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WORKING PAPERS
72
Hegoa, Instituto de Estudios sobre Desarrollo y Cooperación Internacional Bilbao
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea UPV/EHU
ISSN: 1130-9962 EISSN: 2340-3187 Nº 72 2017

Civil resistance processes in the international security map. Characteristics, debates, and critique

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Cuadernos de Trabajo / Lan-Koadernoak • Hegoa, nº 72, 2017
Instituto de Estudios sobre Desarrollo y Cooperación Internacional

La revista *Cuadernos de Trabajo/Lan-Koadernoak Hegoa* es una publicación periódica editada desde 1989 por Hegoa, Instituto de Estudios sobre Desarrollo y Cooperación Internacional de la Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, y consagrada a los estudios de desarrollo. Con una perspectiva inter y multidisciplinar, publica estudios que sean resultado de una investigación original, empírica o teórica, sobre una amplia gama de aspectos relativos a las problemáticas, marcos analíticos y actuaciones en el campo del desarrollo humano y de la cooperación transformadora.

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Autoría: Itziar Mujika Chao
Cuadernos de Trabajo/Lan-Koadernoak Hegoa • Nº 72 • 2017
Depósito Legal: Bi-1473-91
ISSN: 1130-9962
EISSN: 2340-3187

www.hegoa.ehu.eus

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Diseño y Maquetación: Marra, S.L.

Financiado por: Gipuzkoako Foru Aldundia
Kultura, Turismo, Gazteria eta Kirol Departamentua
Departamento de Cultura, Turismo, Juventud y Deportes

Esta publicación está indexada en: latindex Dialnet MIAR REDIB Red Iberoamericana de Innovación y Conocimiento Científico

EISSN: 2340-3187
ISSN: 1130-9962

Civil resistance processes in the international security map. Characteristics, debates, and critique

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Received: 2017-01-23
Accepted: 2017-02-27

Resumen

Aunque la noviolencia y la resistencia civil no han sido centrales en los Estudios de Seguridad Internacional, y no hayan sido tan investigados como los conflictos armados, los procesos de resistencia civil noviolenta están adquiriendo importancia y visibilidad, y la investigación en este campo de estudio está también en auge. Este Cuaderno de Trabajo analiza el desarrollo teórico y político de los procesos de resistencia civil noviolenta a través de las diversas conceptualizaciones y características de la noviolencia y la resistencia civil, así como su potencial como instrumento para la transformación de conflictos.

Palabras clave: noviolencia, resistencia civil, construcción de paz, Estudios de Resistencia, Estudios de Seguridad Internacional.

Laburpena

Indarkeria eza eta erresistentzia zibila Nazioarteko Segurtasun Ikasketen baitan zentralak izan ez badira ere, eta adituek gatazka armatuei bezainbesteko arretarik eskaini ez badiete ere, indarkeria ezan oinarritutako erresistentzia zibil prozesuak garrantzia eta ikusgarritasuna hartzen ari dira eta eremu honetan egiten ari diren ikerketak geroz eta gehiago dira. Lan-Koaderno honek indarkeria ezan oinarritutako erresistentzia zibilen garapen teoriko eta politikoa aztertzen du kontzeptu hauen definizio desberdinen zein haien ezaugarrien bitartez, bai eta gatazka eraldaketarako tresna bezala eskaintzen duen potentzialaren bitartez ere.

Gako-hitzak: indarkeria eza, erresistentzia zibila, bake eraikuntza, Erresistentzia Ikasketak, Nazioarteko Segurtasun Ikasketak.

Abstract

Even if nonviolence and civil resistance have not been central within International Security Studies and have not been given as much attention by scholars as armed conflicts have, nonviolent civil resistance processes are gaining importance and visibility, and research in this field of study has also increased. This working paper analyses the theoretical and political development of nonviolent civil resistance processes through the different conceptualisations and characteristics of nonviolence and civil resistance, as well as its potential as a conflict transformation tool.

Keywords: nonviolence, civil resistance, peacebuilding, Resistance Studies, International Security Studies.

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1. Introduction

The objective of this working paper is to analyse the theoretical development of nonviolent civil resistance processes or movements within the International Security Studies (ISS) map. Armed conflicts and wars have been central in the development of current International Relations (IR), and the features of the internal conflicts that occurred during the Cold War facilitated the start of a new theorisation process that examined the role of civil society in conflicts, peace processes, and peacebuilding. It was also in this context that nonviolent movements started to increase. Their main objective was usually the fight against regimes that crushed citizens' rights, stepping against violence and through methods that discredited it. The aftermath of the Cold War also left several cases of civil resistance processes in Eastern Europe –Czech Republic, Slovakia or Poland, among many others–. These processes were characterised by sweeping actions such as mass demonstrations and protests, strikes, or publication of clandestine papers, among other actions. In general, they had clear objectives: the overthrow of the communist regimes or other dictatorships, to advance in processes of independence, or –at least– to improve citizens' everyday life, for example.

Nevertheless, mainstream IR literature has focused upon armed conflicts, their causes, characteristics, development and consequences, but not upon the analysis of nonviolent conflicts. Even if movements to avoid armed conflicts or to foment peaceful conflict transformation have been several, they have not been given as much attention by scholars as armed conflicts have. Still, and especially after 2011, the peaceful revolts and the nonviolent civil resistance processes developed in Northern Africa have again shown the importance, potential, and visibility of these alternative processes, and research in this field of study has also increased.

In this context, the objective in this working paper will be to analyse modern nonviolent civil resistance as a strategic instrument in conflict contexts. This analysis will be located within the current map of ISS, the mainstream and traditional approaches of which have kept nonviolent civil resistance in the shadows. Indeed, for most fields of IR and ISS the literature and theoretical grounds of nonviolent civil resistance processes are unknown, due to their "narrow focus on armed conflicts and their termination through military means or negotiated settlements" (Dudouet, 2013:401). At the same time, and bearing in mind the broadening and deepening process that the sub-field of Resistance Studies (RS) is going through over the last years, it lacks "an introduction" (Schock, 2015b:9), or the realisation of a general background of the field of study, as well as a broadly configured vision of it. Here, we will elaborate on the modern development and current concerns of the RS subfield, analysing its major debates and characteristics, and its contributions to the ISS map.

Thus, we will first identify the concept and practice of Nonviolence and Resistance Studies in the framework of the broader ISS field, precisely within the Critical Security Studies (CSS), in order to identify the main ideas and positions of each approach regarding the analytical axis of this working paper. Afterwards, we will analyse the different conceptualisations on nonviolence and civil resistance processes and their historical development in order to identify the differences between these and the struggles of social movements. The following sections will analyse, firstly, the pragmatic approach of nonviolent civil resistance, its characteristics, methodology and bases, and, later, what we identify as the transformative approach of nonviolent civil resistance and its bases as a conflict transformation tool. Finally, we will situate RS in the ISS map, through its role within the Peace Studies field.

2. Situating Resistance Studies in the International Security Studies map

Nonviolent civil resistance processes have not been, in general, a notorious research field in IR. Broadly, the discipline has long been concerned with the study of violence, conflict, and war among states and/or mass violence against civilians, in comparison with the absence of violence (Chenoweth and Stephan, 2010:250). Nevertheless, the nature of conflicts has changed, especially since the end of the Cold War.

Even if the history of nonviolent action is antique and broad, its systematic study is more recent (López, 2012:174). Violence and political violence have both been the protagonists of the XXth century: nonviolence has been as prominent as violence, although less notorious. In fact, expert Kennet Boulding identifies both the rise of stable peace areas between states and the development of organised nonviolence as the most important social mutations in the last centuries, but they have not received the attention they deserve (Boulding, 1990:3). More recently, researchers Maria Stephan and Erica Chenoweth have analysed nonviolent civil resistance campaigns and armed conflicts between 1900 and 2006, showing that nonviolence has been more frequent and more successful than violence (Stephan and Chenoweth, 2008; Chenoweth and Stephan, 2011)[1].

Despite these recent evidences, traditional points of view in IR have long defended and justified the use of violence, and have paid large attention to it, ignoring or misunderstanding the power of the use of nonviolence. Nevertheless, and since the emergence of CSS in the 1990s, the perception of the need of conflict for social change and the ideas about confronting it are broader. The idea of the possibility "to change habitual responses and exercise intelligent choices" against violence (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, 2011:17) is broader, and the election between violence and nonviolence is more palpable. Thus, the need to study the contribution of nonviolence and nonviolent civil resistance processes to the study of conflict, defence, stability (Gambrell, 1990:257) and peacebuilding is necessary.

The development of critical approaches within ISS have played a major role in this transformation, especially regarding the use of violence both in the peaceful and the conflictive dynamics of international relations. With the exception of Peace Studies (and, later, Feminist Studies), most of ISS and its approaches have not exhaustively researched into nonviolence and civil resistance, and when they have done so, these have not been their core concerns. Peace Studies have long been the first discipline centred on these issues, but during recent years other critical approaches have also analysed and discussed the concepts and practices of resistance, due to the development of the RS subfield itself.

Here, it is necessary to define the concept and the subfield of RS. Following Stellan Vinthagen, "'Resistance Studies' is both more than and different from what other disciplines have seen it as being", since it is a combination of several different theoretical traditions (including the liberal and state oriented one, Structuralism, contention politics, social movements theory...) but also includes subaltern studies, radical post-Marxism or post-Structuralist studies, among others (Vinthagen, 2015a:6). Up to now it does not exist as an area of study or field itself, but there is research developed in different fields and through different perspectives. Here, as Vinthagen states and later defines, it is necessary to establish the field of RS, or "resistance by other means". The objective of such development would be "to better understand resistance", with a critical and emancipatory interest (Vinthagen, 2015a:8-9), a broad perspective that would entail starting in the local level but reaching the international and the intersections of those levels in

1 Stephan and Chenoweth have also shown that nonviolent struggles are successful in 53% of the cases, while violent ones are in 26% of the cases (Stephan and Chenoweth, 2008; Chenoweth and Stephan, 2011). This research is based on the *Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes* (NAVCO 2.0) database, which combines major resistance campaigns and its characteristics: violent or nonviolent methods, objectives and results, among others. For more information about conflict databases, especially regarding to nonviolent conflict, see: Johansen, 2013.

between, and avoiding its co-optation by the liberal tradition, as it happened with the concepts and practice of human security or peacebuilding[2].

In general, CSS researchers have long defended the need to link security issues to social movements with the purpose of promoting emancipatory social change. Here, "by providing a critique of the prevailing social order and legitimating alternative views, critical theorists can perform a valuable role in supporting the struggles of social movements" (Wyn Jones, 1999:161). Nevertheless, the study of resistance –or RS themselves– have not been a relevant analytical angle neither for CSS nor for studies of social movements within IR, either traditional or critical, with the exception of Peace Studies and Feminist Studies.

Returning to the research on resistance and its situation in the ISS field, some critical approaches thereof have analysed (primarily or secondarily) nonviolence and civil resistance: Peace Studies, Critical Theory, Post-Structuralism, Postcolonial Studies, Feminist Studies, or, even if not situated inside the field as an approach itself, the concept (and practice) of Post-liberal peace as well. Even if in general, within CSS peace has been analysed in its post-Westphalian terms, out of the realist-liberal union and in its attempt to bring peace and its understanding from the state level to the individual level, the next sub-chapters will analyse the relations that the mentioned main approximations bear with the object of study of this chapter, although this has been, with the mentioned exceptions, very scarce.

Within Peace Studies, the study of nonviolence and civil resistance is one of "the most important" factors, since it is the means to achieve peace (López, 2012b:5). That is, as long as nonviolence were not the central axis of Peace Studies, there would not be any Peace Studies, and therefore, any of the main aims that the field defends, such as the concept and practice of positive peace. However, and specially during the last two decades, liberal interventionism has brought about a division creating two different main strands inside Peace Studies: one that has moved towards liberal peacebuilding, usually identified as mainstream; and a second one that remains critical towards this move and identified as Critical Peace Studies. The first one has silenced the main aspect of nonviolence inside Peace Studies through its co-optation by liberalism, especially since "peace studies has assumed that violent conflict and injustice require 'peace', 'conflict management', and forms of liberal interventionism from external actors", Richard Jackson argues. This is directly translated into the liberal peace agenda, which has brought an important consequence for the field: the prioritisation of external actors and top-down processes in peacebuilding. This has not only lessened the value of nonviolence and civil resistance in Peace Studies, but also the conception of positive peace itself, since the main goal has moved from creating the adequate environment for the development of positive peace to the mere absence of direct violence[3]. Despite the liberal co-optation of mainstream Peace Studies, the critical strand within Peace

2 Aware of the risks or ambivalences that the concept of resistance studies might or can have, John Holloway states that the term could be understood as "studies about resistance" or the study of movements of resistance as a unique object of analysis, which "would be a lie" (Holloway, 2015:12). What we understand by the term of "Resistance Studies" is the interest not only in the study of resistance movements, but the study of resistance itself, as a whole dynamic. For more information about the risks or ambivalences of the concept of "resistance studies", see: Holloway, 2015.

3 Jackson points out that mainstream Peace Studies has lost its initial focus on the study and purpose of nonviolence mainly through these following dynamics (Jackson, 2015:23-30): a) the orientation the field has taken "into a problem solving orientation which broadly accepts the present international and domestic status quo", following the positivist dominance of social sciences; b) the lack of engagement that Peace Studies has had with other peace based movements (such as the Occupy Movement, for example, or the anti-globalization movement), working instead with development agendas which are based upon (neo)liberal bases or projects that do not question/ defy structural violence; c) it has fallen into the so-called "fetishization of parts" which does not study violence and conflicts along with social movements, state structures, political conflicts or culture or history, but separately, which makes it fall into the positivist tradition again; d) it lacks of "a theoretically and empirically developed explanation of power, domination, oppression and (...) resistance"; and e) after decades, it lacks "direct engagement with the primary subjects of Peace Studies, namely the people, usually oppressed subaltern human beings who are the victims of systemic structural, cultural and direct violence", which, being the field itself mainly characterised by "Western-educated scholars studying non-Western 'others'", it is "missing the subaltern view of peace". These five characteristics have a clear consequence: that mainstream Peace Studies research "is explicitly tailored to policy demands and interests", or "towards the provision of policy advice", while scarce research is oriented towards role of non-state actors and movements facing and resisting oppression and violence "imposed by states and international institutions" (Jackson, 2015:29).

Studies has kept developing the study of nonviolence and nonviolent conflict, especially since the 1960s, contesting this co-optation from its core. Here are located the studies of social defence, civilian defence or civilian based defence (Boserup and Mack, 1975; Boserup and Mack, 1985; Sharp, 1980; Sharp, 1985; Sharp, 1992), which attempt to draw nonviolent defence systems based on the refusal to violence, emancipation of the citizens and the creation of spaces for the development of a positive peace[4].

Other critical approaches in CSS have also deepened about nonviolence and civil resistance. For example, the main objective of Critical Theory regarding nonviolence has been to conceptualise the possibility of a "post-sovereign" peace, with the aim to achieve greater freedom and emancipation comparing to previous traditional hegemonic ideas on peace and security. In this context, we would be speaking about an emancipatory peace, focused mainly upon the fight against marginalisation, exclusion, domination, and inequality (Richmond, 2008:123-125). This emancipatory peace would be built based on every individual's emancipation, which requires inclusive dialogue that "does not exclude any person or moral position" (Richmond, 2008:129). This would be built upon the idea of everyday emancipation, which, in Booth's words, is theoretically, security (Booth, 1995), described as "the freeing of people (as individuals and groups) from the physical and human constraints which stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do" (Booth, 1991:319). Thus, security is taken out from within the state and given to the population. It is precisely through this definition of emancipation that Critical Theory is linked with the theory and practice of resistance. However, there is another idea through which this association can also be done: the acknowledgement of security as a social product, and therefore, a social conduct. In this context, Mutimer argues, "it is possible to see security in places other than the defence of the state" (Mutimer, 2014), what gives agency to the people, one of the main bases of resistance studies[5].

On the other hand, Post-Structuralism has argued that the binary dynamics that the concept and practice of security has been built upon are the expressions of power and its dynamics, order, war and peace, based on the main binary of good versus evil (Richmond, 2008:135). It defends the achievement of a broader and more inclusive peace that is self-sustaining (Ashley, 1987) and in which everyday lives are the central pillars (Walker, 1993), in direct relation with resistance studies. Post-Structuralism has also drawn attention upon the dynamics of development and local resistance, arguing that development has been monopolised, homogenised, and controlled by the liberal community (Duffield, 2002), where "bare lives" (lives in constant mode of exception, such as in refugee camps, usually promoted by international authorities with 'rescuer' roles vs. 'victim' roles of refugees are created, and which do not have the space or the right to be managed (by themselves), or even to resist (Agamben, 1998). The study of resistance in Post-Structuralist approaches is precisely situated in the study of this –mainly local– resistances in peacebuilding and development spaces, where (meta) narratives on power relations, difference, and locality are contested and re-conceptualised through the acknowledgement of other narratives.

The Postcolonialist approach has a long tradition on the study of nonviolence. It can be said that the concept of nonviolence and civil resistance itself were created inside the scope of Postcolonialism, since it was Mohandas K. Gandhi himself who brought to practice developed the concept(s) and practice(s) of nonviolence and resistance[6] against the British colonial regime in India. Nevertheless, inside the criticisms of Postcolonialism and especially towards the colonial forms of IR and its dynamics, the issues of hegemony, exportation of liberal norms, state-building and peacebuilding processes have long been contested, mainly by criticising that this knowledge described as modern is a continuation of a colonial and coloniser mind-set, even if it aspires to universalism (Richmond, 2008:128). In this criticism, Postcolonialism represents resistance against this homogeneity and action towards local agency.

4 Even if this state-centered nonviolent defence is one of the main axes inside the study of nonviolence and nonviolent action in Peace Studies, this chapter will mainly focus in the civil aspect of nonviolence and nonviolent action, through civil resistance processes. For more information, see: Randle, 1994, chapters five and six; Sharp, 1990; Holst, 1990; or, more recently, Bartkowski, 2015.

5 Here, Mutimer links this strand with the Occupy Movement, acknowledging that it is only through this critical approach how we can identify this movement as a security issue (Mutimer, 2014).

