

# **Just Stop Oil: Impact on Awareness, Perception, and Behaviour**

Saskia Johnson, Fitzwilliam College

Supervised by Dr Liam Saddington

August 2024



## **Abstract**

Amidst an escalating failure of UK climate policy, grassroots social movements have gained momentum since late 2018, with Just Stop Oil (JSO) being a significant contributor in the landscape of climate activism. This research explores the impact of JSO, advocating for an end to fossil fuels by 2030, on raising awareness, shaping perceptions, influencing attitudes towards climate change, and affecting behaviours among undergraduates at the University of Cambridge. This study challenges the prevalent notion that extreme protest actions perceived as harmful or disruptive diminish support for social movements. Through a questionnaire of University of Cambridge undergraduates, findings reveal that JSO's disruptive actions raise awareness among the student population through the media. Despite predominantly negative perceptions of JSO's methods, these sentiments do not translate into polarisation or rejection of their core climate action objectives. In fact, the majority of students reported a willingness to educate themselves further on climate issues as a result of JSO's campaigns, although fewer expressed a desire to participate directly in activism. The results indicate that while JSO is effective in elevating discourse on climate change, its approach may limit engagement among the student population, providing valuable insights into the complex relationship between protest tactics and their reception by students in the context of climate activism.

**Key Word(s):** social movements, perception, awareness, climate change, students

# Table of Contents

<b>1. Introduction</b> .....	5
<b>2. Literature Review</b> .....	6
2.1 The Activist's Dilemma .....	6
2.2 The Attention Model .....	8
<b>3. Methodology</b> .....	9
<b>4. Results and Discussion</b> .....	10
4.1 Awareness .....	10
4.2 Perception .....	13
4.2.1 Factors shaping perception .....	14
<b>4.2.1.1 Concern for climate change</b> .....	14
<b>4.2.1.2 Nature of the campaign</b> .....	16
4.3 Support for JSO demands and perception of climate change .....	18
<b>4.3.1 JSO's demand</b> .....	18
<b>4.3.2 Climate change</b> .....	18
4.4 Behaviour .....	19
<b>5. Conclusion</b> .....	20
<b>6. Bibliography</b> .....	21

## List of Figures

Figure 1: diagram reproduced from the Authors' notes, representing Feinberg et al.'s (2020) proposed "Activists Dilemma" model

Figure 2: diagram reproduced from the Authors' notes, representing Davis's (2022) Attention Model

Figure 3: bar chart showing students' top ten frequency of mentions of sources of information about JSO

Figure 4: bar chart showing the perceived effectiveness by students of the JSO campaigns in raising awareness of climate change

Figure 5: bar chart illustrating students' general perceptions of JSO, grouped into 'negative', 'neutral', and 'positive' categories

Figure 6: stacked bar chart showing students' perception of JSO across various levels of climate change concern

Figure 7: series of bar charts illustrating students' perceptions of five different JSO protests

Figure 8: clustered column chart showing students' likelihood of undertaking actions resulting from JSO campaigns

# 1. Introduction

In the realm of UK climate activism, groups like Just Stop Oil (JSO) frequently face scrutiny and accusations of counterproductivity due to their disruptive and extreme tactics, which appear to polarise public opinion in both media and public discourse (Fisher et al., 2023). However, protest and activism have long been integral to Western environmentalism, pioneering efforts in driving transformative action – action that the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has emphasized as essential to addressing the climate crisis (IPCC, 2019). Understanding the impact of these protests, particularly their effectiveness in catalysing meaningful change, is crucial to evaluating the true influence of such movements.

The student population are a highly engaged and influential demographic in this context (Saunders et al., 2020). And with JSO's recent establishment of a notable presence in the Cambridge area, evidenced by the spraying of King's College, University of Cambridge in late 2023 (Dodd, 2023), and a slow march through Cambridge in April 2023 (Just Stop Oil, 2023), the undergraduate student population at the University of Cambridge represents a particularly relevant sample for exploring these themes.

JSO has displayed an unwavering commitment to nonviolent civil disobedience to demand an end to new oil and gas licences in the UK (BBC News, 2023), and it is highly likely that their efforts will not wane, with social movements following a natural trajectory of exacerbated disruption until their demands are met (Fisher et al., 2023). Therefore, this study aims to deepen understanding of the impact of JSO - due to its centrality to the future of UK climate activism - through the student demographic, because of their centrality to social movement dynamics (Saunders et al., 2020). To achieve this, the study will explore the following research questions through the lens of the Cambridge undergraduate population:

- 1. Does JSO influence awareness of climate change among Cambridge undergraduates?**
- 2. How is JSO perceived among Cambridge undergraduates?**
  - a. Which factors influence perception?**
- 3. How does the perception of JSO among Cambridge undergraduates influence support for JSO's demands and views on climate change?**
- 4. Does JSO influence behaviour among Cambridge undergraduates?**

This study employs a questionnaire to first explore the theme of awareness, defined as the degree of knowledge or attention to the issue, to evaluate how effectively JSO has succeeded in raising awareness

about climate change among the population. Then, it will investigate the perceptions of JSO, specifically how they are regarded and understood by the student demographic, as well as the factors shaping these perceptions. The research further examines whether these perceptions influence broader views on climate change and support for JSO's demands. Finally, the study investigates changes in behaviour because of JSO. The findings from these inquiries aim to elucidate the sentiments of Cambridge undergraduates towards JSO and assess how these sentiments may either advance or hinder the organisation's objectives.

## **2. Literature Review**

Protests serve as a mechanism through which individuals articulate dissatisfaction with government responses to social injustice issues (Davis, 2022). While considerable literature has examined themes of social identification and shared identity within the internal dynamics of social movements (Corning & Myers, 2002; Fisher, 2016; della Porta & Diani, 2020), there is relatively little research focusing on the external impacts of these movements on observers. Nonetheless, various theoretical models have been proposed to explain the psychological effects of protests, which I intend to engage with in a desire to evaluate their opportunities and limitations in the context of JSO's impact on the student demographic.

### 2.1 The Activist's Dilemma

For example, one model proposed by Feinberg et al. (2020) deciphers the dichotomy which exists within social movements. A dual effect is argued to arise when extreme protest actions (defined as those perceived to be highly disruptive and/or harmful to society) lead to decreased support for the movement but simultaneously can be beneficial to the movement by raising awareness of the issue and applying necessary pressure to institutions. An effect termed the Activists Dilemma (*Figure 1*) necessitates a decision by the activists between moderate actions which are largely ignored, versus more extreme actions which succeed in gaining attention, yet may lead to polarisation by observers.

Crucially, Feinberg et al. (2020) found that it is the observer's perception of disruption, rather than the actions of the movement itself, that significantly affects support for and willingness to join the protest. Their study suggests that a person's pre-existing stance on the cause does not necessarily alter their level of consequential support for the movement. In contrast, alternative studies have shown that the respondents' views on the imprisonment of climate protesters were significantly shaped by their level of concern about climate change (Bristol, 2023). This discrepancy highlights an ongoing debate in the literature: there is no clear consensus on how an individual's preconceived stance on a cause influences

their reception of the movement. This lack of agreement underscores the need for further investigation into the complex interplay between pre-existing beliefs and the perception of protest actions. Furthermore, the studies are not specific to the student population, highlighting this research's purpose in assessing the extent to which proposed models on social movements are applicable to this focused demographic.

