [REDACTED] so I couldn't possibly not do anything I think

R: Yeah... do you feel like people like with kids or with particular jobs that have background checks, that that is something that might stop people from wanting to get arrested?

P: I think it might do yes I'm sure it would do, they have their livings to think about... whether they er (inaudible) your name, I think your motoring insurance goes up as well

R: Yeah, have you experienced any negative impacts from getting arrested at all?

P: No. But I live in a bubble, I have to say, I live in a small town and we do a lot of good things in the town as well, we don't hold people up in the town we live in

R: Good, good. And when you were erm getting arrested and stuff, what impact did you hope your arrest would have?

P: I wasn't really worried about the impact at the time, it was just going to be an arrest really, and I suppose within XR it's seen as a sort of tick box, you've done that bit

R: And do you think it's something that helps the cause

P: I think it does yes, I mean I'm very supportive of non-violent the point is the non-violent bit and being polite erm yes... and police they say things like, in fact the Brixton police said things like my goodness you know normally on a night like this it would have been a fight by now but you lot are all really good so they're quite happy to deal with us

R: Yeah and erm as well kind of... you say about obviously your grandchildren and things and the reasons you want to support the Extinction Rebellion cause, those kind of impacts you wanted to have, do you think you've achieved that through getting arrested, do you think that's had that positive impact and spread of awareness of environmental issues

P: Well I like to think so, I mean certainly from when we came from Oxford Circus from this time last year, it was on the back burner no one was talking about it, but when we came back from there the first thing I heard was money box live or something and they were saying this weeks edition we are going to be talking about renewable energy and getting your energy from a green source and I thought wow... I mean I saw that as a very small result... of course we don't know what's going to happen after coronavirus of course, it could be we don't have business as usual which would be wonderful but we don't know

R: Looking back at your three arrests months on, would you have done anything differently about your arrests either extending them, for example when you used the glue before or would you have not got arrested in the first place, is there anything you would have done differently?

P: Er well we we looked into having a lock on, I was part of a lock on in Martian Street first off but it was too wet and the police stayed home.. you know the most powerful bit actually was when we did a roadblock and the police came in and then all lined up along this banner and I was at the front of that and they did a big speech about oh you, your friends back their on Lambeth Bridge, someone has had an accident there and you're stopping them from coming through and that simply wasn't true, whenever we do any action with Extinction Rebellion, if we hear the sound of an ambulance we clear the road, there's absolutely no way and they're told in advance what we're going to do but anyway it's not like they don't know what we're going to do so we ignored them but actually just sitting there, looking at the ground whilst they were... speaking at us and telling us why we needed to move was

very powerful because nobody moved... and you know its just like we're brought up to be so obedient and to conform and it's kind of counter-intuitive with some of these things and we need to not conform

R: That's interesting. You've mentioned before about how you've not got many limitations and things in terms of getting arrested, do you think that other people in Extinction Rebellion, do you think that getting arrested is a strategy or technique is something that should be used more or is continued to be used, what's your view around that?

P: Well my view on that is that everybody contributes and I don't think you can lord one group of people over the other because actually we depended on people cooking, we depended on people bringing up toilets, we depended on people picking up the rubbish afterwards and nobody would be getting arrested if we weren't being supported in that way, I mean I was interviewed when I was laying in Trafalgar Square by somebody and I said XR is just like having a big hug, it is fantastically protective and supportive of all the people who are in it. And you know right now we're looking at all what we thought were these low-paid workers in the care homes and suddenly we realise these people hold other peoples lives, vulnerable frail, elderly lives in their hands... and we got it wrong, it's the billionaires who aren't doing anything its people who are putting their lives at risk, I'm not saying I've put my life at risk at all but I mean we put all these conventions you know, we want to be seen as an upright citizen and we see getting arrested as a dreadful like but you know I very much see it as what you do it for, and I think we need to recognise what we think is important as a society and stand up for it.

