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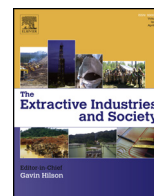
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Review article

Conceptualizing social protest and the significance of protest actions to large projects



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ABSTRACT

In democratic societies, protest is a legitimate and necessary way for communities to seek redress for issues that are ignored by decision-makers. In the wake of large projects, communities often find they need to mobilize to achieve respect for their rights and to influence the decision-making processes affecting their lives. Protest action can take many forms (e.g. blockades, rallies, boycotts) constituting a repertoire of contention, which is subject to continuous innovation. With new information and communication technologies (ICTs), digital repertoires of contention are also being enacted (social media, online petitions, digital sit-ins, twittering). This paper integrates the fields of performance theory, social movements, and impact assessment to conceptualize social protest. We identify over 200 forms of protest and related terms and provide a conceptual model to comprehend the contemporary role of protest. We consider that protest is part of the broader unfolding of social dramas, and is a mechanism to seek redressive action in contentious situations, especially between impacted communities and project proponents. Companies and governments that respect the principle of Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) and meaningfully engage with local people are less likely to experience protest and are more successful in establishing a social licence to operate.

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Contents

1. Introduction	217
2. Conceptualizing social protest	218
3. A glossary of protest actions and related terms.	220
4. Functions of social protest	235
5. Protest and the digital era	236
6. The role of protest in influencing project implementation	237
6. Conclusion	238
Acknowledgements	238
References	238

1. Introduction

Community protest has considerable potential to adversely affect the implementation of large projects (e.g. dams, mines, and

other major infrastructure projects). This paper draws on three different fields of academic discourse—specifically social movement theory (Della Porta and Diani, 1999; Della Porta and Tarrow, 2005; Tilly, 1993, 1995, 2004, 2006); performance theory (Bauman and Briggs, 1990; Turner, 1974, 1980, 1982); and social impact assessment (Dare et al., 2014; Esteves et al., 2012; Vanclay, 2002, 2003)—to understand the form and function of social protest, and to consider what it means for project development. Correspondingly, we also attempt to identify all the forms of protest.

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In our analysis of protest, we specifically consider the use of digital media and discuss how these new information and communication technologies (ICTs) change the form of social protest and the processes involved in protest actions. Our particular (but not exclusive) interest is on the protests of project affected communities who seek to influence the decisions regarding the large projects impacting them, especially when the principle of Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) has not been observed (Hanna and Vanclay, 2013). To understand the role of new technologies in protest, we introduce the concepts of ‘digitalization’ and ‘realization’ to highlight the interactivity between digital events and events in the offline world. We consider that protest is part of the broader unfolding of social dramas, and is a mechanism to seek redressive action in contentious situations—especially between impacted communities and project proponents.

This research is part of a larger investigation focused on the application of Social Impact Assessment (SIA) for large projects affecting Indigenous peoples in Brazil. A key finding of our previous research (Hanna et al., 2014, 2016a) is that protest is a frequent element of the environmental licensing process in Brazil and elsewhere, partially because of the failure of government and industry to conduct adequate SIA and FPIC processes. In such cases, protest can have an important role in positively influencing the SIA process and mitigation measures (O’Faircheallaigh, 2012, 2013).

Our data and evidence for this paper comes from a wide variety of sources. It included an extensive literature review and, more importantly, our monitoring of a range of NGO campaigns that typically target corporate activities and/or the extractive industries. Between 2012 and 2015, we followed these campaigns on social media channels (Facebook, Twitter and YouTube), specifically those of Amazon Watch, Greenpeace, Oxfam International, and Mining Watch. We also monitored various discussion/ mailing lists such as Ecominerals, and regular postings such as First Peoples Worldwide Corporate Monitor and the weekly update from the Business and Human Rights Resource Centre. We also monitored various protest websites (e.g. Greenpeace, Amazon Watch, Public Eye Award and *Combate Racismo Ambiental*). This was augmented by our regular reading of several online newspapers, notably The Guardian and Vice News. In addition, we undertook a collective brainstorming process harnessing each author’s own experiences

in various social movements at different times in their lives, including free and community radio, squats, student protests, the environmental movement, anti-nuclear movement, democracy struggles, the Afro-American civil rights movement, Indigenous rights movement, worker strikes, academic protests, and anti-war demonstrations. Additionally, the lead author undertook participant observation of the three day Indigenous mobilization in Brasília, Brazil, in May 2014 (see Hanna et al., 2016a). Finally, we discussed the issues in this paper with some protest organisers and activists, and have presented it in a number of fora, making changes as appropriate.

2. Conceptualizing social protest

Within the social movement literature, the different forms of social protest (e.g. blockades, street marches) are often described as ‘repertoires of contention’ or as ‘the social movement repertoire’ (Della Porta and Diani, 1999; Tilly, 1995, 2004). Repertoires of contention are embedded in a socio-political context, and each society has different norms and accepted ways of protesting, although there is always potential for manoeuvre and innovation (McAdam et al., 2001). Tilly (1995:26) defined repertoires as “a limited set of routines that are learned, shared, and acted out through a relatively deliberate process of choice. Repertoires are learned cultural creations, but they do not descend from abstract philosophy or take shape as a result of political propaganda; they emerge from struggle.”

Repertoires are not exclusively owned or known by any specific individual or group, but they develop in the relations between two or more contesting parties. Repertoires of contention are defined as “the established ways in which pairs of actors make and receive claims bearing on each other’s interests” (Tilly, 1995:27). A particular protest develops from the asymmetrical power relations between actors, and where at least one group attempts to defend its interests which it perceives as being threatened. Protest should be understood as performative events in the unfolding of social dramas (Turner, 1974, 1980, 1982). Social dramas are processes in which latent or implicit conflict becomes explicit, disrupting normal social interactions and demanding resolution. Turner outlined four main phases in the social drama process: breach (an unacceptable action that precipitates the drama and reveals latent

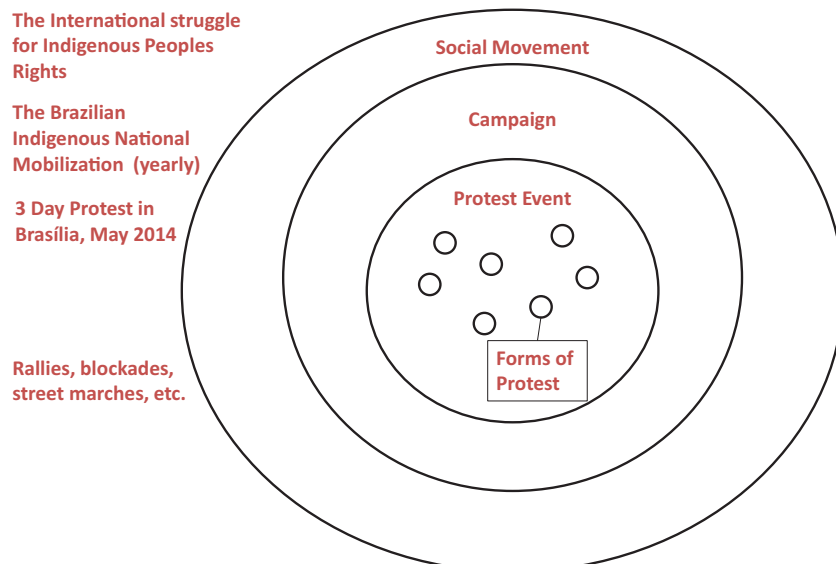


Fig. 1. Forms of protest embedded within a nested system. Note: The left side text provides an example at each level in the nested system (based on the protest mobilization described in Hanna et al., 2016a).

conflict); crisis (continuation of the conflict); redressive action (attempts to find a solution or acceptable outcome); and reintegration or irreparable schism. The redressive phase is especially important because it is characterized by rituals, judicial processes, and public performances, such as protests, that attempt to resolve on-going conflict and/or affect the structural relations of power (Hanna et al., 2016a).

Tilly (2004) considers that social movements are characterized by three elements: campaigns, repertoires and WUNC displays. WUNC includes: worthiness (e.g. presence of key people); unity (e.g. togetherness and solidarity in wearing common badges, banners); numbers (e.g. strength of the mass protest and evident size); and commitment (e.g. demonstrating brave resistance or endurance). Similarly, Della Porta and Diani (1999) suggest there are four characteristics shared by social movements: networks of informal interaction; shared beliefs and solidarity; collective action focusing on conflict; and the use of protest.

Whereas ‘social protest’ can refer to local as well as broader social struggles, ‘social movements’ refers to national and transnational causes, such as the women’s or Indigenous rights movements, or the global movement for those affected by dams. Social movements are based on campaigns, “a sustained, organized public effort making collective claims on targeted authorities” (Tilly, 2006:53). Campaigns comprise protest events (Eyerman, 2006), or “clusters of performances” (Tilly, 1993), which are not only physical events but can also be digital. Protest events, in turn, involve a combination of activities or forms of protest. Fig. 1 illustrates these different spheres of protest action and the relations between local forms of protest and the broader global and/or national social movements. We define social protest as strategic forms of action designed to influence decision making, either directly or by influencing public opinion via the use of the media and the internet (see Fig. 2). By decision making, we mean any process for the conceptualisation and implementation of planned interventions at any level, in both corporate and political settings, e.g. decisions at the project site; decisions by corporate headquarters; decisions by local authorities, state and national agencies; and in political decision-making settings.

