Extinction Rebellion: The emergence, evolution and character of a transnational environmental movement

To be published in:
Oxford Handbook of Climate Action, ed. Paul Almeida, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Tiago Carvalho, ISCTE – University Institute of Lisbon
Peter Gardner, University of York

Word count: 7740

Abstract

At the end of the 2010s, a new wave of climate activism emerged around the world, with the transnational spread of groups such as Fridays For Future, the Sunrise Movement, the Green New Deal Coalition, and Extinction Rebellion (XR). Due to their action, discourse, capacity to transnationalize, and alliance with other groups, XR has become one of the most important environmental movements of the 21st century. Created in the UK in 2018, it rapidly transnationalized with the help of massive, impactful demonstrations in the UK that gave visibility to their action and principles. In this chapter, we provide an overview of XR's emergence, renationalization, evolution over time, and core characteristics, including its repertoires of action, practices, discourses, and social composition. Overall, we present the movement as being characterized by overarching tensions in its organizational framework and conception of politics, involving a complex amalgamation of horizontal democratic and centralizing vanguardist tendencies.

Keywords: Extinction Rebellion, Environmental Movements, Climate Change, Transnational Activism, Extinction Rebellion's Organizational Structure

Introduction

Active in more than 80 countries across all 7 continents and with more than 1000 local-level chapters at the time of writing (XR, 2024a; Gardner,

Carvalho and Valenstain, 2022), Extinction Rebellion ("XR" herein) represents one of the most important transnational social movements of recent years. Since its emergence in 2018, it has had a profound impact across the world, engaging a wide variety of governments, corporations, media, and publics in questions relating to climate change and related ecological crises. Although it is best known for its use of dramatic and disruptive tactics, XR has utilized the full gamut of nonviolent contentious activities and repertoires. In the wake of XR's activities, climate emergencies have been declared by various local and national governments (including the UK, Ireland, France, Aotearoa New Zealand, and Canada), supranational confederations (such as the European Union), universities (for example, the universities of Bristol, Bath, Plymouth, and Cardiff), and institutions (from wide-ranging businesses to the Catholic Church).

XR is part of a new wave of environmental movements that build on past movements while bringing new aspects to these mobilizations (Almeida, 2019; de Moor et al, 2021). From the start, the movement adopted a well-defined strategy which involved the development of an organizational brand that could be easily diffused across the world and drawing on past nonviolent repertoires to call on the state – and others – to take urgent action on the climate and ecological emergency. At the same time, their particular approach has been a marked departure from the kinds of strategies employed by mainstream environmental movements since the 1990s (de Moor et al, 2021) through their deployment of notably disruptive tactics. The movement has also acted as a stimulus for the formation of new, similar groups centered on addressing climate change. Overall, while XR can be viewed as a part of a longer history of nonviolent civil disobedience groups - environmental and otherwise - it also constitutes a 'step change' in the arena of action (Almeida, 2019; Chase-Dunn and Almeida, 2020; Farrer, Doyle, and Smith, 2023).

XR began in the UK with three demands. The first, "Tell the Truth", calls on governments and the media to accurately communicate to the public the "extreme cascading risks humanity now faces" as a result of climate change, as well as "the injustice this represents, its historic roots, and the urgent need for rapid political, social and economic change" (XR, n.d.). The second, "Act Now", demanded that net zero be achieved by 2025. To do so, XR saw a need for the "whole of society" to "move into a new precautionary paradigm, where life is

sacred and all are in service to ensuring its future". The third demand, "Decide Together", petitioned the government to establish a citizens' assembly, allowing key decision-making on climate change-related policy to be made through direct rather than representative democracy. Meanwhile, the movement in the US added a fourth demand, calling for a transition that prioritized racial and indigenous justice – a demand that has been adopted by a range of local chapters of the movement in the UK and elsewhere.

This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of XR 2018-2024. Drawing on existing social movement studies research and our own research,[1] we cover XR's history, strategy, goals, discourses, organizational structure, transnational diffusion, issues of race, class, gender, and age, and a brief overview of movement spin-offs. In doing so, we critically assess, in particular, what kind of a social movement organization XR represents in relation to its decentralizing and centralizing tendencies. Alongside its prefigurative, horizontalist and decentralized features, the literature also speaks of XR as entailing vanguardist elements (Weaver, 2024) with a hierarchical organizational structure that occasionally prioritizes of efficiency over democracy (Berglund and Schmidt, 2020). Overall, we contend that while XR exhibits certain centralizing characteristics, such depictions need to be tempered by recognition of its polycentric and consensus-based aspects, especially in light of its transnational character.

The Emergence of XR

In 2016, a small set of activists connected online, coming together to form a movement called "Rising Up!". Comprising a range of seasoned activists, including Roger Hallam, Gail Bradbrook and Simon Bramwell, among others, Rising Up! engaged in a variety of campaigns on climate change, most of which failed to garner traction or media attention (Melia, 2021; XRUK, 2024c). However, between 2016 and 2018, the group successfully built small-scale coalitions with key activist networks and established a set of core guiding

[1] Including a dataset of all XR local chapters (taken from rebellion.global in 2022), a protest event dataset of major XR protests worldwide, a series of semi-structired interviews with 96 activists across 17 countries worldwide (conducted 2020-2023), and a dataset of 10 interviews conducted with activists in XR, Animal Rising, Insulate Britain and Just Stop Oil (conducted by Gardner in 2023-24).

principles and values, both of which subsequently emerged as fundamental to XR's operational framework (Melia, 2021). Rather than being established as a movement in its own right, "Extinction Rebellion" was initiated as another Rising Up! campaign. As Melia (2021, p.168-9) explains:

> In December 2017 Hallam wrote a short strategy paper entitled 'Pivoting to the Real Issue', drawing on Rising Up!'s recent experience and on his reading of research evidence. It defined climate change as 'the greatest mobilization story of all time'. Unlike other threats this one was existential – it threatened the elites as well as the people, but campaigners, politicians and the wider public were stuck in a 'death spiral of pragmatism'. The conventional wisdom said that 'if you tell people the truth about climate change, they will switch off', which might be true for most people, but '1 to 5 per cent will be shitting themselves over it and this will drive them to action'. … For this new campaign Rising Up! should ask people to commit to break the law and, if necessary, go to prison. … Hallam's paper was discussed for the first time at a meeting in January 2018. There was much support for the plan, but Bradbrook and some others felt more preparatory work was needed before embarking on anything so ambitious. … Despite the misgivings of some members, and an argument over the name, they decided to go ahead with XR as a campaign – not an organisation.

Hence, XR rose to prominence as Rising Up!'s most successful campaign. Once it began to gain exponential momentum from late 2018, the campaign became the movement on the fly, incorporating the groundwork undertaken over the preceding two years.

