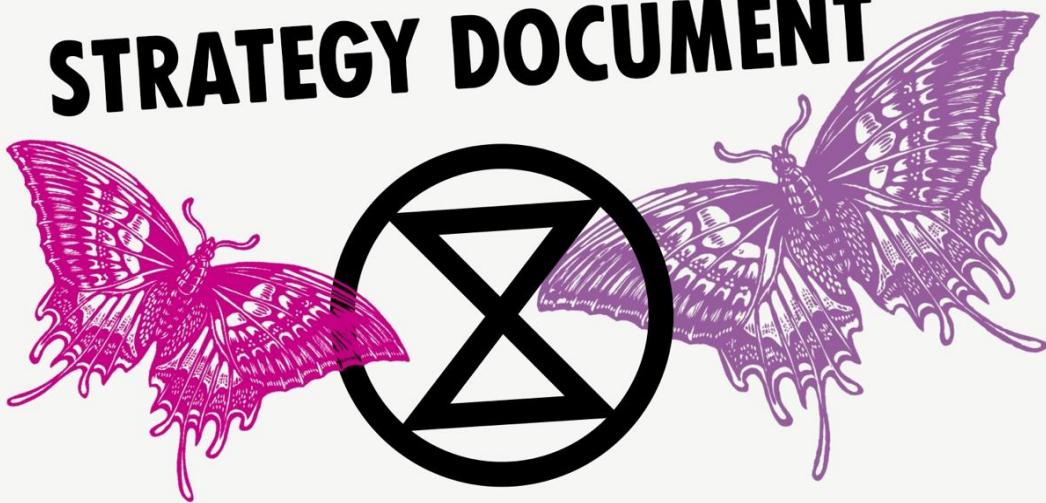




MASS MOBILIZATION STRATEGY DOCUMENT



THE EXTINCTION REBELLION
OF SWITZERLAND





VERSION 1 · 18.02.2021

INTRODUCTION.....	1
Why a Mass Mobilization Working Group.....	1
Purpose of this strategic document	1
How we proceeded	1
MASS MOBILIZATION.....	2
What is mass mobilization.....	2
Why we need mass mobilization	2
Why are we beyond politics?.....	3
What is necessary for people to get mobilized?	4
1. External factors	4
2. Internal factors.....	7
How people mobilize.....	9
1. A multi-stage mobilization process.....	9
Where do people get mobilized?	10
1. Recruitment channels.....	10
2. Micromobilization contexts.....	10
CURRENT SITUATION IN SWITZERLAND.....	11
1. History of social movements in Switzerland.....	11
2. Perception of the environmental situation by the population	11
Mobilization potential in Switzerland	13
3. Who protests?.....	13
4. How they protest?.....	13
Socio-political context.....	15
The swiss Extinction Rebellion.....	15
1. The XR from the inside: situation of rebels and local groups	15
2. The XR from the outside: movement perception by non-rebels.....	16
MAKE A STATE OF THE SITUATION.....	19
DEFINE TARGETS.....	20
Population	20
Communities.....	20
Friends, family, neighbors	21
Allies	21
1. Medias.....	21
2. Organizations, associations, unions	22
3. Culture and education	22
SET GOALS AND ORGANIZE ACTIONS.....	23
Spread the message and raise awareness.....	24
1. Give HFX Talks, a lot, everywhere.....	24
2. Be creative, find other ideas !.....	26
Build a positive image of the Rebellion	28
1. Be humoristic	28
2. Be sympathetic	29

3. Be festive.....	30
4. Be aesthetic.....	30
5. Show your courage	30
Mobilize for action	31
1. Empower people.....	31
Encourage group cohesion.....	33
1. Promote our principles and values.....	33
2. Promote interpersonal contacts	33
3. Be clear, accessible and inclusive	34
Pay attention to details	35
1. Set a strategic timeline.....	35
2. Take care of you and of others	35
CONCLUSION.....	36
CONTACT	37
SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY	38
APPENDICES.....	41

INTRODUCTION



WHY A MASS MOBILIZATION WORKING GROUP

The theory of change of the Extinction Rebellion is based on Mass civil disobedience. The key to success lies in our ability to mobilize thousands and tens of thousands of people to engage in our actions.

We can only be successful in creating such a mass if local and national groups focus on mobilization in their work and actions, following a well-thought-out strategy that is coherent and common while remaining adaptable to the needs of each local group. Following discussions with several rebels from different local groups and reflecting on a strategy proposal for 2021 within the national working group Birthing Strategy, we realized that difficulties with mobilization is a large issue concerning many local groups. We have indeed found that the main brake to success so far was our inability to reach out to a wide audience. The working group CH-MassMobilization aims to provide a response to this problem by proposing resources and by supporting local groups to create a diverse and determined mass that will make a big Rebellion possible.

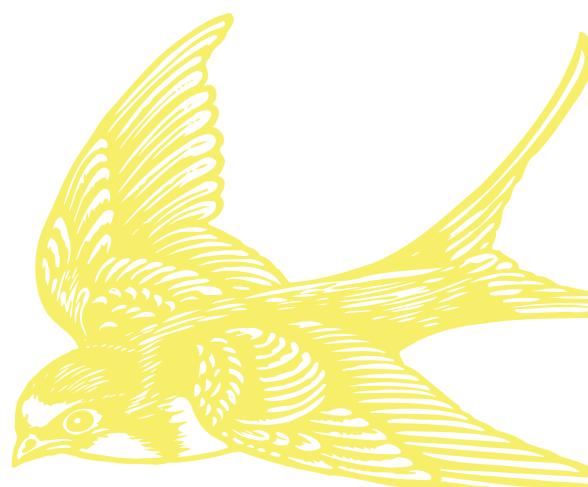
PURPOSE OF THIS STRATEGIC DOCUMENT

This document is a compilation of our theoretical and empirical research and is intended to serve as a resource base to feed local groups with a variety of tailored and interactive advice and recommendations for mobilization, adapted to the swiss context. These advices and

recommendations are based upon research in social science that have proven their efficacy during the last decades. These theoretical data are complemented by empirical evidence that support the credibility of our proposals. Indeed, this document should not be seen as an academic performance nor an ideological manifesto but as a resource of concrete tools for mobilization.

HOW WE PROCEEDED

The theoretical part is based on scientific articles and books, workshops, videos, and other media concerning social movements, mobilization and some historical and current data on the socio-political situation in Switzerland. To anchor this theoretical data in the field reality of the XR in Switzerland, we did interviews with local groups to get information on their experiences. The interviews helped us to synthesize and understand which kind of tactics have been successful so far to mobilize people in Switzerland and to acknowledge that some regions are experiencing serious difficulties. But to get a full picture of the current situation that the rebellion against extinction is facing in Switzerland, we also need to consider how people outside the movement perceive us. A survey with people who so far have not yet taken part in the rebellion and the analysis of how the XR has been covered in Swiss media give us that external view. The scientific literature, interviews with local groups, and the survey are the foundation for explaining the key factors of mobilization and recommending strategies and actions of mobilization adjusted to the Swiss situation.





MASS MOBILIZATION



WHAT IS MASS MOBILIZATION

In the context of the Rebellion, the strength we need to make our demands heard and to overcome the catastrophic situation of the climate and ecological emergency comes from numbers. The fact that a large number of people are gathering simultaneously and punctually in the same space, thus disrupting the usual activities, gives rise to the possibility of putting pressure on the authorities to accept our demands. Thus, in the context of the XR, the definition we will use for **mass mobilization** is: "the use of a large number of people whose simultaneous engagement in a common activity gives them the necessary strength to achieve their goals".

But who are these people who gather in large numbers? Who makes up this "mass of people"? By "**mass of people**", we mean a significant number of ordinary individuals with diverse and disparate characteristics, who nevertheless come together in support of XR's demands and who are ready to participate in nonviolent civil disobedience actions to defend them. These people are of all ages, of all genders, have a variety of political orientations, come from diverse social and cultural backgrounds, have or do not have

activist experience, are or are not part of other struggle movements, have or do not have a lifestyle centered around ecological and/or social issues, have been aware of the urgency of the situation for a long time or have recently been awakened to it, ... the individuals who make up this mass are united by a sense of belonging to the rebellion against extinction. Identification with this group nurtures a positive self-image and identity. They do not take part in the organization and coordination of actions, but are on site on the day of the event¹.

WHY WE NEED MASS MOBILIZATION

Because we are in danger of extinction, and because individual actions, reforms and other liberal solutions will not be effective enough to change the societal model and prevent climate and ecological collapse, we need a revolution (Hallam, 2019; Jensen, Keith & Mcbay, 2019) and mass mobilization seems to be the only way to see our demands heard. The revolutionary model that has been considered to be the most effective to bring societal change is the "**civil resistance model**" (Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011; Engler & Engler, 2016; Hallam, 2019; Sharp, 1973). It is true that the evidence supporting the claimed success of this model is essentially based on regime change in non-democratic societies. However, as shown by Engler & Engler (2016), most of its particular dynamics can be transposed to the western context, in which they have often proved to be the trigger for massive cultural and political shifts. Civil resistance is based on actions of nonviolent civil disobedience by a mass of people, capable of putting pressure by blocking

¹ We are aware and recognize that some of our actions imply privileges (juridic inquiries etc.). However, we are actively working to make the Rebellion a safe and inclusive

place, where everyone feels welcome and that all people can join regardless of their social origin.

the current activities of any structure as long as necessary (political/economic authority, state, etc.). This is the model proposed by the Extinction Rebellion project. Furthermore, its strategy is based on a “momentum-driven organizing” (Engler & Engler, 2016), which combines mass protests and structure-based organization. According to this model, in order to gain popular support through a polarizing effect and thus hope to change the deep structures of society, a movement must be the initial push that sets people in motion. This happens through a "whirlwind" effect that spreads rapidly and massively throughout society, until it overwhelms the control of the institutions and organizations in power.

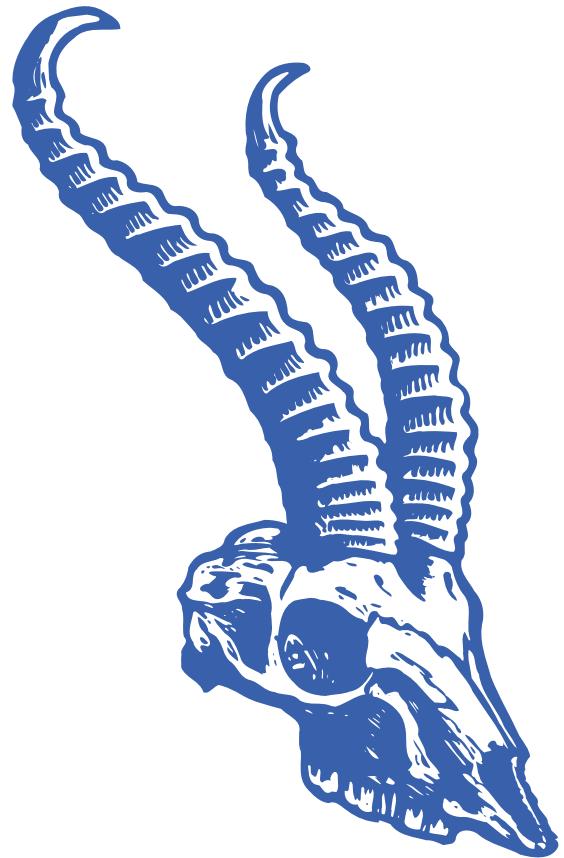
WHY ARE WE BEYOND POLITICS?

The fight for the living as a space beyond politics. The importance of this was well underlined by Roger Hallam in a talk on mobilization given to the Swiss Rebels in February 2021. By “beyond politics”, he means going beyond the general tendency to separate society into political categories, namely the left or the right. Indeed, we must realize that the majority of the population cannot be defined by political characteristics, simply because the majority of people are neither left-wing nor right-wing but are somewhere in between or nothing at all. Our discourse must primarily address and reach this apolitical majority.

This means that **if the mobilization process is done correctly, the climate and ecological crisis is put out of political issues** and has overcome the frequent association left - environment. One problem with being associated with the left is that it recreates this separation between political categories, which in the case of the absolute extremity of the horror that awaits us, is obsolete. There is no ideological debate as it is a strategic choice. If we want to achieve our goal, we have to mobilize a mass of

people. If we want to mobilize this mass of people, we have to touch them deeply. As most of them are neither from the left, nor from the right, we have to be beyond these categories too. Eventually, this will enable us to bring together people who would not otherwise have done so.

A thought that often comes up when thinking about the success and scale of social movements is the collaboration and convergence between different movements. Before considering being openly an ally of other struggles, it is necessary to think about the impact this will have. Is this a reliable and effective way to achieve our goal (mobilizing a mass of people)? By associating with other movements, we will get more people on the streets, there is no doubt about it. However, in people's imaginations, it may implement an association of left-wing and climate issues that can become problematic when it comes to mobilize widely.





WHAT IS NECESSARY FOR PEOPLE TO GET MOBILIZED?

First of all, people need to realize that we are facing an issue that urgently needs to be addressed.

Indeed, according to McAdam (1988), collective action arises from a significant transformation of collective consciousness and the actions that result from it. This change in consciousness is linked to at least three factors (Piwen & Cloward, 1979, cited by McAdam, 1988): 1) The system and the way it is perceived by people loses its legitimacy 2) People who are usually fatalistic begin to claim their rights and demands for change 3) People who previously felt powerless begin to experience their power to act.

The conditions that make this **transformation of one's perception of the world and of one's own power to act** occur in a person are both external and internal. That is to say, they depend both on the individual characteristics of each person but also on the socio-political context in which he or she evolves as well as on the relationships he or she has with other people.

