People's Assemblies are part of the escalation, organisation and decision making strategy of XR. This grass roots method of self-organising and direct action is genuinely democratic and has been used throughout history to instigate people-powered change. People’s Assemblies were at the centre of the Arab Revolt that spread from Tunisia to Egypt in 2011, as well as the Spanish 15M movement, the Occupy movement, and the Y En A Marre movement in Senegal, and they are central to the organisation of the Democratic Federation of Northern Syria.
It is clear that traditional representational democracy is not fit for the purpose of addressing the climate emergency. Politicians represent many competing interests before they represent the interests of people and the planet. XR see radical new forms of democracy, which put decision making back in the hands of the people, as the only way by which we can take back control from the corporate captured system that is currently failing us.

The third XR demand - the use of Citizens’ Assemblies chosen by Sortition - shows one way that our broken, political system can be made obsolete. Using Citizens’ Assemblies, we trust ordinary people, who are chosen at random and take part in a deliberative democratic process, to address the realities of the climate emergency in a way that those in power have failed to do and can never do. People’s Assemblies offer other ways for us to transform our democracy – they offer a way of seeing democracy in action out on the streets or in a community and help people reclaim power. Both Citizens’ and People’s assemblies are based on the ‘assembly’ process which enables people to share equally and openly within an environment that is non-judgemental and respectful - and facilitated to that effect.

As the world becomes more and more atomized, meeting with strangers and sharing your feelings is itself transformative. In the context of Extinction Rebellion, assemblies are constructed in a way where people are safe to share their experience, make decisions collectively and work together to problem solve, as well as share the grief and loss they feel for a world that is rapidly collapsing. The assemblies hold that grief with respect and allow people to work together to organise towards rebellion and a shift away from the system that has brought us to this crisis of all crises. Assemblies are not an alternative to non-violent direct action, they complement such action and can themselves be a form of direct action if they are being held in a space designed to be disruptive or during occupations.

Within Extinction Rebellion assemblies have specific uses which this manual will explain. Assemblies are not an alternative to non violent direct action but they will complement that process. We continue with peaceful civil disobedience at the centre of all we do. People’s Assemblies can be part of the deep adaptation that communities have to go through in order to face the growing impact of climate and biodiversity breakdown. As societal structures collapse, we are going to have to reclaim power for our communities and these forms of participatory democracy will become essential to the way we organise.

Government must create and be led by the decisions of a Citizens’ Assembly on climate and ecological justice

The third demand of Extinction Rebellion in the UK
People’s Assemblies are a way for a group of people to discuss issues or make decisions collectively, where all voices are heard and valued equally and no one person or group are able to dominate the process. Assemblies can be a form of direct action if they are being held in a space designed to be disruptive or during occupations.

People’s assemblies are ‘self selected’ meaning that anyone can choose to take part. They are not to be confused with citizens’ assemblies, which are composed of people randomly selected from the population by the process of Sortition to make sure they are representative of society (for CAs, key characteristics such as gender, age, ethnicity, education level and geography are taken into consideration). Citizens’ assembly members are selected to make a decision on a specific topic. Before making that decision they learn about critical thinking and hear balanced information from experts and stakeholders. They then spend time deliberating in small facilitated groups, similar to the break-out groups used in People’s Assemblies.

Three ways that People’s Assemblies can be used:
- Movement Building: Assemblies held in public spaces can act as a way for members of the public to be drawn into joining the conversation and add their voice to discussion and debate around the climate emergency or around specific topics such as local environmental issues.
- Direct Action: Assemblies can form part of a direct action when they are held during occupations, roadblocks or other forms of peaceful civil disobedience involving groups of people holding spaces any length of time.
- Organising and Decision Making: Groups of any size can meet and discuss issues or make decisions collectively in regards to moving the aims and actions of XR or a community forward. The basic participatory democracy method can be used by direct action groups, regional groups, affinity and working groups or community groups to make emergency decisions or for decisions on how to organise themselves.

People there wanted to raise their voices and state their opinions and there was a facilitator, people were taking notes. It was being done in an orderly way to ensure everyone could speak... Now everyone can say, ‘We have the right to say that we are tired of things and want change.’ We know now that we have the strength that comes from being many people.