Although both Rising Up! and the XR campaign began in England, its genesis transcended national borders, with pivotal aspects of its framing and objectives being experimented with beyond the UK context. Through the 2010s an international network of activists and psychologists - based mainly in Australia and the US - had been advocating action to persuade governments to declare a climate emergency. This loose assortment of actors, networks and movements

had begun to challenge the approach taken at the time, as outlined by one Australian environmental activist (and later co-founder of XR Australia)[2]:

> [During his time as US Presidency, Obama's messaging had been,] "Don't worry about the science, just jobs and growth: jobs, jobs, jobs, growing jobs. Don't mention the science, don't do anything to make people afraid", right? So that spread through the whole climate movement in America and then next thing, we had caught the flu over here [in Australia] as well. Even more than before, all the NGOs were saying "fear doesn't work", "you've just got to talk about renewables", "lots of renewables, lots of jobs". It was driving me crazy. So, in 2017, … I spoke at this festival … called *Don't Mention the Emergency*. Sometime after that, I got a call from Gail Bradbrook and she said, "I'm setting up a climate group in the UK, can we use your talk?" I said, "Sure, sure." I was thinking it was going to be like one of those grassroots groups. Anyway, we had some chat afterwards and, of course, it was turning into Extinction Rebellion.

As this quote illustrates, Rising Up! – and subsequently XR – was not merely influenced by the broad array of antecedent environmental and other movements across the world, but was also consciously engaged with and actively incorporated such influences.

In early 2018, Rising Up! began to undertake a series of talks throughout the UK to mobilize for the Extinction Rebellion campaign, initially only managing to garner support from "a few anarchists, vegan activists or anti-capitalists", with limited recruitment of local non-activists (Melia, 2021, p.170). In mid-October, the campaign was mentioned in an article by George Monbiot in the British newspaper The Guardian and shared on Twitter the following day by US presidential candidate Bernie Sanders, affording the campaign considerable publicity and mobilizing "over a thousand people" for the first public protest event (Melia, 2021, p.170). At the end of October 2018, around 1,000 people congregated outside the UK Houses of Parliament in London. A 'Declaration of Rebellion' was read aloud. It stated that the "ecological crises that are impacting

[2] Interview with the authors, 2022.

upon this nation, and indeed this planet and its wildlife can no longer be ignored, denied nor go unanswered by any beings of sound rational thought, ethical conscience, moral concern, or spiritual belief', that climate change will, 'unless immediately addressed, … catapult us further into the destruction of all we hold dear', and that they 'refuse to bequeath a dying planet to future generations by failing to act now" (XR 2018). After declaring themselves 'in rebellion against our Government and the corrupted, inept institutions that threaten our future' (XR 2018), they blockaded a major road in the city, ending in fifteen arrests.

In April 2019, XR undertook its first Rebellion, occupying core areas of central London for two weeks and employing a variety of disruptive, nonviolent actions to shut down the city, including the blockading of several of the bridges that form vital thoroughfares through the city (Berglund and Schmidt, 2020). This time, in addition to thousands more participating in the streets of London, the event was transnational, with simultaneous Rebellions taking place in at least 34 other countries across the globe (Gardner, Carvalho, and Valenstain, 2022). A significant portion of participants in the protest were new to activism, with 'nearly three-quarters' of the cohort in London previously 'having participated in ten demonstrations or fewer' (Hayes, Doherty and Saunders, 2020: 3). Due to its sheer scale, widespread media attention, and transnational character, the Rebellion in April 2019 marked a pivotal moment in the formation of the movement. And yet, the feat was repeated and extended in October 2019, drawing even larger numbers to the streets and taking place in more than 60 cities worldwide (XR 2019b).

Sailing Boats on City Roads: XR's Strategy and Protest Methods

Looking across the many national contexts in which XR is active, it is clear that the movement has involved a plethora of strategies, repertoires and goals. Best known for its disruptive and dramatic protest events, there is a tendency in the literature to reduce the movement to the form it has taken in the UK, Western Europe, Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia, and North America, and in so doing overlooking the rich diversity and plurality of XR as a global movement. In reality, its approaches, targets and aims have included the full spectrum from massive city blockades calling for system change to leafleting projects aiming to educate publics (see Gardner et al., 2023). Nevertheless, it was XR UK's highly dramatic

approach in 2018-19 that drove public awareness of the movement, as well as its meteoric rise and diffusion (Gardner, Carvalho & Valenstain, 2022).

XR UK has broadly framed their action in terms of 'nonviolent direct action' (NVDA hereafter). Drawing on Gandhi and Luther-King's theory and practice, as well as in a plethora of other past movements, the movement prioritized "mass civil disobedience, directed primarily at national governments and located mainly in national capitals", as the initial objective was to move beyond "small-scale direction action to environmentally damaging projects" to reach beyond left-wing environmentalism (Doherty and Hayes, 2022). When compared with the previous wave of environmental movements, the new wave that emerged since 2018 "appears to be the use of a more politically 'neutral' framing of climate change that is directed more strongly at state than non-state actors" (De Moor et al, 2021, pp. 619-620).

XR's strategy of NVDA should be understood as a strategic choice aligned with its overall goals. This approach contrasts with less disruptive repertoires (e.g. protest marches, petitions, and letter-writing) and more subversive approaches such as sabotage (Berglund, 2023; Scheuerman, 2022; Malm, 2021). In the XR mobilization toolbox, NVDA refers to occupations, blockages, lock-ons, banner-drops, unauthorized demonstrations and other actions that can consciously result in the mass arrest of the participants and, in so doing, applying pressure to the state (alongside, at times, other organizations and institutions).

Despite being branded as anti-democratic by some media commentators, XR's strategy has been explicitly within the confines of liberal democracy, calling for reform of – rather than overthrow or even fundamental restructuring of – the state (Berglund and Schmidt, 2020). Even in contexts where its activists engage in law-breaking while undertaking NVDA, the movement has been remarkably dedicated to the ethic of non-violence. Given XR's justification of such actions as acting to prevent a future societal collapse – including a crumbling of the rule of law and the replacement of democracy for authoritarianism – these more disruptive repertoires ought to be understood as nonetheless grounded in a "fidelity to law" in a broader sense (Extinction Rebellion, 2019; Berglund and Schmidt, 2020; Berglund, 2023). As such, "[c]ivil disobedience challenges legitimacy by being a communicative act", as it clearly takes advantage of the law to communicate that they are willing to accept the "punishment and using this

punishment as a communicative platform" (Berglund and Schmidt, 2020, p. 30). Berglund (2023) posits such an approach as a form of prefigurative legitimacy, with the movement drawing on both liberal and anarchist traditions in their action. By putting themselves on the line, their objective is to gain legitimacy and to be seen to stand for and communicate what they believe.

Such an approach differs from those of the Global Justice Movement and the Zapatista Model (Berglund and Schmidt, 2020; De Moor et al, 2021) in relation to the transformation of the state, with these movements situating much of their action outside of the state, pointing to a bottom-up and grassroots alternative. Through its use of NVDA, XR has engaged directly with the state in ways that recognize and legitimize its authority. A paradox thus emerges, as their rejection of electoral politics conflicts with the need to work with current political forces to speak the truth, take immediate action, create Citizens' Assemblies (CAs) and to implement their recommendations.