1. EXTERNAL FACTORS

1.1. SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

Overall, social movements are more likely to emerge in **times of general political crisis and instability** (Gamson 1995). Outside of these critical moments, it is the way in which the state usually responds to protests that either nurtures mobilizations or restrains them. Mobilizations are stimulated if **the state seems open to receiving the movement's demands and is not very repressive**. This is particularly the

case because protesters may believe that their actions will be successful (Giugni, 2019; McAdam, 1988; Neveu, 2019; Van Stekelenburg & Klandermas, 2013). In Switzerland, the political powers are rather open, receptive and attentive to citizen protests. The characteristics of Swiss political organization (semi-direct democracy, large number of parties, broad spectrum of ideas represented, alternation of roles, tendency to seek consensus) make our country open to external demands (inputs), and its federal structure then broadens the possibilities of responding to them (outputs). Furthermore, we would like to point out that until now the repression has not been systematic or life-threatening against civil disobedience for climate causes. These observations are rather encouraging because they suggest that, by exercising a certain weight, we have a strong chance of having our demands heard and of receiving a response to them.

1.2. CLEAVAGE

In a given socio-political context, what also allows a social movement to emerge, and grow is the existence of a cleavage between two distinct and opposing groups. This cleavage defines the symbolic dimensions of a movement by **distinguishing "us" (the victims of a given injustice) from "them" (those responsible for this injustice)** (Gamson, 1995; Neveu, 2019). This divided and simplified vision of reality is fundamental because: 1) It points out the causes and those responsible for perceived injustices and grievances, thus delimiting a target, a common enemy 2) In opposition to this "enemy", the sense of belonging to the own group is strengthened. It has a unifying and cohesive effect on the members of the offended group, who then bridge their ideological and cultural gaps to fight side by side against the group of the offenders (McBay, 2019). Hirsch (1990, cited by McBay, 2019) argues that if "group processes, such as consciousness-raising and collective empowerment, have created sufficient group

identification, the protesters will respond to threats as a powerful, angry group rather than isolated, frightened individuals. Under these circumstances polarization can have a strong impact on participation" (McBay, 2019, p.181; Engler & Engler, 2016).

Our opponent is the Swiss state² and more specifically those who have conquered our parliament and dismissed from its duty. Why? Because according to our constitution, its duty is to work for the security of the Swiss population and the long-term preservation of natural resources (OFJ, 1999). However, it has been recognized for more than thirty years that climate change and the loss of biodiversity are deadly threats to humans, and the Swiss state has failed to act. It has therefore broken the social contract. This legitimates our acts of disobedience and our call for real democracy through citizens' assemblies.

1.3. MEDIAS

Media play a key role in mobilization, through the discourse they transmit (Gamson, 1995; Neveu, 2019). Media discourse can be seen as a cultural tool that people use to order and give meaning to their lives and the world. They therefore **exert a significant influence on how an issue is perceived by a person, and therefore on how that person will react to it.** The media discourse gives a certain image of a movement that will, or will not, make people identify with it and adhere to its ideas. It is particularly useful for mobilization when it maintains the we-them cleavage, by explicitly explaining in concrete terms the effects, causes

and victims of a certain injustice (Gamson, 1995).

1.4. THE OVERTON WINDOW

The good news is that with our words and actions we also are in a position to influence public opinion. The principle of the Overton Window is to promote actions that seem unthinkable, extreme or too radical, to push these ideas a little further on the spectrum of acceptability. **Through propaganda and repetition, political ideas can become acceptable, popular, or even become the rule.** To do this, activists must force a change in mentality through direct action and acts of rebellion, until moderates come to accept and practice these methods once considered radical (McBay, 2019).

In order to mobilize a large spectrum of people, the XR should start by being considered as over-the-top, but eventually become acceptable. This is why we argue that our movement should not be seen as the most radical group in Switzerland. Some people may be willing to take part in or organize actions for the purpose of sabotage or to harm companies or individuals (see annex/table) in the "fight for the preservation of our environment". These types of actions should not be done in the name of the XR. The question here is not to debate the ethical and ideological aspects of violence or non-violence. Extinction Rebellion is a strict nonviolent movement, and this is purely a strategic choice. It has nothing to do with morality. Our goal is to create a mass movement and it has been shown many times in recent decades that this is not possible through "violent" or guilt-ridden actions (Chenoweth &

² Naming "the system" as our enemy is not strategic. We cannot rebel in a targeted way against the system, because it remains a vast, complex and rather abstract entity. We

are also all part of the system and we cannot fight against ourselves. Having a clear and definite opponent will then help shape our actions and increase our chances to succeed.

Stephan, 2011; Engler & Engler, 2016). What makes non-violence an effective strategy is that it allows everyone to take part in an action, without taking too many risks and at a lower cost. This is at least true in a "moment of the whirlwind" (Engler & Engler, 2016), when several hundred or even thousands of people come together on the street to express their dissatisfaction. And this is what we want to achieve.

1.5. BIAS OF INFLUENCE

Research in social psychology has shown that people's behavior is influenced by certain interpersonal dynamics. In the case of the mobilization process, this may allow us to better understand the various and multiple factors that push a person to take action or not.

We have seen above that belonging to a group brings a strong symbolic dimension to the definition individuals give to themselves. In general terms, **the behavior of a person is influenced by the group to which he or she feels to belong**. This can be explained by the social evidence and group conformity phenomenon. This phenomenon shows that a person will tend to want to conform to the norm of his or her group and therefore follow the behaviors that are adopted by it, adhering then to its descriptive norm. Adherence to this norm is stronger than adherence to an injunctive norm, i.e., to behaviors that are generally valued in society but not obviously adopted (Ciadldini, Reno & Kalgreen, 2007). In short, an individual will be more likely to adopt a behavior done by people from the group to which he or she belongs than by what is predominantly valorized in society.

More precisely, the behaviors in which people are influenced are as much about the decisions they make as they are about the concrete actions they take. At the level of decision-making, the "**door in the face**" effect describes how the fact of preceding a target demand by an even greater demand can influence the person's response by

increasing the acceptability of the target demand. The subject feels guilty about his refusal of the big request and will be more inclined to accept the target request in order to avoid this guilt (Cialdani, Vincent, Lewis, Catalan, Wheeler & Darby, 1975). At the level of action and engagement, the "**foot in the door**" effect describes how asking a person to engage in a low-cost activity may lead him or her to engage in a higher-cost activity later (Freedman & Fraser, 1966). Finally, the "**freezing effect**" describes how the crystallization of a new conviction forces a person to remain faithful to it and to act accordingly. This effect is about letting the people make themselves a decision to commit in a new behavior and to then formalize that decision, what will "freeze" it in the system of possible choices and force the person to be consistent with it when taking action (Lewin, 1947). The more visible is the commitment, the more irrevocable it is (e.g., think of people who publicly announce on social networks that they have chosen to go vegan).

Concretely, how can these different effects be used as techniques to get people to engage in a desired activity?

The idea is to ask people to engage in civil disobedience. They may start by saying that there are other ways (less radical, therefore more acceptable to act like signing a petition, go to a demonstration, or voting), and that by noticing that these measures do not achieve the desired objective then they may be led in a second step to make the decision themselves to become more radical and therefore to practice civil disobedience. This allows the rebels to "escalate" into civil disobedience on their own. During mobilization talks (Heading for Extinction), speakers ask participants whether they would be willing to get arrested for the cause, after telling them the percentage of people who actually said 'yes' in previous talks. This forces participants to imagine themselves taking bold action - this mental simulation is a first step towards actually doing it. If they refuse, the 'guilt' they feel will

make them volunteer lighter contributions (e.g., volunteering time in non-arrestable roles). Conversely, starting with a small task (signing something...) and trying to escalate will lead to people to settle for a smaller contribution, as they build a complacent feeling that they are ‘already contributing *something* and shouldn’t be asked for more all the time. Lastly, by encouraging people to publicly assert their commitment to the Rebellion (e.g., via social networks, in their families, by wearing an extinction symbol on the street, etc.), we increase the chances that they will remain loyal to the XR and orient their behavior and actions according to their belonging to the movement.

2. INTERNAL FACTORS

External factors are like a bubble in which people are evolving. They alone are not enough to push people onto the streets. The need to act, to join a social movement is determined by internal factors and this is basically how each person subjectively experiences, interprets and makes sense of what happens in this bubble (Gamson, 1995; Neveu, 2019).

2.1. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Certain aspects of a person's personal and private life are favorable to their mobilization for a given cause.

It has been shown that people who **are already involved in an organized network of persons or in other struggles** are more likely to mobilize. These networks can be of any type: associative, trade union, activist, political, etc. (Giugni, 2019; McAdam, 1988; Neveu, 2019).

Often also, people who join a movement **share, at least in part, the values, beliefs and norms advocated by that movement** (Gamson, 1995; McAdam, 1988). If these values with which they identify are also presented as being threatened, they will want to engage in order to defend them (Stern et al, 1999).

Finally, in order for a person to effectively consider becoming involved in a movement of struggle, he or she must **have the necessary resources** to do so (Giugni, 2019; Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). These are cognitive (e.g., understanding of issues and challenges), affective (mental and psychological availability), cultural (e.g. availability of information materials), material (e.g. financial means, time, job), etc.

2.2. EMOTIONS

The creation of an emotional link with a lived experience or a received information by a person is necessary for it to become meaningful to them and eventually lead them to change their representations and behaviors (Gamson, 1995). How people feel about a situation can either push them to act or, conversely, inhibit them.

Certain emotions **contribute to people getting involved in political action** (Jasper, 2011). Some of these emotions are related to a collective experience and are felt by the person as a member of its particular “us” group. This is the case of the sense of **injustice** that arises as opposed to a privileged or harmful group (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). For example, disapproval of how the government deals with certain issues and the loss of trust in institutions creates discontent and dissatisfaction among people. People may then feel the need to take to the streets to express their dissatisfaction or try to make a change (Giugni, 2019).

Other negative emotions can lead people to protest. Examples include **anger, frustration or despair** (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). These emotions can appear after a “moral shock” (Jasper, 2011), when people suddenly realize, through personal discovery, a collective experience, an arbitrary or planned event, that the world is not as they imagined it to be. It is when these negative emotions are felt that it is possible to win them back by offering them

concrete pathways to action that give them strength and allow them to rebuild a coherent and meaningful image of the world and their lives. This is what the Talk "Heading for Extinction" is all about. For people who are already involved in a struggle, moral shocks often have the effect of radicalizing them.

But even more important than the negative emotions are the positive ones (Giugni, 2019). These are often related to the immediate "activism experience" (Neveu, 2019) and are as diverse as **joy, hope, enthusiasm or excitement** (Giugni, 2019; Jasper, 2011; Neveu, 2019). Being experienced very intensely during actions, they keep people mobilized and do not get discouraged. Here, as well, certain experiences can amplify these positive feelings. This is the case of small victories (Jasper, 2011). They motivate people, give them confidence by showing them that they can have an impact (Klandermans, 1984, cited by Bernd et al., 1998) and are also a reward (Klandermans, 1984, cited by Bernd et al., 1998).

2.3. IDENTITY, MEANING AND SENSE OF BELONGING

Protest is always an expression of one's identity (Neveu, 2019). Identity issues arise when joining a group and taking action. Any social movement must indeed be understood as the efforts of a large number of people who define themselves, and who are also often defined by others as a group, to collectively solve a problem they think they have in common and which stems from their relationship with other groups (Tafel, 1981, cited by Bernd et al., 1998). Thus, willingness of a person to participate in collective action is related to the **identification with the group represented by the social movement** (Bernd et al., 1998; Jasper, 2011; Giugni, 2019). In a study that followed gay mobilization in Germany, Bernd et al. (1998) found that identification as an "activist participating in a demonstration" plays a more important role in

the decision whether or not to participate in a demonstration than identification as a member of the wider group of "gay people".

Other identity issues related to the act of protest are more individual. They relate to **the desire to be part of something larger than oneself**, to find meaning and to express one's understanding of the world (Giugni, 2019). Furthermore, the act of protesting, of disobeying must be perceived as **something positive for oneself** (Jasper, 2011; Klandermans, 1984, cited by Bernd et al., 1998). This feeling is largely related to how the act of protest is generally perceived in society (Neveu, 2019). If it is perceived well, people will be rather proud, whereas in the opposite case, they can more easily feel ashamed.

The above evidence shows that a person's behaviour is influenced by all sorts of cultural, societal, institutional, relational, personal, ... factors. However, it is important to conclude by noting that **a person's commitment to a cause is more important if the decision to commit comes from him or herself** ("I am a good person, that's why I do that"; "I am concerned with the environment, that's why I am sorting my garbage") and not from external pressure ("You have to do that"; "You will pay less if you do that"). This is the case when people feel free to make this choice and think that it is aligned with their identity (Bauvois 2001; Guegen & Pascual 2000).



HOW PEOPLE MOBILIZE

1. A MULTI-STAGE MOBILIZATION PROCESS

Several researchers have examined mass mobilization campaigns led by different activists to try to identify their structure and understand what makes them effective. For example, Klandermans and Oegema (1987) followed the mobilization strategy of the anti-nuclear movement IKV in the Netherlands, which resulted in the largest mass demonstration the country had ever known, in 1983. For its part, Hirsch (1988, cited by Neveu, 2019) followed an anti-apartheid mobilization on the Columbia Campus in 1985. Based on the empirical observations of these researchers, we can conceive that **an efficient mobilization strategy is carried out in several successive stages, which can also, if necessary, be carried out in parallel.**

1.1. CONSENSUS MOBILIZATION

The first step in the process is to "mobilize consensus" by getting a message across, outlining a problem, so as to build a favorable audience for the cause being advocated (Klandermans and Oegema, 1987). Hirsch (1988, cited by Neveu, 2019), describes this first phase as "**raising awareness**" and explains that it consists of a work of politicization, which disseminates critical thinking tools and frameworks of perception of the current situation.