6 His contributions to the field will be analyzed in section 3.1.

The concept (and practice) of Post-liberal peace, critic of the liberal peacebuilding theory and practice, also constitutes an important space in which important notions of resistance are located and developed. To this regard, Oliver Richmond argues that liberal peacebuilding has outplaced the individual, the community, the agency, the locality, and the everyday (Richmond, 2011a; Richmond, 2011b), and it is in this context where local resistances arise, creating what Richmond defines as post-liberal peace. It is through this post-liberal peace that local resistances get to contest liberal approaches of peacebuilding and their impact upon the daily lives of local communities, where "everyday local agencies, rights, needs, customs and kinship are recognised as discursive 'waves of meaning'" (Richmond, 2011a:227; Richmond, 2011b:16-17) and where resistance to the liberal hegemonic discourse and practice is exercised through local agency, resistance, and everyday life.

Feminism has been, alongside with Peace Studies, the critical approach that has analysed with greatest depth the use of nonviolence and its connection with resistance. Arguing that mainstream IR theories and practices, as well as ISS, ignore the everyday lives of most of the population worldwide and especially women (Sylvester, 1994), feminism has long theorised about international politics, peace, violence, resistance, and women's agency. Making it public that the concept and practice of peace generated by mainstream IR is not women's peace, and by bringing the use of violence against women and women's resistance, agency and action processes in the discipline to the central public eye of IR, feminism has long theorised about resistance, the use of nonviolence, the direct consequences that mainstream ideas of peace have towards women, and the need to turn towards a positive peace through nonviolence with a gender perspective.

Feminism in IR has had a special and important role underlining the way in which military forces and militarism perpetuate not only gender roles but also patriarchy through discrimination and violence against women (Enloe, 1989), making its biggest statement against mainstream IR and advocating for the need of nonviolence and nonviolent societies towards a peaceful world. However scarcely, feminists have also theorised about women and nonviolence (McAllister, 1982; McAllister, 1988), underlining both the role of women in nonviolent action, women's voices and protests and their participation in broader struggles, as well as the burdens they face. Feminist theorising locates security, conflict, and peace in everyday life, visualising their different layers, levels and applications from a gendered perspective. Thus, placing women and gender in the central axis of the comprehension of peace in IR has been one of the main achievements of feminist approaches in this regard.

The next table presents the main ideas of the aforementioned CSS approaches[7] to peace, where ideas about the use of violence, nonviolence, and resistance can also be identified.

7 The main approaches (both traditional and critical) to international peace and security studies have been analysed in the second chapter of this research. In this section, the only aim has been to identify notions of nonviolence and resistance in these approaches, in order to later situate nonviolent action and RS in this broader map.

Table 1: Principal ideas of Critical Security Studies approaches to nonviolence and civil resistance	
CSS approach	**Concepts of peace, nonviolence and civil resistance**
Critical Theory	Peace and security equate with emancipation, which is translated through an emancipatory peace that foresees the equal emancipation of all individuals.
Poststructuralism	Advocates for a self-sustaining peace where everyday life is central and where local inhabitants have the right to decide on these dynamics.
Postcolonial studies	Acknowledges resistance against the hegemony of Western IR.
Post-liberal peace	Peacebuilding is seen as a hybrid form of peace in front of liberal approaches, where resistance towards them and the defence of everyday life are central.
Feminism	Advocates for a positive peace in which all individuals, especially women, will be acknowledged, including the gender perspective and gender critique, and defending alternative views of peace and peacebuilding, where nonviolent and antimilitary ideas are the base.

Source: Partially adapted from Richmond, 2008:154-155.

3. Nonviolent civil resistance: development, definition(s) and analysis of the concept(s)

Although armed and unarmed resistance share a variety of similarities (see Dudouet, 2013; Schock, 2003), the main difference between both is, as researcher Véronique Dudouet states, the use –or the absence– of direct violence (Dudouet, 2013:402). Nevertheless, "boundaries between these various forms of struggle are very fluid", mainly since movements are not always fully violent or fully nonviolent, armed or unarmed, but mostly a combination of both (Dudouet, 2013:403; Schock, 2005:xvi; Schock, 2015b:12-13). Violence and nonviolence cross paths constantly, especially since in most cases the latter is used to confront the former, strategically, and both violence and nonviolence can be used in combination.

However, it is necessary to analyse other concepts that are very closely related to the one of *nonviolent civil resistance* regarding their definition, historical tradition and conceptual development such as peaceful resistance, pacifism or people power, for example. Although these concepts seem similar –or at least inevitably linked to each other–, they have different meanings that can place them differently within the sub-field of RS. Furthermore, different authors make different definitions of these similar concepts, and it is often difficult to elaborate a common definition. The following sub-section will analyse the historical development of nonviolence and civil resistance in order to understand their current meanings and variations, their conceptualisation and diversity of definitions, and will address the fields of studies on civil resistance and social movements, which have crossed and shared paths several times but have developed separately.

3.1. Historical and theoretical development[8]

Civil resistance processes have a long history, even if such history has rarely been collected and spread until the XXth century[9]. If during the Second World War[10] there were civil resistance processes occurring against the invasions of different countries, the Cold War saw the proliferation of new processes[11]. These were strongly influenced by the Indian intellectual and activist Mohandas K. Gandhi, in contrast with the processes carried out prior to the war[12]. During the 1950s peace movements spread out, but they mainly had an internationalist nature –while also relating to the so called transnational nonviolence back then–: it was usually an international presence in resistance processes spreading across different places, usually to offer their support and/or sponsorship[13]. From the 1960s on, most civil resistance processes had strong

8 The origins and evolution of civil resistance have been well linked to the history and development of nonviolence. Nevertheless, this section will briefly analyse the historical development of civil resistance itself, with the objective to historically locate the current research field. For more information on the history of nonviolence, see among others: Kurlansky, 2006; López, 2009; López, 2012; López, 2012a; López, 2012b.

9 In the XVI century Ethienne de la Boétie studied and worked with the concept of political power, its development, and application in nonviolent conflicts (de la Boetie, 2008 [1572]). Nevertheless, and with the main objective of focusing on the main study object of this research, we will make reference and analyse civil resistance processes carried out mainly after the Second World War.

10 For more information about civil resistance processes (through case studies) during the Second World War, see for example: Kurlansky, 2006, chapter nine; Ackerman and Duval, 2000, chapter five; Sémelin, 1993; Randle, 1994 (chapter3).

11 For more information about civil resistance processes (through case studies) during and directly related to the Cold War, see among others: Kramer, 2011; Williams, 2011; Smolar, 2011; Bunce and Wolchik, 2011; Kurlansky, 2006, chapter eleven; Randle, 1994 (chapter 3).

12 Gandhi compromised with ethic nonviolence and brought it to the political sphere. He leaded the Indian Independence Movement against British forces, and also inspired other nonviolent movements worldwide, such as the civil rights movement in the United States of America. For more information on Gandhi, his labour and activism see for example: Kurlansky, 2006, chapter ten; Howard, 1990; Dalton, 2012; Deats, 2005.

13 The March from San Francisco (USA) to Moscow (Soviet Union) in 1960 and 1961, or the Sahara Protest Group against the tests of atomic arms made by France, were examples of this solidarity.

influence of both Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King[14], who was fast becoming widely known for his role in the Civil Rights Movement in the USA[15], following Gandhi's ideas. Nonviolent civil resistance processes and their dynamics were spreading and being carried out more frequently, adding more and more different techniques and bringing the conceptualisation, theorisation and practice of nonviolence and nonviolent civil resistance to a higher level. It was in this time frame that influent theorists and researchers on nonviolence and civil resistance –Gene Sharp, Jean Marie Muller, etc.– started to publish their first works on the subject.

Several factors fostered this development throughout these decades: the Civil Rights Movement was growing stronger and gaining importance in the USA; in Iran, the overthrowing of the Shah during 1978 and 1979 was one of the first unarmed insurrections out of the so called First World between the 1970s and the 1990s (Schock, 2005:3)[16]. The downfall of communism in Eastern European countries supposed the internationalisation of nonviolent civil resistance processes, since it showed the results of the capacity of systematic and organised nonviolent action, mainly based upon the influences of Gandhi and Luther King[17]. According to Mario López, the paradigmatic shift about the importance of nonviolent civil resistance on the global political atmosphere was also strongly influenced by the development of peace movements and transnational movements against nuclear arms, the growth of the feminist movement and the spread of civil disobedience against military service. These processes displayed new methods, using no arms or violence, which were quickly spreading (López, 2012:28).

Even if, historically, violence has been presented as the only solution against oppression and the only instrument for conflict transformation –both the Second World War and the Cold War strengthened this idea, and later in developing and postcolonial countries violence was presented in the mainstream literature as the only solution for change, through guerrillas, terrorist groups, or armed activities (López, 2012:28)–, several nonviolent processes escaped from this violent framework. The following table displays the most significant ones in the post Cold-War era.

14 Martin Luther King was the main leader of the Civil Rights Movement in the USA, who strongly advocated, influenced by Gandhi, for nonviolent civil resistance and civil disobedience as the axis of the struggle. He leaded and organized many of the main protests that shaped the movement and was killed when planning a protest in Washington, D.C. For more information on Luther King, his labour and his activism, see, for example: Kurlansky, 2006, chapter ten; King, 1999; Carson, 1998; Clayton, 1986; Manheimer, 2005; Ansbro, 2000.

15 For more information on the civil rights movement in the USA see: McAdam, 2011; Ackerman and Duvall, 2000, chapter eight.

16 Nevertheless, this insurrection was followed by many others: against Duvalier's regime in Haiti in 1985, against dictator Marcos in Philippines in 1986, in favour of democratic systems in Chile or South Africa during the 1980s, among others, or the movements against communist regimes in Eastern Europe, such as the Solidarity movement in Poland, for example.

17 Michael Randle defines the influence that the ideas and works of both Gandhi and Luther King must have had on the civil resistance processes of Eastern Europe as "difficult to judge". Gandhi's campaigns both in South Africa and India were known worldwide, he affirms: "In Poland in the 1970s, the Catholic monthly *Wiez* published in translation accounts of the campaigns of Gandhi, Luther King and Brazilian trade unionists, (...) in 1984 underground publishing groups produced Polish edition of some of the writings of two leading western exponents of non-violent action, Jean-Marie Muller (France), and Gene Sharp (USA)". In the Baltic republics there was a "clear evidence" of this influence, he states, as Sharp's works on civilian based defence were used (Randle, 1994:63-63).

Table 2: Significant civil resistance movements between 1978 and 2008	
Country and movement	Years of struggle
United States: civil rights movement	1945-1970
Czechoslovakia: against soviet invasion and velvet revolution	1968-1989
Poland: Solidarnost	1970-1989
South Africa: against apartheid	1983-1994
Kosovo: for independence and against Serbian violence	1989-1997
Chile: against Pinochet's regime	1983-1988
Baltic republics: for independence	1987-1991
Philippines: People Power	1983-1986
Palestine: first intifada	1987-1990
Tibet	1987-1989
Iran: throwing of shah	1978-1979
Portugal: Carnation revolution	1974-1975
Burma	1988
Bulgaria: against communism	1989
China: Tiananmen Square protests	1989
Hungary: against communism	1989
Nepal	1990
Serbia: against Milosevic	2000
Philippines	2001
Georgia: Rose Revolution	2003
Ukraine: Orange Revolution	2004
Kyrgyzstan: Tulip Revolution	2005
Burma: Monk's protests	2007

Source: Adapted from Schock, 2005; Roberts and Garton Ash, 2011; Bartkowski, 2013; Bunce and Wolchik, 2011; Ackerman and Duvall, 2000.

These nonviolent civil resistance processes showed that nonviolence was gaining momentum across different countries as well as developing theoretically. The next sub-sections will analyse this development.

3.1.1. Gandhi: satyagraha, ahimsa and the concept of principled nonviolence

It is totally indispensable to make reference to Gandhi and his political work when analysing the history of both the practice and the theory of civil resistance processes and nonviolent conflicts[18]. He articulated

18 Identified as the "father" of modern nonviolence (López, 2012c), he confronted the British occupation in India during the first half of the XX century and advocated for its independence through nonviolence. This would be achieved through the reduction of suffering, harm, and death to the maximum, but not only Indians' and of those favouring independence, but also those of the British opponents as well (López, 2012c:42).

nonviolent conflict through two main concepts: *ahimsa* and *satyagraha*[19]. He used the concept *ahimsa* to make reference to nonviolence in a general sense, as an ethic-religious concept, as a synonym of not harming or killing, and it is, precisely, the foundation of his political approach to nonviolent conflict. Through the concept of *satyagraha* he reflected persistence and strength towards the truth and the opponent. He used it as a neologism in order to define it as a way of struggle without arms, a peaceful strategy, or active resistance. Through this concept he made a differentiation between active resistance and passive resistance, since it was through the latter that British armed forces viewed Indian resistance. It did not only propose a rejection of armed violence, but also developed a struggle modality which built upon five conditions (Sharma, 2008 *in* López, 2012c:55-59): abstinence from violence, disposal for sacrifice, respect for truth, constructive determination, and gradualism of means. Through these concepts and practices, *satyagraha* consisted of the moral superiority of the oppressed and nonviolent before the violent oppressor[20]. Gandhi's peaceful protests gained momentum not only in India but also worldwide, directly influencing struggles in South Africa or the USA, among other countries. Even if according to mainstream IR literature Gandhi's approach to conflict was mainly weak, soon after did experts across the world start to analyse and research into his method, especially within the Peace Studies field: Richard B. Gregg, Gene Sharp, John Galtung, Aldo Capitini, Peter Ackerman, or Christopher Kruegler, among others.

In 1966 North American author Richard B. Gregg published *The Power of Nonviolence* (Gregg, 1966), in which he adapted Gandhi's principles as an alternative to war (Boulding, 1990:10). His work contributed to the understanding of nonviolence as an instrument for social change rather than as a mere religious awareness (Schock, 2015b:43). Gregg's main objective was to explain that resistance could also be implemented through peaceful means and that it had its own logics and strategies. As Schock illustrates, "just as military strategists recognised the centrality of moral and psychological struggle in warfare, Gregg attempted to explain how they were central to nonviolent struggle as well" (Schock, 2015b:43). He also introduced the concept of "moral jiu-jitsu", explaining the moral advantage of those activists committed to nonviolence against the opponent(s) or those who adopted violent means.

3.1.2. Sharp: the concept of pragmatic nonviolence and nonviolent action

Shortly after, North American expert Gene Sharp started to deeply study Gandhi's theory, and he developed –going beyond it– a way to prove the use and role of nonviolence and civil resistance as a tool to overcome any kind of conflict. In his early work *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (Sharp, 1973a; Sharp, 1973b; Sharp, 1973c) he developed Gandhi's approach through the "consent theory of power", embracing 198 methods of nonviolent action and the dynamics of successful nonviolent action[21]. Through the consent theory of power, Sharp argued that rulers depend on the consent of the population, and without this, their capacity to exert their power can be undermined. Through the identification of 198 nonviolent methods, he made a collection of different tactics that can be used nonviolently to face the opponent. Finally, he determines the major dynamics of nonviolent action and also elaborates a model for successful nonviolent resistance campaigns.

Sharp's work and postulates were a "major breakthrough" (Schock, 2005:37) in the study of nonviolence and nonviolent action for two main reasons: he not only elaborated a differentiation between principled and pragmatic nonviolence, but he also developed a theory of nonviolent action, which could be applied practically in any conflict situation. He did so through the study of nonviolent resistance with a realist perspective (Schock, 2015b:45). Sharp made a clear distinction between the Gandhian concept of *satyagraha*, in which moral elements are central, and furthermore when it comes to pragmatic political

19 Although there were six main Sanskrit concepts that laid the foundation of Gandhi's nonviolence and resistance (*satya, ahimsa, sarvodaya, satyagraha, swaraj* and *swadeshi*), we will make reference to the mentioned two, since they are the main ones that have made its way until today's strategic nonviolent conflict and civil resistance processes.

20 For more information on Gandhi's work, ideas and political theory, his activism and work in both India and South Africa and specially the concepts of Satyagraha and Ahimsa, see: López, 2009; López, 2012c; Sharma, 2008; Sharp, 1960; Sharp, 1979; King, 1999; Brown, 2011; Dalton, 2012.

21 Sharp's three main contributions are presented in this mentioned work, in each one of the three volumes, respectively.

and strategic interpretations of nonviolence, which could be applied in different struggles. It was departing from this starting point that he divided nonviolence in two dimensions, the "believe" and the "technique" (Schock, 2015b:45).

The field of Peace Studies soon started to develop these concepts and practices, and Johan Galtung also worked on Gandhi's concepts for the elaboration of the concepts of "positive peace" and "structural violence". Soon after, Robert Burrowes also developed a strategy of civil defence in his work *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense: A Gandhian Approach* (Burrowes, 1996), in which he elaborated the ideas of a nonviolent civilian defence system against the military invasion or occupation[22]. More recently, research on nonviolent civil resistance processes has shifted from documenting successful nonviolent civil resistance movements and campaigns to developing and testing nonviolent theories (Nepstad, 2015:10). No matter, it has been Sharp's viewpoint, or the "technique" approach (McCarthy and Kruegler, 1993), the one that has prevailed. Even if his model has endured criticism, the corpus of the theory and the practice of civil resistance processes have been mainly built upon Sharpian bases. Therefore, the analysis that this section provides is based upon these, since being the main focus that modern development of civil resistance studies has followed.

3.2. Different concepts and conceptualisations

There have been different conceptualisations –and conceptual developments– in the field of RS during the last decades, mainly due to different analyses regarding different civil resistance processes, or due to the use of different concepts to analyse similar processes or actions. The objective of this section is to briefly abbreviate this diversity of conceptualisation and offer one definition for each one of the most widely used concepts.

Nonviolence has been defined in different ways. Nevertheless, and following the definition of professor and expert Mario López, we could define nonviolence as "an ethic-politic doctrine oriented towards action", or as a "philosophy and cosmovision of the human being with very deep historic roots and ramifications into the scientific, spiritual or social world". Under this broad context, López affirms, nonviolence can also be understood as "a method of conflict intervention or, also, as a combination of instruments, procedures and strategies of action used in the battle for justice", in which any form of violence is rejected (López, 2012a:170)[23].