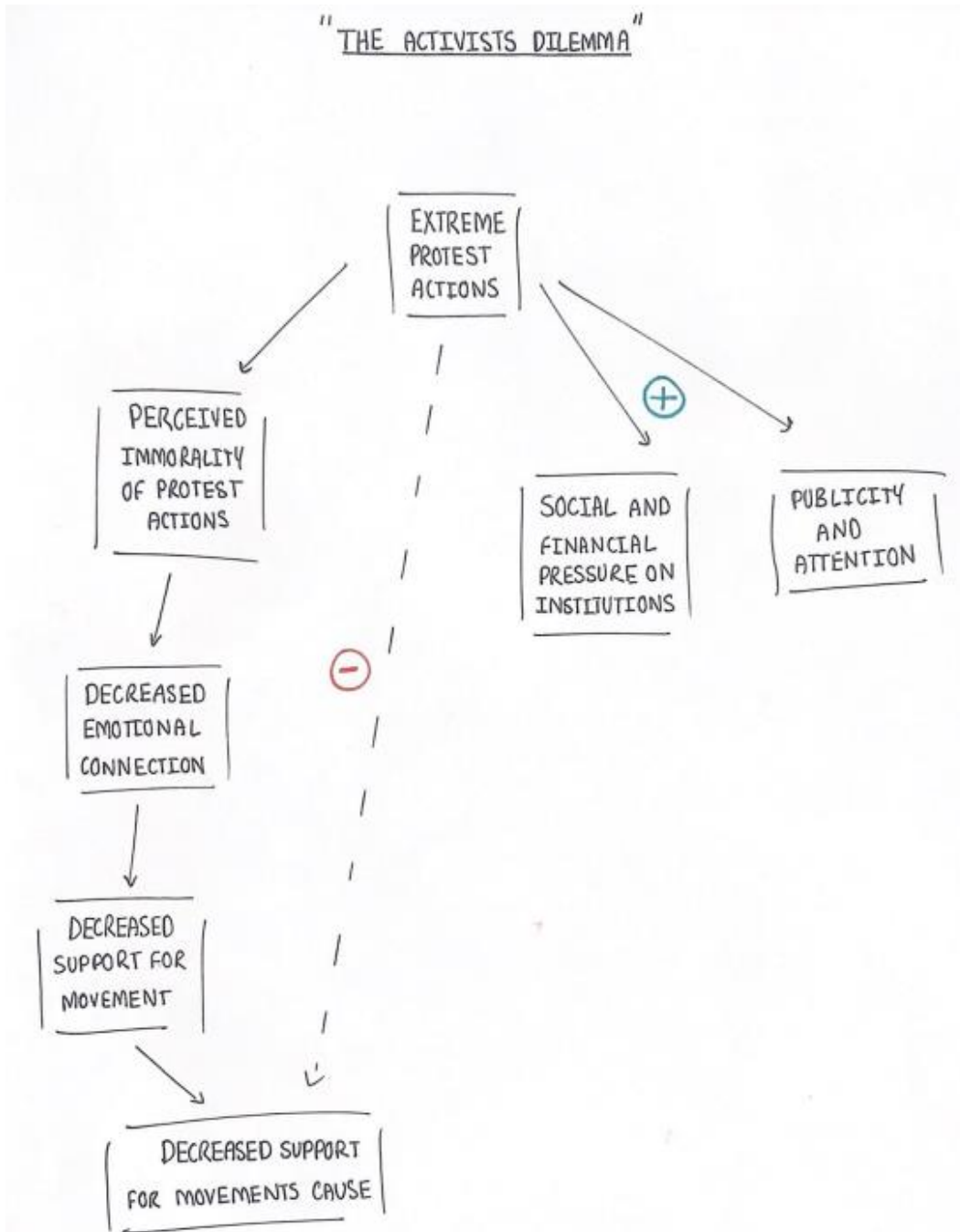
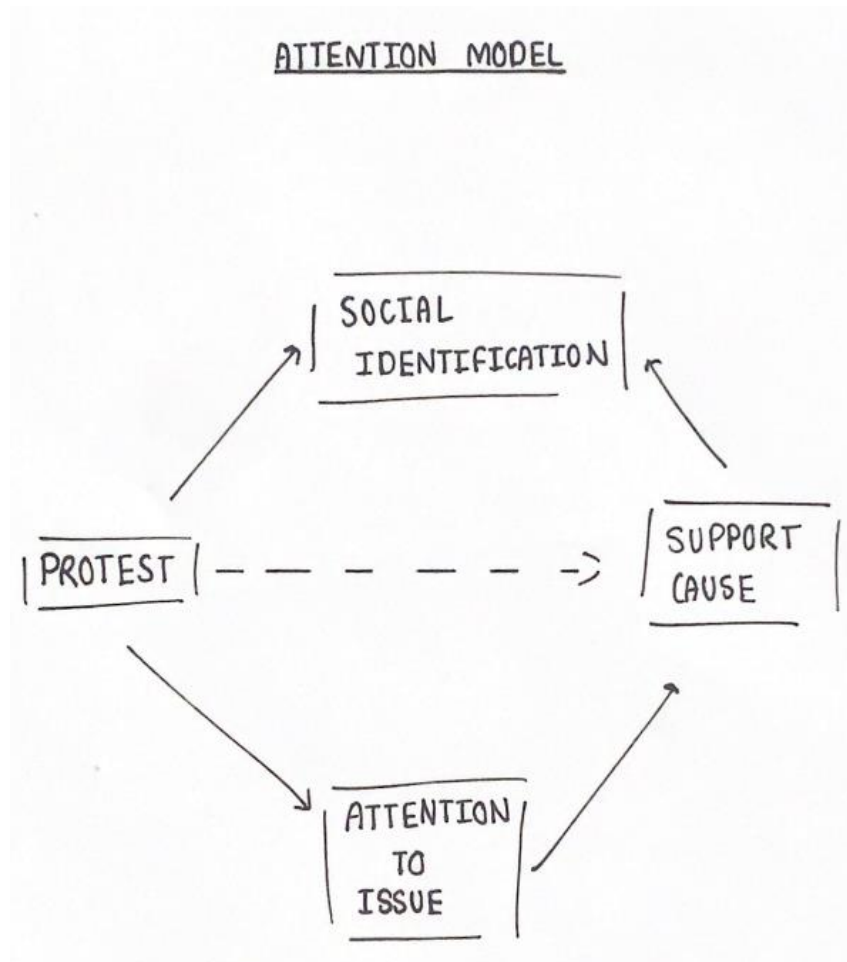


Figure 1: diagram reproduced from the Authors' notes, representing Feinberg et al.'s (2020) proposed "Activists Dilemma" model

## 2.2 The Attention Model

A critique of the aforementioned model consists of its lack of compatibility with the aims of activism itself, which seek to engage individuals with the cause they are advocating for irrespective of their perceptions (Davis, 2022). The Attention Model emphasises that the primary objective of activism is to capture attention and stimulate discussion on the cause, rather than achieving popularity (*Figure 2*).



