Who really are the people who have been resisting Covid-19 measures?

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Abstract

The outbreak of the Covid-19 virus in the beginning of the year 2020 quickly escalated into a global pandemic. Protests started to surface all around the world, as governments and authorities resorted to imposing drastic measures to curb the spread of the virus, that would profoundly affect the lives of many people. This project seeks to explore the experiences undergone by a group of participants from different parts of Europe, who exhibited some resistance to the measures enforced by the authorities to uncover their grievances, feelings, and the power imbalances they experienced and that could predispose them to resort to collective protest movements.

The study suggests that there has been a lack of research done throughout Northern and Southern Europe, that focuses on the protestors' experiences of the pandemic to determine the reasons that could engender them to resist decisions imposed by the authorities to combat the pandemic. This paper could potentially contribute new understandings of the human motivations that underlie counter-conducts at a time of rising polarities brought by a disruptive event like a global pandemic.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis is used as a method to make sense of the personal and social world of the participants interviewed on this socially sensitive topic. Elements of social movement theories and pertaining to the social psychology of protest that focus on feelings, grievance analysis, perceived injustices, were used to extract meaning from their understandings and perceptions and throw light on how these could lead to the emergence of protest movements. A theory of analytics of counter-conducts, is used to point at namely forms of knowledge relied upon by the participants and fields of visibility of the protests.

The grievances expressed by the participants were a strong distrust in the authorities founded on knowledge sources that are varied, ranging from accounts from the mainstream media to alternative sources to statements of professional doctors. These are accompanied by strong feelings of outrage towards this 'enterprise of divide and conquer', that employed harmful measures, even more lethal than the pandemic itself, that also translated in economic collapse and surge of mental health issues and death in some instances. Those constitute common beliefs of these participants who were spread across Europe, that could make them susceptible to partake in large scale protests. There is also a fear of extinction for humanity

and fear of being controlled by the authorities that is very dominant, underlying a general concern for other fellow human beings.

People resisting Covid-19 measures enforced by the authorities, why? Who really are these people?

1 Introduction

At the onset of the declaration of the novel Covid-19 as a pandemic in March 2020, emergency measures have been implemented at various authority and governmental levels worldwide to cope with the situation, geared at minimising the spread of the virus and bringing this emergency health situation more under control (WHO, 2020). The intention was also to avoid overwhelming medical institutions and hospitals with Covid-19 patients beyond their capacity and preventing jamming of emergency rooms. On the other hand, these measures would profoundly affect the lives of many people and side by side protests opposing these measures have mushroomed all around the world (Mass protests sweep Europe, 2021). This paper seeks to investigate the subjective experiences of some people spread across Europe, who have been visibly resisting corona measures enforced by the authorities, with a view of getting a better understanding of the subjective reasons that could contribute to fuel the protests during pandemic times.

People involved in the mindfulness and wellness community have exhibited vaccine hesitancy behaviours (The Washington Post, 2021). Their views are not only supported by their community but also shared by politicians, namely nominated MPs, who experienced some of these emergency measures as government overreach and going against human rights and freedom (5 MEPs responding to Ursula von der Leyen's proposal.., 2021).
It could be interesting to explore the views of these people in the mindfulness and wellness community and study them as the target group here. Alternatively, it would be even more relevant to hit groups resisting corona measures directly, whose members for instance could to varying levels have been active in protests, whether physically or online. These groups can often be accessed online on various media platforms and would with certainty pinpoint straight to the ideal candidate for this research irrespective of their political views and life interests. Besides diving into the experiences of people who exhibited some sort of resistance

to these measures, this research will attempt to find out what are the subjective reasons that could predispose these people to take part in large scale protest movements, by making an analysis of underlying aspects, using different theories based on grievance analysis and social movement and analytics of counter-conducts.

It is also intended to hear directly from people protesting the measures without any filters from other sources like journalists, media reports etc to capture their authentic experiences and gain more understanding into them. Furthermore, no such study has been conducted encompassing the umbrella of Western countries, that fundamentally revolve around the principles of democracy, often cited to be at play in these protests. By undertaking a study that would involve candidates across Europe, this research attempts to meet more transnational aspects of the humanities field offered at Roskilde University and seeks in this way to take a unique angle in investigating resistance against Covid-19 measures that have marked this pandemic.

1.1 Motivation

Many people, including mindfulness and wellness practitioners, as well as politicians, claim to have the right in making personal choices in relation to many measures implemented by the authorities to combat the global pandemic of the corona virus. For instance, the rolling out of mass vaccination programmes against Covid-19, either forced in many parts of the world or strongly encouraged through information campaigns (Danish Health Authority, n.d.) and advocated in political discussions, led to conflicting situations and protests. While some people were genuinely scared for their lives, for fear of any short term or long-term side effects or eventual handicap resulting from the vaccines (Toledo, 2021), that will not be compensated for by the vaccine companies (Congressional Research Service, 2021), others believe in and chose to have recourse to building natural health immunity practices and other alternative ways (Washington Post, 2021).

There has been much polarization within communities with regards to the stance about corona measures, especially the need for vaccination to control the pandemic. Figures placed at higher levels of authorities and even political leaders, like the French president Macron have been visibly putting pressure on people to have recourse to Covid-19 vaccinations (Le Parisien, 2022). Their claim, as per their declaration, is that there is no other solution to combat the pandemic. These have often been met by protests and demonstrations which have been characterised by the use of power in the form of verbal and physical violence to force

people to comply with measures that have been put in place by the authorities in many parts of the world, namely in Australia (Polish MPs Protest Under Australian Embassy, 2021) and France (Anti-Covid Health Pass Protests Turn Violent In France,2021).

1.2 Problem formulation

During the Covid-19 pandemic, measures were enforced by the authorities to combat the spread of the virus. How have a group of individuals, spread across Europe, who exhibited some form of resistance to power by protesting these measures online, experienced them?

<u>Sub-questions</u>

-what constituted the subjective reasons behind their resistance to Covid-19 measures by way of grievances, feelings, conditions they experienced that could predispose them to join protest movements on a larger scale?

-what constitute elements characterising these counter-conducts, namely the forms of knowledge relied upon by these people and the fields of visibility of the protest?