A member of 15M recalls her first assembly
Diversity in opinion will pay you back in the long run socially... if we don't fix this problem to start with we are simply going to replicate existing power structures

Eleanor Saitta, hacker and designer

Three key elements of People's Assemblies, also referred to as 'the three pillars', are radical inclusivity, active listening and trust.

1) Effective assemblies achieve radical inclusivity, where the emphasis on all being heard and valued equally means no voices are dominating and the collective wisdom of the assembly can be reached. People can participate safely and openly, without fear of judgement or ridicule. Radical inclusivity is a practical step to widening a movement through providing agency to all who participate. Radical Inclusivity also means being aware of potential barriers to engagement and working with those affected to enable participation. Think about disabled access, sign language, whisper interpretation for those for whom English isn't their first language and other possible means by which those barriers can be removed. Ask if there are any barriers to engagement that people need to identify and then request that the group works together to find ways to remove them, then read out the 'Inclusivity Statement'.

2) It is easy to start mapping out in your mind what your response may be while someone is still talking. Active listening is focusing on hearing someone all the way through before developing your responses. Assemblies are not an arena for intellectual jousting or point scoring but a place that recognises that no one person or group holds all the answers and that through the wisdom of the crowds we achieve powerful intelligence about the core issues being discussed.

3) Once the system and process for People's Assemblies has been agreed on, it is essential that all participants trust the process, trust the facilitators and trust the various working groups involved. It is essential that the facilitators and Assembly team enable this trust through sticking to the agreed process and ensuring that everyone follows the facilitators. It is not meant to be a perfect system and can only be effective if people trust that those involved have come together in humility, to work towards decisions and actions that are best for all.
This is the basic framework for creating and running a People's Assembly. This 'Quick Start Guide' is essentially all you need to run an assembly, but is followed by a more in depth look at how to create and run effective assemblies. If you are running an assembly it is suggested that you read through the entire manual first, but if you need to, you can just jump straight in here.

Hand Signals
One way for assemblies to maintain inclusivity and ensure all voices are heard equally is by using hand signals to facilitate the discussion. Using hand signals helps people to take it in turns to speak, and allow others to finish what they are saying without being spoken over and interrupted as so often happens in daily conversation.

Point (or 'I would like to speak')
When someone in the group wants to say something they put their finger up and wait for the facilitator to let them have their turn in speaking. It is vital that people do not talk over anyone else and waits their turn. If some people put their finger up to speak and have not yet said anything while others have spoken a lot, then the facilitator gives that person priority over the ‘stack’ (the queue or order of speakers based on the order they raised their finger to speak).

Wavy Hands (I Agree)
If someone says something that you agree with, it is important to give the ‘wavy hands’ signal of approval. This instantly indicates how much consensus there is towards something being said. If everybody erupts into a forest of waving hands, the note taker can see that this is one of the more popular points made and it will become one of the key bullet points fed back.

Speak up
If you can’t hear someone ask them to raise their voice by raising and lowering your hands, palms open and facing up.

Clarification
If someone says something that is unclear, people will hold out their hand in a ‘C’ shape as the ‘clarification’ signal. The Facilitator will then pause the discussion until the Clarification is made.
Direct (or Information) Point
If someone says something, and another person has directly relevant information to add, that person makes the ‘direct point’ hand signal and the facilitator will let them provide that relevant information immediately after the person has finished their point. Think of the Direct Point hand signal like brackets. Direct points have to be absolutely relevant in terms of adding critical information that a speaker is not aware of (‘the date of the action has now been changed to Wednesday’). This is not an excuse to jump the stack just to make your point. Don’t abuse this as people will lose trust in the process.

Technical point
If someone has information that is immediately relevant to the well being of the entire group, they make a ‘technical point’ signal by making a ‘T’ shape with their hands. This is only to be used for concerns external to the discussion that need to be immediately addressed such as ‘this room is being used by another group in five minutes time’, or ‘the police are starting to make arrests’ or even ‘I am the note taker and I need the loo so someone else has to take over now’. A Technical Point will immediately stop the conversation.

Round Up
Facilitators ensure that no one speaks for more than their allotted time (often 2 minutes). If someone is nearing their limit the facilitator makes the ‘Round up’ hand signal by making a circular motion with their hands. This must be done sensitively, but firmly to ensure that no one person dominates the meeting. With radical inclusivity in mind we may need to flex the time and give some people a little more time than others who are more confident and practiced at expressing themselves.