Public opinion, mass media and social media iteratively influence each other and also feed back on protest events and the strategies used by protesters. It has been well established for decades that the media is an important channel for protesters, especially those from minority groups (Lipsky, 1968) in the ‘struggle for recognition’ (Honneth, 1996). More recently, social media has come to play a major role in all aspects of protest, as we go on to discuss later.

Della Porta and Diani’s (1999:168) definition of protest as the use of “unconventional methods of intervening in . . . decision-making” that use “indirect channels to influence decision-makers”

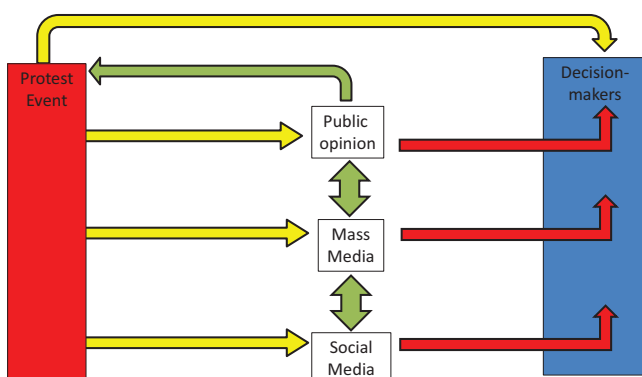


Fig. 2. Mechanisms by which social protest influences decision-making.

fits well with our concept of social protest. According to Rucht et al. (1999: 8–9), a protest is a “telling indicator for problems which are neither registered nor dealt with in an adequate manner” and that collective “protest can be understood as a public expression of dissent or critique that is often combined with making claims that, if addressed, would affect the interests of particular groups in society.”

Della Porta (2008:48) identified the characteristics that make protest ‘eventful’ – “they have a highly relevant cognitive, relational and emotional impact on participants and beyond participants” and that they “tend to produce effects not only on the authorities or on public opinions but also on the movement actors themselves”. Ultimately, Della Porta considered the conflict that occurs during protest as something positive—producing social capital, collective identity and shared knowledge.

As we discuss in detail below, there is a wide range of forms of social protest that are utilized to express opposition or to defend local community rights during the implementation of projects, plans, policies, and development programs. Protests, as strategic forms of political action, are part of larger social conflict between actors, comprise activities with various functions, and have a performative quality that is amplified by the media. Protests generally follow certain accepted norms, but like other performances, the repertoire is subject to innovation and improvisation. Therefore, the set of forms and each form of protest in itself are not static, but change over time and across socio-cultural and political contexts.

We borrow a theatrical metaphor—repertoire—to convey the idea that participants in public claim-making adopt scripts they have performed, or at least observed, before. They do not simply invent an efficient new action or express whatever impulses they feel, but rework known routines in response to current circumstances. Doing so, they acquire the collective ability to coordinate, anticipate, represent, and interpret each other’s actions. . . . Although strictly speaking repertoires belong to pairs of identities [i.e. are relational], for convenience we often generalize to a population, period, and/or place . . . Performances within repertoires do not usually follow precise scripts to the letter; they resemble conversation in conforming to implicit interaction rules, but engaging incessant improvisation on the part of all participants. Thus today’s demonstration unfolds differently from yesterday’s as a function of who shows up, whether it rains, how the police manage today’s crowd, what participants learned yesterday, and how authorities responded to yesterday’s claims. Demonstrations that begin similarly end up as mass meetings, solemn marches, attacks on public buildings, or pitched battles between police and activists. Indeed, stereotyped performances ordinarily lose effectiveness in the same way that rote speech falls flat: They reduce the strategic advantage of their performers, undermine participants’ claims of conviction, and diminish the event’s newsworthiness. As a consequence, small-scale innovation modifies repertoires continuously, especially as one set of participants or another discovers that a new tactic, message, or self-presentation brings rewards its predecessors did not. (McAdam et al., 2001:138)

Protests, as performances, are part of larger communicative processes. Bauman and Briggs (1990:61) affirm that performance “provides a frame that invites critical reflection on communicative processes. A given performance is tied to a number of speech events that precede and succeed it (past performances, readings of texts, negotiations, rehearsals, gossip, reports, critiques, challenges, subsequent performances, and the like)”. In order to reach broader audiences, mobilize people, and build solidarity for the

protest cause, improvisation and innovation in the performance of protest events is critical (Taylor and Van Dyke, 2004; Tilly, 1993).

Eyerman (2006) draws on performance theory to explain how social movements move people in terms of their feelings, mobilizing people to their cause, and/or convincing others about the validity of their claims. Protest events, such as demonstrations, are enacted, complete with directors (organisers), actors (participants), an audience (the public), as well as a stage (protest location, usually strongly symbolic places), and a script (organized chants, a pre-determined route for the street march, etc). Such “performances of opposition” provide a framing to the wider public about a particular situation, and create a narrative “which lifts it from being a single occurrence and gives it wider significance” (Eyerman, 2006:198).

How the protest message is actually interpreted by the audience is beyond the control of the protesters. Viewers understand the messages in different ways, and the media also creates distortion. Beyond the traditional cliché of the street march or rally, performative protest can also refer to less common forms of symbolic action, for example, the delivery of a formal letter of complaint, an event that can be highly performative (Hanna et al., 2016a). Protest events that effectively use performativity tend to be more successful in bringing their messages to the public and consequently in achieving their goals.

3. A glossary of protest actions and related terms.

As a result of our literature review, internet searching, website monitoring, brainstorming, discussions with activists, and reflections on our fieldwork (participant observation) within the National Indigenous Mobilization in Brasilia, we compiled a progressive listing of the forms of social protest action (and related terms) that can potentially be used to influence decision making relating to large projects and other contentious issues. Our listing of over 200 terms is not exhaustive due to the constant improvisation and innovation in protest action. We note that Gene Sharp (1973) did a similar exercise over four decades earlier arriving at 198 forms of non-violent action alone. However, his listing breaks protest forms down to very fine level of detail, for example he identified more than 20 forms of strike. Nevertheless, despite being prior to the digital age, his listing remains a very comprehensive categorization of traditional forms of non-violent protest.

Issues we experienced in compiling our list included problems around the precise definition of protest, the fact that many actions can be used in protest and non-protest ways, multiple terms for the same concept, inexact and sometimes multiple understandings of many concepts, and the overlapping, non-mutually-exclusive nature of many of the terms. It is clear that protest actions can only be understood within their social, cultural and political context. Thus something that may be considered as a form of protest in one context may not constitute protest in another context –i.e. the repertoires are contextual. Our listing combines the repertoires of different social movements and different cultural settings, however it should not be considered as being comprehensive of potential protest actions in the world, not least because there is continual innovation and creativity. Despite these issues, the following list in alphabetical order with more than 200 entries is a reasonable coverage of the shape of protest, and gives a sense of the diversity in form. Following the list, we analyse the purposes of protest and consider the implications of the digital age.

activist
shareholding

advertising

advocacy

ad-busting

anti-award

arrest

The buying of shares in a company in order to have access to company reports and to be able to attend shareholder Annual General Meetings and make (activist) speeches and potentially influence the company's decision-making process on a particular issue. (see also strategic disinvestment).

The use of conventional forms of paid advertisements to promote a protest campaign. Advertising can be in traditional format such as in the print media, television or radio, or the digital media such as website advertising (banner adverts) and the advertisements that accompany YouTube videos. (see also posters).

The use of various mechanisms (writing of reports, petitions, media interviews, participation in stakeholder platforms) to create pressure through the power of good argument to influence law, legal enforcement and compliance in relation to any social cause. (see also lobbying, reports).

The modification of billboards or the re-issuing of modified advertisements or corporate logos as a form of protest. (see also culture-jamming, graffiti).

The creation of an award scheme in oppositional mimicry to a mainstream award and the nomination of individuals or institutions for these anti-award (due to ethical or rights violations, e.g. Public Eye Award). (see also refusal of award, counter-celebration).