1.2. ACTION MOBILIZATION

This second step is to create the conditions for people to take action. According to Klandermans and Oegema (1987), for a person to be ready to engage in action, four conditions must be met. He or she must 1) sympathize with the cause 2) be aware of upcoming events 3) be willing to participate 4) be logically able to participate (e.g., schedule, childcare, transportation, etc.).

1.3. EMPOWERMENT

Taking part in actions in which they can experience collective strength and the successes it can lead to will enable people to discover their power of action (Hirsch, 1988, cited by Neveu, 2019). As a result of the actions, two other things will increase engagement and produce an emotional investment by individuals. It is **polarization**. If the actions carried out in the second phase are repressed, there is a good chance that this repression will lead to a situation of polarization which reinforces the participants' sense of belonging and identification with one camp, to the detriment of the other. This then strengthens the cohesion of the group and the determination of its members. Finally, **collective deliberation**, which consists of involving everyone in the decision-making process, pushes people to persist in the action, because they have contributed to its configuration.





WHERE DO PEOPLE GET MOBILIZED?

Knowing how it is possible to structure a mobilization campaign, it is still important to ask by what means and where to carry it out. How are the people targeted by a mobilization campaign most effectively recruited?

1. RECRUITMENT CHANNELS

According to Giugni (2019), who studied mobilization for demonstrations that took place in Switzerland between 2010 and 2012, the recruitment channels generally used are direct (in the real world) or/and indirect (via the media). Their influence is variable. Among the indirect channels, the media in journalistic and advertising form (flyers, posters) play a predominant role, while television, radio and social networks seem to have less influence³. Then, organizational networks, such as magazines, newsletters, mailing or diffusion lists are also important. However, **the most important recruitment channel is direct**. The majority of people mobilize via interpersonal relationships. McAdam (1988) refers to these interpersonal networks as “micromobilization” contexts.

2. MICROMOBILIZATION CONTEXTS

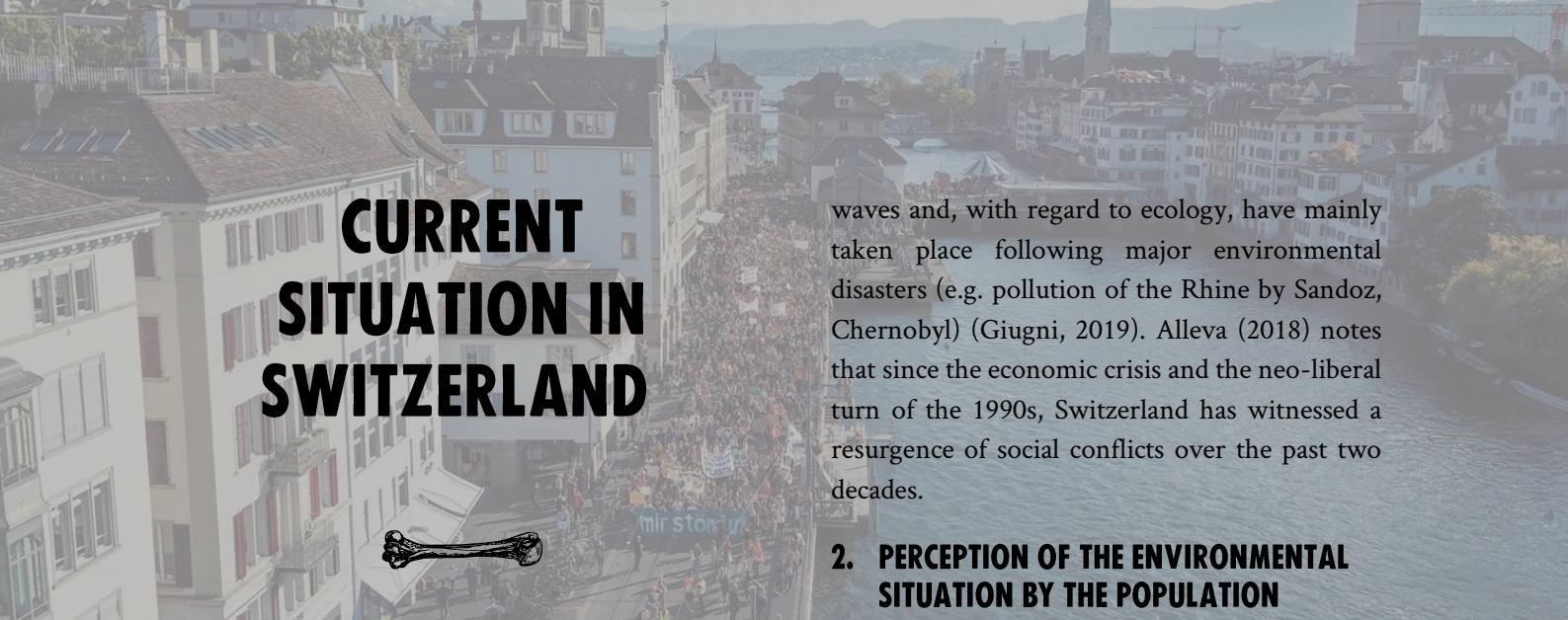
“Micromobilization contexts” describe **small groups of people who know each other**, which are formally (e.g., religious groups) or informally organized (e.g. group of friends), and within which the interpersonal relationships between people and the personal satisfactions that flow from them create the building blocks for social movements (McAdam, 1988). Several authors (e.g., Burns & Reimann, 2019; Jasper, 2011; Neveu, 2019; Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013) have highlighted the importance of these acquaintance networks in mobilization processes.

These contexts are places and opportunities for people to share about personal or collective issues, to talk about politics, to build a common vision of the world (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). But what makes these groups so important for mobilization are the **emotional and affective dynamics** that arise from the relationships between people. In the absence of relationships with others, people tend to feel powerless when confronted with a worrying situation (McAdam, 1988). In order to come together, people need personal human contact that creates a sense of mutual solidarity, trust, sharing, reciprocity (Burns & Reimann, 2019) and personal involvement (Jasper, 2011).

In short, **mobilisation happens through bonds and relationships**. And these relationships are stronger with close people such as family and friends (Giugni, 2019; McAdam, 1988; Neveu, 2019).

³ It is to be noted that the data were collected between 2010 and 2012 and that, in consideration of the rapid technological developments of recent years, it is possible

that the role of social networks, for example, is currently more important.



CURRENT SITUATION IN SWITZERLAND



1. HISTORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN SWITZERLAND

Since the foundation of the federal state in 1848, social movements in Switzerland have developed in response to social conflicts between different groups (bourgeoisie, peasants, workers, women, ...) (Ziegler & Meuwly, 2012). The general strike of 1918 (Landesstreik) was one of the major political crises in the federal state (Degen & Martin, 2012). The working class used this means of political pressure to make its demands heard by the Federal Council. For a long time considered solely from the angle of its failures, the general strike of 1918 nevertheless allowed great social advances for the workers, such as the adoption of the 48-hour week or the old-age and survivors' insurance (AHV-AVS) (Alleva, 2018).

From the 1960s onwards, so-called "new social movements" emerged in Switzerland, as well as in other parts of the world. These brought topics as diverse as ecology, pacifism, anti-globalization and feminism into the political debate and also led to major political, social and cultural advances, such as the right for Swiss women to vote (Giugni, 2019; Ziegler & Meuwly, 2012). Mobilizations have often been carried out in

waves and, with regard to ecology, have mainly taken place following major environmental disasters (e.g. pollution of the Rhine by Sandoz, Chernobyl) (Giugni, 2019). Alleva (2018) notes that since the economic crisis and the neo-liberal turn of the 1990s, Switzerland has witnessed a resurgence of social conflicts over the past two decades.

2. PERCEPTION OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL SITUATION BY THE POPULATION

Since 1990, annual temperatures in Switzerland have been continuously above average⁴. The five warmest years recorded since 1864 are all after 2010, the warmest year so far being 2018. Of the 10,711 species studied in Switzerland, 35% are threatened or already extinct (OFS, 2020a).

In 2019, according to the latest OFS report (2020a), **the majority of the population considers the quality of the environment in Switzerland to be rather good** (63.4%) or even very good (20.3%). Only 14.6% of the population thinks that the quality of the environment is poor and 1.6% very poor. In contrast, when it comes to assessing the quality of the environment worldwide, only 2% of the Swiss population thinks it is very good, 10.5% think it is good, while 59.3% think it is bad and 28.2% think it is very bad. Thus, there seems to be a strong contrast between the perception of what is happening elsewhere in the world and the situation actually experienced in Switzerland.

In 2019, **60% of the Swiss population considers itself to be fairly well informed about climate change**, and 20.1% of the population considers itself to be very well informed (OFS, 2020c). While more than 80% of

⁴ Compared to the pre-industrial period, defined in the [IPCC SR15 report](#) as between 1850 and 1900, and before which human activities had not yet had a significant impact

on the atmosphere. Switzerland is currently experiencing a warming of more than two degrees compared with the pre-industrial era.

the population believes that they have sufficient information about the climate situation, only **19.4% of the Swiss population believes that pollution and environmental nuisance are a very big problem** and 41.4% that they are a rather big problem. 31.8% of the population still think that they are a rather small problem and 7.4% that they are a very small problem (OFS, 2020b). Since only a minority of the population seems to be aware of the urgency and seriousness of the situation, these data suggest that very few people are really informed about the subject, despite what one thinks. The fact that a majority of the population considers itself to be sufficiently informed, while not necessarily considering environmental issues as massive problems, supports the fact that **the information currently transmitted still remains too isolated, partial, superficial and does not highlight the real problems and the consequences and imminent dangers linked to the ecological and climate crisis.** It is therefore a question of raising the level of awareness of the people and this is the purpose of our first demand to the authorities: tell the truth. Either the authorities tell the truth, or they don't, and the mass mobilization to bring this demand to fruition raises questions in people's minds (what is this truth that is not being told to us?).

Among those who think that pollution and environmental nuisance are a very big problem, the proportions vary only slightly according to age, level of education, region (urban or rural) or financial situation, while a wider gap is noted according to nationality and language region (OFS, 2020b). People of foreign nationality appear to be less concerned (14.2%) than the Swiss (21.1%). Among the latter, in German-speaking Switzerland (GsS), in 2019, 16.6% of the population consider environmental issues to be a major problem, compared with 27% in French-speaking Switzerland (FsS) and 22.6% in Italian-speaking Switzerland (IsS).

In terms of variation over time, **a significant change is to be observed during the period from 2015 to 2019.** During this period, the

percentage of people who think that environmental issues are a very big problem almost tripled, from an overall figure of 6.7% to 19.4%. In comparison, over the same four-year period between 2011 and 2015, the percentage had rather slightly decreased from 8.6% to 6.7%. The gap between Switzerland's different language regions has always been present. In 2011 and 2015, it was the Italian-speaking region that was most concerned about climate change (2011: 18.7% IsS, 10.2% FsS, 7.4% GsS; 2015: 10.6% IsS, 9.5% FsS, 5.4%). In 2019, the situation has changed, and it is in FsS that the population is the most concerned about environmental and climate issues, at 27%, compared with 22.6% for the IsS and 16.6% for the GsS.

Whether this growing collective awareness in the last five years, particularly in FsS, can be attributed to the various climate movements that have emerged in recent years (e.g., Climate Strike, Extinction Rebellion) is a hypothesis that was not yet scientifically verified. However, the fact is that **between 2015 and 2019, a clear increase in public awareness of environmental and climate issues has been observed, and that this awareness has been parallel to the development and media coverage of climate movements and actions.**



MOBILIZATION POTENTIAL IN SWITZERLAND

Among the people who are aware of certain issues and the need for action, how many are really ready to get involved in a social movement and take to the streets to claim their vision of the world? According to Giugni (2019), "contrary perhaps to certain clichés, Swiss demonstrators are particularly motivated to take to the streets to protest" (p. 125, our translation). This statement is the result of a study on social movements in Switzerland, which the author conducted between 2010 and 2012. This study was part of a larger research project carried out in the framework of the international study "Caught in the Act of Protest: Contextualizing Contestation" (www.protestsurvey.eu), which aimed to compare data from several European countries in order to understand who participated in protest events and why.

The data presented below can be found in the book "La Suisse dans la rue: mouvements, mobilisations, manifestants" (Giugni, 2019) and are intended to provide a better understanding of the attitude of the Swiss people towards protest actions.

3. WHO PROTESTS?

Although in recent years there has been a trend towards the "normalization of protest and protesters" (Van Aelst Walgrave, 2001, Giugni & Grasso, 2019, cited by Giugni, 2019), it is still rare for a demonstration to gather a large number of people in Switzerland, usually a few thousand, except in exceptional cases⁵.

In Switzerland, compared with population density, the level of mobilization is nevertheless high. However, not everyone mobilizes. People who take to the streets differ from ordinary citizens in that they are what Giugni (2019) calls '**critical citizens**'. They are individuals who are clearly interested in political issues and have a critical attitude towards the system. Typically, these people are mostly young, educated and graduated, middle class and often with strong left-wing values (while right-wing people tend to favor other approaches). Unfortunately, it also appears that certain pejorative representations of demonstrators as irrational and frustrated beings persist in some milieus.

