

‘Elitist, Woke and Idiotic Fanatics’

A Content Analysis of the Media Rhetoric about Just Stop Oil

**This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of
the degree of BSc in Politics and International Relations**

School of Sociology, Politics and International Studies
University of Bristol

Student Number: 2219959

Academic Year: 2024-25

Unit: POLI31555

Supervisor: Professor Eric Herring

Word count: 9987

**I declare that the research contained herein was granted approval by the SPAIS Ethics
Working Group**

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Professor Eric Herring for the generosity of his time and for his thoughtful guidance during the writing of this project. I would also like to thank my parents for their constant support and encouragement. And to Eily, thank you for being there for me through it all.

Abstract

Current research on environmental politics in the UK suggests that there is a growing populist backlash against the climate agenda. This research has focused on the ways in which populist actors have attempted to dismantle and discredit climate policy as an elite project that is against the interests of the British people. This dissertation assesses whether a similar populist backlash has also impacted the climate activist movement, using a case study of the organisation Just Stop Oil. Just Stop Oil emerged in 2022, around the same time as the populist backlash, and thus it provides an ideal case for measuring if the backlash affects the climate movement.

Using a content analysis of opinion articles in four right-wing newspapers, as well as the tweets of commentators on X, this project found that the right-wing media used a high degree of populist rhetoric to frame Just Stop Oil. Just Stop Oil activists were framed in various ways as an out-of-touch elite that was cruelly inconveniencing ordinary people. However, unlike the literature, which argues that this populist backlash is simply sceptical of climate policy, this study found that the othering of Just Stop Oil activists also resulted in narratives of climate scepticism and denial.

Overall, this populist media hostility to Just Stop Oil is concerning as it suggests that the organisation, rather than acting simply as a positive force for progressing the climate agenda, has provided a vehicle for the media to enact an even more extreme and popular version of populist hostility to the climate agenda

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	3
Table of Contents.....	4
Abbreviations and Figures.....	5
Chapter 1: Introduction...../.....	6
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	10
Populism.....	10
Climate Populism.....	11
Just Stop Oil.....	13
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	15
Media	15
Data Collection.....	16
Content Analysis.....	19
Chapter 4: Results.....	21
Chapter 5: Discussion.....	28
People vs Elites.....	28
Climate Change.....	35
Chapter 6: Conclusion.....	41
Bibliography.....	44

Abbreviations

JSO – Just Stop Oil

Figures

Figure 1 – Word Cloud: ‘Middle-Class Protestors’

Figure 2 – Word Cloud: ‘Self-Righteous Protestors’

Figure 3 - Word Cloud: ‘Ordinary People’

Figure 4 - Word Cloud: ‘Public Disruption’

Figure 5 - Word Cloud: ‘Weak Policing’

Figure 6 - Word Cloud: ‘Fanatic Protestors’

Figure 7 - Word Cloud: ‘Hysterical Protestors’

Figure 8 – Word Cloud: ‘Lunatic Protestors’

Chapter 1: Introduction

Climate change is ‘the greatest threat the world has ever faced’ (United Nations, 2022), and combatting climate disaster requires a ‘collective social effort’ (Schulz-Tomančok and Woschnagg, 2024; 2). Despite this urgency, there is a growing consensus in the literature that in the United Kingdom, since around 2021, there has been an increasing populist backlash towards the climate agenda (Atkins, 2022; Paterson, Wilshire and Tobin, 2024). This backlash has been primarily organised by a small number of backbenchers in the Conservative Party who founded the ‘Net Zero Scrutiny Group’ (Paterson et al, 2024; 3). Their campaign has also been bolstered by the growth of Reform UK, which calls for an end to all Net Zero policies (Reform UK, 2024) as well as through grassroots opposition around specific local issues such as the Ultra Low Emission Zone in London or Low Traffic Neighbourhoods (Paterson et al, 2024; 3). This backlash represents a concerning shift, as the UK has generally been seen as a relative leader in climate policy (Tobin, 2017; 37).

These organised actors have used explicitly populist language to reframe climate policies as an elite, out-of-touch project that is against the interests of the British people. Throughout this dissertation, I refer to this phenomenon as ‘climate populism’, building on Atkins’ (2022) term ‘Net-Zero populism’. Although the group organising this backlash remains small, it has had a significant impact on the climate policy of both the Conservative and Labour parties, who have both watered down their climate commitments in the name of helping ‘the people’ (Paterson et al, 2024; 4). It has also resonated with the public particularly well due to the ongoing cost of living crisis in the UK (Atkins, 2022; 3). In April 2025, polling showed that 29% of the public believed that environmental spending should be reduced, compared to just 10% in 2020 (YouGov, 2025). Furthermore, while polling on public attitudes shows that the majority of the UK population remains concerned about climate change, there is a growing

minority of people who are becoming more apathetic. Polling in July 2023 showed that 23% of people were ‘not concerned about climate change’, up from 15% the year earlier (Ipsos, 2023). Climate policy requires significant public support (Bernauer and McGrath, 2016; 680), and so this growing lack of concern is worrying.

The academic literature on climate populism in the UK has generally focused on the impact of the populist backlash on UK government policy (Paterson, Wilshire and Tobin, 2024; Atkins, 2022). However, this means it has overlooked other areas that may be crucial for a strong climate agenda. Climate movements are a critical way that governments are pushed to enact an ambitious climate agenda (Stammen and Meissner, 2024; 19). However, the literature has not assessed whether the populist backlash has also targeted the climate movement. Therefore, this dissertation fills this gap in the literature by assessing whether the populist backlash has also targeted the climate movement, using a study of the organisation Just Stop Oil (JSO).

Just Stop Oil is a radical climate activist organisation that used dramatic acts of civil disobedience between February 2022 and April 2025 to pressure the UK government to stop new oil and gas licences (Just Stop Oil, no date). The organisation’s emergence in early 2022 coincided with the development of the populist backlash to the climate agenda in the UK. Therefore, it provides a useful case study to assess whether this populist backlash also impacted the climate movement. Moreover, polling shows that 64% of the public have an unfavourable opinion of Just Stop Oil, in comparison to just 17% who have a favourable opinion (YouGov, 2023). This is concerning, as winning public support is key for activist movements to enact social change (Wouters 2018; 403). Therefore, it is important to

understand how the organisation is being framed, to assess whether a populist backlash has undermined their public support.

In their campaign of direct action, Just Stop Oil targeted sporting events, such as the Ashes and the British Grand Prix; cultural events, such as plays and musicals; targeted artworks including Van Gogh's *Sunflowers*; and blockaded major roads (Davison, 2025). These dramatic protests aimed to garner significant media attention for the organisation to achieve its goal (Just Stop Oil, no date). Therefore, in this study, I assess their framing in the media, using both newspapers and posts on X (formerly Twitter). While academic research indicates that climate populist narratives have strong support in the UK right-wing media (Paterson, Wilshire and Tobin, 2024; 333), this has not been assessed further in the literature. Therefore, this study contributes to the literature by assessing the extent to which this is true, and beyond this, whether the media itself uses populist rhetoric. My research question thus asks: 'To what extent does the UK right-wing media use populist rhetoric to frame Just Stop Oil?'

Drawing both on the literature on climate populism, as well as literature on populism more broadly, my research found that the media used a high degree of populist rhetoric to frame Just Stop Oil. The populist rhetoric reflected the finding of earlier literature that the climate agenda has been framed as elitist and against the interests of the people, with JSO activists described as an elite attacking the ordinary people. However, going beyond the previous literature on climate populism, my study found that the significant othering of Just Stop Oil activists also led to a climate denialist framing, whereby the urgency of the climate crisis was undermined. Both elements may have concerning implications for broader public attitudes to the climate agenda.

Following this introduction, Chapter Two situates my research within the broader literature on populism. Chapter Three illustrates my methodology, then in Chapter Four I display my findings. In Chapter Five, I discuss these results, and the extent to which populist rhetoric was used.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Populism

Populism has received significant levels of academic attention in recent years, particularly following both the Brexit referendum in the UK and the election of Donald Trump in the USA in 2016. In fact, Bobba et al (2025; 181) note that it has become a ‘pervasive concept’ in academic literature. However, it is commonly suggested that populism is a contested idea (Akkerman, Mudde, Zaslove, 2014; 1396). Cas Mudde’s 2004 paper *The Populist Zeitgeist* contributed to somewhat ‘unifying’ the field (Hunger and Paxton, 2021; 619). Mudde (2004; 543) defined populism as a ‘thin-centred ideology’ that divides society into ‘pure people’ and a ‘corrupt elite’ and suggested that politics exists to protect the ‘general will of the people’. Both of the key elements of Mudde’s definition of populism, ‘people centrism’ and ‘anti-elitism’, are understood flexibly in the wider literature. The ‘people’ could refer to a nation, the ‘ordinary’ people, or an ethnically distinct people (Brubaker, 2017; 359), while the ‘elites’ could be defined in political, cultural or economic terms (Rooduijn, 2014; 727). However, it is generally understood that central to populism is the ‘moral antagonism’ between these two groups, whereby the elites are actively presented as evil (Hunger, 2024; 4, Mudde, 2004; 544)

While this minimal understanding of populism has become influential, it has received several important critiques. Some scholars argue that populism requires the othering of an outgroup, and critique Mudde’s definition for focusing purely on the people versus the elites (Brubaker, 2017; 362, Albertazzi and McDonnell, 2008: 3). This is particularly important as research suggests that the populist message is most effective when it involves outgroup discrimination (Hameleers and Schmuck, 2017; 1438). Furthermore, the understanding of populism as an ‘ideology’ has also been challenged for its narrow applicability to electoral politics (Aslanidis, 2016; 96). In response to this limitation, other scholars have used different

frameworks, including populism as a political strategy (Weyland, 2001; 12), or as a discourse (Aslanidis, 2016; 96). In this dissertation, I draw on Mudde's definition of populism, though I also recognise the othering of outgroups as a core element. I also take populism to be a style of communication rather than an ideology (Jagers and Walgrave, 2007; 321) and use the term 'populist rhetoric', following Bos and Brants (2014; 706). This term captures the flexibility of populism and highlights that populist rhetoric is often used opportunistically to mobilise public support, rather than due to a genuine belief in its truth (Choi, 2025; 3).

Climate Populism

Populist actors have been found to impact many areas, including immigration policy (Akkerman, 2012; 511) and liberal democracy (Huber and Schimpf, 2016; 886). However, there is now a growing consensus in the literature that populist actors are also often hostile to the climate agenda (Lockwood, 2018; Forchtner, 2019; Huber, 2020; Böhmelt, 2021). This connection was first theorised by Matthew Lockwood (2018) who traced the connection between right wing populist parties and climate scepticism. Lockwood theorised that an ideological account, which emphasises hostility towards a cosmopolitan elite and the complexity of climate change, was the most compelling explanation of this connection (Lockwood, 2018; 713). Lockwood's theory has since been developed by the literature, and scholars similarly argue that because climate policy tends to be 'technical, abstract, and elite-driven', it presents an ideal target for populists (Huber, Fesenfeld and Bernauer 2020; 374).

Until more recently, scholars have not focused attention on climate populism in the UK. This is because UK has traditionally been viewed as a 'relative leader' in climate policy (Tobin, 2017; 37), and opposition to the climate agenda has remained marginal (Paterson, Wilshire and Tobin, 2024; 332). However, there is an emerging literature that argues that there is

evidence of growing populist hostility to climate policy in the UK. This literature has looked at the link between populist attitudes and climate scepticism on the individual level (Huber, 2020), but more often on the impact of populist rhetoric on government policy, especially the UK's Net Zero policy plan (Atkins, 2022; Paterson, Wilshire and Tobin, 2024). Scholars note that Net Zero has been constructed by populist actors as against the interests of ordinary British people, an argument which has resonated particularly well due to the ongoing cost-of-living crisis in the UK (Atkins, 2022; 3). The literature generally emphasises that this populist backlash represents a form of scepticism around climate policies, rather than outright denial of the existence of climate change (Nadal, 2024; 1187).

Despite these insights, two important areas remain unexplored. First, the narrow focus of the majority of this literature on government policy has meant that other areas that are important for the climate agenda have been neglected. Social movements are a vital way that governments are pushed to enact strong climate policy (Stammen and Meissner, 2024; 19). However, the impact of the growing populist hostility to the climate agenda has not been explored in regard to its impact on climate activist movements. Occasionally, studies of climate populism in Europe have noted in passing that the wave of climate activism in 2019 increased the saliency of the climate change issue for populist actors (Schwörer and Fernández-García, 2024; 1185). However, the existence of explicit populist rhetoric against the climate movement has not been assessed. Given the increasing populist hostility to the climate agenda in the UK, an understanding of whether this also creates hostility towards the climate movement is essential. Therefore, this dissertation adds to the literature by assessing the extent of populist hostility towards the climate activist group Just Stop Oil.

Second, while Paterson, Wilshire and Tobin (2024; 333) assert that climate populist narratives have strong support in the conservative media, this is not subject to further scrutiny. This is a significant oversight, as Mazzoleni (2003; 2) suggests that without studying media communication, it is impossible to gain a full understanding of populism. This is especially pertinent as evidence suggests that attitudes on climate change are shaped by the media, rather than the research of climate scientists (Ridanpää, 2022; 2). Furthermore, the scholars merely suggest that the right-wing media ‘supports’ climate populist narratives, reflecting the broader consensus in the literature that the media often provides a supportive platform for populist figures (Krämer, 2014; 42, Mudde, 2004; 554). However, this study moves beyond this perspective by examining whether the media actively employs populist rhetoric itself, what Bos and Brants (2014; 707) term ‘populism by the media.’ This area remains underexplored in the study of populism (Hameleers, Vos and de Vreese, 2017; 1146). Therefore, this dissertation aims to fill these gaps in the literature by assessing the use of populist rhetoric in the media framing of Just Stop Oil.

Just Stop Oil

Just Stop Oil has been the most prominent climate activist movement in the UK since its inception in 2022. However, there has been a very limited academic literature about the organisation, and it has been generally focused solely on Just Stop Oil’s protests on art. Both Lopez and Davis (2024) and Collins and Chevrette (2024) engaged with the legitimacy of climate protests on art, while Niceforo (2024) assessed social media hate speech following the Just Stop Oil protest on Van Gogh’s *Sunflowers*. These papers made interesting contributions in assessing protests on art, but Just Stop Oil have used many more methods of civil disobedience than just attacks on art. Their campaign has included significant blockades of major roads, as well as disruption of cultural events such as West-End plays and sporting

events including the Ashes and the British Grand Prix (Davison, 2025). Therefore, the narrow focus of these papers on just the Sunflower protest represents a significant limitation.