XR's action, strategy and goals for NVDA are grounded in an interpretation of conclusions presented in the work of Chenoweth and Stephan (2011), specifically the claim that at a mobilization of 3.5% or more of the population in a given polity inevitably leads to political change. However, the movement has also been critiqued for its oversimplified application of Chenoweth and Stephan's work, particularly for the conceptualization of social change as obeying natural science-like laws and for the transplanting of analysis undertaken in nondemocratic settings into democratic ones (Mathews, 2020; Scheurman, 2022; Berglund and Schmidt, 2020).

XR's repertoires have tended to be been highly performative and theatrical (Coombs, 2020; Johnston and Holland, 2023; Greenfell, 2023), involving "vivid graphics and branding, and … performative protests [that] have blocked traffic, enraged onlookers, and given a new sense [to] the power of movement, corporeality, and the colour red" (Coombs, 2020, p.125). The desire to create a "fun atmosphere" is underpinned by an understanding that "most people respond to what is cultural and celebratory rather than political and solemn" (Hallam, 2019, p. 4). As Johnston and Holland (2023) demonstrate, XR crafted a public approach geared towards eye catching displays that disrupt daily life, using attention-grabbing interventions to raise public awareness, prompt quick government action on environmental concerns, and foster a temporary feeling of

solidarity among those involved. Overall, the approach has involved protest method innovations that challenge established norms and call for urgent measures to address climate change.

XR regularly uses symbolic objects in its protest actions, such as multicolored flags carrying the group's logo, coffins, giant octopuses and "zombie koalas" (Sharp-Wiggins, 2022), and the much-documented use of sailing boats in their inner-city blockades (XR, 2020b). These objects serve multifaceted roles, as they are capable of making declarations and conveying narratives (Gardner and Abrams, 2023), raising awareness, mobilizing activists, expressing affect, and mitigating against activist exhaustion (Stammen and Meissner, 2024). Moreover, visual bodily practices such as the Red Brigade and public die-ins render the body itself as a symbolic object in protest, allowing it to transcend conventional argumentation and engage in "non-verbal levels of political action and argumentation" (Malafaia, Kettunen, and Luhtakallio, 2024, p.11).

As indicated at the start of this section, XR operates in diverse contexts globally. However, the academic literature has been slow to analyze XR in the Global South. Taking a single line of latitude, little is known of the repertoires used by the movement in countries such as Costa Rica, Venezuela, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Sudan, Sri Lanka, Thailand, or the Philippines. Nevertheless, across the many contexts in which XR is active, it would appear that a wide variety of approaches have been adopted, with activists in nondemocratic settings and regions where protest is generally less common tending to avoid the use of dramatic anti-government discourses, or the tactics of mass arrest and large-scale city blockades (Gardner et al., 2023, 2024).

"People gonna rise like the water": XR's Framing and Discourse

Having outlined XR's approach to protest, we now turn to the movement's framing and discourse: the outlook and language used by the movement to describe the world as they see it, what they believe needs to change, and how they plan to change it. Scholarship has sought to analyze XR's framing and discourse using various methods, including interviews with activists in a local XR chapter (Smiles and Edwards, 2021), social media accounts, press releases, and online material produced by the movement (Buzogany and Scherhaufer, 2022), songs and chants used in protest events (Pieri, 2024), and XR UK's podcast (Gardner

and Carvalho, 2023). Overall, with a heavy emphasis on evidence from natural science, XR posits a future in which ecological and societal collapse is inevitable without immediate and radical action by policymakers and others in power. Despite the broader framing of being 'beyond politics', the discourses of its activists range from calls for sweeping changes to the current economic and political system (Gardner and Carvalho, 2023) to those more "reminiscent of mainstream environmental policy makers" (Smiles and Edwards, 2021, p.1445).

Rohden (2021, p.8) reports that the movement has "almost 900 links to pages related with climate change and biodiversity loss, pointing to scientific evidence". As such, they act as amplifiers of such results to justify and legitimize their action, create awareness and mobilize further.

In our analysis of the XR UK podcast (Gardner and Carvalho, 2023), one of their core ideas, and in a way a motto for action, centers around environmental catastrophe - both present and future. Differently from a mere crisis, catastrophe corresponds to a situation where there is no possibility of returning to the pre-catastrophe status quo. Following the scientific consensus, the movement sees the future climate collapse as the result of the intersection, crosscut and reinforcing temporal, psychological, democratic, representational, media, and political economy crisis. In XR's discourse, there is a clear depiction of the state of the world in the hands of an economic and political elite. Nonetheless, and to counter such a future, XR emphasizes that radical action offers an opportunity for societal renewal and transformation.

XR's Rebellion Songbook – a collection of songs and chants to be used in the movement's protest events – also articulates their diagnosis of the situation and potential solutions to the climate crisis (Pieri, 2024). These songs serve a dual purpose: they clearly express the movement's grievances and proposed solutions, such as the need for adherence to scientific recommendations and the establishment of climate assemblies. The music underscores the urgent message that unless climate change is halted, we will face an ecosystem collapse. However, by incorporating rebellion as a form of action within their lyrics, the songs evoke strong emotional responses, mobilizing support and fostering a sense of solidarity and urgency among listeners. This musical strategy reinforces XR's broad message and enhances the movement's impact by engaging audiences on both an intellectual and emotional level.

Glaever and Russell (2024), through interviews with XR members across different country contexts, investigated how activists in the movement perceive the future as foretold by science. Activist discourses were found to be fraught with negative emotions, such as anxiety, depression, and guilt, while also expressing a feeling of being "grateful to be alive". In terms of their activism, two main emotions emerge: 1) burnout as a result of the weight of responsibility this outlook holds and the challenges of balancing multiple roles in the movement, and 2) a feeling that they feel they have no choice but to act, whilst describing their activism as providing energy and hope for change as a result of their actions. As such, XR members develop two emotional regulatory actions to counter it: healing to sustain action and taking action to heal. The first corresponds to self-care practices, within regenerative culture, to heal from the negative experiences of climate change activism. In the second XR members point out that besides pressuring the government, taking action also helps them to "process and make sense of negative emotions around environmental issues" (Glaever and Russell, 2024, p. 9)

Aware of the potential emotional burden of climate activism from the start, XR developed various community-based strategies for emotional and cultural healing. To foster resilience for coping with the heavy emotional and psychological burden of the future, prevent activist burnout, and countering feelings of hopelessness (Stuart, 2020), XR developed a 'regenerative culture' (or 'regen'). Based on self-care, people care, and planet care, regen acts as a form of prefigurative practice that in turn informs the ideology, organization and strategy of the movement as a whole (Westell and Bunting, 2020; Berglund and Schmidt, 2020). Such activities involve "the creation of time and space for sharing and processing emotional experiences, and the building of community, e.g., through debriefing and the creation of ceremonies to hold difficult emotions" (Glaever and Russel, 2024, p. 5). Although not ubiquitously applied throughout the movement, regen has been a core element of XR's practices and discourses from its inception, offering both a clear framing of the climate crisis as an emotionally challenging and transformative event and a potential solution to the issue for its activists and the local communities in which they are embedded.