4. HOW THEY PROTEST?

In 2016, the mobilization potential for Switzerland depended on the type of action (Giugni, 2019). While more than 30% of the population was ready to sign a petition or boycott a product, only 5.45% and 5.9% were respectively ready to take part in a legal public demonstration and to join an action group. These figures vary

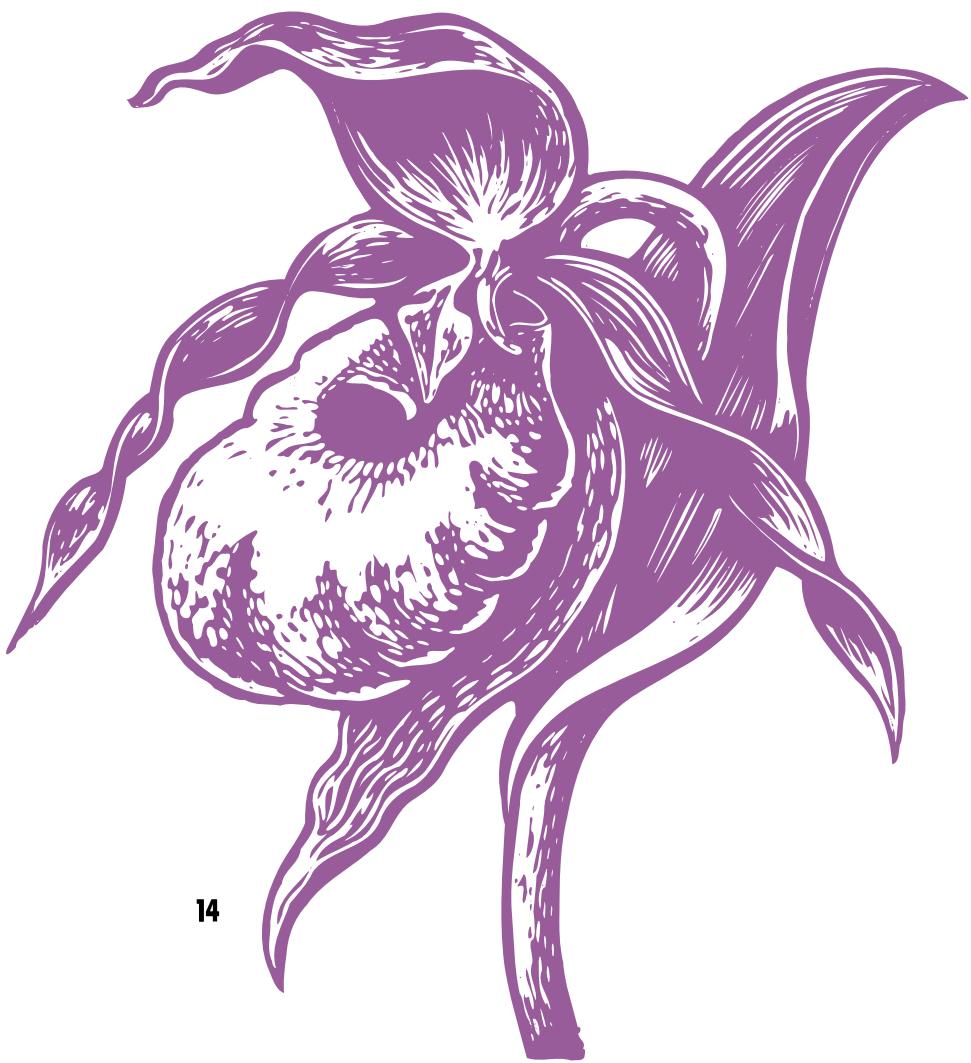
⁵ The "Climat of Change" event in Bern on 28 September 2019, which brought together some 100,000 people, can be considered as such an exceptional situation. However, the remarkable number of people it brought together can give an indication of how many people are ready to take to the streets for environmental issues. The demonstrators were demanding a coherent climate policy, the phasing out of coal, oil and gas - including for the Swiss financial center - as well as climate justice. Already two years ago, the Swiss

people were ready to mobilize to demand action from the government when the opportunity to do so was presented to them long in advance. Since the awareness has raised since then, but political action is still not up to scratch, we can be confident that we already have a mobilizable mass among the Swiss population for this cause. It is up to us to awaken their dissatisfaction and convince them to go for civil disobedience.

from year to year but remain fairly close. Compared to other European countries (Germany, France, Austria, Great Britain, the Netherlands), Switzerland is slightly below the European average for street demonstrations.

The question raised by this is that, if only 5.45% of people are willing to participate in a legal demonstration, what about illegal demonstrations? Although data on this topic are not available at present, Giugni (2019) notes that in general Swiss social movements favor a rather moderate repertoire of actions. The majority (59%) of actions are demonstrative (demonstrations, petitions), while only 15.91% of actions are confrontational.

Overall, regardless of the type of action envisaged, the Swiss feel a fairly high sense of effectiveness, both internally (feeling that their action will have an impact) and externally (feeling that the authorities will respond to their demands).





SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

Compared to other European countries, contextual characteristics of Switzerland (direct democracy, authorities and police with a low level of repression) reduce the feeling of need to protest. In the aforementioned book published in 2019, Marco Giugni, professor of political science and international relations at the University of Geneva, notes that, in general, the Swiss people show a high level of satisfaction with democracy, trust in the government, the legal system, institutions, parties, etc. And indeed, according to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) panorama of public administrations, in 2018, the level of trust of the Swiss people towards the authorities reached 85% and the level of satisfaction with public institutions and services was 88% (OECD, 2019). However, in an interview given in December 2020 to the magazine "*Amnesty: le magazine des droits humains*", Professor Giugni expresses that a fracture is currently being created between citizens who want to make their voices heard and the political class which pursues other interests, and that this fracture goes along with a loss of confidence in the authorities and in the representative political and democratic systems (Giugni, 2020).

Thus, even if it remains quite high, it seems that for some time now, public confidence in the institutions has been deteriorating. As noted above, the emergence of a cleavage between two distinct entities and the loss of confidence in the political authorities are vectors for mobilization. If this cleavage and loss of confidence are accompanied by a high level of sense of effectiveness, the potential for action mobilization is increased (Gamson, 1968, Giugni, 2019).



THE SWISS EXTINCTION REBELLION

1. THE XR FROM THE INSIDE: SITUATION OF REBELS AND LOCAL GROUPS

A study and interviews were carried out with existing local Swiss groups responding to our call. The aim was to establish an overview of the movement in our country, the motivation of the rebels, and to gather feedback on the methods of outreach and mobilization which had brought results. The actions (civil disobedience or not) undertaken so far in the region were also listed in order to try to establish correlations between them and the notoriety of the movement as well as the potential local mobilization.

In general terms, the covid's restrictions to gather together have weakened existing local groups. It is above all the human contact and group cohesion, the fun and social part that are lacking and demobilizing the rebels. But they are so crucial to the well-being of the movement and of the activists. For the smaller groups, mobilization has collapsed since March 2020 and it is difficult to create the energy of the group without being able to come together and experience together the emotions of the action and of the growing and mobilizing group. Unfortunately, some groups have never really taken off and the pandemic does not improve the situation. For groups that were already relatively strong before the pandemic, the action models need to be reviewed, because of the covid but also because the novelty and fashion effect of 2019 has partly

died down. Some activists are tired and are already facing legal action which might push them towards other forms of militancy.

In spite of this image, which may seem gloomy, almost 2 years after the beginning of XR Switzerland, we note that there is a hard core of people invested in the rebellion and a core of people who can be mobilized for actions whose number is difficult to evaluate, in the absence of a Rebel data base.

2. THE XR FROM THE OUTSIDE: MOVEMENT PERCEPTION BY NON-REBELS

2.1. POPULATION

A survey was conducted in order to collect data about what is positively or negatively perceived from people who have not (yet) taken part in the rebellion. The idea was to understand what are the elements that build public support and what are the elements that create dislike or even aversion. Approximately 450 people took part in this survey and it is clear that the results collected are by no means representative of the swiss population as the survey was mostly spread by rebels and their channels. Moreover 75% of the respondents are from the french-speaking part of Switzerland. However, we consider that the collected answers are useful to highlight or validate facts about what builds the external perception of the XR.

WHERE NEGATIVE OPINION COMES FROM

The most cited negatively perceived action are the painting on buildings (38%), followed by the street blockade (31%), the stores occupancy (19%) and the sabotages (19%). The cited reasons for having a negative vision is often a wrong target (20.6%) and even the fact that they make the individual feel guilty was cited (7.4%) This highlights how a few visible actions can forge a negative opinion and support that actions whose purpose and design are not explicitly outreach or mobilization (see appendix) should be very strategically planned in order to reduce the

discrepancy between the external understanding of the main message and our values (in particular 8. "We avoid blaming and shaming") and our goal to mobilize the necessary amount of people to make a difference.

LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF OUR DEMANDS AND STRATEGY

We observe at several reprises that respondents know the XR, but they do not understand it correctly. In addition to the above-mentioned results, 16.2% of the collectable reasons for having a negative opinion explicitly mentioned a lack of understanding for the actions. Whether at the level of activists' perceptions, actions or movement, a recurring cited element (dozens of answers) for a negative vision is that the XR should understand Swiss democracy and use the tools rather than attacking it. The element that we propose a solution with the citizens' assemblies is only cited once in the whole survey as reason for supporting us, proving that our 3 demands are not spontaneously associated with the image we have so far given to the population. A "bad communication" is mentioned over 20 times with terms such as "Moralistic and aggressive", "very pessimistic", "focused on the end of the world", "only in opposition", "lack of intention of dialogue", "no openness for people less aware of the emergency". A frequent given advice is to better communicate the strategy or the message behind actions through more personal contact and one to one explanation. Some responses also mention that knowing the movement more closely allowed for a more positive perception of it: "Image positive depuis que j'ai assisté à une réunion d'information sur les fondements et principes du mouvement. Avant le nom me choquait" /"première rencontre in vivo très importante».

A PARTIALLY BIASED POSITIVE VISION OF OUR ACTIONS

Out of 57 explicit responses mentioning which actions are perceived positively, 23% mentioned

actions towards financial sectors and another 18% mentioned action toward the private sector. The many references to the tennis game or red hands (which were not made by the XR) highlights that confusion with other movements is recurrent as much for those who perceive us positively as negatively. However, 19% of the answers referred to street blockades and 18% to actions aimed directly at the state (Bern, September 2020). The last 23% spontaneously cited actions with a strong visual character and symbolism as positive ones.

ELEMENTS VALUED BY THE POPULATION

Given that 73.1% of respondents have a positive view of the movement, we have a good idea of the elements that are valued by the audience. The movement is appreciated and necessary because (mostly frequently cited): Politics is not sufficient, the emergency justifies the methods, the population is insufficiently aware of the emergency, the XR values are fair, the movement is well organized, the form of actions is interesting (creative, impressing, humor). Regarding specifically the actions, out of 114 explicit responses spontaneously mentioned, we were able to synthesize: 43% mentioned that actions are impactful and cannot be ignored by the public and the press. 24% noted creativity as a positive factor. Other frequently mentioned elements are: the courage of the activists, a right cause, the positivity of the activists, a festive spirit, the humor, and the non-violent character.

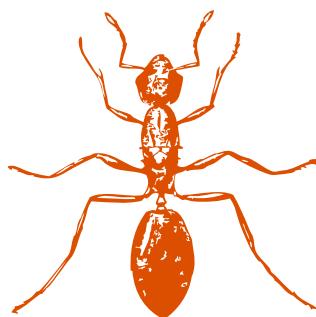
The results and the full analysis will soon be found in the appendix.

2.2. MEDIAS

This review is based on the analysis of 89 articles mentioning the “Extinction Rebellion” and published in the main Swiss newspapers from April 2019 to November 2020. A review and analysis will be provided as an appendix of this document

At the very beginning of the rebellion in Switzerland, Swiss medias described actions as “friendly gatherings” where people of all ages, even families would meet in a peaceful and harmless way (Le Temps, April 2019). Very quickly, the mood changed. “Radical” is the word which is used most to describe the rebellion, though in very negative connotation: Radicality is almost always associated with violence. XR is presented as a very “well-oiled machine”, working almost like a company. To meet its end, XR does not hesitate to “recruit new members” from the ranks of the climate youth, “manipulating” them. XR is also described as a “doomsday sect”, using “apocalyptic messaging” and “dramatic negative emotions” to get attention. XR exaggerates the facts. This leads some scientists such as Reto Knutti to criticize the accuracy of XR’s statements (Tages-Anzeiger, November 2019). Further allegations include the fact that XR is deeply “anticapitalist” and “anti-democratic”.

This radicality associated with the XR through the media discourses may have prevented the movement from getting support from the majority.



PART 2



**STRATEGY AND TOOLS
FOR MASS MOBILIZATION IN SWITZERLAND**



SO, WHAT NOW? Based on the theoretical and empirical data presented above, we propose in this section concrete recommendations and tools to help rebels and local groups to mobilize in their region, in view of the Great Rebellion.

These recommendations and tools are presented as a mobilization strategy subdivided into different points. All are indicative and adaptable to the needs of each local or affinity group.

In order to be effective and keep track of your whole mobilization strategy, we suggest you **draw up a mobilization plan adapted to the local situation, for a fixed period of time** (see appendix). This will give the group a sense of direction by setting clear objectives, defining what to do to achieve these objectives, with what resources available, etc. By planning your campaign, people will feel more committed to help mobilizing. New rebels can use the mobilization plan to get a quick overview about what the group is doing and how and where they could get involved. It also makes it possible to monitor the evolution of the group, visualize successes and reflect on the strategies that are used.