Roles: Each assembly needs
— **Lead facilitator(s).** Ideally two with a gender balance. Responsible for the overall running of the assembly, time keeping, and the delivery of all relevant information.
— **Assembly Note taker.** Responsible for recording the results of the Feedback phase of the assembly and responsible for feeding the assembly results into wherever they are destined to go. They might, for example, need to send them to the local Council to demand action, or feed them into an online organising platform. The destination of what is generated in assembly needs to be clearly defined before the start.

Each breakout group needs
— **a Facilitator.** Facilitates discussion using hand signals, ensures no one dominates, keeps an eye on the time, maintains radical inclusivity and active listening and adheres to the ‘Inclusivity Statement’.
— **a Note taker.** Summarises the most popular points, ideally as bullet points. Aims to boil them down to a few key points or ideas from the discussion. Looks for wavy hands to signify agreement.
There are three main phases of an Assembly, Input, Deliberation and Integration (feeding back). Setup can be broken down further into Introduction and Input which can be of varying lengths depending on the purpose of the Assembly. Ideally the Setup phase should be no more than 30 mins in total. Unless it is an emergency assembly to make a rapid decision all assemblies should begin with the Children’s Fire or with something to unite all of those present.

*Children’s Fire*
At the start of the assembly once everyone has gathered, light a candle or candles either in the centre of the assembly or in a prominent place. The flame represents all life on earth and the next seven generations. It serves to remind us that every decision we make is not just ours to carry, but will be felt for seven generations to come. Facilitators should explain this, then ask for a two minute silence as the candle is lit to allow everyone to contemplate not only the next seven generations of human life, but of all interconnected life on earth that we must act in awareness of.
INTRODUCTION
Start on time. Introduce and explain the hand signals so that they can be used throughout all parts of the assembly. Lead Facilitators introduce the Assembly agenda, including where the results of this assembly will go. Talk through the three pillars and ask for help from the crowd to remove any barriers to engagement that may be identified, and read out the Inclusivity Statement:

We value all voices equally in the assembly, as the aim is to hear the wisdom of the crowd gathered here and not to have the assembly dominated by individual voices or groups. We recognise that confident speakers are not always right and that those who are not confident speakers will often have the most useful ideas or opinions to put into the discussion. This is why we value all voices equally and we ask you to do the same. We do not tolerate any calling out, abuse or shaming and should conflicts arise in this way, there is a conflict resolution in place to resolve this. We welcome all people but not all behaviours.

SETUP
This can be as simple as the Lead Facilitators framing the question for discussion and why the assembly has been convened, or asking the gathered crowd for suggestions as to what they would like to deliberate on (known as People’s Choice). Or it can involve a longer and more in depth Input section such as a live panel of experts, or video input.

People’s Choice
Lead Facilitator asks for suggestions from the crowd on what they would like to discuss, and the Assembly Note taker records them. Ideally looking for three or four suggestions maximum or the process can be very long and drawn out! The crowd are then asked to vote using the ‘Temperature Check’ method. The Lead Facilitator reads them out one at a time and looks for the most ‘Wavy Hand’ signals to show the overall preference.

Testify
Invite people to take the microphone for two minutes maximum and share their feelings about what has brought them to join the assembly or action that day, to share what is in their heart. In an open public assembly, this section can be drawn out as long as people volunteer to speak. It opens the space for people to connect emotionally, but shouldn't be used as a ‘soap box’ on the issues about to be discussed. Ideally ask for a woman to speak first (it has been shown that this will greatly increase the level of engagement of female participants. The rate of engagement and uptake for males isn’t affected in the same way), and allow as much dead air as is necessary for people to build up the courage to come and talk. Be strict with timing but ensure that people speaking are supported and made completely safe in their sharing. Ideally work with two facilitators so that one facilitator ‘guards’ mic and keeps stack, whilst one sits in front of speaker with timer and gives ‘round up’ hand signal as they approach 2 mins.
MAIN DELIBERATION (5 mins intro, 25 mins deliberation, 10 mins note feedback)
— Lead Facilitator clarifies discussion topic or question, including making clear how many points are to be fed back from each ‘breakout group’ (usually between 3 and 5 depending on the size of the assembly).
— Lead Facilitators divide the assembly into ‘breakout groups’ ideally of between six to eight. Facilitators need to try and ensure this is roughly the size of each group and encourage people to sit in groups with people they don’t already know.
— Each Breakout Group has one facilitator and one note taker as explained above.
— Clarify duration of deliberation (discussion in breakout groups) phase and stick to timings throughout an assembly as many people who are attending have work or family responsibilities that have to be respected.
— Recap hand signals here.