XR's discourses and framing is also reflected in its imagery. Their hourglass logo, for instance, reflects quite clearly this double aspect of the

impending doom, with time fast running out, while at the same time infusing action with hope: it is only by engaging in direct action that catastrophic environmental damage can be prevented. As we mention above, such declarations of the nature of the threat faced are also present in the symbolic objects used in XR's protest events, with sailing boats in urban centers speaking of the destructive power of rising seas, funeral coffins raising the specter of death, and the skeletons of humans and other animals acting as "a stark reminder of our mortality and through humor and humility bring us closer to ourselves and the loss of life on Earth" (XR 2019a). In this way, XR visually argues for actions that can avert climate catastrophe, especially those that disrupt existing power structures, and presents disruption through collective action as a necessary step toward addressing the climate emergency.

Organizational Structure: A Decentralized Movement with a Vanguardist core?

XR uses an organizational structure that it calls the "Self-Organising System (SOS)", generally considered to be sociocratic, holacratic, or a combination of both[3] (Rowe and Ormond, 2023; Zantvoort, 2023; Bergland and Schmidt, 2020). According to XRUK's website, this system aims to be fully non-hierarchical, mitigating power as much as possible such that "no single person has power over another person or the system itself" (XRUK, 2024). Working groups, or 'circles', focus on particular tasks (such as media and messaging, actions and logistics, or data analysis circles) and operate autonomously within the remit of their responsibilities. Decision-making is built by consensus, with facilitators tasked with ensuring that all voices are heard whilst ensuring that meetings are relatively efficient. Attempting to be both democratic and agile, the bar for consensus is whether it is "safe enough to try" rather than the ideal outcome for all present.

[3] Sociocracy is a "semi-horizontal method of governance defined by the organisation of people into small semi-autonomous 'circles' to work on specific tasks and make decisions on issues outlined in their mandate; the use of elections to appoint people to circle coordinator and representative positions; and the use of consent-based decision-making, whereby all individuals in a circle must express consent for a decision to be actioned" (Rowe and Ormond, 2023, p.146). The key features of holacracy that XR has adopted involve the use of "energizing roles" (with authority delegated to individuals who occupy clearly defined roles associated with task-focused mandates) and a "circle structure" (multiple self-organising groups connected to the wider movement by individuals acting as links to other circles) (Bergland and Schmidt, 2020: 42-43).

The “chapter” is a cornerstone of XR’s decentralized organizational structure. Chapters serve as local hubs, fostering mobilization, participation, training and community-building at the grassroots level and allowing for the emergence of highly localized strategies and repertoires (Fotaki and Foroughi, 2022). Being largely autonomous, XR chapters have responded to a diverse range of climate and ecological issues from the provincial to the global (Smiles and Edwards, 2021), integrated into the broader movement through alignment with its core demands, principles and values and dedication to nonviolent ecological protest (Burgess and Read 2020; Smyth and Walters 2020). In addition to their organizational role, chapters cultivate a sense of imagined community, aiding in the formation of an ‘idea of Extinction Rebellion as a whole, despite individual activists having never met most others in the movement and despite actual experiences and local realities of being associated with the movement being rather diverse in practice’ (James and Mack 2020; Morgan 2021; Gardner, Carvalho and Valenstain, 2022, p.427). In this way, chapters of the movement across the world have been able to remain both globally connected – whether merely symbolically or in more concrete ways – and locally rooted (Berglund and Schmidt, 2020; Gardner, Carvalho and Valenstain, 2022).

In addition to local chapters, and inspired by anarchist organizing strategies, the movement encourages the formation of ‘affinity groups’. Like chapters, affinity groups are autonomous groups within the movement, required only to agree to XR’s principles and values. However, unlike chapters, affinity groups are rooted in a specific area of focus, protest event, or common interest. Two broad types of affinity groups exist within XR. First, there are those that represent the “smallest organizational unit of XR” (Westwell and Bunting, 2020: 548), containing around “eight to twelve people”, united around “a shared vision of what they want to achieve” and focused on engaging in nonviolent direct action as a team (Berglund and Schmidt, 2020: 43). However, a second type of affinity group has emerged that is far larger and more diffuse, such as XR Buddhists (XR, 2020a) or Cycling Rebellion (Becket, 2023).

In the United Kingdom, the movement is organized on local, regional/national and UK-wide levels. At the local level, XRUK is made up of a large number of ‘chapters’ that are spread extensively throughout the country. By June 2021, 420 local chapters had been formed across the UK (Gardner, Carvalho

and Valenstain, 2022), but this figure fell to 230 by May 2024 (XR, 2024b). The regional level aims to foster connections among local chapters, organized into eleven groups: London, Midlands, North, North East and Cumbria, East of England, South East, South West, Bristol, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. A national-level circle ("The Hive") connects all circles and chapters of the movement within the UK and coordinates country-level actions ("rebellions") in the capital.

There is some notable diversity in the organizational structure of the movement across the world. Similar approaches to the UK exist in the Netherlands (Rowe and Ormond, 2023; Zantvoort, 2023), France (Brunon, 2021) and Poland (Smółka, 2023), albeit without the regional level of organization seen in the UK. However, in many contexts, either a single (national-level) chapter (e.g. Bulgaria, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, and Thailand) or a small number of chapters (e.g. Slovakia, Brazil, Pakistan and Ethiopia) have been established (XR 2024a; Gardner, Carvalho and Valenstain, 2022). In The Gambia, a single national chapter exists, coordinating various activities across the country from Banjul to the rural interior (Gardner, O'Brien, Carvalho and Adekola, 2024). In Australia, the movement has tended to organize around the regional level, connecting local groups within specific states and territories, with a national level proper only emerging during the COVID-19 pandemic (Gardner, Carvalho, Newman-Grigg and O'Brien, *working paper*). In the US, factional divisions led to a collapse at the national level, resulting in an array of isolated local chapters and emergent regional groupings (such as the North East Region, centered on New York, Boston and Washington D.C.) becoming established as core supra-local levels of organization (Gardner and Müller, *working paper*).

The movement also has a supra-national level of organization. Founded in 2018 as the "International Support Team" and renamed "XR Global Support" in 2020, this circle was established to support the worldwide movement, supplying "resources, training, media communications, tech infrastructure, and funding" to local- and national-level groups across the countries where XR is active (XR, 2024c; Smółka, 2023). However, we were unable to find a single research study analyzing this feature of the movement.

XR's organizational structure has been critiqued for being both too democratic and less democratic than it claims. On the former, while being highly

decentralized allows XR to engage in a "high frequency of actions", it nonetheless renders it "difficult to avoid controversial activities" (Buzogány and Scherhaufer, 2023, p.365). A case in point is the widely condemned Canning Town underground railway station blockade that took place during the 2019 Rebellion in London (Mansfield, 2020; Fotaki and Foroughi, 2022; Seagrave 2023).

