The road to rebellion: a qualitative study of social identity in climate change activism.

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Abstract:

Collective action is incumbent to avert the worst effects of climate change. This study takes a qualitative approach to investigate the motivations for engagement in climate change activism. Focusing on group dynamics and affective responses to climate change, interviews with eighteen participants reveal that anticipated guilt, sadness and anger are all salient emotions in the chosen context. Important factors eliciting these responses were the threat to future generations and the destruction of nature. These findings all appear to be underpinned by a moral obligation or personal responsibility to act. Moreover, distrust and anger regarding government inaction appear to propel individuals to take contentious forms of politics to achieve social change. It is argued that the personal goals and motivations of individuals may be the most crucial factors concerning engagement with collective climate change action.

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1.0 Introduction

Disadvantaged groups have challenged the status quo through political action to achieve social change (Taylor *et al.*, 1987; Weldon, 2011; Wright *et al.*, 1990). The tactics employed in these collective actions range from normative political processes to contentious, disruptive techniques (McAdam *et al.*, 2001). Today, the foremost social issue that faces humanity is anthropocentric climate change (IPCC, 2018; Ripple *et al.*, 2019). Scholars have called for more investigation to understand how solutions to climate change may be achieved through collective action (Bamberg *et al.*, 2018). The collective action literature has become well developed, yet less is known about the explanations around why individuals will decide to engage in collective efforts to address climate change. So far, there are four typical explanations provided through interdisciplinary research in the social sciences (e.g. van Zomeren, 2013). Individuals must identify with a social group, sense that the group may have success, experience negative affective responses to injustice, and feel that some moral principle has been violated. The predicament for scholars is to discover how these explanations fit with the unique challenge of climate change. The impacts of climate change are not uniformly distributed throughout society (Tvinnereim and Ivarsflaten, 2016), the perceived threat is often seen as temporally and spatially distal (Schuldt *et al.*, 2018), and its scale and complexity make it appear unsolvable (van Zomeren *et al.*, 2010).

The present study addresses a lacuna in the literature by taking a qualitative, more interpretive approach to most research in the field. The study focuses on individuals who have engaged in high/risk or high/cost climate change activism as members of climate change activist group Extinction Rebellion (XR). These individuals are a valuable group to study because they have dedicated time, effort and resources or engaged in contentious forms of politics. This study aims to understand the main social-psychological explanations for engagement in climate change activism. The research questions ask (1) *which emotional responses to climate change are most associated with participation in climate change activism?* (2) *how have group dynamics influenced participation in climate change activism?* The social identity approach is used as a platform on which to undertake this investigation because it is the most widely used and robust theoretical framework for understanding the main explanations of collective action (Thomas *et al.*, 2009; van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008).

2.0 Literature Review

Collective action refers to participation in any activity that intends to improve the conditions of the group (Wright *et al.*, 1990). Strategies include mass political actions and contentious, high-risk activism to individual-level actions such as petitioning and voting (Brady *et al.*, 1995; Klandermans, 1997). Many individuals dedicate time, effort and resources in social movements (high-cost activism). These actions manifest to achieve social change, which is incumbent in the context of climate change. This review focuses on collective action in response to calls that individualistic approaches to behaviour change are not fit to achieve the societal transformations needed to combat climate change (Bamberg *et al.*, 2018). There is a growing consensus between disciplines that there are four main explanations of how collective action will occur: efficacy, identification, emotions and moral motivations (van Zomeren, 2013). This has led to an "integrative phase" of research, whereby testable models of collective action have incorporated all these concepts. Nevertheless, there are calls for more qualitative (Livingstone, 2014) research innovation to compliment them (van Zomeren and Iyer, 2009). The purpose of this review is to give a broad depiction of collective action so that the present study may be understood in context. This chapter will first outline the main explanations of collective action before familiarising the reader with the most contemporary advances within the literature. The review will end by briefly addressing the gaps in the research. Where necessary, the collective action research will be contextualised with relevant theory regarding climate change.

2.1 The four main social psychological explanations of collective action

Efficacy

Despite early theories claiming crowds were irrational (Blumer, 1939; Le Bon, 1895), it has been found that individuals are likely to pursue collective action due to instrumental motives (Mummendey *et al.*, 1999; Olson, 1965; Simon *et al.*, 1998). Olson (1965) suggested that people will not engage if they will receive the rewards of collective efforts without their participation. In this vein, Klandermans (1984) outlines how the dilemma of collective action presents itself as a product of value-expectancy. He explains that the willingness to participate "is a function of the perceived costs and benefits for participants of involvement in that activity or action" (p.1). These developments suggested that belief increases confidence and mobilisation (Klandermans, 1997). This idea is now conceptualised as *collective efficacy* which is defined as "a group's shared belief in its conjoint capability to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given levels of attainment" (Bandura, 1997: 477). This assumption is supported by findings that collective efficacy is a strong predictor of collective action (Corcoran *et al.*, 2011; Hornsey *et al.*, 2006; Mummendey *et al.*, 1999). Therefore, a sense that "we can do this!" has been adopted by movement scholars as a solid foundation of collective action participation. Efficacy also relates to the type of collective action that people participate in. Contentious or high-risk forms of protest attract low efficacious people, while others may undertake more normative forms of protest (Tausch *et al.*, 2008; 2011). Importantly, individuals avoid problems perceived as beyond their control (Ozer and Bandura, 1990). In the case of climate change, scholars suggest that because it is a complex system of problems,

individuals may avoid addressing it (van Zomeren *et al.*, 2010). Similarly, science communication that frames climate change as unsolvable decrease efficacy and willingness to address it (Dickinson *et al.*, 2013).

Identification

The efficacy component indicated that groups are pursuing a value expectation. Therefore motivations are *group-based*, and the likelihood of participation relies on the extent that the individual identifies with a group (Blackwood and Louis, 2012). Identification has been most studied through the theoretical framework of the *social identity approach* (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) which postulates that once an individual self-categorises themselves as a member of a social group, they assimilate the values, norms and beliefs of that group (Fielding and Hornsey, 2016; Hornsey and Hogg, 2000). Their psychological self-concept turns from thinking in terms of "I" and "me" to "we" and "us" (Turner *et al.*, 1987). Collective action studies demonstrated that the more one identifies with a group involved in a struggle to address an issue, the more likely they are to participate in collective action (Simon *et al.*, 1998; van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008). Research has also demonstrated that strong identifiers will be more motivated by the superordinate goals of the group, while weaker identifiers may focus on individual-level costs and benefits (Louis *et al.*, 2004). Importantly, for action to occur, groups must become "politicised". Simon & Klandermans (2001) define politicised collective identity through the following process: "they engage as self-conscious group members in a power struggle on behalf of their group knowing that it is the more inclusive societal context in which this struggle has to be fought out" (p. 319). However, in the case of climate change activism, Saunders (2008) points out that activist groups within environmental movements cannot share an overall meaningful collective identity. In this sense, collective identity should be understood at the group level, not movement level.