*Figure 2: diagram reproduced from the Authors' notes, representing Davis's (2022) Attention Model*

Furthermore, contrary to what is proposed in the Activists Dilemma, Davis (2022) revealed that people's feelings about social issues are not conditioned by social movements or their feelings towards the protesters. Indeed, social movements influence the observer's emotions, perceived immorality of the actions, and social identification with the movement, yet do not decrease support for their demands. This is largely because people's attitudes to an issue and a group's demand are distinct from and undetermined by how they feel about the group itself. The attitudes and belief systems of individuals are often more

embedded and inflexible than their opinions on the protests (Fisher et al., 2023). In the context of climate activism, people's perception of a climate movement does not affect their beliefs in climate change (Patterson and Mann, 2022).

With this considered, Davis, 2022 has additionally highlighted the effectiveness of extreme actions in gaining traction in national and international media as an effective way to get people talking about the cause and to set news agendas (Davis, 2022). Furthermore, whilst the attention may be focused on what the protesters did instead of why they did it, the concept of ‘agenda seeding’ (Wasow, 2020) allows for a space in which protests don't “necessarily tell people what to think but influences what they think about” (Fisher et al., 2023; p.911). Considering these findings in the wider context of the aims of social movements, whilst decreasing public support for the movement may not be helpful for mass mobilisation, given its negligible impact on support for their demands, high publicity actions may be an effective way to increase recruitment given very few people become activists (Davis, 2022).

Other effects of social movements include Haines’ (2013) ‘radical flank’, where more moderate actions gain increased support in the context of extreme actions. The presence of radical tactics used by one flank of a social movement leads the more moderate factions to be perceived as less radical, thus leading to greater levels of social identification and support for the more moderate faction (Simpson et al., 2022). Studies have shown that increased awareness of JSO after the blocking of the M25, for example, resulted in increased support and identification with Friends of the Earth, suggesting JSO has potentially positive effects on the broader climate movement (Ozden and Ostarek, 2022). Whilst this effect will not be tested within this study, it should be considered within the wider implications of its findings.

The existing literature on the impact of protest actions on public support and perception is complex and fragmented. This study seeks to address this gap by focusing on student reception—a demographic that, despite its significant role in social movement dynamics, has received limited attention in this area of research (Saunders et al., 2020).

### **3. Methodology**

This study focuses on University of Cambridge undergraduates as a sample population to better understand the impact of JSO on students. Between 24 June 2024 and 24 July 2024, a questionnaire was distributed through college JCRs (Junior Common Rooms) at the University of Cambridge. Respondents

maintained anonymity and demographic data such as age, gender, and subject of study were gathered solely to enhance the analysis without compromising the participants' anonymity.

There are some characteristics of the population which must be acknowledged in the analysis of the results. The UK climate movement is disproportionately characterised by students, who are often at the forefront of social movements (Saunders et al., 2020), and young people are most frequently associated with protests in the media (Hays and O'Neill, 2021). The student population are thus likely to have higher engagement and identification levels with the activists than the public (Feinberg et al., 2020). The population is also part of a highly selective academic institution. I recognise that the population in which this study was conducted is not representative of the general population. The findings in this study should therefore not be extrapolated to the wider public, and rather findings should be interpreted as a reflection of the student population.

Throughout this project, I remained attentive to my positionality as a British student at the University of Cambridge studying Geography. I recognise that my own biases towards climate activism could influence the types of questions which I curated during the formation of the questionnaire, particularly given my already preconceived stance on the JSO campaigns. I ensured I was mindful of these subjectivities in the methodological process and analysis, attempting to limit the infiltration of my heightened education and engagement with environmentalism (Bourke, 2014).

## **4. Results and Discussion**

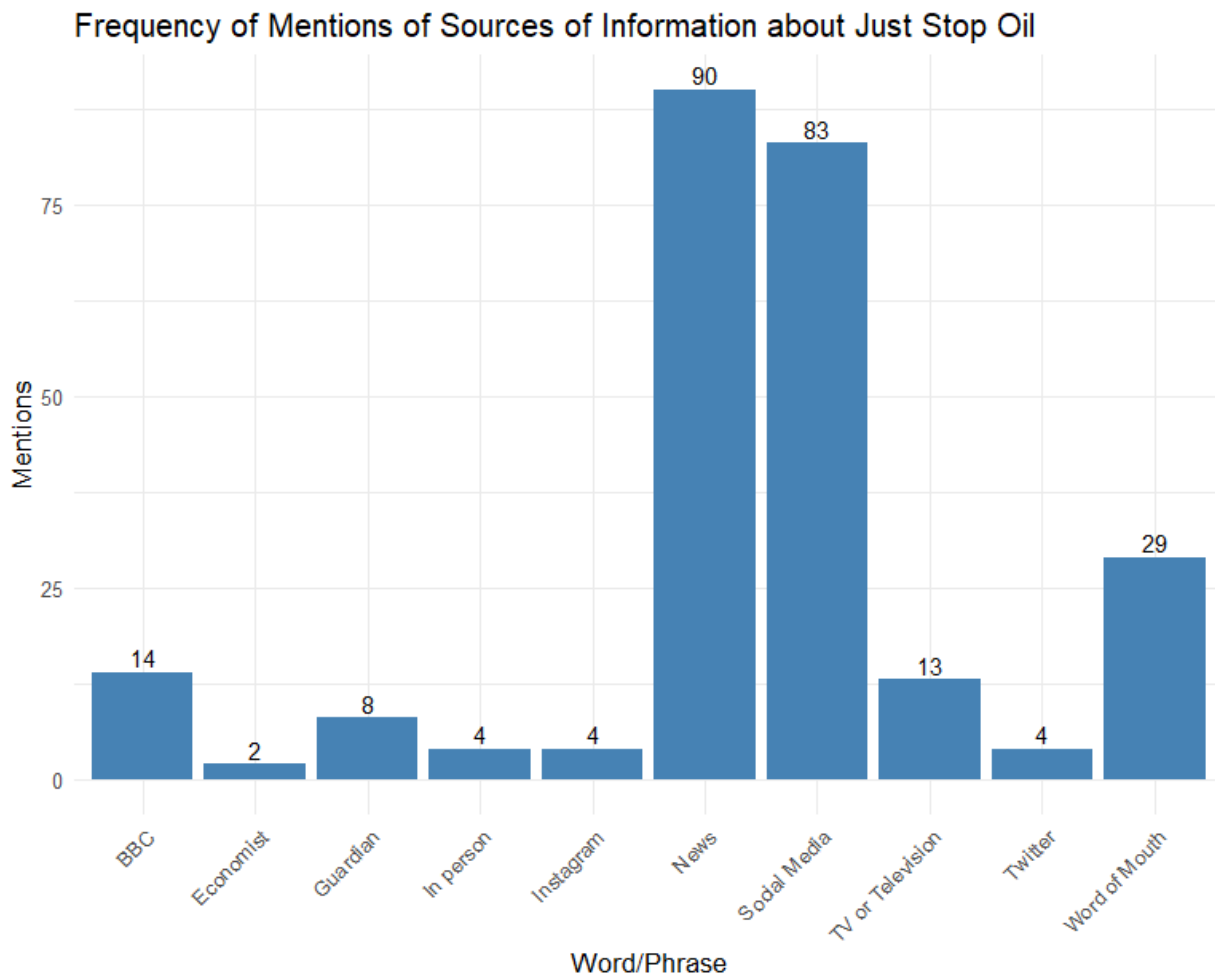
To address the research questions comprehensively, the questionnaire elicited 176 responses from a demographically diverse sample of undergraduate students. Respondents ranged in age from 18 to 27 years, with a mean age of 20 years. The gender distribution was as follows: 50% identified as male, 45% as female, 1% as non-binary, and 4% preferred not to disclose their gender. Participants were enrolled in various subjects at the University of Cambridge, with representation across all fields except 'History and Modern Languages' and 'History of Art'. This demographic profile ensures a broad perspective on the study's themes.