Furthermore, while Niceforo (2024) assessed media hostility towards JSO by analysing hate speech on X, the focus of this on the Sunflowers protest meant that the scope of her analysis of hostility was limited. The level of intense hostility that Just Stop Oil has faced has been significant across their entire campaign of civil disobedience, so it cannot be explained simply by public hostility to the destruction of art. Therefore, this dissertation provides an original contribution to the literature by systematically assessing how the media has framed Just Stop Oil's actions across a period of almost three years. By applying the literature on climate populism to the media rhetoric about Just Stop Oil, this project aims to develop a broader understanding of climate populism, including its use in the media and in relation to the climate movement.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Media

This study assessed the extent to which the media used populist rhetoric in their coverage of Just Stop Oil. Analysing the content of the media was important for this study because, as Koopmans (2004; 368) observes, the public most often encounter activist movements through the media, rather than in their own lives. This is particularly true of Just Stop Oil, as the organisation explicitly aimed for their protests to gain media attention (Just Stop Oil, no date). In their analysis of Just Stop Oil's *Sunflowers* protest, Lopez and Davis (2024) similarly argue for the importance of studying the media framing of JSO. The authors argue persuasively that the public 'did not smell the soup' that was thrown over the painting, but instead witnessed a 'mediated event', reliant on the information of newspapers and social media to form their understanding of the action (Lopez and Davis, 2024; 1). Many of Just Stop Oil's actions have been far more disruptive to the public than the Sunflowers protest, such as their blockade of the M25 which caused 'nearly 51,000 hours of driver delay' (Symonds, 2024). However, I argue that these protests are also 'mediated events' as the vast majority of the British public still only witnessed this event through its coverage in the media.

In order to assess the media rhetoric about Just Stop Oil, I analysed content from both newspapers and tweets on X. While newspapers are declining in circulation, they remain a key platform for framing issues and debates to the wider public (Heslehurst et al, 2022; 2). I focused on newspaper editorials and opinion articles, following Hameleers, Vos and de Vreese (2019; 1159) who found that this form of journalism was most likely to reveal populist rhetoric due to the interpretative ability of the journalist to reframe issues. In addition, op-eds are specifically designed to influence public attitudes, and evidence suggests that they are effective at doing so (Coppock, Ekins and Kirby, 2018; 82). Therefore, this

meant that the interpretations in these articles could have a significant impact on public attitudes.

Alongside my newspaper data, it was also important to study how the protests were framed by commentators on social media. This is because evidence suggests that climate sceptics are more likely to reject mainstream newspapers and use social media (Andi, 2020; 55), and therefore assessing social media meant that their hostility could be revealed. X was chosen as the site for this, as it is a social media platform that is used primarily for sharing and discussing news (Fownes, Yu and Margolin, 2018; 2). X was also used because evidence suggests that debates on X tend to be highly polarised (Williams et al, 2015; 127), and therefore it was likely to reveal populist hostility to Just Stop Oil.

Data Collection

My data was sampled in a time period from February 2022, when Just Stop Oil was founded, to December 2024. This extensive time period of almost three years allowed me to assess the rhetoric about the organisation throughout almost their entire campaign of civil disobedience. This meant that I could analyse the long-term patterns in rhetoric and I could note any changes in reporting. This is in contrast to previous studies (Niceforo, 2024; Lopez and Davis, 2024) which focused on single protest events that could be outliers in the framing of the group.

My newspaper data was sourced from four newspapers: *The Telegraph*, *The Times*, *The Daily Mail* and *The Sun*. Ofcom data shows that as of 2023, these were the most highly read right-wing national newspapers in the UK, including both digital and print (Ofcom, 2023). Only right-wing newspapers were chosen for this project, which was somewhat limited, as hostility

to JSO may be found across the ideological spectrum. However, evidence suggests that it is only right-wing populist actors that project climate populist narratives (Lockwood, 2018; 714). Therefore, for the scope of this dissertation, I only focused on the right. Furthermore, these newspapers still reflect a variety of ideological viewpoints, with for example, *The Times* closer to the centre, and *The Telegraph* further to the right (Ponsford, 2024). Moreover, these newspapers represented both broadsheets (*The Telegraph*, *The Times*) and tabloids (*The Daily Mail*, *The Sun*), which also provided a balanced and interesting comparison.

I used Factiva to access these newspapers. In order to sample data from such a large dataset, I began by sourcing all the op-ed pieces of each newspaper that were explicitly focused on Just Stop Oil. Initially, I restricted my selection by only including articles with ‘Just Stop Oil’ in the title. However, having reflected on my research, I also accepted articles that used more flexible synonyms for the group in the title (such as ‘climate-militants’ or ‘eco-zealots’). This method was somewhat limited as I could not account for articles that discussed the organisation using less common or more indirect terms in the title. However, the use of key search terms meant that the articles maintained an explicit focus on the organisation. This sampling gave me a total of 16 editorials. Secondly, I made a random sample of seven opinion writers for each newspaper. They were screened to ensure that each writer had written about Just Stop Oil at least once. Using seven randomly sampled writers from each newspaper gave me a manageable but diverse sample size for within each newspaper, allowing me to account for similarities and differences in their narratives, but also giving me enough scope for detailed analysis. I collected all their articles about the group, which amounted to 56 opinion pieces. In total, I analysed 72 newspaper articles.

On X, I analysed the tweets of 15 right-wing commentators. Using social media data for academic research is widely understood to have ethical complications, as the line between public and private data is blurred (Mason and Singh, 2022; 94). However, I only wanted to use public commentators on X who could be assumed to want to reach as wide an audience as possible. Therefore, I screened each individual to make sure they had at least 100,000 followers in order to ensure this. This meant that the data could be assumed to be in the public domain and thus negated potential ethical issues (Townsend and Wallace, 2016; 10). I also ensured that each individual had tweeted about JSO a minimum of 3 times. This meant that I could identify consistent themes in the framing, as if someone had only referenced the organisation once, their comment could be an outlier. In total, I collected 128 tweets from 15 commentators. The higher number of tweets reflects the fact that tweets are shorter in length than news articles and thus required more to analyse a similar quantity of content.

In order to source my X data, I began by creating a new account. I then first searched the name of one of my newspaper opinion writers. Using X's advanced search function, I used this name alongside 'Just Stop Oil' to source all their tweets about the group. I collected all of their tweets about the organisation within the same time frame as my newspaper articles, although I excluded any tweets which simply reported the information about protests without an opinion given. To collect this data from an extensive group of commentators, I used X's algorithm of suggestions of 'who to follow' to collect a group of 15 commentators. The explanation X gives for its 'who to follow' algorithm is relatively opaque, which somewhat limits this methodology. However, there is a number of criteria that it is based on. First, the suggestions are based on your contacts, email or phone number (X Help Center, no date). To avoid my previous connections interfering with my results, I created a new X account and turned off 'discoverability and contacts'.

The second key aspect it is based on is your ‘activity on X’, including posts and individuals that you interact with or view (X Help Center, no date). This was helpful, as it meant that once I had viewed one of my opinion writers’ tweets, the algorithm then continued to suggest that I follow an interconnected group of commentators. It was important that the commentators I chose were connected as I wanted to analyse the patterns in their framing of Just Stop Oil. This method was also useful as it reflects how X creates echo chambers, by suggesting accounts that reinforce the user’s beliefs. This was interesting as research suggests that echo chambers on social media often move the entire group to more extreme positions (Cinelli et al, 2020; 1). This meant that my X data could show a more extreme rhetoric than the newspapers.

Content Analysis

Following my data collection, I analysed my data using content analysis. Content analysis is a research technique that aims to make ‘replicable and valid inferences from texts’ (Krippendorff, 2013; 24). It does not refer simply to counting specific words on a page but instead undertaking a detailed analysis of language to classify it into categories with similar meanings (Weber, 1990; 71). Content analysis is a widely used methodology for studying the presence of populism in the media (Rooduijn, 2014; Rooduijn and Pauwels, 2011; Hameleers, Vos and de Vreese, 2019). Therefore, this made it the most appropriate method for this study. Content analysis was also used due to its ‘unique’ flexibility in being able to use both inductive and deductive codes (Cho and Lee, 2014; 4). Initially, I began with certain deductive populist frames I was looking for. Following Rooduijn and Pauwels’ (2011) content analysis of populism in political parties, I used two central deductive codes: ‘people centrism’ and ‘anti-elitism’. However, I also remained open to other potential codes that would emerge inductively so that I would not overlook themes which had not already been established.

Although this was limited as it relied on coder subjectivity and therefore was less replicable (Semetko and Valkenberg, 2000; 94), it was necessary due to the lack of literature on this subject area. Having coded the data, I then grouped this into larger content categories and quantified these categories. The results are presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Results

In this chapter, I present the results of my content analysis of tweets and newspaper articles.

Data is displayed both quantitatively and qualitatively, following Shoemaker and Reese (1996; 32) who note that reducing detailed texts into purely quantitative data can remove nuances and thus may not convey the full meaning of the text. Therefore, alongside the quantitative number that the frames were used, I illustrate the theme with several exemplary quotations. Where appropriate for the data, word clouds were used to visually highlight the frequency of individual words, with larger words indicating a higher frequency.

Privileged Protestors

The privileged identity of the Just Stop Oil protestors was discussed in 19% of the articles and tweets. They were most commonly referred to as ‘middle-class’, but also as ‘privileged’ and as having attended private school. Some also mentioned their names: ‘Cressidas and Phobes’ (Chesterton, 2024a); ‘Jaspers and Emilys’ (Leckie, 2023). The depiction of protestors as privileged often took on a derogatory tone: ‘Entitled, arty-farty, privileged, over-educated halfwits’ (Daubney, 2022a); ‘spoiled, upper middle-class brats’ (Farage, 2022b).

Alongside being presented as privileged and middle-class, the activists were described as ‘woke’ and were connected to other left-wing causes: ‘Eco-activists and woke culture warriors have run riot’ (Hume, 2022); ‘the public are heartily sick of these woke, progressive disruptors inflicting the extremism of their myriad causes upon us’ (Moir, 2024a). This was noted in 13% of the data sources.

The middle-class, privileged identity of the protesters was also often linked to the protestors acting in a performative way: ‘these protests are every bit as much a middle-class rite of

passage as a gap year in Thailand’ (Leckie, 2023), or as being self-entitled: ‘sanctimonious self-entitled prats’ (Habib, 2024). It was also often suggested that the activists thought that they were morally superior by taking part in civil disobedience: ‘they are pure performance, staged to demonstrate the player's ethical superiority.’ (Hume, 2023). This framing of protestors as ‘self-righteous’ ‘performative’ or ‘sanctimonious’ occurred in 23% of the articles.

The protestors’ privileged identity was also linked to them being described as hypocritical: ‘These middle-class hypocrites want us all to suffer, while they all go on expensive holidays.’ (Harris, 2023h); ‘How committed are they to their cause, I wonder, when it comes to multiple holidays abroad, a Range Rover on the drive and an Aga in the second kitchen?’ (Hume, 2023). This hypocrisy frame was used in 9% of the data sources.

The association with being privileged was also connected by some sources to Just Stop Oil’s funding by the Climate Emergency Fund, which was described as an organisation of ‘millionaire luvvies’ (The Sun, 2024g). This was noted in 5% of the sources.

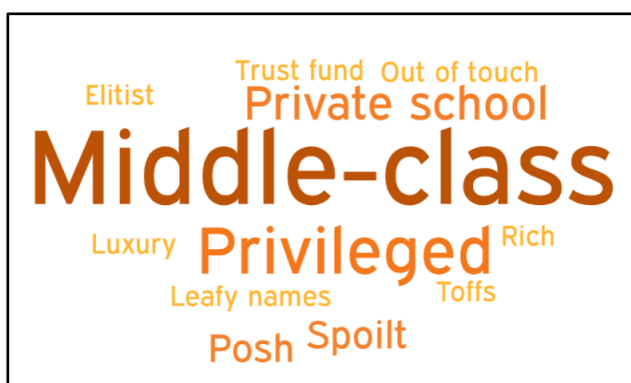


Figure 1

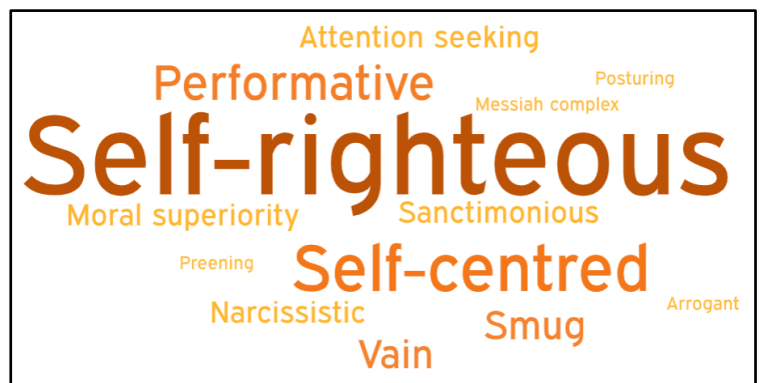


Figure 2

Impact of Protests

26% of articles and tweets noted the impact of Just Stop Oil's civil disobedience on the public. When referring to the people impacted by civil disobedience, the terms 'ordinary', 'working-class' or 'hard-working' people were used most often. Some commentators also set up an explicit divide between the protestors' privileged status and the individuals who were impacted by them: 'rich hooligans bullying the working class just trying to get by' (Corcoran, 2023d); 'The haves putting their boots to the necks of the have-nots' (Daubney, 2023a).

Commentators also noted specific aspects of disruption to the public. Protests were noted to have stopped people getting to funerals (Woods, 2024b), stopping ambulances getting by (The Times, 2024b) and making people miss their cancer appointments (Rose, 2022b). Alongside blocking specific events, protestors were simply portrayed as causing general unhappiness to the public: 'Just Stop Oil...are causing widespread misery' (Young, 2022e); 'harassing, provoking and inconveniencing the ordinary citizen' (Long, 2024b).

Commentators also noted the impact of the protests by noting the cost to the taxpayer of policing them. For example, one commentator suggested that the protests had 'used up 23,500 police officer shifts and cost the taxpayer £7.7 million' (Harris, 2023g). This cost was noted in 5% of the data sources.

