

**AUSTRALIAN RESEARCH COUNCIL
DISCOVERY PROJECTS
APPLICATION FORM FOR FUNDING COMMENCING IN 2010**

DP

Proposals must comply with the requirements of the *Discovery Projects Funding Rules for funding commencing in 2010*, and any content, font and page limit requirements specified in this form and the Instructions to Applicants document.

PROJECT ID: DP1095753

Total number of sheets contained in this Proposal	42
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Information on this form and its attachments is collected in order to make recommendations to the Minister on the allocation of financial assistance under the Australian Research Council Act 2001 and for post award reporting. The information collected may be passed to third parties for assessment purposes. It may also be passed to the National Health and Medical Research Council, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Department of Innovation, Industry, Science and Research, the Department of Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts, the Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations, the Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry and the Department of Veterans' Affairs for the purpose of checking eligibility. In other instances, information contained in this Proposal can be disclosed without your consent where authorised or required by law.

PART A—ADMINISTRATIVE SUMMARY

A1 ORGANISATION TO ADMINISTER FUNDING

(Please note this question must be completed first)

Name	University of Wollongong
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A2 PROPOSAL TITLE

(Provide a short descriptive title of no more than 20 words. Avoid the use of acronyms, quotation marks and upper case characters.)

Theory for nonviolent social transformation

A3 PARTICIPANT SUMMARY

A3.1 Participant Details - Current Organisations

Enter details of the lead Chief Investigator or Fellow at Person number 1.

Chief Investigators (CI), Partner Investigators (PI) and ARC Fellows - APD, ARF/QEII or APF.

Person number	Family Name	Initials	Current Organisation	Role	ECR
1	Martin	B	University of Wollongong	CI	
2	MacLeod	JG	The University of Queensland	APD	

A3.2 Participant Summary - Organisations Applicable To This Proposal

(This table is 'read only' and provides a Summary of Organisational Affiliations for Participants. This table will populate once B8.2 is completed for each participant.)

Person Number	Family Name	Initials	Current Organisation	Relevant Organisation for this Proposal	Role
1	Martin	B	University of Wollongong	University of Wollongong	CI
2	MacLeod	JG	The University of Queensland	University of Wollongong	APD

A4 REQUESTED SUPPORT**A4.1 Component(s) sought**

Tick each relevant box.		Number sought
X	Research Costs (personnel and project costs other than Fellowship salaries)	
X	Australian Postdoctoral Fellowship (APD)	1
	Australian Research Fellowship/Queen Elizabeth II Fellowship (ARF/QEII)	0
	Australian Professorial Fellowship (APF)	0

A4.2 Years for which support is being sought

Year 1 X Year 2 X Year 3 X Year 4 X Year 5

A5 SUMMARY DESCRIPTIONS**A5.1 Summary of Proposal**

In no more than 750 characters (approx 100 words) of plain language, summarise aims, significance and expected outcomes.

In the past few decades, nonviolent action has played an important role in many extraordinary political changes, such as toppling of repressive regimes. Yet the theory of nonviolent action has not developed to the same extent. This project will extend nonviolence theory in several key areas, using campaigns as test cases, especially in relation to interfaces with violence, discourse and conventional political action. The resulting theory will help researchers better understand social action and activists to better understand and undertake it.

A5.2 Summary of National/Community Benefit (for Public Release)

In no more than 750 characters (approx 100 words) of plain language, summarise the national/community benefits that are expected to arise from the research.

Improving understanding of nonviolent action will improve the capacity to campaign for social justice and thus support democratisation and good governance in the region. It will reduce the attraction of using violence by undercutting the false belief that terrorism is more effective than nonviolence in achieving social goals. Improving understandings of interfaces with violence, discourse and conventional action will help both campaigners and their opponents to engage in conflicts in respectful and sensible ways.

A6 CLASSIFICATIONS AND OTHER STATISTICAL INFORMATION**A6.1 National Research Priorities**

National Research Priority	Priority Goal(s)
None-Selected.	

A6.2 Keywords

nonviolent action	violence
social action	conflict
strategy	power

A6.3 Research classifications (listed from highest to lowest %, to the nearest multiple of 10%)

Research Fields, Courses and Disciplines (RFCD)	%		Socio-Economic Objective (SEO)	%
369999	100		759999	100

A6.4 If the proposed research involves international collaboration, please specify country/ies.