1.3 Societal relevance of the project

The societal relevance of this project could be its contribution in bringing new levels of understanding in the society, geared at bridging the gap in between polarities engendered by the pandemic. This can in turn foster unity and better solutions in combatting a common invisible adversary. It could be of interest to psychologists, philosophers, social workers and policy makers enlightening them into the feelings experienced by protestors that could explain their resisting attitude and present a source of data to them, as well as to human right activists, governments and NGO's.

2 Literature review

In the following section, I will go through literature about works that have already been done around protests and power operation during Covid-19 times, that have led to the emergence of new societal problems, tensions and conflicting situations during the pandemic, that could summon dissidence.

2.1 The pandemic crowd: protest in the time of Covid-19

In this article written in Spring/Summer 2020, the author tries to give a description of different types of protests that took place in the time of Covid-19 in the Unites States, Europe, and other parts of the world, that seek to bring into light new social anxieties that emerged with the pandemic and emerging conflicts in the society. It highlights the exceptional conditions where normal societal rules no longer apply summoning the dawn of the emergence of a new society governed by new rules. The author pinpoints a fundamental difference in the way of conducting protests during Covid-19 under the directives of social distancing and stay home orders, that demarcates them from conventional protests, marked by large gatherings in public spaces, which are very opposite in nature. He identifies the nature of different types of protests that took place during the pandemic. Firstly, social distancing protests like balcony protests and other forms like online protests where participants observed all precautionary measures while protesting against some form of injustice that they perceived. Secondly, anti lockdown protests-marked as he described by rebelliousness and provocation, by not observing rules enforced at that time protesting, which could increase the risk of the virus spread and lastly anti-racism riots that according to him were not related to the pandemic. He concludes by saying that Covid-19 ¨has been a phase of revelation and intensification of social strains, in which social inequalities have become more evident and institutional responsibilities in the overall management of society more apparent¨ and ¨Economic recession and increased social discontent may summon the beginning of more social conflicts and divisions according to the article¨ (Paolo, 2020).

This article offered information about types of protests that have been going on during Covid-19 times providing an insight into some of the reasons behind them, although it is not very explanatory and elaborative as to their origins. It indeed helps to better situate this current paper within the various contexts that this project will revolve around namely the first two types of protests: protest forms could be in line with conforming to the norms of existing social system and those where individuals could have had recourse to non-normative actions (that could have been illegal in line with current existing laws).

2.2 Thinking through Covid-19 responses with Foucault

This article attempts to highlight some societal conflicts brought about by the Covid-19 pandemic and makes an analysis of various subjects through a Foucauldian lens. It brilliantly brings acquaintance to several concepts like governmentality and biopower and illustrates different modes of operation of power during the pandemic and their effect on society and the individual.

According to this article, recent times saw an upsurge of much academic work using a critical approach in analysing the measures implemented at various political governmental levels in handling the Covid-19 pandemic. The Foucauldian way seeks to use a more poststructuralist approach that attempts to consider all factors involved from various angles when doing analysis. The essay looks at various issues that cropped up during the pandemic times (mostly in Germany) through a Foucauldian lens but does not claim to offer any solution to them. It touches upon the ¨disciplinary character of measures¨ enforced to curb the spread of the novel coronavirus, featured by lockdowns and characterized by prevention of gathering, travel restrictions and points at surveillance measures put in place to enforce them. The authors stress on the fact that the decision to relax these measures depended on the good behaviour and adherence of the public to the measures in place. This in turn led to categorisation and polarisation in the society. It touches upon the concept of ¨politicization of medicine¨ pertaining to the fact that often not enough evidence has been gathered from medical experts to support political decisions made in the face of uncertainty, that favoured measures that were built upon over protection rather than directly and precisely tackling the health hazard. These have been founded on "trans-precautionary" action motivated by an urge to "do something" that may not necessarily concretely help the situation but could definitely contribute (Hannah et al., 2020).

The article concludes by summerizing the tensions[1] that have been identified in the article as pertaining to ¨preserving and limiting circulation, between the interests of capital and of human beings, between different ways of valuing human life bio politically, between calls for unity and structures and practices that divide populations into positively and negatively

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[1] Please consult appendix 3 for more information about the following themes which would give more perspective to the operation of power during the pandemic and its impact on the individual and the emergence of new societal problems during the pandemic.
- the resort to security pact during the pandemic and its effect on governmentality
- the concept of immunization in relation to biopower
-Conflicts between the needs of capital and of human populations

valued groups, and between the liberal preservation and the sovereign or disciplinary limitation of freedoms¨ stating that from a Foucauldian understanding, ¨these complex constellations of power routinely provide openings for various forms of resistance¨ (Hannah et al., 2020).

This article provided a lot of exposure to themes relevant for this project relating to societal problems and conflicts that have emerged during the pandemic seen through a Foucauldian lens, scanning through circumstances that could imminently call for resistance to corona measures enforced by the authorities. This can potentially provide some further avenues to this paper and support to designing questions for the interview. However, during this project, it is intended to interview people protesting corona measures imposed by the authorities during the pandemic to understand how they experienced the measures in force.

3 Method

3.1 Qualitative Approach and Phenomenology, why?

Qualitative research can provide ¨rich descriptive accounts¨ (Smith, 2003) helping to to explore more in detail how individuals participating in the research, who exhibited resistance to the corona measures enforced by the authorities, have experienced the measures in place in the period of the pandemic.

A phenomenological approach seeking to keep an open mind to the experiences of the participants would be appropriate especially considering the fact they represent marginalized voices that have often been condemned and labelled as conspiracy theorists. This can help to create a safe space of expression for the participants, where they are encouraged to express themselves in a way that is as authentic as possible, to be able to capture the real core of their expression, ¨their frames of reference or view of the world¨ (Smith, 2003, p. 1).

3.2 Interpretative phenomenological analysis

There will be recourse to interpretative phenomenological analysis which ¨is an approach which is dedicated to detailed exploration of personal meaning and lived experience…. more particularly the aim of IPA is to explore in detail how participants are making sense of their personal and social world and the main currency for an IPA study is the meanings that particular experiences, events and states hold for participants¨ (Smith, 2007, p. 50).

