



# Local Environment

The International Journal of Justice and Sustainability

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: <https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cloe20>

## Beyond inclusion? Perceptions of the extent to which Extinction Rebellion speaks to, and for, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) and working-class communities

Karen Bell & Gnisha Bevan

To cite this article: Karen Bell & Gnisha Bevan (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, DOI: [10.1080/13549839.2021.1970728](https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2021.1970728)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2021.1970728>



© 2021 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 01 Sep 2021.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 3544



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

# Beyond inclusion? Perceptions of the extent to which Extinction Rebellion speaks to, and for, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) and working-class communities

Karen Bell and Gnisha Bevan

Department Geography and Environmental Management, University of West of England, Bristol, UK

## ABSTRACT

There is a resurgent interest in, and debate about, inclusive environmentalism. Within this context, it has been alleged that Extinction Rebellion (XR) exclude Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) and working-class people. To understand more about whether and how this occurs, and how it might be remedied, we interviewed 40 BAME and working-class people in England and Wales about their perceptions of, and opinions about, XR. We found that, while XR's tactics and messages have varied across time and place, their discourse and activities, overall, have tended to alienate BAME and working-class people. The interviewees were very concerned about climate change, and supported urgent government action, but they were not interested in being included in XR. To effectively build a social movement against climate change, we, therefore, recommend XR activists go “beyond inclusion” to the transformation of XR and environmentalism more broadly.

## ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 12 February 2021

Accepted 21 July 2021

## KEYWORDS

Race; class; social movement; climate; environmental justice

## Introduction

Extinction Rebellion (XR) began in the UK in 2018 as a movement aiming to compel governments to take action to stop climate change and biodiversity loss through non-violent civil disobedience. Since then, the movement has become transnational, also emerging in Europe and Australia. While academic, government and media responses have varied widely in terms of support and critique, here we focus on the allegation that XR fails to engage with, and recognise, the concerns of, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) and working-class people. This is an important question since these demographics make up the vast majority of the global population.

XR intends to engage 3.5% of the population of each country in civil disobedience. Drawing on the work of Chenoweth and Stephan (2011), the co-founders argue that, when this proportion of the population is active in this way, the government will have to comply with their demands (Extinction Rebellion 2019a). In the UK, 3.5% of the population equates to around 2.3 million people and, in the US, approximately 11 million people. Therefore, XR needs to broaden its appeal in order to expand their numbers to this extent. However, more important than the specific success of XR, is the question of the wider public engagement in, and support for, environmentalism. Because of its success in attracting publicity, XR may be the only environmental group that some working-class and BAME people are aware of, so it is important that it is responsible in the messages and tactics used. If BAME and working-class people feel excluded or alienated from XR, they may reject environmentalism, more generally.

**CONTACT** Karen Bell  [karen.bell@uwe.ac.uk](mailto:karen.bell@uwe.ac.uk)

© 2021 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way.

While, it has frequently been alleged that environmental organisations and programmes have generally failed to consider and attend to the concerns and expertise of BAME and working-class people, Extinction Rebellion has particularly come under scrutiny in this regard. There have been a plethora of media articles on this, but no published academic research seeking the views of a variety of working-class and BAME participants on XR. This paper addresses this gap, describing and analysing perceptions of XR and whether and how this has influenced interest in, and commitment to, environmentalism. This has enabled a more nuanced and insightful understanding of how XR is viewed by these groups. The key message from this research is that inclusion in XR is not generally a goal of working-class and BAME people, though policies to address climate change are. This has implication for environmental politics, more broadly, in terms of how environmental social movements can engage with diverse groups.

To motivate collective action to address climate change and other environmental crises, it is important that environmental organisations benefit from working-class and BAME “standpoints”. Marxists and feminists have written about “Standpoint Theory” as a way of considering oppression (e.g. Smith 1987). They have highlighted that diverse views “from below”, rooted in life experiences, are valid, reliable and realistic accounts of the world. This theory implies that oppressed groups should be represented or directly involved in decision-making, since they bring valid perspectives that may not be evident to those without that lived experience. In addition, we have taken an “intersectional” (Crenshaw 1989) approach, rejecting essentialism which assumes all members of a particular social group share a common, intrinsic set of characteristics or beliefs reflective of that group.

## Extinction Rebellion

The Extinction Rebellion narrative centres on the notion of inevitable, catastrophic, socio-environmental collapse (Bevan, Colley, and Workman 2020). In the UK, they have made three core demands:

Government must tell the truth by declaring a climate and ecological emergency ... ; Government must act now to halt biodiversity loss and reduce greenhouse gas emissions to net zero by 2025; Government must create and be led by the decisions of a Citizens' Assembly on climate and ecological justice. (Extinction Rebellion 2019b, np)

Their tactics have varied across space and time, having included mass marches; the occupation of public space; symbolic actions, such as die-ins; and occupying transport infrastructure. The group have explicitly said that they intend to undertake civil disobedience activities, including disruption and massive arrests, until their demands are met by governments. To date, their actions have included the blocking of bridges in London in November, 2018 (Taylor and Gayle 2019); and 11 consecutive days blocking roads and disrupting transport in London in April 2019 (Perraudin 2019). The latter included an activity where two XR activists climbed onto the roof of a Docklands Light Railway (DLR) train at Canning Town, with another gluing himself to the side. This, alongside other actions at Stratford and Shadwell, caused temporary disruption to the DLR and Jubilee Line rail services during the morning rush hour period. At Canning Town, commuters pulled the climate protesters off the roof of the train and, reportedly, kicked and hit them. One person present shouted “I have to get to work ... I have to feed my kids” (BBC 2019). Among many other sporadic actions, there were further periods of protests when XR UK again occupied sites in London from 7th to 19th October 2019 (Dodd 2019). With the easing of the UK Covid 19 related lockdown, they again undertook protests from 1st to 10th September 2020, targeting particular sectors, such as the mainstream media, fast-fashion outlets and financial institutions (Extinction Rebellion 2020a). In addition, international XR groups have participated in some actions in their own localities. In October 2019, there were actions in over 60 cities around the world, which XR called “International Rebellion”.

The policy institute, Public First, when investigating the key elements of a successful campaign, found that, of all the campaigns polled, XR was by far the least popular. Around two-thirds of those polled opposed them (Tryl 2020). However, XR was the best known of the organisations, with 57% of those polled saying they had heard of it, 20% more than the next most well-known campaign group.

Tryl, Director of Public First, interpreted this as showing that XR were raising awareness of the climate crisis (Tryl 2020). Public engagement with the climate crisis has, indeed, increased significantly since 2018, and it has been theorised that this may be partly the result of global movements of civil disobedience focussed on climate change, including XR (Thackeray, Robinson, and Smith 2020). However, scientific reports have also had a major impact (*ibid.*). XR was launched shortly after the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change published a report explicitly warning that we had only 12 years to make radical changes to avoid the most devastating effects of the climate crisis (IPCC 2018). At the same time, public figures, from David Attenborough to Pope Francis, were also highlighting the climate and ecological emergencies. Media reports and images about these people/activities were shared widely on social media. So, it is not entirely clear the extent to which any particular organisation or communication can claim responsibility for the increased interest in climate change over the last few years.