Norway	USA	Germany

A6.5 Is this Proposal relevant to the area of Indigenous health and wellbeing?* Yes No ☒ X

A7 ADDITIONAL DETAILS

A7.1 Have you submitted or do you intend to submit a similar Proposal to any other agency? Yes No ☒ X

A7.2 Has a successful eligibility exemption/advice been granted by the ARC regarding whether the Proposal falls within the area of Medical and Dental Research? (Note - DO NOT include eligibility exemptions/advice related to ARC Fellowships here - see Part B9.9 of this form.)

Yes No ☒ X

A8 PHD STUDENTS

The ARC is interested in reporting the number of PhD Students that may be financially supported if this proposal is funded. The number of student places (full-time equivalent) that will be filled as a result of this project:

Number of PhD stipends sought-	1.0
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Please note all requests for PhD stipends must be inserted in Part C1)

A9 CERTIFICATION

The Administering Organisation must obtain the required agreement and hand-written signatures of all parties necessary to allow the proposed research to proceed.

Certification by the Deputy/Pro Vice-Chancellor (Research) or their delegate or equivalent in the Administering Organisation

I certify that—

- I have obtained the written agreement of all parties identified in this Proposal to submit this Proposal.
- Proper enquiries have been made and I am satisfied that the Participants listed in Part A3 meet the requirements specified in *Discovery Projects Funding Rules for funding commencing in 2010*.
- The Head of Department has approved this Proposal.
- This organisation will contribute the resources specified in this Proposal if the proposal is successful.
- This organisation supports this Proposal and if successful will provide basic facilities and the items listed in the budget for the project.
- I have obtained the written agreement of the other organisation(s), if any, involved in this Proposal to contribute the resources outlined in this Proposal.
- I have obtained the written agreement from the relevant employer(s) for the participation, to the extent indicated in this Proposal, of the participants listed in Part A3.
- I am prepared to have the project carried out in my organisation under the circumstances set out in this Proposal and in accordance with the *Discovery Projects Funding Rules for funding commencing in 2010*.
- The amount of time that the investigator(s) will be devoting to the project is appropriate to existing workloads.
- The project can be accommodated within the general facilities in this organisation and if applicable, within the facilities of other relevant organisations specified in this Proposal, and sufficient working and office space is available for any proposed additional staff.
- All funds for this project will only be spent for the purpose for which they are provided.
- The project will not be permitted to proceed until appropriate ethical clearance(s) has been obtained.
- I will notify the ARC if there are changes to the participant(s) listed in Part A3 after the submission of this Proposal.
- To the best of my knowledge, all conflicts of interest relating to parties involved in or associated with this Proposal have been disclosed to the ARC.
- I will notify the ARC of any conflicts of interest relating to parties involved in or associated with this proposal which arise after the submission of this Proposal.
- I consent, on behalf of all the parties, to the ARC copying, modifying and otherwise dealing with information contained in this Proposal for any of the purposes specified in the *Discovery Projects Funding Rules for funding commencing in 2010*.
- I consent, on behalf of all the parties, to this Proposal being referred to third parties, who will remain anonymous, for assessment purposes.
- For each Fellowship candidate on this Proposal who currently holds an ARC fellowship and who is seeking a subsequent fellowship, I have obtained the agreement from the Administering Organisation for the current fellowship, as well as the fellowship candidate, that the current fellowship will be relinquished if the fellowship candidate is successful.
- To the best of my knowledge, the Privacy Notice appearing at the top of this application form has been drawn to the attention of all the participant(s) whose personal details have been provided at Part B.
- To the best of my knowledge all details provided in this application form and in any supporting documentation are true and complete and no information specifically relating to personnel track or publication records is false or misleading.

- I understand that it is an offence under the *Criminal Code Act 1995* to provide false or misleading information.
- I understand and agree that all statutory requirements must be met before the proposed research can commence.

Signature of DVC/PVC(R) or delegate or equivalent (in black ink)	Name and Position (please print)	Date

PART B—PERSONNEL

B1 CURRENT DETAILS

GAMS ID	G50703
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Family name	Martin	Role	CI
First name	Brian	Second name	
Title	Prof		
Current Department/school/other	Arts Faculty		
Current Organisation	University of Wollongong		

B2 POSTAL ADDRESS

Department/school/other	Arts Faculty
Organisation	University of Wollongong
Postal address line 1	Building 19 (Arts) Level 1
Postal address line 2	Northfields Avenue
Locality	Wollongong
State	NSW
Postcode	2522
Country	Australia

B4 MEMBERSHIPS/ASSOCIATIONS

B4.1 Are you a current member of the ARC or its selection or other advisory committees?