Empirical data will be collected here principally in the form of ¨naturalistic verbal reports like interview transcripts or written accounts¨ (Smith, 2003), with the prospect of describing them and further interpret them to extract knowledge and make sense. It is worthwhile noting here that in his book, Smith (2003) does recognize the merging and undistinguishable nature of quantitative and qualitative research. He writes the book in qualitative research as a ¨distinctive approach to psychological inquiry¨ and ¨recognizes that the difference between the two approaches is not as categorical as sometimes portrayed¨ (Smith, 2003, p. 2). The interpretation will then be conveyed ¨through detailed narrative reports of participants perceptions, understandings or accounts of a phenomenon¨ (Smith, 2003, p. 2). ¨IPA combines an empathic hermeneutics with a questioning hermeneutics¨ whereby the researcher is required to come close to the world of the participant and try to make sense of it by literally being in the skin of the participant to see the world from their perspective, while simultaneously skilfully asking probing questions.

3.3 Course of Action and further context

In depth and open-ended questions have been formulated forming a semi structured questionnaire that have been served to a few participants as opposed to many people. The target group consists of members of online groups that show resistance towards Covid-19 measures implemented by the authorities. The purpose is not only to capture the experiences of the participants but also to get a more detailed exploration and understanding of the reasons these protests have arisen, and scrutinize certain aspects revealed with the aim of discovering why people felt a certain way and did the things the way they did during that distinct period of the corona pandemic.

It is understood that this method merely provides snapshots of the experiences, ways of thinking, feelings of the actors involved, through the exploratory samples that developed, in this case often a retrospective account of the many episodes these people have been through since the beginning of this tragic pandemic, rather than give a representative picture of the precise unfolding of events or the way of thinking of the whole population of people protesting corona measures.

Through the use of a questionnaire that can be used both in the context of a traditional in presence interviewing or made available online (Denscombe, 2014, p. 198) if the participant in any way feels intimidated or uncomfortable for a face to face meeting, ethical care has been observed by inviting voluntary cooperation (Denscombe, 2014, p. 309) also not to cause

stress or any undue inconvenience to participants when it comes to this very socially sensitive topic, that has political connotations.

As such, participants have been provided with the possibility to respond in a way that is more remote and impersonal (Denscombe, 2014, p. 198), should they need it. Under any circumstance, reassurance has been provided to the participants to keep anonymity and privacy as much as is possible, also in view of fulfilling ethical aspects of a research (Denscombe, 2014, p. 310). The option of responding to an indirect online questionnaire has hopefully taken care of fear of reprisal for the participants for a socially sensitive topic, that has been subjected to censorship and the object of much polarization. More than ever, there is a need to maintain privacy and provide a safe space, where participants can freely and anonymously express themselves to enable as honest and authentic responses as possible, that could reflect their truth, to increase the reliability and validity of the research (Denscombe, 2014, p. 297).

An online method has also been made available because of the possibility to reach a bigger geographical span for the purpose of this studies. An invitation request to participate in the questionnaire has been posted on different international online platforms targeting people who have been resisting Covid-19 measures enforced by the authorities. In this way it has also been possible to reach candidates from different countries, which gives a more interesting transnational analysis of the situation, as is also the aim of this paper. Furthermore, it has been ensured that participants could be reached for a follow up or further clarification should the need arise.

Since this research has a leg in social movement theories and there is also an interest in identifying the feelings of the participants, it is interesting to note that ¨social movement scholars can capture emotion through forms of text, surveys, interviews, participation, and observation¨ and further analyze text from ¨ transcripts of speeches¨ as recommended by Gould (2009) and Polletta (2006a) as cited in Snow et al., 2018.

3.4 Methods conflict (discursive vs phenomenon)

It was initially intended to approach this project from a more Foucauldian perspective. However, Foucault's work stems more from the poststructuralist school which does not totally fit with a phenomenological approach, and this did create some productive tension. Bearing this in mind, it is intended here to simply provide a wider angle of looking at things in a more interdisciplinary way: from a phenomenological stance primarily by looking at the

experiences of the participants and a poststructuralist stance can be adopted mostly to analyse the modes of resistance expressed to Covid-19 measures, respectively, since they are totally different. Things can be looked at from different perspectives using these two approaches just for the purpose of shedding light on more aspects of this problem.

There evidently are limitations on how to combine the two. A post structuralist approach would argue that building knowledge solely on pure experiences retrieved from participants' interview responses and extracting meaning from them as propounded by the phenomenology school is not viable. Foucault would further say that ¨our experiences of selves and lives are discursive effects¨ meaning that they are the product of ¨powerful discourses that structure our reality¨ (Foucault 1972) as cited in Fadyl & Nicholls (2012). For instance, how resistance is shaped can be the outcome of the operation power in the system and not just the subjective experiences of the participants, two aspects that are touched upon in this paper.

4 Theory

 The next section will focus on the theories and concepts that will be used further when analysing the experiences retrieved from the participants. There will be recourse to elements of social movement theories that especially seek to shed more light on what motivate individuals to join collective social movement protests. Reference will be made here to the work of Snow, D. (2013) and understandings brought by the social psychology of protests, as synthesized in the work of Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2013), who rely on the work of important social movement theorists, to deepen the analysis.

Secondly there is an attempt to derive meaning from their counter conducts by referring to the work of Death, C. (2010), who through his analytical approach of protest, dissect dimensions of a protest in the same way Foucault would approach an analysis of a government or institution.

4.1 Grievances Theory

According to David Snow (2013), deep feelings that are experienced as troublesome by the individual, underlying themes about which he is passionate, could motivate some of the behaviours causing an individual to join social protest movements. Examples of some of these feelings are ¨dissatisfaction, fear, indignation, resentment and moral shock¨. These can all go under the umbrella of what is termed grievances.

According to Snow (2013) ¨generalization of mobilizing grievances¨, which pertains to grievances being deeply felt at the collective level, is the prime factor that lead to the establishment of a social movement. This plays an even more important role in fuelling protests than political opportunities perceived by actors or the organization of the necessary resources to conduct the movement. He further adds that ¨it is difficult to imagine most individuals engage in social movement activity without feeling deeply aggrieved about some condition that is regarded as contrary to their interest, rights, moral principles or well being of themselves or others¨.

He makes the distinction between individual grievances and mobilizing grievances (which are more of a collective nature). Individual grievance generally finds their roots in a discontent experienced by the individual on a day to day living basis, an aggravation that could be very benign and very often just experienced as a form of annoyance, the consequence of which- taking action to bring it up would just be confined to a personal affair. On the other hand, mobilizing grievances are more of a collective nature and are characterized not just by complaint but also by a collective action. It is usually those that motivate social movement activities.

Empirical research and relevant theories compilation have shown that a number of conditions are necessary for mobilizing grievances to develop into social movements, among which is the arising of difficult life circumstances or what he calls ¨quotidian disruptions¨.