Emotions

Initially, it was proposed that structural inequality between groups would lead to low-status groups challenging the status-quo (Blumer, 1939; Davies, 1962; Gurr, 1968; Olson, 1965). This notion led to the construct of relative deprivation (Crosby, 1976; Runciman and Runciman, 1966). These theorists demonstrated that collective action will only occur when individuals *perceive* a group-based injustice and that the injustice is deemed to be illegitimate or unfair (Kelly and Breinlinger, 1995). They also claimed that affective responses to injustice play a decisive role in rousing collective action. Initially, emotions were conflated with the notion that crowds were fuelled by primitive impulses (Le Bon, 1895; Smelser, 1962). Now they are understood as nuanced, adaptive strategies that are deployed to help an individual cope with their environment (Lazarus, 1991). The most pervasive emotion that prepares individuals for action is anger (van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004). Anger is an 'approach' emotion aimed at addressing a problem. It has been found that group-based anger systematically predicts willingness to participate in collective action and is attributed to those keeping them collectively disadvantaged (Miller *et al.*, 2009; Tausch, Nicole and Becker, 2013). Borders and Wiley (2019) found that those who blame others for their collective disadvantage are more likely to seek ways to address their situation collectively. Less is known about fear, but it is associated with avoidance tendencies (Devos *et al.*, 2002; Mackie *et al.*, 2000; Roseman, 1984).

However, fear may also be an emotional trigger that instigates actors to identify courses of action to rectify their circumstances (Barbalet, 1998). This response may be especially relevant in the context of climate change because the threat may initiate a response.

Sadness is related to withdrawal and avoidance (Crisp *et al.*, 2007; Lazarus, 1991; Miller *et al.*, 2009), and is associated with harm and loss (Abramson *et al.*, 1989; Clark and Beck, 2010). Surprisingly, there is scant attention to its role in collective action, although it has been attributed to a motivation to give up and withdraw (Smith, H. J., Conin, *et al.*, 2008). These adaptive strategies are intrinsically linked with efficacy; approach emotions usually correspond with high efficacy, while avoidance emotions can commonly be assigned to avoidance (Rudolph *et al.*, 2000). In a recent study that takes a qualitative approach to the feelings of climate change activists, Kleres and Wettergren (2017) reveal a complex mix of emotions. Fear of the threat climate change appeared to activate awareness, while hope seemed to override these fears and propel activists into action. Activists in the northern hemisphere rejected guilt and blame, while those from the south showed more anger towards power. This study demonstrates that emotions are both complex and tied to the cultural context. Guilt has also been associated with reparative behaviours (Schmitt *et al.*, 2008) and consequently is a crucial emotion in respect to climate change because of the need to right past endeavours (Bamberg *et al.*, 2015; Rees and Bamberg, 2014). Relatedly is the finding that individuals who anticipate guilt for future transgressions of their in-group may be moved to engage in political behaviour (Shepherd *et al.*, 2013).

Morals

Klandermans (1997) argued that violated moral principles result in moral outrage. Moreover, the strength of moral convictions seems to predict the likelihood of engagement (Mullen and Skitka, 2006). Much of the research on morals suggests that they are group-based. Therefore, certain groups are said to be defined by particular moral principles (e.g., anti-abortion) so must defend or attempt to reinstate them (Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009). Turner *et al.* (1987) argue that a group's moral standards are informed by the group's ideology, whereas individual morals are based on personal values. The assumption here is that morals operate distinctly at the individual and group level. The moral motivation can be broken into *moral norms*, *convictions* or *obligation* (Sabucedo *et al.*, 2018). The norm is traced to Schwartz's (1973) *personal norm* (a belief about whether a particular action should be performed), while moral conviction is underpinned by core beliefs about what is right or wrong (Skitka *et al.*, 2005). *Moral obligation* is defined as "a personal decision to participate in a specific collective action based on the belief that this is what should be done" (Vilas and Sabucedo, 2012, p. 371). The point here is that moral obligation is a *personal* motivation. The assertion being that the course of action must be followed regardless of the consequences (Johnson and Cureton, 2019). In reference to identity motivations, Leach *et al.* (2007) find that identification with an in-group is most strongly predicted by ascriptions of morality beside other factors. They argue that morality is the most critical characteristic that underpins positive evaluations of one's in-group.

2.2 Towards a more complete understanding of collective action

More than status

Most research on advantaged groups demonstrates that they are motivated to maintain or strengthen their position (Simon and Klandermans, 2001; Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Wright *et al.*, 1990). Leach *et al.* (2007) investigated the motivations behind Australian opposition to the government's plan to remedy Aboriginal disadvantage. In this case, the high-status group were driven to political action by racism, group-based anger and perceived relative deprivation. The findings demonstrate that affective injustice, identity and morality are all salient. Similarly, Postmes and Smith (2009) found that privileged groups may act to maintain oppression. Their study demonstrated that the disparity between structurally unequal groups becomes an in-group norm. The in-group is, therefore motivated to uphold and defend the status quo. It has been shown that these groups may act if they come to see their own group's advantage as unfair or illegitimate (Iyer *et al.*, 2007). Moreover, the willingness to take political action is more likely if in-group members experience sympathy or guilt. Individuals desire to recompense or help the disadvantaged (Harth *et al.*, 2008). These ideas of justice relate back to morals which have led to van Zomeren (2013) suggesting that moral motivations may have the potential to unite the disadvantaged and advantaged in a collective struggle. It may be then that climate change activism may have universal attraction if specific moral codes are broken.

More than pre-existing social boundaries, collective action may be based on superordinate groups that are united by their shared opinion. *Opinion-based groups* are social groups whose stances of issues are a defining part of their social identity and therefore are a better predictor than other models of political action (Bliuc *et al.*, 2007). The work on opinion-based groups draws from Lewins (1947) research that shows that interaction and *consensualising* influence attitudes and behaviour. The interaction of group members brings consensus on an issue, aligns their norms and strengthens the groups' identification and action potential. Emotions are inherent within opinion-based groups because it is often anger at oppositional forces that define and enhance group identities. A salient example is the finding that climate change "believers" and "sceptics" likelihood to take political actions is substantially influenced by their anger towards each other (Bliuc *et al.*, 2015).