Yes No X

B4.2 Are any of your relatives or close social/professional associates current members of the ARC or its selection or other advisory committees?

Yes No X

If Yes, please name the ARC member(s)	
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B4.3 Will you be associated with a Commonwealth-funded Research Centre as at 1 January 2010?

Yes No X

B5 HAVE YOU EVER BEEN AWARDED A FELLOWSHIP FROM THE ARC?

Please indicate if you have received any of the following Fellowships from the ARC: APD, APDC, APDI, APF, ARCIF, ARF, FF, IRF, QEII, RC-ATSI, or SRF.

Yes No X

If yes, please provide details below:

Fellowship type	Funding commencement year	Finish year
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B6 AFFILIATIONS

If you are nominated as a Chief Investigator, will you be employed more than 50% of your time in 2010 at an organisation that is outside the higher education sector and that engages in research which is funded predominantly from State/Territory or Commonwealth Government sources?

Yes No ☒ X

B7 QUALIFICATIONS**B7.1 PhD qualification awarded**

Discipline/Field	Physics		
Organisation	The University of Sydney		
Country	Australia		
Month and Year awarded	07/1976	(or) Date Thesis Submitted/ Proposed Submission Date	

B7.2 Other qualifications (including highest Qualification if not PhD)

Degree/Award	Year	Discipline/Field	Organisation and country
BA	1969	Physics	Rice University, USA

B8 ACADEMIC, RESEARCH, PROFESSIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL EXPERIENCE**B8.1 Current and previous appointment(s)/position(s) - during the past 10 years**

Position held	Organisation	Department	Year appointed and Status
Professor	University of Wollongong	Social Sciences, Media and Communication	2007, Continuing
Associate Professor	University of Wollongong	Science, Technology and Society	1996, Continuing

B8.2 Organisational affiliations for eligibility purposes for this Proposal

Name of the organisation you will be associated with for the purposes of satisfying the eligibility requirements for your nominated role in undertaking the proposed research. (i.e. for a CI this will usually be the Eligible Organisation at which they will be employed or hold an adjunct appointment as at 1 January 2010 and beyond; for Fellowship candidates it will be the Host Organisation; and for PIs it will generally be their main employer as at 1 January 2010).

Role	Organisation	Type of Affiliation
CI	University of Wollongong	Employee

B8.3 INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION AWARD

Yes No ☒ X

Are you requesting an International Collaboration Award?

If you are an Australian-based PI, you must choose No

B9 ADDITIONAL FELLOWSHIP DETAILS (not applicable)

B10 RESEARCH RECORD RELATIVE TO OPPORTUNITIES

Brian Martin

B10.1 Most significant contributions to research field

I have made major contributions to the study of nonviolent action.

- The most prominent articulation of the view that the road to nonviolent defence systems is through grassroots action, not by convincing governments (in the 1993 book *Social Defence, Social Change* and earlier articles)
- A critique of the consent theory of power by Gene Sharp, the most significant figure in nonviolence theory since Gandhi (in a 1989 article in *Journal of Peace Research*)
- Analysis of the role of technology in nonviolent action (in the 2001 book *Technology for Nonviolent Struggle* and earlier articles)
- Analysis of nonviolent action as a tool and goal for struggles to move beyond capitalism (in the 2001 book *Nonviolence versus Capitalism*)
- Bringing together communication theory and nonviolence theory (in the 2003 book *Nonviolence Speaks*, with Wendy Varney)
- Development of the backfire model for analysis of tactics in struggles against injustice, an extension of nonviolence theory to domains beyond nonviolence (in the 2007 book *Justice Ignited* and dozens of articles)

These theoretical innovations together represent one of the most significant contributions to nonviolence theory since the work of Gene Sharp.

My publication output includes 12 books (10 single-authored, 8 since 1997), 3 edited books, 39 chapters in books, 142 articles in refereed journals, 97 major articles in nonrefereed journals and over 200 other publications (lesser articles, book reviews, newspaper articles). I regularly publish in top peace research journals (*Journal of Peace Research*; *Peace & Change*) as well as activist-oriented outlets.