Being arrested can be a protest action when protesters do things specifically with the intention of being arrested. Such action can generate publicity and/or create awareness about the protest cause, especially when large numbers of people are arrested, particularly when they are otherwise law-abiding, upright citizens.

audience with officials	The seeking of an audience with government or company officials, e.g. ministers, managers or the President, in order to discuss a contentious issue. Will frequently be undertaken by a delegation (a small group of delegates authorised to speak on behalf of a protest movement) in conjunction with the issuing of a media release. (see also petition).	black bloc tactics	An umbrella term to refer to the use of measures to avoid identification and/or to provide protection against police counter-protest actions. Black bloc clothing has a dramatic effect creating media attention and also building solidarity amongst protesters. (see also organized violent resistance).
badges	The wearing of badges, pins, t-shirts or other insignia displaying a protest symbol or slogan to profess allegiance to and promote the campaign. A digital version is to include badges or emblems in people's profile pictures on social networks. (see also posters, bumper stickers).	blacklisting	The identification and naming of companies (or persons) that have 'behaved badly', usually for the purpose of boycotting or humiliating them. (see also boycott, naming and shaming).
banner	The use of large signs carrying a protest message, typically carried by several protesters in a street march. Can also be hung up on buildings or vehicles. (see also placard, rally).	blockade	A blockade is designed to obstruct access to construction or other site, usually with the intention of disrupting project operations. Blockades can occur on site, or at access routes such as roads and railway lines. (see also lockdown, barricade, sit-in, encampment, public nuisance).
banner bombing	The act of surreptitiously displaying banners at major public events capitalising on the large number of people present and/or the television audience, or to pressure the organisers or speakers. (see also ad-busting).	blogging	The publishing of text (i.e. story or rant) sometimes accompanied with pictures about a topic on a personal website. Can also include video-blogging. (see also broadcasting, twittering, website, zines).
barricade	The construction of barriers to confront police or to create public inconvenience by obstructing traffic or pedestrian flow in public spaces or roads by using various materials including vehicles (e.g. cars, tractors), tyres (which are often set on fire), or any other materials at hand. Whereas a blockade strategically restricts access to a specific project site, a barricade restricts access of the public or the police in a public place. (see also blockade, lockdown, public nuisance, organized violent resistance).	bone pointing	An Indigenous Australian concept, in which the pointed person is cursed, similar to casting spells.
bed-in	Staying in bed as a form of protest, made famous by John Lennon and Yoko Ono as a protest against the Vietnam war (see the documentary film 'Bed Peace' on YouTube).	boycott	A public campaign to withdraw support from a specific company, institution or product. It is designed to have financial impact on the company by mobilizing consumers against the product or company. While the strategy is to change the purchasing behaviour of individuals, it can also be accompanied with a blockade or barrier at the entrance to the company's sites. (see also campaign, embargo, gilecott).
bicycle activism	see critical mass.	brandalism	See adbusting.

broadcasting	The mass transmission of content with a protest message by radio, TV or internet streaming. It includes 'pirate radio' (free radio, liberation radio, i.e. unauthorized transmissions) and designated protest programs on legal stations (e.g. Democracy, Now!).	casting spells	The summoning of spirits and/or casting of spells to either seek spiritual support to enhance the success of a protest or to target enemies. These practices would be normal events for Indigenous protests. (see also chanting).
bucket collection	A traditional form of fundraising by the collection of small change on a door-to-door, street corner basis, and frequently as part of a rally. (see also fundraising activities, cake drive, crowdfunding).	celanthropy	The enlisting of support from famous people to assist a cause. (see also gala dinner) ceremony: The conducting of ceremonial performative acts as a protest action. (see also chanting, casting spells, symbolic burning).
bumper stickers	The use of stickers with a protest message to promote a campaign and/or profess allegiance to a cause. They are typically placed in an obvious place on a vehicle, such as on the front or rear bumper or the rear windscreen. They can also be used in house or shop windows or to deface street signs. (see also badges, posters, advertising).	chaining	In various sit-ins, a way of increasing the effectiveness of the action, especially in the face of police attempts to remove protesters, is for the protesters to be chained to something, such as to a tree, flagpole, or equipment. (see also tree sitting, exposure to the elements).
cacerolazos	The mass banging of pots and pans in a public space usually in a procession (street march) or rally. This form of protest is very typical in Latin American countries. (see also ran-tan).	challenge	A form of fundraising or awareness raising that involves a particular challenge or target, for example a walk-a-thon, a fun-run, naked bike ride, 40 hour famine, living below the poverty line for a week. (see also TV Challenge, fundraising activities).
cake drive (cake walk, cake stall)	This refers to a variety of fundraising/awareness-raising activities that involve the selling a particular common product—e.g. cakes, chocolate, pies etc. Originally the cakes may have been home-baked, but nowadays various commercial establishments have specialized in producing fundraising products. Girl Guide biscuits (cookies) have become famous in their own right. (see also fundraising activities, bucket collection, crowdfunding).	chanting	The singing of protest songs, the chanting of slogans, and/or (ritual) dancing in public spaces as part of a protest action. Rallies, for example, typically include chanting often in the form of what do we want? and when do we want it?. (see also casting spells, ceremony, slogans).
campaigning	A coordinated set of marketing actions, which are usually 'branded' (i.e. clear campaign name and/or message), and focus on gaining public attention about a specific cause, e.g. 'no dams', 'save the Great Barrier Reef', 'save the whales'.	civil disobedience	An umbrella term, frequently associated with M.K. Gandhi and passive resistance, referring to a variety of protest actions which involve deliberately violating laws considered to be unjust, or as a protest against the government or ruling elite. (see also passive resistance, sit-in, tree sitting).
candlelight procession car stickers	see silent protest, vigil. see bumper stickers.	conscientious objector	A protester who is opposed to a war or to compulsory military service. (see also desertion).

<p>copyright infringement</p> <p>counter celebration</p> <p>counter protest</p> <p>coup d'état</p> <p>critical mass</p> <p>crowdfunding</p> <p>culture-jamming cyberactivism dancing</p>	<p>The (usually illegal) use or distribution of copyrighted or patented material as a form of protest against corporate copyright holders. Also referred to as 'piracy'. (see also espionage, open source, whistle-blowing, shoplifting).</p> <p>Counter-celebrations are events held in opposition to a mainstream event that is the subject of protest or controversy. (see also festival, counter protest).</p> <p>A protest action (potentially of any kind) that is specifically designed to oppose another protest group's actions or events. (see also counter celebration).</p> <p>A term that refers to the takeover of a government (the state) usually by a small group of dissenters within the established power structure (e.g. the military). (see also overthrow).</p> <p>A tactic from the bicycle activism, in which bikers are urged to take the streets in large numbers in order to reclaim the streets from automobiles.</p> <p>An internet-based fundraising technique, typically where large numbers of people each contribute small amounts to a cause. Because of the mass scale, these campaigns can result in very large sums being generated. (see also cake drive).</p> <p>see ad-busting. see digital activism.</p> <p>Dancing in public spaces as part of a protest action. (see also chanting, flashmob, street theatre).</p>	<p>day of remembrance</p> <p>declaration of war</p> <p>defacing</p> <p>defiance</p> <p>delegation</p>	<p>The declaration of a specific day to commemorate a protest event, person or issue. Sometimes these can be once-off events, or they can be done on an annual or e.g. decadal basis. They can be the celebration of heroes, martyrs or symbolic victories, or they can be the veneration of the dead or lost causes. Some classic examples include International Workers Day (typically 1 May) and Martin Luther King Day (third Monday in January). (see also festival, counter-celebration, homage).</p> <p>An official declaration of war is a symbolic signing of a document and performative speech act to give a legal basis to hostilities between countries. In a protest setting, protest groups might issue a 'declaration of war' against the object of protest (a government or a company) as a way of publicly announcing their concerns and to establish social legitimacy for any action they may take. (see also manifesto, formal statement, campaign).</p> <p>The defacement or destruction of monuments, buildings, art works or other acts of symbolic destruction by scratching, painting-over or smashing up. It can also include acts of desecration such as defecation. (see also vandalism, disrespectful behaviour, graffiti, ad-busting).</p> <p>Acts of defiance or contempt against imposed regulations in protest against the constraints. This can include wilful disobeying of the rules, noncompliance, non-participation, as well as actions such as singing, whistling or humming. (see also disrespectful behaviour, non-participation).</p> <p>see audience with officials.</p>
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demands for dismissal	The public call for the dismissal of government officials (or company staff) because of their poor behaviour or record in relation to a specific issue. (see also resignation in protest, disrespectful behaviour, taunting officials).	disrespectful behaviour	The use of offensive behaviour or language as a symbolic act of rebellion. Some examples include: whaka-pohane i te tou (brown-eyeing, mooning, i.e. exposing the buttocks); turning one's back on a distinguished person; booing, whistling or singing while someone was trying to give a speech; use of rude gestures; refusal to shake hands with someone when it would be considered rude or impolite not to; tomato or egg throwing (and sometimes pie or cake throwing); or in some cultures the throwing of shoes at someone. (see also defacing, ran-tan, non-participation, walkout).
desertion	A protest form in which soldiers resign from the army, or refuse to go to a certain location, because of opposition to the war in question. (see also conscientious objector).		The disruption of meetings or other events (e.g. public hearings) by the use of a wide range of forms of protest including the calling of a rally, the blocking of access to the event, the use of disrespectful behaviour, walkouts, throwing objects, chanting and anything that can potentially stop the meeting or event from happening. (see also blockade, barricade, non-participation, boycott, walkout). see digital sit-in.
die-in	A theatrical event where participants en masse pretend to be dead for a designated period of time, usually in carefully chosen locations to maximize effect or exposure. While the simple version is just people lying down as if they were dead, more graphic forms splashing fake blood about, the participants being covered in bloody bandages, or writhing about as if they were in pain and the throes of dying (see also sit-in, flashmob, street theatre).	disruption	
digital activism	An overarching concept that includes a range of online forms of protest. (see also hacking, hacktivism, website defacement, tuitaço).		
digital sit-in	The coordinated action against a specific target organization by creating congestion of telephone lines or institutional websites by artificially generating excessive demand, sometimes called flooding, Distributed Denial of Service—DDoS. (see also hacking, sabotage, sit-in).	distributed denial of service (DDoS) documentary film	
direct action	An umbrella term for any type of protest action aimed at causing immediate disruption, especially to the targeted decision-makers, e.g. a blockade of a project site, sabotage of project equipment. (see also blockade, sabotage, hostage taking, hijacking).	draft evasion	The making, distribution and/or public screening of documentaries that have a specific protest message and/or that raise awareness about an issue of concern. The documentaries can have a mainstream release or can be made available on YouTube or protest websites. They can be done professionally or can be amateur productions. (see also protest film). The taking of steps to avoid being called up for military service. (see also conscientious objector, desertion).