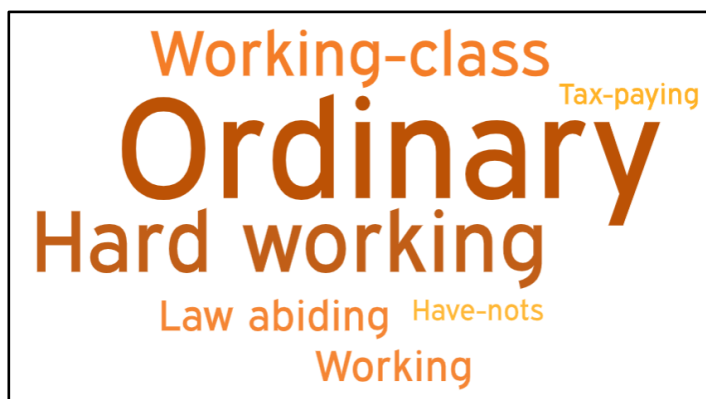


Figure 3



Figure 4

Weak Policing

19% of the data sources suggested that the policing of Just Stop Oil protests was weak and not harsh enough to the protestors. For example, one commentator suggested that the ‘futile lack of action around groups like Just Stop Oil shows just how toothless our policing has become.’ (Wootton, 2022). Other commentators broadened their criticism to the wider establishment: ‘Most judges, lawyers and police are criminally soft on them’ (Hume, 2023). In fact, often the commentators suggested that the police were actively supporting the activists: ‘UK police serve as their personal bodyguards’ (Wide Awake Media, 2024b); ‘police are pandering to middle-class militants’ (Woods, 2023a).

For some, the reason for the weak police response was that the police were ‘woke’ and biased towards left-wing protestors: ‘biased, woke policing’ (Atherton, 2023a); ‘they never deal robustly with Left-wing activists’ (Walden, 2022). More commonly, commentators suggested that the weak police response was because the protestors were middle-class: ‘If working class lads in football tops repeatedly broke the law, vandalised, you would be glad to see them jailed - it’s classism’ (Corcoran, 2024g); ‘If they were working-class folk on the tracks protesting instead against illegal migration, they’d have been in the clink. Laws selectively applied!’ (Grimes, 2023e).

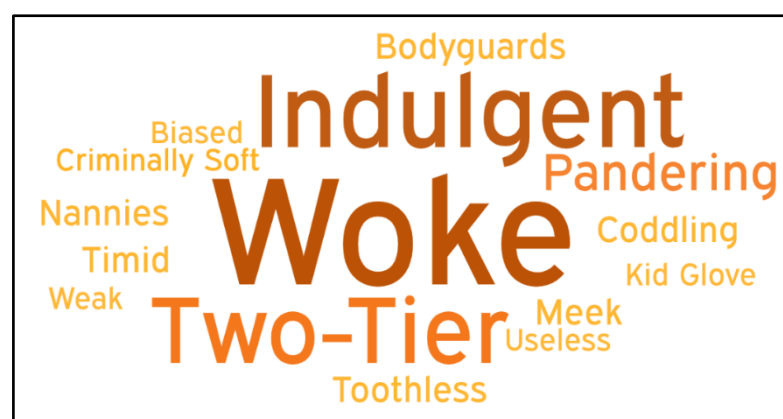


Figure 5

Punitive Rhetoric

Following the suggestion that police had failed to adequately tackle JSO protestors, some commentators declared that the public should step in: ‘If the police don’t do it, after all, the public will’ (Deacon, 2022). When members of the public did attempt to remove activists, this was celebrated: ‘Scaffolder Louis Grieves acted for millions when he leapt from his van to clear Just Stop Oil's apocalypse fantasists’ (The Sun, 2024h); ‘A member of the public chucks water over Just Stop Oil protestors and calls them a bunch of arseholes. Give this man a knighthood’ (Harris, 2023).

In addition to this celebration, a common theme was commentators calling for significant jail sentences for the activists: ‘Every single one involved in blocking roads should be flung into jail.’ (Oakeshott, 2022a); ‘Lock up the sanctimonious self-entitled prats and throw away the key’ (Habib, 2024). When the activists did get imprisoned, this was celebrated as a victory for the people: ‘GOOD NEWS Five Just Stop Oil members - including one of its co-founders - have been jailed for between four and five years’ (Corcoran, 2024c). This punitive rhetoric was used in 10% of the data sources.

Extreme Activists

The most common frame of the activists was that they were too extreme about the issue of climate change. Activists were described as ‘fanatics’, ‘zealots’, and ‘extremists’ in 32% of all tweets and articles. Some commentators also emphasised the threat of this fanaticism: ‘deranged eco-terrorist cult’ (Wootton, 2022). The protestors’ extreme nature was often contrasted with the moderate nature of the public: ‘The protesters are fanatical and unreasoning in a way that is alien to our experience’ (Glover, 2022).

The activists were also portrayed as too fearful about climate change. They were described as ‘hysterical’ and ‘doom-mongers’ in 9% of the sources. One editorial described the protestors as: ‘unscientific, hyperbolic doom-mongering...shrieking about “genocide” and Earth being "on fire"' (The Sun, 2023a), while another noted the ‘hysterical, environmentalist alarmism’ (Young, 2023f).

Alongside being described as hysterical, Just Stop Oil activists were also more broadly depicted as ‘idiots’ or ‘lunatics’. This was noted in 20% of all sources. For example, one editorial wrote ‘Where does this lunatic outfit find so many Grade-A imbeciles?’ (The Sun, 2024g). In a similar vein, another framing was that the activists were acting like children. They were described as ‘spoilt overgrown children’ (Deacon, 2022b); and their civil disobedience was depicted as a ‘temper tantrum’ (Grant, 2023). This frame was used in 5% of the sources.



Figure 6

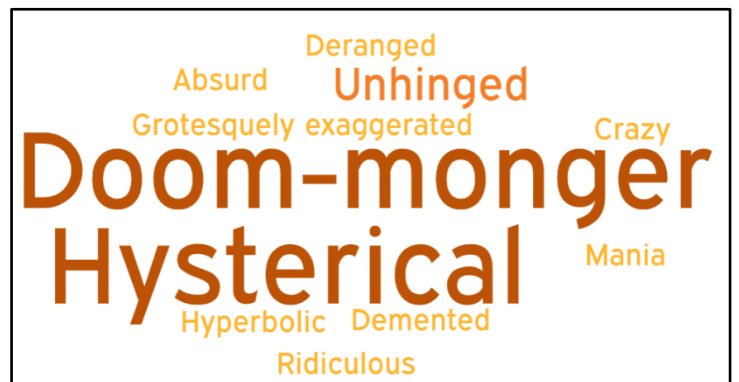


Figure 7



Figure 8

Climate Change

Few of the commentators engaged with JSO's arguments about the climate, but when they did, they frequently downplayed the danger of climate change. 11% of the data sources minimised the urgency of climate change in some way. In some examples, this was extreme. For example, one commentator referred to the '#ClimateScam' (Wide Awake Media, 2023a) and another criticised that politicians have 'bowed down to the great climate cult of our time.' (Murray, 2023a).

Other commentators referred to climate science as a 'belief' rather than a fact: 'apocalyptic religious beliefs' (Wide Awake Media, 2024d); 'the strength and sincerity of our beliefs doesn't give us the right to sabotage the lives of others' (Glover, 2023). Some sources mocked experts: 'Why should their apocalyptic vision appear mad to authorities, when no less a figure than UN secretary-general Antonio Guterres proclaims that humanity is on a 'highway to climate hell'?' (Hume, 2022).

9% of the data sources also criticised the organisation for protesting in Britain. They generally noted that it was wrong for the activists to protest in Britain, as it is a global leader in reducing emissions: 'Britain has led the global charge to decarbonise' (The Sun, 2024c). Instead, they noted that protestors should target a larger polluter, with 4% mentioning China as a more logical place for protesting. Some commentators noted that Britain was a global leader even though they did not agree with this goal: 'these eco-extremists are wilfully blind to the fact the UK is leading the G7 in reducing our carbon emissions in what I believe is a deranged march to Net Zero' (Wootton, 2022).

Chapter 5: Discussion

In this chapter, I analyse my results. The discussion is presented in two sections: in the first, I discuss how the media used the populist rhetoric of the ‘elites versus the people’ to depict Just Stop Oil activists as an elite that was out-of-touch with the people. In the second section, I explore the framing of climate change itself and find that the ‘othering’ of Just Stop Oil activists as extremists served to downplay the urgency of the climate crisis.

Section 1: The Elites vs The People

In this section, I demonstrate how the media coverage of Just Stop Oil used various frames to reinforce the idea that the protestors were elites who were in fundamental opposition to the ordinary people. I first highlight how the activists were portrayed as privileged and out-of-touch, as opposed to the hard-working, ordinary people they were inconveniencing. Then I suggest that the depiction of protestors as hypocritical and inauthentic reinforced their position as elite actors that were against the interests of the people. Finally, I demonstrate that the accusation of two-tier policing reinforced this core populist antagonism.

Elite vs. Ordinary People

My data showed a clear difference in how the protestors and the people impacted by protests were described. The JSO activists were generally depicted as ‘middle-class’ and ‘privileged’, and aspects of individual activists’ privileged identity were emphasised, such as attending private school, or their posh names. They were also connected to other left-wing movements, such as trans rights or other ‘woke’, liberal causes. In contrast, the people they were disrupting were most commonly described as ‘hard-working people’ or ‘ordinary people’. In some ways, this antagonism was different from the traditional antagonism of populism. The division between the protestors and those impacted seemed relatively class based: middle-

class protestors versus ordinary, hard-working people, something Mudde may suggest was not populist, as he argues that class is ‘at best secondary’ in populism (Mudde, 2017; 29).

However, in this case, despite not being a traditional elite as part of the political establishment, the rhetorical depiction of activists as liberal and privileged still constructed them as an elite. First, this was because their privileged identity reinforced their detachment from their interests of ordinary people. However, more importantly, their middle-class, privileged status was also used more symbolically by the media to emphasise the culturally elite nature of the activists, as cosmopolitan, liberal and connected to the climate agenda. This cultural element of the construction of the Just Stop Oil as the elite reflects Lockwood’s ideological account of climate populism, which he interprets as an articulation of contempt towards the liberal cosmopolitan elite (Lockwood, 2018; 723). The fact that ‘middle-class’ was used in a pejorative way to describe the activists even in traditional broadsheets such as the Telegraph, which has one of the highest proportions of AB social class readers of UK newspapers (Duffy and Rowden, 2005; 21), underscores its flexible usage as a rhetorical device to establish the activists as an out-of-touch elite.

By emphasising the different characteristics of activists and the public, the media reinforced the core antagonism of populism. The people impacted, as hard-working, ordinary people were ‘pure, good and virtuous’ (Hunger, 2024; 4), simply trying to get to work. In contrast, the climate activists were disconnected and out-of-touch. This antagonism was further reinforced by the media focus on the specific costs to the taxpayer of the policing of these protests. This narrative emphasised the out-of-touch, privileged status of the activists as they were presented as not caring that they were putting undue costs on the public. This reflects the literature on climate populism, where those pursuing the Net-Zero target were presented

as an elite simply trying to make ‘ordinary people’ poorer (Atkins, 2022; 3). The fact that the urgency of the climate crisis was rarely mentioned in coverage of JSO further emphasised that the costs to the people were for nothing. This was similarly reflected in studies on Net-Zero populism, where the legitimate reasons for the Net-Zero goal were often entirely left out of the narrative, with it simply presented as a vague and technical policy (Paterson, Wilshire and Tobin, 2024; 338)

The antagonism between the protestors and ordinary people also often took on a classically populist Manichean distinction, whereby the elite protestors were not just people with different values, but were actively presented as evil (Mudde, 2004; 544). The supposedly evil nature of the elite activists was shown by the media coverage emphasising serious and emotive costs of the protests to the people. The primary way this was invoked was by noting specific events that people might have missed because of the protests, such as attending funerals, hospital appointments or cancer treatment. By emphasising the disruption to these extreme, emotional cases, the activists were presented as actively cruel and evil. Again, the fact that the climate crisis was rarely mentioned in the coverage of the disruption emphasised the cruel nature of the activists, as it was for no genuine reason.

Furthermore, alongside the depiction of protestors as a liberal, privileged elite, in some cases, the media also adopted traditional conceptions of an elite by emphasising the organisation’s connection to the Climate Emergency Fund. The Climate Emergency Fund is a US organisation that funds climate activists, relying primarily on donations from wealthy individuals (Schwartz, 2019). It was started by Aileen Getty, the granddaughter of J. Paul Getty, who founded the Getty Oil company (Buckley, 2022). Although Just Stop Oil have stated that between March and August 2023, only 2% of their funding came from the Climate

Emergency Fund, while the majority came from public donations (Moench, 2023), the framing of their connection to ‘millionaire donors’ reinforced their positioning as an elite group. Regardless of the reality of the Climate Emergency Fund’s connection to the group, this association reinforced the populist narrative of a wealthy, liberal global elite funding activism that disrupts the lives of the ‘ordinary people’. Furthermore, the fact that the funding came from an oil heiress presented a contradiction for which the media could exploit as hypocritical, reinforcing the idea that elites were attacking the people while benefitting from the industry that they criticised.

Inauthenticity

The portrayal of the organisation as hypocritical was also extended to the activists themselves. Protestors were depicted as hypocritical for engaging in environmentally harmful behaviour while demanding that the people change their own actions. They were also commonly described as self-righteous or performative, suggesting that they were not genuine about the cause of climate change, but instead just wanted to preach from their elite position. These narratives suggested that the activists were inauthentic. These findings are consistent with previous literature on climate activism. For example, Gunster et al (2018; 4) observe that accusations of hypocrisy and inauthenticity are often used to undermine the credibility of politicians who attempt to promote environmental policies.

However, the scholars did not link the accusations of hypocrisy to a broader populist rhetoric about climate change. This is a limitation, as the accusation of the activists’ inauthenticity in fact reflects another element of the populist antagonism between the people and the elites. For Mudde (2017; 30), the supposedly ‘corrupt’ nature of elites is because they are acting in an inauthentic way. This reinforces the antagonism between ‘the people’ who are always

presented as pure and genuinely authentic (Mudde, 2017; 30). This is echoed by Gill (2024; 111), who emphasises that accusations of hypocrisy are a distinctly populist tool. The scholar argues that in populist media discourses, the claim of hypocrisy works as a ‘tactical rhetorical weapon’ to delegitimise sources of authority. For example, he notes one way the media does this is by suggesting that individuals are ‘moralizing’ - telling people who are worse off to do something difficult from a position of privilege (Gill, 2024; 104). This was often reflected in the coverage of JSO through the suggestion that activists were sanctimoniously preaching to ordinary people from a privileged, out-of-touch position. This both reinforced Just Stop Oil’s elite position and emphasised its corrupt nature.