Another useful area to the current topic is the idea that an individual's connectedness to nature will impact upon their pro-environmental behaviour (e.g. Restall and Conrad, 2015). This phenomenon has been explored in individual contexts relating to pro-environmental behaviour (Fielding and Hornsey, 2016; Fritzsche *et al.*, 2018) but has only recently gained the attention of scholarly work on environmental activism. This area seems important considering environmental identification may increase people's sense of moral obligation and increase how seriously they consider environmental threats (Frantz and Mayer, 2014). Schmitt *et al.* (2008) address this "under-theorized and under-researched" area by applying these principles to collective action. They find more robust support for activists becoming members due to a politicised collective environmental identity rather than identification with nature. They argue that a more substantial explanation for activism in the context of climate change is the extent to which they identify with human categories promoting systemic change and not how much they identify with nature.

Integration

Previous models (e.g. Klandermans, 1997; Mummendy *et al.*, 1999; Sturmer and Simon, 2004) have moved forward the understanding of collective action. Most have focused on identification and efficacy as the main routes. Sturmer and Simon (2004) found a high predictive value of their dual-pathway model, which conceptualises instrumentality and identity as separately operating routes. However, it was not until van Zomeren *et al.* (2008) introduced their *social identity of collective action* (SIMCA) that a more cohesive understanding was achieved. SIMCA is the fruit of a meta-analysis of protest studies and outperforms former models. It contains affective injustice, efficacy and identity variables. Importantly, shared identification leads to shared anger and efficacy beliefs. Thomas *et al.* (2012) used SIMCA as a basis to test their model, which is based on the theory behind opinion-based groups. While they include the same variables, they reason that there is a different causal order. In presenting their model (*encapsulation model of social identity in collective action*), they argue that identification is the product of group-based emotions and collective efficacy. Therefore, identification strengthens and encapsulates affect and efficacy, which readies individuals for action. Further iterations of the SIMCA include moral motivations and politicised identification as a "joint core" whereby moral convictions and group morality initiate group anger (van Zomeren *et al.*, 2018). The identity component becomes more nuanced by referring to *identity content*, which relates to what the identity means and "what matters most". Notably, individuals who see a fit between their personal identity (idiosyncratic attributes and values) and a specific social identity will be more likely to engage in a collective struggle. The point of interest here is that identification with a movement or group may come second to more personal variables. van Zomeren *et al.* (2008) states that "it may not necessarily be social identity or identification per se that prepares people for collective action, but rather the content of social identity." (p.552). Again, it is apparent that the importance of morals and personal attributes have been somewhat overlooked. Similarly, Sabucedo *et al.* (2019) focus on morality in their axiological-identitary model. They place moral obligation at the core, which they show to have stronger effect sizes than SIMCA (especially in the case of non-normative protest). These developments further demonstrate that value orientations are intrinsic to identity processes.

What's missing?

In this literature review, it has become clear that the primary modus operandi of scholars within the social identity approach lies in quantitative methodologies. These approaches have contributed a great deal. Still, scholars suggest that more innovative, interdisciplinary approaches will complement our understanding further and that we should not just test the same models in different contexts (van Zomeren, 2013). Livingstone makes the call for "qualitative transformations as well as quantitative change" (2014: 1), arguing that quantitative variables do not explain the *when* and *why* collective action occurs. He states that qualitative research is needed to understand the points of change within and between individuals and interacting groups. The few relevant studies have focused on the psychological transformations that occur from activism (Drury and Reicher, 1999, 2005, 2009). These studies demonstrate how individuals become empowered through the course of action, which drives further participation. Similarly, Stott and Reicher (2011) make a case for more study of psychological factors such as illegitimacy, threat and anger.

However, their focus is upon localised events, such as how the inter-group context between police and protestors will impact upon crowd behaviour. Perhaps what is more surprising is the lack of qualitative research on emotions in the current context. Kleres and Wetten argue that qualitative methods are more suited to the study of emotion because "the articulation of emotion words in interviews is often accompanied by reflection on their accurateness/meaning and possible relation to other emotions" (2017: 511). Indeed, if the aim is to understand how affective responses to climate change fit with the other intertwined components of collective action, qualitative research has its place.

Climate change activism is surprisingly uncommon, considering the threat that is posed (McAdam, 2017). Unsurprisingly then, it has attracted little attention from scholars. Roser-Renouf's *et al.* (2014) addresses this in their social-cognitive study. They find that opinion leaders (people with social influence) can encourage climate activism engagement through communication and awareness-raising. While opinion leaders are not a prominent component of the social identity approach, it is related to the idea that prototypical group leaders are influential (van Knippenberg and Hogg, 2003). Similarly, studies focusing on the identity motives around appraisals of climate change information have found that messages from in-group elites are positively associated with acceptance of climate change and its related policy (e.g., Druckman and McGrath, 2019).

In sum, this literature review has painted the underpinnings of collective action in broad strokes to provide a theoretical platform to understand climate change activism. It appears that efficacy, identity, emotions, and morals are entwined and pose an exciting prospect concerning climate change. The next chapter will outline the methodology employed in this study.

3.0 Methodology

Research design and approach

Consistent with the assertions of Patton (2014), a qualitative research design was selected on the basis that was most appropriated for the research questions. The methodological perspective following a post-positivist approach, where the participant's experience is the reference point to understand their socially constructed realities (Schwartz, H. and Jacobs, 1979). The data collection for the study comprised of two phases, a survey instrument to recruit an appropriate sample followed by semi-structured interviews. The focus of the investigation centred on members of Extinction Rebellion (XR). These individuals were deemed suitable due to their history of engagement in mass non-violent civil disobedience direct actions, thus exhibiting a high threshold of commitment to address climate change. Data collection ran from late April to June 2020 throughout the Peak of COVID-19 pandemic and lockdown in the UK. The pandemic limited how data could be collected because XR group meetings were in hiatus, and face-to-face interviews were not safe or practically possible.

3.1 Survey and sampling

Four XR groups in South West England were identified to be approached for sampling recruitment on the grounds of local convenience and available contacts. Multiple groups were chosen to maximise the potential range of behaviours and to ensure an adequate sample size was achieved. A participant information sheet was disseminated through the e-mailing lists of all groups. A snowball method was employed midway through the sampling stage, whereby interview participants were asked to recruit other suitable participants. This method was convenient for recruiting additional participants when it appeared that a sufficient sample would not be reached (Bryman, 2016).

Recruitment criteria

The following criteria had to be met for participants to be included in the second stage of the study.