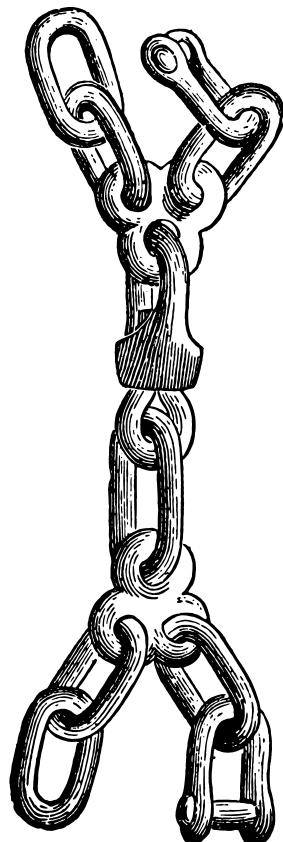


First of all, we suggest you draw up a state of situation/overview of the current situation of the Extinction Rebellion in your region or city. **At the general population level**, it is essential to ask yourself what the local population's knowledge of the movement and of the issue (the threat posed by climate change and the loss of biodiversity) are. **At the level of your group**,

think about where you stand in terms of mobilization. A good example of establishing a state of the situation is the analysis done by XR Geneva (see appendix "Analyse macao et historique-Extinction Rebellion Genève"). You may ask yourself:

HOW MANY REBELS ARE ALREADY ENGAGED IN THE REBELLION? Here we suggest you make a difference between *activists* (rebels ready and motivated to take part in coordination and organization activities) and *participants* (rebels ready to come to actions).

This state of the situation is the basis of your local strategy. According to your resources and your needs, you will be able **identify the circles you want to target in the population, how many rebels you will intend to mobilize in the following months and to design your mobilization actions accordingly**.





DEFINE TARGETS

Following the state of the situation, you will be able to define targets. This will help you to 1) clearly delineate the groups that your mobilization campaign targets 2) think about how you can approach these groups and adapt your message to its characteristics.

SO, WHAT DO YOU NEED?

PASSIVE SUPPORTERS AND SYMPATHIZERS, who will build a bigger “mass base of the movement” and join for actions.

SUPPORTERS AND PART-TIME HELPERS (auxiliaries), who you may find among these supporters and sympathizers.

“CADRES, LEADERS, COMBATANT” (McBay, 2019) which in the case of the XR, can be seen as the people who will be strongly involved in the organization of Big Rebellion Waves and in the supporting working groups.

In order to mobilize and recruit the people you need, in our opinion, following groups should be targeted.

POPULATION

The population and the public are the main targets of the XR actions. By disrupting the daily routine of people, we aim to awaken them to the climate and ecological emergency, force them to take side and maximize the chances that they join the side that fights against extinction.

A key point in targeting the population is to reach out broadly (Hallam, 2021). By targeting only a specific segment of the population, usually the

one to which we belong, we risk creating a homogenous mass, a movement made up of people who look alike. Then, it becomes very difficult to get out of this image and mobilize other people. How can we avoid this risk? Above all, we need to be aware of it. And then, we must proactively go out of the “middle class bubble”, go out of the cities, go to people who are not interested in politics, etc. In this sense, farmers, small businesspeople and churches are for instance very important targets. According to Hallam (2021), **the attitude we need to have as professional mobilizers is to be happy to see people that are not like us and let them know it.**

COMMUNITIES

Communities are groups of people bound together by a common identity (e.g., believers, teachers, AC/DC fans, etc.). Every local area is made up of neighborhood communities and communities of identity. They offer a powerful entry opportunity to discuss Climate Breakdown, and social and climate justice, within a group of persons who know each other well and who can be touched by a common message. Extinction Rebellion UK recommends [here](#) to get your LG together to identify local organizations and communities who you want to contact. They suggest thinking deeply about the multiple layers of where you live and by asking yourself who the rebels already have links with or what friends and families are involved with. According to them, a special focus should be placed on clusters, like Faith centers, Research Institutes, Companies, etc. When approaching a community, always keep in mind that it should be done with deep respect for its members, culture and reality.

FRIENDS, FAMILY, NEIGHBORS

As we have seen above, mobilization especially happens through relationships with friends and family and friends. So don't hesitate to bring the topic on the table at aperos, family meetings, coffee breaks, etc.

Here too, do so respectfully, without necessarily trying to convince your interlocutors. Just explain what you are doing and why it seems so important to you. If you are a person whom your family and friends consider, respect and perhaps even admire, you are most likely sowing small seeds in their minds. In our experience, even if people are reluctant, or sometimes even opposed, at first, they will continue to think about it on their own and will eventually align their point of view with yours. In any case, being close to a person who is fighting body and soul for a cause that is dear to him or her makes it difficult to be totally opposed to that cause.

If you know people who you know would be willing to engage more actively in the Rebellion, don't be afraid to ask. Many people feel the need to act but don't really know where to start. They are simply waiting for something to be proposed to them. The XR UK underlines that every event should have a clear next step. Every conversation should end with "and this is how you can help". And people should be able to do it immediately or within 3 days, or their enthusiasm will be lost. **Show them they can make history.**

Still, don't forget to protect yourself and your loved ones! If you see that people who matter to you do not seem to be receptive, do not insist in ways that will damage your relationship. Remember we need to mobilize only a few

percent of the population. If someone is too tough a nut to crack, just move on.

ALLIES

You may then also ask yourself what the possible allies are at your local level, what their characteristics are and how they should be approached. Indeed, coordination with allies is key to making XR known widely and positively in the population and to mobilize a diverse mass. We need to approach our possible allies in the months before the rebellion to invite them to participate in the big rebellion and ask them to help recruiting more people in their organizations or institutions⁶. It is suggested to do so by approaching them directly and by mobilizing individuals who hold positions in these organizations (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987). The following section characterizes different possible allies and the benefits of their participation. It will also show some factors that should be considered when approaching these allies.

1. MEDIAS

The media can play an important role in telling and spreading the truth and increasing pressure by reporting on the ecological crisis and climate emergency. This can raise the awareness of people and therefore increase our mobilization potential as more people will be supporting our demands and means. We strongly suggest reaching out to journalists in advance of actions to make sure they will be covered by the media. But the strategy of collaboration with journalists and the media and making them our allies is a huge topic with high importance. It has been part

⁶ The initiative for responsible multinationals is a good example of coalition-building and linking existing organizations.

of discussions and reflections of other people and groups in the past and goes beyond the mandate of this WG-MassMobilization. We strongly suggest contacting [WG-Media](#) to support your local outreach to the media.

2. ORGANIZATIONS, ASSOCIATIONS, UNIONS

We should use every motive for mobilization: strike, demonstration, actions, etc. to create links with other organizations. Our goal is to motivate the organizations to participate in the actions of the rebellion (having a date to give months ahead is essential here) and mobilize their members to do so. This is not necessarily done by going there with our flags and logos, nor necessarily by trying to build a big coalition, but rather by creating personal contact, by building relationships. Indeed, a strategy is trying to mobilize individuals who are part of the organizations, associations and unions, so they can keep mobilizing inside their institutions from inside with a more personal approach (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987). Involving oneself as a person in other struggles and participating in other actions allows one to broaden one's network and to show a positive and open image of activists.

The organizations we approach shouldn't only be NGO's and non-profit organizations but also private organizations such as small businesses (Hallam, 2019). Indeed, we can use every occasion to create links: Every rebel becomes an ambassador in his work, in his sports or art club or thus his circle of friends and can propose "Heading for Extinction" (HFX) talks during gathering events. For people who do not have a developed internal network, approaching small shopkeepers and cafés by explaining our approach and asking them if we can place flyers or posters will not only allow us to place our posters but also and above all to create a link, to explain who we are and what we do.

3. CULTURE AND EDUCATION

As everybody is affected by the climate and ecological crisis, any type of cultural group or institution can be approached and invited to be part of the rebellion. We can imagine approaching artists, actors, musicians, comedians and ask them if they are interested in collaborating with a performance or piece of art. This can be connected to presence and actions during cultural events like standing up during breaks or advertising and giving a mini-talk about the threat of the crisis and the possibility of rebelling peacefully.

Religious and spiritual organizations can be powerful allies as they reach parts of society that we've been struggling to mobilize so far. These religious organizations have a large potential for supporting the rebellion against extinction as they often represent and praise non-material values that are obviously threatened by the destruction of the basis of life. Here, too, personal contact and an invitation for conservation are recommended in order to establish close cooperation.

For the mobilization of young people, children and parents, we can imagine mobilizing at schools and universities. This can be done by handing out flyers in front of a building, starting conversation with students, making conferences and workshops (doesn't have to be XR-branded) and promoting simple actions at their school. This very direct pathway to action has the advantage that the students get to know the necessary things to continue the rebellion at their schools or universities and continue to recruit more people. We want to have young people and especially children participating in the rebellion because they have a very strong legitimacy for their actions as it is obvious to the public that they will experience the brutal consequences of the climate crisis. But children are also more vulnerable and can create a very emotional picture when stepping into action (Hallam 2019).



SET GOALS AND ORGANIZE ACTIONS

Once you have defined your targets, the next step consists of **setting appropriate goals to reach them out and to organize actions accordingly to these goals**. At this step, we recommend you:

TO DEFINE SHORT- AND MEDIUM-TERM GOALS YOU WANT TO ACHIEVE. Goals can be as diverse as raising awareness on who we are, getting people's sympathy and moral support, mobilizing them to join a big annual action or recruiting them for taking part in the organization of the movement (Working Groups). To make it simple, keep in mind that **our main goal will basically always be to try to gradually engage people in more commitment**.

To create a list of:

STRATEGIES AND ACTIONS THAT YOU WANT TO USE TO ACHIEVE YOUR GOALS⁷. To help you think through the goals of your actions and to ensure that they actually serve the mobilization, you may wish to refer to the

examples of actions serving various purposes in the Appendix.

PEOPLE WHO ARE COMMITTED TO INVESTING TIME IN THESE PROJECTS.

In order to structure the goals, set, we propose a strategy that starts with organizing actions and events that aim to raise awareness on who we are, getting people's sympathy and moral support in order to bring them to rebel with us through consciousness-raising. Once the people are aware of the emergency we face, we can mobilize them for action by organizing trainings and actions they can attend.



⁷ e.g., rebel ringing, talks, paint-the-streets, market stall social media, etc. see appendix for resources and example.

SPREAD THE MESSAGE AND RAISE AWARENESS



If we want to succeed in uniting a mass of people behind a common message and common demands, we must be very clear with what that message is and we must not stop carrying it and embodying it. This requires a reassessment. Indeed, why the XR exists, what we do and how we do it is by far not obvious for the majority of the Swiss population.

THE KEY POINTS OF OUR MESSAGE ARE

1. **We are in deep shit. The future towards which we are heading is not desirable.**
2. **Action must be taken right now even though the consequences are not yet visible, because they will come several decades after the causes.**
3. **The responsible are not individuals, so the solution is not in individual actions.**
4. **If we act quickly, not everything is lost.**
5. **We will rebel in joy, join us! The goal of the Rebellion is not ideological monologue but to make people want to take action.**
6. **It can work! We do have the power to prevent a lot of destruction and suffering. Rebelling will not be in vain.**

We must begin by making people aware of the seriousness of the ecological situation and the imminent threat it poses to our survival (and more precisely, to what they, themselves, love the most). "The truth" ([here link](#) to the definition made by the pool) must first be known by the people to mobilize. They must also understand the role and the project of the XR so that they can take action with us. We reach this goal through our own communication and at the same time it is the one we want to reach through our first request: tell the truth.

Yes, nowadays climate change is a known fact, but the real dangers and the changes it implies for the survival of all of us is not yet well known in society. According to an OFEV publication (2020b), in Switzerland, as recently as 2019, only 19.4% of people believed that pollution and environmental nuisance are a very big problem. Whereas almost 40% of the population think that it is a small or even very small problem. So, how should we proceed ?

1. GIVE HFX TALKS, A LOT, EVERYWHERE

The basic method of the XR is to give HFX talks: "Heading for extinction and what to do about it" is a talk introducing the reality of the climate & ecological crises, and the rationale and ethos behind the Extinction Rebellion movement. The purpose of this talk is to raise awareness of the seriousness of the situation and to directly propose a way to get involved to alleviate the problem. The aim is to create an emotional bond with the audience. If you are a speaker, don't forget to make your speech your own. What really touches people are personal stories, stories that someone has lived through, rather than facts and arguments.

Raising awareness on climate change and biodiversity crisis is our duty too but keep in mind that it is a common goal between many movements and stakeholders this is why it might not be necessary to have every conference or diffusion of scientific fact "XR-Branded".

To have a wide audience at our HFX talks, we need 1) that conferences are organized 2) that people come to the conferences that are organized.

1.1. ORGANIZE TALKS AND CONFERENCES

You don't need to be a scientific expert to give the talk, but it still requires serious training. The talk should not be focused on following the PPT but on touching people. There are training courses

for the talk, directly by XR UK and in Switzerland (contact the MassMob WG if needed).

IN PLACES THAT ARE ACCESSIBLE AND WELCOMING FOR EVERYONE (restaurants, neighborhood centers, school halls, etc.). Vary the venues and avoid places that may hold back certain audiences by their overly academic or partisan connotations.

IN WELL-DEFINED CIRCLES OF TRUST OR FOR SOCIAL GROUPS THAT ARE ALREADY FORMED: Propose to the rebels and friends of the rebels to organize talks in their schools, theater groups, football clubs, associations, etc. The idea is to touch the majority of the population who would not come on their own, this is about going towards people and not waiting for them to come to us!