However, Gill’s focus was solely on British tabloid media. He suggested that tabloids’ confrontational style provides the perfect environment for this kind of populist rhetoric (Gill, 2024; 101). This is a common perspective in much of the literature, as scholars highlight that broadsheets generally have a stronger tie to the political establishment and thus are less likely to critique them as the elite (Hameleers, Vos and de Vreese, 2019; 1149). However, my research shows that this kind of rhetoric was also present in both the traditional broadsheets, the *Telegraph* and the *Times*, as well as on X. This may be because in my study, the elites under attack were not the political establishment, but privileged climate protestors. Therefore, broadsheets were more freely able to criticise them as they were not genuinely connected to the elite. Nevertheless, the level of populist rhetoric was still striking, particularly given that broadsheets are generally understood to be less biased than tabloids (Bos and Brees, 2014; 707). Therefore, this finding challenges the notion that populist rhetoric is solely a feature of tabloids’ sensationalist style. This shows that it has also permeated into the wider media landscape, influencing public opinion beyond Gill’s account.

Two-Tier Policing

Another way that the people versus elites antagonism was framed in the media was by the construction of the idea of a two-tier police system. Commentators suggested that protests were unfairly pandered to by the police, because the activists were left-wing, and/or because they were middle-class. This reinforced the idea that the protestors were part of the elite, because the police and wider establishment were working in their interests. The idea of a two-tier policing system gained momentum in July 2024, during the series of far-right riots after the Southport attacks (Bland and Dodd, 2024). The concept claims that protestors that are progressive or ethnic minorities are treated better by the police than white, right-wing protestors (Higgins and Chouliaraki, 2024; 1).

However, its usage in the context of Just Stop Oil demonstrates that it is a more flexible term than the previous literature suggests, as in this case, the accusation of two-tier policing was applied to privileged, left-wing protestors, who were assumed to be treated better than working-class, right-wing protestors. In this case, the ‘two-tier’ accusation displayed elements of the populist logic of the people versus the elites, particularly because the claim was often broadened to the wider establishment pandering to the activists (‘courts’; ‘judges’; ‘officialdom’). Furthermore, this claim that the establishment pandered to the activists was explicitly for the purpose of reinforcing the idea of their elite status, as it purposefully ignores the fact that several JSO protestors have faced the longest prison sentences for non-violent civil disobedience in British history (Gayle, 2024). Therefore, it is clear that this rhetoric was used to reinforce the populist conception of the activists as elites.

This sense of injustice led some of the commentators to use aggressive rhetoric. For example, they suggested that the public should attack the protestors themselves and celebrated when

they did. Similarly, commentators often called for the activists to face significant and exaggerated prison sentences. This punitive, vigilante-style rhetoric reflected a form of populist language which Rhodes-Purdy (2021; 8) has termed ‘punitive aggression’. This rhetoric reflects a populist discourse where actors call for harsh retribution against those positioned as threats to the people. Furthermore, this language also often reinforced the people versus elites divide. For example, one commentator wrote that a ‘scaffolder acted for millions’ by pulling an activist off the road. By mentioning the individual’s traditional manual job, this reinforced the opposition between the elite protestors and the ordinary people.

Conclusion

Overall, this section has showed that the media rhetoric about Just Stop Oil emphasised the organisation as a group of out-of-touch elites in various different ways. This reflects the broader characterisation of the climate agenda by populist actors that earlier literature on climate populism has found, though the various ways that the populist rhetoric was operationalised were more multifaceted. However, in contrast to previous studies on climate populism which suggest that this agenda is pushed by a small, organised group who ‘remain broadly disconnected from genuine popular movements’ (Paterson Wilshire and Tobin, 2024; 337), the populist hostility toward Just Stop Oil enjoys substantial public support. YouGov polling in 2023 showed that 64% of the public had an unfavourable opinion of Just Stop Oil, in comparison to just 17% who had a favourable opinion (YouGov, 2023). This widespread hostility suggests that the media’s climate populist narrative may resonate significantly more when directed towards Just Stop Oil. Therefore, it has more potential to reinforce broader scepticism towards the climate agenda as an elitist project.

Section 2: Climate Change

In this section, I argue that the media's populist rhetoric about Just Stop Oil served to diminish climate change as a legitimate threat. First, I demonstrate how the media rhetoric othered activists as hysterical or extreme to undermine their credibility. While previous literature has identified the othering of climate activists, I expand this analysis by connecting it to a broader populist rhetorical strategy. Second, I demonstrate how this rhetoric, alongside media comments about climate change science, displayed a form of populist climate denial.

Othering Activists

My data showed a significant level of rhetoric that depicted activists as 'hysterical', 'fanatic' and 'alarmists'. This language reflected an othering strategy, by which Just Stop Oil were constructed as an irrational and emotionally unstable minority, detached from the presumed rationality of the public. In some ways, this othering language followed the traditional populist rhetoric of a 'dangerous Other' (Albertazzi and McDonnell, 2008; 3), by depicting the activists as a public threat due to their fanatic alarmism. For example, some commentators used exaggerated rhetoric such as 'eco-terrorists' to describe the supposedly dangerous extremism of the activists.

However, the othering was more commonly cloaked in ridicule and mockery: describing activists as hysterical and lunatics served to make the activists look like a silly and weird out-group, rather than a legitimate threat. This was reinforced by the framing that JSO were acting like children having tantrums, rather than a significant threat to the people. Despite often being humorous, this did not make this othering rhetoric less significant. As Sakki and Martikainen (2021; 612) argue, the deployment of humour in populist othering can serve to mainstream the collective hatred of an outgroup. Therefore, by othering Just Stop Oil

activists in this humorous way, the media served to mainstream public anger at the organisation.

A key method of this ridiculing othering was by describing the activists as ‘fanatical’ about climate change. This made the activists appear extreme and reinforced the idea that they belonged to a fringe minority rather than representing legitimate concerns about the climate grounded in scientific evidence. The media often used religious language to reinforce this narrative, with terms such as ‘cult’ or ‘zealot’ evoking a sense that the activists were acting based on a blind faith to an ideology, rather than legitimate scientific evidence. It also reinforced that the activists were irrational, in comparison to the assumed common-sense rationality of the people.

This finding fits with longer-term trends in the literature on climate activism, particularly in literature on Greta Thunberg (Vowles and Hultman, 2021; Kyyrö, Aystö and Hjelm, 2023). Kyyrö, Aystö and Hjelm (2023) analysed how religious discourse was used in the Finnish media to other the climate activist Greta Thunberg. Similar to my own findings, the scholars found that there was a significant use of religious discourse in the media, particularly in reference to Thunberg’s followers as a ‘cult’, and they found that the activists’ warnings about climate disaster were framed as apocalyptic and exaggerated (Kyyrö, Aystö and Hjelm, 2023; 134). This language worked to other Thunberg and climate activists as a weird and irrational outgroup.

Notably, the scholars acknowledge that climate activists often use apocalyptic language themselves, connoting a possible end of the world if climate policy is not enacted (Kyyrö, Aystö and Hjelm, 2023; 140). This is similarly true of Just Stop Oil, who note in their

demands for example that without more urgent climate policy, ‘hundreds of millions will face starvation and ultimately death’ (Just Stop Oil, no date). However, as the scholars argue, this use of apocalyptic language by the activists themselves is based on legitimate climate science. In contrast, the media’s use of religious language was used to undermine the activists and diminish the climate crisis. However, while Kyrrö, Aystö and Hjelm made a compelling argument for the othering of the climate activists, they did not connect this othering to part of a wider media discourse. In the case of Just Stop Oil, my research showed that this othering was not an isolated incident, but in fact represented one element of a broader populist rhetorical strategy.

Climate Denial

This populist othering served not only to other the activists as an out-group, but also to undermine the legitimacy of climate science more broadly. This reflects what many scholars identify as a new form of climate denial. Instead of explicit denial of climate science, anti-climate actors have moved to a more subtle form of climate delay, of which one method is to downplay the urgency of the crisis (Atanasova and Koteyko, 2017; 460). By describing Just Stop Oil as an alarmist and hysterical outgroup, the commentators positioned their acceptance of the urgency of climate action as an extreme position. This discussion reflects a classic populist strategy. By suggesting that the protestors were extreme and crazy, the commentators implicitly contrasted this with the ‘common sense’, sane opinions of the people (Ereaut and Segnit, 2006; 7). In populism, the idea of the ‘common sense’ of the people is framed as the foundation of all good politics (Mudde, 2004; 547).

The construction of climate activists as alarmists is consistent with Nadal (2024; 1197), who similarly found that activists were described in this way, in a study of climate misinformation on YouTube. However, he did not take this as a form of populist climate denial. In contrast, I

take this kind of ‘alarmist’ rhetoric seriously. Depicting Just Stop Oil activists as hysterically exaggerating the risks of climate change goes directly against the scientific consensus, which is clear about the urgent necessity of climate action (Orlove et al, 2020; 284). It is even more important to take this framing seriously, as it aligns with what Levantesi (2023) argues has been a much longer-term process of othering climate scientists. This framework, Levantesi argues, can be traced back to the climate denial campaigns of oil companies in the late 1990s. For example, in an American Petroleum Institute 1998 action plan to promote uncertainty about climate science, scientists who discussed climate change were depicted as ‘out of touch with reality’ (Levantesi, 2023). By connecting climate science with irrationality, climate denial seemed more legitimate. This long-term use of this climate denial frame demonstrates that it is important to take it seriously, even though it is cloaked in humour.

Alongside depicting Just Stop Oil’s acceptance of climate change as alarmist, the media sources further undermined the credibility of climate science by suggesting that the activists’ acceptance of the science was a ‘belief’, rather than knowledge of a fact. This was a rhetorical tactic which served to sow doubt about the factual legitimacy of climate change science. This represents a rejection of climate science, as far from a belief, there is an overwhelming scientific consensus on anthropogenic global warming (Cook, 2016; 1). Suggesting that climate science was a belief, and a belief of a crazy minority of elites at that, meant that this rhetoric worked to delegitimise climate change as a serious issue for the rational citizen.

Another form of climate denial that the media took on in their framing of JSO was ‘whataboutism’. Whataboutism refers to the idea that other countries have more emissions, and so they have a bigger responsibility for cutting them first (Lamb, 2020; 3). Sources often

used this frame by suggesting that the activists should focus their attacks on other countries, particularly noting China or Russia. This argument also reflected elements of nationalism, where commentators emphasised that Britain was a global leader in reducing emissions. Strikingly, this was mentioned even when the commentators themselves disagreed with this goal. Ridanpää (2022; 431) found that this kind of comparison of national responsibility has been common since the conception of the Paris Agreement and underscored its nationalistic sentiment. This nationalist element fits with populist literature more broadly, which demonstrates that populist actors often embrace nationalism (Böhmelt, 2021; 98).

While the media predominantly employed these newer forms of climate denial, traditional climate denialist strategies also appeared, albeit less frequently. For instance, several commentators targeted the UN Secretary-General, a recognized expert in climate science. Küppers (2022) identifies such attacks on experts as a key populist climate denial strategy. Additionally, one X commentator used the hashtag ‘#ClimateScam’ explicitly signalling outright climate denial. These instances of traditional denial, alongside the newer forms I have discussed, challenge the prevailing literature which largely contends that climate denial has been entirely replaced by scepticism toward policy processes (Atkins, 2022; 2; Paterson, Wilshire and Tobin, 2024; 337).

Conclusion

Overall, the media frame of Just Stop Oil activists as a crazy and extreme outgroup served to undermine the credibility of the activists and thus in turn the credibility of climate science. The rhetoric of the commentators reflected multiple populist elements: othering, rejection of science and nationalism. The consistency and emphasis on these delay and denial strategies challenges the existing literature, which largely argues that climate denial has been replaced

by scepticism toward elite policy processes. Their persistence raises concerns about the potential for more overt forms of climate denial to gain increasing support. It was through the othering of Just Stop Oil that these denialist strategies came through the media, which underscores the importance of studying climate activist movements when analysing climate populism.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This dissertation assessed the extent to which the media used populist rhetoric in its framing of Just Stop Oil, with the aim of analysing whether the ongoing populist backlash against climate policy has also impacted the climate activist movement. My results showed that the media did use a high degree of populist rhetoric to portray Just Stop Oil. I found that JSO activists were presented as an elite who were in a fundamental opposition to the people, reflecting the core antagonism of populism: the people versus the elites. This result indicates that the populist backlash towards climate policy is applied in a similar way to the climate movement. However, rather than portraying climate policy as the imposition of an elite, the media instead framed the activists as the elite actors, whose actions were targeting the ordinary people.

Beyond this core populist antagonism, by assessing the populist rhetoric about the climate movement, rather than simply government policy, this dissertation revealed more elements of climate populist rhetoric were present than in previous literature. I found that the populist othering of JSO activists as hysterical and extreme served to undermine the urgency of the climate crisis. This finding challenges the prevailing literature, which suggests that climate populist actors are sceptical of climate policy, rather than of the existence of climate change. This indicates that populist narratives pose an even greater risk to environmental policy than has previously been accounted for. The fact that these narratives were able to be targeted at the climate movement suggests that rather than acting simply as a positive force for advancing the climate agenda, Just Stop Oil may have provided a palatable target for increasing climate denial.

Furthermore, by assessing rhetoric in the media rather than by populist politicians, this study showed that the right-wing media utilises populist rhetoric itself. This finding goes beyond claims by the literature that climate populist narratives simply have support in the right-wing media. What's more, my results showed that populist rhetoric was used not only in tabloids, but also mainstream broadsheets, as well as on X. This has the concerning implication that the actors responsible for the climate populist backlash go far beyond organised individuals in the Conservative Party and Reform UK, as the literature has generally assumed.

These findings highlight the importance of future research on climate populism beyond the confines of government policy. While my study confirmed that populist rhetoric was used in the media, it was limited in that it did not examine the impact this had on public opinion. Future research could assess the impact of media hostility towards climate activists on public attitudes, which would be an important step in understanding the significance of my results. Additionally, the new findings of my research suggest that future studies should focus on the media rhetoric about climate change more broadly, perhaps focusing on the prevalence of climate scepticism.

Following over three years of disruptive civil disobedience, on 27 March 2025, Just Stop Oil announced that they would no longer be continuing their direct action campaign (Vaugan, 2025). The official explanation for ending the campaign was that the organisation had achieved its demand of stopping new oil and gas licenses (Just Stop Oil, 2025). However, the hostile populist rhetoric about the group may have also had some role in the decision. While their campaign has ended, the significant level of hostility generated against the movement is unlikely to simply fade away. As I have noted, the hostility towards JSO was widespread: 64% of the public have an unfavourable opinion of Just Stop Oil (YouGov, 2023). This

suggests that the climate populist rhetoric used against the organisation may have resonated more with the public when directed at JSO, than when aimed at climate policy. However, the rhetoric about JSO did not reflect isolated arguments about the organisation, but a broader rhetoric about the climate crisis.