XR's tactics and rhetoric seem to appeal to some and repel others. Though other environmentalists have at times used a similar apocalyptic message, it has been found to be disempowering and likely to cause some audiences to disengage with the subject matter (Moser and Dilling 2004; O'Neill and Nicholson-Cole 2009). However, Bevan, Colley, and Workman (2020) consider that XR's willingness to break the law and take dramatic action conveys the urgency of the situation more effectively than abstract policy documents can. Even so, the researchers (Bevan, Colley, and Workman 2020) add that XR's tactics and messages appear to be more resonant to middle-class and politically left audiences.

The UK media have honed in on a critique of XR as being primarily middle-class, white and not representing society as a whole. For example, Sky presenter, Carole Malone, called it a "loopy middle-class doomsday cult" (Malone 2019) and Spiked's Brendan O'Neill described the group as "an anti-working-class movement" (O'Neil 2020). Some commentators have also suggested that XR's association with the hippy culture undermines its credibility, particularly with regard to attracting those who are not on the political left (Deer 2019; Shukla 2019).

The issues that have been highlighted as potentially excluding or alienating BAME and working-class people include the strategy of mass arrest and disruption, and the implied personal responsibility for responding to climate change. For example, when XR protesters prevented Smithfield Market traders from operating by turning the site into a vegan pop-up (Morris 2019), this not only disrupted the market workers and prevented them earning a living that day, it also implied that a personal choice to become vegan could be a solution to climate change. The disruption to transport, and the Canning Town protest, in particular, drew attention to the race and class issues inherent in this approach (Ball, Webster, and Webber 2019; Dhaliwal 2019; Gill 2019; Hinsliff 2019; Shand-Baptiste 2019; Weatherby 2019).

Smoke (2019) criticised the emphasis on mass arrest as a key tactic for XR, highlighting how the casual discussion of imprisonment undermines the negative experiences of incarceration for poor and BAME groups in the UK and beyond. As the Black Lives Matter movement has emphasised, BAME groups are treated much more harshly by the criminal justice system in the US and the UK. An open letter from Wretched of the Earth, a grassroots collective for Indigenous, Black, brown and diaspora groups and individuals demanding climate justice in the UK and in the Global South, asked XR to reconsider strategies that would be harmful to Black, brown, and indigenous activists, and to rethink the way its activist tactics build on white privilege (Wretched of the Earth 2019).

It is also alleged that XR inadequately attend to global climate justice and climate reparations (e.g. Akec 2019; Garavito and Thanki 2019). These critiques have included that XR needs decolonising, having downplayed or ignored the present effects of climate change on the Global South (e.g. Akec 2019; Josette 2019). Extinction Rebellion have responded to these critiques on their websites and in the media. For example, the FAQ page of the XR website (Extinction Rebellion 2020b, np.) states:

Extinction Rebellion is made up of people of all ages and backgrounds from all over the world ... We are working to improve diversity in our movement ...

The organisation also points to the specific identity-focused groups, including XR farmers, XR doctors, XR lawyers, XR Muslims, XR Jews, and XR grandparents, as evidence of diversity. XR are also evolving over time and distance to address some of these critiques. For instance, when the movement expanded to the US, a fourth demand was added for a “just transition that prioritises the most vulnerable and indigenous sovereignty [and] establishes reparations and remediation led by and for black people, indigenous people, people of colour and poor communities for years of environmental injustice” (Gayle 2019, np.).

## **BAME and working-class exclusion from environmental organisations**

The lack of engagement with BAME and working-class people fits with a wider picture presented by some academics of mainstream (i.e. more formal and resourced) environmental organisations in the UK and the US failing to engage BAME, low-income and working-class communities (e.g. Clarke and Agyeman 2011; Bell 2020). Many environmental organisations now recognise this. For example, Friends of the Earth’s former chief executive, Craig Bennett has stated that the environmental movement needs to escape the “white, middle-class ghetto” and engage more fully with the UK’s ethnic and working-class populations (in Bawden 2015, np).

In the past, this lack of representation of working-class and disadvantaged groups was explained away in terms of their lack of interest. It was considered that working-class people were too concerned with meeting their basic everyday needs to be able to focus on environmental issues (e.g. Inglehart 1977). Yet, while some studies indicate that climate engagement tends to increase with education and income (e.g. Pearson et al. 2017), others suggest that working-class and BAME groups are at least as concerned about the environment as their wealthier counterparts (e.g. Whittaker, Segura, and Bowler 2005). For example, Black, Indigenous and People of Color (BIPOC) groups in the United States express consistently higher levels of concern about climate change than whites (e.g. Leiserowitz and Akerlof 2010; Macias 2016; Speiser and Krygsman 2014). One of the main flaws in the studies claiming that low-income groups were not concerned about the environment is that they did not take into account different ways of expressing environmental concern. Working-class and disadvantaged groups are less likely to engage in green consumerism and climate activism because of all the barriers to their undertaking these particular consumer and protest activities, such as time, money, information, stress levels and available choices (Bell 2020). Working-class people and BIPOC around the world have tended to focus on maintaining environments that are adequate for immediate physical survival (Bell 2020; Satheesh 2020). Pulido (1998) calls this an “environmentalism of everyday life” (30). Therefore, to widen engagement with the climate crisis, it is important to recognise and understand working-class and BAME priorities and standpoints. This paper aims to distil the views captured from some members of these groups in relation to XR and its inclusivity so as to give broader insights into environmental mobilisation.

## **Methodology**

First, it is important to note that the concepts/terms “working-class” and “Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic” are contentious. There is not the space to explore these debates so we only provide a short justification of the selection of these terms here. We are using “class” in the gradational sense, considering factors such as the material distribution of wealth and income, but also “recognition”, status, valuing and intergenerational aspects (for more discussion on this, see Bell 2020, chapter 2). With regard to the term “Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic”, we recognise the critiques and shortfalls (e.g. see Okolosie et al. 2015), but we use it in the sense proposed by the UK Institute of Race

Relations as “... the terminology normally used in the UK to describe people of non-white descent” (IRR 2020, np). Where we refer to these groups outside of the UK context, we also use the term Black Indigenous People of Color (BIPOC) as advocated by many non-white groups (e.g. The BIPOC project 2021). We acknowledge and respect the equalities-based rationales for the different presentations of the term “White”/“white”, with the former intending to signify that race is socially constructed and to de-centre and de-normalise “white”; and the latter intended to create distance from white supremacist groups that also capitalise the term (see Apiah 2020; Brenner 2020). In this article, we have chosen to use the presentation “white”.

The methodology combined a literature review (stage 1), followed by interviews (stage 2). For stage 1, a narrative literature review was chosen (over systematic methods that tend to focus on more narrowly focused questions) to provide the level of interpretation and critique necessary to deepen understanding (Greenhalgh, Thorne, and Malterud 2018). This type of review is a scholarly summary that combines interpretation and critique. It included analysis of papers in an iterative manner, drawing also on the authors’ previous work in this area. Sources included the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI) and Scopus databases (citation indexes, general searches, and subject-specific searches), reference lists, library searches, grey literature and internet search engines (Google, Google Scholar). Search terms included environmental, social movement, inclusion and equalities terminology. Both natural language and controlled vocabulary were used to detect material from formal and informal sources. As well as providing context, the literature review informed the interview questions and the analysis of the interview data.