- Affiliate themselves as members of XR and a town group.
- Had engaged in high-risk (HR) or high-cost (HC) activism.

The survey functioned as a generic purposive sampling device. All participants completed the survey before being invited to the second phase of the study. The survey included a self-report questionnaire inspired by Corning and Myers' (2013) *activism orientation scale* to ascertain engagement in HR/HC activism. The underpinnings of classifications of type of behaviour were drawn from the literature (e.g., Klandermans, 1997). The purpose of this questionnaire was to exclude participants who had not engaged in a high threshold of activist behaviour such as petitioning.

The questionnaire consisted of 14 closed-ended items relating to HR (7) or HC activism (7) in a randomised order to combat order effects. Questions followed from the heading question "*Please answer the following as they apply to you. During your time as a member of XR, have you...*", for example, "*Engaged in a demonstration in which you suspect there would be a confrontation with the police or possible arrest?*" or "*Taken up a role or position of responsibility within Extinction Rebellion?*". An additional question asked participants to indicate if they had arrested for any activities undertaken with XR.

3.2 Interviews

Participants and interview protocol

Nineteen participants completed the survey, of which eighteen (16 female, 2 male) met the criteria. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as a flexible method of exploring the participants the present phenomena through the participant's experience (Rabionet, 2011). Following the guidelines of Bryman (2016), the protocol was designed to facilitate the participants to tell their individual stories regarding their route to climate change activism. It also allowed for questions that would elicit responses directly relating to the research questions. The protocol was tested and amended during a pilot phase of four trial interviews before making minor amendments during the interview phase of the study.

The questions consisted of both bespoke and adapted from relevant literature relating to social identity and collective action. Questions worded to elicit responses relating to shared identification were influenced by Drury and Reicher's (2005) study on crowd behaviour, for example, *"Are you able to describe the members of your local group and what you feel you have in common?"*.

Questions were delivered to elicit responses regarding the topic and then to probe for a more nuanced understanding of the phenomena. An example being: *"In a general sense, do you feel that Extinction Rebellion will be successful?"*. This question would be followed by a question regarding their efficacy beliefs, e.g., *"You sound quite pessimistic about the future, why are you still motivated to engage in activism?"*.

Introductory questions such as *"Can you walk me through how you became involved with Extinction Rebellion?"* were designed to build rapport and pave the way for more profound probing questions. Moreover, these questions allowed participants to explore their own experiences without being inhibited by more reductive queries. The number of questions ranged from 12-15 main questions depending on the survey respondents; for example, participants who did not attend regular meetings would not be posed with questions regarding their experience at meetings.

Procedure & materials

Audio interviews were conducted using either mobile, landline, WhatsApp, or Zoom. All interviews were recorded using an Olympus dictaphone. The length ranged from 33 to 87 minutes, which totalled 987 minutes of data. The recordings were manually transcribed in "clean verbatim" to remove extraneous filler words using a transcription foot pedal. The wording of the transcription was kept close to perfect alignment with the audio recordings. Filler words that were deemed to aid the context of the data were kept in situ.

3.3 Analysis

Following on from the post-positivist assumption that the research and the analyst cannot be separated, a reflexive approach was undertaken. The researcher was cognisant that engagement with theoretical social identity literature may skew the analysis (Hardy *et al.*, 2001; Nightingale and Cromby, 1999). Interviews were analysed using an inductive approach drawn from techniques based on thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) and interpretative phenomenological analysis (e.g., Willig, 2013). The starting point for the analysis was Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-stage guide to thematic analysis, which posits the flexibility

of the approach and the appropriateness of identifying both semantic (explicit) and latent (interpretative) codes. However, the present approach most readily reflects the analytical techniques employed in Drury and Reicher's (2005) study on collective action and psychological outcomes. The authors describe the techniques employed within their study as interpretative but approached with certain research question mind. It is situated between content analysis (top-down) and grounded theory (bottom-up).

Transcripts were analysed using NVivo 12. Several hundred initial codes were generated. Usually, entire paragraphs were coded so that context was not removed. After that, all codes were reviewed and categorised into twelve separate categories broadly related to the phenomena of interest, i.e., "groupness", "emotions", or "who are XR?". From here the codes were continually reviewed and refined and redistributed into developing themes, before beginning to finalise themes and reviewing the source texts. Quantitative analysis of the codes was not undertaken. However, the prevalence of codes was influenced by reviewing how often codes arose and to what extent they were found across the data corpus. In respect prevalence, the analytic approach follows Braun & Clarke's suggestion that the 'keyness' of a theme is founded upon the idea that it "captures something important in relation to the research question" (2006: 10) and not necessarily how quantifiable in terms of its occurrence across the data set.

4.0 Findings

The research questions focused on group dynamics and emotions. This chapter presents the most salient findings concerning these questions in the form of mini themes derived from the data analysis. Each theme is presented with the addition of selected codes within a table. Within the table 'n' refers to the number of instances that code arose across the data corpus, while '%' indicates the proportion of interviews where the code appeared. The findings from the survey are briefly presented at the front end of this chapter to complement the qualitative data.

The following themes will be presented:

From efficacy to pessimism: Early optimism faded into widespread pessimism that climate change would not be averted.

Nature & sadness: Sadness was a primary emotion experienced by the participants, often related to the destruction of nature.

Guilt and the next generation: The leading group that motivated action was the next generation due to the anticipation of guilt.

Moral obligation and stoicism: The desire to participate in climate activism was underpinned by moral obligation.

Anger, frustration and illegitimacy: Anger was experienced by participants, usually directed toward governments and power structures.

4.1 Survey

The survey was primarily used as a recruitment device to acquire a varied sample that met the criteria of the project. Eighteen participants (2 male, 16 female) with a mean age of 57 were acquired. All participants had engaged in HR and HC climate change activism. Four participants confirmed that they had been arrested for activities undertaken with XR. Ten were employed, seven were retired, and there was one student. Table 1 highlights data from the survey responses.

Table 1.
Survey results overview

n	Male	Female	Mean age	Mean Risk	Mean Cost	Arrested	Employed	Retired	Student
18	2	16	57 (23-77)	3.5	3.5	4	10	7	1

Note. See appendix for a detailed overview of survey results.

4.2 Themes

From optimism to pessimism

Retrospective accounts revealed their experiences of when they first heard about XR to the point of interview. The backdrop to this can be captured by XR's perceived success during their initial mass actions in October 2018 and April 2019 when they occupied major sites in London and gained widespread media attention. However, the 'rebellion' in October 2019 was deemed less successful and failed to make major headlines in the UK press.