TO REACH INTO ANOTHER 'BUBBLE', try to first reach out to a prominent member of that community. Once you've established a personal contact of trust and you see they are open to hearing more about the XR or supporting it, ask them if they can organize a talk especially for their community, or invite their network to come to an open talk

1.2. ANNOUNCE CONFERENCE

Communicate about the next conference DURING YOUR ACTIONS.

USE SOCIAL NETWORKS: However, do not put all your energy into it. Be aware that

social media has a limited emotional appeal which is problematic for mobilization.

POSTERS & FLYERS: The methodology used by the activists in Portland has proven to be very effective. The principle is to proceed by areas (e.g., the different districts of a city, a strategic geographical distribution, ...). One of these areas is chosen and bombarded with advertising leaflets twice, one week apart. The flyers are distributed everywhere in mailboxes, car windscreens, shops, posters are displayed in the streets (5-6 posters in the same place), etc. This allows people to become aware of the event⁸ and to have continuous reminders of it, thus maximizing the chances that they will take part in it.

CONTACT THE MEDIA and ask them to communicate about this venue

ASK THE CONFERENCE VENUE to communicate it to its regulars/ members.

Most people come to a talk through personal recommendation. ASK REBELS AND SYMPATHIZERS TO PERSONALLY INVITE PEOPLE AROUND THEM. At a conference, announce the next date directly to the audience to invite their friends & relatives. (Set a challenge: e.g each person must bring people back!).

TALK ABOUT THE TALKS TO FRIENDS, NEIGHBORS (door-knocking, [see guide](#)), relatives, etc. Say that there is a talk presenting some science of the climate emergency and solutions in an engaging way, organized in the neighborhoods, and ask

⁸ This method can be used to announce all kinds of events (e.g., NVDA training, actions, conferences, etc.).

people if they would be interested in attending it.

Endurance is needed. In the UK at the beginning there was almost nobody at the talks. However, thousands of talks were given before the Rebellion began. Word of mouth eventually contributed to having a large force that could be mobilized before the first actions. Lausanne is the city where the mobilization is the strongest in Switzerland and this is probably related to the frequency of conferences and the thousands of people who attended them in the region.

However, it has been observed in Switzerland that the enthusiasm of the population to go to a formal lecture may have limits. Moreover, the covid situation excludes the possibility of giving face-to-face talks.

Therefore, we propose a series of measures/ideas to raise awareness in addition to the HfX talks.

2. BE CREATIVE, FIND OTHER IDEAS !

2.1. SHORTER TALK, MORE EMOTIONAL & ADAPTED MESSAGES

Take into consideration who they are, what their daily routines are made of, what are their values, what things they value in life, what makes them feel like a good person. And use their own value system to bring them to your conclusion. People are less concerned with arguments than with what affects them, and that depends on the audience. In order to raise awareness, not every form of talks need to be "XR-Branded" as from the beginning. For example, testimonies from people who have directly experienced the consequences of the ecological and climatic disaster can have a strong impact. Hearing someone talk about a personal and emotional experience gives shape to a reality that otherwise seems remote and abstract. The XR approach can be presented at the end of the talk as a possible path to action.

2.2. GET OUT OF THE CONFERENCE ROOMS

Conference rooms, in essence, exclude part of the population. Work on more innovative forms of awareness raising. Forget jargon, speak the language of your audience. Examples: Street theater, metro talk, etc. (See resource table in appendix). We suggest giving talks not only in your city, but also in villages and towns that do not have a local group yet to reach out to more people.

2.3. 'TUPPERWARE' HFX ZOOM TALKS

An important part of the HfX talk is the sense of community it brings, and a feeling that 'this is real'. You can recreate this feeling of 'real people in real life' online, with the 3 following ingredients: an invited speaker + a host + a familiar audience. The host personally invites their network, friends, colleagues, neighbors...to a zoom talk they organize themselves. The narrative is that the speaker is personally invited by the host to speak to their network, which leverages the power of personal relationships and motivates people to come out of friendship for the host (see the incredibly successful concept of [Tupperware parties](#)). To reinforce this feeling, the talk can be hybrid, with the speaker coming physically to the house of the host - but that's optional.

2.4. ACTIONS AND SPEECHES THAT FOCUS ON A PARTICULAR ISSUE THAT AFFECTS PEOPLE LOCALLY

Actions can also be aimed at raising awareness about the truth (for examples, see the resource table in the appendix). Most people will only take risks and participate in a movement if the cause affects them personally. People have down-to-earth concerns, so we have to avoid big speeches and get down to business (Popovic, 2017). A good advice is to always do more listening than talking when meeting new people. Find out about what they care about, what they are worried about. Then you can start from there

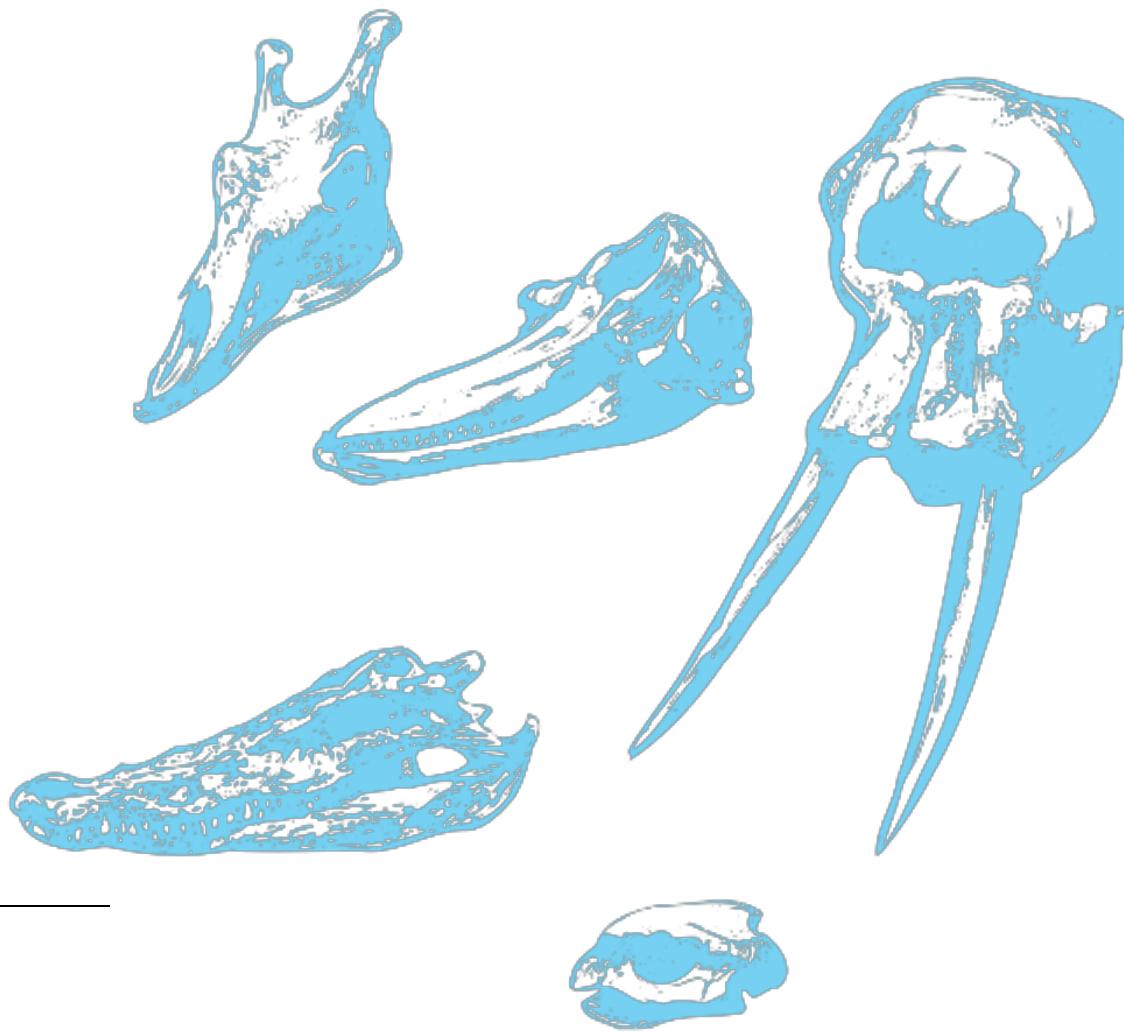
and show how it's related to the climate and ecological emergency.

2.5. ACTIONS RELATED TO CURRENT EVENTS/NEWS

To be ready quickly, you can prepare ready-to-deploy scenarios/action kits to respond to current events related to global warming and future disasters⁹.

2.6. MESSAGES THAT HIGHLIGHT THE FACT THAT THE SOCIAL CONTRACT IS BROKEN AND THAT THE CURRENT POLICY IS DEFICIENT.

As exposed above, we must bring the responsibility of the government to the forefront.



⁹ We invite every person reading this document to share with us their ready-to-deploy scenarios, which we could then collect and spread further

BUILD A POSITIVE IMAGE OF THE REBELLION



We are the embodiment of what human beings living in a peaceful society could look like: understanding, calm, fair, honest, funny, straightforward, etc. And we are proud of being part of this movement because it is the right thing!

We must show that we are "for" something and not "against" it. Despite their rejection of the system and their fear of it, rebels must understand that we must foremost organize **actions whose aim is fundamentally mobilization and not denunciation**. We are fighting for a desirable future and our vision must be translatable and tangible into the desirable vision of tomorrow for every person we want to target (Popovic, 2017). This is the only approach that will allow us to mobilize massively and achieve our objectives.

60% of the Swiss population is aware that we have a fairly serious problem (OFS, 2020b). However, it seems that the awareness of the real life-threatening emergency is insufficient for the breadth of what each news. People are fed up with the bad news and they do not process deeply. Now to catch them, **we have to be creative**. We have to go out of the box.

1. BE HUMORISTIC

History has always shown it: under dictatorships, citizens have used a lot of humor to free themselves from the prohibitions and other material and moral constraints imposed on them by the regime. Even if we are confronted with deadly logics, those of profit and domination, the humor and pleasure that come from resistance must never be forgotten. Laughter is one of the privileged tools of the struggle for the common

good, for those who sometimes have only the strength of truth to overcome oppression. (Renou, 2010) Humor helps to attract the sympathy of public opinion (it was a predominant factor identified in our survey, see appendix). It also presents other advantages (Renou, 2010):

- Protects from fear, humor strengthens the social bond through the sharing of positive emotions. It allows us to regulate emotion by emotion. Inducing a positive mood or emotion through humor is a way to decrease the anxiety one feels at the time.
- Reduces the feeling of powerlessness, builds confidence
- Preserve against anger: To use humour is to guard against hatred, hate can lead to regrettable acts and aggravate confrontation.
- Helps to convey a political message by making it accessible to the greatest number by simplifying the message. It facilitates the approach of serious subjects by alleviating the emotional load. Being too serious keeps the audience at a distance.
- Highlights the absurdity of the situation and the dishonesty of power. It can push the opponent to publicly assume their choices.
- Avoid any confusion with our actions and terrorism
- From a pedagogical point of view, it favours the memorization of the information received. The fact that it helps to attract the sympathy of public opinion is also a key factor.

- Adds the "cool and friendly" factor that is so valuable in attracting new members.
- Nothing in police training prepares them to react to something funny and react, subtlety so as not to be repressed (Popovic, 2017)

We have collected examples of humoristic actions in the appendix for some inspiration.

2. BE SYMPATHETIC

We are all concerned. We are all humans, and we are proud of our acts because they are right. It is important to work on both the image of the movement as a whole and the image of the unique rebels.

It has been shown that a sympathetic and emotional context (laugh, calmness, positivism, altruism, interest in the other) leads a person in a positive way, what increases the chances of having its whole attention and trust (Cialdini, 2001). Factors that can enhance the positive perception and the sympathy are: finding someone beautiful, adopting an appearance similar to the group being addressed, being a person who is already the object of a positive perception, receiving compliments (e.g., celebrity). Most people join social movements not because they are interested but because it is a social event and activity (Hallam, 2021). To make them feel welcomed and good, we have to create trust through mutual appreciation.

It seems that in the past years, the XR has developed a brand seen as "radical, academic middle class, leftist". We need to be very careful not to manifest that brand. A beautiful image is perhaps the most effective support. Therefore, it is highly recommended to use nonacademic language when approaching people and to always reflect on what picture we create in the public by exposing ourselves as well as when preparing an action, communicating publicly, choosing

slogans to paint the streets or any other interaction with people outside of the XR.

Dialogue and the personification of the movement create a positive image and ensure that the right message gets across: We always need a great amount of "Peace Keepers" and people who speak to the population while an action takes place in the public space. But dialogue and sympathy are not only created during actions. It's something that happens at every opportunity: when we approach a restaurant owner to ask him to put up our poster, when passers-by look at us posting our message on the walls, when we debate with foreigners, friends, family, etc.

When we start a discussion about extinction, we are considering the current value system of our audience. **Shocking them morally will not mobilize them.** It is about engaging them to create dialogue and interest, not guilt so it must remain positive. We need to avoid giving "opponents" reasons to criticize us. That is why we recommend to regularly organize small mobilization actions (see table in the appendix) in the public space with the main aim of attracting the sympathy of the population and impacting the spirits

The Extinction Rebellion chose to only do above ground actions, and encourages rebels to display their engagement in their social media profiles, during talks about the movement to friends, neighbors (door-knocking, [see guide](#)), relatives , etc. This contributes to **normalizing the act of rebelling and shifts social norms by displaying pride and confidence in 'doing the right thing'.**

3. BE FESTIVE

We are the ones who organize the cool and appreciated events. (Popovic, 2017). For those reasons and because we are doing the right things, music and the festive spirit must never be far from our actions. It creates and amplifies people's emotions (Jasper, 2011).