### 4.1 Awareness

To assess the extent of awareness about JSO among Cambridge undergraduates, the questionnaire first gauged students' familiarity with the group and the primary sources through which they encountered information about JSO. The questionnaire revealed a high awareness of JSO, with 98% of respondents

reporting awareness of the climate activism group. Of this, 39% were ‘very aware’ and 18% were ‘extremely aware’. *Figure 3* illustrates the primary sources in which students encounter JSO, contributing to this awareness.

From the total responses, 64% included ‘social media’ in their answer, with 16% consisting of ‘social media’ alone. The most popular source of information through which JSO were encountered was the ‘news’, consisting of 70% of respondents’ sources. This reveals a disproportionate number of students who view JSO solely through the media, with only 3% of respondents witnessing the actions of JSO in person, highlighting the ability of JSO to gain traction in the media, conducive to the attention model (Davis, 2022). Peaceful modes of protest are unlikely to be reported to such a level, supporting the view that “only through disruption, the breaking of laws, do you get the attention you need.” (Hallam, 2019; p.1).



*Figure 3: bar chart showing students’ top ten frequency of mentions of sources of information about JSO*

Despite confounding evidence of the extensive reach of JSO in national media, that of the effectiveness of JSO in raising awareness of climate change is less definitive (Figure 4). According to the questionnaire, 47% of respondents felt the campaigns were either 'not very' or 'not at all' effective in raising awareness, while 45% thought they were 'very' or 'somewhat' effective. This mixed response highlights the nuanced impact of these campaigns, preventing a conclusive assessment of their effectiveness in raising awareness of climate change. Thus, while JSO's presence in media is strong, with the vast majority of students encountering them through secondary channels, this visibility does not directly translate into heightened awareness of climate change.

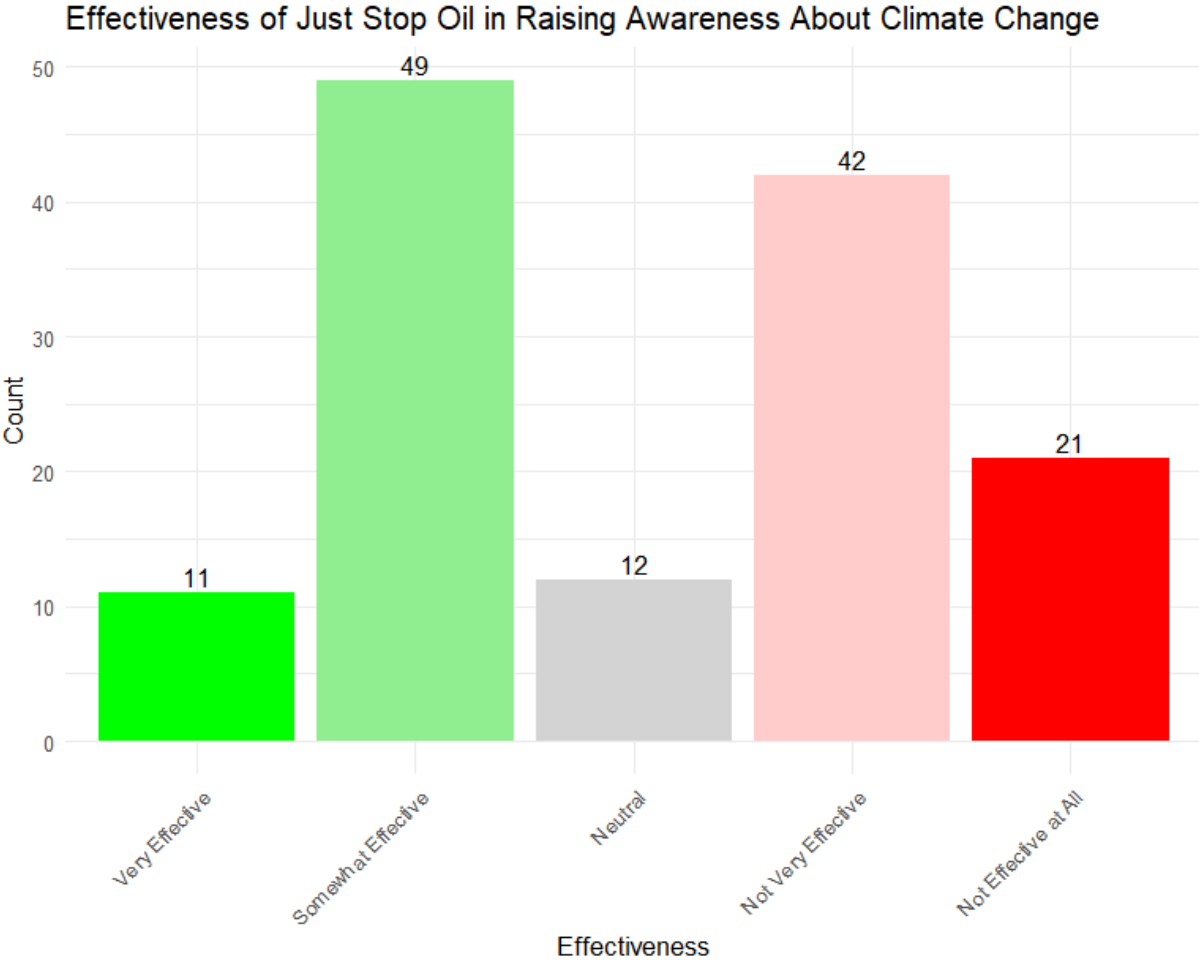
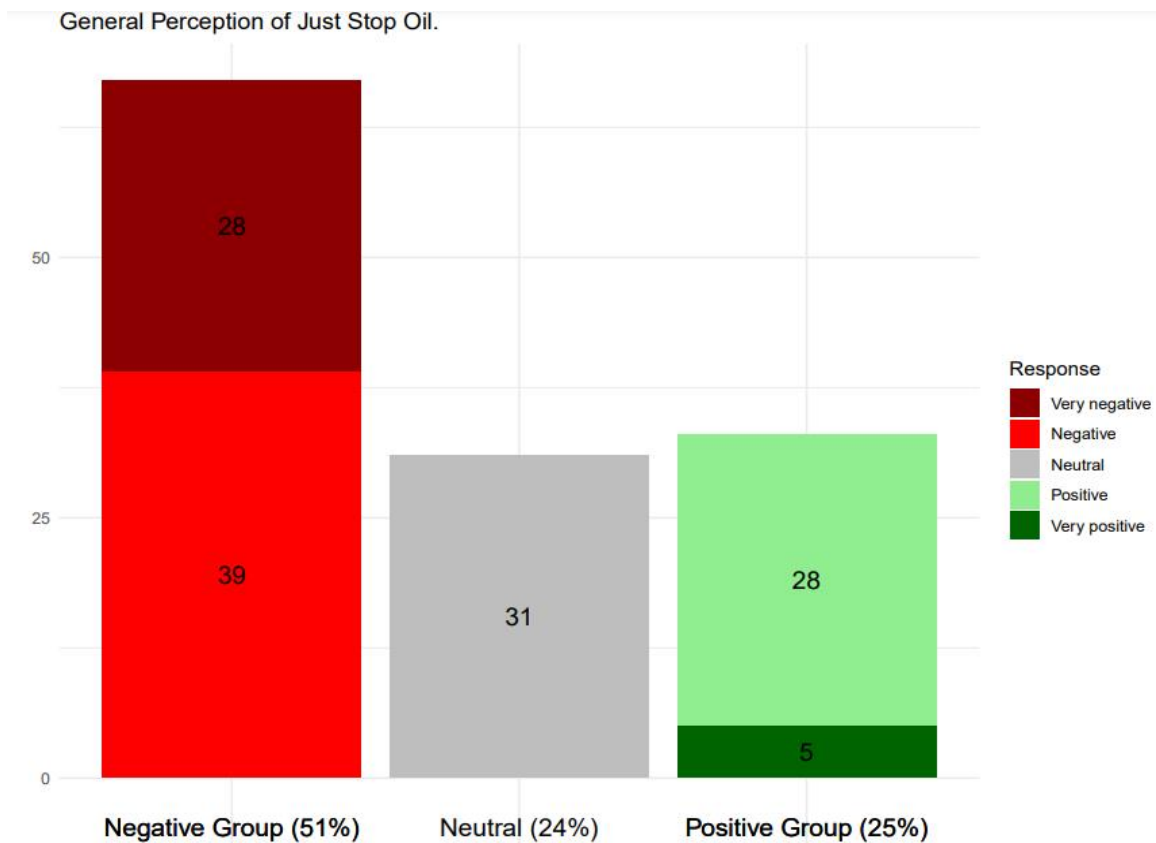