In stage 2, we undertook 40 semi-structured interviews, of approximately 30–60 minutes duration, using informant-directed techniques (Peterson et al. 1994). The time period during which we carried out this stage was from July to October 2020, during the Covid related lockdown. Therefore, we conducted the interviews over the phone or via the internet, as the participant preferred. The questions were in relation to what was known about XR; general impressions about the group; engagement with the group, if any; opinions about specific events and discourses; thoughts on environmentalism generally; and interest in supporting XR or other environmental groups in the future. Participant information sheets and consent forms were drawn up and the project. The prior information given to potential participants included an explanation that the aim of the project is to increase understanding of working-class and BAME experience of environmental social movements. The project was given ethical approval by the researchers’ institution as part of the Fair, Inclusive and Equitable Transitions to Sustainability (FIESTA) project.

All the interviewees were working-class according to at least one definition and brought up in working-class homes with parents who undertook non-professional work and had had no further education. Sixteen of the interviewees identified as BAME; twenty as female; ten were members of environmental organisations; twelve had been to university; and their ages were more or less evenly spread across a range from 20 to 80. They were based in cities (fifteen), towns (fifteen) and rural areas (ten) across England and Wales. They have all been given pseudonyms in this paper to protect their identities. We used the following non-probability sampling strategies to select the interviewees: “purposive sampling” (Patton 1990; Mason 2002), using participants who had particularly relevant knowledge and experience; “snowball sampling” (Gilbert 2001), using networks to gain access to information-rich participants; “opportunistic sampling” (Miles and Huberman 1994), making the most of opportunities to meld the sample around the unfolding context; and “maximum variation sampling” (ibid.), selecting participants who had the maximum diversity of experiences. The multi-pronged strategy was utilised in order to increase the opportunities to identify the varying factors and influences. The participants were identified via community, employment and educational networks. They were selected according to whether they contributed to diversity in the sample in terms of age, disability, location, ethnicity, gender and engagement in environmentalism.

Although qualitative research does not require a large sample because the aim is not to make statements about prevalence and incidence against a target population, we aimed to interview as many people as possible in order to access a range of experience and knowledge. We continued until we reached “saturation” in terms of a sufficient appreciation of patterns and themes. As Braun and Clarke (2021) note, meaning is generated through the interpretation of data and, therefore, “saturation” cannot be wholly determined in advance of analysis. Therefore, we were also prepared to carry out further interviews, if necessary, after the initial analysis. However, we found that our sample provided more than sufficient richness, depth, diversity and complexity of data to answer our research questions.

We used the technique of “framework analysis” to analyse the data, as described by Ritchie and Lewis (2003). The process involved a number of distinct, though interconnected, stages: familiarisation with the data, identifying themes, indexing, charting and interpreting. We used a cross-sectional “code and retrieve” (Mason 2002) method to organise the data into the themes. We also used Kreuger and Casey’s (2000) seven established criteria for interpreting coded data, considering: the meaning of words; the context in which words are used; internal consistency; frequency and extensiveness of comments; specificity of comments; intensity of comments; and big ideas (how the data relates to the bigger picture).

In the research design, conduct and analysis, we also drew on our own experience as working-class (first author) and BAME (second author) environmentalists with, between us, decades of prior involvement and activism with environmental social movements.

## Results

Here we present the key findings thematically, beginning with “knowledge of, and involvement with, XR” and moving on to “barriers to getting involved with XR”; “wider societal barriers to involvement in environmentalism”; “perceived effectiveness of XR”; and, finally, “making the links between social and environmental justice”.

### *Knowledge of, and involvement with, XR*

Most of the research participants had heard of Extinction Rebellion, although a substantial proportion (twelve) initially said they had not heard of them. Some of them later remembered more when reminded of some high-profile actions. However, even when the interviewees immediately said they had heard of XR, they did not always fully understand the group’s message.

Almost all said they had not personally been involved with XR but two had had some involvement, and spoke positively about their personal experience of this, for example, stating:

... it’s good to know that there are other people that are in the same sort of, on the same page and it’s not like the whole world is just sleep walking into this ... crisis [laughs]. (Manijeh, 17/07/20)

A few (four) expressed a desire to know more about them, a feeling of relief that they were challenging the lack of action on climate change, and an openness to greater involvement. Almost all of the interviewees were concerned about climate change, and all were concerned about at least one environmental issue. Often their concerns related to their personal observations of environmental degradation, and how these were affecting their families and communities. For example, Manijeh explained:

I worry about like, my family in Pakistan. I see them already being affected by heat that’s just unbearable. When we’ve gone to visit and stuff – my husband’s family. It’s like 50 degrees or something in Karachi and it’s just ... that can’t be ... you know ... can’t be liveable for very long can it? (Manijeh, 17/07/20)

Most of the interviewees believed that urgent government action was necessary to address the problems.

### **Barriers to getting involved with XR**

The research participants gave a number of reasons for not getting involved with XR. Apart from personal limitations, as discussed later, the main reasons given were: (1) lack of information about how to get involved; (2) the perceived demographic make-up of XR; (3) problems with the group's culture; and (4) their tactics. These potential barriers will now be outlined in turn.

With regard to the first of these, a substantial number of the interviewees said that they would not know how to join the organisation, did not know anyone involved and had never seen XR in the area they live (usually rural, small town and coastal areas). In relation to the perceived demographics of the group, most did not consider XR to be a diverse organisation, especially in terms of class and race, and they believed they would feel uncomfortable around XR activists. A frequent theme among the respondents was that they did not feel the group could relate to them or their communities. For example, Dave, a security guard, said:

I see them as a, as a largely middle-class group of people ... if you try to take some of those people on to the council estates in Bristol, or even Liverpool or anywhere else, or outside of their little bubble, I think they wouldn't be able to relate for five minutes ... Or they'd probably just fall back on their prejudices ... (Dave 02/08/20)

A few of the BAME participants had particularly been put off joining by the groups apparent whiteness. For example, Kate, a community worker, commented:

When I walked through, I was in Parliament Square during the last rebellion and I just saw it was ... actually impossible to find a Person of Colour ... That was definitely not a space for me. (Kate, 02/09/20)

With regard to the third issue, the culture of XR, the research interviewees said that they felt put off by the non-inclusive language, their "weirdness" and their "hippy-ish" presentation. Paul, a technician, for instance, remarked:

... whenever they have a, a demo, you got these people that are dressed up in quite weird costumes. I don't know what they're supposed to represent, but [laughs] you know, it's, it's quite weird and cultish. (Paul, 17/07/20)