On the latter, however, the "dispersion of authority to smaller groups has made XR['s] ... internal decision-making more opaque" (Bergland and Schmidt, 2020: 54). For Fotaki and Foroughi (2022, p.238), the claim to leaderlessness and a fully non-hierarchical organizing structure is inherently flawed, allowing for "power [to be] practiced and simultaneously disavowed". The fantasy of leaderlessness at play in the movement has obscured the forms of power at work in the movement, preventing the development of "more egalitarian and participatory ways of sharing and distributing roles and responsibilities" (Fotaki and Foroughi, 2022, p.241).

In a provocative profile piece in *Social Movement Studies*, Duncan Weaver (2024) argued that XR ought to be considered a green vanguardist movement. Weaver's argument centers on the affinities between vanguardism and forms of civil resistance, XR's framing of climate change as an all-encompassing existential threat, and the movement's rhetoric opposing imperialism (perceived as the highest form of capitalism) for its inherently ecocidal character. Nevertheless, vanguardism involves – in Weaver's (2024, p.113, 118, 114) words, "a cadre of revolutionaries leading from the front to mobilize mass-constituencies" and "a catalyst creating conditions for revolution", wherein a "cadre, the vanguard, musters around universal(izable) grievances" such that the "regime can only be overthrown if the masses in totality revolt". As outlined above, the emergence of XR in 2018 as a particularly ambitious campaign of Rising Up! certainly has vanguardist qualities, with internal contestation over Hallam's "Pivoting to the Real Issue" paper somewhat reminiscent of Bolshevik disagreement over Lenin's *April Thesis*, wherein heated debate over the extent to which Lenin's proposal for immediate revolutionary action was premature and inchoate took place among the party's leaders. Overall, however, we view the vanguardist characterization of XR as too much of an oversimplification of what is, in reality, a rather broad, multifaceted and diffused movement containing significant democratic and decentralized qualities.

Building a Global Movement

In a context of increasing debate, XR, alongside other movements, gave a new impetus to transnational environmental mobilizations. Given the global character of the climate crisis, responses to it demand endeavors that go beyond the local or even national level. Not that this is new: past environmental movements have also engaged in building global networks of action, with environmental advocacy seeing increasing transnationalization since the 1970s (Smith et al., 2018). In fact, the new Environmentalism that emerged in the 1970s shows "very little evidence of global environmental protest action or of groups working effectively across borders" (Doherty and Doyle, 2006, p. 698), as organizations remained highly centralized, institutionalized and based in Global North, in what has been described as a "limited transnationalisation" (Rootes, 1999).

The year of 2018 has been considered a turning point, bringing about a new phase of environmental action (Almeida, 2019) with an enlargement and reconfiguration of the environmental arena in line with a renewed internationalist impetus. Continuing this global path of action, XR explicitly strategized its development toward a transnational reach that would spread beyond the UK in a coordinated fashion. To do so, they adopted a simple, flexible, and open strategy for diffusion, minimizing barriers to for activists wishing to create their own XR groups in other countries and making stencils for the movement's branding publicly available for use elsewhere (Gardner, Carvalho and Valenstein, 2022). To establish a new chapter and become officially included in XR, activists needed only to accept the movement's three demands and ten principles and values. Such an approach was key in the movement's transnational diffusion.

Elsewhere, we have argued that XR's protest events may also have precipitated its transnationalization (Gardner, Carvalho and Valenstein, 2022). XR's diffusion was, we contend, significantly propelled by pivotal protest events, notably the Declaration of Rebellion in Autumn 2018 and the first International Rebellion in Spring 2019, catalyzing the establishment of new chapters worldwide and effectively broadening its geographical and operational scope. These eventful protests served as a beacon, rallying support and inspiring action across the globe

and facilitating rapid expansion. While this finding was initially interpreted from quantitative data, this has also been borne out in subsequent interviews we have conducted with XR activists across the world, many of whom referred described these events as having inspired their involvement in the movement or the creation of local chapters.

In the wake of the Declaration of Rebellion in Autumn 2018, XR transnationalized remarkably rapidly, establishing 1,165 chapters across 79 countries and six continents by June 2021 (Gardner, Carvalho and Valenstain, 2022).[4] Despite its widespread reach, a predominant concentration of XR chapters is observed in Western Europe and the Anglosphere, with 70.2% of chapters located in Europe, 12.5% in North America, 8.5% in Oceania, 3.3% in Asia, 3.1% in Africa, and 2.5% in South America. This distribution highlights a denser organizational spread in these regions, particularly noting the UK as a crucial nexus, where one-third of all XR chapters are based, emphasizing the movement's origins and initial growth momentum within this area. However, it is essential to underscore that XR's influence is not confined to the Global North; of the 79 countries hosting XR chapters, 41 are situated outside of these traditionally wealthier regions, showcasing XR's truly international scope and its efforts to localize climate activism across diverse global contexts.

The growth of XR up to the summer of 2021 unfolded in five key surges, each linked to significant increases in new chapters: starting from its foundation until January 2019, then in Spring and Summer 2019, followed by a period of slower growth, and finally, during the COVID-19 pandemic. The initial phase saw the creation of 277 chapters, sparked by the Declaration of Rebellion and further boosted by media attention, setting the stage for rapid expansion, especially in Spring 2019 with the first International Rebellion. This period demonstrated XR's global appeal and capacity for mobilization. However, growth varied in the later phases, with the pandemic notably slowing down new chapter formations, highlighting both the challenges and the resilience of XR in the face of global crises. This journey reflects XR's ability to adapt and navigate through the socio-political landscape, emphasizing its ongoing commitment to climate action.

[4] As of the first half of 2024, their website indicates there are 988 local groups across 89 countries on every continent, including Antarctica. This suggests that since our initial research, inactive groups have been "cleaned up" and removed from the listing.

Despite some productive work analyzing on the movement in North America, Western Europe and Oceania, the dynamics and challenges of the movement's adoption and adaptation remain relatively underexplored for most places in which the movement is active. Work on XR in Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand report issues in adapting the movement to settler-colonial spaces as a result of the lack of consideration given to the roles played by indigenous groups and organizations in these societies (James and Mack 2020; Morgan 2021). Meanwhile, our own work on the movement in western and southern Africa describes how local activists have adjusted their strategies, repertoires and targets of protest to suit the local political and cultural context (Gardner et al., 2023, 2024). In other contexts, the XR model appears to have been adopted without scholars or activists explicitly reporting significant deviations from the original model (Zantvoort, 2023). Nevertheless, more research is needed to establish the different forms the movement has taken across the world.

Too White and Middle-Class?: Demographics and Representation

The literature suggests that XR – at least in Western Europe, the US, Canada, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand – has been predominantly, but far from exclusively, White, middle-class, and educated (Hayes, Doherty and Saunders, 2020). Statistics on the racial and ethnic background of those involved are scant, but within the movement there exists a prevailing perception that its demographic composition skews disproportionately white (James and Mack, 2020; Bell and Bevan, 2021; Morgan, 2021). Among the cohort of 1,032 activists arrested during the Rebellion in April 2019, for example, 90.3% were White, with only 1% Asian (N=11), 0.4% Black (N=5), 2.7% identified as mixed-race (N=31), and the remaining 4.7% abstaining from specifying their ethnic background (Hayes, Doherty and Saunders, 2020: 12). However, some caution is necessary here due to the potential for self-selection bias, with the decision to designate oneself as "arrestable" having a potential racial dimension.