Figure 4: bar chart showing the perceived effectiveness by students of the JSO campaigns in raising awareness of climate change

## 4.2 Perception

With regard to perception, most respondents perceived JSO negatively, with 21% viewing it very negatively and 30% negatively (*Figure 5*). To understand the role of identification with the protesters in shaping these perceptions, participants were asked to choose the extent to which they agree with the statement “I struggle to connect and identify with the JSO protesters”. Among those with a 'very negative' or 'negative' perception of JSO, 91% agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. Specifically, 89% of those with a 'very negative' view strongly agreed. Conversely, among respondents with a 'very positive' or 'positive' perception of JSO, only 22% agreed with the statement, while a majority (59%) either strongly disagreed or disagreed.



*Figure 5: bar chart illustrating students' general perceptions of JSO, grouped into 'negative', 'neutral', and 'positive' categories*

These findings align with Feinberg et al.'s (2020) theory that social identification significantly influences one's perception of a movement. It provides evidence that an individual is more likely to perceive a movement negatively if they struggle to identify with it, highlighting the significance of relatability and

connection in JSO’s campaigns. Given this, it is essential to further investigate the factors influencing perception to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the underlying causes and impacts of JSO's approach.

#### 4.2.1 Factors shaping perception

##### 4.2.1.1 Concern for climate change

One of the factors evidenced in this study is concern about climate change, with the findings indicating a correlation between individuals' levels of concern about climate change and their perceptions of JSO, as illustrated in *Figure 6*. Those with a lower concern for climate change are significantly more likely to have a negative view of JSO. Specifically, 80% of respondents who were 'slightly concerned' or 'moderately concerned' about climate change viewed JSO negatively, compared to only 8% who viewed the organisation positively. In contrast, among those 'very concerned' or 'extremely concerned' about climate change, perceptions were more balanced: 43% negative, 30% positive, and 27% neutral.

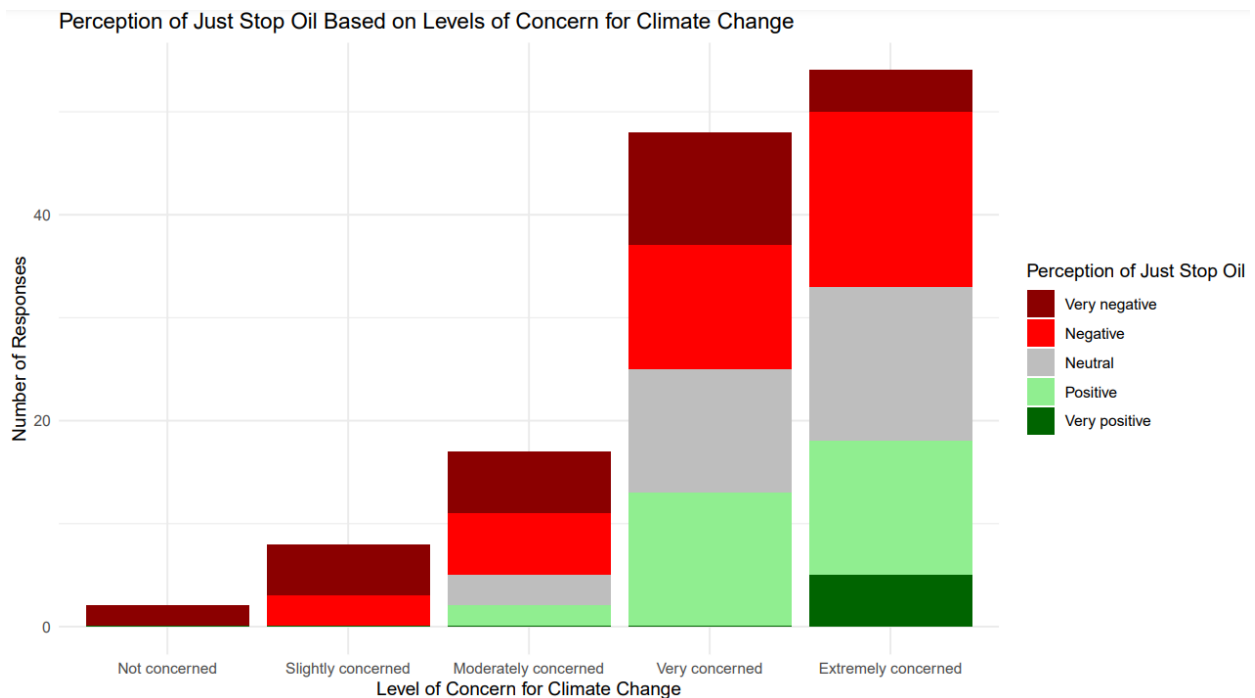


Figure 6: stacked bar chart showing students’ perception of JSO across various levels of climate change concern

This trend suggests that concern about climate change plays a crucial role in shaping perceptions of JSO. It appears that individuals who are more concerned about climate change are more likely to perceive

JSO's actions as justified. Among those who were either 'extremely' or 'very' concerned about climate change, 40% thought the actions taken by JSO were justified, and 42% disagreed. In contrast, among those with lesser concern ('slight' or 'moderate' levels of concern), only 17% thought JSO's actions were justified, and 72% considered them unjustified. The evidence suggests that JSO fails to appeal beyond the already concerned demographic.