Table 2
From optimism to pessimism

Code	<i>n</i>	%
Initial efficacy	37	78
Opinion leader support	31	61

Reports from participants revealed their sense of efficacy in the early stages of their engagement. This efficacy appeared to be the result of the contentious tactics employed by XR, which seemed to differentiate them from other SMOs as "the best option":

...I thought "yeah, we are going to make some impact this way", and then a local group started, and I immediately thought "thank goodness something has come along, an action that really might be doing something active and impactful". (P5)

The accounts by P5 and others highlight that collective efficacy was derived from the public nature of the actions which seem to instil belief through their powerful and symbolic nature. This idea was most supported by the legitimisation of the movement (and actions) from opinion leaders. Participants most frequently cited Greta Thunberg, David Attenborough or George Monbiot. The efficacy that was derived from these figures was usually in terms of climate action broadly (i.e. the need to fight it), or specific endorsements of what XR was doing. P8 relays how his early caution was superseded by opinion leader influence:

The fact that it had been picked up by George Monbiot, there seems to be some gravitas, some intellectual rigour, so at that point I was like "what are they doing in my area?" [...] and they seem to have some science to back it up and it was science that I recognised. (P8)

Despite their retrospective optimism, when the participants described their current outlook, they were less optimistic. Sixteen participants clearly stated that it was too late for the worst effects of climate change to be averted. There was a general sense of antipathy which seemed tied to their experiences during the October Rebellion in 2019, and the failure to force the government to address climate change. Below, P10 articulates how hope faded but how she is still motivated to continue her engagement:

...maybe there was that sense after April that "look what we can do". When I went to rebellion in October I had very little of that, and I think that I felt that it doesn't really matter how successful we just have to do this thing anyway. (P10)

These findings add context to the following themes which relate to the factors that seem to sustain participation.

Nature and Sadness

Several different emotions were described by the participants, including fear, anger, despair, guilt and hope. However, the emotion that was most reflected responses to climate change was sadness. Many participants described themselves as 'grieving', 'depressed' or 'devastated' due to the impact that climate change has had or will have upon the planet.

Table 3
Nature & sadness

Code	<i>n</i>	%
Previous ESMO affiliation	28	83
Nature connected	19	61
Sadness & grief	16	56
ACC experience	5	22

Central to this affect was the loss or damage to nature. Participants described the "trashing" or "destruction" of nature frequently. A participant who described her primary emotion as sadness, explains why:

...because it's such a damn shame, because it is such a stupid, mindless, waste. [...] I'm not sure which is the strongest bit of sadness, but it's partly because the sort of beauty of nature is trashed and partly the effect it has on people, and I'm not sure which is most important, they are both linked anyway. (P11)

In consideration of these findings, other participant characteristics become relevant. The most shared characteristics that were identified in the analysis were that most participants had been members of other environmental organisations or described themselves in terms that related to being connected with nature. All the participants who had been affiliated with other environmental organisations cited membership with Friends of the earth or Greenpeace. This finding demonstrates a long-standing commitment to tackling environmental issues and not just climate change. In terms of nature connectedness, participants often described "loving nature", or "being a part of nature". P10 elucidates this:

...we know that we are losing it and we are hurting it, and a part of that grief is about going through that, and that is what I notice in groups is that from feeling that utter love and grief or the pain, and the possible pain to come there is a huge sense of connection that people have to nature, to the planet and to each other, because these are things that we all share together. (P10)

These responses were often self-determined. Participants were asked to think about who or what comes to mind when they consider the impacts of climate change or to describe their groups shared characteristics. In a succinct response that encapsulates these findings, P18 responds: "plants, trees, the sea, the air, the people... perhaps in that order". Like others, P11 followed on to personify elements of nature and empathise with the pain that is caused to nature from climate change.

Guilt and the next generation

Table 4
Guilt & the next generation

Code	<i>n</i>	%
Anticipated guilt	18	44
<i>Intergenerational</i>	(28)	(78)
Children & grandchildren	18	11
The next generation	16	9

A pervasive emotion that seemed to mobilise many activists was anticipated guilt. Rather than ascribing guilt for past endeavours, the participants feared the psychological consequences of inaction. Below highlights this phenomenon:

I'll feel guilty about it when I die kind of thing. (P11)

I just didn't want to be guilty of inaction... (P12)

...I think it's kind of not feeling guilty for not having acted. (P14)

The primary motivator for this action appeared to be related to the next generation. Slightly more frequently, individuals reported acting in the interests of their family members ahead of the next generation (children or grandchildren) more broadly. On a few occasions, participants would describe their own family and the next generation in general terms, however, in the context of interview questions, participants seemed to prioritise their own family when considering the groups or things that they were acting in the interests of:

Ultimately my own family firstly, but also all the other children of that age who are going to suffer [...] so obviously first and foremost it's my own, I don't think that is selfish, but it is going to be all the other children that age [...] because they are gonna be left with a shit planet. (P17)

Moral obligation and stoicism

This theme captures the participants' moral obligation to undertake collective action. It is closely associated with the previous theme. Anticipated guilt appeared to stem from a need to "do the right thing", which was most prevalent concerning the next generation.

Table 5
Moral obligation and stoicism

Code	<i>n</i>	%
Moral obligation	48	72
Stoicism	21	38

Even when faced with failure, the activists exhibited sentiment that there was no choice. This sentiment was presented in terms such as "I have to" or "I can't not" do something. Notably, the activists were more burdened with a personal, rather than a collective responsibility to act. Another contributing factor to continued participation was the finding that participants exhibited a stoic response to the threat. In several

cases, the activists accepted their perceived fate but managed their emotions by acceptance and engaging in activism. This morally motivated behaviour resulted in more an accepting and contented existence. P8 captured this sentiment when he described himself going "from outcome goal to process goal". Below, P1 encapsulates several critical aspects of this theme:

It's... at some stage I need to be able to talk to my grandchildren and say "look, we completely messed this up, I'm really sorry, but I have been trying to put it right". Personally, at my four o'clock in the morning moments, I think we haven't got a hope in hell of stopping some of the worst effects of climate change, not a hope in hell, and I'm utterly pessimistic about it. Obviously I can't be like that in meetings and things, we have to be very positive, so the way I look at it, in almost a kind of medieval way where we are a castle under siege, we are all going to lose our lives, so what do I do? Sit in a corner and weep? which is very easy to do, or do I put on a shield and take my sword and go into battle? (P1)

Anger, frustration and illegitimacy

Anger was identified most in responses following questions about the government. It was closely related to feelings of distrust and contempt for the government and frustration over inaction. These findings fed into a narrative of political illegitimacy and cynicism which appeared to be positioned as an antecedent to pursuing contentious forms of politics.