The fact that the media used explicit populist rhetoric both to position the climate movement as out-of-touch with the people, and undermine the urgency of the climate crisis, demonstrates an increasingly uncertain future for the climate agenda in the UK. The framing of activists as hysterical and extreme could discourage future environmental action, thus reducing pressure for the government to act on the climate crisis. Moreover, given that climate policy requires significant public support, a growing scepticism around the urgency of climate action, alongside a perception that it is an elitist project, means that ambitious climate action may become increasingly politically unviable.

Bibliography

Akkerman, Agnes., Mudde, Cas, and Zaslove, Andrej. (2014) 'How Populist Are the People? Measuring Populist Attitudes in Voters', *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(9): 1324-1353.

Akkerman, Tjitske. (2012) 'Comparing Radical Right Parties in Government: Immigration and Integration Policies in Nine Countries (1996–2010)', *West European Politics*, 35(3): 511–529.

Albertazzi, Daniele and McDonnell, Duncan. (2008) 'Introduction: The sceptre and the spectre', in Albertazzi, Daniele and McDonnell, Duncan (eds.) *Twenty-first century populism: The spectre of Western European democracy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-11.

Andi, Simge. (2020) 'How people access news about climate change' *Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism*, available online at <https://www.digitalnewsreport.org/survey/2020/how-people-access-news-about-climate-change/>, accessed 2 October 2024.

Aslanidis, Paris. (2016) 'Is Populism an Ideology? A Refutation and a New Perspective' *Political Studies* 64(1): 88-104.

Atanasova, Dimitrinka and Kotevko, Nelya. (2017) 'Metaphors in Guardian Online and Mail Online Opinion-page Content on Climate Change: War, Religion, and Politics', *Environmental Communication*, 11(4): 452–469.

Atkins, Ed. (2022) "'Bigger than Brexit": Exploring right-wing populism and net-zero policies in the United Kingdom', *Energy Research and Social Science*, 90(1): 1-5.

Bernauer, Thomas and McGrath, Liam. (2016) 'Simple reframing unlikely to boost public support for climate policy' *Nature Climate Change*, 6(1): 680-84.

Bland, Archie and Dodd, Vikram. (2024) 'England riots: how has 'two-tier policing' myth become widespread?', *The Guardian*, 6 August, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/article/2024/aug/06/england-riots-two-tier-policing-myth-widespread>, accessed 12 March 2025.

Bobba Giuliano., Mancosua, Moreno., Naic, Alessandro., Seddonea, Antonella and Vegett, Federico. (2025) 'Investigating Media Populism Worldwide', *Journalism Studies*, 26(2): 181-199.

Böhmelt, Tobias. (2021) 'Populism and Environmental Performance', *Global Environmental Politics*, 21(3): 97-123.

Bos, Linda and Brants, Kees. (2014) 'Populist rhetoric in politics and media: A longitudinal study of the Netherlands', *European Journal of Communication*, 29(6): 703-719.

Brubaker, Rogers. (2017) 'Why populism?', *Theory and Society*, 46(5):357–385.

Buckley, Cara. (2022) 'These Groups Want Disruptive Climate Protests. Oil Heirs Are Funding Them', *The New York Times*, 12 August, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/10/climate/climate-protesters-paid-activists.html>, accessed 7 February 2025.

Cho, Yi and Lee, Eun-Hee. (2014) 'Reducing Confusion about Grounded Theory and Qualitative Content Analysis: Similarities and Differences', *The Qualitative Report*, 19(32):1-20.

Choi, Jeongho. (2025) 'Evolving populist rhetoric: how public approval shapes its employment', *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 33(1): 1-16.

Chouliaraki, Lilie and Higgins, Katherine. (2024) 'The truth about “two-tier policing”', *British Politics and Policy at LSE Blog Entry*, available at https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/125529/1/politicsandpolicy_2024-8-15--the-truth-about-two-tier-policing.pdf, accessed 12 March 2025.

Cinelli, Matteo., Gianmarco, Morales., Galeazzi, Alessandro., Quattrociocchi, Walter., Starnini, Michele. (2020) 'The echo chamber effect on social media', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 118(9): 1-8.

Collins, James and Chevrette, Robert. (2024) 'Soup, Glue, and Art: Iconoclasm From Below in Just Stop Oil's Use of Image Events', in Crick, Nathan (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Rhetoric and Power*, New York: Routledge.

Cook, John. (2016) 'Consensus on consensus: a synthesis of consensus estimates on human-caused global warming', *Environmental Research Letters*, 11(4): 1-8.

Coppock, Alexander., Ekins, Emily and Kirby, David. (2018) 'The Long-lasting Effects of Newspaper Op-Eds on Public Opinion', *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 13(1): 59–87.

Davison, Tamara. (2025) 'From Wimbledon to the West End: What events have Just Stop Oil targeted so far?', *The Evening Standard*, available at <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/uk/just-stop-oil-events-targeted-wimbledon-van-gogh-london-pride-west-end-b1112740.html>, accessed 29 March 2025.

Duffy, Bobby and Rowden, Laura. 'You are what you read? How newspaper readership is related to views' *Ipsos*, available at https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/publication/197001/sri_you_are_what_you_read_042005.pdf, accessed 5 April 2025.

Ereaut. Gill and Segnit, Nat. (2006) 'Warm Words: How are we telling the climate story and can we tell it better?', *IPPR*, available at <https://www.ippr.org/articles/warm-words-how-are-we-telling-the-climate-story-and-can-we-tell-it-better>, accessed 18 March 2025.

Forchtner, Bernhard. (2019) 'Climate change and the far right', *WIREs Climate Change*, 10(5): 1-11.

Fownes, Jennifer., Yu, Chao and Margolin, Drew. (2018) 'Twitter and climate change', *Sociology Compass*, 12(6): 1-12.

Gayle, Damien. (2024) 'Five Just Stop Oil activists receive record sentences for planning to block M25', *The Guardian*, 18 July, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/article/2024/jul/18/five-just-stop-oil-supporters-jailed-over-protest-that-blocked-m25>, accessed 22 March 2025.

Gill, Martin. (2024) 'Hypocrisy, authenticity, and the rhetorical dynamics of populism', in Sorlin, Sandrine and Virtanen, Tuija (eds.) *The Pragmatics of Hypocrisy*, Amsterdam: John Benjamen Publishing Company.

Gunster, Shane., Fleet, Darren., Paterson, Matthew and Saurette, Paul. (2018) "'Why Don't You Act Like You Believe It?': Competing Visions of Climate Hypocrisy", *Frontiers in Communication*, 49(3): 1-14.

Hameleers, Michael and Shmuck, Desirée. (2017) 'It's us against them: a comparative experiment on the effects of populist messages communicated via social media', *Information, Communication and Society*, 20(9): 1425-1444.

Hameleers, Michael., Vos Linda and Vreese, Claes H de. (2017) 'Shoot the messenger? The media's role in framing populist attributions of blame', *Journalism*, 20(9): 1145-1164.

Heslehurst, Nicola., Evans, Elizabeth., Rodriguez, Angela., Nagpal, Taniya., Visram, Shelina. (2022) 'Newspaper media framing of obesity during pregnancy in the UK: A review and framework synthesis', *Obesity Reviews*, 23(12): 1-10.

Higgins, Kathryn and Chouliarakis, Lilie. (2024) 'The truth about "two-tier policing"', available at <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/the-truth-about-two-tier-policing/>, accessed 7 February 2025.

Huber, Robert and Schimpf, Christian. (2016) 'Friend or Foe? Testing the Influence of Populism on Democratic Quality in Latin America', *Political Studies*, 64(4): 872-889.

Huber, Robert. (2020) 'The role of populist attitudes in explaining climate change skepticism and support for environmental protection', *Environmental Politics*, 6: 959-982.

Huber, Robert., Fesenfeld, Lukas and Bernauer, Thomas. (2020) 'Political populism, responsiveness, and public support for climate mitigation', *Climate Policy*, 20(3): 373-386.

Hunger, Sophia and Paxton, Fred. (2022) 'What's in a buzzword? A systematic review of the state of populism research in political science', *Political Science Research and Methods*, 10(1?): 617-633.

Hunger, Sophia. (2024) 'Virtuous people and evil elites? The role of moralizing frames and normative distinctions in identifying populist discourse', *Political Research Exchange*, 6(1): 1-26.

Hunger, Sophia. (2024) 'Virtuous people and evil elites? The role of moralizing frames and normative distinctions in identifying populist discourse', *Political Research Exchange*, 6(1): 1-26.

Ipsos (2023) 'One in four Britons think climate change is out of control', available at <https://www.ipsos.com/en-uk/one-four-britons-think-climate-change-out-control>, accessed 6 April 2025.

Jagers, Jan and Walgrave, Stefaan. (2007) 'Populism as political communication style: An empirical study of political parties' discourse in Belgium', *European Journal of Political Research* 46(1): 319-345

Just Stop Oil (no date) 'Civil Resistance in 2023', available at <https://juststopoil.org/the-plan/>, accessed 29 March 2025.

Just Stop Oil. (no date) 'Our Demand' available at <https://juststopoil.org/our-demand/>, accessed 25 October 2024.

Koopmans, Ruud. (2004) 'Movements and Media: Selection Processes and Evolutionary Dynamics in the Public Sphere', *Theory and Society*, 33(3):367-391.

Krämer, Benjamin. (2014) 'Media Populism: A Conceptual Clarification and Some Theses on its Effects', *Communication Theory*, 24(1): 42-60.

Krippendorff, Klaus. (2013) *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, London: Sage Publishing.

Küppers, Anne. (2022) ‘Climate-Soviets,’ ‘Alarmism,’ and ‘Eco-Dictatorship’: The Framing of Climate Change Scepticism by the Populist Radical Right Alternative for Germany’, *German Politics*, 33(1): 1-21.

Kyyrö, Jere., Aystö, Tuomas and Hjelm, Titus (2023) “‘The Cult of Greta Thunberg’: De-legitimizing Climate Activism with “Religion””, *Critical Research on Religion*, 11(2): 133-149.

Lamb, William., Mattioli, Giulio., Levi, Sebastian., Roberts, Timmons., Capstick, Stuart., Creutzig, Felix., Minx, Jan., Müller-Hansen, Finn., Culhane, Trevor and Steinberger, Julia (2020) ‘Discourses of climate delay’, *Global Sustainability*, 3(1): 1-5.

Levantesi, Stella. (2023) “‘Enemies of Society’: How the Media Portray Climate Activists”, *Green European Journal*, available at <https://www.greeneuropeanjournal.eu/enemies-of-society-how-the-media-portray-climate-activists/>, accessed 16 March 2025.

Lockwood, Matthew. (2018) ‘Right-wing populism and the climate change agenda: exploring the linkages’, *Environmental Politics*, 27(4): 712-732.

Lopez, Alexander and Davis, Colin. (2024) ‘On Art and the Limits of Dissent: Climate Activism at Museums and Galleries’, *Protest*, 4(2), 143–176.

Mason, Shannon and Singh, Lenandlar. (2022) ‘Reporting and discoverability of “Tweets” quoted in published scholarship: current practice and ethical implications’, *Research Ethics*, 18(2): 93-113.

Mazzoleni, Gianpietro (2003) ‘Populism and the Media’, in Albertazzi, Daniele and McDonnell, Duncan. (eds.) *Twenty-First Century Populism*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Moench, Mallory. (2023) ‘Everything to Know About Climate Activist Group Just Stop Oil’, *Time*, available at <https://time.com/6334072/just-stop-oil-climate-change-activist-group/>, accessed 22 March 2025.

Mudde, Cas. (2004) ‘The Populist Zeitgeist’, *Government and Opposition*, 39(4): 541-563.

Mudde, Cas. (2017) ‘Populism: An Ideational Approach’, in Kaltwasser, Cristobal., Taggart, Paul., Espejo, Paulina., Ostiguy, Pierre. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nadal, De Lluís. (2024) 'From Denial to the Culture Wars: A Study of Climate Misinformation on YouTube', *Environmental Communication*, 18(8): 1186-1203.

Niceforo, Marina (2024) 'Hate speech and environmental activist discourse: Critical analysis of user comments to one controversial tweet by Just Stop Oil', *Journal of Language and Discrimination*, 8(1): 1-23.

Ofcom. (2023) 'News consumption in the UK: 2023', available at <https://www.ofcom.org.uk/siteassets/resources/documents/research-and-data/tv-radio-and-on-demand-research/tv-research/news/news-consumption-2023/news-consumption-in-the-uk-2023?v=329963>, accessed 10 March 2025.

Orlove, Ben., Shwom, Rachael., Markowitz, Ezra and Cheong, So-Min. (2020) 'Climate Decision-Making', *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, 45: 271–303

Paterson, Matthew., Tobin, Paul., Brazier-Tope, Holly., Burns, Charlotte., Kuzemko, Caroline., Lockwood, Matthew., McDaniel, Sean., Peters, Jamie., Sullivan-Thomsett, Chantal and Willis, Rebecca. (2024) 'Navigating the Backlash: The Future of British Climate Strategy' available at <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=72815>, accessed 6 April 2025.

Paterson, Matthew., Wilshire, Stanley., Tobin, Paul. (2024) 'The Rise of Anti-Net Zero Populism in the UK: Comparing Rhetorical Strategies for Climate Policy Dismantling', *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*, 26(3): 332-350.

Ponsford, Dominic. (2024) 'Partisan publishers: Why Keir Starmer will have an easier election than Neil Kinnock', *Press Gazette*, available at <https://pressgazette.co.uk/media-audience-and-business-data/media-metrics/uk-media-bias-2024/>, accessed 1 April 2025.

Reform UK. (2024) 'Reform UK: Our Contract with You', available at https://assets.nationbuilder.com/reformuk/pages/253/attachments/original/1718625371/Reform_UK_Our_Contract_with_You.pdf?1718625371, accessed 6 April 2025.

Rhodes-Purdy, Matthew. (2021) 'Lock them up! Punitive aggression and populism as political vigilantism', *Electoral Studies*, 74(1): 1-10.

Ridanpää, Juha. (2022) "'Carbon footprint nationalism': re-conceptualizing Finnish nationalism and national pride through climate change discourse, *National Identities*, 24(4), 429-446.

Rooduijn, Matthijs and Pauwels, Teun. (2011) 'Measuring Populism: Comparing Two Methods of Content Analysis', *West European Politics*, 34(6): 272-1283.