This conceptualisation has been usually followed by a differentiation between two types of nonviolence: principled and pragmatic. *Ethic nonviolence* or *principled nonviolence*[24], following the Gandhian tradition, advocates for the persuasion of the enemy through rationality and conscience, trying to change its inner attitudes and perceptions (Ortega and Pozo, 2005:47), but adopts nonviolence for ethical principles and reasons of not harming anyone or simply not making any kind of use of violence. Thus, nonviolence is a broader concept and practice, since it is based upon a deeper philosophical and political knowledge that implies "an alternative way of living, knowing and making" (López, 2012a:170). In this context, one of the main values of is the "respect for human life of the adversary", and in consequence, not to kill anyone (López, 2012a:170-171). It could also be simplified as "ethical, comprehensive, or unqualified nonviolence" (Schock, 2015b:28). On the other hand, *pragmatic nonviolence*[25] is based upon a strategic choice of not using violence against an opponent (Ortega and Pozo, 2005:47-48), which indicates a different approach towards nonviolence, conflict, and its management. It is a choice, characterised by "a commitment to methods of nonviolent action due to their perceived effectiveness, a view of means and ends as potentially separable, a perception of nonphysical pressure on the opponent during the course of the struggle to

22 Sharp also worked on this idea of nonviolent defence or civilian based defence. See: Sharp, 1980; Sharp, 1985; Sharp, 1990; Sharp, 1992.

23 López also goes deeper into the concept and meaning of nonviolence, depending on the way in which it is written, nonviolence or non violence. This working paper won´t go in that way, but for more information see: López, 2012b.

24 Developed by authors and experts like Mohandas K. Gandhi, and Martin Luther King, among others.

25 This has been developed by authors and experts such as Gene Sharp, Michael Randle, or Peter Ackerman.

undermine the opponent's power" (Schock, 2005:xvii). It could also be simplified as "tactical, strategic, selective, or qualified nonviolence" (Schock, 2015b:28)[26]. The next table illustrates the characteristics, similarities, and differences of both principled and pragmatic nonviolence.

Table 3: Characteristics of principled and pragmatic nonviolence

Characteristic(s)	Principled nonviolence	Pragmatic nonviolence
Definition of nonviolence	A way of life	A pragmatic strategy or choice
Rejection of violence	On moral grounds	On strategic grounds
Reason for opting nonviolence	Because is the ethically best strategy	Because is an effective strategy
Objective(s)	Opponent's conversion and personal and social transformation	To win the adversary, to deny its victory, to achieve own objectives or to transform certain social institution(s)
Perception(s) of conflict	As a shared problem among partners	As incompatible interests between opponents
Perception(s) of opponent(s)	Partner (not an enemy)	Enemy (duty to defeat it)
Perception(s) of change	To find a common truth with the opponent and/or convert it	It may involve nonviolent coercion or behavioural change of the opponent
Solution(s)	Satisfies everyone	It only satisfies us
Moral qualities of opponent(s)	They do exist	They do not exist

Source: Adapted from Ortega and Pozo, 2005:48; Schock, 2015b:28-31; Nepstad, 2015:19-20.

In short, principled activists "have to decide what to do within an overall framework of living a nonviolent life", while pragmatic activists "have to choose what methods to use and how to combine them into effective campaigns" (Martin, 2009:430-431)[27]. Based upon this classification of nonviolence, ethic or principled nonviolence is usually associated with Gandhi, whereas strategic or pragmatic nonviolence is usually associated with Sharp[28].

It is upon the concept of pragmatic nonviolence that the modern concept and practice of *resistance* has been developed. Ramón García Cotarelo affirms that the concept of resistance comes from the concept

26 For further information on the concept and practice of nonviolence, see among others: López, 2012a; Ortega and Pozo, 2005; Nepstad, 2015, chapter1; Castañer, 2010; Vinthagen, 2015b, chapter 2.

27 Furthermore, Kurt Schock makes a further distinction: he defines the former as a "lifestyle" and the last as "a method of struggle" (Schock, 2005:xvii).

28 The adoption of the former does not entail the adoption of the latter, and vice versa: adopting one or the other does not necessarily mean that the other convinces all participants in the processes. For example, adopting a strategic nonviolence process does not necessarily mean that the movement –or all its participants– is morally committed to nonviolence. As Dudouet states, both principled and pragmatic nonviolence are complementary (Dudouet, 2008:8). Martin argues that both conceptualizations of nonviolence of the previous categorization overlap, since principled nonviolence practitioners can be pragmatic in their refusal to use violence, but few pragmatic activists are committed to nonviolence in their personal life, even if their individual commitment shapes their approach to nonviolent action (Martin, 2009:431). At the same time, and following Schock, both approaches can be seen "as points on a *continuum* rather than dichotomous", since in many cases differentiation between both can be blurry (Schock, 2015b:30).

or practice of confrontation (García Cotarelo, 1987:59). Following Howard Clark, resistance "suggests disobedience, refusal and withdrawal, and non-institutional forms of struggle" (Clark, 2009b:5). In this working paper we will focus on *civil resistance*[29], defined by Michael Randle as: "a method of collective political struggle based on the insights that governments depend in the last analysis on the cooperation, or at least the compliance, of the majority of the population, and the loyalty of the military, police and civil service. It is thus grounded in the realities of political power. It operates by mobilising the population to withdraw that consent, by seeking to undermine the opponents' sources of power, and by enlisting the support of third parties" (Randle, 1994:9).

Unarmed resistance or unarmed insurrections can be defined as "organized popular resistance to government authority which –either consciously or by necessity- eschews the use of weapons of modern warfare" (Zunes, 1994:403), meaning nonviolent political action. Based on this definition, researcher Véronique Dudouet adds in: "one could also describe it as an active and sustained collective engagement in resisting violence in all its forms (whether behavioural, structural or cultural)" (Dudouet, 2013:403). According to Schock: "they are 'popular' in the sense that they are civilian-based and carried out through widespread popular participation. That is, civilians, rather than being relegated to the position of providing support for an armed vanguard, are the main actors in the struggle" (Schock, 2005:xvi)[30]. Therefore, civil resistance can be defined as a resistance process carried out by civilians or civil society, in which violence will be opposed or resisted by nonviolence with certain objectives and through nonviolent action. Expert Luis Enrique Eguren goes a step further and defines it as a "slippery concept", situating civil resistance or nonviolent conflict precisely in acute conflict situations where some societies or communities develop cultural forms of resistance. "When a 'hidden' resistance becomes organised to achieve particular objectives, then the resisters claim a different type of social space", emerging as social actors (Eguren, 2009:99)[31].

There is no room for doubt in the use of *nonviolent (political) action* in civil resistance processes or nonviolent conflicts. Schock defines it as "non-routine and extra-institutional political acts that do not involve violence or the threat of violence" (Schock, 2015b:13). Following López, we understand it "as a self managed form of protest and resistance, as a way of organization of methods, techniques and strategies that will enable the hierarchical organization of objectives, the programming of actions, the planning of resources and campaigns that will achieve not only the empowerment of the citizens but the (self) development and (self) determination of the citizenship in their search for justice" (López, 2012a:170).

Based upon the concept of nonviolent action, López makes a distinction between nonviolence and civil resistance, which is necessary when defining both, especially since both are citizens' political action forms and can be easily confusing. López defines nonviolent political action as "a combination of methods for mass mobilization", which has its biggest expression in mass civil resistance (López, 2012a:170). According to Gene Sharp, nonviolent action happens through acts of omission and/or acts of commission (Sharp, 1973b:68; Sharp, 2005:41): acts of omission are those through which people refuse to perform activities they usually carry out and which are expected from them through laws or custom, while acts of commission are those which people do not usually perform because they are forbidden or simply not expected from them, but they carry them out with certain objectives[32].

The aforementioned concepts and definitions all involve *contention* or *contentious politics*. According to Tilly, Sidney, and Tarrow, contentious politics involve "interactions in which actors make claims bearing on someone else's interests, leading to coordinated efforts on behalf of shared interests or programs, in which governments are involved as targets, initiators of claims, or third parties. Contentious politics bring together three familiar features of social life: contention, collective action, and politics (Tilly and

29 Also identified (and often interchangeably used) as *unarmed resistance, nonviolent resistance* and/or *nonviolent struggle.*

30 He also makes reference to its duration: "civil resistance is sustained when it occurs over a period of time as opposed to one-off events or occasional protest. Sustained collective action implies organization and leadership, although the form they take varies considerably from centralized organization and leadership to decentralized networks with no identifiable leaders" (Schock, 2015b:12-13).

31 For a deeper definition and explanation about "hidden resistance", see section 4.5.

32 The combination of both is also expected.

Tarrow, 2007:4-5). Thus, *collective action* means the willingness to coordinate efforts "on behalf of shared interests or programs" (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007:5)[33], under this political context. Following Tilly and Tarrow, "when contention, politics and collective action get together, something distinctive happens: power, shared interests, and government policy come into play". In this sense, demands are collective and political, and therefore, "sometimes make claims as political actors" (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007:9). This is when contention transforms into civil resistance and both are, therefore, interlinked[34].

The concept of *people power* has been built based on the former conceptualisations. It was first introduced when mass nonviolent action brought down president Marcos in Philippines in 1986, and has been used since then to make reference to the downfall of governments and protest against unjust election processes, or as Clark puts it, "to describe the mass mobilisation of one section of 'the people' against another" (Clark, 2009b:4). Schock illustrates this concept more deeply: "they are 'nonviolent' in the sense that their primary challenge to state power and legitimacy occurs through methods of nonviolent action rather than through methods of violence" (Schock, 2005:xvi)[35].

Defence by civilian resistance or *civilian based defence*[36] is, along nonviolence and positive peace, one of the first concepts coined by Peace Studies in IR and ISS. Following López, it makes reference to "overcome war as a conflict resolution resource, arms as one of the greatest legal businesses of the rich world over the poor, of armies as only guarantors of defence, citizenship, hierarchical and elitist conception of decision making towards security and everyone's defence" (López, 2012:36)[37]. Michael Randle has long and deeply elaborated on the concept, and argues that civilian based defence "is a prepared system of national defence based on non-violent forms of action and/or the actual deployment of such means against foreign invasion or occupation, coups d'état, or other forms of attack on the independence and integrity of a society" and can "either complement or replace the traditional military system of deterrence and defence" (Randle, 1994:131). He adds in that it has "the advantage of indicating the links with civil resistance in other contexts rather than implying that it is a completely separate phenomenon" (Randle, 1994:128).

Pacifism has often been confused with nonviolence, and both have been used even as synonyms[38], but according to researcher Sharon E. Nepstad, there are two main differences between both concepts (Nepstad, 2015:16-17): while pacifism is "the principled opposition to war and the use of violence for political purpose" as a "moral or ideological stance on war", nonviolent action is a "method of fighting oppression and injustice", and a "set of tactics and strategies used for pursuing social and political goals"[39]. The next table gathers the former definitions on nonviolence and civil resistance processes:

33 They add in: "Football teams engage in collective action, but so do churches, voluntary associations, and neighbours who clear weeds from a vacant lot" (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007:5).

34 As the authors point out, this combination can have different consequences in different situations, be it in social movements, ethnic conflicts, nationalism, or civil wars, among others (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007:9).

35 For more information on the concept of people power and its relations and similarities with civil resistance, see for example: Schock, 2005; Clark, 2009a.

36 Randle elaborates on the conceptual diversity of the concept: "The term 'civilian defence' is used less frequently today because of the possible confusion with 'civil defence'. (…) in the US, have opted for 'civilian-based defence' or 'CBD', but 'social defence', 'defence by civil resistance', and 'civilian defence' are more widely used in Europe". Even if this terminology is used similarly, Randle elaborates on the differences among the concepts. See: Randle, 1994:127-128.

37 For more information, historical and theoretical development of the concept of civilian based defence, see, among others: Randle, 1994 (chapters 5, 6 and 7); Sharp, 1985; Sharp, 1990; Sharp, 1992.

38 For more information about the concept and the practice of pacifism, as well as its historical background, see, among others: Brock, 1997; López, 2009, chapter 4; Nepstad, 2015, chapter 1; Holmes and Gan, 2005, part 4.

39 Moreover, Erickson Nepstad identifies four different types of pacifism (Nepstad, 2015: 17-18): absolute, realistic, technological and fallibility pacifism, which can be defined as follows: absolute pacifism makes reference to the fact that the use of violent force against another human is always wrong, usually based on religious or ethical principles; realistic pacifism is opposed to violence with political goals, but acknowledges "that limited force may be necessary in certain circumstances"; technological pacifism, previously defined as nuclear pacifism, defends that the use of violence nowadays is obsolete, even if it could be somehow justified in the past, since there are "immoral" weapons such as drones or aerial bombings, among others; and, finally, fallibility pacifism or epistemological pacifism argues that consequences of violence and conflicts are too dangerous to support.

Table 4: Definitions on nonviolence and civil resistance	
Concept	Definition
Nonviolence	Ethic-politic doctrine directed towards political action, conflict transformation or philosophy of life, in which violence is rejected. It can be principled or pragmatic.
Nonviolent civil resistance	Resistance process carried out by civilians, in which violence will be opposed or resisted by nonviolence and through nonviolent action, using this to achieve certain objectives of this movement.
Nonviolent action	Non-institutional political act(s) that do not involve violence or its use as a method for mass mobilization.
People power	Nonviolent mass mobilization against regimes or governments, another group, community or similar.
Collective action	Coordinating actions on behalf of shared interests of a group, community or similar.
Civilian based defence	National defence system based on nonviolent action.

Source: Adapted from the aforementioned definitions.

The aforementioned definitions are linked to certain historical moments and processes, and as they change or develop, so will happen with these definitions. However, the distinction previously realised leads, inevitably, to the need to make a distinction between civil resistance processes and struggles of social movements, since the last ones are also actors of contentious politics. Both social movements and civil resistance processes share similar characteristics, but are not equal political processes. The next section will analyse the differentiation between both and their respective research fields.

3.3. Civil resistance processes and social movements

The study of civil resistance has been multidisciplinary: it has been developed mainly located inside the Peace Studies field, but also throughout and across other disciplines and fields, such as Social Movements Studies or Sociology, among others. Nevertheless, the fields that have most converged have been those of Social Movements Studies and RS, even if both have grown separately and, as a consequence, independently (Schock, 2015b:35).

The social movements literature has long been concentrated on analysing reform movements in liberal democracies, while civil resistance literature has focused on the study of authoritarian regimes and the nonviolent movements that have challenged these (Schock, 2015b:32).

Even if these two fields share common research paths, the differences are major. Schock elaborates on these differences (Schock, 2015c; Schock, 2015b:46-54), distinguishing between the scholars focusing on social movements and revolutions and the scholars centred on civil resistance, and he identifies four major differences –summarised in table 5 below–: whilst the social movements scholars have been oriented towards academia, civil resistance scholars have oriented their work towards activists and policy makers as well as towards academia; regarding theoretical roots, theories of social movements and revolution have been generally structural, and at the same time, structural theories have been central in them, while scholars on civil resistance have developed from Gandhian –and anarchist– roots; regarding traditional emphasis, social movements, and revolution scholars have usually assumed that violent and nonviolent resistance can be complementary and that political action is a *continuum* that follows conventional political action to nonviolent protest to violent resistance, while civil resistance

scholars reject such *continuum* between conventional politics and nonviolence, or nonviolent resistance and violent resistance –social movements scholars assume that change can happen through the structures, while civil resistance scholars have underlined the importance of agency–; and, finally, regarding traditional substantive focus, social movements and revolution scholars have paid attention to the sources of structures and social bases, mobilisation and political contexts, whereas scholars on civil resistance have been interested in the analysis of strategies and mechanisms of nonviolent political change.

Table 5: Comparison of Social Movement and Revolution and Civil Resistance Research

Characteristic(s)	Social movement and revolution research	Civil resistance research
Audience	Academics	Academics, policy makers, practitioners
Theoretical roots	Structuralist	Gandhian, anarchist
Traditional emphasis	Structure (except social movement literature on framing)	Agency
Traditional substantive foci	Structural sources; social bases; mobilization; political context; framing	Strategy, techniques of action; mechanisms of nonviolent change

Source: Based on Schock, 2015b:47.

Thus, the difference between the concepts of civil resistance and social movements can also be confusing, since both are civil society movements and often have the same or similar characteristics. In this regard, civil resistance movements can be –in their base or foundation– social movements, and vice versa. Nevertheless, it is necessary to make a distinction between the both, even if they share numerous similarities. According to David Snow, Sarah Soule and Hans P. Kriesi, social movements can be defined as: 'One of the principal social forms through which collectivities give voice to their grievances and concerns about the rights, welfare, and well-being of themselves and others by engaging in various types of collective action, such as protesting in the streets, that dramatize those grievances and concerns and demand that something be done about them (Snow, Soule and Kriesi, 2004:3-16)[40].

However, we understand that social movements share more similarities with civil resistance processes and nonviolent processes than those stated above. Following Tilly and Tarrow, social movements are a "sustained campaign of claim making" that are based in organizations or networks, "but most of the contentious politics are not social movements". These contain four main elements: sustained claims, public performances for claiming, a repetition of these public actions, and a basic support of these acts by organizations and/or networks (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007:8)[41].

Based on Tilly and Tarrow's definition, and the former definitions on nonviolence and civil resistance –gathered in previous section 3.2–, we can find three common characteristics between nonviolent civil resistance movements and social movements: first, they both fight against injustices and have certain objectives to improve the situation; second, they both have nonviolence in its base and means –otherwise, we would be referring to armed groups or armed resistance processes–; and, third, they both have a minimum organisation as a mainstay, be it in form of collective decision-making organs or of a combination of networks and

40 They continue as follows: "Indeed, it is arguable that an understanding of many of the most significant developments and changes throughout human history –such as the ascendance of Christianity, the Reformation, and the French, American, and Russian revolutions –are partly contingent on an understanding of the workings and influence of social movements, and this is especially so during the past several centuries" (Snow, Soule and Kriesi, 2004:16).

41 Instead of the concept of social movement, they use the concept of social movement bases.

organisations. Nevertheless, there is one main characteristic that differentiates both concepts: the character of a mass movement. In other words, civil resistance movements are performed by masses, whole citizen groups and communities, no matter whether they belong to an oppressed group or an entire society. Instead, social movements do not necessarily contain this characteristic of mass. Social movements can be created and developed by certain groups that not necessarily involve whole societies or groups.

The following section will illustrate the basic characteristics of nonviolent civil resistance processes, analysing the development of the pragmatic approach.

4. The pragmatic approach of civil resistance and nonviolent action

The last decades have beheld a notorious growth in the literature on nonviolent action and nonviolent civil resistance movements, becoming more widely known across different struggles worldwide, as well as developing the research field, mainly drawing upon the strategic or Sharpian approach to nonviolent action and civil resistance.