Breakout Groups
— It is good practice for the Facilitator to restate the discussion topic or question and for the note taker to write it down. This enables people in the group to refer back to the original point for discussion to make sure the group stays focused and on subject. It is also good to start by going around the group and stating names, and making space for anyone to highlight any barriers to engagement that they may have that the small group can work together to try to work around.

Breakout Groups discuss topic for 25 mins.

10 mins to end of Deliberation Phase
— Lead Facilitator calls time for the end of the discussion time. Note taker feeds back their summary of the discussion to identify the key points and agree with the group that the points they have recorded as most popular are an accurate representation.

FEEDING BACK (Integration Phase)
Lead Facilitator calls assembly note takers to the front of the Assembly.
Each Note Taker
— feeds back key points
— Crowd uses wavy hands to indicate support
— Assembly Note Taker records the points that get the most overall approval from the entire assembly, or just records the points as they are fed back. It’s nice to do this on a white board or a large piece of paper so that the assembly participants can see it.
Assembly Note taker feeds results of the Assembly to wherever they are destined to go, such as central online results, or sent to Coordinators etc. This is determined prior to the assembly and will have formed part of the framing of the process in the Setup phase.
Finishing Up
— Appreciation for Facilitators and Note Takers
— If there is a need to vote on something as the results of the Assembly you can do a ‘Temperature Check’. The Lead Facilitators reads out the different options to be voted on and the members of the assembly cast their ‘vote’ using ‘wavey hands’ for the option they like the best. The Assembly Note Taker and Lead Facilitators watch for the most wavy hands and that gets taken forward.
— ‘Shout Outs’ are an invitation for those gathered to call out brief notifications such as upcoming actions or events. These should be short and arranged with the facilitators beforehand if possible. This should take no more than 10 mins
— Lead Facilitator to summarise the results of the Assembly if necessary, and thank everyone for participating.
The Assembly Process Working Group
Ideally you should have a Working Group focused specifically on organising and delivering People’s Assemblies as part of your Local or Regional Group. The Process Working Group liaises with all the other working groups to organise and publicise the Assemblies and are the point of contact for all things relating to them. The Process Working Group are also in direct contact with the XR UK Peoples Assembly Working Group. This enables constant evaluation of best practice, support and skill sharing. This may be a full working group, or just one or two people who take on the role of point of contact for assemblies coordination.

Facilitators
We aim to provide facilitators to visit Regional / National groups for training and support in running effective assemblies. We recognise that there are likely many people in your community with these skills and we encourage the use of assemblies where:
— Facilitators are rotated often.
— Volunteering through the assembly process team to be a facilitator remains continually open and it is their responsibility to ensure equal representation of race, gender and age as well as there being no facilitators with entrenched political bias or other strong prejudice.
— Neutrality and diversity in facilitators provide effective assemblies. Aim to have one female facilitator as one of the Assembly Leads. It has been shown that this will greatly increase the level of engagement of female participants, and the uptake into facilitation roles of women in general. The rate of engagement and uptake for males isn’t affected in the same way.
— Facilitators maintain radical inclusivity, active listening and trust and all voices being heard and valued equally.

HOW TO ORGANISE A PEOPLE’S ASSEMBLY
What to discuss?

This will depend entirely on the setting and framing of the Assembly. Regional organisers, the assembly process team and spokespeople from working groups will often choose the subjects for assemblies which are most relevant to furthering the aims of the rebellion. Simple online digital democracy tools like https://citizens.is/ can be used to allow people to choose or suggest subjects for assemblies as well as continue community comments and prioritising ideas.

An assembly agenda could include a discussion point ('what will the effects of climate breakdown be on our community over the next three years?') a proposal ('we should support the local anti-fracking camp with a day of non-violent civil disobedience at the drilling site next Saturday'), organising ('feedback and updates from the working groups') or decision making ('shall we join with a larger group or create our own actions here in our town or do both?')