Nevertheless, beyond questions relating to the group's demographics, XR is often critiqued for being white, middle-class and educated in its outlook, framing, and approach (Berglund and Schmidt, 2020; Smiles and Edwards, 2021; Bell and Bevan, 2021). The strategy of mass arrest employed whilst often explicitly expressing support or even solidarity with the police has been widely

criticized both within and beyond the movement as an exclusionary approach (Berglund and Schmidt, 2020). Similarly, the claim of acting "beyond politics" has come into conflict with environmental and racial justice frames (James and Mack, 2020; Pavenstädt and Rödder, 2024). In many contexts, the movement has failed to recognize and act in solidarity with local indigenous rights movements that preceded it, leading to distrust of XR among BIPOC activists (James and Mack, 2020). Meanwhile, XR has tended to view the state as a neutral actor or even potential ally in the fight against climate change, contrasting sharply with the perceptions of the state in antiracist activism and research that highlight its role in the construction of lethal and degrading conditions for racialized bodies (Pulido, 2017; James and Mack, 2020; Gardner and Müller, *working paper*). Roger Hallam has also been personally criticized for his approach to racial (in)justice in the environmental movement and flippant use of language when discussing the Holocaust (Connolly, 2019; Levene, 2022). In addition to these and other problematic aspects of the movement, the media has also 'fixated on a critique of XR as being primarily middle-class, White and not representing the views of society as a whole' (Bell, 2021, p.63) and, in the context of a broadly oppositional approach adopted by the press (Scheuch, Ortiz, Shreedhar and Thomas-Walters, 2024), shown scant interest in reporting on diversity in the movement or antiracist initiatives. The combination of problematic discourses and strategies used by the movement and negative reportage in the press on these issues has led to a situation in which Black, Asian and minority ethnic groups tend to express alienation from the movement (Bell and Bevan, 2021).

Social class has also been an issue for the movement. Bell (2021) identified XR's tendency to adopt middle-class discourses (including the fetishization of poverty as an eco-lifestyle choice and emphasis on individual behavior modification), tactics (failing to consider the needs and concerns of working-class communities in protest planning), behaviors (such as classist micro-aggressions and paternalism toward working-class activists in meetings), passive rather than active approaches to inclusion (through an "open door" policy rather than engaging working-class mobilization) and a failure to recognize and support working-class environmental struggles past and present.

A range of affinity groups exist within the movement that speak to a degree of internal diversity, such as XR Disabled Rebels, Extinction Rebellion

Internationalist Solidarity Network (XRISN), and the faith-based blocs XR Muslims, XR Jews, and XR Hindus. However, to date, scholarly attention directed toward these groups remains lacking: in our review of the literature, no research endeavors undertaken to investigate their dynamics were found. In many local and national chapters in Western Europe, North America, Australia, and Aotearoa New Zealand, the movement has grappled with its approach to racial and class-based in/justices and striven to improve in these domains[5], albeit with mixed results (Morgan, 2021; Matthews, 2023; Hiraide and Evans, 2023).

Considerably less is known about the movement in the Global South, where around half of all countries involved in the movement are located. Additionally, there is likely considerable diversity in the composition of the movement over both space and time, not just cross-nationally but also within states. In terms of local leadership, older women play a key role in this regard across the Global North (Gardner, Williams and Macdonald, 2023); however, it appears that the demographics of these roles in the Global South are quite different, with younger men tending to adopt such positions in countries such as The Gambia (Gardner, Adekola, Carvalho and O'Brien, 2023). Nevertheless, the precise demographic composition of the movement across its various national contexts – and its relationship to the movement's framing, strategy, and identity – remains unknown.

Spin-Offs, Off-shoots, and Shooting for the Moon

Ostensibly, XR has been the progenitor of an array of new social movements since 2018. In many contexts, this has taken the form of radical flanks, such as Blockade Australia, and the "A22 Network" that includes Just Stop Oil in the UK, Declare Emergency in the US, Riposte Alimentaire in France, Restore Passenger Rail in Aotearoa New Zealand, Nødbremsen in Denmark, Återställ Våtmarker in Sweden, Renovate Switzerland, and Last Generation (active in Italy, Germany, Canada and Austria) (A22, 2024). Other spin-off movements include: in the UK, Animal Rising, Insulate Britain, Burning Pink, Ocean Rebellion, and People Demand Democracy; Rave Revolution and Climate Defiance in the US; and Les Soulèvements de la Terre in France.

[5] This also came up repeatedly in the authors' own interviews with XR activists in these countries.

The precise links between XR and subsequent environmental movements are debated. There are often overlaps in personnel, tactics and perspective between XR and post-2018 social movements potentially associated with it, despite often being explicit about their independence, divergence from or even opposition to XR (Hinks and Rödder, 2023). Nevertheless, the precise connection between XR and emergent social movements is more challenging to identify. As a global movement, its potential impacts on subsequent activism is vast and diverse. In some places, XR represented the first climate change-related movement to emerge, radically altering the local social movement scene. In contrast, for XR in The Gambia, aligning with XR was more of an additive strategy than the development of a wholly new movement, and so the precise link between XR and subsequent movements is further blurred (Gardner, O'Brien, Carvalho and Adekola, 2024). There are also divergences in perspective, outlook, strategy and organizational structure between XR and subsequent environmental movements, with connections between them even rejected by the activists themselves. Overall, the literature on XR's (potential) spin-off movements is currently thin on the ground. Further research is needed to establish the precise connections (and disjunctures) between these movements, as well as the longer-term impact of XR on the varied contexts in which it has been active.

Although not uniformly, spin-off movements tend to retain XR's original use of dramatic, attention-grabbing and disruptive forms of "politically motivated lawbreaking" (Scheurman, 2022, p.791), but not necessarily its organizational structure. In contrast to XR, for example, Just Stop Oil has adopted a much more centralized, top-down and vanguardist approach. As one of our interviewees put it: "XR is meant to be non-hierarchical, right? And that's sort of, like, the democratic principle. I don't think it actually is non-hierarchical, but … Just Stop Oil isn't pretending to be non-hierarchical".[6] Just Stop Oil activists also tend to understand themselves – often explicitly – to be acting as the radical flank of the climate movement, largely drawing its membership from among those within the broader movement most dedicated to undertaking disruptive action. In this way, spin-off movements such as Just Stop Oil have attempted to maintain a sense of

[6] Interview with XR and Just Stop oil activist in 2023.

energy and urgency in their demands for the government to radically change course to avert environmental catastrophe.

Conclusion: Where do we go from here?

In this chapter, we have provided a broad overview of XR's characteristics and development since its inception. Drawing on the social scientific literature, we outlined its core characteristics of the movement, including its goals, tactics, discourses, organizational structure, transnationalities, demographics, and spin-off movements. In doing so, we consider an overarching question about the nature of XR: namely, the extent to which it is best described as a fully decentralized and horizontal organization or a rather more centralized vanguardist one. Overall, as we have aimed to demonstrate through the sections above, XR is a movement with multiple competing tendencies, incorporating important elements of both decentralization and vanguardism. We also contend that XR is also a transnational movement whose globally diverse character is often under considered. Although there is a lack of research on the character of the movement in many of the national contexts in which it operates, it seems likely that the organizational structure looks rather different at global, regional, national and local scales.