Philo and Happer (2013) note a marked tendency among low-income groups to use distancing terminology when discussing environmentalists, such as referring to them as "middle-class tree-huggers". They argue that this is fed by the mainstream media's position on environmentalism as the privilege of the wealthy, who don't need to worry about everyday concerns (Happer 2019). One interviewee who had been involved in XR agreed that calling them names like "hippy" was a way of creating distance so as not to think about their message. However, another said that, though she supported XR, she would not join them because of the hippy image, which was not her personal style. The latter, therefore, was not using this argument to create distance, since she approved of their message and actions. She genuinely found that their image was a barrier for her. She went on to say:

I don't see it as, as something that I would be ... um ... welcomed into ... I suppose it's because it fits into being slightly outside of my comfort zone ... Do you know what I mean? ... Yeah, I'm happy to do a march, but I don't know if I'd climb on the building and wear a red jumpsuit. (Mary, 07/08/20)

In general, it seemed that there was a general feeling that the backgrounds and habits of the XR activists would be different to the interviewees, as Gabrielle comments:

To me, I get the impression that they are a lot of students, uni type students. That's the impression I was getting anyway ... There's no actually ethnic type people that I could see that was there. I shouldn't say anything but, again, to me, they're like vegetarian type people, vegan type people. There's nobody there like people who might eat meat. [laughs] ... (Gabrielle, 15/08/20)

The final potential barrier, and probably the most significant in terms of strength of feeling, was the tactics that XR uses. The working-class and BAME interviewees felt very uncomfortable and even

angry about these because they tend to involve illegal and disruptive activity. Furthermore, XR representatives have spoken about this in a way that implied that anyone could do the same. For example, when challenged on Radio 4's Today programme about the disruption to people's lives that XR were causing, Gail Bradbrook, one of the organisers, responded: "they should take some time off work and come and join us" (BBC Radio 4 18/04/19).

Another controversial incident was XR's blockade of newspaper printing presses in September 2020. These were Rupert Murdoch owned print sites, responsible for the distribution of major newspapers including The Sun, The Telegraph, The Daily Mail, and The London Evening Standard. Disapproval came from across the political spectrum – from Conservative MP, Priti Patel, saying this was an "attack on free press and democracy" (in Stone 2020 np) to blogger, Victoria Daniels, who commented:

The blockading of printing sites had a domino effect not just on the readers, who received their papers late or not at all, but on the overnight print workers, delivery drivers, wholesale workers and newsagents – the working-class undercurrent of the print journalism world... these actions have directly impacted ordinary people, making them more likely to feel alienated from the cause. (Daniels 2020, np)

Most of the interviewees also had a negative perception of the disruptive tactics and frequently said that there were better ways to make the point. Many spoke about the roadblocks and disruption to public transport as self-defeating. For example, in relation to the blocking of a local bridge, Jorge, a warehouse worker, said:

We were waiting for hours to get over this bridge ... I don't like at all this type of protest. I don't think it's useful to block the bridge for a protest. You can be visible with a protest, with a protest march in other ways ... So I'm very against it ... this protest isn't achieving anything and it's just wasting my time. (Jorge, 11/08/20)

There were also a lot of negative comments regarding blocking the trains in London, particularly in relation to preventing people from getting to work (e.g. Dave, 02/08/20) and targeting a relatively low carbon transport method (e.g. Hama, 09/08/20). For example, Roger and Jake remarked:

I do support what they're doing but it wasn't quite the right way what they were doing ... Just the way they were blocking London up and enraging people. It's good to put points across but to piss people off, that's not a good way of– That's not a good outcome, is it? (Roger, 21/08/20)

Their last protest in London – I was actually working in London at the time. The chaos it caused me travelling ... I had to leave at five o'clock in the morning and I wasn't getting home until 12 o'clock at night because of the blockages they were causing. They were causing delays everywhere. To be honest, I didn't feel safe leaving the venue I was at until the crowds had gone. (Jake, 27/08/20)

However, a few of the interviewees supported the disruption. They felt that it was necessary to do something extreme and disruptive to get a response and to get noticed. For example, Sarah, a support worker, said:

No one's going to take notice of them if they're blocking a road nobody goes down, are they? That was the point of being there in the first place. They wouldn't have got on the news chaining themselves to a tree or something. I don't see what other tactics they could do really ... (Sarah, 15/08/20)

A key critique, especially by the BAME working-class interviewees, was in relation to their concerns about engaging in criminal activity and interacting with the police. For example, two of the BAME interviewees said:

Yeah, so, Extinction Rebellion, when they first started I was really wanting to connect, because I'm so, you know, climate change is very important, and I'm looking for answers ... but [laughs] there's no way I'm gonna be, as a brown, Asian, Indian, I'm not gonna be lying across the road [laughs] and put myself at risk of being arrested ... This is before any of the Black Lives Matter even happened, as in the George Floyd situation. (Shanti, 27/07/20)

No. I don't in the slightest feel that is the space that I can organize in and be a part of an event in a safe way as a Person of Colour. ... We cannot be put in situations where we are deliberately asked to be arrested. People like

me, people where I grew up, I grew up in Tottenham in North London ... [knowing of] the famous case from there, it was Mark Duggan, we don't put ourselves in front of the police. We cross the road. (Kate, 02/09/20)

Another interviewee, Anita, related this issue to multiple oppressions, on the grounds of race, class and sexuality, and highlighted the problem of XR trying to be overly amicable to the police. For example, during the April Rebellion activists from XR had chanted “the police – we love you” (Extinction Rebellion 2019c). XR had also sent flowers and a note stating “... for all you have done with decency and professionalism” to Brixton Police Station, where Sean Rigg had died in custody in 2008 (Shand-Baptiste 2019). Anita commented:

I am a brown skinned person and I'm Queer and I'm from a working-class background. And ... I have a long history personally, and in the various communities that I'm part of, of being disproportionately, harassed and policed, and ... so that tactic of like “we're your friends and let's all be nice” I can't sit with. And, and, I also found really naïve ... and, yeah, so that was me out. (Anita, 28/08/20)

New York's XR's strategy statement includes the sentence “We don't want or need everyone to get arrested – for some this is not a good idea ...” (Extinction Rebellion NYC 2020). However, as Isaksen (2019) and Hensby (2019) point out, in XRs general discourse, getting arrested still seems to be portrayed as an admirable and romanticised action and fetishised as evidence of commitment. The tactic fails to take into account the reality for BAME and working-class people for whom a criminal record would likely drastically diminish their options. In July 2020, XR attempted to correct this mistake, making the following statement:

We recognise now that our tactic of arrest has made it easier for people of privilege to participate and that our behaviours and attitudes fed into the system of white supremacy. We're sorry this recognition comes so late. (Extinction Rebellion 2020c)

Despite the apology, some XR websites still appear to be quite dismissive of such criticisms, stating that they “encourage anyone who feels upset or angry by our actions to find out more about the severity of the ecological and climate crisis” (e.g. Extinction Rebellion Tucson 2020). This implies that such critiques can only be based on ignorance, rather than a different approach to organising for social change.