It is worth noting that the role played by emotions in contributing to social movements including protests started to be more acknowledged in the last 20 years ¨ scholars have theorized how emotions play pivotal roles in enabling or inhibiting mobilization and providing the resources that sustain commitment through various endogenous and exogenous changes¨ (Van Ness & Summers-Effler, 2019).

Some scholars who theorised emotions in social movements are Jasper and Poulsen (1995) who argue ¨moral shocks¨ can motivate participation when an unexpected event or information generates a sense of outrage¨ and Luker who finds ¨ anger, outrage, and indignation motivate pro-life protestors after Roe v. Wade.¨ and finally Oliver (1984) who describes ¨how pessimism and frustration can inspire action if one determines they cannot count on others to participate¨ as cited in Van Ness & Summers-Effler, 2019.

4.2 The social psychology of protest

Applied social psychology has provided answers into the reasons as to why people protest. Since these analyses have to step into the realm of the individual, they therefore gain the social psychology connotation, as they seek to understand why people are ready to sacrifice comfort and even things which are very precious to them for a common bigger cause.

Social psychology when applied to protest seeks to explore the causes of the thoughts, feelings and actions of people and how these people are influenced by the social context. These are of prime interest to this research.

Classical theories proposed by authors like Berkowitz (1972), Gurr (1972), Lind and Tyler (1988) suggest that people take part in protests to express their grievances stemming from ¨relative deprivation, frustration or perceived injustice¨ (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). According to Folger (1986) feelings of relative deprivation result from comparison of one's situation with a standard- this could be comparison with one's past situation or comparison to another person's situation or even to a cognitive standard like ¨equity or justice¨. Further he says that if the comparison leads the person to conclude that ¨he's not receiving what he deserves¨ then there is an experience of relative deprivation. Another dominant aspect leading to engagement in protests is the affective component, once more reinforced here, as expressed by such feelings as ¨dissatisfaction, indignation and discontent¨ about outcomes of the grievances. These, according to research, are more important than the cognitive component of relative deprivation (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013).

Klandermans (1997) says that grievances are principally fuelled by ¨the experience of illegitimate inequality, feelings of relative deprivation (social justice theories), feelings of injustice, moral indignation about some state of affairs or a suddenly imposed grievance¨. Suddenly imposed grievances could be of relevance to this paper, and it refers to unexpected threat or encroachment upon people's rights (Walsh, 1981, as cited in Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013) claimed to be felt by many individuals with the radical control measures adopted to stir the pandemic. Another form of grievances mentioned is those resulting from ¨violated principles whereby it is felt that important values or principles are violated; this is referred to as moral outrage¨. An interesting term introduced is also ¨political cynicism¨ in other words ¨the extent to which people hold politicians and politics in disrepute¨ (Agger et al.). Thus, further insights of conditions perceived as grievances have been presented here.

4.3 Counter conducts A Foucauldian Analytics of Protest

Death C. (2010) has made a further extension of the influence of Foucault's work in studies of social movements and protests. He does so by capitalising more on Foucault's notion of 'counter-conducts' to address resistance movements since the correlation between the work of Foucault and resistance is not very straightforward. This is because Foucault's work focused more on power in relation to institutions rather than from a perspective of resistance, which he posited to be a result of ¨government failure¨.

This article postulates some interesting elements namely to the fact put forward by Foucault that there can be no power enactment without there being some form of resistance or contestation. It elaborates on the interrelationship between power and freedom as underlying the concept of governmentality and introduces the concept of 'conduct of conduct' as being a set of rules or guidelines adopted by institutions both governmental and non-governmental to ensure things are done the right way. It stipulates that the closest Foucault's work gets to the theme of resistance is through addressing counter conducts in the series ¨*Security, Territory, Population*¨, where Foucault refers to the term 'counter-conduct', namely as a ¨struggle against the processes implemented for conducting others¨ (Death, C, 2010).

Reference is made to the work of John Barry, in his book ¨ Political Machines¨ where he discusses 'political conflict' from the lens of social movement theories and to more recent publication of Foucault's work in English to make for the dearth of consideration given to the study of resistance within governmentality literature and thus amend it (Death, 2010).

It is in this reoriented way that the work of Foucault, which revolves a lot around power, can bring its contribution to ¨existing approaches to social movements and protests¨ by resorting to ¨a counter-conducts approach¨ that ¨focuses on practices and mentalities of resistance, rather than an actor-centric approach ¨ (Death, 2010).

4.3.1 An Analytics of Protest

Death C. (2010) refers to the work of Mitchell Dean and namely draws on his ¨analytics of government approach¨ to establish some parallels and guidelines for analysing counter-conducts and protests. Dean points to four dimensions of government that can be adopted when analysing protests too namely: ¨the fields of visibility it creates and the ends to which it

aims; the forms of knowledge it relies upon; the particular technologies and apparatuses it mobilizes; and the subjectivities or identities it produces¨ (Death 2010).

-Fields of visibility for counter-conducts could refer to identifying the representative establishment towards which opposition and resistance are targeted, themes that being contested-basically, whom the protests are directed against.

-When referring to the forms of knowledge that are being drawn upon to fuel the protest, it would be important to do an analysis ¨of these veridical discourses involved asking 'what forms of thought, knowledge, expertise, strategies, means of calculation, or rationality are employed¨, and which are ¨marginalized or excluded¨ (Dean, [20], p. 31).¨ as cited in Death 2010.

According to Death (2010) ¨protestors have often invoked alternative, subaltern or marginalized forms of knowledge¨.

-What are the practices, techniques and technologies being used during the protests, more applicable to protests taking place on the field.

-Analytics of protest would also look into ¨what forms of person, self and identity¨ are implied in the process of giving birth to a protest movement, what forms of identities and subjectivities are emerging from the counter-conducts eg the anarchists, the poor, the middle class (Death, 2010)

Conclusion

It was originally intended to adopt a Foucauldian analytical approach, since the element and operational mode of power, was very central during the pandemic times (Hannah et al., 2020). New perspectives emerging around the work of Death (2010) makes this possible. His rather unconventional approach, presented as analytical elements of counter conducts, can be used as a building block for further analysis (See Appendix 2).