Looking to the future, how the movement develops amidst the evolving landscape of environmental activism in the UK and elsewhere remains uncertain. COVID-19 lockdowns in 2020 worked to effectively stall the momentum the movement had built throughout 2019, leading to a significant setback in its development (Gardner, Carvalho and Valenstain, 2022; Zantvoort, 2023). In December 2022, the movement made a strategic shift, announcing plans to cease engaging in forms of NVDA that disrupted the public, stating a desire to "prioritise attendance over arrest and relationships over roadblocks" (XR, 2022). However, newspaper content analysis has revealed that this strategic pivot did not elicit more favorable coverage of the group in the UK press (Scheuch et al., 2024). At the same time, the movement now finds itself in a much more crowded social movement space than before, with numerous other environmental groups vying for public and media attention. Despite its attempts to rebuild and adapt, the future trajectory of the movement remains uncertain.

References

A22. (2024). *Who we are?*. A22 Network. Retrieved March 14, 2024, from https://a22network.org

Berglund, O. (2023). Disruptive protest, civil disobedience & direct action. *Politics, 0*(0).

Beckett, A. (2023). Introducing cycling rebellion, Extinction Rebellion's two-wheeled cousin. *Cycling Weekly*. Retrieved March 14, 2024, from https://www.cyclingweekly.com/news/introducing-cycling-rebellion-extinction-rebellions-two-wheeled-cousin

Bell, K. (2021). Working-class people, Extinction Rebellion and the environmental movements of the global north. In K. Bell (Ed.), *Diversity and inclusion in environmentalism* (pp. 63-81). Abingdon: Routledge.

Bell, K., & Bevan, G. (2021). Beyond inclusion? Perceptions of the extent to which Extinction Rebellion speaks to, and for, Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) and working-class communities. *Local Environment, 26*(10), 1205-1220.

Berglund, O., & Schmidt, D. (2020). *Extinction Rebellion and climate change activism: Breaking the law to change the world*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brunon, H. (2021). Extinction Rebellion: Pratiques et motivations de l'activisme écologiste radical. *Métropolitiques*.

Burgess, C., & Read, R. (2020). Extinction Rebellion and environmental activism–the XR interviews. *Journal of Human Rights and the Environment, 11*(3), 171-180. https://doi.org/10.4337/jhre.2020.03.08

Buzogány, A., & Scherhaufer, P. (2022). Framing different energy futures? Comparing Fridays for Future and Extinction Rebellion in Germany. *Futures, 137*, 1-10.

Buzogány, A., & Scherhaufer, P. (2023). The new climate movement: Organization, strategy, and consequences. In *Routledge Handbook of Environmental Policy* (pp. 358-380). Abingdon: Routledge.

Chase-Dunn, C., & Almeida, P. (2020). *Global struggles and social change: From prehistory to world revolution in the twenty-first century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Chenoweth, E., & Stephan, M. (2011). *Why civil resistance works: The strategic logic of nonviolent conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Connolly, K. (2019). Extinction Rebellion founder's Holocaust remarks spark fury. *The Guardian*. Retrieved May 3, 2024, from https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/nov/20/extinction-rebellion-founders-holocaust-remarks-spark-fury

Coombs, G. (2020). It's (Red) Hot Outside! The aesthetics of climate change activists Extinction Rebellion. *The Journal of Public Space, 5*(4), 123-136.

De Moor, J., De Vydt, M., Uba, K., & Wahlström, M. (2021). New kids on the block: Taking stock of the recent cycle of climate activism. *Social Movement Studies, 20*(5), 619-625.

Doherty, B., & Doyle, T. (2006). Beyond borders: Transnational politics, social movements and modern environmentalisms. *Environmental Politics, 15*(5), 697-712.

Doherty, B., & Hayes, G. (2022). Extinction Rebellion. In D. A. Snow, D. della Porta, D. McAdam, & B. Klandermans (Eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements* (2nd ed., pp. 1-5). Wiley.

Extinction Rebellion. (2019). *This is not a drill: An Extinction Rebellion handbook*. Penguin UK.

Farrer, B., Doyle, L., & Smith, S. (2023). Goals, strategies, and tactics: Continuity and change in Extinction Rebellion in the United Kingdom. *Contention, 11*(2), 29-56.

Gardner, P., & Abrams, B. (2023). Contentious politics and symbolic objects. In B. Abrams & P. Gardner (Eds.), *Symbolic objects in contentious politics*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Gardner, P., Adekola, O., Carvalho, T., & O'Brien, T. (2023). Confronting the climate crisis in Africa: Just transitions and Extinction Rebellion in Nigeria and South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy, 50*(177-178), 475-490.

Gardner, P., O'Brien, T., Carvalho, T., & Adekola, O. (2024). Profile: Extinction Rebellion in the Gambia. *Social Movement Studies, 23*(1), 122-128.

Gardner, P., Williams, S., & Macdonald, A. (2024). Glued on for the grandkids: The gendered politics of care in the global environmental movement. *Sociology Compass, 18*(1), e13148.

Gardner, P. R., & Carvalho, T. (2023). Intersecting planes of crisis: Geometrics of crises and catastrophe in Extinction Rebellion rhetoric. In *Combating crises from below: Social responses to polycrisis in Europe*. Maastricht: Maastricht University Press.

Gardner, P. R., & Müller, T. (Working paper). A Movement Rebirthed: Race, multiple boundary spanning, and the rise of Extinction Rebellion in the US.

Gardner, P. R., Carvalho, T., & Valenstain, M. (2022). Spreading rebellion?: The rise of Extinction Rebellion chapters across the world. *Environmental Sociology, 8*(4), 424-435.

Gardner, P. R., Carvalho, T., Newman-Grigg, E., & O'Brien, T. (Working paper). 1,000 km of just nothingness: Geography, networks and space in the organisation of Extinction Rebellion Australia.

Giæver, F., & Russell, S. (2024). Courage without the certainty of a happy ending: the emotion regulation of environmental activists. *Social Movement Studies*, 1-16.

Grenfell, R. (2023). Platform capitalism and place relations in social movements: Environmentalism and Extinction Rebellion in Western Australia. *Media International Australia, 0*(0).

Hallam, R. (2019). *Common sense for the 21st century: Only nonviolent rebellion can now stop climate breakdown and social collapse*. Chelsea Green Publishing.

Hayes, G., Doherty, B., & Saunders, C. (2020). A new climate movement?: Extinction Rebellion's activists in profile. *Environmental Politics, 29*(3), 546-551.

Hinks, E., & Rödder, S. (2023). The role of scientific knowledge in Extinction Rebellion's communication of climate futures. *Frontiers in Communication, 8*, 1007543.