Rooduijn, Matthijs. (2014) 'The Mesmerising Message: The Diffusion of Populism in Public Debates in Western European Media', *Political Studies*, 62(4), 726-744.

Sakki, Inari and Martikainen, Jani. (2021) 'Mobilizing collective hatred through humour: Affective–discursive production and reception of populist rhetoric', *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 60(1): 610-634.

Schulz-Tomančoka, Andreas and Woschnagg, Florian. (2024) 'Credibility at stake: a comparative analysis of different hate speech comments on journalistic credibility and support on climate protection measures', *Cogent Social Sciences*, 10(1): 1-19.

Schwartz, John. (2019) 'Meet the Millionaires Helping to Pay for Climate Protests', *The New York Times*, 27 September, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/27/climate/climate-change-protests-funding.html>, accessed 5 February 2025.

Schwörer, Jakob and Fernández-García, Belén. (2022) 'Climate Sceptics or Climate Nationalists? Understanding and Explaining Populist Radical Right Parties' Positions towards Climate Change (1990–2022)', *Political Studies*, 72(3): 1178-1202.

Semetko, Holli and Valkenburg, Patti. (2000) 'Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News', *Journal of Communication*, 50(2):93-109.

Shoemaker, Pamela and Reese, Stephen. (1996). *Mediating the message: theories of influences on mass media content*, New York: Longman.

Stammen, Lara and Meissner, Miriam. (2024) 'Social movements' transformative climate change communication: extinction rebellion's activism', *Social Movement Studies*, 23(1): 19-38.

Symonds, Tom. (2024) 'Just Stop Oil protesters jailed after M25 blocked', *BBC News*, 18 July, available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/c880xjx54mpo>, accessed 14 March 2025.

Tobin, Paul. (2017) 'Leaders and Laggards: Climate Policy Ambition in Developed States', *Global Environmental Politics*, 17(4): 28-47.

Townsend, Leanne and Wallace, Claire. (2016) 'Social Media Research: A Guide to Ethics', available at https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_487729_smxx.pdf, accessed 15 October 2024.

United Nations (2022) 'Climate change the greatest threat the world has ever faced, UN expert warns', available at <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2022/10/climate-change-greatest-threat-world-has-ever-faced-un-expert-warns>, accessed 27 October 2024.

Vaughan, Adam (2025) 'Just Stop Oil to stop direct action after 'getting what it wanted'', *The Times*, 27 March, available at <https://www.thetimes.com/uk/environment/article/just-stop-oil-end-direct-protest-action-mjrrw10s5>, accessed 28 March 2025.

Vowles, Kjell and Hultman, Martin. (2021) 'Dead White men vs. Greta Thunberg: Nationalism, Misogyny, and Climate Change Denial in Swedish far-right Digital Media', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 36(110): 414-431.

Weber, Robert. (1990) *Basic Content Analysis*, London: Sage Publishing.

Weyland, Kurt. (2001) 'Clarifying a contested concept: populism in the study of Latin American politics', *Comparative Politics* 34(1): 1-22.

Williams, Hywel., McMurray, James., Kurz, Tim and Lambert, Hugo. (2015) 'Network analysis reveals open forums and echo chambers in social media discussions of climate change', *Global Environmental Change*, 32(1): 126-138.

Wouters, Ruud. (2018) 'The Persuasive Power of Protest. How Protest wins Public Support', *Social Forces*, 98(1): 403-426.

X Help Center. (no date) 'About X's account suggestions', available at https://help.x.com/en/using-x/account-suggestions?__cf_chl_tk=C.rpSBPX8zo1_N7HaX49U75FrHOA5bTrfJW1NOeQonk-1741868984-1.0.1.1-QgjVy8sZAYwV2D_pbAMfK37dIFpGo4Y.acCG2Qsw28A, accessed 10 March 2025.

YouGov. (2023) 'Do you have a favourable or unfavourable opinion of the campaign group Just Stop Oil?', available at <https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/survey-results/daily/2023/07/06/57ab9/2>, accessed 22 March 2025.

YouGov. (2025) 'Earth Day 2025: Where do Britons stand on climate change?', available at <https://yougov.co.uk/politics/articles/52033-earth-day-2025-where-do-britons-stand-on-climate-change>, accessed 20 April 2025.

Primary Data

Newspapers

Chesterton, George. (2024a) 'It's time for Just Stop Oil to Just Give Up – the climate crisis is too big for them to solve', *The Telegraph*, 31 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Chesterton, George. (2024b) 'Progressives lost their minds in 2024 – and alienated people with their nastiness and extremism', *The Telegraph*, 25 December, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Clark, Ross. (2023) 'We will need oil and gas for decades...just be glad we can produce our own', *The Sun*, 28 September, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Clarkson, Jeremy. (2024a) 'Leccy Louts', *The Sun*, 22 June, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Clarkson, Jeremy. (2024b) 'I Foiled the No Oil Mob', *The Sun*, 29 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Clarkson, Jeremy. (2024c) 'Government's out to destroy farmers and we can't fight back', *The Sun*, 9 November, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Cole, Harry. (2024) 'Eco loon in wrong place for MP stunt', *The Sun*, 28 March, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Deacon, Michael (2022a) 'It's time the police kick Just Stop Oil protesters off our roads – before the public does', *The Telegraph*, 12 Oct, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Deacon, Michael. (2022b) 'It's time to fight back against Just Stop Oil... and here's how', *The Telegraph*, 18 Oct, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Deacon, Michael. (2022c) 'Even the woke now hate Just Stop Oil', *The Telegraph*, 1 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Deacon, Michael. (2022d) 'How TS Eliot foresaw Just Stop Oil – and the tyranny of woke narcissism' *The Telegraph*, 22 Jun, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Deacon, Michael. (2023) 'It is working-class people who are bearing the brunt of Just Stop Oil's protests', *The Telegraph*, 14 June, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Glover, Stephen. (2022) 'The eco-zealots' demands verge on the lunatic. The fact hardly anyone dares say so is the... triumph of unreason' *The Daily Mail*, November 20, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Glover, Stephen. (2023) 'If Rishi can prove he's on the side of the people against the eco-jobs, it could help swing election', *The Daily Mail*, April 20, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Grant, Madeleine. (2023) 'Just Stop Oil are just spoilt, narcissistic show-offs', *The Telegraph*, 19 April, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Hitchens, Peter. (2022) 'Fed up with Just Stop Oil zealots? Blame Blair and his revolutionary New Labour Supreme Court which has made the police and the law so feeble', *The Daily Mail*, 12 November, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Hume, Mick. (2022) 'As eco-activists and woke culture warriors run riot, has there ever been a time when so many have been hectored - and had their daily lives ruined by so few', *Daily Mail*, 12 November, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Hume, Mick. (2023) 'If the police and courts don't act, the public will - and it could get nasty' *The Daily Mail*, April 19, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Lawson, Dominic. (2022) 'If broadcasters fail to challenge the hysterical claims of the eco-zealots, they might as well join them on the M25', *The Daily Mail*, November 14, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 17 January 2025.

Lawson, Dominic. (2023a) 'Only a dictator could satisfy Just Stop Oil; Even if they agree with their aims not their tactics, most people are unwilling to make the sacrifices the eco activists' demand, April 23, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 17 January 2025.

Lawson, Dominic. (2023b) 'The tide may finally be turning against the demented drivel of Just Stop Oil fanatics', *The Daily Mail*, June 26, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 17 January 2025.

Lawson, Dominic. (2024a) 'Principled' vandals must be made to pay; Havoc and endless demonstrations are costing us too much. Enough already', *The Times*, March 17, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 17 January 2025.

Lawson, Dominic. (2024b) 'The Just Stop Oil founder dreamt of my violent death. So why are police indulging the deluded fanatics who follow him?', *The Daily Mail*, 22 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 17 January 2025.

Leckie, Bill. (2023) 'Just Stop thinking you lot are only ones who care about the planet', *The Sun*, 8 August, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Long, Camilla. (2024a) 'JSO enters uncharted realms of mindlessness', *The Times*, 12 May, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 17 January 2025.

Long, Camilla. (2024b) 'Vandalism, theft, risking lives. I think that makes Mr Just Stop Oil a career criminal' *The Times*, 12 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 17 January 2025.

Massie, Alex. (2023) 'Green energy transition needs a dose of reality; Change is happening at pace, but we will rely on fossil fuels for a while yet', *The Times*, September 24, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 17 January 2025.

Moir, Jan. (2022) 'Eco nuts and pious hipsters are milking the humanity of police. Are you thinking what she's thinking?', *The Daily Mail*, October 14, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Moir, Jan. (2023a) 'There's no one so callous as a self-righteous eco-loony', *The Daily Mail*, November 10, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Moir, Jan. (2023b) 'How I wish Just Stop Oil would join hands and sing Kumbaya at the mouth of a Russian oil pipeline', *The Daily Mail*, July 21, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Moir, Jan. (2023c) 'How I wish I'd been in Row C with a rotten cabbage in my bag when those eco clowns stormed Les Mis', *The Daily Mail*, October 6, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Moir, Jan. (2024a) 'Jailed eco-fanatics don't deserve our sympathy. Are you thinking what she's thinking?', *The Daily Mail*, July 26, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Moir, Jan. (2024b) 'Why do they always treat green zealots with kid-glove indulgence? Are you thinking what she's thinking?', *The Daily Mail*, October 28, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Moir, Jan. (2024c) 'My Christmas was all the more cheery because the Just Stop Oil protesters are still behind bars. Let's hope the courts keep it that way', *The Daily Mail*, December 27, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Morgan, Piers. (2023) 'Who's going to stop these wastrels destroying our great monuments? Well, certainly not the courts', *The Sun*, 6 October, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Murray, Douglas. (2023a) 'We can hope and spray', *The Sun*, 3 August, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Murray, Douglas. (2023b) 'In a cost-of-living crisis we can't pay for green lunacy', *The Sun*, 9 August, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Owolade, Tomiwa. (2024) 'These activists are posers, not persuaders', *The Times*, 24 June, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 17 January 2025.

Parsons, Tony. (2023) 'Oh, Give it a Mis', *The Sun*, October 8, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Phillips, Melanie (2024) 'Just Stop Oil's idea of justice is a danger to all, *The Times*, 29 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 17 January 2025.

Platell, Amanda. (2023) 'This was the week that the Just Stop Oil zealots lost the plot', *The Daily Mail*, 27 November, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Rifkind, Hugo. (2023) 'Hatred for tree-huggers really stems from guilt' *The Times*, 11 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 17 January 2025.

Robertson, Colin. (2023) 'Prat's Prank Fails', *The Sun*, November 9, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Robertson, Colin. (2024) 'Just Stop Oil prats' jail terms should make them rethink tactics... or face more in prison' *The Sun*, July 20, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Slot, Owen. (2023) 'Just Stop Oil: My Guide to Smarter Protesting', *The Times*, 1 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 17 January 2025.

The Sun. (2023a) 'Eco-stroppies', October 6, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

The Sun. (2023b) 'Carbonystas' October 20, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

The Sun. (2023c) 'Eco-maniacs', September 8, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

The Sun. (2023d) 'Eco worriers', 12 December, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

The Sun. (2024a) 'Bridge hero' 23 January, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

The Sun. (2024b) 'Oil Money' June 24, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

The Sun. (2024c) 'Just Stopped', 19 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

The Sun. (2024d) 'Luvvies Strop', 24 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

The Sun. (2024e) 'Just Stop Hols', 25 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

The Sun. (2024f) 'Air Heads' 30 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

The Sun. (2024g) 'Just strop oil' November 4, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

The Sun. (2024h) 'In the Soup', 28 September, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

The Sun. (2024i) 'Eco 'solution'', October 4, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

The Times. (2024a) ‘Just Stop it’, 21 June, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 17 January 2025.

The Times. (2024b) ‘Just Stop Offending’, 20 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 17 January 2025.

The Times. (2024c) ‘In the Soup’, 28 September, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 17 January 2025.

Tominey, Camilla (2023) ‘Net zero extremism is turning into a middle-class war against the poor, *The Telegraph*, 28 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Walden, Celia. (2022) ‘Fuel protesters should be treated like the toddlers they are’, *The Telegraph*, 25 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Walden, Celia. (2023) ‘Just Stop Oil are doomed to fail but they’re too blinded by ideology to see it’, *The Telegraph*, 26 June, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Walden, Celia. (2023) ‘Soup-throwing protests only happen because we indulge Just Stop Oil’s moral toddlers’, *The Telegraph*, 30 September, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Whelan, Ella. (2024) ‘Rich, entitled eco activists loathe the working poor, *The Telegraph*, 30 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Woods, Judith. (2023) ‘If the police won’t stop the eco-bullies, the public surely will’, *The Telegraph*, 26 April, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Woods, Judith. (2024a) ‘Young eco-catastrophists are clueless about real nature’, *The Telegraph*, 31 July, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Woods, Judith. (2024b) ‘The farmers have taught climate militants a lesson in how to protest with civility’, *The Telegraph*, 12 December, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 16 January 2025.

Wootton, Dan (2022) ‘Just Stop Oil are not protestors or a suffragette-style movement – they’re a deranged criminal eco-terrorist cult putting our safety at risk and must face the full force of the law before they cause countless deaths’, *The Daily Mail*, 10 November, available at <https://global.factiva.com>, accessed 18 January 2025.