B10.2 Refereed publications, 2004-

The full text of most of these publications is available at
<http://www.uow.edu.au/arts/sts/bmartin/pubs/>.

Book

* Brian Martin. *Justice Ignited: The Dynamics of Backfire* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

Book chapters

* Brian Martin. Making accompaniment effective. In: Howard Clark (ed.), *Unarmed Resistance and Global Solidarity* (London: Pluto, 2009, in press) [accepted February 2008].

* Brian Martin. Corruption, outrage and whistleblowing. In: Ron Burke and Cary Cooper (eds.), *Research companion to crime and corruption in organizations* (London: Edward Elgar, in press) [accepted January 2009].

Brian Martin. Varieties of dissent. In: Stephen P. Banks (ed.), *Dissent and the Failure of Leadership* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2008), pp. 22-36.

David Hess, Steve Breyman, Nancy Campbell and Brian Martin. Science, technology, and social movements. In: Ed Hackett, Olga Amsterdamska, Michael Lynch and Judy Wajcman (eds.), *Handbook of Science and Technology Studies* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), pp. 473-498.

Brian Martin. Whistleblowing: risks and skills. In: Brian Rappert and Caitriona McLeish (eds.), *A Web of Prevention: The Life Sciences, Biological Weapons and the Governance of Research* (London: Earthscan, 2007), pp. 35-49.

* Brian Martin. Paths to social change: conventional politics, violence and nonviolence. In: Ralph Summy (ed.), *Nonviolent Alternatives for Social Change*, in *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems (EOLSS)*, developed under the auspices of the UNESCO (Oxford: Eolss Publishers, <http://www.eolss.net>, 2006).

* Brian Martin. Strategies for alternative science. In: Scott Frickel and Kelly Moore (eds.), *The New Political Sociology of Science: Institutions, Networks, and Power* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), pp. 272-298.

Brian Martin. Agricultural antibiotics: features of a controversy. In: Daniel Lee Kleinman, Abby J. Kinchy and Jo Handelsman (eds.), *Controversies in Science and Technology: From Maize to Menopause* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), pp. 37-51.

* Brian Martin. The Richardson dismissal as an academic boomerang. In: Kenneth Westhues (ed.), *Workplace Mobbing in Academe* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004), pp. 317-330.

* Brian Martin. Defending without the military. In: Geoff Harris (ed.), *Achieving Security in Sub-Saharan Africa: Cost Effective Alternatives to the Military* (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2004), pp. 43-55.

Brian Martin. Australia: Whistleblowers Australia. In: Richard Calland and Guy Dehn (eds.), *Whistleblowing around the World: Law, Culture & Practice* (Cape Town/London: Open Democracy Advice Centre and Public Concern at Work, 2004), pp. 194-198.

Articles in refereed journals

* Samantha Reis and Brian Martin. Psychological dynamics of outrage against injustice. *Peace Research*, in press [accepted October 2008].

Brian Martin. Plagiarism struggles. *Plagiary: Cross-Disciplinary Studies in Plagiarism, Fabrication, and Falsification*, in press [accepted November 2008].

Brian Martin. Research productivity: some paths less travelled. *Australian Universities' Review*, Vol. 51, No. 1, 2009, pp. 14-20.

* Chris Barker, Brian Martin and Mary Zournazi. Emotional self-management for activists. *Reflective Practice*, Vol. 9, No. 4, November 2008, pp. 423-435.

* Brian Martin. The Henson affair: conflicting injustices. *Australian Review of Public Affairs*, July 2008, <http://www.australianreview.net/digest/2008/07/martin.html>.

Truda Gray and Brian Martin. Comparing wars. *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* (<http://www.jmss.org/>), Vol. 10, No. 3, Spring 2008.

* Truda Gray and Brian Martin. My Lai: the struggle over outrage. *Peace & Change*, Vol. 33, No. 1, January 2008, pp. 90-113.

* Truda Gray and Brian Martin. The American war in Indochina: injustice and outrage. *Revista de Paz y Conflictos*, No. 1, 2008, http://cicode-gcubo.ugr.es/revpaz/articulos/The_american_war_in_Indochina_injustice_and_outrage.

* Kylie Smith and Brian Martin. Tactics of labor struggles. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 3, September 2007, pp. 193-206.