4. BE AESTHETIC

The aesthetics and beauty of the actions and of all our visual supports can appear as an accessory element, a decoration. It is not! Artistic and symbolic actions can be memorable, moving and allow more people to get involved. The aesthetics plays a major role in the emotional involvement of our audience. The way we address the public, the regularity in design and the external presentation of the rebels are elements that contribute to the public taking us seriously.

Being visually present in the public space will also enhance the awareness, at the same time as it develops a positive and proud image of being a rebel. Be proud to display the extinction symbol and your support to the Rebellion in the streets or online (e.g., wear it on your bag, hang a poster on your door, put a sticker on your bike, update your facebook profile picture, etc.).

5. SHOW YOUR COURAGE

In our external perceptions survey, courage and determination were regularly mentioned as contributing to the public's positive view of the rebels and the movement. It is a strong emotion that can be transmitted and which makes people want to join us.

Finally, **our ultimate goal is that people feel that a cause or movement has real momentum, when it seems like everyone is talking about the issue and wanting to get involved (McBay, 2019)**. The Rebellion has become cool (Popovic, 2017).



MOBILIZE FOR ACTION



Once people are aware of the emergency we face, they should have no choice but to act now. "A sense of agency is, at least, dormant and capable of being awakened" in every person (Gamson, 1995, p. 106). So, let's give them the opportunity to do so!

1. EMPOWER PEOPLE

People (especially those who don't consider themselves as political individuals) must feel emotionally connected, empowered and supported from being part of the XR. The first moments of interaction are the most important ones for those factors (Hallam, 2020).

5.1. ORGANIZE TRAININGS

One of the strengths lies in our principles and values, which allow everyone to commit themselves as much as they wish and to try to implement their ideas and projects, as long as they go in the right direction. Indeed, in anticipation of the Big Rebellion, organizing outreach/mobilizing actions (see appendix for examples) and trainings (NVDA, DNA, peacekeeping) should be a routine, in order to train rebels to organize themselves and enable people to experience empowerment (Hirsch 1988, cited by Neveu, 2019).

5.2. ORGANIZE ACTIONS

According to our 2021 "Birthing Strategy", we recommend that local groups organize actions that are specifically intended to mobilize the population to come to our Big Rebellion. These actions will have both an internal and an external goal. In the end, they should make it possible to recruit enough people to develop XR's core Strategy (Mass civil disobedience).

— **THE EXTERNAL GOAL** will be to mobilize and raise awareness by seeking to attract the attention and sympathy of the population, to inspire and recruit rebels.

— The internal goal will be to keep rebels motivated and prevent them from demobilising out of "boredom" by maintaining their "activist experience" (Neveu, 2019). Small actions, which do not always have to be illegal or take too long (see outreach & mobilization actions in the appendix for inspiration) are also here to train and engage new rebels. People are not converted through arguments but through adrenaline, by doing actions (Hallam, 2021).

For cities where the XR is not well known yet, a good start for the movement is to organize a big event. We have to keep in mind that high profile action can be a very efficient recruiting tool if they are well used. The first big action in a city should be very disruptive and visual¹⁰. Actions are more easily viewed if they are highly visible, dramatic, and disrupt normal institutional routines. (Hirsch, 1990 cited by McBay, 2019, p.159) It's a bit of a fad you can play with, visible,

¹⁰ In Lausanne, the first bridge blockades helped a lot to make the movement known at the beginning and to make it

grow quickly. As long as they remain disruptive and visual, other actions could also have the same impact.

amazing, theatrical tactics will be perceived as more powerful (McBay, 2019). The main idea is that people get what we are fighting for and that they see us positively enough to feel like joining. Within this framework a first splashy action does not aim to have a direct political effect. Repetition and the recurring presence of our movement in the public space will help people to engage. For instance, knowing that every Saturday there will always and always be small actions in a giving city can train people and create a routine as well as links between the newcomers and the rebels.

There is no pre-made mobilization plan with exact actions to be put in place as every region has its particularity. Connection and relationships of and between the people can also largely shape the movement as it is constructed. A recommended strategy is to **revisit your mobilization plan from time to time. Ask yourself what works and what to leave out.**

5.3. GIVE PEOPLE A “MENU OF CHOICES”

We value learning and people do not need to be experts in a specific domain to collaborate. In order to facilitate people's integration in the movement, we have noticed that predefined roles not only provide a sustainable structure for the movement, but also increase the rebels' commitment and sense of purpose in the movement. Providing a “Menu of Choices” and asking specific people directly to do tasks (Hallam, 2020) empowers people. Remember to communicate that having a role in a working group or taking part in actions with legal risks are only one of the multiple ways to participate. Different people can participate at different levels. Some people hate meetings, but love to attend demonstrations, others have no free time, but wish to contribute with money. A healthy group will encourage participation whatever people can offer and will show social recognition and appreciation when people work hard and do good work (McBay, 2019).

The level of engagement in the movement can be illustrated with circles (see appendix). The population that does not know us at all is outside the circles. The first level represents our supporters: Those are the people who have learned of the movement by hearing about a big action in their city, through visibility in the streets or the media. This first level is not mandatory as people may directly jump into the second one which occurs when people's awareness of the movement grows through all the technics and phenomenon described in this document (talks, house meetings, rebel-ringing, ...). After having gained knowledge and skills (e.g., by attending trainings), they may become part of the Mass Base: These are the people who participate in actions (participants). Rebels who have a good understanding of the Principles & Values, are willing to engage in learning processes, put their competencies at the service of the Rebellion and to spend several hours a week in coordination activities become activists. The latter may organize activities, actions, and trainings on a local scale. Finally, rebels who are ready to leave their job and engage full time in the Rebellion on a long term basis become Strategic planners on a national scale.



ENCOURAGE GROUP COHESION



"Mass movements are successful when people who hate each other join together for a common good" (Chris Hedges, cited by Hallam, 2019). What makes a mass of people come together is the feeling of being connected by a sense of common solidarity (Burns & Reimann, 2019). Strong emotional and relational bonds are thus essential to the success of any resistance movement (McBay, 2019). We can encourage the emergence of these bonds by following a group formation strategy based on personal human contacts, trust relationships, shared history of action, respect and care for everyone, and the freedom to create groups based on affinities (so called 'affinity groups') (Burns & Reimann, 2019; McBay, 2019).

The following tools are meant to help us create links, foster a sense of belonging and mutual trust.

1. PROMOTE OUR PRINCIPLES AND VALUES

Our [ten principles and values](#) serve to encourage group cohesion by creating a common core to which everyone that takes part in the Rebellion can identify. The principles and values have been designed to promote caring, respect and acceptance of each person while encouraging questioning, dialogue and learning. They are a basis for living and acting together. They can be transmitted via DNA-Trainings.

2. PROMOTE INTERPERSONAL CONTACTS

As emotional and personal connections increase the chance of mobilizing somebody, it is highly recommended to use interpersonal contacts for mobilization. Mainly friends and family seem to be promising because a strong emotional

connection is likely, but we can also reach out to our neighbors and colleagues in a direct and personal way. It seems that people are more willing to join an action if they know people who intend to do so too. "Most people find personal relationships and communities more rewarding than abstract ideology and they do not risk their lives in struggle on the basis of theory but on the basis of empathy, love courage, and rage" (McBay, 2019, p.159)

While mass media might help make the XR known widely in society, they aren't very helpful to motivate people to take action. Interpersonal relations like friendships are way more effective to recruit people for the action. Especially if it is a high risk or high-cost action like civil disobedience can be (Klandermans and Oegema, 1987).

The following structures help to encourage and value strong, positive and meaningful interpersonal relationships:

■ COMMUNITY GROUPS: Community groups are a way for rebels to connect and work together through communities of shared self-identity rather than of shared location (e.g., faith, profession, ethnicity and sexual identity). These sub-groups are of crucial importance in mobilization because they allow any type of profile to find a way to develop a sense of belonging to the XR. Some community groups already exist in Switzerland, like "Doctors for XR" or "Christian Climate Action". Find out [here](#) how to start an XR community group.

■ AFFINITY GROUPS: Affinity groups are essential to the well-being of the rebels and are part of the regenerative culture. Within affinity groups, rebels can create strong bonds, supporting each other before, during and after actions. Often the relationships that are created go beyond the activity of

rebeling. People also meet each other in their free time.

3. BE CLEAR, ACCESSIBLE AND INCLUSIVE

We will try to be inclusive for all groups, identities and individuals. All genders, people from small villages and big cities, with a Swiss or a foreign nationality, BIPOC (black, indigenous, and people of color), people of all religions, conservatives, socialists, liberals, farmers, bankers, teachers, office workers and many more. This isn't simply done by using a rather academic gender sensitive language in public communication but by practicing an open-minded regenerative culture, talking and listening to each other and becoming aware of one's own identity and privileges.

Following adaptation can help us to be more inclusive:

APPROACH SPECIFIC GROUPS WITH A MESSAGE THAT SPEAKS TO THEM IN SIMPLE AND CONCRETE LANGUAGE (e.g., appeal to religious frame for religious people, to economical consequences for small business people, etc. and welcome new rebels directly. Always try to create a connection to their reality so people can connect their own experience with the ecological crisis.

MAKE YOUR ACTIONS LOGISTICALLY ACCESSIBLE TO EVERYONE. This can for instance be made by a) choosing a date, time when most people can come b) organizing transport c) organizing childcare system d) communicate widely and in diverse contexts about an action (this means, not only where you know people will come) e) communicate about your actions and the organization well in advance, so people can get organized.



PAY ATTENTION TO DETAILS



Finally, it is said that the devil hides in the details. We believe there may be some truth in this. Hallam (2021) argues that micro design plays a very important role in mobilization. If we want to go all the way and put all the chances on our side, there are certain aspects that should not be neglected.

1. SET A STRATEGIC TIMELINE

Define a timeline for your local group (actions, events, etc.) and communicate about the planned events so the people always have the next steps in mind and can organize themselves (Hallam, 2020). For instance, after people participate in a newcomer-event or meeting, they should be invited to participate in a small and low risk action that only has the purpose of movement-building. Such actions should be organized regularly and *shortly after* new people have joined the movement and can also be seen as training actions. It is also recommended to organize talks immediately after a big action and to communicate about it *during* the action itself. Based on our experience, a timeline with the following structure might be effective:

- Organize an action → give the date of the next talk !
- Organize a talk → make people subscribe to the next NVDA Training
- Give a NVDA Training → build affinity groups → give the date of the next action
- Organize an action → give the date of the next talk !

2. TAKE CARE OF YOU AND OF OTHERS

And above all, if we must dedicate our life (or at least part of it) to preserving the world in which we live, we must not forget to also preserve ourselves and the people we love and value. Without taking care of ourselves and others, we risk failure. So let's not think that it's just "something to do besides if we have time". Caring and sharing must be present all the time, at all levels, with everyone. If we want to mobilize people, we must give them the opportunity to feel good among us, welcome them with open arms and nurture our relationships. The few details below are just some ways of expressing this:

- When someone comes into the space, welcome him or her within the first 30 seconds of their arrival (think of you arriving at a party where you don't know anyone...).
- Offer food, drinks, ...
- Ring the people, meet them "in real" rather than writing them.
- Talk about how you feel and ask others how they feel.
- Thank people for what they do.
- Celebrate and mention small victories. Notice the growth of the movement and the foundation of new local groups, be happy to get a meeting with your council in order to talk to them about citizens assemblies etc. Being able to demonstrate that we are capable of achieving small victories on a local scale is essential because it allows us (among other things) to anchor our "new approach" to the situation (Kotter, 1996). Kotter's theory of how to implement change can be used in the mobilization framework because, for many people, engaging in rebellion can be a great behavioral change.