Nonviolent civil resistance processes and nonviolent action share two main characteristics: the action against power and against the consent that maintains it, and its operationalisation through mass action. According to Sharp, political power is maintained through consent, namely consent of the citizens, what he explains through his "consent theory of power" (Sharp, 1973a; Sharp, 2005:25-38). The concentration of power, Sharp argues, can usually be applied against citizens through oppression, violence, and even in some extreme cases through genocide. In this context, and contrary to the broader belief of power deriving from violence, Sharp argues that power derives from consent, obedience and cooperation of citizens with this power, and its rejection and withdrawal as the path towards the weakening or collapse of oppressive power. As he argues, "power is integral part of nonviolent struggles", and these "cannot be understood or waged intelligently without attention to power capacities and power relationships" (Sharp, 1990a:2).

As Randle argues, "the base of power lies within society, but it is the individuals and organisations who have the capacity to wield that power which we normally think of as powerful" (Randle, 1994:3). The withdrawal of consent restricts and weakens the power of the ruler, and can be brought to practice through different means: the repudiation of moral right of rule or ruler(s); through non-cooperation, disobedience or refusal of rule or ruler(s); through declining to supply skills to rule or ruler(s); and, through the denial of control over administration, property, or resources, among others (Sharp, 2005:38). The withdrawal of consent marks the initiation of a conflict where an oppressive power has been dismissed. Thus, one of the main characteristics of modern civil resistance processes is that it contains the definition of power. If the analysis of power has been traditionally vertical and top-down, civil resistance poses power horizontally, through a bottom-up approach. Therefore, power is vertical if those in the bottom consent it.

Randle adds in two main characteristics of civil resistance: first, that it is grounded in collective action, which differentiates it from any kind of individual dissent, and second, that it avoids any kind of systematic recourse to violence, which distances it from any resistance involving military or armed actions (Randle, 1994:10). The withdrawal of consent needs to be collective, not individual, and to remain nonviolent, in order to adjust to our object of study.

4.1. Causes and objectives of nonviolent civil resistance

Traditionally, grievances have been identified as the root causes of protests and rebellions. Nevertheless, these are not enough for mobilisation (Schock, 2015b:86-87), and what is more, these grievances can be the causes of both violent and nonviolent resistance. In this regard, professor Sharon E. Nepstad has identified different causes that share both violent and nonviolent insurrections (Nepstad, 2011:5): widespread grievances towards the state and its legitimacy; the shift of national elites from the state to the opposition; the anger and discontent of citizens towards regime injustices; and/or overall indignation of people within a social and ideological questioning towards the state. Nevertheless, our focus will be on analysing causes of nonviolent civil resistance processes.

Commonly, nonviolent civil resistance processes can be organised in relation to different oppressive dynamics. López classifies these in three main oppressive processes (López, 2012:33-34)[42], based

42 López identifies civil resistance processes as "civilian defence without arms", as processes closely related with security and defence, such as several other authors in the resistance studies field.

upon their objectives: a) struggles against colonial domination[43]; b) struggles against totalitarian regimes[44]; and, finally, c) struggles against dictatorships, rights and freedom[45]. López argues that the identification of struggles mentioned in this classification have several characteristics in common (López, 2012:34): an attempt to break the rule, the humanisation of the conflict through nonviolent means, an improvised and creative conflict intervention method by masses, rebelliousness and power from below, experimentation with social power, and the test of alternative –nonviolent– defence models through civilian-based defence.

In an attempt to realise a separate classification, Schock classifies these movements as follows (Schock, 2015b:58-86): a) struggles to expand democracy and justice in the developed world –as the civil rights movement in the USA or the women's movement[46], among others–; b) struggles for democracy in other parts of the world –such as the Eastern Europe movements against communism, against authoritarian regimes in South America or with the so called 'Arab Spring'–; or, c) struggles for national liberation or autonomy –such as the case of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania between 1987 and 1991, East Timor in 1975-1976, the First Palestinian Intifada between 1987 and 1993, or the case study of this research, Kosovo–. He adds another category: struggles against inequality, in which he includes "campaigns of civil resistance targeting inequality and exploitation", but admitting that "typically do not have such a dramatic climax" (Schock, 2015b:76). The target of these movements is structural violence, which is what differentiates them from the previously identified types of movements. Nevertheless, these struggles against inequality can also be considered as civil resistance struggles. Thus, and drawing upon López's and Schock's classifications, we elaborate the following one, in which we include four different civil resistance struggles, based on their objectives:

a) Struggles or movements against colonial domination: resistance against an external invasion or appropriation of land, which is usually followed by use or economical extraction of other sectors.

b) Struggles or movements against totalitarian regimes or dictatorships: resistance against authoritarian domination in all spheres of society, which is very usually a struggle for democracy, or more democratic political systems, and specially, the defence of human rights.

c) Struggles or movements for national liberation or autonomy: struggle of a community or a self-identified nation for self-determination and independence –often very related to the first type, since many cases it happens under colonial domination–.

d) Struggles or movements against inequalities: struggles against social, political and/or economical differences, subordination, oppression and/or exploitation –gender, class, etc.–, which usually fight against structural violence.

The first three categories usually occur under harsh extreme situations in which the principal target is, along with the main objective, direct violence. In contrast, the fourth one usually targets structural violence. Even if it can also be located in any of the previous struggles –since inequality is on the bases of them–, it can also be located without the previous ones in the following two forms: first, as a continuation of the previous struggle, in those cases when the principal struggle has not addressed inequalities, such as economic differences, gender inequalities and/or women's rights, among others; or second, as an autonomous movement. Nevertheless, there is a third type of movement against inequality: as sub-movements inside a

43 For example, the Finnish resistance against Russian occupation, Indian and South African civil resistance processes, or the Palestinian Intifada, among others.

44 Such as resistance struggles against German invasions in Holland or Norway, the resistance processes in Chile or Argentina, the overthrowing of the Shah in Iran, the downfall of communist regimes in 1989 in Eastern Europe or the Otpor movement against Milosevic's regime in Serbia, among others.

45 Such as the civil rights movement in the USA, or the colour revolutions, among others.

46 Although Schock includes the women's movement or the "gay and lesbian rights movement" as struggles in the developed world, we do not agree with this. Instead, we defend that the women's movement has been developed across the globe, even if it has been through different stages and rhythms, but with similar objectives and characteristics.

bigger struggle –as it happened with the struggle of women in the Arab Spring, as women's claims inside the civil rights movement in the USA, for example–. This form represents more difficult struggle dynamics, since it may be seen as a contestation to the main struggle.

The classification we have proposed incorporates the idea of the classification of civil resistance goals elaborated by Randle (1994:10-12): the goals of civil resistance can be reformist or encompassing. The former will address the removal of a particular injustice or the modification of a particular law, for example. Instead, more encompassing goals can be "revolutionary from the start", addressing the overthrow of a government or dictatorship, or denying and demising a complete political system.

4.2. Organization of nonviolent civil resistance

The strategic approach of nonviolent civil resistance emphasises the importance of organising the movement and selecting and developing a strategy. There are three main characteristics to which traditional literature on nonviolent civil resistance movements pays attention when analysing the organisation of struggles: the structural conditions within which the movement is created and functions; the strategy that the movement itself develops and organises in order to achieve its objectives; and, finally, the organisational form of the movement itself.

The context or the structural conditions within which the movement is being built plays a major role in its organisation and later development. Nevertheless, the definition of structural conditions can vary. According to Nepstad, structural conditions make reference to "the macrolevel factors that can tip the balance of power in favour of the movement or the regime, helping one side or the other to secure victory" (Nepstad, 2011:7). These conditions must be adequate, she adds, in order for the movement to succeed. Other authors make reference to the ability of the movement itself to deal with external factors that can influence the performance of the movement or the outcome(s) of the struggle itself. Peter Ackerman and Berel Rodal give major importance to the capacity of the movement to overcome structural conditions through the movement's strategy: they suggest that even if it does not bring success, leadership's strategic skills are necessary for the successful development of movements, as well as to change the conditions of the struggle (Ackerman and Rodal, 2008). Ackerman adds that since civil resistance depends upon human action, skills directly influence the direction and the outcome(s) of the movement. Consequently, structural conditions do play a role in the development of civil resistance movements, but skills of the movement itself are of vital importance, and in many cases, even more important (Ackerman, 2007).

The main idea of pragmatic nonviolence is its use as a strategic mean, acknowledging its validity and success instead of violence. According to this view, those campaigns or movements that understand the role of strategic planning are more likely to succeed (Schock, 2015b:143). Therefore, a basic strategy is a necessary tool for both the initiation and the development of a struggle. This strategy includes the planning and execution of the process, which, following Nepstad, "is just as complex as planning a violent revolt" (Nepstad, 2011:137). It involves developing actions, tactics and campaigns to undermine opponent's power, the evaluation of the need or the consequences of external or even international support, the maintenance of nonviolence across all sectors and groups of the movement, or the planning on how to act against violent repression, among many others. It is, in short, an engineering labour. However, the definition or planning of this strategy can be subject to change and can vary during different time periods. Nepstad identifies these changes as "actors' choices about targets, timing, and tactics", and identifies it with the relational view that nonviolent movements usually have, in comparison with violent movements (Nepstad, 2011:7-8). This relational view is identified by Peter Ackerman and Berel Rodal through two elements they recognise as basic for a successful campaign or movement: a representation or managing team that will represent the whole movement or project, not only certain sectors of it; and a strong and convinced compromise and defence of nonviolence (Ackerman and Rodal, 2008).

The organisational structure of civil resistance processes is an important characteristic, but not broadly researched. Here, the basis of a civil resistance process is usually comprised of civilian organisations, mainly a network –or a similar system– formed by several civilian organisations. These can be totally informal and non-hierarchical so that they may ensure all important decisions are made by the whole membership, but

as Randle suggests, a delegation of decision-making is also probable when organisations reach a certain size (Randle, 1994:12-13). Decision-making processes are usually developed in a horizontal way due to the identity of the movement itself[47]. But more vertical initiatives do also exist, for example, when a regime counter struggles another regime, when nonviolent struggle is not developed by a large percentage of the society or is developed by just a certain community. Nevertheless, several authors stress the importance of its leadership, be it individual or collective (Ackerman and Rodal, 2008), and the influence that it has upon the movement.

4.3. Methodology of nonviolent civil resistance

Gene Sharp defines nonviolent action as "a means of combat, as is war", and therefore, it also contains "a non-violent weapons system" (Sharp, 1990:9). He identified in 1973 several methods of nonviolent action (Sharp, 1973b), which are classified as follows: methods of protest and persuasion, methods of non-cooperation, and methods of nonviolent intervention. All of them involve putting in practice –or refusing to do so– certain conducts: they can be acts of omission, this is, the refusal to perform acts that are usually expected to be performed; or they may be acts of commission, through which citizens perform acts that they are not expected to, or are forbidden. These methods can also comprise a combination of both acts of omission and acts of commission (Sharp, 2005:40).

The methods of protest and persuasion consist of acts that are symbolic or acts that may persuade the opponent or to shed light upon the conflict, for example. Here, citizens express their opinion(s) through symbolic actions, showing approval or disapproval regarding certain sectors, groups, actions, or even governments. The methods of non-cooperation are those that deliberately withdraw and restrict any kind of participation, cooperation, or obedience related with the opponent. Non-cooperation can be practiced in three different levels: social non-cooperation, economic non-cooperation and/or political non-cooperation. The first involves refusing to maintain normal social relations that can involve the opponent(s); the second consists of the refusal of any kind of economic relationship with the opponent(s); and, the third means the refusal of any political relationship or participation in any political act or process in positive relation with the opponent(s). The methods of intervention are those that strategically intend to alter social relations, disrupting normal operation of the system by deliberately interfering, be that may psychologically, physically, socially, politically, or economically (Sharp, 2005:41-43). As a result of this analysis, he identified a total of 198 tactics of nonviolent action, gathered in the following table.

47 When struggling against a dictatorial power or for more civil rights, these movements usually do not use the same or similar power sharing tactics.

Table 6: 198 methods of nonviolent action gathered by Gene Sharp
Protest and persuasion
Symbolic acts of peaceful opposition or persuasion. **Formal statements** 1. Public speeches 2. Letters of opposition or support 3. Declarations by organisations and institutions 4. Signed public statements 5. Declarations of indictment and intention 6. Group or mass petition. **Communications with a wider audience** 7. Slogans caricatures, symbols (written, painted, spoken…) 8. Banners, posters, displayed communications 9. Leaflets, pamphlets and books 10. Newspapers and journals 11. Recordings, radio, TV, …12. Skywriting and earth writing. **Group presentations** 13. Deputations 14. Mock awards 15. Group lobbying 16. Picketing 17. Mock elections. **Symbolic public acts** 18. Displays of flags and symbolic colours 19. Wearing of symbols 20. Prayer and worship 21. Delivering symbolic objects 22. Protest disrobing 23. Destructing of own property 24. Symbolic lights (torches, candles…) 25. Displays of portraits 26. Paint as protest 27. New signs and symbolic names 28. Symbolic sounds 29. Symbolic reclamations 30. Rude gestures. **Pressure on individuals** 31. 'Haunting officials' 32. Taunting officials 33. Fraternisation 34. Vigils. **Drama and music** 35. Humorous skits and pranks 36. Performance of plays and music 37. Singing. **Processions** 38. Marches 39. Parades 40. Religious processions 41. Pilgrimages 42. Motorcades. **Honouring the dead** 43. Political mourning 44. Mock funerals 45. Demonstrative funerals 46.Homage at burial places. **Public Assemblies** 47. Assemblies of protest or support 48. Protest meetings 49. Camouflaged meetings or protests 50. Teach-ins with several informed speakers. **Withdrawal and renunciation** 51. Walk-outs 52. Silence 53. Renunciation of honours 54. Turning one's back.
Noncooperation
To deliberately withdraw cooperation with the opponent or initiate new forms of cooperation. **Social noncooperation. Ostracism** 55. Social boycott 56.Selective social boycott 57. Sexual boycott 58. Religious boycott 59. Suspension of religious services. **Noncooperation with social events** 60. Suspension of social and sports activities 61. Boycott of social affairs 62. Student strikes 63. Social disobedience of social customs 64. Withdrawal from social institutions. **Withdrawal from social system** 65. Stay-at-home 66. Total personal noncooperation 67. Flight of workers 68. Sanctuary 69. Collective disappearance 70. Deliberate protest emigration. **Economic noncooperation.** ***Economic boycotts.*** **Actions by consumers** 71. Consumer's boycott 72. Non-consumption of boycotted goods 73. Policy of austerity 74. Rent withholding 75. Refusal to rent 76. National consumer's boycott 77. International consumers' boycott. **Actions by workers and producers** 78. Workmen's boycott 79. Producers' boycott. **Action by middlemen** 80. Suppliers' boycott. **Actions by owners and management** 81. Traders' boycott 82. Refusal to let or sell property 83. Lockout 84. Refusal of industrial assistance 85. Merchants' strike. **Action by holders of financial resources** 86. Withdrawal of bank deposits 87. Refusal to pay fees, dues, etc. 88. Refusal to pay debts or interests 89. Severance of funds and credit 90. Revenue refusal 91. Refusal of a government's money. **Action by governments** 92. Domestic embargo 93. Blacklisting of traders 94. International sellers' embargo 95. International buyers' embargo 96. International trade embargo. ***Labour strikes*** **Symbolic strikes** 97. Protest strikes 98. Quickie walkouts. **Agricultural strikes** 99. Peasant strikes 100. Farm workers' strike. **Strikes by special groups** 101. Refusal of impressed labour 102. Prisoners' strike 103. Craft strike 104. Professional strike. **Ordinary industrial strikes** 105. Establishment strike 106. Industry strike 107. Sympathetic strike. **Restricted strikes** 108. Detailed strike 109. Bumper strike 110. Slowdown strike 111. Working-to-rule strike 112. Reporting sick 113. Strike by resignation 114. Limited strike 115. Selective strike. **Multi-industry strikes** 116. Generalised strike 117. General strike. **Combination of strikes and economic closures** 118. Hartal 119. Economic shutdown. **Political noncooperation. Rejection of authority** 120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance 121. Refusal of public support 122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance. **Citizens' noncooperation with government** 123. Boycott of legislative bodies by its members 124. Boycott of elections 125. Boycott of government employment and positions 126. Boycott of government departments or other bodies 127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions 128. Boycott of government-supported organisations 129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents 130. Removal of own signs and place markers 131. Refusal to accept appointed officials 132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions.

Citizens' alternatives to obedience 133. Reluctant and slow compliance 134. Non-obedience in absence of direct supervision 135. Popular non-obedience 136. Disguised disobedience 137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse 138. Sit-down 139. Non-cooperation with conscription and deportation 140. Hiding, escape, and false identities 141. Civil disobedience of 'illegitimate' laws. **Action by government personnel** 142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aids 143. Blocking lines of command and information 144. Stalling and obstruction 145. General administrative non-cooperation 146. Judicial non-cooperation (by judges) 147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective non-cooperation by enforcement agents 148. Mutiny. **Domestic Governmental action** 149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays 150. Non-cooperation by constituent governmental units. **International governmental actions** 151. Changes in diplomatic and other representation 152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events 153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition 154. Severance of diplomatic relations 155. Withdrawal from international organizations 156. Refusal of membership in international bodies 157. Expulsion from international organizations.
Nonviolent intervention
To directly intervene to change a given situation. **Psychological intervention** 158. Self-exposure to the elements 159. The fast 160.Reverse trials (defendants becoming prosecutors) 161. Nonviolent harassment. **Physical intervention** 162. Sit-in 163. Stand-in 164. Ride-in 165. Wade-in 166. Mill-in 167. Pray-in 168. Nonviolent raids 169. Nonviolent air raids 170. Nonviolent invasion 171. Nonviolent interjection 172. Nonviolent obstruction 173. Nonviolent occupations. **Social intervention** 174. Establishing new social patterns 175. Overloading of facilities 176. Stall-in 177. Speak-in 178. Guerrilla theatre (improvised dramatic interruptions) 179. Alternative social institutions 180. Alternative communication systems. **Economic intervention** 181. Reverse strike (to work in excess) 182. Stay-in strike 183. Nonviolent land seizure 184. Defiance of blockades 185. Politically motivated counterfeiting 186. Preclusive purchasing 187. Seizure of assets 188. Dumping 189. Selective patronage 190. Alternative markets 191. Alternative transportation systems 192. Alternative economic institutions. **Political intervention** 193. Overloading of administrative systems 194. Disclosing identities of secret agents 195. Seeking imprisonment 196. Civil disobedience of 'neutral' laws 197. Work-on without collaboration 198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government.

Source: Sharp, 1973b; Sharp, 2005: 49-65.