5 Analysis

Analysis Strategy

As per the requirement of an IPA a ¨detailed case-by-case analysis of individual transcripts¨ will be done geared at bringing more insights into ¨the perceptions and understandings¨ of the

participants with the researcher being expected to interpret the respondents ¨mental and emotional state from what they say ¨ (Smith, 2007, p. 55). Coding and commented interpretations are enclosed in Appendix 1. Underlying themes identified are further analysed against the theories introduced earlier to derive meaning and make sense of the empirical data. Social movement theories are relied upon to identify grievances, feelings experienced and conditions that would predispose the participants to partake in larger scale protest movements. Analytical elements applied would serve to identify the forms of knowledge relied upon by the participants to form their beliefs and opinions as well as the fields of visibility of protest expressed, namely who the resistance is targeted at, themes and identities that have emerged.

5.1 Participant no. 1

Participant 1, of Danish nationality, male, living in Denmark, adopts a standpoint with a lot of confidence asserting that he knows what is going on in the world of this pandemic from knowledge he has gathered from various sources.

Forms of knowledge relied upon

Some of these sources or forms of knowledge relied upon by the respondent are You Tube, Rumble, Bitchute where he refers to the contribution of various authors from various backgrounds but mostly of medical background and other well researched authors which would in a normal context be considered reliable sources as they have a professional background. However, some of these information contributors have been banned from mainstream media outlets and platforms or bear the label of conspiracy theorists or have had their work being subject to censorship on many communication platforms, on grounds, which are debatable and not always agreed upon.

This respondent educated to the Masters ¨kandidate¨ level according to the Danish education system uses a logical method of sense making of information he retrieved. (App.1A, p5, l.2-9)

Grievance: Rising level of censorship

There are also grievances being expressed in the form feelings of injustice and moral indignation towards the prevalent censorship ¨we should have the free will as a human race to make our own decisions¨ coupled with criticism that the authorities are forbidding any discussion ¨The discourse offered by the mainstream is very black and white...You cannot even have any grey zones of discussing matters¨ (App1A, p.6, l.12-22)

He condemns the level of censorship displayed on some platforms ¨The censorship on FB is getting obnoxious more and more every day¨ as the respondent recounts his own experiences of ending up ¨into the FB jail if you post things that go against the main narrative or dare to express your own opinion¨. He complains of having his posts being factchecked resulting in his Facebook account being restrained a few times, ¨ limiting my freedom of expression¨ (App1A, p8, l.1-6). The diminished sense of free expression could be felt as threat and treading on people's rights, factors that can potentially foster protest movements as stated by Stekelenburg & Klandermans, (2013).

Distrust in Authorities (perceived as divisive)

 He unequivocally exhibits distrust towards the authorities calling the pandemic ¨a very elaborate scam¨ that is ¨viciously orchestrated¨ (App.1A, p.1, l.10-12), pertaining to a feeling of being deceived and manipulated by a bigger power who seeks harm the population deliberately. He repeatedly refers to the authorities as being a ¨demoniac enterprise of divide and conquor¨ (App1A, p.2, l.7-11) as a strategy used by the authorities according to him to distract the population from big economical dangers and catastrophes, namely ¨the economic collapse¨. He mentions ¨ fraudulent¨ practices, ¨preplanned¨ and ¨premeditated¨ happenings. He expresses fear at being controlled ¨we will be like computerized entities that can be controlled¨ (App1A, p.6, l.23-26) and for the disappearance of the whole concept of being human. There is a general feeling of resentment as per his perception of things and even of moral outrage.

The interviewee keeps giving many examples to support his argument that people are being manipulated, points at the changing definition of the pandemic by the authorities that made him lose trust in them as well as close connections existing between the media and the authorities, which makes him suspicious of information being presented to the public. There is concern for the division and polarization occurring in society ¨people being put up against each other¨.

Dangers Perceived-bioweapon, Fear of being controlled

He perceives the situation as a danger associating it with ¨World War Three¨(Q1a), where the authorities are using a ¨bioweapon¨ causing him to believe that the society is exposed to a hazard that is potentially destructive for humanity. His concern for ingredients of the vaccine not being disclosed together with his additional statement that ¨the real threat is the fear installed in people and forcefully imposing experimental jabs on people¨ (App1A, p.1, l.25-31) further confirms his distrustful perception of the world.

Another threat perceived is associated with surveillance when he says ¨They want us to comply and it not far from what the CPP implements in China. They need our biometric data so they can follow all our transactions and may have recourse to social credit rewarding system...It is all so scary¨ (App1A, p.9, l.29-32)

Many of his beliefs and statements are indicative of a feeling of fear associated with an imminent danger, feelings of outrage and a big distrust in the authorities, that could be strong elements in themselves to fuel a protest (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013.)

Civil rights taken away, no liability for vaccine companies

There is also concern over the authorities ¨taking more and more civil rights away¨ (App1A, p.5, l.1-2), a condition considered to be contrary to his interest and human rights (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). They ¨are trying to cut off more and more liberties by exaggerating precautionary measures¨ that don't encourage natural immunity, which meet with some views expressed in the article by Hannah.M, et al., (2020) in the literature review section of this paper.

Another grievance expressed is his condemnation of the fact that vaccine companies can no longer be sued for vaccine injuries and thus the power dangerously conferred to them ¨These vaccine companies are now free from all liability. they cannot be sued anymore it has become difficult as they are protected¨ (App1A, p.9, l.1-4).

Interesting point: Surgery as wakeup call

The interviewee recounts his own personal human experience with his rather tragic surgery (App1A, p.3, l.30-34), involving removal of parts of his intestines. He expresses indignation towards the fact that he later got to know there could have been more alternative, less drastic means of treatment for him, that were not presented to him by the conventional medical system. He describes this event in his life, as being the springboard for him to start asking questions and investigating things for himself-what he describes as being ¨his wake-up call¨.

5.2 Participant no. 2

Cynicism and Grievances: harmful measures not backed by science and feelings exhibited

There seems to be a belief, from participant no 2, that the measures implemented by the authorities were not scientific and were not founded on concrete studies. The second respondent, of French nationality, who is holder of a master's degree and works as an analyst in humanitarian crisis, migration crisis and covid-19 crisis for different international NGO

and U. N. organisations, provides arguments to support his beliefs when he says that there were ¨no randomized double-blind study¨ conducted to support the veracity of the measures enforced by the authorities. Instead, he holds politics in disrepute. There are grievances about use of measures by the authorities, that were actually not helpful but even harmful ¨these measures have worsened the state of health of people, the number of covid-19 sick people, the number of deaths due to Covid ¨ but ¨also the number deaths due to other illnesses because of the postponement of health care, whether curative or preventive care¨ and resulted in increased mental health problems: ¨the dramatic increase in the number of suicides, especially among adolescents¨ and in some instances even deadly ¨ the hundreds of thousands of serious side effects caused by mRNA injections… the 40,000 deaths caused by mRNA injections in Europe.¨ He also deplores the fact that the French and European government had the means to provide access to more hospital beds but instead even restricted them in a critical time like the pandemic (App1B, p.2-3, l.26-31).