Proposals:
— If the assembly is focusing on a proposal, the facilitators go for a 'temperature check' where the proposal is read out again (after being discussed in the breakout groups) and the assembly use their hands to show agreement or not.
— If only a few people are showing agreement then the proposal is taken back and can either be adjusted to fit the ideas that have emerged from the points made in the assembly or is dropped altogether if it has no support or no way of being adjusted to meet the collective vision of the assembly. (A proposal for putting all the group's time and resources into a local anti-fracking campaign may not be approved but a popular point made from a group that some of the time and resources be put into the local group could see the proposal returning with that adjustment).
— Facilitators check with the assembly note taker that the exact wording of the proposal is noted.

Decision Making
When a temperature check is used to decide between two or more options and there is no clear decision then the Assembly will need to decide how to proceed. It may be a case of taking an actual counted vote, or returning the options to the breakout groups to find a solution that can accommodate the points raised or the differing wishes.
ASSEMBLIES DURING DIRECT ACTION OR OCCUPATIONS

Depending on the size, duration and police presence, these assemblies could potentially be quick decision making assemblies (‘the police have given us these options, what should we do?’). In a situation where an extremely rapid decision was required, such assemblies could even dispense with breakout groups, relying instead on facilitation towards the whole assembly, taking in immediate hand signal based reactions. Alternatively, if the action or occupation were going on for a long period of time, they could be longer assemblies where people were able to discuss the key issues related to the action (‘we are occupying the offices of a major extraction corporation, in what other ways can we disrupt the fossil fuel industry?’).

Assemblies can also form part of the outreach during an action or occupation, and can be designed to include members of the public, or include invitations to people from organisations or institutions that are being targeted or affected to come and participate. The subjects for discussion can relate directly to the target of the action, or can be more broad and inclusive such as ‘how can we support each other in our communities in the face of climate breakdown?’ or ‘how can we help each other to face the grief that awareness brings?’

Assemblies provide us with a process by which to move and act with immense flexibility as a large group during times of action or occupation. They allow for immediate changes and decisions to be made on the spot that enable us to act and react with speed and flexibility, whilst still being able to make those decisions collectively, and in large numbers.

On the first XR Rebellion Day around 400 people took part in an assembly during the occupation of Westminster Bridge, with 27 breakout groups discussing ‘in what ways can the UK move to net carbon zero by 2025?’
On Declaration Day 31 October 2018 a few hundred people moved into the road at Parliament Square in London and held a quick collective decision making assembly deciding to stay in the road as non violent civil disobedience.
Choose the venue
People’s Assemblies are usually held in public spaces like town squares or outside prominent places like a city or town hall. They are designed to be as open as possible so that members of the public can easily join in. They are also held in community centres or other public buildings, particularly during the winter. Assemblies can be located outside (or inside) somewhere that may link to the issue being addressed by the assembly. For example, if the assembly is looking at the effects of climate and biodiversity breakdown on the agricultural industry, an assembly outside the local National Farmers Union, where the process group have invited the key members, is a way of forcing a response. All assemblies are held in venues that are fully wheelchair accessible.

A week before
A ‘process working group’ is responsible for the overall organising of the assembly and will be preparing for each new assembly as it is coming up.

The media and messaging team advertise the assemblies a week in advance, if possible creating local media coverage.

Messaging of the assembly includes stating the agenda and any proposals, giving people time for consideration or research.

The process group:
— Plan for a play area where the assembly will be held so that parents know they can attend and there will be a safe place where their children can be cared for during the assembly.
— If the assembly is expected to be over 100, plan for a PA system so that elderly people or people who are hard of hearing are included.
— Organise who the two lead facilitators and assembly note taker will be and confirm with them the date and time and the agenda.
— Organise a team of greeters who will be available on the event to welcome all people as they arrive, answer questions and provide hot drinks and snacks.
— Make sure social media are ready to cover the assembly and arrange livestreaming if possible.
A day before

*The process group:*

— Meet with the facilitators and make a plan for how the assembly can be run most effectively.
— Check the venue is still open and has not had road works start or any other unexpected change.
— Make sure the greeters are prepared and have food and hot drinks organised.
— Check the people running the child care area are prepared.
— Test the PA system if using one.