Since Sharp's elaboration of the classification of nonviolent methods, Anders Boserup and Andrew Mack have also elaborated a classification of methods of nonviolent action, based, in this case, upon their function. They classify nonviolent methods as follows: symbolic actions, denial actions and undermining actions (Boserup and Mack, 1975:37-54; Boserup and Mack, 1985:37-54; *in* Shock, 2015b:17). Symbolic actions are those which show strength and define the resistance process as a moral community; denial actions are those which deprive the opponent of what it has taken through coercion or illegitimate or exploitative relations; and, undermining actions are those which try to exacerbate divisions or difference among the opponent(s).

In addition to the classification of methods, more recently the study of strategic nonviolent civil resistance movements has been concerned about the election, the use and the effectiveness of these methods, through the research of their use and their diversity, arguing that the diversity of tactics contributes to the development of the movement and its effectiveness. According to Schock, "corporating multiple methods also makes it easier to shift the emphasis from one class of methods to another if the state focuses its repressive capacities on a particular method" (Schock, 2005:51). Thus, the diversity of methods contributes not only to the development of the movement, but also to the diffusion of repression: "the more diverse the tactics an methods implemented, the more diffuse the state's repressive operations become, thus potentially lessening their effectiveness" (Schock, 2005:51). The idea of using a diversity of methods has raised many discussions, especially in transnational movements such as the anti-globalization movement (Conaway, 2003). In this sense, not only is the diversity of methods positive and convenient, but also their strategic adaptation, which is based on the "capacity to read signals in the political environment, assess tactics in light of those signals, and adjust tactics" (Schock, 2015b:144).

4.4. Phases of nonviolent civil resistance processes

The organisation of nonviolent civil resistance movements or processes is, as stated before, an engineering labour. Not only it implies the elaboration of a strategy, but also contains similar basic dynamics and mechanisms of change, which are usually shared by these processes. These follow certain key factors or dynamics, which according to Sharp's theoretical proposal, are directly related to the outcomes of the process. They are the following ones: mobilising widespread support, weathering repression and severing authorities from their sources of power.

Mobilising widespread support comes in accordance with the first phases of the movement building process, when acquiring resources and support for the movement or certain campaigns is the key. It does not directly make reference to the growth of resources of the movement, but to attracting people to the movement and its dynamics[48]. Usually, this first phase of movement building is closely related to the exercise of "spectrum of allies" or identification and analysis of possible supporters for the movement (Oppenheimer and Lakey, 1965 *in* Shock, 2015b:137).

Weathering repression tantamounts managing the movement once the nonviolent interaction with the opponent has started. During this period, it is usual for the opponent to be violent. In this case, weathering repression is totally related to maintaining the nonviolent attitude across the whole movement, and makes reference to "resilience", in the sense of having or maintaining "the ability of a challenge to weather repression; i.e., to sustain a campaign despite de actions of opponents aimed at constraining or inhibiting their activities" (Schock, 2005; Schock, 2015b:138).

Severing the opponents' sources of power makes reference to the ability of civil resistance movements to challenge the opponent through methods that are chosen strategically in the advantage of less powerful groups in power asymmetry contexts (Schock, 2015b:138). In this sense, withdrawal or disobedience, civil disobedience itself, and non-cooperation in order to tackle its sources of power and obedience would be the key factors (Sharp, 1973a).

Moreover, and even if nonviolent civil resistance processes share the aforementioned basic dynamics identified by the pragmatic approach of nonviolent action, they also follow certain mechanisms of change, which are the ways through which the movement makes the opponent change its position. Sharp identifies four mechanisms of change (Sharp, 1973c; Sharp, 1990a:15-16; Sharp, 2005:45-47), based upon the dynamics that expert George Lakey previously had proposed (Lakey, 1968)[49]: conversion, accommodation, nonviolent coercion, and disintegration. Through conversion, the opponent changes its attitude through argumentation and adopts the point of view(s) of the nonviolent movement. Through mechanisms of accommodation, the opponent opts for negotiation with resisters, beholding their strength, but fails to be converted or coerced. The opponent grants demands, but it does not change its mind about the central issues of the conflict, thinking that it is the best option it has. Nonviolent coercion makes reference to the enforcement of the will of the opponent through nonviolent civil resistance. Nonviolent action becomes coercive when the struggle succeeds in the withdrawal –to a major degree– of power, or sources of power, of the opponent (Sharp, 1990a:15-16)[50].

Nevertheless, many movements do not necessarily follow this order strictly, nor are their participants aware of these mechanisms of change, dynamics, and dynamism of civil resistance processes. In fact, and

48 Stephan and Chenoweth also note that nonviolent movements are more likely to attract more people than violent movements (Chenoweth and Stephan, 2011).

49 While Lakey formulated three main mechanisms of change (conversion, accommodation, and coercion), Sharp added a fourth one (disintegration).

50 According to Sharp, it can occur due to three main reasons: because defiance is too widespread to control it through violent repression, because the system is paralysed, or because the ability to practice violent repression and implement policies is undermined due to mutiny of military and/or police, large scale refusal and non-cooperation or massive withdrawal of authority and support by the population. And, finally, the mechanism of disintegration refers to when the power structure of the opponent explodes or collapses because of the pressure of civil resistance, falling apart (Sharp, 1990a:15-16).

following expert and researcher Howard Clark, "many movements come into existence without knowing what they can achieve", since every action, especially during the initial phases of the movements, "is an experiment" (Clark, 2009b:7).

4.4.1. Backfire of violence

The concept of backfire refers to the direct consequences that can have the use of violence against nonviolent movements and actions. Richard Gregg first introduced it through its comparison with jiu-jitsu (Gregg, 1966). Through the concept of *moral jiu-jitsu*, argued Gregg, nonviolence can throw the power of the opponent off balance: "the aggressor expects a reaction of counter-violence or at least a display of fear or anger. Meeting either, but instead a calm determination not to give way or to strike back, he (or she) is both surprised and perplexed" (*in* Randle, 1994:104), and therefore, out of balance.

Soon after, Sharp adapted this perspective of moral jiu-jitsu through the concept of *political jiu-jitsu*, towards a more pragmatic version. According Sharp, repression against nonviolent action and/or civil resistance can backfire against those who direct it, through the rebound of violence and weakening of the opponents' power, through creating sympathy towards resistance among the population that is not directly involved with it and through damaging its own image as an actor who has used violence against nonviolence (Martin, 2009:94-95)[51]. Sharp usually identifies this dynamics within the asymmetry that nonviolence and its strategic use bring to the conflicts, as a failure of the opponent in its use of violence (Sharp, 2005:405). As Sharp identifies, political jiu-jitsu usually functions in or towards three different groups and their dynamics (Sharp, 2005:407): the generally bigger violent group and the usually smaller group of nonviolent resisters; the opponents' usual supporters on various different levels; and, third parties, be them may local or international. However, he acknowledges, the use and effects of political jiu-jitsu require broad strategic planning and "a solid understanding of the process" in order to facilitate the process, while it does not always guarantee positive outcomes (Sharp, 2005:406).

More recently, Professor Brian Martin has developed the concept of *backfire*, precisely based upon the previous concepts of moral and political jiu-jitsu. He defends that the concept of backfire goes further than the concept of political jiu-jitsu developed by Sharp, arguing that violence against protesters does not usually backfire, that the use of violence on the opponents' side does not automatically create the jiu-jitsu effect, and that opponents do make use of different violent tactics to increase or decrease the effect of their actions. Backfire, argues Martin, focuses "on the methods used by perpetrators of injustice to prevent domestic or international outrage in response to violence or repression of resistance, and on the counter-tactics that resisters can use to promote outrage". This is directly linked with accompaniment of movements, which reduces the risks of activists, being able to further their objectives (Martin, 2009:94-95).

This can be done through certain methods. In this conceptualisation, he classifies these tactics or methods in five different groups, arguing that "when a powerful group does something unjust, it can take action to reduce popular outrage" (Martin, 2012:7-10), via: covering up the action, which renders as covering certain acts of violence or practising them secretly, as the practice of torture, or blurring or obscuring other happenings may be; devaluating the target, when nonviolent resisters are defined as dangerous, terrorists, or through other terms with negative connotations; through the reinterpretation of the happenings by lying, minimising, blaming, and framing, so violence is not perceived as negatively and its consequences are minimised; using official channels as an appearance of justice, such as the ombudsperson, the government, or similar, in order to minimise the public outrage against violence; and, finally, intimidating or rewarding people and participants involved in violent acts, so that victims of this violence can be silenced, so that violence is maintained functioning and its consequences silenced.

51 Sharp compares it with the traditional jiu-jitsu practice as follows: "In traditional jiu-jitsu, the attacker's violent thrust is not met with physical blockage or a counter thrust. Instead, the attacked person pulls the opponent forward in the same direction the attacker has already started to strike. This causes the opponent to lose balance and fall forward as a result of the acceleration of the force of the attacker's own forward thrust" (Sharp, 2005:405-406).

In opposition to these five methods that violent actors and/or opponents can use in order to hide or diminish violence and its backfire effect, Martin proposes five other methods with the objective to clear the happenings and "reduce outrage from injustice": to expose happenings, to validate the target of violence –or, in this case, the victim of violence–, to interpret and share events as unjust, to mobilise support out of official channels and to discredit these, and to resist intimidation and rewards (Martin, 2012:10-12). He argues that the model of backfire of violence that he presents "goes beyond the theory of political jiu-jitsu", basically because he focuses both on the methods that perpetrators of violence use to repress resistance and the methods that nonviolent resisters use to promote outrage (Martin, 2009a:94), instead of merely concentrating on how nonviolence backfires.

4.5. Everyday forms of resistance

Even if civil resistance has been usually linked with macro politics, or broader political processes, we cannot deny its role in everyday struggles and everyday life as part of broader struggles for emancipation, since at both levels "the issue is how people are to take greater control over their lives" (Randle, 1994:xvi). First introduced by James C. Scott (Scott, 1989; Scott, 2000), everyday forms of resistance are those resistance practices that are not institutionalised or group dynamics necessarily, but created out of the need to resist, and in extreme cases, out of the need to survive. While the main focus of Scott's analysis centres in power relations, hegemony, resistance, and subordination dynamics in rural villages, the main idea that interests us is the idea of everyday politics of resistance or how oppressed people live and survive under oppressive regimes, and how nonviolent struggles are possible not only through pragmatic means, but also through everyday forms of struggle.

According to Randle, civil resistance "provides people with a means of intervening directly on issues that affect their daily lives" (Randle, 1994:228). When referring to the transformation of civil resistance in everyday forms of resistance or everyday resistance, we are making reference to the instinctive forms of resistance more than the merely pragmatic and strategic forms of resistance. Following Scott, everyday resistance must also be considered as part of the broader struggle. According to Schock, everyday forms of resistance "are typically implemented when the less powerful have no institutionalized recourse and fear the consequences of engaging in overt noninstitutional political action". They are usually local and can be isolated, but may also be connected with one another, "resulting in more overt political movements" (Schock, 2005:14). Scott argues that this broader dynamic of political action "is almost habitually overlooked", due to two main reasons: first, because they are understood out of the sense of politics, and second, because they are understood out of the sense of collective action (Scott, 1989:33). Here it is important to acknowledge the role and dynamics of everyday civil resistance dynamics as central in acute or asymmetrical conflict settings.

Following Scott, everyday civil resistance dynamics are characterised by what he calls "hidden transcripts": each subordinated group produces a hidden discourse that represents a criticism to power, while the powerful side, also elaborates its own discourse where its practices and demands are also expressed. Nevertheless, these discourses are not horizontal, but keep a vertical relationship of the last –the power– over the first –the subordinated–, which translates to the public power relations maintained between both and the resistances that are created under this relationship (Henríquez y España, 2004).

The hidden transcripts to which Scott makes reference are "the arms of the weak in unfavourable times in terms of strength correlation" (Henríquez y España, 2004:8): they are "everyday acts performed individually and not premeditated, which lack a flag and a organised leadership, and are directed against those who seek to impose labour, food taxes, rents and interests". Their effects are immediate, but try to evade "at all costs" direct confrontation and "are short" in respect of collective organised action, as argue Henríquez y España (2004:8). Nevertheless, they are "an integral part of the small arsenal of relatively powerless groups", argues Scott, and identifies among these techniques acts as, for example, foot-dragging, dissimulations, false compliance, pilfering, smuggling, poaching, arson, slander, feigned ignorance, desertion, sabotage, or anonymous threats. He identifies these as "techniques of 'first resort'", used when defiance is not possible or it could entail a bigger and more dangerous mortal

risk (Scott, 1989:34). It is precisely when these techniques are widely implemented by the society or by the members of a group, class or community, when they have "aggregate consequences all out of proportion to their banality when considered singly" (Scott, 1989:34), or start influencing on the broader civil resistance process. Scott identifies as follows the different forms of everyday resistance that can be adopted, depending on the form of domination.

Table 7: Everyday forms of resistance and political disguises

Form(s) of domination	Form(s) of disguised resistance
Material domination (appropriation of raw material, taxes, labour, etc.)	Everyday forms of resistance (poaching, foot-dragging, evasion, deserting, squatting, etc.) Direct opposition by disguised resisters (masked appropriations, carnival, etc.)
Denial of status (humiliation(s), deprival of privileges, attacks against dignity, etc.)	Hidden transcripts or anger, a discourse of dignity (creation of a space for assertion of dignity, rituals of aggression, tales of revenge, etc.)
Ideological domination (slavery or its justification, caste, privilege, serfdom, etc.)	Development of dissident subculture (millennial religions, creation of heroes, mythification of social banditry, slave 'hush arbours', etc.)
Traditional substantive foci	Strategy, techniques of action; mechanisms of nonviolent change

Source: Scott, 1989:55-56.

In short, the difference between everyday forms of resistance and more open forms of political conflict or nonviolent conflict, Scott argues, comes down to tactical wisdom (Scott, 1989:35) or strategy, in which case we would be in front of a pragmatic nonviolent resistance movement. Nevertheless, he argues, the "low profile" of everyday resistance dynamics makes them "less threatening to public domination", and by not contesting the dominant power openly, lets the public space in command of the power (Scott, 1989:57). However, everyday forms of resistance are a necessary part of broader civil resistance struggles, where the concept and practice of *continuum* of resistance takes importance.

4.5.1. The *continuum* of resistance

Scott argues that all societies are social spaces, where he introduces and locates the concept of *continuum* of resistance, through which he identifies resistance with the need not only to survive, but also to transform the structures and, therefore, the social and political space (*in* Henríquez y España, 2004:3), situating resistance in a broader temporal and geographical space than the momentum of collective action or organised nonviolent resistance as a process with initial and final points. Here, resistance that is openly manifested should also be researched into during more peaceful times, since resistance is a process that is developed in a longer period than the open resistance does. This is why, through the concept of *continuum* of resistance, it is also possible to acquire a deeper understanding of the conflict, the power relations, and especially, the resistance processes.

Here, Scott understands resistance as an ideological struggle for the appropriation of symbols and for the definition of justice, where understanding the past and the present, the identification of causes, the assignation of faults is crucial in order to make sense of local history (Henríquez y España, 2004:11). Although Schock identifies everyday forms of resistance as "isolated", everyday resistance can occur both when a major resistance process is on-going, and either before or after it; hence, the importance of the concept of *continuum* of resistance. Usually everyday resistance and major resistance processes tend to grow together, but the former does not need the latter to occur, and is larger in time, while usually major resistance processes are accompanied by everyday resistance practices.

4.6. Outcomes of civil resistance

Following Randle, "victory in a campaign of civil resistance is not more assured than in a military one. As in any war, the overall balance of forces will affect the outcome" (Randle, 1994:17). Based upon the Sharpian approach to nonviolent conflict, outcomes of civil resistance conflict may be measured through changes in political systems or structures, in relation to short and long-term consequences, or in relation to the impact on collective and individual behaviour.

In this sense Chenoweth and Stephan analyse the –relative– consequences of nonviolent conflicts, arguing that if compared with violent conflicts, it is both more efficient regarding democracy, regime change, and civil peace (Chenoweth and Stephan, 2011:201-219)[52]. However, it is important to analyse the outcomes of nonviolent civil resistance processes in relation to their consequences, both in short and in long term, linked to the objectives of the struggle and their fulfilment. Usually, short-term objectives tackle urgent needs of the population, and usually nonviolent civil resistance struggles are taken as concluded when these are achieved, or their intensity reduces once the most urgent objectives are achieved. One of the most common short-term objectives is the elimination of direct violence –along with the general objectives of the struggle–. It may happen that the struggle tackles short-term objectives, but fails to address long term objectives, which are usually linked to a more holistic social change, and closely related to the concept of structural violence and positive peace.

Very related to the previous ideas, and following Schock, outcomes or consequences can also be measured in terms of the impact they have on collective and individual behaviour or transformation (Schock, 2015b:133). Even if movements can address collective behaviour (maintaining nonviolent dynamics, for example), this does not necessarily mean that the whole population understands the basics of nonviolence or that they have a principled view on nonviolence, for example. The election of pragmatic nonviolence is merely strategic usually, which means it is a means for conflict transformation, but commonly is not a means of long-term social transformation towards the achievement of positive peace and social justice.

4.7. International cooperation and nonviolent civil resistance movements

The location of civil resistance movements in advanced conflict contexts, which are often asymmetric, makes them seek –in many cases– international cooperation, which can be developed in the form of international presence or international diplomacy. At the same time, and as global interdependence is deeper and transnational civil society networks and links are stronger (Schock, 2015b:119), the importance and impact of international cooperation in civil resistance movements is an increasingly important factor to analyse. International presence can have a substantive role in the transformation of the conflict itself, improving the capacity of the resisters in negotiations, among others (Eguren, 2009:101). In this regard, international cooperation and the intervention of a third party regarding local nonviolent civil resistance movements can be featured through three main characteristics: sources and identity or character of external cooperation actors; forms or dynamics of cooperation; and, challenges of cooperation.

4.7.1. Sources and identity of actors of cooperation

International cooperation towards local civil resistance processes can have different sources. French researcher Véronique Dudouet elaborates on the sources of international cooperation, identifying two different cooperation sources and analysing each one's characteristics. She makes a distinction between governmental and non-governmental actors, based upon the fact that both have distinct characteristics and intervention options, as well as different advantages and weaknesses (Dudouet, 2015). She identifies civil or social intervention with sources of nongovernmental international solidarity, as can be diasporas, external social movements, civil society networks or NGOs; and, on the other hand, governmental intervention with diplomatic relations that are maintained between governments or governmental organs

52 See also: Ackerman, 2007; Ackerman and Duvall, 2000; Sharp, 2005, chapters 36, 37, 38 and 39.

and local resistance movements and, usually in these cases, parallel institutions or quasi-governments. Both sources, she argues, have their respective and different resources and characteristics, and therefore, can have different influences on local movements (Dudouet, 2015).