### ***Societal barriers to involvement in environmentalism***

A further barrier to involvement were the limitations of the participants' own lives which undermined their time, finances, energy and emotional capacity for campaigning and protesting. For example, considering the disparities in time between different social groups Strazdins et al. (2011, 552) have noted

Those who are well paid “buy time” (eating out in restaurants, purchasing domestic help, and so on), but people working in very low-paid jobs are unlikely to make enough money to buy more time-saving goods and services, creating a time and income double jeopardy.

This is well illustrated in our interviewees' comments. For example, Shanti, a fitness instructor from Bristol and Luke, a care worker from Wigan, commented:

... and a lot of people, who are from, you know, black, Asian backgrounds and minorities, they're people who are immigrants a lot of them, and tend to come here and work, work, work, work, work, so hard. I don't think they have the time, energy and space. (Shanti, 27/07/20)

There's always something else on your plate, isn't there? Without wanting to add to it. Work's a big one, isn't it? ... It falls down your list, the more you struggle, doesn't it really? ... You might agree with it but you've got bigger fish to fry in your own life maybe. I'll speak for myself, we're not uncomfortable, but we live hand to mouth with no cushion sort of thing. I can't be taking days off work to chain myself to a train or something, however much I did agree with it. (Luke, 21/08/20)

However, while these societal and structural barriers exist, as some of the interviewees pointed out, what annoyed them the most was that some of the XR representatives and activists did not

seem to recognise these constraints. As has been noted with other environmental organisations (e.g. see Bell 2020), there is, generally, a common assumption among middle-class people that their experiences are universal. Like many powerful groups, they often seem to be unaware of their privilege. One aspect of this is the question of earning a living – often a major barrier to working-class inclusion. Interviewees noted this lack of consideration, for example, Liz had spoken to XR protesters at a demonstration she had come across while in Manchester, and left with the following impression:

I suppose it became clear to me that there wasn't really a consideration of the fact that some people don't have enough money and then to go on a protest means not perhaps picking up a shift and – you might have childcare that you need to [think about]. The fact that there wasn't even any consideration of that, it irritated me ... people who don't protest don't necessarily not care. (Liz, 21/08/20)

### **Effectiveness of XR**

A few of those interviewed thought that XR had performed an important educational role for themselves and others. For instance, Ryan, a nursing assistant from Manchester, said:

I don't think people realized the damage that we were doing to the environment really. They [XR] helped bring it to the surface. We learnt a bit more, didn't we, about how bad flying can be and unnecessary things? I think I learnt, not just through them ... but through media and the war on plastic and seeing how the oceans are swamped as well. I'm more wary about single-use plastics now and recycling and wouldn't necessarily fly anywhere needlessly. (Ryan, 20/08/20)

Several of the interviewees felt that the greatest advantage of XR is that they had opened up a dialogue. For example, Isi, a library assistant from London, said that, because of the high profile in the media, it now “... feels easier to talk about environmental issues” (Isi, 04/08/20). However, most felt that the message had got lost in the drama of the protests, and the hostile public reaction to perceived thoughtlessness and hypocrisy. For example, Julie, a care worker from Hampshire, commented:

I think it just annoys people. You know, the jumping on the trains and, the protests ... So I think it's actually not doing them any good. I think they're making it worse. (Julie, 01/08/20)

Others felt that they, and others, already knew about the problems XR were highlighting and this knowledge had come from other sources, such as scientific reports, the mainstream media and social media. For example, Alice, a school administrator from Suffolk, said:

I would say, on social media, there was a lot of images of like sea turtles wrapped in fishing net debris, and like plastic bits, bits and pieces kind of wedged into other animals' throats and stuff like that. I think images like that possibly had a bigger impact than what we've seen on the news with all the protests and everything. (Alice, 14/08/20)

### **Making the links between social and environmental justice**

Some research participants considered XR to be ineffective because it fails to address the root cause of climate change – the economic system. They voiced annoyance at XR's individualistic approach that overly focuses on people's choices, even when these choices are very limited. Lifestyle environmentalism, not only ignores the major sources of greenhouse gasses, such as the military, but also tends to assume that everyone has the same options to carry out these virtuous acts. In line with this, analysts have noted XR's tendency to depoliticise climate change through the “privileging of moral action over political analysis” (e.g. Doherty, de Moor, and Hayes 2018, n.p.). The interviewees in our study made similar points, critiquing the “beyond politics” stance and noting “a righteousness” that they did not feel comfortable with (e.g. Isi and Liz). While XR does mention supporting more political approaches, such as the Green New Deal, it is not specific about what this means and the political elements are not strongly emphasised in their actions and discourse.

In line with XR's position that the climate crisis is not a political issue but a universal issue of survival, in September 2020, XR put out a tweet disowning a banner brought to one of its demonstrations stating "Just to be clear we are not a socialist movement ... a banner saying 'socialism or extinction' does not represent us". Although this fits with their avowed intention to build a broad coalition, some perceived it to be a rejection of socialists. A few interviewees felt very critical of this stance, seeing it as rejecting opportunities for building class and social justice alliances and challenging capitalism. The idea of Citizens' Assemblies coming up with solutions was also questioned in a classist and racist society where working-class and BAME people are rarely taken seriously. For example, Kate and Isi said:

When they talk about Citizens' Assembly and this coalition of people to make decisions, which is beyond politics, you'd still be talking about a demographic which has consistently let down People of Colour. For me, they do not have an anti-capitalist or anti-racist approach to the climate crisis and actually that's damaging rather than helpful ... When I saw the tweet go out about, "we're not a socialist organization" and ... this "beyond politics" rhetoric, I wasn't surprised, but it was a real disappointment. (Kate, 02/09/20)

It doesn't feel like they're making the links ... in the way that the Black Lives [Matter]movement is opening people's analyses and people's thoughts, I don't feel Extinction Rebellion is doing that ... And that worries me. Because, if we're gonna make the changes we desperately, urgently, need to make [we have to] ... show where those connections are, 'cos the destruction of the planet hasn't happened separate to everything else that's going on. It's happened because of everything else that's going on. (Isi, 04/08/20)

This reflects the tendency of environmental organisations to fail to support the social or environmental initiatives of working-class communities (Bell 2020), another critique of XR by our research participants. For example, Paul had approached XR for support in relation to some toxic facilities in the local area that was causing severe health problems, as he described:

Where I am, we've got lots of incinerators have popped up. You know, and I've contacted XR personally on a number of occasions and said "you need to be sort of looking at this", you know ... and XR just aren't interested. ... It was like, "oh you can sort something out yourself, and we'll support you from afar", you know? [laughs]. They're just not interested. (Paul, 17/07/20)

A common theme among the interviewees was also a lack of distrust as a result of XR's perceived funders. Some analysts have questioned XR's dependence on financing from the business sector, and speculated that this may be behind their lack of willingness to acknowledge the role of capitalism in driving climate change (e.g. Cerasoli 2020). An alleged wealthy backer includes Christopher Hohn, a billionaire associated with environmental contamination and Raytheon, an arms manufacturer (Nimmo 2020). Some interviewees also raised these issues, making the following points, among others:

And I didn't like some of the things that I read about the leaders ... it didn't seem pure for me. (Sharon, 13/07/20)