CONCLUSION

In order to avoid extinction, we need change and we need it now. The only way to put the necessary pressure on the government to accept our legitimate demands is by mobilizing thousands and tens of thousands of people to engage in our nonviolent actions of civil disobedience. Mass mobilization is a strategy which implies that we stop having debates on violence vs. non-violence, left-wing or right-wing, etc. because those debates are only bound to prevent us from mobilizing certain parts of the population. The “XR” is not a club of people who have the same opinions, the “XR” is not an ideology, the “XR” is not “us” against another political party or against those who we consider to be the bad guys in society. The Rebellion is nothing else than a mass of people who are united to call together for the right to survive. **This is how we will succeed.**



with love and rage



CONTACT

For joining our working group or for any comments, remarks, critics, ideas, suggestions for modifications and/or add-ons:



massmobilizationch@riseup.net

To stay up to date with our latest cool Mass Mobilization tips, make sure to subscribe to our Mattermost and/or Telegram and/or Instagram Channel and follow us on Instagram by clicking on the following links:



<https://chat.xrebellion.ch/xr-switzerland/channels/massmobilizationch-news-tools-asks>



<https://t.me/massmobilizationCH>



https://www.instagram.com/xr_massmob/

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alleva, V. (2018, janvier). "On assiste à une renaissance des conflits sociaux en Suisse". *Swissinfo*. https://www.swissinfo.ch/fre/100-ans-de-la-grève-générale_-on-assiste-à-une-renaissance-des-conflits-sociaux-en-suisse-/43818258
- Beauvois, J.-L., & Dubois, N. (2001). Normativity and self-presentation: theoretical bases of self-presentation training for evaluation situations. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 16, 490-508.
- Bernd, S., Loewy, M. Stürmer, S., Weber, U., Freytag, P., Habig, C., Kampmeier, C. & Spahlinger, P. (1998). Collective identification and social movement participation. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 74(3), 646-658.
- Burns, D. & Reimann, C. (2019). Eine Bewegung aufbauen. In S. Fischer (dir.), *Wann wenn nicht wir: Eine Extinction Rebellion Handbuch* (p. 125-128). Frankfurt: Fisher Verlag.
- Chenoweth, E. & Stephan, M. J. (2011). *Why civil resistance works: The strategic logic of nonviolent conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Cialdini, R. B., Vincent, J. E., Lewis, S. K., Catalan, J., Wheeler, D., & Darby, B. L. (1975). Reciprocal concessions procedure for inducing compliance: The door-in-the-face technique. *Journal of personality and Social Psychology*, 31(2), 206-215.
- Cialdini, R.B (2007). *Influence. The Psychology of Persuasion*. New York: Harpers Collins.
- Cialdini, R. B. (2001). *Influence: Science and practice*. Boston, MA: Pearson Education.
- Degen, B. & Martin, P.-G. (2012). Grève générale. In *Dictionnaire Historique de la Suisse* (DHS). <https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/016533/2012-08-09/>
- Dubois, N. (1994). *La norme d'internalité et le libéralisme*. Grenoble : Presses Universitaires de Grenoble.
- Engler, M. & Engler, P. (2016). *This is an uprising*. New York: Bold Type Books.
- Freedman, J. L., & Fraser, S. C. (1966). Compliance without pressure: The foot-in-the-door technique. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 4(2), 195-202
- Gamson, W. A. (1995). Constructing social protest. In H. Johnston and B. Klandermans (ed.), *Social Movements and Culture: Social Movements, Protest and Contention*, (vol. 4, 85-106). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Giugni, M. (2019). *La Suisse dans la rue: mouvements, mobilisations, manifestants*. Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes.
- Giugni, M. (2020, décembre) (propos recueillis par Nadia Boehlen). Engagé·e pour la justice. *Amnesty: le magazine des droits humains*, (103), 12-13.
- Guéguen N. & Pascual A. (2000). « Evocation of freedom and compliance: The “But you are free of...” technique », *Current Research in Social Psychology*, 5, p. 264-270.
- Hallam, R. (2019). *Common sense for the 21st century: only nonviolent rebellion can stop climate breakdown and social collapse*. https://www.rogerhallam.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Common-Sense-for-the-21st-Century_by-Roger-Hallam-Download-version.pdf
- Hallam, R. (2020, 27th of december). Holocaust comments, Mobilisation and the Left [video].

- Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xe6DdJypqoM>
- Hallam, R, (2021). To be published.
- Jasper, J.M. (2011). Emotions and social movements : Twenty Years of Theory and research. *The annual review of sociology*, 37(14), 1-19.
- Jensen, D., Keith, L. & McBay, A. (2019). *Deep Green Resistance: un mouvement pour sauver la planète*. Editions LIBRE.
- Klandermans, B & Oegema, D. (1987). Potentials, networks, motivations, and barriers: Steps towards participation in social movements. *American Sociological Review*, 52(4), 519-531.
- Kotter, J. P. (1996). *Leading Change*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.
- Lewin K. (1947). Frontiers in Group Dynamics: Concept, Method and Reality in Social Science; Social Equilibria and Social Change. *Human Relations*, 1(1), 5-41.
- Neveu, E. (2019). *Sociologie des mouvements sociaux* (VIIème éd.). Paris: Editions la Découverte.
- Masse (s.d.). Dans Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales (CNRTL). <https://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/masse>
- McAdams, D. (1988). Micromobilization contexts and recruitment to activism. *International Social Movement Research*, 1, 125-154.
- Mobilisation (s.d.). Dans Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales (CNRTL). <https://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/mobilisation>
- Office fédéral de la justice (OFJ) (1999). *Constitution fédérale de la Confédération suisse du 18 avril 1999*. <https://fedlex.data.admin.ch/eli/oc/1999/40>
- Office fédéral de la statistique (OFS) (2020a, septembre). *Environnement. Statistiques de poche 2020*. <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/hub/api/dam/assets/13772662/master>
- Office fédéral de la statistique (OFS) (2020b, janvier). *Appréciation du danger des changements environnementaux et des technologies*. <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/espace-environnement/perception-population.assetdetail.11708768.html>
- Office fédéral de la statistique (OFS) (2020c, janvier). *Degré d'information sur des thèmes environnementaux*. <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/espace-environnement/perception-population.assetdetail.11708780.html>
- Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques (OCDE) (2019). *Panorama des administrations publiques 2019*. Paris: Éditions OCDE. <https://doi.org/10.1787/8be847c0-fr>
- Popovic, S. (2017). *Comment faire tomber un dictateur quand on est seul, tout petit, et sans armes*. Lausanne: Payot.
- Renou, X. (2010). *Désobéir par le rire*. Le passager clandestin.
- Sharp, Gene (1973). *The politics of Nonviolent Action*. Boston, MA: Porter Sargent.
- Stern, P.C., Dietz, T., Abel, T.D., Guagnano, G. & Kalof, L. (1999). A Value-Belief-Norm Theory of Support for Social Movements: The Case of Environmentalism. *Huxley College on the Peninsulas Publications*, 6(2), 81-97.
- Van Stekelenburg, J. & Klandermas, B. (2013). The social psychology of protest. *Current Sociology Review*, 0(0), 1-20.

Ziegler, B. & Meuwly, O. (2012). Mouvements sociaux. In
Dictionnaire Historique de la Suisse (DHS).
<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/043688/2012-11-07/>

APPENDICES

■■■Mobilization plan memo

■■■Circles of engagement

■■■Taxonomy of actions

■■■Outreach & mobilization actions and
methods ([**WORK IN PROGRESS...**](#))

MOBILIZATION PLAN MEMO

1 SITUATION

What is the **POPULATION**'s knowledge about the issue and the movement?

How many **REBELS** have already joined the rebellion ?

- Activists
- Participants

WHAT DO YOU NEED ?

(supporters, participants, activists, coordinators, strategic planners)

WHAT ARE YOUR RESOURCES?

(people · time · space · ...)

3 GOALS & STRATEGIES

EXTERNAL mobilization

GET IN TOUCH

when · where · how (adapt your message)

INTERNAL mobilization

2 TARGETS

POPULATION

COMMUNITIES

FRIENDS

NEIGHBOURS

FAMILY

ALLIES (Media · Organization, associations, unions · Culture and education)

RAISE AWARENESS

Organize HFX talks

short / long
outside / inside
in presence / online
serious / ironic
with / out XR branding
public / in private circles
...

BE CREATIVE

MOBILIZE FOR ACTION

Organize actions

See here for some suggestions

Organize trainings

NVDA / DNA



PAY ATTENTION TO

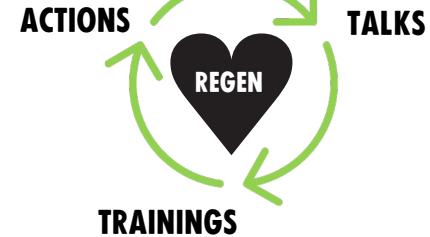
COMMUNICATE

widely, well in advance and personally

BE

humoristic · festive · courageous
sympathetic · aesthetic

4 TIMELINE



DON'T FORGET

Principles and values

Interpersonal contacts

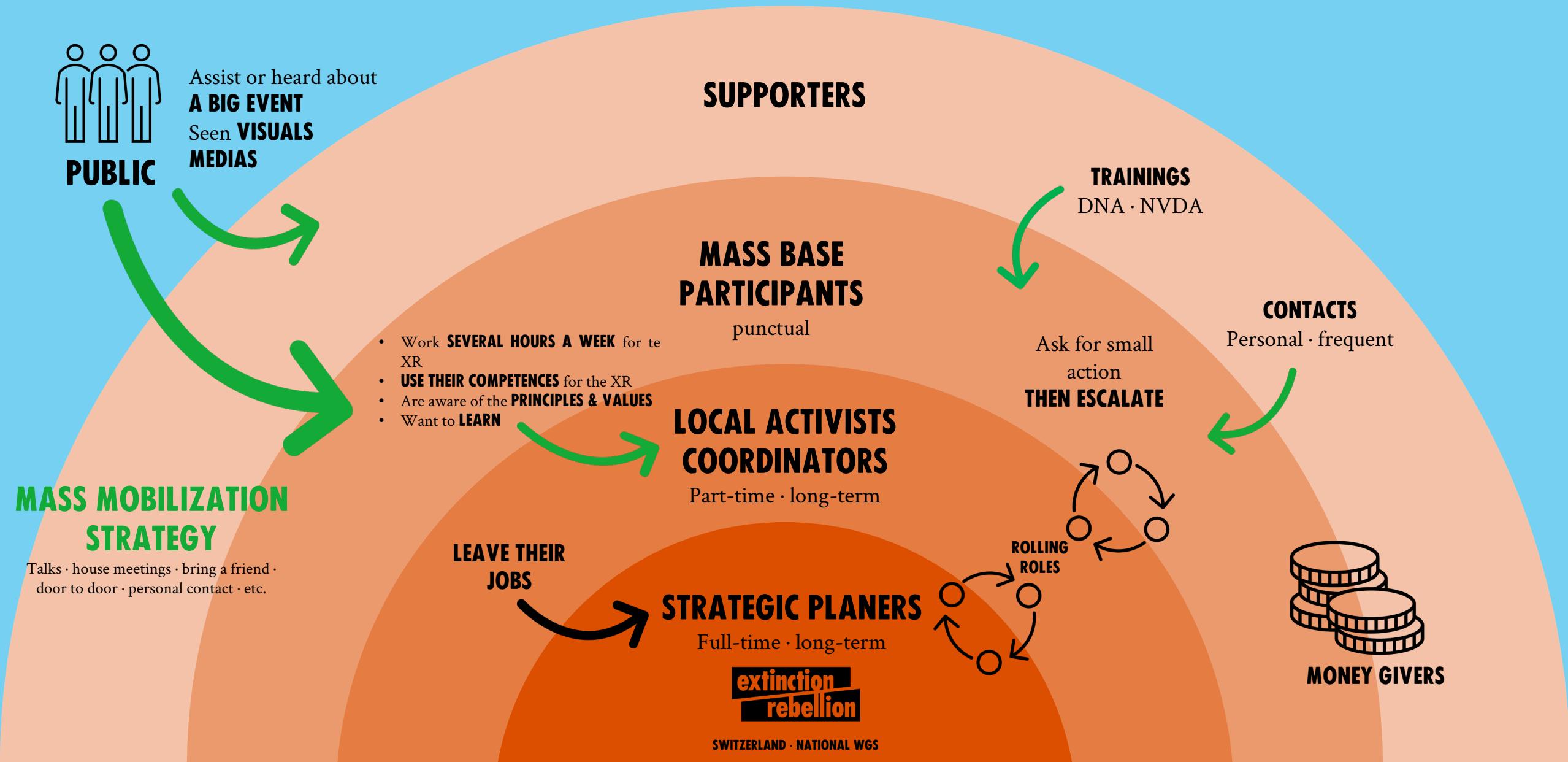
Accessibility and inclusivity

Care for you and others

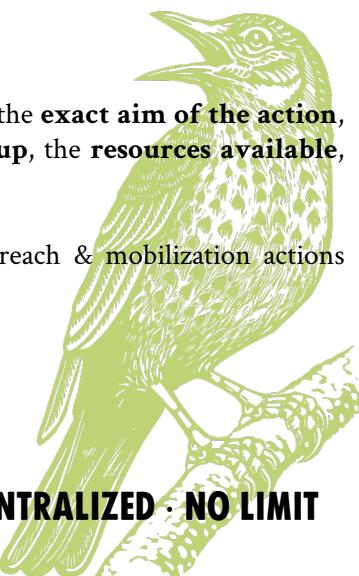
LOVE AND RAGE



CIRCLES OF ENGAGEMENT



TAXONOMY OF ACTIONS

OUTREACH & MOBILIZATION	POLITIC	DENUNCIATION	SABOTAGE	
OUTCOME	THE STATE	CONCERN AND THEIR EMPLOYEES, STATE, INDIVIDUALS	« THE ENEMY »	
EXAMPLES	Massive blockades Strikes Occupying strategic locations Demonstrations (authorized or not) Blocking economic activities Critical mass Petitions Lobbying Presence by government/parliament premises	Blocking/ Occupation in companies Occupation of stores Banners on companies Painting on companies Crime Scene Funeral procession Dumping waste (government, company) Speaking on behalf of "the enemy" (exaggeration) Staging of what is denounced	Deflate tires Liberate animals Blocking of supply Damage to merchandise Call to boycott Occupation of services essential to the proper functioning Degradation of material in stores (lid, etc.) Disruption of telecommunication means	
WHEN	<p>POPULATION</p> <p>About the issues</p> <p>TELL THE TRUTH</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• BRING PEOPLE TOGETHER• MOBILIZE people• OBTAİN THE SUPPORT of public opinion• DEMONSTRATING the future we want <p>TO BE CHOSEN REGARDING the exact aim of the action, the stage of the local group, the resources available, the targeted audience</p> <p>Check the document "outreach & mobilization actions and methods"</p> <p>ALL THE TIME · DECENTRALIZED · NO LIMIT</p> 	<p>POLITIC</p> <p>THE STATE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• FORCE the government to act• Create mass ECONOMIC DISRUPTION <p>BIG REBELLION · HIGH PROFILE strategically planed, only effectives when the critical mass is mobilized</p>	<p>DRAWING ATTENTION to specific issues</p> <p>Not XR's essence but can be used IN CERTAIN STRATEGIC AND WELL REFLECTED SITUATIONS. Can be very harmful to the movement.</p>	<p>Have a direct impact, CAUSE DAMAGE AND EXPENSE TO THE OPPONENT</p> <p>NOT XR</p>