Hiraide, L. A., & Evans, E. (2023). Intersectionality and social movements: A comparison of environmentalist and disability rights movements. *Social Movement Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2023.2234828

James, D., & Mack, T. (2020). Toward an ethics of decolonizing allyship in climate organizing: Reflections on Extinction Rebellion Vancouver. In B. J. Richardson (Ed.), *From student strikes to the Extinction Rebellion: New protest movements shaping our future* (pp. 32-53). Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

Johnston, C., & Holland Bonnett, A. (2023). Picturing these days of love and rage: Extinction Rebellion's 'Impossible Rebellion'. *Cultural Geographies, 30*(2), 315-323.

Levene, M. (2022). The Holocaust paradigm as paradoxical imperative in the century of anthropogenic omnicide. *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal, 16*(1), 76-100.

Malafaia, C., Kettunen, J., & Luhtakallio, E. (2024). Visual bodies, ritualised performances: an offline-online analysis of Extinction Rebellion's protests in Finland and Portugal. *Visual Studies*, 1–14.

Malm, A. (2021). *How to blow up a pipeline*. London: Verso.

Mansfield, F. (2020). Rebel for life: Extinction Rebellion's approach to the climate crisis. *Medicine, Conflict and Survival, 36*(4), 375-382.

Matthews, K. R. (2020). Social movements and the (mis) use of research: Extinction Rebellion and the 3.5% rule. *Interface: a journal for and about social movements, 12*(1), 591-615.

Melia, S. (2021). *Roads, Runways and Resistance: From the Newbury Bypass to Extinction Rebellion*. Pluto Press.

Morgan, H. (2021). Extinction Rebellion in Aotearoa: The possibilities and pitfalls of importing a social movement organisation. *Interface: A Journal on Social Movements, 13*(1), 157-173.

Pieri, Z. P. (2024). Framing the climate emergency: the role of music in extinction rebellion. *Social Movement Studies*, 1-16.

Rödder, S., & Pavenstädt, C. N. (2023). Unite behind the science! Climate movements' use of scientific evidence in narratives on socio-ecological futures. *Science and Public Policy, 50*(1), 30-41.

Rohden, F. G. (2021). Experts, influencers, and amplifiers—Exploring climate movements' hyperlinking practices. *JCOM-Journal of Science Communication, 20*(07).

Rootes, C. (2005). A limited transnationalization?: The British environmental movement. In D. Della Porta & S. Tarrow (Eds.), *Transnational protest and global activism* (pp. 21-43). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Rowe, T., & Ormond, M. (2023). Holding space for climate justice? Urgency and 'regenerative cultures' in Extinction Rebellion Netherlands. *Geoforum, 146*, 103868.

Scheuch, E. G., Ortiz, M., Shreedhar, G., & Thomas-Walters, L. (2024). The power of protest in the media: Examining portrayals of climate activism in UK news. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications, 11*(1), 1-12.

Scheuerman, W. E. (2022). Political disobedience and the climate emergency. *Philosophy & Social Criticism, 48*(6), 791-812.

Seagrave, J. (2023). Protest in the face of catastrophe: Extinction Rebellion and the anti-politics of grief. *Suomen Antropologi: Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society, 47*(22), 49-73.

Sharp-Wiggins, B. (2022). 'Zombie koala' greets parliamentarians in Canberra – video. *The Guardian*. Retrieved May 7, 2024, from https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/video/2022/jul/27/zombie-koala-greets-parliamentarians-in-canberra-video

Smiles, T., & Edwards, G. A. (2021). How does Extinction Rebellion engage with climate justice? A case study of XR Norwich. *Local Environment, 26*(12), 1445-1460.

Smith, J., Gemici, B., Plummer, S., & Hughes, M. M. (2018). Transnational social movement organizations and counter-hegemonic struggles today. *Journal of World-Systems Research, 24*(2), 372-403.

Smółka, P. (2023). Aktywizm klimatyczny w mediach. Studium przypadku Extinction Rebellion Kraków. In M. Pałasz (Ed.), *Do serca: Zarządzanie zaangażowaniem społecznym przez media, muzykę i marketing*. Kraków: Biblioteka Jagiellońska.

Smyth, I., & Walters, L. (2020). The seas are rising and so are we!–a conversation between two women in Extinction Rebellion. *Gender and Development, 28*(3), 617-635.

Stammen, L., & Meissner, M. (2024). Social movements' transformative climate change communication: Extinction Rebellion's artivism. *Social Movement Studies, 23*(1), 19–38.

Stuart, D. (2020). Radical hope: Truth, virtue, and hope for what is left in Extinction Rebellion. *Journal of Agricultural & Environmental Ethics, 33*(3-6), 487-504.

Taylor, M. (2018). 15 environmental protesters arrested at civil disobedience campaign in London. *The Guardian*. Retrieved August 1, 2023, from https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/oct/31/15-environmental-protesters-arrested-at-civil-disobedience-campaign-in-london

Weaver, D. (2024). PROFILE: Extinction rebellion: greening vanguardism? *Social Movement Studies, 23*(1), 113-121.

Westwell, E., & Bunting, J. (2020). The regenerative culture of Extinction Rebellion: Self-care, people care, planet care. *Environmental Politics, 29*(3), 546-551.

XR. (n.d.). About us. Extinction Rebellion UK. Retrieved from https://extinctionrebellion.uk/the-truth/about-us/

XR. (2018). Declaration of rebellion. Extinction Rebellion. Retrieved March 4, 2024, from https://extinctionrebellion.uk/declaration/

XR. (2019a). Creative rebellion: Arts and culture highlights from international rebellion London. Extinction Rebellion UK. Retrieved May 28, 2024, from https://extinctionrebellion.uk/2019/10/21/creative-rebellion-arts-and-culture-highlights-from-international-rebellion-london/

XR. (2019b). This Monday – The international rebellion continues in more than 60 cities around the world. Extinction Rebellion. Retrieved April 29, 2019, from https://extinctionrebellion.uk/2019/10/04/this-monday-the-international-rebellion-continues-in-more-than-60-cities-around-the-world/

XR. (2020a). Rebel stories: Grappling with hope and making connections. XR Buddhists. Retrieved March 14, 2024, from https://xrbuddhists.com/category/history/

XR. (2020b). We were the boat: The inside story of an April icon. Extinction Rebellion. Retrieved June 4, 2020, from https://rebellion.earth/2020/04/15/we-were-the-boat-the-inside-story-of-an-april-icon/

XR. (2022). We quit. Extinction Rebellion UK. Retrieved from https://extinctionrebellion.uk/2022/12/31/we-quit/

XR. (2024a). XR in your area. Extinction Rebellion Global. Retrieved March 6, 2024, from https://rebellion.global/groups/#countries

XR. (2024b). XR United Kingdom. Extinction Rebellion. Retrieved March 13, 2024, from https://rebellion.global/groups/gb-united-kingdom/#groups

XR. (2024c). Extinction Rebellion global support. XR Global Support. Retrieved from https://chuffed.org

Zantvoort, F. (2023). Movement pedagogies in pandemic times: Extinction Rebellion Netherlands and (un)learning from the margins. *Globalizations, 20*(2), 278-291.