Regarding the identity or nature of the actors of cooperation, these can be classified as transnational activists, transnational organisations, or transnational campaigns (Schock, 2015b:119-127). Transnational activists are those individuals or individual groups who participate in different nonviolent civil resistance processes and that connect activists or networks of activists in different places and across different struggles. They would work on the internationalisation of the conflict, in order to attract more (and/or more diverse) cooperation or attract global action in support of resistance. Transnational organisations are those organisations devoted to civil resistance and which facilitate knowledge, aid, or expertise, for example. These can be independent organisations or part of transnational social movements, or can also be identified as NGOs, either local or international[53]. Transnational campaigns are those organised in support of civil resistance, usually by transnational organisations and activists, in support of certain civil resistance movements, campaigns or actions.

4.7.2. Dynamics of cooperation

The main objective of international cooperation is to make connections between movement groups with the "transnational 'chain of nonviolence'" (Clark, 2009a:89). Here, Clark identifies six main dynamics that are included in this relationship: short term delegations organised by peace, solidarity, or human rights groups; organisation of long-term international volunteering peace projects; "twinning" through different peace groups; organising trainings and workshops; involving conflict zone peace groups in global peace networks; or, marketing products made by peace initiatives (Clark, 2009a:89).

Three general tendencies are identified in relation to these transnational dynamics: diffusion of strategy and methods, external third-party assistance, support or intervention, and internationalisation (Schock, 2015b:127-131). Diffusion of strategy and methods make reference to the externalisation of certain methods across different geographical –and temporal– spaces through different means, such as mass media or the Internet, but also through international experiences exchange.

External third-party assistance is identified with an international actor taking part in the conflict, usually "as a technique of cross-border intervention by third parties (…) in order to prevent or halt violence, or bring about constructive social change, in acute conflict situations", usually by NGOs or transnational grassroots networks (Dudouet, 2008:11). Here, Dudouet identifies four different categories of third-party advocacy for the support of nonviolent civil resistance struggles (Dudouet, 2008:11-12): off-site nonviolent campaigns, mobilization actions, nonviolent accompaniment, and nonviolent interposition. Off-site nonviolent campaigns are those campaigns, or initiatives, through which a struggle in another country is supported either directly by launching sanctions against regimes, or indirectly by exerting pressure upon Western governments to change attitudes and policies towards these regimes. Mobilization actions are those that are practiced towards exerting cross-border pressure supporting the struggle of a nonviolent movement by drawing international attention to its cause. Nonviolent accompaniment[54] is the process in which on-site activists carry out activities in conflict areas where nonviolent movements are functioning with the objective to build a safe and localised political space where activists can engage in and direct nonviolent activities. And, finally, through nonviolent interposition, nonviolent activists place themselves as "buffers" between conflicting parties to help prevent or halt war[55]. Internationalisation makes reference to the dissemination of knowledge about a certain conflict at the international level.

53 Examples of this type of organizations are, for example, the Albert Einstein Institution (AEI; see: http://www.aeinstein.org/), the International Centre for Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC; see: https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/) or the Centre for Applied Non Violent Actions and Strategies (CANVAS; see: http://canvasopedia.org/), among many others.

54 For more information on this kind of cooperation, see: Clark, 2009a; Martin, 2009a; Eguren, 2009.

55 A clear example of international nonviolent accompaniment is the case of Peace Brigades International (PBI), organisation that since 1981 offers protection, support, and recognition to human rights activists and defenders through on site conflict transformation combining the work of human rights activists and international support. For more information about PBI, see: http://www.peacebrigades.org/

Dudouet also identifies third-party support mechanisms towards local civil resistance movements and nonviolent campaigns, which are offered by governmental and non-governmental institutions alike to nonviolent campaigners. She distinguishes the following: promotion, capacity building, connecting, protecting, monitoring, and pressuring (Dudouet, 2015): a) through *promotion*, international actors are making use of their influence and resources to gain visibility, credibility and legitimacy to local activists by expressing their support and solidarity, both nationally and internationally; b) through *capacity building*, technical and financial assistance is given to support local movements, their development and mobilisation, especially in their early phases; c) *connection* makes reference to the facilitation of communication across different sectors or groups, as well as activists both nationally and transnationally; d) *offering protection* can take different forms, spanning from accompanying activists, offering them safe spaces or shelters, lobbying in their name, to defending them in front of detentions and similar situations. This is mainly linked with the aforementioned accompaniment process, with the objective of offering safe spaces for activists; e) through *monitoring*, civil resistance movements or campaigns are supported indirectly, usually by international supporters acting as witnesses and/or by reporting facts both nationally and internationally; and, finally, f) *pressuring* makes reference to the relationship that international actors can have with violent actors, rather than with nonviolent activists, with the objective of weakening their legitimacy. This mechanism can vary from the practice of dialogue and persuasion to the offering of incentives or using sanctions (Dudouet, 2015), among others.

In this same direction, researcher Diana Francis identifies nine spaces through which international cooperation can have direct effect in local civil resistance processes: a) capacity building, in which she identifies the organisation of trainings and other workshops, development of groups and organisations or sharing resources and know-how, among others; b) popular education; c) media work and arts projects; d) bridge building, which consists of building bridges between 'enemies', between civil society and government organisations, or between peacemakers, for example, building solidarity networks; e) advocacy, which can be advocacy for justice and nonviolent resistance, for peace, for participation in peace processes, among others; f) peace processes in large-scale conflicts, through good offices and pre-negotiation processes or involvement with armed groups, for example; g) recovery from violence, having in mind gendered roles and experiences, dealing with the past, psychological recovery and reconciliation, among others; h) on-going learning; and, i) influencing policy (Francis, 2010:15-37). The following table collects these dynamics.

Table 8: Dynamics of international cooperation and development	
Forms of international cooperation	Means of international cooperation
Capacity building	Training and other workshops Development of groups and organisations Money Know-how and sharing resources
Popular education	=
Media work and arts projects	=
Bridge building	Bridges between 'enemies' Bridges between civil society and government Bridges between peacemakers Building solidarity networks
Advocacy	Advocacy for justice and nonviolent resistance Advocacy for peace Advocacy for participation in peace processes
Peace processes in large-scale conflicts	Good offices and pre-negotiation processes Involvement with armed groups
Recovery from violence	Gendered roles and experiences Dealing with the past Psychological recovery and reconciliation
On-going learning	=
Influencing policy	=

Source: Francis, 2010:12-37.

In this broad context, expert Luis Enrique Eguren identifies two qualities that are essential for accompaniment to be effective: first, operating within an internationally accepted normative framework –such as international human rights, for example–; and second, to maintain the nonviolent character (Eguren, 2009:101). This initial identification realised by Eguren brings us to a broader identification of challenges and limits of international cooperation towards resistance movements, which has been developed in the last years.

4.7.3. Limits of international cooperation

International cooperation or solidarity is usually crucial in the development of local resistance movements and indispensable when minimising risks for activists, and is usually identified as one of the clearest form of assistance, since it shows international responsibility (Eguren, 2009:98). Nevertheless, and even if international cooperation with local resistance movements is growing (Dudouet, 2015), this support continues to be very scant, be that may through the form of cooperation, or due to the character of politics of development.

Dudouet identifies three main challenges that international cooperation or assistance towards local civil resistance movements usually confronts (Dudouet, 2015): first, she makes reference to the ethical and strategic position of international actors, since different organisations emphasise different objectives. For example, while conflict transformation tradition advocates for the impartiality of external actors, advocates and scholars of nonviolent resistance are more divided: while some may defend the lack of

direct involvement with activists and their activities, others defend the deliberate work with the victims' side. Second, she refers to the intentionality of international cooperation or interventions and the strategic, economic, or ethical interests they can have, usually in cases of interstate or governmental institutions. And, finally, she identifies the effects that international cooperation toward civil resistance can have upon local ownership: the effects it can have locally, the risks it can create for activists, and further on, the image it can portray to sympathisers, both locally or internationally, mainly due to the levels or relations of cooperation that can be created, or the levels of interventionism that can be developed.

The link that this section has realised between the strategic or Sharpian model of nonviolent action, long term objectives, social transformation, and positive peace is precisely one of the criticisms that this model has received from a more holistic conflict transformation approach, along with different misconceptions that have strongly influenced the broader understanding of civil resistance.

4.8. Critics towards the strategic model of nonviolent action

The development of both the concept and the practice of civil resistance have been extensive during the last decades, and especially after the Cold War, but the power of violence seems to be broader than that of nonviolence still nowadays. Mainstream IR literature barely makes any kind of reference to nonviolence and nonviolent insurrections –although it does refer to social movements–, and when it is done, it is usually critical about it. In fact, researchers have identified different missconceptualizations built by those who situate critically towards nonviolence and nonviolent conflict during the last decades.

López gathers these misconceptions in six main areas (López, 2012b:11-14; López, 2007:23-25): a) the understanding of nonviolence as an utopia, as an unrealistic alternative that could not last, would not arrive, or would be unreachable; b) the understanding of nonviolence as passivity –linked to the concept of passive resistance–; c) the assumption of nonviolence as an unrealisable practice, which is assumed to happen with scarce frequency or which happens under certain extreme circumstances; d) the understanding of nonviolence as helplessness or directly related to situations of impotence, especially when violence is linked to power; e) the link between nonviolence and political assent towards those who have the political control; and, f) the view of nonviolence as an inefficient or indifferent movement.

In contrast, Schock identifies nineteen misconceptions related to nonviolent action (Schock, 2005:6-12), which can be inserted in López's identification of areas of misconception: the identification of nonviolence as inaction –related, again, to passive resistance–; the acknowledgement of everything that is not violent as nonviolent; the identification of nonviolent action as the only state-sanctioned actions; the identification of nonviolent action with institutionalised techniques; the similarity of nonviolent action with different forms of negotiation; the believe that nonviolent action depends on moral authority or the opponent's conversion; the assumption that nonviolence will not be encountered by violence; in the same direction, the assumption that nonviolent action is equal to suffering; the assumption that nonviolent action is a last resort; the identification of nonviolent conflict as a classist instrument; the believe that nonviolent action is only limited to moderate or reformist objectives; the believe that nonviolent action is always slower than violent action; the notion that nonviolent action is not necessarily structurally determined; the relation between nonviolent action, its effectiveness and the ideology of the oppressor or opponent; the believe that mass mobilisation under nonviolent action can depend on coercion; the idea that participation in nonviolent campaigns is linked to certain ideological, religious or political beliefs; the conception that those applying nonviolent methods need to be aware of this; and the sense that nonviolent action necessarily needs a charismatic leader in order to succeed.

Moreover, recent publications have firmly criticised nonviolence and nonviolent activism. Peter Gelderloos defends that not only does nonviolence protect the state, but that it is also "based on falsified histories of struggle" (Galderloos, 2007:5). Furthermore, he identifies six ways through which nonviolence –which he identifies with pacifism– realises this: through its inefficiency, since he defends that pacifist tactics alone have not been as common as pacifists themselves claim; through its racism, he argues, since pacifism is usually white and middle class, and therefore, located in a privileged context; through its statism, because nonviolence attributes the monopoly of violence to the state and tries to pacify it before the state does so; through its patriarchy, since nonviolence does not fight patriarchy and, in fact, in several cases, reinforces

it; through its lack of tactic and strategy, since all goals, strategies and tactics can be commonly confused and unified; and finally, through its delusion, since pacifist victories are victories either for the state, or for part of the population[56].

Very recently, and in one of the last developments of the emerging field of RS, professor Stellan Vinthagen has made a relevant contribution to the development of a new conceptual framework and theoretical understanding of nonviolence, with his proposal of a "four-dimensional perspective of nonviolence", based upon four dimensions of rationality: communicative, strategic, dramaturgical, and normative (Vintaghen, 2015a; Vintaghen, 2015b; Vintaghen, 2015c). He understands nonviolence as a "social pragmatism", or a "socially rooted practice", that is, "a practice meaningful in its consequences within a certain social context" (Vintaghen, 2015b:8) in which nonviolent action is constructed by movements.

However, we identify two main criticisms of the pragmatic of Sharpian approach of nonviolent action: first, the feminist criticism, and second, the transformative approach of nonviolence itself. The feminist criticism of the pragmatic approach of nonviolence is based upon the lack of a gender and feminist perspective in nonviolent civil resistance processes, principally in the strategic approach and especially in Sharp's consent theory (McGuiness, 1993; McGuiness, 1994; Martin, 1989), and on the reproduction of patriarchy by nonviolent civil resistance movements. The second criticism towards the strategic model of nonviolent action has been its lack of orientation regarding long-term social peaceful transformation. This criticism has been developed by several researchers of both Peace Studies and RS towards what we consider a more holistic and transformative conflict transformation approach. The next section draws upon these critics and, moreover, elaborates on the transformative approach of nonviolent civil resistance, built upon the basics of conflict transformation and nonviolent action within the Peace Studies field.

56 For an older criticism of nonviolent action, see: Churchill, 1998. For a broader perspective on Gelderloos' criticism, see: Gelderloos, 2013.

5. The conflict transformation approach of nonviolent civil resistance

Even if the main developments in the resistance studies field have been undertaken on the bases of the pragmatic model and the Sharpian ideas on nonviolent action, over the last years new approaches are emerging focusing mainly on transformative and holistic approaches which defend the need to understand nonviolent action and resistance processes as constant procedures towards the achievement of positive peace. According to Lederach, nonviolent civil resistance processes and conflict transformation processes share a common characteristic: the commitment to social transformation and justice "through peaceful means" (Lederach, 1995:15 *in* Dudouet, 2008). This transformative approach, in our view, underlines the potential of nonviolence and nonviolent resistance to build peace, or in other terms, as a peacebuilding tool. As Francis states, "nonviolence is peace and democracy in action" (Francis, 2004:117), or, in construction.

The transformative approach of nonviolent civil resistance entails the strengthening of social transformation in order to achieve lasting peace (Francis, 2004:118). While the previous section has analysed the pragmatic model of nonviolent civil resistance, this section analyses the turn made –mainly– by Peace Studies scholars and practitioners in confluence with RS and the conflict transformation field. While the pragmatic approach relies mainly, and almost exclusively, upon RS literature, this transformative approach confides more significantly in the broader Peace Studies literature, and specially, in the conflict transformation and peacebuilding literature, assuming that both literatures and research fields have grown and developed separately. Therefore, this approach advocates for their combination. As Diana Francis states, "the world of nonviolent activism and the world of conflict transformation have been semi-detached for far too long, and many activists could benefit from, and add to, the knowledge base of nonviolence" (Francis, 2010:104). In short, nonviolent civil resistance is acknowledged as a peaceful conflict transformation tool, considering that the main and final objective is to build sustainable positive peace, not only the end of direct violence, as common approaches to violent conflicts pursue.

This emerging field builds up upon the criticisms of the pragmatic and strategic approach of nonviolent action and civil resistance, mainly encouraging the need of nonviolent civil resistance processes to build and lay the necessary structural conditions for stable and peaceful societies (Dudouet, 2008), not only a regime change or whatever short-time objective. As Howard Clark argues, "regime change" is never panacea, and even if "people power has been decisive in securing a transfer of power", it has also "fallen short of achieving a social transformation to a more participatory society" (Clark, 2005:7), and in this case, towards a just, democratic, and peaceful society. As Dudouet states, this illustrates "the problems of political victories that are not accompanied by wider social and attitudinal change" (Dudouet, 2008:20).

One of the main contributions to this approach has been made by Dudouet herself, who argues that nonviolent resistance needs to be "seen as an integral part of conflict transformation, offering one possible approach to achieving peace and justice, alongside other methods of conflict intervention focusing on dialogue, problem-solving and the restoration of cooperation relationships" (Dudouet, 2008:2). We can say that this approach is mainly based upon its application, not only as a factor against direct violence, as the pragmatic approach would be principally identified, but also against structural violence and for positive peace.

5.1. Nonviolent civil resistance as a conflict transformation tool

The nonviolent conflict transformation approach is not a whole approach or alternative view to the previously analysed strategic or Sharpian nonviolent action approach. It acknowledges its history, theoretical and practical development, but it also accepts its limits, criticisms, and need for expansion,

experimentation and, specially, further research[57]. Within this context, nonviolence and civil resistance are understood as tools and instruments for conflict transformation. In our view, this entails three specific roles for nonviolence: first, the understanding of nonviolence as a conflict intervention and transformation tool; second, the understanding of nonviolence as a struggle method; and third, the understanding of nonviolence as a peace building method. It acknowledges and adopts the need to transform towards a peaceful society, in which positive peace and equality are the final goal, alongside the eradication of any form of violence from everyday life. As Diana Francis states, "winning a war is not the same as winning the peace" (Francis, 2004:109) and identifying a civil resistance process as successful is not winning peace either. Whether in acute conflict situations, open conflict situations, or nonviolent conflict situations, 'winning', 'overthrowing', or 'getting' is not the end of the process, and does not guarantee peace, or a positive peace building.

Here Dudouet defends the use of nonviolent civil resistance as a tool for conflict transformation especially in asymmetric conflicts, oriented towards a constructive change in the process, in comparison with more (neo)liberal intervention tools. She presents the basic means of conflict transformation, depending on the purposes of the conflict, which are summed up in the following table.

Table 9: Dimensions and purposes of conflict

	Destructive change	Constructive change
Conflict intensification	Wafare	Nonviolent resistance
Conflict mitigation	Peace by coercion	Peacemaking & Peacebuilding

Source: Dudouet, 2006, in Dudouet, 2008:5.