dumping produce	<p>A form of protest primarily associated with farmers, e.g. in relation to changes in government support for farmers or to environmental or other regulations, or against the oligopolistic power of the supermarket chains or the food processing companies. It typically has the form of the dumping of tons of produce in a public place (such as on the steps of Parliament House). Occasionally such dumping might entail giving the produce directly to public as a way of winning support for the cause. (see also public nuisance, barricade, blockade).</p>	<p>exclusion of the media</p> <p>exposure to the elements</p> <p>expulsion</p>	<p>The act of expelling the media from protest events as an act of protest in its own right, typically because of a perception that the media misrepresent the protesters' concerns. (see also boycott). The use or threat of use of extended exposure to natural elements (rain, sun, cold) as a form of self-harm (or at least deprivation) in support of a protest cause. (see also hunger strike, self-harm, sit-in, tree-sitting). Some protest actions will call for the expulsion of a person, company or country from an organisation that gives it legitimacy, especially if that entity has been disgraced. For example, a mining company could be threatened with expulsion from a chamber of commerce. (see also demands for dismissal, boycott). The expulsion of workers, officials, or military and police forces from local (typically Indigenous) territories or construction sites as a protest against their presence or as an act of disruption or blockade. (see blockade, disruption). see parody website.</p>
earth writing ecotage	<p>see human drawing. A word construction from 'ecological sabotage', i.e. sabotage done for an environmental cause. The terms arguably includes other forms of radical environmental activism. (see also sabotage, tree sitting).</p>	<p>expulsion of workers</p>	<p>The expulsion of workers, officials, or military and police forces from local (typically Indigenous) territories or construction sites as a protest against their presence or as an act of disruption or blockade. (see blockade, disruption). see parody website.</p>
embargo	<p>The application of sanctions against a country, usually by another country. A trade embargo refers to the cessation of economic activities (the supply of or purchase of goods), while a cultural embargo refers to the cessation of all forms cultural exchange. Some protest actions may call on a government to enact an embargo against a particular country for a political or social justice reason. (see also boycott).</p>	<p>fake website festival</p>	<p>Any joyful event, such as celebrations, jamborees, parties and traditional gatherings (e.g. in Australia corroboree), that celebrate an event of symbolic meaning to the social movement, or that are focused on raising awareness or fundraising for a specific cause. (see also counter-celebration, gala dinner).</p>
encampment	<p>A protest action which involves the occupation of space over a long period of time by camping, usually in public places, in order to raise awareness about an issue. An obvious example here is the Occupy Movement. (see also sit-in, land re-occupation, squatting).</p>	<p>flashmob</p>	<p>A surprise public performance, usually of a satirical or artistic nature, by a group of people, typically organized through social media. (see also die-in, protest art, street theatre).</p>
espionage	<p>The deliberate acquiring of documents or careful gathering of intelligence from official or commercial sources, usually by surreptitious means, to assist a protest cause. (see also whistleblowing, sabotage).</p>		

flotilla	A large gathering of small boats, a rally or blockade on water. In a protest form, this could be to blockade a larger ship that was the target of protest, for example a nuclear warship, an incinerator ship, or an oil rig. Alternatively, it could be a protest rally against water pollution, or even a change in fishing regulations. Conversely, a flotilla could also be an escort of honour. (see also blockade, kayaktivism, rally).	gala dinner	A fundraising event that usually involves an inflated ticket price as well as a set of activities designed to get participants to pledge further support. Although primarily a fundraising activity, there is an element of awareness raising and information dissemination. The gala nature of the event is usually intended to attract publicity to spread the message beyond those present. (see also social and art events, public speeches,celanthropy).
flyers	see leafleting.	gestures	The peace movement adopted the V for Victory (✊) sign as a symbol of love and peace, and its use during the 1970 was widespread as a peace message and protest sign. The raised clenched fist has also been a widely used sign of protest and defiance for various movements around the world. Rude gesture can also be used as an act of defiance.
foot dragging	see slowdown.		
formal speech	A speech given in a formal setting by a significant person or representative of a social movement or community organization (e.g. to a national assembly or to the United Nations or other significant organization). (see also public address, and soapbox).		
formal statement	The issuing of a formal written statement or declaration by a collective or an individual who is an authorized spokesperson for a particular group or cause (or a person clearly associated by the public with a group); the sending of a formal letter to significant persons or institutions; manifestos or a policy statement by a protest organization; and other written declarations. (see also manifesto, petition).	girlcott	A variation of boycott, either meaning boycott action taken by women against sexist practices or institutions; or the opposite of boycott in that certain brands or products are preferred because of the company's positive stance on social or environmental issues. (see also boycott, blacklisting, whitelisting).
		glitter bombing	The dumping of glitter on a targeted person. It has been used as a form of protest against politicians who opposed same-sex marriage or other LGBT rights.
fundraising activities	An umbrella term that refers to a wide range of techniques used to raise funds such as bucket collection, cake drive, gala dinner, lottery, raffles, penalty box, the selling of items, seeking bequests, pledges.	go slow graffiti	see slowdown. Graffiti can be a form of protest art involving painting or writing on the surfaces of buildings to draw attention to a cause. As a protest, it would normally be done illegally. (see also defacement, ad-busting, protest art).
		grassroots	A term that implies spontaneous and bottom-up, originating from local people. While some protest action is genuinely grassroots, in many cases it is centrally organised.

guerrilla tactics	Guerrilla warfare is a form of irregular warfare against a more powerful opponent by using small mobile groups of people often undertaking many coordinated small surprise actions such as sabotage. (see also hit and run tactics).	human chain	Protesters standing together with arms linked as a way of strengthening the line against police incursion and/or as a process of building solidarity and a spirit of togetherness. (see also rally, black block tactics).
hacking	The disruption of, or the taking over of IT systems to harm an organization, including for example website defacement. (see also espionage, sabotage, ad-busting).	humming	The making of wordless sounds in public places as an act of showing disrespect or when done en masse to drown-out or intimidate the official who is attempting to speak. (see also singing, disrespectful behaviour, chanting).
hacktivism	The use of a range of computer hacking tactics including website defacement, DDoS, and other forms of internet disruption to promote protest causes or collect confidential information and make it public. (see also slacktivism, espionage, whistle-blowing).	humour	The use of humour and comedy to promote a protest cause. (see also political satire).
harassment hijacking	see taunting officials. The hijacking and/or appropriation of vehicles or equipment. Unlike sabotage in which vehicles would be damaged, in hijacking they may be put to alternative, protest-related uses. (see also disruption, sabotage).	hunger strike	A collective or personal campaign to go without food for an extended period of time until protest demands are met. In some circumstances, they have led to the death of the protesters concerned. (see also self-harm, challenge, passive resistance).
hit and run tactics	Actions based on tactical strategy that rely on the use of surprise and/or that do not entail the capturing of territory, for example, the choice to use of sabotage rather than blockades or barricades. (see also guerrilla tactics).	informational meeting	The holding of meetings to plan activities or explain protest goals to recruit new members or raise public awareness. (see also public lecture, teach-in, webinar).
hoax website	see fake website homage: Public displays of respect for the dead who have been killed during a protest action. (see also ceremony, silent protest, martyrdom).	internet event invitation	The use of social media (e.g. Facebook) to invite people to attend an event in the real world (street marches and rallies) or virtual world (webinar, digital sit-in), or to promulgate information about an event. (see also website, crowdfunding, leafleting).
hostage taking	The taking of hostages usually from government or company staff, usually with the intent of releasing them unharmed once demands have been met. (see also hijacking, sabotage, lock-down).	intifada	An Arabic word, which literally means to shake, which is used as a general word for widespread protest or resistance. (see also campaign).
human drawing	The creation of images by arranging large numbers of people into patterns or words in order to take photos or shoot footage from a high vantage point for promotional purposes. (see also die-in, sky writing).	kayaktivists	Protesters in canoes (kayaks), usually in the form of a flotilla, to blockade the path of a vessel or structure. (see also flotilla).

land re-occupation	A form of protest that involves the re-occupation of land, typically the land from which a group of people were evicted. The protesters who are involved in this special form of encampment may include the evictees as well as their supporters. (see also encampment, squatting, sit-in).	martyrdom	A word which can either mean people who actively take courageous, righteous actions for a cause often resulting in their own death; or refers to the commemoration of victims in the pursuit of the protest cause. (see also homage).
lawfare leafleting	see legal action. The production and distribution of leaflets or pamphlet to raise awareness, attract recruits, and to promote a specific event. (see also zines, posters, internet event invitation).	mass letter writing	The coordinated campaign to have large numbers of people write letters or emails to targeted decision-makers. This could also include the mass submission of grievance statements. (see also petitions, digital sit-in). Providing an interview for the media. The interviews could take place at the protest site, in a studio (especially when being broadcast), in the campaign offices, or any other location. (see also media release, broadcasting).
legal action	The use of legal channels or the threat of legal action by the protest group against a company or government in order to achieve compliance with the law.	media interview	The distribution of press releases; the sending out of notices of the availability of protest representatives to be available to the media for interview; the holding of press conferences. (see also media interview).
liberation radio lobbying	see broadcasting. Like advocacy, lobbying is also defined as acts to influence decision-making. Whereas advocacy rests on the power of the argument, lobbying can take on a wider range of leveraging actions, including deal making, gifts and other inducements, and sometimes bribes or blackmail. While usually undertaken by the corporate sector, lobbying can also be undertaken by protest groups to achieve protest goals. (see also advocacy).	media release	A meme is a satirical or humorous modification of a popular image, for example by adding a slogan or comment. Memes are often produced and circulated in support of a protest cause. (see also ad-busting, political satire).
lockdown	A form of blockade or barricade of a building where nobody is able to enter or leave until certain demands have been met. (see also barricade, blockade, sit-in, encampment, public nuisance, hostage taking).	mock award mock election or mock referendum	see anti-award. The staging of a voting process to prove the extent of concern about an issue and thus to create political pressure, or sometimes done semi-seriously to create awareness about the issue. (see also protest voting).
manifesto	A declaration of belief, intention, or a list of demands. While sometimes developed as internal documents seeking the professing of allegiance, they are usually publicly distributed. (see also formal statement).	mock funeral	A performance in which the target of protest action (e.g. a despised person or object) is symbolically buried/disposed of. (see also ceremony, political satire).