Table 6
Anger, frustration and illegitimacy

Code	<i>n</i>	%
Government	42	83
Banks and corps	17	44
Anger	18	50

The illegitimacy of the government was captured by derogatory remarks such as Boris Johnson being labelled a "bumbling clown" (P13), or the UK government be presented as a "global villain" or "legal gangsters" (P4). However, what was most frequent was feelings of distrust:

Well I don't trust them and inch basically, because I think they are very good at kind of dodging issues [... *they*] slip more unsavoury projects under the carpet, while no-one is looking... (P3)

P3 not only points to inaction but purposeful neglect. In this vein, the government was not just ignorant or incompetent. They were perceived to be not acting in the interests of their electorate. Participants exhibited angry or frustrated sentiment toward the government, for example:

... there's some anger in there, which is a result of frustration that governments and people with the power are not paying attention to what the need to be paying attention to... (P13)

This sentiment fed into a broader narrative of suspicion about power structures. Banks, corporations and the media were mentioned. Some participants pointed to unsavoury relationships or collusion between the government and corporations, which therefore delegitimised the government and the political process. Most participants explained that in conjunction with being affiliates with environmental movements previously, they had also pursued normative politics such as petitions or voting. However, many had

become frustrated with these failed approaches. The vast majority had not engaged in contentious politics previously. However, the exhaustion of normative politics seemed to pave the way for more radical forms of action:

P9: Having tried democratic processes all my life, I think putting your person on the line is the only thing...not the only thing, it has to be done in conjunction with all the other, but it has got to the point... we're all fucked unless we change things, so if a few of us are fucked in the meantime by being arrested... there's a big cost to being arrested, some of us are older so we're not going to lose jobs or influence.

P9 points to the necessity for risky action in the face of the threat of climate change. The survey can further inform these thoughts on the relevant nature of risk and personal circumstances. Many participants were retired or nearing retirement age, therefore having fewer personal constraints to pursue these actions. The next chapter will discuss these findings in the context of the research questions and the broader literature.

5.0 Discussion

This study sought to discover how emotional responses to climate change and group dynamics influenced participation in climate change activism. The primary emotions identified in this study were sadness, guilt, and anger. In terms of group dynamics, participants were driven to protect future generations from the impact of climate change, had a shared connectedness to nature, and were influenced by prominent ingroup elites. There was less evidence that supported the idea that the participants strongly identified with the organisation (XR). However, the findings appeared to show that collective efficacy was apparent at the early stages of mobilisation. Therefore, this fits with the idea that individuals will join social movements to influence society, politics or to elevate their identity through membership of an admired group (Klandermans, 1984). In this sense, the present study takes the stance that the participants were using the organisation as the best way to achieve personal goals, i.e. protecting family members and avoiding guilt. This idea assumes that personal morals and goals primarily drove the activists. It is acknowledged that this is a simplification in some regards, but in terms of a take-home message, the personal dimensions appear more relevant. This chapter will discuss some of the critical findings while placing them in context with the broader literature.

Opinion Leaders

Opinion leaders were found to have some persuasive or legitimising influence on the participants, yet they only appeared as periphery in the collective action literature. Roser-Renouf *et al.* (2014) demonstrated that opinion leadership increased the likelihood to engage in climate change activism. While still relevant, their study focuses on localised networks, stating that interpersonal communication should be encouraged to spread climate change awareness. It seems applicable that the activists in the present study frequently spoke about high-profile individuals. These individuals could be deemed as prototypical group members, i.e. because they were trustworthy individuals who were environmentally orientated. This notion is consistent with the idea that messages from high profile ingroup member (elite cues) can spread influence on climate change issues and increase acceptance of climate change and policy. David Attenborough was one such opinion leader who was remarked upon many times. This finding may be intertextually related to the so-called “Attenborough Effect” which was credited for increasing interest in plastic recycling (Haynes-Worthington, 2018) and decreased plastic pollution (Global Citizen, 2019). It seems that this effect is compatible with climate change because the individuals who were most remarked upon were either notable activists or respected media personalities or journalists. Social identity research suggests that because responses to climate change are heavily linked to identity, it is of paramount interest to policymakers. Fielding *et al.* (2020) follow a vast array of political identity research in their study which shows that both democrats and republicans show stronger inclinations to engage in climate change policy supportive behaviour when ingroup elites endorse the message. It appears that in the current context, the work on opinion leadership deserves more attention.

Future generations

A key finding in this study was that the activist’s propensity to address climate change to protect their children and grandchildren. It was suggested earlier that the activists might sense less direct identification with the organisation, but share underlying values. These notions would be consistent with the idea that “low identifiers” pursue activism to achieve individual goals (Louis *et al.*, 2004). Naturally, individuals

will seek to protect their own first, so this is not surprising and should be considered in conjunction that there was also a prevalence for supporting the next generation broadly. Other research indicates that focusing on legacies and future generations can promote more environmentally conscious behaviour (Wade-Benzoni *et al.*, 2012) and reduce future discounting (Jacquet *et al.*, 2013; Sunstein and Rowell, 2007). These studies clearly resonate with the present study because they have shown that increasing identification between generations may have an impact individual attitude. Therefore, policymakers may find success in highlighting the impacts to the next generation, with people's own family members at the fore. These ideas are supported by the finding that participants acknowledged a sense of anticipated guilt about the prospect of inaction. This guilt appeared to be intrinsically related to a sense of moral obligation because it seemed that there was an urgency to behave in a manner in which they felt content. Again, this feeds back to the idea that the connotations of action or inaction are implicit and are substantially influenced by personal motivations.

Moral Obligation

In the literature review, Vilas and Sabucedo's (2012) defined moral obligation as an incumbent personal decision. The 'personal' is salient here because the participants mainly used pronouns referring to self while referencing obligatory behaviour. This obligation goes some way to explain the continued participation of activists when efficacy beliefs appeared to be diminishing. This phenomenon would back up the theoretical underpinnings of moral obligation, which can be traced to Kant's *categorical imperative*; a principle must be followed regardless of the consequences (Johnson and Cureton, 2017). In the circumstances of diminished hope, therefore, morals seem to sustain participation. The moral component is also concordant with Sabucedo *et al.* (2019) axiological-identity model. Moral obligation was found to be a fundamental predictor of protest, especially the more contentious forms. Furthermore, van Zomeren *et al.* (2018) suggested that morals are an integral component of action and that it may not be identification with a movement but the content of identity that moves individuals to be mobilised. In this regard, the present findings are consistent and complementary to emergent identity research that seems to place moral motivations front and centre of collective action participation.