I'm suspicious of them because they came apparently from nowhere. And I've heard that they're sponsored by ... you know, they received funding from big ... fund holders. (Barbara, 12/08/20)

Hence, there have been barriers to BAME and working-class involvement with XR, and critiques in relation to their effectiveness. XR seem to be aware of these issues, to some extent, and are working on their inclusiveness. For example, they focused on decolonisation and inclusivity at the People's Assembly following the London protests in April 2019 (Hayes and Doherty 2019). Their most recent strategy statements appear to recognise a need to diversify the movement (Extinction Rebellion 2020d). However, some of the research participants in our study continued to express a lack of trust. Anita, for example, said:

You know, I'm not interested in like "oh, we're sorry, but you know, come and join us still cos we're great!" ... And as much as they say that they want to listen now, and that they've messed up and all of that, for me it feels a bit too late. (Anita, 28/08/20)

In general, there was a pervasive sense of disinterest in being part of this organisation among the interviewees. They want to see action on climate change but they are not clamouring to be part of XR so as to make that happen. As Anita added:

I'm not interested in a language of diversity and inclusion, because it still centres a certain demographic, what I'm interested in is de-centering that demographic, and a movement ... not "oh, how can we get all of these people to get involved" [with what we are doing]. (Anita, 28/08/20)

Despite these critiques, none of the participants said that this had put them off environmentalism, though they often said that it would have put others off. Almost all were concerned about climate change and wanted the government to take action. The next section continues with how we might interpret these comments, and what this means for environmental social movements and the transition to sustainability, more generally.

## Discussion and conclusion

The above issues help us understand why Extinction Rebellion, and perhaps other predominantly white, middle-class environmental organisations, could have a problem engaging, recruiting or retaining BAME and working-class people as supporters and activists. While the BAME and working-class standpoints outlined in this paper do not imply an essential overarching characteristic, we have seen that among the various views put across, feelings of annoyance, anger and incomprehension have been common.

Since XR does not have a formal membership structure and groups have a certain amount of autonomy in what they say and do, it may be unfair to judge the whole organisation on the basis of some specific actions. Furthermore, XR is evolving, so judgements made about them may now be unfair since they are based on past mistakes that they have been trying to put right. Importantly, since XR do not seem to be alienating these BAME and working-class people from environmentalism, overall, perhaps it does not matter whether members of these social groups feel disengaged from XR. As some have noted, perhaps those with privilege should engage in confrontational struggle while others cannot. For example, George Monbiot has argued:

... I cannot help who I am. I accept that the costs of arrest for people like me – a white, middle-class man with an established career – are lower than for other people. But this means I have a moral duty to use my privilege. (Monbiot 2019 np.)

Yet, even though XR may not be diminishing the interest of BAME and working-class people in environmentalism, they do not seem to be helping, either. Given the lack of time available to transition to sustainability, this is a problem. The participants were less interested in being included in XR, and more in the transformation of XR and the environmental movement so that it values their standpoints and recognises their struggles. It is also important for them that climate activists make links between their struggles and the climate crisis.

Inclusion is often conceived of in terms of what Harding (1985) discusses in relation to feminism as the "add women and stir" strategy, which here would be "add working-class and BAME groups and stir". In this scenario, there is little notion of the need for an organisation to change in order to be able to incorporate the needs and perspectives of the "diverse" groups. Inclusion practices can assume that excluded populations desire to be included in what currently exists, rather than transforming the status quo. However, as Labonte (2004) asks, "how does one go about including individuals and groups in a set of structured social relationships responsible for excluding them in the first place?" (117).

Standpoint Theory emphasises how the views of working-class and BAME people are essential for generating the alternative knowledge that is crucial for formulating effective and widely supported solutions. It supports the notion that marginalised and/or oppressed individuals are in a unique position to perceive actions and attitudes that those immersed in the dominant group culture may fail to see (Allen 1996; Gurung 2020). Since these views are necessary to a movement for developing effective and just climate solutions, how can this be reconciled with a resistance to "inclusion" in XR from those very groups? It could be argued that XR, by demanding Climate Assemblies, are helping to open up a space for these views to be heard. However, given unequal societal structures,

and the burden of having to cope with daily inequities and microaggressions, members of disadvantaged groups can feel intimidated and inhibited by the presence and behaviours of dominant groups. Therefore, Climate Assemblies, as currently constituted (through “sortition”) (Climate Assembly UK 2020), may not be adequate for working-class and BAME views to be heard. Separate spaces for discourse facilitate the self-expression of marginalised and/or oppressed people and avoid potential co-optation by dominant groups. Since the 1960s, equalities movements have organised within their own demographic to explore issues without domination and to enhance their political power (Whittier 2017). This self-organisation is widely recognised as an important equalities practice for developing and amplifying the views of marginalised groups (e.g. UNISON 2014). However, these internal conversations need to be heard and acted upon in the wider domains, so links to the mainstream will also need to be forged and developed to enable this.

Transformative remedies that aim to dismantle the structures and systems that drive inequity are needed. For XR, this means that they need to include challenging classism, racism and other forms of oppression in their fundamental aims. As our interviewee, Isi, stated, XR need to make links between issues in the same way that the Black Lives Matter movement has. For example, BLM includes discussion of the links between racial oppression and environmental degradation (e.g. Thomas and Haynes 2020). Hence, XR needs to genuinely transform itself, including its priorities, if it wants to be a more diverse movement. In the meantime, it may be better for XR to build solidaristic alliances with self-organised groups that work to amplify the voices of BAME and working-class people on climate change, rather than trying to encourage these communities to join XR in their current form.

Hence, in concluding, to bring about the transformation necessary to prevent climate change and to be a more effective climate movement, we offer two key recommendations for XR and other predominantly middle-class and white environmental groups:

First, support (with your time, energy, money and professional skills) campaigns for environmental and social justice led by BAME and working-class people. This could particularly focus on inner city, outer estates, rural and “left behind” communities. Second, throw your weight behind some solutions that have been developed around addressing climate and environmental justice simultaneously, such as some versions of the Green New Deal (Bell and Bevan 2021). These strategies will support the emergence of working-class and BAME standpoints on the climate crisis that have, so far, been absent or marginalised in debates. It is time to go beyond focussing on inclusion into middle-class environmental organisations and look to the transformation of environmentalism, overall.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## Funding

This work was supported by University of the West of England.

## References

- Akec, Athian. 2019. “When I Look at Extinction Rebellion, All I See is White Faces. That has to Change.” *The Guardian*. October 19.
- Allen, Brenda J. 1996. “Feminist Standpoint Theory: A Black Woman’s Review of Organizational Socialization.” *Communication Studies* 47 (4): 257–271. doi:10.1080/10510979609368482.
- Apiah, K. A. 2020. “The Case for Capitalizing the B in Black.” *The Atlantic*, June 18.
- Ball, Tom, Ben Webster, and Esther Webber. 2019. “Extinction Rebellion Apologises After Commuters Drag Protester Off Train.” *The Times*. October 18.
- Bawden, T. 2015. “Green Movement Must Escape its ‘White, Middle-Class Ghetto’, says Friends of the Earth Chief Craig Bennett.” *The Independent*, July 5.
- BBC. 2019. “Extinction Rebellion Protesters Dragged from Tube Train Roof.” *BBC*. October 17.