Molotov cocktails	An improvised incendiary device, typically used by protesters, made of a bottle filled with flammable liquid with a wick made from a piece of cloth which is lit prior to being thrown. (see also organized violent resistance).	non-participation	The refusal to participate or non-cooperation with a project or organization because of their record on an issue, or because of their lack of willingness to address issues considered significant to the protest group. (see also boycott, walkout).
monument construction	The construction of statues, sculptures or monuments (often of an ephemeral nature) which are adorned with messages or symbols to convey a protest message. The 'ghost bikes' that are placed at sites where cyclists have been killed and are intended to raise awareness about urban mobility is one form of monument construction. (see also protest art).	non-payment of bills	The collective non-payment of bills and/or refusal to pay (a proportion of) taxes as a form of protest. An historically significant example relates to conscientious objection to war, and refusal by pacifists to contribute to military expenditure. (see also boycott). see civil disobedience.
muck racking and muck slinging mutiny	see smear campaign. An uprising by workers against management, particularly in military type institutions. (see also strike, non-participation).	non-violent action/resistance nudity occupation open letter	see symbolic disrobing. see sit-in and encampment. see formal statement and petition.
motorcade	A procession of vehicles with flags, signs, and horning in support of a protest cause. (see also flotilla, kayaktivists).	open source	The production and/or distribution of information (software, scientific, technical or art works) registered with alternative copyright-licenses (e.g. creative commons, copyleft, wiki, open access) which are free for public use, sharing and/or modification (depending on the license). Sometimes used as a form of protest against the traditional corporate copyright and patent system.
nail protest	Painting fingernails and/or toenails to demonstrate support for a protest cause (e.g. painting them with the rainbow colours to support LGBT rights).		
naming and shaming	An expression made famous by Prof John Ruggie through the development of the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. It refers to a strategy that attempts to build commitment or compliance to expected norms and/or good practice by publicising the names of wrong-doers or offenders. (see also black-listing).	organized violent resistance	The use of a range of tactics from protection against police or security force violence or to achieve strategic aims, such as to occupy a particular site. Typical examples include the throwing of Molotov cocktails, stones, as well as the use of protection (shields, gas masks) against police violence. Arguably the use of masks to avoid being identified is also included. (see also black bloc tactics, disruption, civil disobedience, barricades, sabotage).
netwar	see digital activism non-compliance: The act of refusing to obey to a law or command. (see also civil disobedience).	overthrow	A general uprising that leads to the ousting of the leadership of any group or government. (see also mutiny, strike, coup d'état).

pacifist	Sometimes regarded as person opposed to war, but can also mean an activist that exclusively uses non-violent forms of protest action.	pilgrimage	The journey of a group of people to a specific symbolic place for a common purpose. The origin and/or destination of the procession can include the capital city, a sacred place, and/or the project site. While 'pilgrimage' typically implies a spiritual association, the long march can also be conducted for political purposes. Use of the word pilgrimage reinforces the symbolic aspect of the march. (see also rally, street march).
parody website	The creation of an imitation website that parodies (makes fun of) the website of a given company or project in order to raise awareness about an issue or promote a protest cause. (see also ad-busting, hacking).	pirate radio placards	see broadcasting. The use of sign boards displaying messages designed to capture the attention of passers-by and the media. Placards typically are used in conjunction with other forms of protest such as rallies and street marches. (see also banners, picketing). see ceremony, homage, martyrdom.
passive resistance petition	see civil disobedience. The drafting and circulation of petitions or open letters (collection of signatures in support of a particular cause) in order to create political pressure in relation to a specific issue. Historically petitions were presented to and read in Parliament, and may seek to change the government's view or a law on a particular matter. Nowadays, petitions can also be collected online (see Avaaz.org) and are frequently addressed to companies in an attempt to get them to change their practices. The number of signatures collected is the measure of the potential power of the petition. Celebrity endorsement can amplify the power of the petition or open letter. (see also mass letter writing).	political mourning political party membership	Some political parties have a strong protest orientation. Joining these parties and/or participating in their activities therefore constitutes protest action. On the other hand, mainstream party membership would not normally be a protest action, unless there was an attempt to change the policies of the party. (see also activist shareholding, protest voting).
physical harm and killings	Deliberate acts (or the threat thereof) of physical harm or killing of key people in an attempt to further the protest cause.	political satire	The use of ridicule to create awareness and debate about a protest issue. (see also ad-busting, memes, humour).
picketing	A gathering of people carrying signs on sticks. The term originally comes from a worker picket line in a strike, but now is used generally to refer to the parading around with signs and the chanting of slogans. (see also strike, rally, placards).	posters	The use of posters or billboards to draw attention to an issue. While billboards are large structures that are usually legally installed, posters are applied to a range of surfaces in public places, in legal and illegal situations. (see also car stickers, graffiti, ad-busting). see media release.
		press release	

protest art	The use of art (in all art forms, e.g. painting, poetry, music, film, theatre) as a protest medium to disseminate information and/or promote awareness, or simply as an act of protest or defiance. (see also graffiti, protest film, documentary film making, street theatre).	public nuisance	Creating a public nuisance (noise, smell or creating delay) by undertaking activities that annoy the public. Some examples include spraying milk or manure around in a public square, or orchestrated 'go slow' or 'slow down' actions of bus and truck drivers. (see also slowdown, barricade, blockade, dumping produce).
protest camp	see encampment, squatting, occupation.	public statement	see formal statement, manifesto.
protest film	The use of mainstream cinematography medium to tell a story that has a protest message. Some classic examples include The Emerald Forest, Avatar, Promised Land. (see also documentary film making, protest art).	publications	The production and distribution of newspapers, magazines, books and/or academic papers about a protest issue. (see also reports, zines, leafleting).
protest song	The composition and performance of songs with a protest message. Some classic examples include compositions from Bob Dylan, Bob Marley, Joan Baez, John Lennon, Joni Mitchell, Miriam Makeba, Public Enemy, and Rage Against The Machine. (see also protest film, protest art, broadcasting, festival).	radical cheerleading	A variation of conventional cheerleading where the chants used promulgate a political message. (see also chanting, protest art, street theatre).
protest voting	The active decision to vote in an election or referendum in a way that voices a protest concern. Sometimes a protest vote can be 'informal' which can include writing protest comments on the ballot paper. Other times a protest vote might involve the voting for a clown or a monkey. (see also political party membership, mock elections).	rally	A form of mass demonstration typically held in a specific location, usually in conjunction with public addresses, use of banners and signs. A rally may lead to a street march, and all street marches typically begin with a gathering rally. (see also street march, picketing, banners).
public address	A speech about a social protest issue given within a public gathering, for example at a rally. (see also formal speech, soapbox, teach-in, informational meeting).	ran-tan/rough music	The cacophonous demonstration of disapproval of offending people who have violated the community's moral rules through their humiliation with songs, booing and jeering. Historically offenders were often paraded around and/or chased out of the city (expelled); in contemporary forms of ran-tan an effigy may be used. (see also cacerolazos, disrespectful behaviour, symbolic burning).
public lecture	An information event usually held in a public hall where a specifically-invited expert or opinion leader gives a formal talk (lecture) to raise awareness about an issue. (see also formal speech, teach-in, informational meeting).	recording meetings	The (audio) recording of meetings and interviews with politicians etc to ensure truth in statements, i.e. that promises made are actually kept. (see also espionage, whistle-blowing).