Guilt

The thematic analysis revealed that guilt was a key emotion that influenced participation. It was shown that the guilt was not necessarily an emotion that was being experienced, rather the activists were taking action due to the prospect of experiencing it due to inaction. These findings are both consistent and contrast with the current research in the field. Previously, guilt has been an emotion related to climate change or a willingness to act due to an in-group transgression. These findings usually related to need repair past actions (Rees and Bamberg, 2014), or in the anticipation that one's in-group's may behave in a way that is not favourable to the individual (Shepherd *et al.*, 2013). What is flagged up here is that the activists were acting out a personal responsibility and individually anticipated guilt. This contrasts with the social identity literature that is usually founded on *group-based* emotions. These are emotions that reflect what the rest of the group feels (Goldenberg *et al.*, 2014), or result from the process of identification or categorisation with a social group (Mackie and Smith, 2017).

It was shown earlier that some studies posit that the process of group interaction increases the salience of shared emotions between group members (Thomas *et al.*, 2012). There is little evidence of that here

however, therefore it may be more important to focus on the consequences of these emotions or what Fridja (2004) labels “predictive cognitions”. In the Shepherd *et al.* (2013) study, group-based anticipated shame elicited action. However, they pose that the extent of guilt may pivot on the distance between the individual and the group-transgression. It seems here that the transgression is based on the idea of not developing strategies to address the problem. This returns us to the idea that, while an individual and a movement need to be compatible, it is not necessarily the sharedness of emotions that instigates mobilisation. Instead, individuals and their personal affective responses to injustice move individuals to seek mechanisms to fix the problem. This seems especially relevant in the context of climate change because group status or social boundaries, at least in the UK, might be less critical. However, the literature may need to pay more attention to the varying versions of guilt. Kleres *et al.* (2017) found that guilt was more appropriate in northern rather than southern cultures due to the attribution of responsibility and the closeness of threat. However, this again relates to ingroup (nation) transgressions, not individually orientated anticipated emotions. This is being said, focusing more closely on guilt, instead of group-based anger may be a rewarding avenue to take. Moreover, looking at how guilt and morals are related in the current context may be salient because the guilt component seemed intrinsically related to ascriptions of personal responsibility.

Nature

Loss or harm to nature was cited as a cause for sadness and negative affect. In terms of identity processes, this is relevant to the present study because it relates to an individual’s identification with nature but also shared values. Studies had investigated how nature identification may be associated with pro-environmental behaviour (e.g. Restall and Conrad, 2015) and more recently, collective environmental action (Schmitt *et al.*, 2019). Salient characteristics of the participants in the present study were their “oneness with nature” or previous commitments to environmental organisations. Schmitt *et al.* (2019) found that identification with nature was non-significant concerning environmental activism. However, strong effects were found between politicised environmental identity and environmental activism. In the present study, identification with nature may function to predispose individuals to address environmental threats. This presumption is consistent with the social movement literature that postulates individuals will be more likely to become engaged if they share the same ideological background (Klandermans, 1997). This motivation functions simultaneously with the need for politicised collective identification (Simon and Klandermans, 2001). The activists in the present study relate to both components because nature is an integral part of their personal identity and they have become politicised through awareness of the struggle to address the issue.

It was remarked upon earlier that it may be that engagement in collective action is facilitated by XR not driven by it. Nevertheless, if the findings on morals and connection with nature are situated at the fore, the overlooked work on identity content becomes apparent. In this case, it may be crucial that there was a normative fit between the activists' moral beliefs and nature-based identity. van Zomeren *et al.* (2018) argues that collective action participants are *moralised* and politicised. They are motivated to act on “who they are” and “what they are will not stand for”. As such, many activists in the present study are motivated by environmental issues who will not stand for the destruction of nature or allowing future generations to be left unprotected. This argument is perhaps a simplification, other views regarding social justice and

equity were observed. In several cases, climate change was not just seen as an environmental problem but a complex interconnected issue.

Sadness

The damage to nature and wildlife elicited sadness among many of the participants, which is consistent with the broad understanding of sadness within the literature (Abramson *et al.*, 1989; Clark and Beck, 2010). Sadness has previously been associated as an avoidance emotion (Lazarus, 1991) and is usually a response to an expectation that the situation will get worse (Smith *et al.*, 2008). These findings pair sadness with low efficacy beliefs, which fits with the findings in the present study. However, the participants were not withdrawing from taking action, which contrasts with previous studies (e.g. Crisp *et al.*, 2007; Miller *et al.*, 2009). These findings present a puzzlement for understanding emotion in the current context. Interestingly, only four participants recalled events of the first-hand experience of the effects of climate change (in other countries). A cautious suggestion could be made that distance to the harm and loss of the object may moderate the experience of a given emotion (as was described with guilt). Therefore, the intrusion of sadness upon behaviour may be related to its acuteness.

The adaptive strategies that have been described by Lazarus (1991) and others are also relevant here. van Zomeren *et al.* (2010) suggested that climate change should be associated with emotional-focused coping due to its scale, complexity and uncontrollable nature. Specifically, fear of the threat of climate change results in an unusual response where fear motivates efforts to ameliorate future impacts. In the present context, this may well be harmonious. However, a weakness of this study is that the interviews spanned retrospective accounts and so did capture in-depth responses about the time of initial engagement. If emotional responses are intrinsically related to efficacy, then it is sensible to suggest that fear and efficacy may have been reduced to sadness and pessimism throughout the life course of their engagement. This idea is supported by the peripheral finding that fear was related to engagement with science at the point of the first contact with XR. While this further supports the notion that fear may be a trigger to act (Barbalet, 1998), it is unfortunate that the data does not allow for a more expansive exploration.

Another proposition is that sadness in this context may indicate a type of acceptance. Negative emotions have been found to have different effects on unrealistic expectations (Langer, 1975). Studies focusing on the difference between depressed and non-depressed people find that depressed individuals may be “sadder but wiser” in the way they are unlikely to overestimate their control (Martin *et al.*, 1984). Here it may be appropriate to return to the fundamentals of appraisal theory (Lazarus, 1991; Smith, 1993). Smith and Mackie state that “emotions motivate coping processes aimed at regulating the person’s relation to the social environment” (2015: 352). It may be that sadness signals acceptance of loss and agency over the problem. This hypothesis is supported by the participants who demonstrated “stoicism”. Marcus Aurelius (meditations) remarked that “if you are distressed by anything external, the pain is not due to the thing itself, but to your estimate of it; and this you have the power to revoke at any moment”. In this sense, the uncertainty and uncontrollability of climate change may lend itself to more stoic adaptive strategies. Without diverging too far, it also relates to psychological interventions that use acceptance and mindfulness in conjunction with behaviour change strategies to increase psychological flexibility (e.g. Hayes *et al.* 2009). The commitment in the present context is for the activists to pursue behaviour that is moral and conducive to their wellbeing.