#### **4.2.1.2 Nature of the campaign**

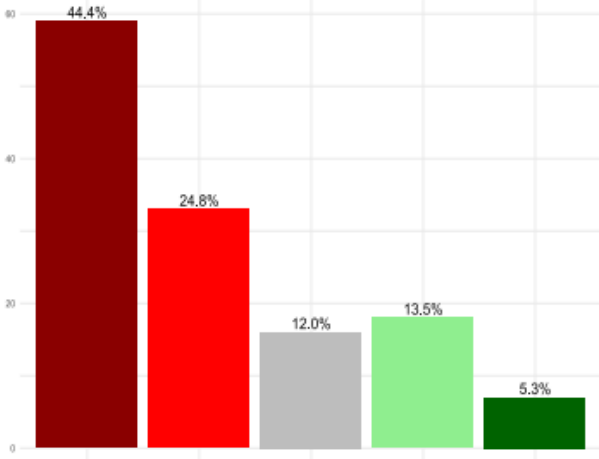
A secondary factor consists of the nature of the campaign by JSO, reiterating the nuance and complexity of JSO's perception by students. *Figure 7* highlights the variability in campaign perception by JSO.

Notably, the most positively received protest action by JSO was their spraying of private jets at Stansted airport, (with 57.1% perceiving them positively) providing evidence that campaigns are more likely to garner support from the student population if they are seen as directly addressing the movement's core issues and are perceived as appropriate actions (Badullovich et al., 2024).

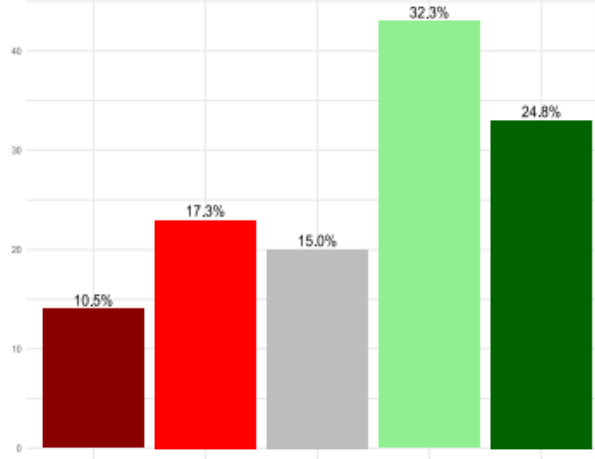
Conversely, according to Feinberg et al. (2020) and their discussion on the activist's dilemma, actions perceived negatively, such as the blocking of the M25 and the spraying of Stonehenge are those which are likely to have been seen as immoral, unnecessarily disruptive, or performative due to its unclear logic. These extreme actions are more likely to be perceived as damaging either property or inducing harm to people, leading to a negative perception from the student population. This contrasts with the positively viewed Cambridge march and roadblock, which were likely perceived as peaceful and less harmful to people and property.

These findings suggest that the student's perception of protest actions is influenced not only by the action's alignment with the movement's goals but also by their perceived morality and external impact.

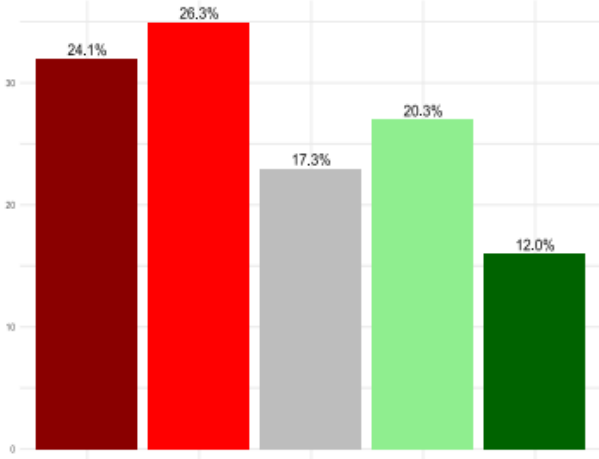
**Stone Henge (19.06.24)**



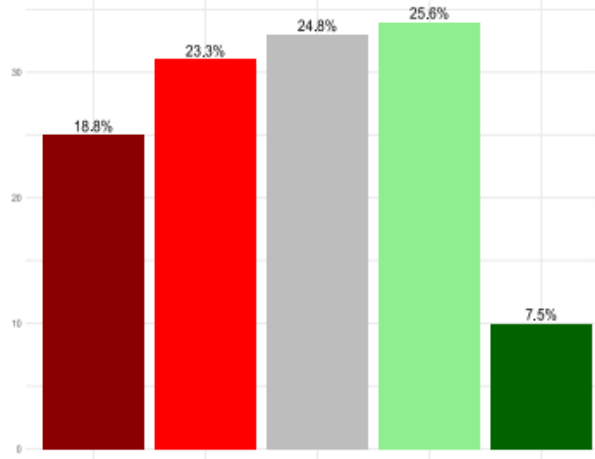
**Private Jets at Stansted Airport (20.06.24)**



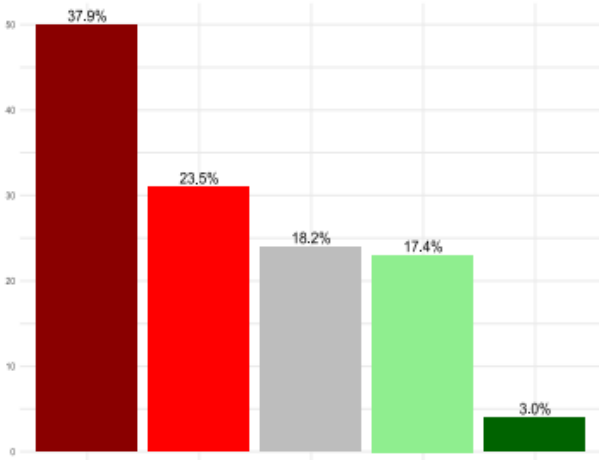
**Kings College, University of Cambridge (12.10.23)**



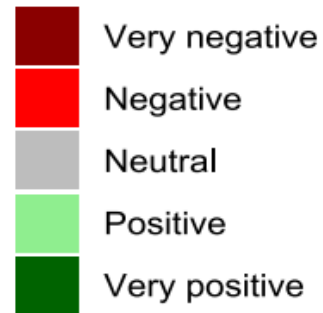
**Cambridge March and Road-block (08.07.23)**



**Blocking of Major Motorways such as the M25 (07.11.22)**



**Perception**



*Figure 7: series of bar charts illustrating students' perceptions of five different JSO protests*

## 4.3 Support for JSO demands and perception of climate change

### **4.3.1 JSO's demand**

To assess whether the observed negative perception of JSO is detrimental to its cause, the questionnaire examined levels of agreement with JSO's demands. Among those with a 'positive' or 'very positive' perception of JSO, none disagreed with the demands; 97% agreed or strongly agreed, and 3% remained neutral. In contrast, among those with a 'negative' or 'very negative' perception of JSO, 25% disagreed with the demands, while 58% agreed. This indicates that individuals with a negative perception of JSO are more likely to disagree with its demands.