renouncing honours	The public refusal of an award, prize or other honour because of objection to the actions of the awarding organization or in an attempt to draw attention to a related issue. For example, Marlon Brando refused an Oscar as a protest against Hollywood's treatment of Native Americans. (see also non-participation, anti-award).	sextremism	The use of sexuality or nudity in public places to draw attention to a cause, frequently associated with the Femen movement. (see also symbolic disrobing).
reports	The conducting of research about a specific issue, and the writing and dissemination of a report about the research outlining the perspective of the commissioning (protest) organization. For example, Human Rights Watch and Oxfam Australia have done studies on the human rights of people affected by mines in Mozambique. (see also advocacy).	shop-lifting	Also known as yomango, shop-lifting can be a protest action when it is strategically undertaken against large corporations or in response to a public campaign against a particular company. (see also boycott, sabotage).
resignation in protest	The strategic resignation from an official post in protest against a specific issue. (see also whistleblowing, demands for dismissal, refusal of award).	sick-in	A form of strike in which workers take sick leave en masse.
sabotage	The sabotage, tampering (destruction or impairment of infrastructure and equipment, such as in targeted vandalism) or pilfering (petty theft often undertaken as a perceived form of compensation for unpaid entitlements). Also include acts such as tree-spiking (in anti-forestry campaigns) or seal painting (to protect seals from being clubbed for their skins) which destroy the commercial value of the products. (see also hijacking, direct action, digital sit-in, hacking).	silent protest	A range of non-violent actions—silent witness, silent procession, silent vigil—which use the power of silence to create media attention. They are frequently done by candlelight, and often with people dressed in white. (see also rally, flashmob, street march, street theatre).
samizdat	The clandestine copying and distribution of censored materials. (see also zines, leafleting, publications).	singing	Singing in public spaces or at a specific event as part of a rally, or as a defiant action. A typical example could be the singing of the national anthem or protest songs (see also chanting, dancing, flashmob, protest song, street theatre).
sanctions self-harm	see boycott, embargo. Any form of action affecting the wellbeing of the protester's own body, e.g. body mutilation, stitching the mouth or eyes closed, swallowing of objects or acid, usually with the intention not to bring on death. (see also hunger strike, symbolic suicide).	sit-in	The occupation of buildings and public spaces or, when the protest is directed against a company, also private property. Typically a sit-in means that the protesters actually sit in the place to occupy it. In that sense, a sit-in is normally intended to be short-lived, otherwise it would be an encampment. (see also die-in, lockdown, blockade, digital sit-in, squatting).
		sky writing	The use of an aeroplane to write protest signs or messages in the sky. (see also human drawing, paid advertising).
		slacktivism	Derogatory term for low-profile online activism, such as signing petitions and using online badges.

slogans	The use of catchy expressions as a way of promoting awareness of a cause. (see also chanting, memes, badges, banner) slowdown: A slowdown, white strike, or work-to-rule (doing only the minimum required) is a partial withdrawal of services designed to affect the company and/or the consumer in order to achieve the protest objectives. (see also strike).	stalking officials	The act of intimidating of harassing company or government officials by being physically present wherever they go. (see also harassment, taunting officials, mass letter writing).
smear campaign	A protest campaign focused on undermining the credibility of a given target company, project or individual by 'getting the dirt' on them (see also taunting officials, memes).	strategic disinvestment	The act of disinvesting or threats to disinvest from a company in order to influence the company decision-making about a specific issue. (see also activist shareholding, advocacy, lobbying).
soapbox	Informal speeches given by individuals in public places, such as parks, street corners, public squares. These are historically known as soapboxes because it often involved standing on a wooden crate. (see also formal speech, public address, blogging).	street march	A form of mass demonstration that involves a procession of people along a street or road as a statement of commitment and to raise public awareness. (see also rally, pilgrimage).
social and art events	Any social event designed to raise funds and create awareness for a specific cause. Can take the form of a book launch, speech night, party, music festival. Funds are raised by entry fees and/or the sale of products, which may or may not have been donated (e.g. Band Aid). (see also gala dinner, crowdfunding, festival).	street theatre	An art form undertaken in a public place where the actors interact directly with the passers-by in order to raise their awareness about a particular topic. A particular protest form is the Theatre of the Oppressed developed by Augusto Boal. (see also protest art, flashmob, die-in, teach-in).
sound truck	The use of a car or truck equipped with a public address system to amplify speeches and sometimes music to attract attention and draw crowds to a protest event. They are typically used in conjunction with other forms of protest, both in advance to recruit people to the event, but also during the event itself. (see also public address, street march, rally).	strike	The complete withdrawal of labour by workers, usually to seek an increase in wages or improve working conditions, but can occasionally be related to a social or environmental issue. (see also slowdown, work to rule).
squatting	The occupation of unoccupied (or under-utilized) land or buildings. Although not always political, squatting can also be a protest act to draw attention to land or housing inequalities. (see also land re-occupation, encampment).	symbolic burning	The burning of flags, effigies, books or documents, banknotes, slips of paper with personal notes, or other objects as a statement of protest. (see also ran-tan, disrespectful behaviour) symbolic disrobing: The strategic use of nudity to promote a protest cause. (see also challenge).
		symbolic gifts	The giving of symbolic items to key people in order to publicise a cause.
		symbolic suicide	The committing of suicide as a protest act. Some historically-significant examples are the self-immolation of Tibetan monks. (see also threat of collective suicide).
		taunting officials	Provocative acts against government or company officials. (see also demand for dismissals, disrespectful behaviour).

teach-in	A teach-in refers to teaching/learning events undertaken to raise awareness about specific contentious topics. The concept is associated with Paulo Freire's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'. (see also webinar, street theatre, informational meeting).	twittering (tweeting)	Short immediate announcements (of up to 140 characters) on a specific topic. Topics are usually grouped by the use of a hashtag (#Something) to allow readers to see what other people are saying about the topic. Tweets can also include photos. (see also tuitaço, blogging, website).
threat of collective suicide	The threat of collective suicide is sometimes used as strategic action to influence decision-makers, especially by Indigenous peoples. Because of Indigenous claims that there is an orchestrated genocide against them, and/or that they are being killed through western contact and by being evicted from their lands, certain groups (i.e the Guarani-Kaiowá) have announced they would rather be dead than removed from their land. (see also symbolic suicide).	vandalism	Acts intended to damage property. Sometimes vandalism is regarded as 'wanton destruction' which implies meaningless destruction, but in a protest form vandalism is targeted against institutions of the oppressor, such as large corporations but also sometimes the local bus company in protest against rising fares or reduced services. Smashing windows, throwing stones and setting things on fire are common forms of vandalism. (see also shoplifting, graffiti, sabotage).
tree sitting	A form of encampment in which people are attached to trees, typically high up in the tree (such as in a makeshift treehouse) but occasionally in temporary arrangements of being chained to trees. The intention of the action is a form of blockade to stop the tree-clearing or forestry operation. The term is also extended to refer to any form of direct action where people place themselves in front of the bulldozers. (see also blockade, encampment).	vigil	An extended period of being awake as a form of devotional observance. A word with religious connotation (referring to the eve before a religious festival), it is also applied in secular settings to refer to a watch before a critical meeting, or while an injured person is recovering. (see also homage, silent protest, martyrdom).
tuitaço	A coordinated strategic action to enhance the visibility of a particular digital campaign, e.g. specifically to ensure they get into the Twitter trending topics, by the en masse use of a specific hashtag (#Something). (see also twittering, digital sit-in).	vigilante	An individual or group who seeks to administer justice (retribution) without having proper legal authority to do so, usually because of their perception of the inadequate institutional response to an issue. While the word tends not to be used in protest contexts, many protest actions could be seen as vigilante responses. (see also kidnapping, stalking, direct action).
TV challenge/telethon	A TV or radio program designed to raise awareness and fundraise through people's donations. (see also challenge, crowdfunding).	volunteering	working as a volunteer to support a protest cause.
		walkout	The staged walkout (exit, non-participation) from discussions or negotiations as a protest or strategic action. It is a frequent action used by Indigenous peoples. (see also non-participation, boycott).

webinar	An online synchronous event where people discuss a specific contentious topic. Usually takes the form of a presenter and audience, and in that sense could be regarded as a digital teach-in. (see also teach-in, webpage, informational meeting).
website	The creation of a website to promote awareness about a specific cause. Also includes parody or counter-websites where a very similar URL is used to create confusion and/or to divert hits away from the target website. Facebook groups or fanpages can also be used as protest platforms. (see also blogging, twittering, broadcasting, internet event, hacking).
website defacement	see hacking, hacktivism, parody website.
whistle-blowing	The leaking of confidential information to the public as a form of raising awareness about a contentious issue. Perhaps the most famous example is associated with Wikileaks. (see also espionage, recording meetings).
whitelisting	The opposite of blacklisting, in other words, the creation of a list of exemplars of good practice or organisations deserving of praise.
work to rule	see slowdown, strike.
yomango	see shoplifting.
zines	The production and distribution of ad hoc underground magazines (zines). (see also publications, leafleting, blogging, website, samizdat).

4. Functions of social protest

The large number of forms of protest we identified is impressive—noting that there is over 200 terms in our glossary—and is many times more than we expected when we first started compiling our list. We note that many forms of protest are relatively new (e.g. flashmob, memes), not only arising from the digital revolution which enables new forms of protest to be invented, but also due to the inherent creativity and constant innovation manifested by social movements in establishing a ‘digital repertoire of contention’ (Earl and Kimport, 2011). A difficulty in compiling the listing was how to deal with macro terms like civil disobedience, direct action and black bloc tactics, which have an overarching nature and can take on a range of forms or types of social action. We therefore decided upon a glossary of forms of protest and related terms (rather than only listing the forms of protest).

We note that many forms of protest action are undertaken in combination with other forms. A blockade or barricade, for

example, will usually involve the distribution of leaflets and/or the display of signs to increase awareness of the issue. A street march will normally commence with a rally, have speeches, participants will normally display banners, placards and signs, and there may be singing and chanting. Thus, there is a high degree of overlap between the forms, and orchestration between them is a strategic part of protest campaigns.