Tweets

Atherton, David (@DavidAtherton20) (2022a) ‘Just Stop Oil got the support of F1 driver [@LewisHamilton](#) who invaded the British Grand Prix...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/DaveAtherton20/status/1544225494928953344>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Atherton, David (@DavidAtherton20) (2022b) ‘Today's feelgood story. Fifty-one [@JustStop_Oil](#) protesters who were in court in London & Birmingham have been jailed for a week...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/DaveAtherton20/status/1570744437093052416>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Atherton, David (@DavidAtherton20) (2023a) ‘An anonymous front line [@metpoliceuk](#) officer writes that [@SuellaBraverman](#) is "right about biased, woke policing..." [X] available at <https://x.com/DaveAtherton20/status/1724044984947495389>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Atherton, David (@DavidAtherton20) (2023b) ‘So [@LewisHamilton](#) you support [@JustStop_Oil](#). Even though your main sponsor is oil giant [@Petronas...](#)’ [X] available at <https://x.com/DaveAtherton20/status/1677560563029667840>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Atherton, David (@DavidAtherton20) (2023c) ‘Extinction Rebellion's [@gailbradbrook](#) has been exposed as a diesel-driving car who buys imported food, when she shops at Waitrose...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/DaveAtherton20/status/1649318072342179845>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Atherton, David (@DavidAtherton20) (2023d) ‘Leading member of [@JustStop_Oil](#) , Dr Grahame Buss, 68, has a Shell Petroleum pension pot of £1 million...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/DaveAtherton20/status/1678303726174453760>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Atherton, David (@DavidAtherton20) (2023e) ‘Hypocrite-in-chief [@garylineker](#) since 2019 has clocked up 100,000 air miles on 14 holidays & work commitments. He said [@JustStop_Oil](#) weren't 'going to hurt anyone....’ [X] available at <https://x.com/DaveAtherton20/status/1678304487096696832>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Atherton, David (@DavidAtherton20) (2023f) ‘Oscar winner Adam McKay, is the biggest door to [@JustStop_Oil](#) & an activist with other multi-millionaires with the Climate Emergency Fund...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/DaveAtherton20/status/1663447152356409344>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Atherton, David (@DavidAtherton20) (2023g) ‘Hero of the day a man on a bike who disrupts a Just Stop Oil protest. "Go & protest properly you s**t house c**nts."' [X] available at <https://x.com/DaveAtherton20/status/1673425054590201881>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Atherton, David (@DavidAtherton20) (2023h) ‘A man drives on the pavement to get past @JustStop_Oil protesters. He claims to have an urgent hospital appointment...’ [X], available at <https://x.com/DaveAtherton20/status/1662034157348724736>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Atherton, David (@DavidAtherton20) (2023i) ‘Well done @LewisHamilton for supporting Just Stop Oil. Your reward is they demand you drop @Petronas as a sponsor...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/DaveAtherton20/status/1677963760579878912>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Atherton, David (@DavidAtherton20) (2024a) ‘Today's feel good video as Just Stop Oil types get moved out the way in a road blocking adventure in Germany.’ [X] available at <https://x.com/DaveAtherton20/status/1756973835545358783>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Atherton, David (@DavidAtherton20) (2024b) ‘Labour defends taking £1.5m given by Just Stop Oil donor Dale Vince". This is called bare faced hypocrisy....’ [X] available at <https://x.com/DaveAtherton20/status/1869363498746327092>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisec) (2023a) ‘I will say this again to the end of the earth - if the just stop oil protestors were working class lads they’d be labelled as hooligans and whatever else...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisec/status/1661018842485919746> accessed 12 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisec) (2023b) ‘Just stop oil haven’t glued themselves to anything in Glastonbury yet. Seems like they don’t attack their own. Just the working classes...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisec/status/1672953632105328641>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisec) (2023c) ‘Since April, just stop oil Protestors amongst other disruptive protests has cost £5.5million and diverted over 16,500 officer shifts...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisec/status/1673366479943729153> accessed 12 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisec) (2023d) ‘The only thing just stop oil have achieved to date is making the lives of working class people in towns like mine a lot more miserable...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisec/status/1675963117421969408>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisecc) (2023e) ‘Just stop oil dont even want to stop oil They just want to stop Britain becoming energy independent...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisecc/status/1677965065603956742>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisecc) (2023f) “Just stop oil would rather us get our oil and gas from despotic regimes and countries with questionable human rights records...” [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisecc/status/1677967033684590592>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisecc) (2023g) ‘Just stop oil have cost the police (so the tax payer) £7.7 million in 13 weeks Which is the Equivalent of 23,500 police shifts...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisecc/status/1683829110148063232>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisecc) (2023h) ‘Watch these guys be called criminals whilst the posh hooligans at just stop oil are applauded for their constant vandalism’ [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisecc/status/1692504189870702623> accessed 12 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisecc) (2023i) ‘Interesting how the police in london are being quite heavy handed towards anti ULEZ protestors yet sit and watch the just stop oil lot...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisecc/status/1672953632105328641> accessed 12 January 2025, accessed 12 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisecc) (2024a) ‘Nothing quite sums up the deeply privileged knobheads that are just stop oil like throwing paint everywhere for someone on minimum wage to clean up...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisecc/status/1751741067274121565>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisecc) (2024b) ‘The left talk about the police being underfunded but so far their nonsensical Palestine protests have cost the police £32M, just stop oil have cost £20m...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisecc/status/1769059085486354447>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisecc) (2024c) ‘Just stop oil are genuinely the most insufferable people’ [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisecc/status/1803561976594829800>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisecc) (2024d) ‘The just stop oil people didn’t hurt the painting - or do the gallery any damage All they achieved was making life harder for a janitor on minimum wage...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisecc/status/1751740552842776754>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisecc) (2024e) ‘We all know the reason people are outraged about just stop oil criminals being jailed is because they’re middle class...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisecc/status/1814637152472326563>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisecc) (2024f) ‘This is the sad thing about just stop oil Fully grown millionaire donors and adults use teenagers to do their dirty work for them...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisecc/status/1725296495648293258>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Corcoran, Sophie. (@sophielouisecc) (2024g) ‘GOOD NEWS Five Just Stop Oil members - including one of its co-founders - have been jailed for between four and five years...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/sophielouisecc/status/1813960163549929536>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Daubney, Martin. (@MartinDaubney) (2022a) ‘Forget Just Stop Oil, it’s time to Just Start Coal! Madness we rely on imports when we have black gold ready to go across the North & Midlands’ [X] available at <https://x.com/MartinDaubney/status/1596866462127476737>, accessed 13 January 2025.

Daubney, Martin. (@MartinDaubney) (2022b) ‘Why do Just Stop Oil protestors always look & sound *exactly* as you’d imagine? Entitled, arty-farty, privileged, over-educated halfwits...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/MartinDaubney/status/1590261261216157696>, accessed 13 January 2025.

Daubney, Martin. (@MartinDaubney) (2023a) ‘Just Stop Oil = The Workshy v The Working Class The haves putting their boots to the necks of the have-nots. It’s the same old tax ‘em high, pile ‘em high, “we know better”...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/MartinDaubney/status/1650843175315972096>, accessed 13 January 2025.

Daubney, Martin. (@MartinDaubney) (2023b) ‘Finally - and predictably- a working class motorist snaps at a Just Stop Oil blockade, shoving a protestor to the ground...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/MartinDaubney/status/1660929306036412417>, accessed 13 January 2024.

Daubney, Martin. (@MartinDaubney) (2023c) ‘Workshy clowns at Just Stop Oil target yet another posh event, knowing they won’t get a good shoeing...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/MartinDaubney/status/1661718630613020672>, accessed 13 January 2025.

Daubney, Martin. (@MartinDaubney) (2023d) ‘As a dad, if my newborn baby had to get to hospital and Just Stop Oil wouldn’t move after being told that, I honestly think I’d drive through them...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/MartinDaubney/status/1682420992964952064>, accessed 13 January 2025.

Daubney, Martin. (@MartinDaubney) (2023e) ‘Hands up who’d like a police force in Britain like these French bobbies, who simply drag Just Stop Oil protestors out of the road...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/MartinDaubney/status/1598225933504491522> , accessed 13 January 2025.

Daubney, Martin. (@MartinDaubney) (2024) ‘Why do the security simply look on? Why do no passengers rugby tackle these Just Stop Oil idiots to the ground?’ [X] available at <https://x.com/MartinDaubney/status/1818233984897179849> accessed 13 January 2025.

End Wokeness. (@EndWokeness) (2022a) ‘Just Stop Oil protestors try to block traffic in London Then a guy in a suit saves the day’ [X] available at <https://x.com/EndWokeness/status/1583112827920785408>, accessed 14 January 2025.

End Wokeness. (@EndWokeness) (2022b) “‘Just Stop Oil’ activists just poured tomato soup all over Van Gogh’s iconic Sunflowers painting in the National Gallery’ [X] available at <https://x.com/EndWokeness/status/1580887403568717824>, accessed 14 January 2025.

End Wokeness. (@EndWokeness) (2023) ‘BREAKING: Climate cult strikes again Just Stop Oil lunatics took hammers and attacked Rokeby Venus, painted in 1651 (\$90M) in the London National Gallery’ [X] available at <https://x.com/EndWokeness/status/1721507745294114848>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Farage, Nigel. (@Nigel_Farage) (2022a) ‘Let’s put the Just Stop Oil morons in prison. That will sort the whole thing out.’ [X] available at https://x.com/Nigel_Farage/status/1580205834167996417 accessed 13 January 2025.

Farage, Nigel. (@Nigel_Farage) (2022b) ‘The Just Stop Oil protestors are spoiled, upper middle-class brats.’ [X] available at https://x.com/Nigel_Farage/status/1590407945090928640, accessed 13 January 2025.

Farage, Nigel. (@Nigel_Farage) (2023a) ‘Just Stop Oil will stop at nothing. Are we really going to allow this crazy minority to disrupt every day life in this country?’ [X] available at https://x.com/Nigel_Farage/status/1648045689635569666, accessed 13 January 2025.

Farage, Nigel. (@Nigel_Farage) (2023b) Note that Met Police are not apologising for the other arrests of Just Stop Oil and Animal Rising protestors on the day....’ [X] available at https://x.com/Nigel_Farage/status/1655927028963749889, accessed 13 January 2025.

Farage, Nigel. (@Nigel_Farage) (2024) ‘These Just Stop Oil lunatics must be stopped.’ [X] available at https://x.com/Nigel_Farage/status/1818204669723775242, accessed 13 January 2025.

Fox, Lawrence. (@LozzaFox) (2023a) ‘Massive respect @LewisHamilton for your support of @JustStop Oil. Integrity doesn’t have a price. Integrity doesn’t have borders...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/LozzaFox/status/1677382780953452548>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Fox, Lawrence. (@LozzaFox) (2023b) ‘Words you will never hear at a just stop oil street gluing sesh. “You’re obstructing the highway.” The police have become a badly timed joke.’ [X] available at <https://x.com/LozzaFox/status/1720106896575680969>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Fox, Lawrence. (@LozzaFox) (2024a) ‘I think someone should start a movement called “Just Love Oil” where members gather up old tyres into a pile and have a nice big rubbery bonfire...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/LozzaFox/status/1803444558035853612>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Fox, Lawrence. (@LozzaFox) (2024b) ‘They better lock up these deluded vandals as well. This is what happens when you let your enemies educate your children. They turn into entitled narcissists...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/LozzaFox/status/1839740259925434630>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Fox, Lawrence. (@LozzaFox) (2024c) ‘Look how clean and tidy it was left. How respectful people were. If it had been a just stop oil protest, the whole place would have been left a sea of filth...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/LozzaFox/status/1797185015412863235>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Grimes, Darren. (@darrengrimes_) (2022a) ‘We know that we in this country face abhorrently high energy bills because of a lack of oil & gas in this country, so what makes the green zealots in Just Stop Oil think...’ [X] available at https://x.com/darrengrimes_/status/1578040966501597184, accessed 13 January 2025.

Grimes, Darren. (@darrengrimes_) (2022b) ‘Without fossil fuels, many kids would've died in childbirth. The use of fossil fuels is directly linked with human flourishing...’ [X] available at https://x.com/darrengrimes_/status/1590277786714767360, accessed 13 January 2025.

Grimes, Darren. (@darrengrimes_) (2023a) ‘Six Just Stop Oil protestors have been spared jail at Court for a track invasion which disrupted last year’s British Grand Prix. If they were working-class folk...’ [X] available at https://x.com/darrengrimes_/status/1641839067577950209

Grimes, Darren. (@darrengrimes_) (2023b) ““They have a right.” They do not have a right to obstruct His Majesty’s highway, actually. Utterly supine and pathetic when it comes to Just

Stop Oil...' [X] available at https://x.com/darrengrimes_/status/1649799652378640390, accessed 13 January 2025.

Grimes, Darren. (@darrengrimes_) (2023c) 'In just four weeks, 11,000 police officer shifts were lost to policing Just Stop Oil protests, costing the taxpayer £3.5 million...' [X] available at https://x.com/darrengrimes_/status/1664232130157715456, accessed 13 January 2025.

Grimes, Darren. (@darrengrimes_) (2023d) 'When will this UN-labelled global boiling end?! Our skin is melting here in Britain. Until we Just Stop Oil, Britain will be the Bahamas.' [X] available at https://x.com/darrengrimes_/status/1686026731906297856, accessed 13 January 2025.

Grimes, Darren. (@darrengrimes_) (2023e) "Just Stop Oil target the Cenotaph. I hope their handcuffs are on extra tight..." [X] available at https://x.com/darrengrimes_/status/1721502985300103177, accessed 13 January 2025.

Grimes, Darren. (@darrengrimes_) (2024) 'Cressida Gethin, a 22-year-old Just Stop Oil zealot from leafy Hertfordshire, has been sentenced to four years in the clink. Her mum is shedding tears...' [X] available at https://x.com/darrengrimes_/status/1815690831505858954, accessed 13 January 2025.

Habib, Ben. (@benhabib6) (2022) 'How is [@JustStop Oil](#) able to incite civil disobedience on social media? Shouldn't the police be onto this?' [X] available at <https://x.com/benhabib6/status/1590356495194939392>, accessed 13 January 2025.

Habib, Ben. (@benhabib6) (2023) 'This is utterly unacceptable. Our national treasures being damaged in the pursuit of their absurd ideology. This is eco terrorism...' [X] available at <https://x.com/benhabib6/status/1721506463871336676>, accessed 13 January 2025.

Habib, Ben. (@benhabib6) (2024) 'There should be zero tolerance for these far left eco-terrorists. They attack the country when they attack our priceless works of art...' [X] available at <https://x.com/benhabib6/status/1839678180547797420>, accessed 13 January 2025.