Nuremberg Code, feeling of danger and identification of a common enemy-field of visibility

There is also distrust expressed towards what he perceives as an ¨experimental vaccine¨ for Covid-19 that ¨is still in the level 3 experimental phase¨ with the associated dangers to humanity. He expresses cynicism towards the authorities ¨this places the government in the most total illegality with regard to the Nuremberg code and the Oviedo convention and exposes them to criminal legal proceedings¨. The latter is another strong example of a belief going against the wellbeing and moral principles of the people and definitely speaks of moral outrage also when he says¨ the government can murder thousands of people with total impunity. ¨ The statement ¨ there is no longer any counterpowers in France¨ (App1B, p.4, l.4-27) is also indicative of the level of threat perceived.

The participant also mentions ¨a declaration of war… between the 1% (the psychopathic billionaire) ¨ (App1B, p.10, l.1-9). He is interestingly pointing to the same 'enemy' as for participant 1

He talks about a ¨common enemy¨ pointing to ¨the fight against the eugenic psychopaths who direct us and who try to exterminate us¨ and seems to experience a heightened sense of danger like some of the other participants when he says ¨it is about our survival¨.

The same big distrust in the government expressed by participant 2 coupled with his experience of important values and human rights being violated, could definitely contribute to engendering protest movements (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013).

Freedom at stake and lethality of measures

There is a belief that these measures were detrimental to freedom ¨These measures flout all freedoms, both individual and collective¨ and therefore contrary to the interests and wellbeing of individuals. Another belief that constitutes grievances contrary to the interests, moral principles and wellbeing of the population is that of measures adopted being against ¨The Hippocratic Oath by which doctors have sworn to treat sick people.¨. There is also a belief that people sick from Covid-19 have not been treated adequately: ¨the prescription of molecules / drugs that treat covid-19 have been prohibited ¨ and that people have even killed by the authorities ¨hundreds of people have been directly murdered with Rivotril, in particular elderly persons … without even the diagnosis of a doctor… just murdered because old¨ (App1B, p.2, l.13-25) These strong beliefs indicative of feelings of outrage that could definitely contribute to engendering bigger protest movements (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013.)

Forms of knowledge relied upon: renowned French professors and Israeli Press

The respondent refers a lot to French professionals from the scientific and medical community, who are well reputed and accredited, like ¨Pr. Didier Raoult (IHU Marseille, the French scientist with the biggest number of scientific publications), Pr. Luc Montagnier (Nobel Prize in Medicine for his discovery of HIV), Professor John Ioannidis, Laurent Toubiana (epidemiologist researcher at INSERM)¨ as well as American professionals like Anthony Fauci, Dr Robert Kennedy and Dr Robert Malone, the later American counterparts being also referred to by other participants, as being consistant famous representatives on the international scene. He also expresses resentment towards the general tendency to be considered as a conspiracy theorist if one does not follow mainstream media ¨not accepting the official discourse of the French government is to be a conspirator and therefore necessarily anti-Semitic¨.

Interestingly he refers to and relies a lot on the Israeli press, which he refers to as not being antisemitic by nature, and where he recognizes elements of free expression regarding the handling of the Covid epidemic and effectiveness of vaccines and where he mentions comparisons between groups experiencing different treatments with respect to vaccines and medication being possible. He applies the knowledge of Didier Raoult who says¨ it is never a good idea to compare different countries as conditions can be very different. It is better to compare the situation inside a single and uniform territory¨ (App1B, p.7, l.12-32).

Here again there is discernment shown when dissecting information.

Moving into nature as a coping mechanism

He found his own ways to cope with aspects of the measures that were challenging to him by moving away from cities into more natural surroundings where Covid-19 was only a reality for him in the news (App1B, p.11, l.1-26). He claims not to have lost friends and families as his surroundings were either like-minded or respect his views and that his ¨power as an individual has been strengthened...The truth makes you invincible¨ (App1B, p.14, l.1-15). Unfolding events have put perspectives on what was important for him and confirmed his beliefs about the¨ criminal authorities¨. On the other hand, not being a victim of quotidian disruption could make him less liable to partake in a big protest.

5.3 Participant no. 3

A female language teacher of French origin, who lives in England, recounts her experiences from there.

Distrust: harmful measures that are divisive and coercive

She also seems to believe that the measures enforced by the authorities do not work, as backed by studies conducted afterwards ¨All the data is out now… mandates did not protect anyone and harmed a lot of people, not just the economy¨ (Q6).

The same beliefs as the previous French male participant, pertaining to distrust are expressed, (although not as documented by facts), namely that the measures were actually harmful and did not find their roots in science ¨are not based on science or reliable data¨ and ¨most hospitals remained empty and that effective treatments were available to treat this illness¨ (App1C, p.5, l.22-26).

Again, there is a belief in an ¨experimental¨ vaccine¨ ¨All the covid vaccines currently offered are on clinical trial until 2023 and there is no long-term safety for any of them. ¨ There is also a perception of danger ¨ absolutely frightening…how many people have been maimed or have died after being injected¨ (App1C, p.1, l.1-7).

Furthermore, measures are believed to be ¨coercive and made to control, demoralise and divide the public¨. There is again disapproval expressed by her in addition to the same belief of ¨divisive measures¨ expressed by the former Danish participant.There seem to be a belief that the measures are going against the rights and well beingness of the population ¨violate

our individual rights (App1C, p.1, l.24-27).) reinforced by statements like ¨push and coercion¨, ¨threats over jobs, freedom of movement, access to care and bodily autonomy¨.

Feelings: anxiety, grief, fear of being controlled

The difference seen in the response of this participant is the expression of more feelings all throughout her response rather than just an intellectual analysis of things, as depicted in statements like:

-¨I have felt very anxious when masks were imposed in schools¨ described as a heavy ¨dystopian environment in which we could not breathe or communicate¨. She expressed grief at her perception that parents had let down their own children ¨it really broke my heart… no one protested the measures¨.