However, the overwhelming majority – 76% - of students agreed with their demands, which include calls for the UK government to end new fossil fuel licences as part of its climate action strategy. Additionally, 84% of respondents either strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement that "the UK government is doing enough to tackle climate change," and 60% felt similarly about the University of Cambridge's efforts.

Thus, while a significant portion of students hold a negative perception of JSO, this does not translate into a rejection of its goals. Indeed, the urgency and legitimacy of their climate-related demands resonate broadly to the student population, underscoring a common consensus for transformative action. However, the dissonance between perception and agreement highlights a potential challenge for JSO: that alignment with their demands remains compelling to most students, yet there are reservations about the methods used to advocate for it

### **4.3.2 Climate change**

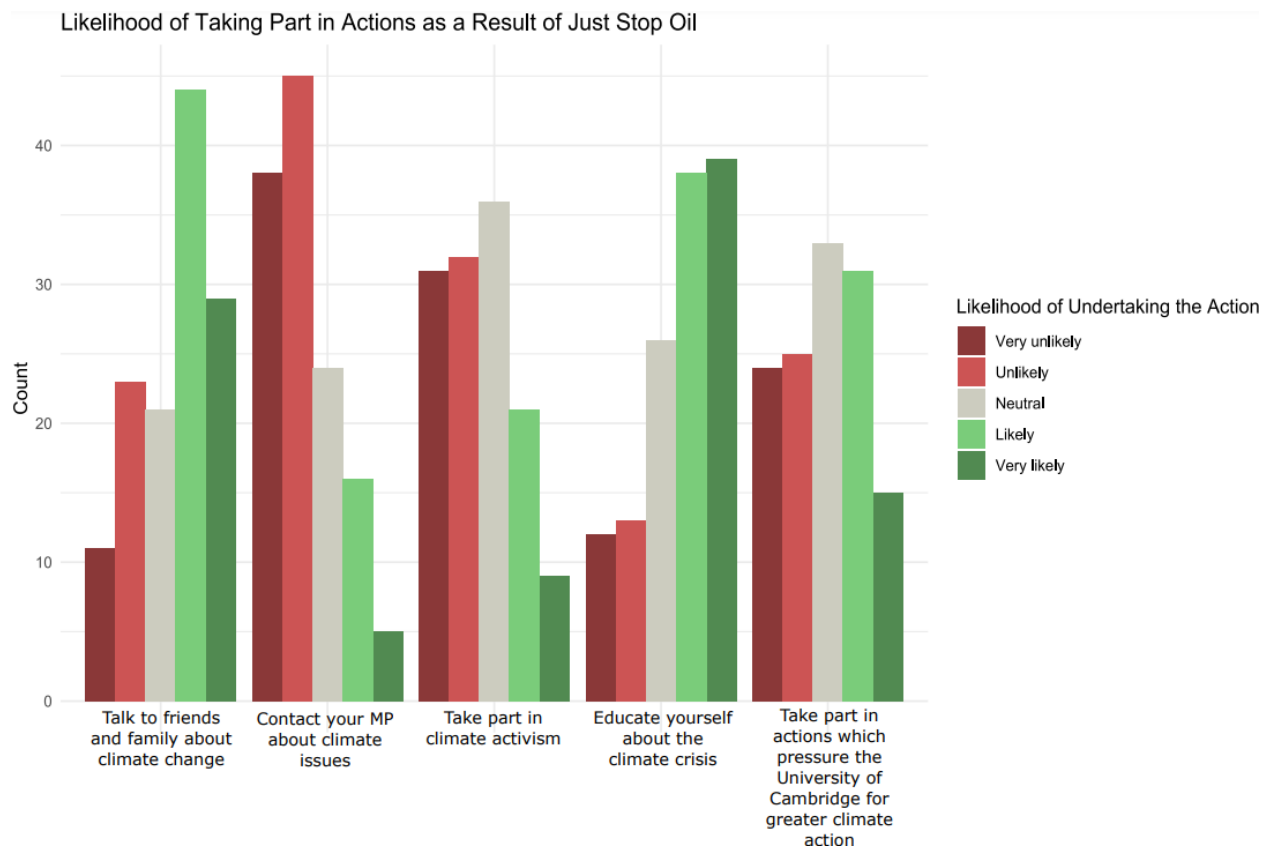
Furthermore, while JSO has succeeded in raising climate change concern among a minority of students, its overall impact appears limited. The evidence indicates that while 32% of respondents reported an increase in their concern to varying degrees, the majority of students – 68% - did not experience any change in their level of concern. Specifically, 25% experienced a slight increase, 5% reported a moderate increase, and only 2% reported a significant increase in climate change concern. While the data provides some evidence of heightened concern, which is valuable to JSO's cause, the predominant response suggests that JSO's actions have a limited impact on altering overall levels of concern.

While JSO's tactics may resonate with a segment of the student population, they encounter the challenge of being sufficiently persuasive to significantly alter broader student concern about climate change. The

study will now evaluate the extent to which this observed impact on concern correlates with changes in behaviour.

#### 4.4 Behaviour

The questionnaire addressed this by exploring themes of increased activism, advocacy, or other climate-positive actions. Students were asked about their willingness to partake in various actions as a result of their campaigns, as shown in *Figure 8*. Evidence indicates a notable influence on willingness to change behaviour regarding climate change. 57% of respondents said they were either ‘likely’ or ‘very likely’ to talk to their friends and family about climate change as a result of the JSO campaigns. 60% of respondents said they were either ‘likely’ or ‘very likely’ to educate themselves about the climate crisis as a result of the JSO campaigns.



*Figure 8: clustered column chart showing students’ likelihood of undertaking actions resulting from JSO campaigns*

However, interest in direct participation in climate activism is less pronounced, with 23% proclaiming they are ‘likely’ or ‘very likely’ to because of the JSO campaigns. In contrast, 49% said they are not likely to take part, with 24% of this being ‘very unlikely’. There was a greater expression of interest in

taking part in actions “which pressure the University of Cambridge for greater climate action” as a result of JSO, with 36% of respondents saying they are either ‘likely’ or ‘very likely’ to take part in such actions.