Although there is a wide diversity of forms of social protest, analysis of these forms suggests they have only seven functions (purposes). The purposes overlap, and an individual protest action may seek to achieve several of these purposes:

1. Information—to distribute information to the wider public in order to raise awareness about ‘the cause’ or the situation that is the subject of protest;
2. Fundraising—to raise funds to support the campaign;
3. Publicity—to gain publicity (media attention) through the undertaking of actions usually having a performative dimension (i.e. publicity stunt);
4. Mobilization—to enlist participants for a specific protest event or campaign;
5. Solidarity building—to build solidarity (unity and commitment) and a sense of worth amongst protesters and toward the protest cause in general;
6. Political pressure—to apply pressure, through direct or indirect targeting (see Fig. 2), on authorities or decision-makers regarding their action/decision on a specific issue;
7. Direct action—to cause immediate disruption to a specific project (e.g. a blockade), usually performed as acts of civil disobedience.

Most protests involve the coordination of many activities or forms of protest and exist in a nested hierarchy as part of a wider campaign within a social movement (see Fig. 1). Even where there are impromptu, ad hoc protests, they too draw on the protest repertoire. In our analysis, we ascertained that most forms of protest typically serve several functions and that the functions are not mutually-exclusive or fully differentiated. For example, during the National Indigenous Mobilization in Brazil (see Hanna et al., 2016a), several different forms and functions were combined in order to enhance the effectiveness of the campaign. These forms included the making of a dedicated website (information, mobilization, publicity), the seeking of financial support from national and international NGOs (fundraising), the holding of press conferences during the event (publicity, information), creating a Facebook event page to invite people to attend the protest (mobilization, publicity), chanting and dancing (solidarity building, publicity), meetings with political leaders (political pressure, publicity), and the occupation of buildings (direct action, publicity, political pressure).

During a social drama process (Turner, 1974, 1980, 1982), in which protest is a key part, if protester claims are not addressed to a sufficient level of resolution, actions will typically escalate from function 1 (information) to function 7 (direct action); from less disruptive forms to more disruptive, unconventional and confrontational forms. For example, Harley (2014) noted that road blockades were usually the last resort of protesters. Many campaigns start with a formal speech or petition, but if the claims are not addressed, more-creative and/or more-confrontational forms of protest will be utilized, such as protest art or sabotage. In some situations, especially where there is a lack of acknowledgement of and/or acceptable response to protester concerns, the direct actions (function 7) taken by protesters may even lead to violent uprising, civil war and the closure of extractive projects, as happened with the Panguna Mine in Bougainville (Filer, 1990) and the Zapatista struggle in Mexico (EZLN, 1994). In both cases, local

peoples were arguing for social and environmental justice, including a fairer share of the revenues from the extractive activities in their territories. It should be noted that this upward spiral of escalation occurs because of a dynamic of interaction that includes the response of the project staff and the security forces (Prenzel and Vanclay, 2014). Unfortunately, in many conflict situations excessive violence has been used against protesters, for example the Marikana massacre in South Africa where 34 people were killed by the police (Alexander, 2013; Bond and Mottiar, 2013).

According to Castells (2012:226), social movements are, in principle, non-violent, “usually engaging, at their origin, in peaceful, civil disobedience. But they are bound to engage in occupation of public space and in disruptive tactics to put pressure on political authorities and business organizations, since they do not recognize the feasibility of fair participation in the institutional channels.” However, it is important to consider that in many contexts local communities do not possess the political capital to openly confront those in power, often because of a fear of retaliation. Scott (1985:xvi) proposed the concept of ‘everyday forms of resistance’, arguing that in:

the Third World it is rare for peasants to risk an outright confrontation with the authorities over taxes, cropping patterns, development policies, or onerous new laws; instead they are likely to nibble away at such policies by noncompliance, foot dragging, deception. In place of a land invasion, they prefer piecemeal squatting; in place of open mutiny, they prefer desertion; in place of attacks on public or private grain stores, they prefer pilfering. When such stratagems are abandoned in favor of more quixotic action, it is usually a sign of great desperation.

Nevertheless, desperate situations do occur and escalation does happen. We argue that there is a relationship between the various ladders or continuums of participation (e.g. Arnstein, 1969; IAP2, 2007) and escalation in the functions of protest. When community engagement and FPIC processes have not been done in good faith, or the influence of a community over a nearby project is low and their voice is not being heard, protests are more likely to escalate to more confrontational and disruptive forms in an attempt to reach a greater level of participation in decision-making.

5. Protest and the digital era

A main concern of this research is to consider how the new ICTs influence protest. The rise of mass self-communication (Castells, 2012) has led to major changes in how protest is organized and publicized (Della Porta and Tarrow, 2005). Earl and Kimport (2011) argued that the new ‘digital repertoire of contention’ has reduced the costs of mobilization and organization of protest events. They considered that the digital revolution not only adds new possibilities to the existing repertoire, but has the potential of completely changing it. For example, few groups would now attempt to organize a protest event (e.g. street march, rally) without using digital media—sending emails and having a Facebook page is now normal. The event itself is also different in that people bring their smartphones and tablets along, take pictures with these devices, and upload pictures and stories to social media platforms in real time as the event unfolds. Bennett (2005), however, indicates that digital media are not taking over fully—the organizing of a successful protest still requires a lot of face-to-face interactions and off-line partnerships.

The internet facilitates the exchange of repertoires between social movements (Rolfé, 2005), thus enhancing the range of possible actions and knowledge sharing about what is effective in protest action, allowing social movements to learn and build on

each other’s experiences. This learning is improved with the ease in accessing the internet from smartphones, allowing the sharing of information in real time, virtually anywhere in the world (Neumayer and Stald, 2014). Although the internet is not a complete game changer, protest groups, especially those with limited resources, have become much more capable of reaching a wider international audience and targeting multinational institutions.

What did change is that powerful actors as multinationals, governments or supranational institutions can be held accountable at any time. Civic groups with little resources can mobilize support and public attention against a far more powerful competitor more easily and independently than in the past. Although Goliath can use the internet as well, the relative advantage of this new technology is bigger for David (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010:1164).

There are different types of internet activism, ranging from those people who only protest online while abiding by the law (derogatorily called ‘slacktivism’) to those who are more inclined to engage in acts of contentious civil disobedience, be it online or offline (Neumayer and Svensson, 2014). Similarly, Vegh et al. (2003) proposed that there were two forms of internet activism—internet-based and internet-enhanced. In internet-based activism, the internet is the locus of action, with different forms of online activism such as hacktivism (e.g. website defacement) or digital congestion of corporate or government websites (digital sit-ins). In internet-enhanced activism, the internet does not fundamentally change the nature of the protest, but enhances the way protests are organized. Vegh classifies internet-based forms of action into three categories: awareness/advocacy; organization/mobilization; and action/reaction. Vegh’s categories can be juxtaposed with the different functions of protest we proposed earlier. Awareness/advocacy is equivalent to functions 1 and 2; organization/mobilization with functions 3–5; and action/reaction with functions 6 and 7. The tendency for progression from less disruptive to more confrontational forms is also highlighted by Vegh et al. (2003).

We propose two concepts in order to better understand the digital repertoire: digitalization and realization. Respectively, these concepts refer to how real events are digitalized and shared through the use of ICTs; and conversely how the production or sharing of digital objects can have direct consequences in the real (or physical/offline) world. These dual processes form an iterative loop between the real and the digital. Digitalization is the rendering of real events or situations in the digital world. This transforms a once-off, physical event into something permanent and shareable in the digital world, thus bringing the real to the digital. For example, protest events are photographed and filmed by many activists who share their materials on social media websites. Conversely, realization is the use of digital activism to have impact in the real world. For example, an online campaign that opposes a company’s practices can influence the actions of the company because of their fear of a boycott or reputational damage—some examples include the Business and Human Rights Resource Centre <http://business-humanrights.org> and Greenpeace, e.g. their current detox catwalk <http://www.greenpeace.org/international/en/campaigns/detox/fashion/detox-catwalk/>

Real and digital—in the case of protest and other phenomena—constantly feed back to each other. Digital becomes real, which becomes digital before becoming real again. Even before the internet, as in the words of Baudrillard (1987:17): “War becomes film, film becomes war, the two united by their mutual overflow of technology.” To give a hypothetical example, a protest event was organized as part of a wider campaign to halt the implementation of a given project. A social media platform was used to mobilize

people to join the specific protest event. The event was attended by a large number of protesters (realization). Protesters were violently suppressed by the police, however the police violence was recorded by some protesters. The footage was uploaded to social media platforms (digitalization), thus mobilizing a greater number of people to protest in the next event of the campaign (realization). This demonstrates the real-digital cycle which now occurs with all forms of protest.

An important element of the digitalization of protest actions is the potential for exponential growth in interest to be created by a digital object 'going viral' (i.e. being shared by millions of people in a short period of time). Having stories, photos or videos go viral brings much attention to the protest cause. This can influence the extent of political pressure the protest organization can bring as well as enhance its ability to obtain financial support. A good example of a protest action going viral was the "No, I'm not going to the World Cup" YouTube video, which highlighted the social impacts of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the controversy around world cup expenditure.