An hour before

— The process group, facilitators and media and messaging team meet and run through the assembly plan.
— The assembly team all wear clothing making them easily identifiable.
— The greeting team set up food and hot drinks and any XR stalls
— The PA is set up and tested
— The children’s area is organised
— Social media team starts sending out pics of the assembly being set up, using #XRAssembly.

During the assembly

*The process group:*

— Support the facilitators in keeping the assembly being run as planned and on time.
— Make sure people in the assembly are supported.
— Answer any questions on the process, one to one, aside from the assembly.

After the assembly

*The process group:*

— Support greeting team in collecting any sign ups from new people.
— Answering any questions about the process or about the assembly schedule or how to volunteer to help with assemblies.
— Have a detailed feedback and reflection meeting with facilitators.
— Make sure PA equipment is packed and returned.
— Have a party with everyone remaining.
The outcomes of an assembly and their destination are dependant on the scope and framing of the assembly and who convened it. The destination and legitimacy of the results of the assembly should be discussed and decided upon prior to the convening of the assembly, and it is important that all assembly participants should be made aware of this before the assembly begins.

**Decision making and proposals**  
An assembly convened by a group and advertised throughout the entire membership of the group has the legitimacy to make a decision that affects that group. They would not have the scope to make decisions beyond their own group, but could feed into larger decision making processes.

**For example**  
A Local group calls an assembly to discuss whether they join with a larger group for a day of action or create their own one locally. The assembly is advertised through all channels of communication so that every member of the group has the opportunity to attend. The decision made during that assembly gets reported to the group and acted upon.

The same group holds an assembly to decide if they, as a region, should combine with another region in the same manner. The results of that assembly can be fed into a larger decision making process that would affect other groups within the region as well.

**Discussion around a topic or to generate ideas**  
An assembly convened to look at issues with a broader scope would report results through the groups communication channels and if the results or recommendations related to an external body or organisation they could be conveyed to that body as well.

**For example**  
An Affinity Group hold an assembly as part of an action. It’s an open assembly in a public place looking at how the local Council can act after declaring a Climate and Ecological Emergency. The results of the assembly are published on the local groups facebook page and reported in their newsletter, but they are also emailed to the local Councillors asking them to take the suggestions to the next Council meeting.

Assemblies can also feed into national conversations and decision making processes through simple online digital democracy tools like citizens.is and loomio.org

More information about how Extinction Rebellion uses these online platforms and tools, along with other resources for People’s Assemblies and Participatory Democracy tools can be found on the Assemblies page at extinctionrebellion.uk/act-now/resources/peoples-assemblies/
The XR UK People’s Assembly Working Group are –

**Advocating the value and purpose of People’s Assemblies (PAs) as part of XR strategy, internally and externally:**

— Keeping PAs alive in rebels’ mind through regular participation, presentations and PAs offerings to other XR circles and working groups
— Actively promoting and sharing knowledge and experience of PAs outside XR through talks and workshops

**Supporting the introduction and practice of PAs as a deliberative and participatory collective process within XR centrally, regionally and internationally through trainings and co-facilitation:**

— Generating and providing access to online resources about the history of PAs, their role and how to run them effectively
— Providing an initial point of contact for those needing information and support, when considering running their first regarding PAs.
WE ARE NATURE DEFENDING ITSELF
For more information including contact information, links to tutorials and results of previous assemblies please visit the People’s Assemblies page at extinctionrebellion.uk/act-now/resources/people-assemblies/

This manual has been produced with input by activists from 15M, Stop the G8, the Fearless Cities global municipalism movement and majority world activists from Ghana and Senegal.

The manual is not written to be prescriptive to majority world XR groups where existing cultures of assembly are already practised. Neither are the areas of discussion for assemblies meant to be prescriptive to majority world cultures of resistance.
Further Reading:
https://rebellion.earth/act-now/resources/peoples-assemblies/
https://rebellion.earth/act-now/resources/citizens-assembly/
https://takethesquare.net/
https://howtocamp.takethesquare.net/
https://www.xrdemocracy.uk/
http://fearlesscities.com/en
http://www.aamindell.net/worldwork/
https://rhizomenetwork.wordpress.com/resources/#Facilitation
https://www.seedsforchange.org.uk/resources
http://www.theworldcafe.com/