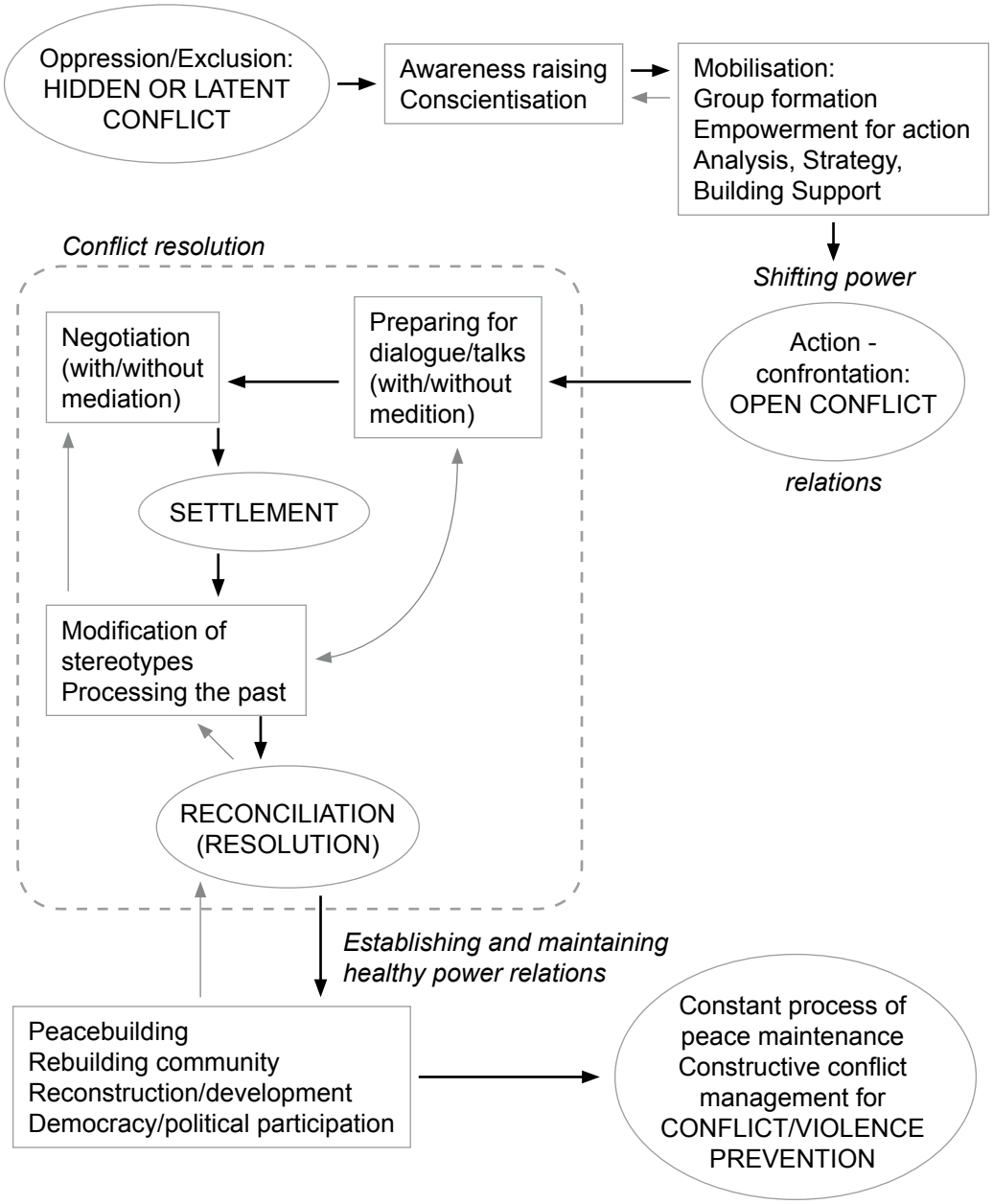
Therefore, Dudouet defends the viability of nonviolent civil resistance as a tool for constructive change in conflict intensification and conflict mitigation phases[58], in contrast with more liberal dynamics such as peace by coercion, peacemaking, or liberal peacebuilding.

One of the main statements that Peace Studies has made is the defence of the core role of nonviolence as a means for conflict transformation towards lasting peace, not as a final objective. Diana Francis defends the correlation between conflict transformation and civil resistance and active nonviolence in the context of international peace and security, with the objective to strengthen the alternative views and contributions that they represent (Francis, 2010). Thus, and based upon the contribution realised by expert Adam Curle in the 1970s (Curle, 1971), Francis proposes a nonviolent conflict transformation model, which contains the tools that each phase of conflict needs in order to transform nonviolently (Francis, 2010). Here, conflict transformation itself is presented as another tool, while resistance and nonviolence are central.

57 Even if the general approach analysed here is basically critical towards the previous technical or pragmatic approach, basically arguing the main criticisms analysed in the previous section 4.8, this does not mean that it is critical to the entire approach. What is more, it acknowledges the power and development of the technical approach, but defends the need of a transformative approach, especially of an approach that will enhance the dynamics of positive peace and a transformation towards a peaceful society and world.

58 She uses the terms of *conflict intensification* and *conflict mitigation* based on expert Diana Fisher's distinction, who defines the first as "making hidden conflict more visible and open for purposive, nonviolent ends", and the last as a "situation in which levels of tension and violence are increasing" (Fisher et.al., 2000:5 *in* Dudouet, 2008:5).

Figure 1: Stages and Processes in Conflict Transformation



Source: Francis, 2010:183.

Francis' model represents the nonviolent conflict transformation approach, which acknowledges the different stages that a conflict or repressive situation may have. No matter the conflict is hidden or latent, there shall be an oppressive situation, in which injustices and structural violence will be central. In this situation, a person or group of individuals will start a reflexion labour, through which an articulation, expanding and sharing process will be initiated as "conscientization". If successful, diverse groups or organisations advocating for change shall be created and articulate how to perform this. Here, commitment to nonviolence shall be necessary if a nonviolent conflict transformation model is to be developed. As the labour of these groups is expanding, those in power shall identify them as dangerous and as a threat, and an open confrontation will be inevitable, featured by repressive measures as central –such as direct violence, among others–[59]. Whether this situation takes the form of an armed conflict or

59 As Francis argues, this is the momentum when several groups opt for the use of violence.

does not, "eventually a road back to dialogue has to be found", argues Francis. She defends the need to initiate conflict resolution efforts, which usually will be characterised by long term peace (re) construction processes, which will have direct consequences in local social, political, and economic dynamics (Francis, 2010:182-185). In this process, conflict prevention, intervention and peace reconstruction or peacebuilding are part of the same process, which has to be initiated and developed in the presence of a conflict or its escalation.

In this sense, the nonviolent conflict transformation approach acknowledges the need of an inclusive security background, or what Francis defines as "common security", which is achieved through "cooperative peace building" (Francis, 2010:149) and that is to displace (global) militarism and come up from grassroots level. The following sections analyse the role of nonviolent civil resistance as a conflict transformation tool, granting its importance and characteristics in the different phases of conflicts, namely before, during and after this –nonviolent civil resistance as a conflict prevention tool, as a conflict intervention tool, and as a peacebuilding tool, respectively– as a basic, necessary, and valid tool for its peaceful transformation against structural violence and towards positive peace, based upon the idea that conflict resolution and peacebuilding mechanisms and nonviolent civil resistance are complementary and necessary for the construction of positive peace.

5.2. Nonviolent civil resistance as a conflict prevention tool

Movements and grassroots actions against conflicts, armed conflicts and war have a long history[60]. Nevertheless, these have not been acknowledged as civil resistance processes against war or as a tool for conflict prevention, but as simple (and usually isolated) acts against conflicts. Nevertheless, and by adopting a strategic point of view, nonviolent civil resistance is a valid –and important– tool for violent conflict prevention.

Nonviolent action is identified as a means that increases "power-over-oneself through the development of personal identity, self-reliance, and fearlessness" (Burrowes, 1996:117) in conflict situations, be them may hidden or open. However, and according to Dudouet, nonviolence and civil resistance are useful tools against armed conflict, since they are a key factor in the creation of political awareness, facing inequality, and addressing equality among opponents (Dudouet, 2008:14). For example, different types of collective action, argues Dudouet, can "reinforce the power and the will" of resistance movements, such as symbolic actions (Dudouet, 2008:14). Brian Martin goes further and identifies symbolic nonviolent action as a determining factor to confront war. The main objective of these actions is to mobilise the population, "which can then influence elites to take action against war" (Martin, 1984:10). Here, (mass) demonstrations or the use of civil disobedience for example –taking a stand against certain war-related activity or refusing to join military forces, among others–, have long shown to be one of the many tactics to deal with conflict.

Martin suggests several areas through which anti war strategies or principles can operate: social defence, peace conversion, and self-management, successively. He argues that "standard methods that social action groups use in trying to build a mass movement" are used in this process (Martin, 1984:20), since we are speaking about an anti war movement. Through social defence[61], he proposes a nonviolent alternative to military forces, "a nonviolent community resistance to aggression as an alternative to military defence". At this point, nonviolent methods such as boycotts, strikes, demonstrations and building alternative institutions are usually used (Martin, 1984:22). The main characteristics of social defence, he argues, are broad participation, the creation of community against violence (usually the state), commitment to nonviolent struggle, social attack, and self-reliance (Martin, 1984:28-30). Through peace conversion, Martin suggests converting "from military production to production for non-military uses" (Martin, 1984:51), where not only people's disarmament would be completed, but alternative ways of using this armament and its production tools would also be presented to fulfil human needs. Through self-management, he argues that it is also necessary a formulation and development of alternative

60 See, among others: Martin, 1984; Burrowes, 1996; Sharp, 1990.

61 This can be identified with the concepts of civilian-based defence or civilian defence previously analysed.

social structures that will overcome the roots of the conflict, inequality and other dynamics that "depend extensively on opposition" such as sexism or exploitation of workers, among others. This structures or institutions would be based upon equality, cooperation, community, decentralisation, flexibility and lack of hierarchy (Martin, 1984:63-69).

Either anti-war or war prevention civil resistance moves close to Martin's approach or not, there is a clear starting point: nonviolent grassroots mobilisation. The objective is to "look elsewhere" for a solution of the conflict, instead of advocating for war as a solution (Francis, 2010:149). Nevertheless, Martin also acknowledges the possible lack of strength that nonviolence can have in this phase: "as a strategy it suffers from limitations similar to those of other ways of applying pressure to elites" and "fundamentally altering the institutional forces" promoting war" (Martin, 1984:9-10).

5.3. Nonviolent civil resistance as a conflict intervention tool

Even if symbolic nonviolent action is also an element practiced during conflict advocating for its stopping, nonviolent civil resistance is also a way to intervene in conflict, precisely with the objective of its detention, minimisation of consequences, or as a security tool, even if in violent conflict cases options for nonviolence are usually more scarce (Francis, 2004:105). Nonviolent conflict intervention is usually identified as an external intervention, as a local intervention against violent or armed groups, or as a tool of security.

It is usually external actors who advocate for nonviolent intervention in contexts of conflict –as we have mainly analysed in section 4.6–. The main objective of peaceful intervention in a conflict is to decrease the consequences thereof: in order to stop war, argues Francis, "it will be necessary to establish ways of dealing with conflict and addressing violence peacefully –that is, by nonviolent means–, so that inevitable disagreements can be processed fruitfully rather than destructively, and wrongs can be righted without the addition of further wrongs" (Francis, 2010:149). This perception is linked to the idea that civilian population in armed conflicts is not always a passive victim of violence. Through nonviolent civil resistance actions, local population often faces armed domination, such as in Colombia (Nieto, 2010), shifting away the citizens from the images of submissive victims only towards disobedience against armed forces and advocating for the end of the conflict. Within this scenario, the peaceful conflict transformation approach locates itself parallel to liberal conflict intervention tools such as military interventions, based upon the assumption that the use of military forces directly implies a (neo)realist and/or (neo)liberal background of action, or "the old, discredited 'just war' theory" (Francis, 2010:149).

Moreover, there is also another factor to have in mind when analysing the move towards nonviolence as a conflict intervention tool: the shift of armed actors from armed struggle to nonviolent political action. Even if there is scarce literature on this transformation, this shift has been deeply analysed by researcher Véronique Dudouet (2015a; 2015b; 2015c; 2013; 2009). She argues that the use of violence has usually been accompanied by the use of nonviolence or nonviolent political strategies, both used interchangeably as a strategic choice in response to the changing political environments or to other strategic considerations (Dudouet, 2009:21-22, 24). Within this framework what she defines as "the reversed pattern of de-escalation conflict behaviour from armed struggle to civil resistance" (Dudouet, 2015b:8) occurs. Precisely, the "shift" towards non-violent political strategies, she argues, is affected by both internal and external factors affecting the dynamics of these actors. Among the internal factors she identifies internal dynamics, leadership and inter-party relations, and among the external factors she identifies relations with or towards the community and the international arena (Dudouet, 2009:26-36)[62].

62 For a deeper analysis on this dynamics see: Dudouet, 2015a; Dudouet, 2015b; Dudouet, 2015c. In this more recent publication, based on different case studies, she identifies more characteristics that directly influence this process.

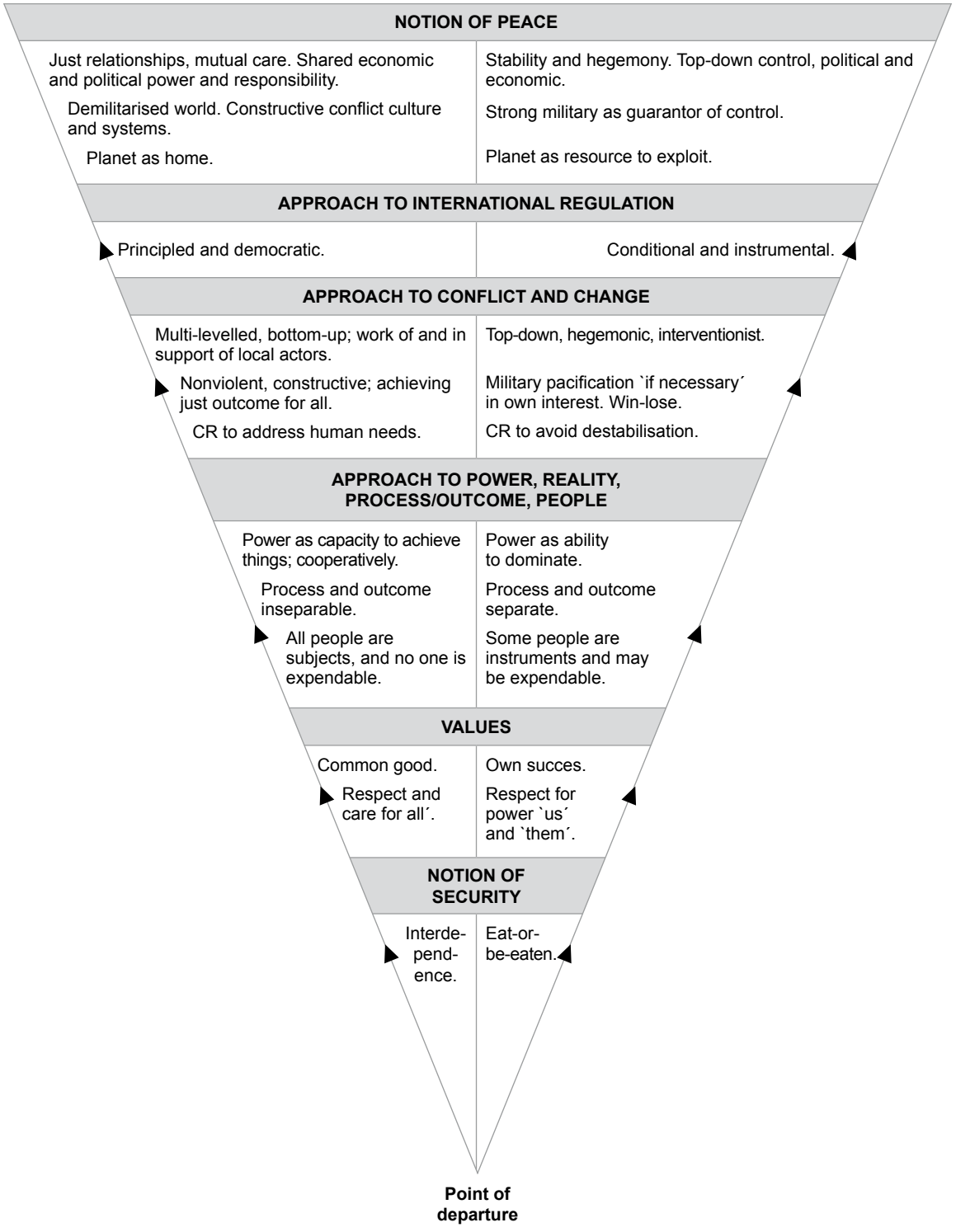
5.4. Nonviolent civil resistance as a peacebuilding tool

Nonviolent peace building or peace reconstruction advocates for peaceful social dynamics and relations. Moreover, this is a difficult step when a deadly armed conflict has been happening for a long period of time. Nevertheless, if peacebuilding is understood as part of a peaceful conflict transformation approach, it "begins from the worldview in which interdependence is the point of departure, orientating people and institutions towards peacebuilding as cooperation" (Francis, 2010:73-74). The terms peacebuilding or peace reconstruction themselves make reference to the creation, or building, of peace, be that may after a nonviolent conflict, or after a violent conflict. Usually, the process is easier after the first, since political and societal spheres are not deadly damaged. As Esther Massó states, the terms "nonviolence" or "nonviolent" will not usually be used; broader concepts like "peace", "peace building" will be used, but it is nonviolence what is practised (Massó, 2012:14)[63]. Following Dudouet, nonviolent resistance can "lay the grounds for a cooperative post-conflict situation", both in regard to the attitudes and the structures, as well as become a reconciliation and democracy building tool (Dudouet, 2008:18).

At this point, it is necessary to mention two different approaches when making reference to nonviolent civil resistance as a peacebuilding tool: first, when nonviolence replaces violence, identifying the end of conflict, and second, when nonviolent resistance arises against external (usually liberal) peacebuilding forces. Either way, the use of nonviolent civil resistance as a peaceful conflict transformation approach, and therefore also as a peacebuilding tool, automatically situates it in front of the global liberal peacebuilding paradigm. As Francis states, while the latter "sees life as a matter of eating or being eaten" (Francis, 2010:74), the peaceful and nonviolent conflict transformation approach sees the process as a matter of peaceful coexistence and cooperation. The next figure reflects on this opposing view between liberal peacebuilding and nonviolent conflict transformation.

63 Some sectors in Colombia have long advocated for the role of nonviolent civil resistance as a tool for achieving and building peace. While civil population is the main victim of the conflict, many people have taken the chance towards peace through nonviolence, as a way towards achieving security. See, for example: López, 2009.

Figure 2: Different perceptions on peacebuilding: nonviolent conflict transformation vs. liberal peacebuilding[65]



Source: Francis, 2010:74.

64 Original title: “Two Worldviews”.

The left side of the inverted triangle represents the model of nonviolent conflict transformation, or what Francis defines as "true peace building". It identifies conflict as a "potentially constructive, and often necessary for changing the things that are unjust", and which "seeks solutions that address the rights and needs of all who are involved". Instead, the right side of the triangle, which addresses the basics of liberal peacebuilding, acknowledges conflict as "business as usual", "which in the first place meets the economic and political interests of those who control it", and where conflict needs to "be kept down or extinguished through the monopoly of violence". In this context, "people are instruments of goals, and as such are expendable" (Francis, 2010:75-76).