-¨I felt like I was in a horror film, surrounded by obedient, faceless drones¨ is an indication of a moral shock being experienced and ¨very scary times¨ is indicative of fear (App1C, p.2, l.23-31).

-¨the level of compliance in society, the division the measures have introduced, and the level of control that the new infrastructure could impose with digital identity, digital money, the WHO pandemic treaty, AI and QR code scanning everywhere in airports…¨ (App1C, p.5, l.10-13).

There is once more a definite feeling of fear for being controlled and concern about others being manipulated. This seem to be a common theme amongst all participants.

Relations enhanced and sense of empowerment

Even though her relations in the social and work context were affected, she felt enhanced connectedness and empowerment ¨a sense of being right against the mob and it was encouraging to connect with so many like-minded people, especially online and during protests.¨ (App1C, p.5, l.1-4).She found ways to go around the measures by refraining to go to restaurants and pubs for months ¨I never used a covid pass or QR code and boycotted all the places that used them¨ (Q4).

Forms of knowledge relied upon

The exact sources are not specified in detail but seem to spring from alternative media and platforms similar to the Danish participant and a great level of concern is shown in verifying

the sources of information as in the case of most participants, as well as interest in enquiring about why certain You Tube videos are deleted.

The fact that she verifies sources: ¨check the doctor's expertise, the journalist and activist backgrounds. I always check the medical papers/studies they reference to see if they have been published by official medical journals and websites¨ (App1C, p.2, l.15-19) indicates that she does not take information at face value.

5.4 Participant no 4

This participant is an Italian male who also travelled to Denmark during the pandemic times and lived in the USA previously and still has ties there. He practices meditation on a regular basis since many years.

He exhibits a decline in the level of trust in the authorities with time, agreeing with the measures in the beginning and experiencing that they got out of hand as time went by.

Forms of knowledge relied upon

The participant has a more balanced recourse to the sources of information, which are both from mainstream media and alternative voices from You Tube and over the internet.

The sources emanate expertise not only in the field of medicine but also politics and knowledge of history and interestingly are recounts of medical practitioners (nurses and doctors) who have ¨also seen the disease COVID-19 from a closer look and they have reported their own personal experiences¨. He also makes sures to check the veracity of his sources rather than trusting them at face value, verifying the background and competence of the author of the information. ¨I never just go and pick anybody who's just talking on Facebook or making personal videos on YouTube without any verifiable background and skills in the field¨ (App1D, p.3, l.3-9).

Grievances: exaggerated measures that were harmful and destroyed the economy

Some of the grievances expressed by him were his perception that the measures were exaggerated, and their consequences were detrimental to the interests of the population and more damaging to the economy than the lethality of the virus itself. These can be translated as moral shock and ¨quotidian disruptions¨, that can potentially instigate protests (Snow, 2013).

¨the consequences of the measures were harsher to deal with compared to the danger of Covid itself…that hurt the economy very badly. It did not only hurt the economy it destroyed the poor, the middle class and their businesses and now many of these people are bankrupt and even on the street homeless and so on…¨ He believes that the government's use of ¨a one size fit all measure¨ (App1D, p.1, l.13-27) rather than protecting the vulnerable was harmful.

Measures not backed by science and forceful and going against human rights and interests

He felt that many of the measures were going against human rights, an important factor that could engender large scale protests (Stekelenburg & Klandermans) and that individual freedom was being trespassed by the authorities ¨I feel that the authorities have infringed upon what I believe are personal liberties that have to do with someone's body¨ (App1D, p.2, l.1-6).

He experienced that people were compelled to take the vaccine because they felt under a lot of psychological pressure and that measures enforced were not based on science.

¨I didn't feel there was any real science behind them like forced vaccination, wearing masks outdoors¨ (App1D, p.1, l.25) expressing the same beliefs of the former two South European participants.

Intrusive measures

Another form of grievance expressed are measures enforced by the authorities as being intrusive and felt as state overreach:

¨I believe some of the measures were definitely intrusive for example with regards forced vaccinations… eg only the vaccinated could work…or go to the restaurant or hairdresser or even to the bank in my country (Italy). ¨ (App1D, p.3, l.19-26).

Again, there comes a reiteration of losing trust in authorities over time and an expression of anger at impositions, limitations and infringement on personal liberties that he believes should spring from individual choice instead of being state controlled. There is an expression of deep aggrievance of a condition contrary to fellow beings' interest and wellbeing, an important factor, that could predispose individuals to join protests (Snow, 2013).

Strong grievance: mental health issues surge

Another strong grievance expressed, is the increase in mental health issues in the society, which is very much in line with what the previous French participant expressed ¨it has damaged not only the mental health of many people, not only those who already have a big issue with mental health but also those who have never had issues with mental health before¨ (App1D, p.7, l.20-22).

Cynicism regarding media's handling of the pandemic

There is also a belief that there has been data manipulation from the media and media propaganda whereby information and data associated with the pandemic that were presented to the population were false ¨again this idea is being reinforced through the media giving us the wrong information about the virus, the wrong information about the mortality rate of the virus¨, ¨the false narrative propagated by the media¨ (App1D, p.7, l.27-30).

Again there is distrust towards the authorities being exhibited and the same belief seen as in other participants, of a higher power and an invisible enemy trying to gain control though the adoption of these measures ¨ dictated by a bigger agenda larger agenda which I believe has to do with control¨ (App1D, p.8, l.4-8).

A certain degree of acceptance of measures shown

There is a degree of acceptance of measures shown unlike many of the previous participants regarding the requirement to be tested prior to international flight, mask wearing, social distancing in public places but not outdoors as was a requirement in Italy. Despite his own views about wearing masks, he always found a way to compromise ¨so that others would feel safe around me¨ (App1D, p.7, l.8).

He expressed disapproval for ¨intrusive¨ PCR test in the nose as the only option made available in Italy to be able to access important functional venues like hospitals, which he experienced as government outreach in his country as opposed to what he perceived as fair measures in Denmark (App1D, p.8, l.22-30).

Freedom of expression and movement being infringed

His relationships were adversely affected primarily because of difference of views held about the pandemic. He felt definite impediments to his freedom of movement and freely expressing his opinions around him was met with opposition and dismissal by those ¨going

by the main narrative and who want… to force their opinion on me without any margin of acceptance or opening towards my own opinion¨ (App1D, p.4, l.27-36).