Harris, Lee. (@addicted2newz) (2022a) 'A member of the public tackled a Just Stop Oil activist who was vandalising the MI5 building. Give this man a knighthood.' [X] available at <https://x.com/addicted2newz/status/1587046341443739648>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Harris, Lee. (@addicted2newz) (2022b) 'The self-entitled Just Stop Oil tearful eco-terrorist, Louise Harris, has been imprisoned along with 10 others until her trial for shutting down the

M25...' [X] available at <https://x.com/addicted2newz/status/1590103529464946688>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Harris, Lee. (@addicted2newz) (2023a) 'You wont hear this from the eco-loons or MSM, but the UK has become the first G20 country to halve its carbon emissions...' [X] available at <https://x.com/addicted2newz/status/1739629479184548032>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Harris, Lee. (@addicted2newz) (2023b) 'Sadly, this was inevitable... If 'Just Stop Oil' eco-extremists continue to target and harass hard-working members of the public, making their lives miserable...' [X] available at <https://x.com/addicted2newz/status/1681612361830916097>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Harris, Lee. (@addicted2newz) (2023c) 'The problem with self-entitled eco-extremists like Just Stop Oil is they make everyone's lives a misery, but simply don't live in reality...' [X] available at <https://x.com/addicted2newz/status/1681257934217523200>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Harris, Lee. (@addicted2newz) (2023d) 'Just Stop Oil have stopped you getting to work, stopped you getting your kids to school, stopped you getting to hospital and put lives at risk...' [X] 25 July, available at <https://x.com/addicted2newz/status/1683827808424939520>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Harris, Lee. (@addicted2newz) (2023e) 'Just Stop Oil stop are the very worst of humanity. This vile group of eco-extremists delay a grieving family with children...' [X] available at <https://x.com/addicted2newz/status/1687058926162841600>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Harris, Lee. (@addicted2newz) (2023f) 'Eco-extremists 'Just Stop Oil' try to block a bus taking illegal migrants to the Bibby Stockholm. You can hear them literally screaming...' [X] available at <https://x.com/addicted2newz/status/1715006677802475818>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Harris, Lee. (@addicted2newz) (2023g) 'A member of the public chucks water over Just Stop Oil protestors and calls them a bunch of arseholes. Give this man a knighthood.' [X] available at <https://x.com/addicted2newz/status/1671844839564931073>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Harris, Lee. (@addicted2newz) (2023h) 'Just Stop Oil eco-dipshits have vandalised a painting at the London Nation Gallery. Just listen to them. The absolute nutjobs' [X] available at <https://x.com/addicted2newz/status/1721491033752485994>, accessed 12 January 2025.

Hewertson, Emily. (@emilyhewertson) (2022a) ‘The only thing that Just Stop Oil activists are achieving is making the whole country hate them’ [X] available at <https://x.com/emilyhewertson/status/1543613193293107202>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Hewertson, Emily. (@emilyhewertson) (2022b) ‘This is what we mean when we say Just Stop Oil are a deeply dangerous organisation. Shame on all those who have encouraged their behaviour.’ [X] available at <https://x.com/emilyhewertson/status/1590266956791574528>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Hewertson, Emily. (@emilyhewertson) (2023a) ‘Everyday, Just Stop Oil turn more people away from their cause. Embarrassing.’ [X] available at <https://x.com/emilyhewertson/status/1648069071986995202>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Hewertson, Emily. (@emilyhewertson) (2023b) ‘Just Stop Oil have stopped to a whole new low. Vile individuals.’ [X] available at <https://x.com/emilyhewertson/status/1677751218087636992>, accessed 15 January

Oakeshott, Isabel. (@IsabelOakeshott) (2022a) ‘I have nothing but contempt for the Just Stop Oil protestors. They are breathtakingly ignorant, selfish, and deluded. Every single one involved in blocking roads should be flung into jail.’ [X] available at <https://x.com/IsabelOakeshott/status/1590318704897970176>, accessed 13 January 2025.

Oakeshott, Isabel. (@IsabelOakeshott) (2022b) ‘The suffragettes spoke for half the population. Just Stop Oil only speak for a few spoilt millennials and Gen Z-ers’ [X] available at <https://x.com/IsabelOakeshott/status/1584637108836179969> accessed 13 January 2025.

Oakeshott, Isabel. (@IsabelOakeshott) (2023) ‘I don’t doubt climate change, but don’t support a mad rush to net zero or the just stop oil loons’ [X] available at <https://x.com/IsabelOakeshott/status/1676365982816673792>, accessed 13 January 2025.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2022a) ‘At Westminster Magistrates’ Court today, ‘tearful’ Just Stop Oil Louise Harris has been imprisoned until her trial after selfishly disrupting the M25 along with 10 others...[X] available at <https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1590096772713811968>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2022b) ‘A Just Stop Oil fanatic, Cressie, 22, was sentenced to 4 years in prison. Her mother, Cathy, speaking outside the court, said Cressie would miss her brother’s wedding...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1815488513514627510>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2022c) 'This bystander who has had enough, tackled a Just Stop Oil criminal vandalising the MI5 building, leaving them covered in their own orange paint...' [X] 31 October, available at

<https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1587036233536081920>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2022d) 'If the police fail to move these self entitled Just Stop Oil protesters, it was only a matter of time until the public took matters into their own hands...' [X] available at <https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1579092644583571462>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2022e) 'They're less tolerant of Just Stop Oil criminals in France.' [X] 9 November, available at

<https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1590364947829383170>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2023a) 'Just Stop Oil targeted the Cenotaph. The Cenotaph has nothing to do with oil at all, just a disrespectful stunt by jobless attention seekers. I hope they enjoy prison' [X] available at <https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1721505386824434018>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2023b) 'As many predicted, a furious motorist punched and kicked a Just Stop Oil activist. Tensions were always going to escalate when the Met Police leave it to citizens...' [X], available at

<https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1681603671287554048>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2023c) 'The tables turned and Just Stop Oil's banquet got disrupted by undercover journalists. The balloons had releasing alarms...' [X] available at

<https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1683444744536440834>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2023d) "'I need to go to work...I'm going to be late." A driver who has had enough attempts to take banners from Just Stop Oil protesters blocking a road...' [X] 25 July, available at <https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1650757974292307969>, accessed

14 January 2025.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2023e) 'Just Stop Oil fanatics attempted to block illegal migrants being taken to the Bibby Stockholm barge (whatever that has to do with oil)...' [X]

available at <https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1714998711212736567>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2023f) "'Their father died a few weeks ago and my kids are relying on this holiday. We're going to miss our flights...' [X] available at

<https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1687047974214381568>, accessed 14 January 2024.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2024a) 'Just Stop Oil founder Roger Hallam jailed for five years over M25 protests. Fantastic news...' [X] available at <https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1813955524653945071>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2024b) 'Just Stop Oil fanatics attempting to block Gatwick departure gates. Ordinary people who have saved up for a well deserved holiday...' [X] available at <https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1817848108841136289>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2024c) 'Just Stop Oil fanatics Anna Holland and Phoebe Plummer, both 22, have been found guilty of criminal damage...' [X] available at <https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1816474128213295203>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2024d) 'If somebody created a parody of a Just Stop Oil protester, I don't think it'll be as good as the real thing.' [X] available at <https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1581635527664873472>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Rose, Chris. (@ArchRose90) (2024e) 'Absolutely disgusting. The self entitled morons from Just Stop Oil have sprayed the historic Stonehenge monument in orange paint...' [X] available at <https://x.com/ArchRose90/status/1803402732037881997>, accessed 14 January 2025.

Slater, June. (2022) 'JUST Stop Oil think this will bovver the corporations ..it just ruins day to day lives and could have caused a spark but hey! They're uni grads they know it all!' [X] available at <https://x.com/juneslater17/status/1604871157001621504>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Slater, June. (2023a) 'Lewis Hamilton tweeting he supports just stop oil, from his private jet on his way to F1 race, Possibly could be tweeting his Nan!' [X] available at <https://x.com/juneslater17/status/1677384913321103360>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Slater, June. (2023b) 'Faceless and brutal control of anti lockdown protestors in France. Yet we bring Just stop Oil refreshments, anyone would think there was a bias attitude!' [X] available at <https://x.com/juneslater17/status/1634845624834334722>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Slater, June. (2024a) 'Don't you support just stop oil? Where do you think your bubble jacket came from or the tray your burger is in? Here's another Subsidy millionaire telling us how to live!' [X] available at <https://x.com/juneslater17/status/1864087504590164151>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Slater, June. (2024b) ‘What fools, trying to destroy the very basis of our constitution in Britain. It stopped the elites of the day riding roughshod over the poor...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/juneslater17/status/1788952011267866940>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Slater, June. (@juneslater17) (2024c) ‘Bloody idiots. The Magna Carta is our conditional base. A piece of decent history that stopped the elite running roughshod I've the poor...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/juneslater17/status/1788950876272443567>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Slater, June. (@juneslater17) (2024d) ‘I'm guessing ...but Cressida Gethin (Just Stop Oil) has Not come from parents who struggle to pay bills Never lived in a council house...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/juneslater17/status/1759624877600895010>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Wide Awake Media (@wideawake_media) (2023a) ‘I hope Just Stop Oil keep up these silly and pointless protests, which ironically—by preventing people from getting to where they want to get...’ [X] available at https://x.com/wideawake_media/status/1683156583226671111, accessed 14 January 2025.

Wide Awake Media (@wideawake_media) (2023b) ‘Member of the public loses his patience with Just Stop Oil trust fund bedwetters, then proceeds to pour milk on them. #ClimateScam’... available at https://x.com/wideawake_media/status/1674502629404078103, accessed January 14 2025.

Wide Awake Media (@wideawake_media) (2023c) ‘Man confronts Just Stop Oil protesters as they prevent ordinary people from getting to work. "What's your sign made out of? Plastic...’ [X] available at https://x.com/wideawake_media/status/1666429544075501569, accessed 14 January 2025.

Wide Awake Media (@wideawake_media) (2023d) ‘If there was ever any doubt that these road-blocking Just Stop Oil/Extinction Rebellion delinquents are sponsored by the establishment...’ [X] available at https://x.com/wideawake_media/status/1651177667524276226, accessed 14 January 2025.

Wide Awake Media (@wideawake_media) (2024a) ‘"Just Stop Oil" But not until my flight is over.’ [X] available at https://x.com/wideawake_media/status/1777124562339061762, accessed 14 January 2025.

Wide Awake Media (@wideawake_media) (2024b) ‘UK police serve as Just Stop Oil's personal bodyguards as they prevent people from getting to work, then accost a frustrated motorist for grabbing their banners...’ [X] available at https://x.com/wideawake_media/status/1791385626698190916, accessed 14 January 2025.

Wide Awake Media (@wideawake_media) (2024c) ‘UK: Just Stop Oil protesters block a driver urgently trying to get to the hospital. The police refuse to move or arrest them, so he bypasses the protest by driving on the pavement...’ [X] available at https://x.com/wideawake_media/status/1778366137085931534, accessed 14 January 2025.

Wide Awake Media (@wideawake_media) (2024d) ‘Having been presented with data that contradicts his apocalyptic religious beliefs, Just Stop Oil climate cultist crumples up and discards the report.’ (2024d) [X] available at https://x.com/wideawake_media/status/1808095788620190051, accessed 14 January 2025.

Wide Awake Media (@wideawake_media) (2024e) ‘German police demonstrate how to effectively deal with Just Stop Oil climate activists. Meanwhile, UK police serve as their personal bodyguards...’ [X] available at https://x.com/wideawake_media/status/1790718291138187740, accessed 14 January 2025.

Wide Awake Media (@wideawake_media) (2024f) ‘Useless UK police stand around doing nothing as Just Stop Oil protesters block the road, preventing people from getting to work...’ [X] available at https://x.com/wideawake_media/status/1779109032105488692, accessed January 14 2025.

Wide Awake Media (@wideawake_media) (2024g) ‘London, England: Angry motorist lashes out at a Just Stop Oil blockade, throwing a protestor to the ground. Predictably, London police arrest the motorist...’ [X] available at https://x.com/wideawake_media/status/1790720805166284855, accessed January 14 2025.

Young, Toby. (@toadmeister) (2022a) ‘Supreme Court judges have been blamed for giving the green light to eco-zealot mayhem as Just Stop Oil exploit an extraordinary 2021 legal ruling...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/toadmeister/status/1591863508236484609>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Young, Toby. (@toadmeister) (2022b) ‘One of the green protestors who glued herself to John Constable's The Hay Wain has been branded an eco-hypocrite...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/toadmeister/status/1544072740566667266>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Young, Toby. (@toadmeister) (2022c) ‘Angry road users resorted to dragging eco-protesters out of the road this morning as Just Stop Oil blocked a busy London High Street...’ [X] available at <https://x.com/toadmeister/status/1581328581761724418>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Young, Toby. (@toadmeister) (2022d) ‘Just Stop Oil protestors were arrested up to seven times each in yet more evidence that the police and courts are powerless to stop eco-

protestors...' [X] available at <https://x.com/toadmeister/status/1607723025855614977>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Young, Toby. (@toadmeister) (2022e) 'Just Stop Oil and Extinction Rebellion are causing widespread misery, stopping key workers driving to work, preventing ambulances crossing Vauxhall...' [X] available at <https://x.com/toadmeister/status/1513199468220493833>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Young, Toby. (@toadmeister) (2022f) 'When police arrested a journalist for covering a Just Stop Oil protest they defended it by saying journalists should stop covering the story...' [X] available at <https://x.com/toadmeister/status/1591443322807066626>, accessed 15 January 2024.

Young, Toby. (@toadmeister) (2022g) 'With ambulances blocked by Just Stop Oil protestors from getting to hospital and motorists taking matters into their own hands...' [X] available at <https://x.com/toadmeister/status/1580271917348446208>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Young, Toby. (@toadmeister) (2023a) '14-year-old blogger and sports fan Jack Watson is unimpressed by Just Stop Oil's pledge to unleash a summer of sporting chaos...' [X] available at <https://x.com/toadmeister/status/1650409287254962179>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Young, Toby. (@toadmeister) (2023b) 'London's Metropolitan Police have finally shown signs of cracking down on the eco-loon Just Stop Oil protestors, who have been blocking roads...' [X] available at <https://x.com/toadmeister/status/1656282986214457345>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Young, Toby. (@toadmeister) (2023c) 'Police in London have refused to clear roads being blocked by eco-loon 'Just Stop Oil' protestors while threatening with arrest...' [X] available at <https://x.com/toadmeister/status/1650885972664393729>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Young, Toby. (@toadmeister) (2023d) 'Just Stop Oil was protesting in Central London today, stopping people from getting to work in Westminster and Lambeth. Needless to say, no protestors have been arrested.' [X] available at <https://x.com/toadmeister/status/1653006396508520449>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Young, Toby. (@toadmeister) (2023e) 'Adam McKay, a Hollywood director who helps fund Just Stop Oil, has a holiday home 5,000 miles away from his house in Malibu...' [X] available at <https://x.com/toadmeister/status/1663092877759508484>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Young, Toby. (2023f) 'A Just Stop Oil mob today tried to stop the first asylum seekers returning to the Bibby Stockholm barge, claiming the migrants are victims of climate

change...' [X] available at <https://x.com/toadmeister/status/1715020024497225868>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Young, Toby. (2023g) 'Given how effective the pink-haired eco-protestors have been at promoting their hysterical, environmentalist alarmism, is it time to set up a militant, anti-Net Nero protest group...' [X] available at <https://x.com/toadmeister/status/1666746945941958656>, accessed 15 January 2025.

Young, Toby. (2023h) 'How do we stop Just Stop Oil from making all of our lives a misery? YouTubers Josh Pieters and Archie Manners, aka 'Just Stop Pissing Everyone Off'...' [X] available at <https://x.com/toadmeister/status/1684987167796277256> accessed 15 January 2025