It is important to be aware of the role of censorship in online activism. With the internet allowing most people everywhere to become journalists or news producers in their own right, in contrast to their traditional role as only news consumers (Greer and McLaughlin, 2010), this has led to a proliferation of citizen information production, which has also led to a commensurate rise in the number of orders from governments and judges all over the world to Google and website hosting companies demanding that they remove certain websites or specific content (Rushe, 2013). Frequently, these censorship instructions attempt to limit the availability of content critical of government policies or company activities, in other words, the targets of much protest. While Google typically denies these instructions for the removal of content, there are situations where they are legally obligated to take action (Rushe, 2013). On a larger scale, censorship can take the form of a complete internet shutdown, as happened in Egypt and Libya during the Arab Spring in 2011 (Dainotti et al., 2011). Another form of censorship present in many countries is the imprisonment, intimidation, harassment and even murder of people known to be online activists or 'netizens' (Global Witness, 2015; RSF, 2015). Despite this censorship, the new ICTs facilitate the organization of protest and, more importantly, amplify the protest reach, making it easier to get access to wider audiences, increasing the number of protests, and strengthening the power of protest groups, thus increasing the risks for companies (Hanna et al., 2016b). Correspondingly, ICTs increase the possibility that local communities have influence on the decision making processes that affect their lives.

6. The role of protest in influencing project implementation

In project implementation, protests usually happen when social and environmental impacts are not properly addressed (or are perceived as not being properly addressed), or when impacted groups are excluded from the process or have only limited influence on outcomes. In many cases, communities have strongly opposed a project from conception and do not provide consent for its implementation or operation. When people feel that their future is compromised, or that they are not being respected or listened to, they are more likely to protest (Hanna et al., 2014; Rucht et al., 1999; Vanclay et al., 2015).

By combining different forms and functions, and especially when deploying digital forms of protest, a campaign is more likely to be successful and achieve 'eventfulness' (Della Porta, 2008). Eventfulness can be regarded as the sense (at least locally) that "the whole world is watching", and thus of being media-worthy. It is the character of the event that leads the mass media to be

interested in broadcasting about it. The media attention provides the leverage to enable protesters to force decision-makers to address their demands. Publicity stunts, including the use of protest forms with nuisance, art or other performatic elements, contributes to reaching the world stage. Innovative performances are usually crucial in reaching a world audience (McAdam et al., 2001).

Digital forms of protest can assume many forms. The most common are campaign websites with detailed information about the possible impacts of the project to the community (information). Many campaigns fundraise using crowdfunding schemes (fundraising), adopt marketing strategies for a specific cause (publicity) and circulate online petitions (mobilization) to be signed by those who are concerned. When the petition reaches a certain number of signatures, a public event might be held (solidarity building) in order to formally submit the petition to the targeted entity, be it a government, a company or an international institution (political pressure). If protester concerns do not appear to have an influence on the decision-making, protesters are likely to resort to direct action, such as organizing a boycott, blockade or a form of online direct action, such as a digital sit-in. In the case of online protests, forms also develop from less disruptive to more disruptive, but also from digital to real – in other words, there is an ongoing process of realization of the digital actions, with a corresponding process of digitalization of protest actions.

An example of a campaign which successfully deployed a combination of forms of protest is the struggle against the implementation of a mine in Romania, where:

throughout the last fourteen years of resistance, campaigning took multiple various forms such as the "Cyanide-Free Romania" Coalition (a national coalition of NGOs), "Hay-Fest" (the first environmental festival in Romania), [and] other public debates, protests, petitions, and court actions. The local grass-roots movement triggered mobilization in the important cities of Romania (Bucharest, Alba, Cluj) and its main NGOs, as well as participation of international organizations such as Greenpeace, MiningWatch, and so on. The "Save Rosia Montana" campaign is now a movement actively supported by over forty NGOs, the Romanian Academy, universities, churches, and public personalities (Velicu, 2014:225).

A successful campaign, i.e. a campaign that is able to realize its intentions, can have several positive outcomes for the impacted communities. For example, a campaign successfully targeting the implementation of a specific project can lead to improvements in project design or even broader changes in corporate behavior (Santos and Milanez, 2015). Benefits potentially include enhancement of impact assessment as a whole, and especially the assessment and mitigation of social impacts, which tend to be ignored or minimized in environmental licensing processes (Hanna et al., 2014). Other benefits include better planning and monitoring of the implementation of mitigation measures, potential changes in project design to avoid major impacts, increased expenditure for social investment programs, and the payment of royalties. This process of local activism builds social capital (Bourdieu, 1986), restores self-confidence (Honnet, 1996), and when successful ultimately enhances the wellbeing of communities.

Counter-actions from governments and companies are a common response when protest occurs. Such actions include: the criminalization of the protest event/campaign (accusing protesters of being troublemakers or acting against the law) (Moore, 2015); strategic lawsuits against public participation (SLAPPs); denying the claims; and trying to divert public attention toward the organization's non-contentious practices or flagship/showcase actions (greenwashing). Protesters' fear of reprisal

(especially of SLAPPs and punitive action) leads many activists to take precautionary measures to avoid being spied on by government agencies (and sometimes companies), including encrypting their communications, turning off their mobile phones during planning meetings, and/or not sharing sensitive information about the protest on social networks (Neumayer and Stald, 2014; Scholl, 2012).

Unfortunately, instead of seriously considering protesters' opinions and addressing contentious issues effectively, companies and governments tend to adopt defensive behavior, which tends to escalate conflict. Besides having a legal license to implement a project, many authors argue that projects need to achieve and maintain a Social License to Operate (SLO). There are many elements which determine if a company succeeds in achieving a SLO (Prno and Slocombe, 2014; Moffat and Zhang, 2014), however, these are mostly related to the dynamics and relationship history between the company and the local communities. Achieving and maintaining a SLO needs to be comprehended as an ongoing process of community engagement (Dare et al., 2014). A SLO can only be achieved by building trustful relationships with the impacted groups, arguably through conducting a meaningful Free, Prior and Informed Consent process (Hanna and Vanclay, 2013).

Companies and governments should perceive protest as an opportunity (rather than as a crisis) to address issues which were previously unknown or ignored. Through the use of effective grievance mechanisms, companies can manage community concerns before they get out of control, and thereby avert the escalation of protest and the use of more-disruptive strategies by protesters. Protest action in itself needs to be perceived as a grievance mechanism for impacted communities, especially when they have no other channel to effectively communicate with project proponents, or when the conventional channels (such as the grievance mechanism itself) are not effective. For instance, social media platforms—which are frequently used for protest actions—can be an important tool through which companies engage with communities. Unfortunately, companies usually react defensively to allegations from communities, instead of adopting a proactive/problem-solving orientation and taking effective measures on the ground and fully addressing or considering the concerns of neighboring communities. This defensive position can lead to major setbacks to companies, as was the case with the extensive campaigns against Nike and Shell, which have caused considerable reputational damage to them (Klein, 2002).

6. Conclusion

With increasing global inequality, development pressure and the proliferation of new ICTs, which make protests easier to organize and increase protest reach, it is clear that protest actions will become more prevalent in the future. In situations of project implementation, communities often find they need to mobilize in order to achieve respect for their rights and/or to otherwise influence the decision-making processes on matters which affect their lives. Protest is thus a legitimate and necessary way for communities to seek redress for the issues being ignored by decision-makers. In such mobilization processes, social capital and collective identity is built, and communities ultimately enhance their collective wellbeing by ensuring improvements in the assessment of impacts, the distribution of benefits, and the implementation of mitigation and enhancement measures.

Despite the wide range of forms that protest can take, with us nominating over 200 forms and related terms, protest actions contribute to only 7 functions: information; fundraising; publicity; mobilization; solidarity building, political pressure; and direct action. In protest events and campaigns, the forms and functions

are typically combined in order to enhance overall outcomes. The ongoing processes of digitalization and realization assist in achieving eventfulness and viralization (i.e. online eventfulness) of the protests. The digitalization and realization of protest are indicators of success, and contribute to the success of the campaign. We observed that there is constant innovation in protest forms, especially in the performative aspects of protests, and we argue that this innovation is essential to making protests successful and eventful.

Protest actions need to be comprehended as ongoing processes of social drama involving multiple stakeholders, rather than as single events in time. In these processes, protests tend to escalate from conventional and non-disruptive forms to unconventional and confrontational forms, especially when a community's influence over a project is low and their claims are not being addressed by the project. Digital forms of protest have now become conventional and they have direct effects in the real world, facilitating mobilization and allowing protest events to be more easily organized. New ICTs amplify protesters' voice, breaking the monopoly of the mass media in bringing the protest message to the wider public. Protest action is thus crucial for local communities to ensure that they have an appropriate level of participation in the decision making processes that affect their lives—in effect, protests force businesses and projects to comply with some aspects of the principle of free, prior and informed consent.

We suggest that companies and governments that fully respect FPIC and meaningfully engage with local people will be less likely to experience the escalation of community protest and will be more successful in establishing a social licence to operate, both with local communities and at the international level. Companies and governments need to engage with local communities very early in the project implementation process, and have ongoing processes of engagement. For the project to be perceived as legitimate (i.e. free from protest and having a social licence to operate), developers must be willing to modify (and even potentially to cancel) a project in response to local community input. Protest is, in effect, a form of community feedback which occurs when normal engagement and grievance mechanism are not working effectively. Companies would be well advised to listen carefully to community concerns, especially those expressed through protest actions, and establish a genuine dialogue procedures before protest escalates and conflict occurs. Rather than the defensive strategy typically adopted, companies should realize the protest signals that they should enhance their community engagement approach.

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