Anger and frustration.

Anger was a salient emotion directed towards government, banks and corporations. However, it was entangled with frustration and closely associated with distrust. The findings signalled that the government had become illegitimate to the participants, who then chose to pursue non-normative politics. Anger is an emotion that usually requires an out-group to blame (Scherer *et al.*, 2001). Interestingly, van Zomeren (2010) states that in the context of climate change, a clear culprit to attribute responsibility to tends to be absent. However, there was blame in the present study as a result of inaction. It tends to be seen that frustration precedes anger. The seminal theory of *frustration-aggression* puts simply that “frustration always leads to some form of aggression” (Dollard *et al.*, 1939: 1). In this case, it seems that frustration with government inaction and distrust of their motives have pushed the participants into radical behaviour. It appears to have played a role in leading individuals who pursue a more efficacious form of politics. This dynamic is interesting because anger usually goes together with efficacy (van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008). It may point to is the notion of *political cynicism*, whereby individuals no longer feel political actions can have an impact the political process (e.g., Cappella and Jamieson, 1996; De Vreese, 2005). Political cynicism is related to distrust and contempt for politicians but has received scant attention in social psychological collective action studies. In one study, Klandermans *et al.* (2008) demonstrated that cynicism reinforces and reduces participation, depending on whether it is accompanied by perceived unfairness. Interestingly, the authors suggest that politically cynical people who believe they are being mistreated are the most active members of social movements.

The unfairness in this respect may be governmental inaction in the face of warnings from science. Therefore, anger and distrust are directed at a government who are illegitimate because of perceived unfairness. Moreover, it was inferred that contentious forms of politics attract low efficacious people (Tausch *et al.*, 2008). This research does seem relevant here because there were explicit suggestions that the non-normative route was the only course left available to them in attempts to persuade governments to fulfil their duties. This notion is bolstered by the presentation of collective efficacy regarding XR’s differentiation from other SMOs. Optimism appeared to be instilled by the provision of a new political route. This idea seems particularly applicable in the case of the riskier actions because participants demonstrated a “nothing left to lose” attitude, which was the result of beliefs that the threat of climate change now outweighed the risks of civil disobedience. However, it should be noted that the interviews and the survey demonstrated that many participants were retired and at an age where they were unrestrained from responsibilities. These findings support research that indicates that individuals engaging in risky activities are more “biographically available”, i.e. free of personal restraints (McAdam, 1986; Saunders *et al.*, 2012). However, it does not necessarily give much insight into how to attract individuals who are “biographically unavailable” - a group often overlooked in the context of collective action (Beyerlein and Hipp, 2006).

Concluding remarks and limitations

There are tensions within the findings in the present studies and concerning the literature broadly. However, this study has achieved its aim in gaining an understanding of the social-psychological determinants of participants who have engaged in costly or risky behaviour to address climate change. The key emotions experienced by the participants were guilt, sadness and anger. The objects of motivation appear to be future generations and the loss of nature. These elements appeared to be underpinned by a

personal moral obligation to behave upon their values. There was a cautious proposal that sadness might be attributed to a form of emotional coping through acceptance and pursuing moral behaviour. The influence of group dynamics appeared to come second to the values and identity content of individuals, which seem to prepare them for action. While the activists were predisposed by their values, they seemed to be pushed toward activism by growing frustration and anger towards government and politics. Initial mobilisation appears to be influenced by collective efficacy generated by Extinction Rebellion and supported by opinion leaders, however after this efficacy faded, other more salient factors became important for sustaining participation.

There are several weaknesses in this study. The accounts provided a broad view of the activist's engagement with climate activism. However, other approaches, such as a longitudinal study from the point of initial engagement, may have provided a more profound and coherent understanding of the phenomena. This would also elucidate when activists may become disengaged. Moreover, while many aspects of the activist's experience were touched upon, it may have been more appropriate to focus on one aspect. Future studies may benefit from targeting certain aspects such as morals, values and identity content. In this sense, the research questions may have been too broad, but still, they have highlighted key areas of interest for further investigation into collective action and climate change.

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7.0 Appendix.

Supplementary survey data.

Table 1.
Participant Information

Pseudonym	HR	HC	A	E	TG	G
P1	1	6	-	R	1	M
P2	2	4	-	R	1	F
P3	3	3	-	E	1	F
P4	4	3	x	R	1	F
P5	4	5	x	R	2	F
P6	3	4	-	R	1	F
P7	5	2	-	E	2	F
P8	5	5	x	E	3	M
P9	3	3	-	R	2	F
P10	6	6	-	E	2	F
P11	3	5	-	E	3	F
P12	6	3	x	E	3	F
P13	2	1	-	R	3	F
P14	4	2	-	E	3	F
P15	5	1	-	S	4	F
P16	2	4	x	E	1	F
P17	3	4	-	E	4	F
P18	2	2	-	E	4	F

Table 3
Survey Results

Question (<i>Please answer the following as they apply to you. During your time as a member of XR, have you...</i>)	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
1. Engaged in a climate action in which you feared for your personal safety?	5	28
2. Engaged in a demonstration in which you suspect there would be a confrontation with the police or possible arrest?	16	89
3. Taken part in an action in which road traffic was temporarily stopped?	18	100
4. Engaged in a climate action in which you feared that some of your possessions would be damaged?	3	17
5. Put yourself in a position in which you knew you would be arrested?	8	44
6. Blocked access to a building or public area with your body?	12	33
7. Locked on or glued yourself to a building, structure or vehicle in a public place?	1	6
8. Taken up a role or position of responsibility within Extinction Rebellion?	10	55
9. Dedicated your time to man an XR stand or helped at an event?	14	78
10. Regularly donated money to the organisation?	6	33
11. Attend regular XR planning or other meetings?	17	94
12. Purchased a poster, t-shirt, or such item that endorses a XR's point of view?	11	61
13. Delivered lectures or training on behalf of Extinction Rebellion?	5	28
14. Dedicated yourself full time to work for Extinction Rebellion?	1	6

Note. 1 – 7 HR, 8-14 HC. *n* / % = “Yes”.