R: Yeah, and just one last question... in terms of public interaction, I know that's one of the key things that Extinction Rebellion are looking for because that's how you get awareness spread, do you think that the arrests have a positive or negative affect on the way that the public views XR as a whole?

P: It's difficult to know really, the people I've met, some of them have said you're doing a fantastic job we're with you, other people have taken leaflets and said yeah you're doing a good job and some people have said you know get a job.. or you know... you're a loser...it just depends, some people are very defensive some people are just frightened of thinking about climate change some people want to be defensive about it... erm, I mean there were two very elderly gentlemen, and I'm old but these were very old and they were sitting back on a seat in Cardiff and I went up to them to give them a leaflet and they said it's too late dear... it's too late... so they wanted to say that we're stuffed anyway you know... I would have thought they'd have gone oh what're you doing this is a silly waste of

time... but they didn't you know they had a very different reaction... so I don't think you can put people in boxes really... I mean some people would think why are they doing it but the arrests or the arrests are really to fill up the police stations the arrests are to irritate the police as much as anything and make them put money towards policing so that we have an impact on government the point is not really to upset the ordinary person in a street at all, it is just our three demands, one is to tell the truth about climate change and to act on it and then the peoples assembly as to what we do about it, it's not to piss people off going to work, obviously sometimes it does... but I don't see that as an aim I think our aim is to engage with people on the streets and to engage person to person.

R: Thank you so much, that's all my questions

P: Oh really

R: Yeah, thank you for participating it's been very interesting talking to you

P: Yeah I mean I think I've always been a bit of a rebel but then I was a teacher and then we've had an organic farm for 20 years which is where the environmental thing comes in, we're retired now... yes yeah I think you get to an age where you think I wonder what difference can I make, and it really doesn't matter what you do, I've got the books about being in prison and I've attended webinars on going to prison and I think... now I don't want to go to prison there's coronavirus! But I mean at the time it really and when the virus goes away, I don't think I have to much to lose because I don't think people would be that awful to me, I have quite a lot of faith in human nature really... so anyway... I can put on the old lady act... anyway... thank you this has been interesting... well it was nice to meet you and good luck

R: It was to nice to meet you too thank you, hope everything goes well for you and stay safe

P: Yeah and you yes, bye bye

R: Bye

## Appendix E: An Example of NVivo Codes

The screenshot displays the NVivo software interface. On the left, a 'Codes' list is shown with columns for Name, Files, and References. The main window shows a transcript with several lines of text, each preceded by a code label (R- or P-). The bottom status bar indicates 24 items, 15 references, and 21 read-only items.

Name	Files	References
Arrest	3	3
Change the Past	3	4
Elongating Arrest	3	5
Lack of Planning	3	4
Motivations	1	1
Environmental c	3	6
Grandchildren	2	4
Highlighting Cl	3	7
Perspectives on Arres	2	2
Public Awareness	3	7
Sentence	3	10
Training	3	3
Specialists	2	2
Formal Control	2	2
Citizenship	1	2
Economics	2	2

Transcript Participant 1 LP

R- Researcher

P- Participant

R- Hi

P- Hi Amy

R- Hiya, thank you for responding to my emails. I'm Amy, did you get a chance to read through the word document I sent you?

P- Yeah

R- Fabulous: I just basically need you to confirm that you've read through that and that you give your verbal consent to participate in the study.

P- Er, yep, I give my verbal consent to participate in the study

R- Perfect thank you. Er, are you alright? How are you doing?

P- (2) er ok, I feel like I'm just trying to adjust to daily life

R- Yeah, it's a bit of a nightmare at the moment isn't it. So basically, what I'm going to do, I've got six questions, erm, but it might be more if there's any kind of follow up questions to anything that you might say. I may also ask them if that's alright?

P- Yep

Code to: Change the Past (Codes\Arrest)

24 Items Codes: 15 References: 21 Read-Only Line: 14 Column: 94 100%