These results are perhaps synchronous with the primary aims of the JSO protesters: prompting discussions about climate change and the inaction of the UK government in addressing it. The evidence suggests that they are successful in doing so, but their influence on encouraging direct participation among the student population is more limited. This reiterates the effectiveness of JSO in creating conversation yet introduces a disparity in its lack of success in translating awareness into direct action. It introduces a dilemma for the activist group in attempting to recruit large numbers to advance the movement.

## **5. Conclusion**

By addressing the research questions, this study has provided a comprehensive understanding of JSO's influence among the student demographic, using Cambridge undergraduates as a sample population. The increased awareness of climate change among students as a result of JSO is compatible with Davis's (2022) Attention Model and conducive to the activists' primary objectives of their methods: to increase awareness of the issue. Changes in behaviour also prompted discussions about climate change and the government's inaction in that regard.

However, JSO is perceived negatively by the student population as a result of decreased social identification, aligning with Feinberg et al.'s (2020) theory. Despite this, the sentiment expressed by the student population has minimal effect on support for their demands and broader climate change views, and in some cases increases concern for climate change. So, whilst their methods may be seen as disruptive or unpopular, this does not translate into a rejection of their central cause, rather it has neither deterred nor encouraged the movement's demands or urgency of climate action: its actions have a negligible effect amongst students' views on the matter.

The findings of this study align with the view that generating attention and publicity is central to JSO's objectives. The evidence suggests that JSO is effective in drawing attention to climate change, regardless of the negative perceptions it may provoke among the student population. Therefore, one could argue that the visibility they achieve outweighs any negative sentiment, as these perceptions have a minimal impact on broader views of climate change or support for JSO's demands. Ultimately, JSO's ability to maintain

climate change in public discourse is a critical factor in their effectiveness, despite the controversy surrounding their methods.

Elucidating Cambridge undergraduates' perceptions of JSO provides valuable insights into the influence of climate activism on the student population, offering a meaningful contribution to broader discourse on environmentalism. However, the landscape of environmental activism in the UK remains nuanced and complex, leaving many questions unanswered about its impact on the broader population. Further research is needed to fully understand the dynamics at play and how different segments of society respond to such movements.

## 6. Bibliography

Badullovich, N., Tucker, D., Amoako, R., Ansah, P., Davis, B., Horoszko, U., Zakiyyah, L., & Maibach, E. (2024). How does public perception of climate protest influence support for climate action? *npj Climate Action*, 3(1). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s44168-023-00096-9>

BBC News. (2023). Just Stop Oil: What Is It and What Are Its Goals? BBC News. [online] 8 Nov. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-63543307> [Date Accessed: 15/07/24].

Bourke, B. (2014). Positionality: Reflecting on the Research Process. *The Qualitative Report*, 19, pp.1-9.

Corning, A. & Myers, D. (2002) Individual Orientation Toward Engagement in Social Action. *Political Psychology*. 23(4). P703-730.

Davis, C. (2022). Oxford Brookes Centre for Psychological Research Seminar Series. 2022-23. Week 1. Colin Davis. The Psychology of Protest. [online] Available at: <https://brookes.cloud.panopto.eu/Panopto/Pages/Viewer.aspx?id=384ad6d2-e8c1-4f38-bb5f-af1e00e54fda>. [Date Accessed: 13/07/24]

Davis, C. (2022). Just Stop Oil: Do Radical Protests Turn the Public Away from a Cause? Here's the Evidence. [online] The Conversation. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/just-stop-oil-do-radical-protests-turn-the-public-away-from-a-cause-heres-the-evidence-192901> [Date Accessed: 07/07/24].

della Porta, D. & Diani, M. (2020) *Social Movements. An Introduction*. 3rd edition. Oxford: WileyBlackwell.

- Dodd, T. (2023). Just Stop Oil spray-paint English universities orange. BBC News. [online] 12 Oct. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-67093187> [Date Accessed: 10/07/24].
- Feinberg, M., Willer, R., & Kovacheff, C. (2020). The activist's dilemma: Extreme protest actions reduce popular support for social movements. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 119(5), 1086–1111. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000230>
- Fisher, S. (2016) Life trajectories of youth committing to climate activism. *Environmental Education Research*. 22(2). P229-247.
- Fisher, D.R., Berglund, O., & Davis, C.J. (2023). How effective are climate protests at swaying policy — and what could make a difference? *Nature*, 623(7989), pp.910–913. <https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-023-03721-z>
- Hayes, S. and O'Neill, S. (2021). The Greta effect: Visualising climate protest in UK media and the Getty images collections. *Global Environmental Change*, 71, p.102392. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2021.102392>.
- Just Stop Oil. (2023). Just Stop Oil supporters slow march through Cambridge and Reading ahead of sustained campaign in London from April 24 – Just Stop Oil. [online] Available at: <https://juststopoil.org/2023/04/15/just-stop-oil-supporters-slow-march-through-cambridge-and-reading-ahead-of-sustained-campaign-in-london-from-april-24/> [Date Accessed: 11/07/24].
- Ozden, J., & Ostarek, M. (2022). The Radical Flank Effect of Just Stop Oil. Social Change Lab. Available at: <https://www.socialchangelab.org/research>
- Patterson Jr., S., & Mann, M. (2022). Public Disapproval of Disruptive Climate Change Protests. Penn Cent. Sci. Sustain. Media. Available at: <https://web.sas.upenn.edu/pcssm/commentary/public-disapproval-of-disruptive-climate-change-protests/>
- Saunders, C., Doherty, B., & Hayes, G. (2020). A New Climate Movement? Extinction Rebellion's Activists in Profile. CUSP Working Paper No 25. Guildford: Centre for the Understanding of Sustainable Prosperity. Online at: [www.cusp.ac.uk/publications](http://www.cusp.ac.uk/publications)
- Shukla, P., Skea, J., E. Calvo Buendia, Masson-Delmotte, Hans-Otto Pörtner, Roberts, D.A., Zhai, P.-W., Slade, R., Connors, S., Renée van Diemen, M. Ferrat, Haughey, E., Luz, S., S. Neogi, Pathak, M.S., Petzold J, Pereira, J., Vyas, P., Huntley, E. and Kissick, K. (2019). IPCC, 2019: Climate Change and

Land: an IPCC special report on climate change, desertification, land degradation, sustainable land management, food security, and greenhouse gas fluxes in terrestrial ecosystems.

doi:<https://doi.org/10.25561/76618>.

Simpson, B., Willer, R., & Feinberg, M. (2022). Radical Flanks of Social Movements Can Increase Support for Moderate Factions. *PNAS Nexus*, 1(3). <https://doi.org/10.1093/pnasnexus/pgac110>

University of Bristol. (2023). July: Public opinion on climate change and protesters | News and features | University of Bristol. [online] [www.bristol.ac.uk](http://www.bristol.ac.uk). Available at:

<https://www.bristol.ac.uk/news/2023/july/public-opinion-on-climate-change-and-protesters.html> [Date

Accessed: 13/07/24]

Wasow, O. (2020). Agenda Seeding: How 1960s Black Protests Moved Elites, Public Opinion and Voting. *American Political Science Review*, 114(3), 638-659.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S000305542000009X>