- Bell, Karen. 2020. *Working-Class Environmentalism: An Agenda for a Just and Fair Transition to Sustainability*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bell, Karen, and Gnisha Bevan. 2021. "The Failure of Lifestyle Environmentalism and the Promise of the Green New Deal for Working-Class People." *Journal of Working-Class Studies*, 6 (1): 5–21.
- Bevan, Luke, D. Thomas Colley, and Mark Workman. 2020. "Climate Change Strategic Narratives in the United Kingdom: Emergency, Extinction, Effectiveness." *Energy Research & Social Science* 69: 101580. doi:10.1016/j.erss.2020.101580.
- The BIPOC Project. 2021. "About US" <https://www.thebipocproject.org/about-us>.
- Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke. 2021. "To Saturate or Not to Saturate? Questioning Data Saturation as a Useful Concept for Thematic Analysis and Sample-Size Rationales." *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health* 13 (2): 201–216. doi:10.1080/2159676X.2019.1704846.
- Brenner, E. 2020. Black and White: When Should We Capitalize? August 3. [www.righttouchediting.com/2020/08/03/black-and-white-when-should-we-capitalize/](http://www.righttouchediting.com/2020/08/03/black-and-white-when-should-we-capitalize/).
- Cerasoli, Dom. 2020. "Extinction "Rebellion": Green Capital Against the Working Class." *Challenge Magazine Online*. <https://challenge-magazine.org/2020/09/02/extinction-rebellion-green-capital-against-the-working-class/>.
- Chenoweth, E., and M. J. Stephan. 2011. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Clarke, L., and J. Agyeman. 2011. "Is There More to Environmental Participation Than Meets the Eye? Understanding Agency, Empowerment and Disempowerment Among Black and Minority Ethnic Communities." *Area* 43 (1): 88–95.
- Climate Assembly UK. 2020. *The Path to Net Zero, House of Commons*. London. <https://www.climateassembly.uk/report/read/final-report.pdf>.
- Crenshaw, K. 1989. "Demarginalising the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1: 139–167.
- Daniels, Victoria. 2020. "Climate Change is Real but so is Classism." *Backbench*. September 6. <https://bbench.co.uk/2020/09/06/climate-change-is-real-but-so-is-classism/>.
- Deer, J. 2019. "To Effect Change, Extinction Rebellion Must Learn How to Talk to Right-Wingers." *New Statesman*. <https://www.newstatesman.com/america/politics/2019/05/effect-change-extinction-rebellion-must-learn-how-talk-right-wingers>.
- Dhaliwal, Sharan. 2019. "How Extinction Rebellion Inadvertently Stoked a Class War." *HuffPost UK*, October 18.
- Dodd, V. 2019. "Extinction Rebellion Protests Cost Met Police £37m So Far." *The Guardian*, October 22.
- Doherty, B., J. de Moor, and G. Hayes. 2018. "The 'New' Climate Politics of Extinction Rebellion?" *OpenDemocracy* (Blog). November 27. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/new-climate-politics-of-extinction-rebellion/>.
- Extinction Rebellion. 2019a. "Act Now." Accessed September 23, 2020. <https://extinctionrebellion.uk/act-now/>.
- Extinction Rebellion. 2019b. "Our Demands." Extinction Rebellion UK. <https://rebellion.earth/the-truth/demands/>.
- Extinction Rebellion. 2020a. "September Rebellion Actions & Speakers Schedule – London" <https://extinctionrebellion.uk/2020/08/29/september-rebellion-actions-speakers-schedule/>.
- Extinction Rebellion. 2020b. "FAQs." <https://extinctionrebellion.uk/the-truth/faqs>.
- Extinction Rebellion. 2020c. "Statement on Extinction Rebellion's Relationship with the Police." <https://extinctionrebellion.uk/2020/07/01/statement-on-extinction-rebellions-relationship-with-the-police/>.
- Extinction Rebellion. 2020d. "About Us." <https://rebellion.earth/the-truth/about-us/>.
- Extinction Rebellion New York City. 2020. "Our Strategy." <https://www.xrebellion.nyc/our-story#:~:text=At%20the%20core%20of%20Extinction%20Rebellion's%20philosophy%20is%20nonviolent%20civil%20disobedience.&text=W e%20don't%20want%20or,civil%20disobedience%20as%20a%20tool>.
- Extinction Rebellion Podcast. 2019c. "XR & the Police – Extinction Rebellion Podcast Special 2.7" [Podcast]. <https://open.spotify.com/episode/0s58Uw0EHGcQCP4brZefwq>.
- Extinction Rebellion Tucson. 2020. "FAQs." <https://xrtucson.org/faqs/>.
- Garavito, Tatiana, and Nathan Thanki. 2019. "Stop Asking People of Color to Get Arrested to Protest Climate Change." *Vice*. September 18. <https://www.vice.com/en/article/mbm3q4/extinction-rebellion-xr-is-shaped-by-middle-class-white-people-it-does-not-serve-people-of-color>.
- Gayle, Damien. 2019. "Does Extinction Rebellion have a Race Problem?" *The Guardian*. October 4.
- Gilbert, N. 2001. *Researching Social Life*. London: Sage.
- Gill, Charlotte. 2019. "Extinction Rebellion have Turned Climate Change into a Class War." *The Telegraph*. October 17.
- Greenhalgh, T., S. Thorne, and K. Malterud. 2018. "Time to Challenge the Spurious Hierarchy of Systematic Over Narrative Reviews?" *European Journal of Clinical Investigation* 12931.
- Gurung, Lina. 2020. "Feminist Standpoint Theory: Conceptualization and Utility." *Dhualagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* 14: 106–115. doi:10.3126/dsaj.v14i0.27357.
- Happer, Catherine. 2019. "Climate Change is Too Middle Class – Here's How to Fix That." *The Conversation*. September 16. <https://theconversation.com/climate-change-is-too-middle-class-heres-how-to-fix-that-123231>.
- Harding, Sandra. 1995. "Just Add Women and Stir?" In *Missing Links: Gender Equity in Science and Technology for Development*. Gender Working Group, United Nations Commission on Science and Technology for Development. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre in association with Intermediate Technology Publications and UNIFEM.