Meditation as coping mechanism

The experience of this participant, who was a meditation practitioner, was quite unique especially seen from the perspective of how his spiritual journey helped him cope with the pandemic, giving him new realisations. He saw it as an opportunity to put into practice what he had learnt from all his spiritual practices and noticed that he was not much affected by the consequences of the restrictions ¨I was very at ease with myself. I was not unhappy or angry or frustrated that I could not go to watch a movie in the movie theaters. I was not concerned that I could not go and eat out at a restaurant¨. He experienced just a new way of expressing himself that brought him more in contact with nature, that was more simple and more authentic. ¨It was a great opportunity to actually get to know myself better to express myself in a different way, in a more fresh sense that is not scripted¨ (App1D, p.6,7, l.18-29).

Even though this participant does show many disagreements with many measures enforced by the authorities, as supported by his own experience and logic, he does not exhibit many of the feelings, cited by Snow, that would predispose one to partake in large scale protests.

5.5 Participant no 5

Participant 5 is a Swedish man living in Sweden, working in the field of social psychiatry and educated at university level in Pennsylvania, America.

He also does not believe in the efficacy and usefulness of the measures imposed by the authorities and also has strong objection to the vaccine.

¨I never took the mRNA injection, I was the only person at my job of 35 employed that didn't¨ (App1E, p.2, l.2).

Forms of knowledge relied upon

This participant also seems research his information in a thoughtful manner ¨I compare the information shown by our government via media to my own research of information from various sites¨ and ¨double checking all information¨ (App1E, p.2, l.17-25).

He compares information he gets from various sites and peer reviewed studies and independent sources to check similarities, exhibiting basic discernment skills in his research

process to get a broader and verified picture of things and situations. He does not precisely cite his sources though unlike some of the other participants, who have been more elaborate in their answer than him.

Powerlessness, Distrust, Rise in mental health issues during the pandemic

¨It made me realize that the government can enforce whatever they want¨ (App1E, p.3, l.16). This is a strong statement indicating a feeling of powerlessness experienced the participant, who feels subjected to strong governmental dominance.

There is also a strong distrust expressed towards the authorities regarding the change in definition of the word pandemic, similar to what was expressed by participant no 2.¨Even when WHO and CDC changed the definition of what a pandemic is right before the outbreak¨ and figures and statistics from authorities that seem to be contradictory and not to reflect reality being portrayed of the pandemic ¨SCB shows no difference in total deaths in Sweden from year 2000 up til 2022¨. There is distrust in the measures implemented by the authorities namely towards the vaccine: ¨The mRNA injection was denied by vaccine companies for decades due to the fact that it was too dangerous to be used on humans¨ (App1E, p.3, l.16-27).

Another strong aggrievance is seeing the rise of mental health problems occurring right in front of him ¨As I work as a social psychiatrist I could see a high rise in depressions and worsening conditions in people with social anxiety¨ (App1E, p.4, l.25-26).

Censorship and freedom of expression impaired

The participant is strongly aggrieved by censorship ¨I learned about silencing and censorship, debate posts by myself were taken off and I'm unable to write on public forums on government sites ¨ (App1E, p.4, l.7-10) and it was a little surprising that he was stopped by the police many times unlike other people in his tow.

Work relations and freedom of movement affected

His personal decisions were not much respected by his surroundings at work¨ I was questioned and coerced by colleagues, by my employer, by medical staff… social media¨ and his work was also affected as he lost clients.He felt quite impeded in his freedom of movement as he could not travel, go to restaurants or the hospital without the ¨vaccine pass¨ (App1E, p.2, l.2-12), which made him feel ¨angry and irritated¨ and sad when he could not

see his daughter perform at school (Q3). However, he was not much affected in his relations with his close surroundings namely family members and friends (Q7)

Overall, however, he experienced the measures to be not as tough as in countries like Australia and Austria. This seems to be more of a localised individual experience being recounted with a lot of disappointment expressed but not necessarily feelings of outrage, that are more detrimental in motivating individuals to engage in protests.

6 Conclusion

Even though the participants were from different parts of Europe, where different Covid-19 measures of different levels of strictness were prevalent, resulting from different modes of operation of power by the authorities in Nordic countries as opposed to Southern European countries, many similarities are observed in the participants' responses, experiences and feelings.

A big common theme was distrust in the authorities, experienced as an enterprise of ¨divide and conquer¨ and a ¨common enemy¨, the main target of visibility for resistance being expressed by all the participants. They relied on information they found from different sources, including mainstream and alternative media, that were not taken just at face value but contained carefully analysed elements of research. Some identities emerging were the conscious and informed versus the manipulated or compliant segment of the population. Resentment and moral outrage are felt in the participants' expression as many of the measures are believed not to be backed by science and furthermore lockdowns are unanimously believed to be harmful not only to the economy but also mental health of the population. Remedial measures like the vaccines and medicines employed by the authorities to treat Covid 19 patients in some instances are perceived as lethal. There is a big fear of being under the control of the authorities being expressed by all the participants, who believe that the invisible enemy, placed at a higher position of authority, has recourse to the use of bioweapons (through vaccines) coupled with surveillance techniques, to institute total control over its subjects, using forced censorship as a silencing tool, that only bred more distrust. Many of the decisions taken by the authorities seem to go against the interests and wellbeing of people as perceived by the participants, namely freedom inhibitions and human rights violation (Nuremberg Code).

All these elements constitute strong enough attributes that would definitely contribute to propel protest movements, as propounded by Snow (2013) and Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2013).

Even though the participants were affected to different degrees by these measures, they found their own creative way of coping with the rigors of the situation, namely through meditation and moving into nature and all exhibited concern for other fellow human beings.

A striking aspect discovered from this research is that even though the participants are from different countries and were accessed from different online protests groups, that were not connected to each other, they show so many similarities in the way they experienced various aspects of the pandemic.

However, this study does not claim to deliver results that are conclusive or representative of the rest of the population of people who have been resisting Covid-19 measures in the respective countries but is just a representative fraction of the people protesting; it rather offers valuable in-depth insights into how the participants perceived things and into their experiences, pointing at elements, that could potentially lead to the formation of big scale protest movements.

7 Appendices

Appendix 1- Interview transcripts of all participants with coding

Appendix 2-Figure for Analytical Theories Progress

Appendix 3-Themes from literature review

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