Both different approaches of peacebuilding represent, inevitably, different notions of peace. The liberal peacebuilding paradigm comprehends peace in terms of negative peace or the absence of direct violence and "hegemonic stability". The nonviolent conflict transformation approach understands peace as a relationship characterised by "justice, mutual care and the cooperative exercise of power and responsibility" (Francis, 2010:75-76), in the search of positive peace and the absence of any kinds of violence. After all, there is a clear distinction between both approaches: liberal peacebuilding acknowledges the use of violence, and understands it as necessary in certain cases, while nonviolent conflict transformation approach completely denies this. Francis builds up on this distinction and its consequences, arguing that after a war there is no resolution process, but winners and local capacities destroyed. In such situation, she adds in, "both military and civilian, occupies centre-stage" (Francis, 2010:82). To this regard, she argues, instead of local peace being built by local inhabitants, "it is increasingly evident that security anywhere is dependent on security everywhere", since security is a global process and matter (Francis, 2010:89), and the liberal peacebuilding paradigm is an example of this.

It is precisely in this context where the second approach of nonviolent peacebuilding as a resistance to external driving forces is developed. In many cases, local nonviolent initiatives are creating spaces for local peacebuilding dynamics out of external liberal guidelines. Most governments fail when developing and putting policies and strategies based upon nonviolence in practice, and so do international liberal peacebuilding institutions. In this context, we argue, local nonviolent initiatives are not perceived as nonviolent civil resistance movements that can have an international dimension or can be connected worldwide. Instead, they are usually seen as mere nonviolent initiatives for peacebuilding at the local level, which inevitably brings the need to link nonviolent resistance studies with Post-liberal concepts, ideas and approaches, through the analysis of the concepts of everyday resistance and everyday peace.

5.4.1. Confluences between everyday resistance and everyday peace

RS and its literature have paid little attention to the concept of everyday resistance developed by Scott[65]. Here, we merge everyday resistance mechanisms with the concept and practice of "everyday peace", mainly developed by post-liberal peace scholars such as MacGinty and Richmond (MacGinty, 2014; Richmond, 2011b; Richmond, 2011c), with the objective of underlining the importance of nonviolent civil resistance as a peacebuilding tool.

While everyday resistance copes with the impossibility of local individuals to render into practice a nonviolent everyday life, everyday peace is defined as: "The routinized practices used by individuals and collectives as they navigate their way through life in a deeply divided society that may suffer from ethnic or religious cleavages and be prone to episodic direct violence in addition to chronic or structural violence. (…) A Concentration on bottom-up, localized and particularistic conflict-calming measures stands in contrast with the emphasis on top-down, standardized, technocratic and institutionalized approaches to peace favoured by many international institutions" (MacGinty, 2014:2). Therefore, peace is not only a form of resistance and avoidance of conflict in terms of Scott, but also a peacebuilding form. As MacGinty argues, "everyday peace refers to the practices and norms deployed by individuals and groups in deeply divided societies to avoid and minimise conflict and awkward situations at both inter- and intra-group levels", and "can be conflict calming, providing enough social glue to prevent a society from tipping from sustained tension to all-out war" (MacGinty, 2014:6).

65 See section 4.5.

In this context, MacGinty identifies three main premises upon which everyday peace needs to be conceptualised: fluidity of the social world –time periods or geographies when or where everyday peace dynamics are not possible, for example–, heterogeneity of the groups or communities –often seen as homogeneous–, and the importance of environmental factors –such as the locality, geography, time period, or periodicity in which everyday peace is located and/or exercised, for example– (MacGinty, 2014:5-6). As MacGinty states, even if a peace accord has been reached, or in this case, even if nonviolent resistance processes have been identified as successful, differences between opponent groups are still persistent, which means that reconciliation, accountability or positive peace are probably not present in everyday lives. This is when, "in absence of formally endorsed and people-orientated reconciliation strategies, individuals and communities are left to their own devices, and self-directed coping mechanisms come into play" (MacGinty, 2014:3).

MacGinty identifies five types of everyday peace, both in the intra-group and inter-group spheres, through which individuals and groups "use their everyday interactions in deeply divided societies" with the objective to minimise risk, regain agency and exercise their own peacebuilding tools or resist towards external liberal peacebuilding. MacGinty acknowledges these five everyday peace types or everyday peace activities through avoidance –usually of controversial acts, such as conversations, for example–, the deliberate use of ambiguity –when certain individuals or groups do not want to be identified with a particular group, for example–, ritualised politeness –when local individuals or actors in different groups initiate or keep exchange relations, for example–, telling –through which citizens ascertain others' identity and/or affiliation–, and finally, blame deferral, through which pointing at or blaming certain individuals of a group –both inside or outside one's– can foster interpersonal good relations (MacGinty, 2014:8:10). The following table resumes this typology.

Table 10: Types of everyday peace activity

Avoidance	- Contentious topics of conversation - Offensive displays - Escapism into subcultures - Not drawing attention to oneself - Live in the present
Ambiguity	- Concealing signifiers of identity - Non-observance or "not seeing" - Dissembling in speech and actions
Ritualized politeness	- System of manners
Telling	- Ethnically informed identification and social ordering
Blame deferring	- Shifting blame to outsiders to appear more socially acceptable

Source: MacGinty, 2014:9.

Through everyday peace and everyday resistance, which we acknowledge, feed off each other, peacebuilding adopts local agency, giving importance to local actors and displacing them out of the usually passive victim image. By focusing upon everyday peace, MacGinty argues, and also upon its fluctuation towards everyday resistance, "we can confront the dominant narrative that associates peacebuilding expertise with outsiders and essentialises 'locals' as insular and passive" (MacGinty, 2014:4). As MacGinty states, "there is a possibility that everyday peace connects resistance to the central narrative of liberal peace building" (MacGinty, 2014:4) through local resistance, ownership, and agency.

It is precisely through the sense of local agency that resistance, in the sense of nonviolent local organisation, develops "the will and the skills that are necessary for peacebuilding work, at whatever stage and of whatever kind: resistance, advocacy of all kinds, bridge-building, mediation, education, building movements or 'constituencies' for peace, participating in peace processes and negotiations, institution-building, and more general social and political participation" (Francis, 2004:118). In this sense, transformation is directly linked to community development, and community development directly linked to the agency building capacity of resistance, through everyday resistance, everyday peace and its intersections, towards a lasting and positive conflict transformation and peacebuilding.

This relationship has somehow been developed by post-liberal peace scholars too, who argue that the modern liberal peacebuilding approach has encountered "their target populations", who critique these mainstream peacebuilding and statebuilding projects. Here, Oliver P. Richmond and Sandra Pogodda identify the concept of "peace formation", directly identified with more local forms of peacebuilding, which arise within subaltern agency and situated in between international, state level and everyday peace, but do not necessarily fit in, because it is precisely where nonviolent and peaceful change is sought. This resistance to the mainstream international peacebuilding and statebuilding views is identified as the key to hybrid positive peace, "which includes contextual resonance, reform, and equity across and international scales" (Richmond and Pogodda, 2016a; Richmond and Pogodda, 2016b). However, it is in the process of formation of a hybrid positive peace where questions, and specially tensions and resistances, arise.

Following Dudouet, basics of principled nonviolence which have been adopted by different contemporary civil resistance movements "are likely to facilitate cooperative relationships between the conflict parties" (Dudouet, 2008:18), due to its automatic rejection of violence. Therefore, she argues, results achieved through nonviolent resistance are "more permanent and satisfactory" than the results achieved through violence (Dudouet, 2008:18). As Dudouet adds in, "negotiations and process-oriented conflict resolution remain necessary so as to facilitate the articulation of legitimate needs and interests of all concerned into fair, practical, and mutually acceptable solutions".

Nevertheless, and in this regard, these mechanisms need to be seen as a complement to nonviolent civil resistance and conflict transformation mechanisms, in order to "realise the twin goals of justice and peace" (Dudouet, 2008:21). This means that international peacebuilding dynamics ought to also pay attention and recognise the importance of nonviolent civil resistance and conflict transformation. In this sense, it would be a double faceted enrichment process for both RS and conflict transformation and peacebuilding fields. As Clark states, conflict transformation attitudes can strengthen nonviolent civil resistance movements (Clark, 2005:9), and certainly, nonviolent civil resistance movements can strengthen and complement both the conflict transformation and the peacebuilding fields. Here, not only is every day peace and/or everyday resistance a tool for peacebuilding, but also a tool of continuity in both nonviolent and violent conflicts, directly related to survival, due to its bottom-top approach.

6. Re-connecting Resistance Studies with International Security Studies

IR, especially ISS, have needed to progressively accept that states are not the only actors in the international arena, and that this prominence has been eroded both by international organisations or transnational actors and by non state actors (Dudouet, 2009:8) such as nonviolent grassroots movements or armed groups, among others. While traditionally peacebuilding processes have ignored non-state groups, the last decades have seen a shift in this process, since reconstruction processes are being approached towards the participation of local actors, institutions, and population.

All in all, RS link literature on nonviolence, civil resistance, and civilian-based defence with ISS, but there is a need to adopt a transformative approach reaching to what Diana Francis defines as "a concerted effort" to incorporate this transformative approach and develop it, with the main objective of addressing violence directly, structurally and culturally, or moreover, "to displace the use of violence as a means of addressing conflict" (Francis, 2010:115). As Randle affirms, civil resistance has shown to be a potential alternative to war, militarisation and military defence (Randle, 1994:xv), but no state has anticipated or planned the organisation of its defence or security by nonviolent means, even if civil resistance, be that may as a grassroots or as a state project, has got particular attention in times of conflict, war, and global insecurity, especially during the post Cold War era. According to Randle, prospects are limited for governments to adopt defence by civil resistance as a major element of security policy (Randle, 1994:218), mainly for two reasons: first, because even if in the grassroots level civil resistance is more and more common, regional, state and international levels are still reluctant to its use and the use of civilian based defence[66]. Moreover, military security has been reinforced worldwide during the last decades, especially at the regional and UN level, as the previous chapters of this research have shown.

Nevertheless, and as Dudouet states, holistic approaches to conflict transformation are still very scarce. ISS are not usually familiar with the field of RS "given their narrow focus on armed conflicts and their termination", and at the same time, scholars of nonviolence tend to have an oversimplified view on the dynamics of armed conflict (Dudouet, 2015b:1). As Oliver Richmond states, it is necessary to advocate for an interdisciplinary agenda for peace, where the study of "multiple concepts of peace" is central to IR and ISS, through a research agenda that will develop multiple conceptions on the everyday life and through creating a "via media" between them (Richmond, 2008:162-163). In this process, Peace Studies and the concept and practice of resistance, and, especially, Feminist Studies may be the key.

To this respect, a positive view of peace is necessary, making out of peace policies what Vivienne Jabri identifies as "the capacity at once to both resist violence and struggle for a just social order", which she locates "with individuals, communities and social movements involved in critical engagement with the multiform governance structures" not just within the purview of the liberal state or international civil service (Jabri, 2007:172). This means giving credit to local individual and collective action, where nonviolence and nonviolent civil resistance become primal. Here, axing these two concepts and practices into the ISS map means to have in mind the two main axes of civil resistance: civil resistance at the grassroots level, which has been analysed in this working paper, and civil resistance at state level, in the form of defence by civil resistance. As Randle argues, civil resistance has been a crucial tool for civil rights, social and economic justice, democratic government, preservation of rights, and also for the defeating of military coups or dictatorships, on its contribution to international security (Randle, 1994:224).

In the context of UN interventionism, which is one of the axes of the current security context, grassroots civil resistance movements have a rising importance, especially in the peacebuilding contexts that international interventionism implements. Within CSS both nonviolence and civil resistance have been the axes of Peace Studies, and ideas of Post-liberal peace, Critical Theory and Postcolonial Studies also make reference to the concept and practice of resistance in conflict situations. In this sense, it is necessary to strengthen the role of nonviolence and RS within the Peace Studies field as a way to make it prominent in

66 For exceptions, see: Randle, 1994.

the ISS context, within which it has remained "somewhat ghettoized" (Nepstad, 2015:8). There is a need to bring back Nonviolence and Resistance Studies to the central concerns not only of Peace Studies, but also of CSS, for two main reasons: first, and as stated before, because they can have a major role in the return of Peace Studies to their initial critical perspective and to reshape their trajectory; and second, because they can make their own contributions to ISS, where, we think, their role is most vital.

Section 2 has debated about the co-optation of Peace Studies, and therefore also of the study and practice of nonviolence, by the liberal realm. This co-optation can be reversed through the study of the theory and the practice of resistance. As Jackson suggests, "a shift in analytical focus, terminology and epistemology" towards resistance "has the potential to re-focus the field on local agency and priorities, local and everyday forms of peace, the role of power dynamics in conflict and peace, structural violence, solidarity, anti-violence and social justice" (Jackson, 2015), and the study of nonviolence and civil resistance can contribute on bringing the field of Peace Studies towards its critical identity.

Jackson also suggests that a commitment to "adopting the language, ontology, epistemology and praxis of 'resistance' could potentially reinvigorate the critical orientation of the field" of Peace Studies, and points out several potential outcomes (Jackson, 2015:31-37): a) it would entail the analysis of the concept of power, its nature, types and operability, as well as the use of power theory in order to be able to analyse the different forms of power during peace, violence and/or conflict; b) this move would rescue the concept of structural violence into the Peace Studies field, making it one of its axis; c) it would also have a direct impact in the practice of conflict resolution; d) it would "re-focus attention away from high-level elites, public officials and top-down macro-level processes towards local actors, local agency and more bottom-up, societal processes", in relation to conflict intervention; e) also, it would mean "supplanting and transforming current implicit (and explicit) values in the field of stability, order, neoliberalism and system maintenance" towards social justice and emancipation, influencing in the relationship that Peace Studies have with states or other international actors, as well as with (neo)liberal values; f) this would mean a critical re-focus of violence and military violence and its role in conflict resolution and peacebuilding; g) besides, this step would require a new critical analysis of violence, its characteristics and its consequences, especially regarding political violence and violent and/or nonviolent means; h) in addition, it would definitely help refocusing the "promotion of conflict" as a necessary nonviolent conflict transformation tool for change; and, i) it will draw attention to the behaviour and performance of Western states, institutions and organisations toward local resistances and reproduction of a plethora of different forms of violence.

These outcomes, argues Jackson, would "transform" the Peace Studies field, practice and pedagogy from its problem-solving orientation towards "a kind of 'problem-posing education'" (Jackson, 2015:37)[67]. Here, one of the main impacts of axing nonviolence and civil resistance within the Peace Studies field would be its effect in peacebuilding processes. Following Jackson's claim of the re-appropriation of the concept of "structural violence", this would become a key characteristic of peacebuilding processes, not only in trying to avoid direct violence, but building a system in which positive peace, within all its aspects, will be the central goal. There is a need in the field, therefore, to rethink and re-adopt its commitment to critical and active nonviolence through resistance and RS. As Jackson states, through the adoption of resistance "we can inject some life-giving criticality into the mostly pulse-less body of peace studies" (Jackson, 2015:30). Here, as Richmond points out, "IR needs to have an agenda for peace, not just to deal with war, violence, conflict terrorism and political order at the domestic and international level" (Richmond, 2008:6), but also in relation to the creation and development of positive peace.

67 Jackson also points out several challenges and/or dangers that this step towards resistance can pose to Peace Studies: the need to overcome "explicit normative values"; the need to avoid the co-optation of "the language of resistance" by a liberal agenda; the danger of failing to "radically transform the field"; or the "risk" to a bifurcation into two camps, "based on those who see the role of Peace Studies as to conduct 'value-free' social science directed towards controlling and resolving conflict, versus those who see the role of Peace Studies as a kind of 'outsider theorizing aimed at generating conflict and resistance as a pathway to transforming oppressive and violence-generating structures", among others (Jackson, 2015:38-40).

7. Final comments

This working paper has analysed the theoretical and political trajectory of nonviolence and civil resistance processes. Even if it has not been deeply studied neither by the field of IR nor by the subfield of Peace and Security Studies, RS is an emerging sub-subfield that is strongly (re)taking place inside Peace Studies. From the contents elaborated in this working paper, several ideas can be underlined as principal conclusions.

First, through the analysis of the role of the concept of resistance within ISS and more explicitly CSS, we have seen that the main strands that acknowledge and analyse it are Peace Studies, Critical Theory, Post-Structuralism, Postcolonial Studies, the concept and practice of Post-liberal peace and Feminism. Traditionally, it was the sub-field of Peace Studies the one that developed the concept and practice of nonviolence and resistance in both IR and ISS, but lately the concept and practice of Post-liberal peace is also acknowledging the importance of resistance and, more precisely, everyday forms of resistance in acute post-conflict reconstruction processes where power transfers towards local inhabitants have not been completely realised. Feminism is also the main approach, along with Peace Studies, that has centrally studied the role of nonviolence and resistance[68].

Second, we have analysed the historical and theoretical development of the concept of nonviolent civil resistance. Since its political adoption made by Gandhi, the concept has gone through an adaptation, mainly developed by Sharp, which has been spread worldwide and has inspired a growing number of civil resistance processes. However, this conception is being contested through a more holistic perception of political nonviolence, mainly through authors and researchers in the conflict transformation approach and the Peace Studies field.

Third, based upon the analysis and the possibilities that a model of nonviolent conflict transformation model would offer, and drawing from other earlier similar proposals made by Peace Studies researchers, we have studied the need of a more holistic view of nonviolence and civil resistance, in order to address the criticisms of the traditional nonviolent action view proposed by Sharp and his followers. Here, we have examined the need for a transformative approach towards civil resistance as a conflict transformation tool, oriented towards positive peace. Here, we have identified the need to conflate conflict resolution and peacebuilding mechanisms with nonviolent civil resistance, as they can be complementary inside the current liberal peacebuilding dynamics. The intertwining of everyday resistance and everyday peace, within hybrid and post-liberal peacebuilding ideas, offer a space to develop local resistance(s) as a peacebuilding tool, mainly in liberal peacebuilding scenarios and as a mean of developing local agencies.

Finally, following the previous conclusion, it can also be seen that the current and future research and evolution of both the theory and practice of nonviolence, nonviolent action and civil resistance are directly linked to ISS and CSS, within the RS field and as a pillar of Peace Studies.

68 We have not studied the union between feminism, nonviolence and civil resistance in this Working Paper.

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