- Hayes, G., and B. Doherty. 2019. "What Now for Extinction Rebellion?" *Political Quarterly Blog*. April 29. <https://politicalquarterly.blog/2019/04/29/what-now-for-extinction-rebellion/>.
- Hensby, A. 2019. "Extinction Rebellion: Disruption and Arrests Can Bring Social Change". *The Conversation*. <http://theconversation.com/extinction-rebellion-disruption-and-arrests-can-bring-social-change-115741>.
- Hinsliff, Gaby. 2019. "Extinction Rebellion has Built Up so Much Goodwill. It Mustn't Throw That Away." *The Guardian*. October 17.
- Inglehart, R. 1977. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- IPCC. 2018. "Global Warming of 1.5°C." <https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/>.
- IRR. 2020. *Definitions*. Institute of Race Relations, London <https://irr.org.uk/research/statistics/definitions/>.
- Isaksen, Emelie. 2019. *Lay Down our Differences: An Interpretive Study of Problem Representation and Inclusion in Extinction Rebellion*. Uppsala University.
- Josette, N. 2019. "People of Colour are the Most Impacted by Climate Change, Yet Extinction Rebellion is Erasing Them from the Conversation." *The Independent*. April 21, <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/extinction-rebellion-arrests-london-protests-climate-change-people-of-colour-global-south-a8879846.html>.
- Kreuger, R. A., and M. A. Casey. 2000. *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Labonte, R. 2004. "Social Inclusion/ Exclusion: Dancing the Dialectic." *Health Promotion International* 19 (1): 115–121. doi:10.1093/heapro/dah112.
- Leiserowitz, A., and K. Akerlof. 2010. *Race, Ethnicity, and Public Responses to Climate Change*. Yale Project on Climate Change. New Haven, CT: Yale University and George Mason University.
- Macias, T. 2016. "Ecological Assimilation: Race, Ethnicity, and the Inverted Gap of Environmental Concern." *Society & Natural Resources* 29: 3–19. doi:10.1080/08941920.2015.1042128.
- Malone, Carole. 2019. "Extinction Rebellion is a 'Loopy Middle-Class Doomsday Cult'." *The Pledge*, October 11. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aWXDo41mkGE>.
- Mason, J. 2002. *Qualitative Researching*. London: Sage.
- Miles, M. B., and A. M. Huberman. 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. London: Sage.
- Monbiot, George. 2019. "Today, I Aim to Get Arrested. It is the Only Real Power Climate Protesters Have." *The Guardian*. October 16.
- Morris, James. 2019. "Extinction Rebellion Activists Occupy Smithfield Market and Set Up Fruit and Veg Stalls." *The Standard*. October 8.
- Moser, S. C., and L. Dilling. 2004. "Making Climate Hot." *Environment* 46: 32–46.
- Nimmo, Jamie. 2020. "Climate Rebel Tycoon Nets Tainted Millions: How Extinction Rebellion's British Hedge Fund Backer Profits from 'Dirty Firms'." *Financial Mail on Sunday*, January 25.
- Okolosie, Lola, Joseph Harker, Leah Green, and Emma Dabiri. 2015. "Is it Time to Ditch the Term 'Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic' (BAME)?" *The Guardian*, May 22.
- O'Neil, Brendan. 2020. "Coal Miners vs Extinction Rebellion." March 2, <https://www.spiked-online.com/2020/03/02/coal-miners-vs-extinction-rebellion/>.
- O'Neill, S., and S. Nicholson-Cole. 2009. "Fear Won't do it Visual and Iconic Representations." *Science Communication* 30: 355–379. doi:10.1177/1075547008329201.
- Patton, M. Q. 1990. *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Pearson, Adam R., Matthew T. Ballew, Sarah Naiman, and Jonathon P. Schuldt. 2017. "Race, Class, Gender and Climate Change Communication." *Climate Science* <https://oxfordre.com/climatescience/climatescience/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228620.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228620-e-412>.
- Perraudin, F. 2019. "Extinction Rebellion Arrests Pass 1000 on Eighth Day of Protests." *The Guardian*, April 22.
- Peterson, T. R., K. Witte, E. Enkerlin-Hoeflich, L. Espericueta, J. T. Flora, N. Florey, et al. 1994. "Using Informant Directed Interviews to Discover Risk Orientation: How Formative Evaluations Based in Interpretive Analysis Can Improve Persuasive Safety Campaigns." *Journal of Applied Communication Research* 22: 199–215. doi:10.1080/00909889409365398.
- Philo, Greg, and Catherine Happer. 2013. *Communicating Climate Change and Energy Security: New Methods in Understanding Audiences*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Pulido, L. 1998. "Development of the 'People of Color' Identity in the Environmental Justice Movement of the Southwestern United States." *Socialist Review* 26 (3–4): 145–180.
- Ritchie, J., and J. Lewis. 2003. *Qualitative Research Practice*. London: Sage.
- Satheesh, Silpa. 2020. "Moving Beyond Class: A Critical Review of Labor-Environmental Conflicts from the Global South." *Sociology*. e12797.
- Shand-Baptiste, Kuba. 2019. "Opinion: Extinction Rebellion's Treatment of Class and Race Blocks its Goal of Climate Justice." *The Independent*, October 15.
- Shukla, Anu. 2019. "Extinction Rebellion Supporters Row Over Whether 'Hippy Language' is Watering Down Climate Change Message." *The Independent*. April 28.
- Smith, D. E. 1987. *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

- Smoke, Ben. 2019. "Extinction Rebellion Protesters who Want to be Arrested: Be Careful What You Wish For." *The Guardian*, April 15.
- Speiser, M., and K. Krygsmann. 2014. *American Climate Values 2014: Insights by Racial and Ethnic Groups*. Washington, DC: Strategic Business Insights and ecoAmerica.
- Stone, Jon. 2020. "Priti Patel says Extinction Rebellion Blockades of Newspaper Printers is 'Attack on Free Press and Democracy'". *The Independent*. September 5.
- Strazdins, L., A. L. Griffin, D. H. Broom, C. Banwell, R. Korda, J. Dixon, F. Paolucci, and J. Glover. 2011. "Time Scarcity: Another Health Inequality?" *Environment and Planning A* 43: 545–559. doi:10.1068/a4360.
- Taylor, M., and D. Gayle. 2019. "Dozens Arrested after Climate Protest Blocks Five London Bridges." *The Guardian*, November 17.
- Thackeray, S., S. A. Robinson, and P. Smith. 2020. "Civil Disobedience Movements Such as School Strike for the Climate are Raising Public Awareness of the Climate Change Emergency." *Global Change Biology*, 1–3.
- Thomas, Adelle, and Rueanna Haynes. 2020. "Black Lives Matter: The Link Between Climate Change and Racial Justice" *Climate Analytics*.
- Tryl, Luke. 2020. "Believe It or Not XR Tactics are Working like a Charm – Even if You Don't Happen to LIKE them." *The Independent*, September 8.
- UNISON. 2014. *Organising for Equality: UNISON Guidelines on Self-Organisation*. London: UNISON.
- Weatherby, Bronwen. 2019. "XR Admit Tube Protest was 'Own Goal' Because it Annoyed People". *Evening Standard*, October 17.
- Whittaker, Matthew, Gary M Segura, and Shaun Bowler. 2005. "Racial/Ethnic Group Attitudes Toward Environmental Protection in California: Is "Environmentalism" Still a White Phenomenon?" *Political Research Quarterly* 58 (3): 435–447.
- Whittier, N. 2017. "Identity Politics, Consciousness-Raising, and Visibility Politics." In *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. Women's Social Movement Activism*, edited by Holly J. McCammon, Verta Taylor, Jo Reger, and Rachel L. Einwohner. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wretched of the Earth. 2019. "An Open Letter to Extinction Rebellion." *Red Pepper*, May 3.