* Brian Martin. Slow injustice. *Social Alternatives*, Vol. 26, No. 4, Fourth Quarter 2007, pp. 5-9.

Brian Martin. The globalization of scientific controversy. *Globalization*, Special issue, 2007, <http://globalization.icaap.org/content/special/Martin.html>

* T. Gray and B. Martin. Backfires: white, black and grey. *Journal of Information Warfare*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2007, pp. 7-16.

* Brian Martin. Opposing nuclear power: past and present. *Social Alternatives*, Vol. 26, No. 2, Second Quarter 2007, pp. 43-47.

Brian Martin. Nuclear power and antiterrorism: obscuring the policy contradictions. *Prometheus*, Vol. 25, No. 1, March 2007, pp. 19-29.

Brian Martin. Social testing. *Social Alternatives*, Vol. 25, No. 4, Fourth Quarter 2006, pp. 39-42.

* Truda Gray and Brian Martin. Defamation and the art of backfire. *Deakin Law Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2006, pp. 115-136.

- * Brian Martin. SRV & NVA: valorizing social roles through nonviolent action. *SRV Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 2, December 2006, pp. 25-33.
- * Susan Engel and Brian Martin. Union Carbide and James Hardie: lessons in politics and power. *Global Society*, Vol. 20, No. 4, October 2006, pp. 475-490.
- * Greg Scott and Brian Martin. Tactics against sexual harassment: the role of backfire. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, May 2006, pp. 111-125.
- * Brian Martin and Steve Wright. Looming struggles over technology for border control. *Journal of Organisational Transformation and Social Change*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2006, pp. 95-107.
- * Giliam de Valk and Brian Martin. Publicly shared intelligence. *First Monday: Peer-reviewed Journal on the Internet*, Vol. 11, No. 9, September 2006, <http://www.firstmonday.org/>.
- * Brian Martin. Instead of repression. *Social Alternatives*, Vol. 25, No. 1, First Quarter 2006, pp. 62-66.
- * David Hess and Brian Martin. Backfire, repression, and the theory of transformative events. *Mobilization*, Vol. 11, No. 1, June 2006, pp. 249-267.
- Noriko Dethlefs and Brian Martin. Japanese technology policy for aged care. *Science and Public Policy*, Vol. 33, No. 1, February 2006, pp. 47-57.
- * Brian Martin. How nonviolence works. *Borderlands E-journal*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 2005, http://www.borderlandsejournal.adelaide.edu.au/vol4no3_2005/martin_nonviol.htm.
- * Brian Martin. The beating of Rodney King: the dynamics of backfire. *Critical Criminology*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 2005, pp. 307-326.
- * Brian Martin and Iain Murray. The Parkin backfire. *Social Alternatives*, Vol. 24, No. 3, Third Quarter 2005, pp. 46-49, 70.
- * Brian Martin. Bucking the system: Andrew Wilkie and the difficult task of the whistleblower. *Overland*, No. 180, Spring 2005, pp. 45-48.
- * Brian Martin and Truda Gray. How to make defamation threats and actions backfire. *Australian Journalism Review*, Vol. 27, No. 1, July 2005, pp. 157-166.
- * Brian Martin. Boomerangs of academic freedom. *Workplace: A Journal for Academic Labor*, Vol. 6, No. 2, June 2005, <http://www.cust.educ.ubc.ca/workplace/issue6p2/steele.html>.
- * Brian Martin. Researching nonviolent action: past themes and future possibilities. *Peace & Change*, Vol. 30, No. 2, April 2005, pp. 247-270.
- Juan Miguel Campanario and Brian Martin. Challenging dominant physics paradigms. *Journal of Scientific Exploration*, Vol. 18, No. 3, Fall 2004, pp. 421-438.
- * Sue Curry Jansen and Brian Martin. Exposing and opposing censorship: backfire dynamics in freedom-of-speech struggles. *Pacific Journalism Review*, Vol. 10, No. 1, April 2004, pp. 29-45.

* Brian Martin with Will Rifkin. The dynamics of employee dissent: whistleblowers and organizational jiu-jitsu. *Public Organization Review*, Vol. 4, 2004, pp. 221-238.

Brian Martin and Brian Yecies. Disney through the Web looking glass. *First Monday: Peer-reviewed Journal on the Internet*, Vol. 9, Issue 6, June 2004, <http://www.firstmonday.org/>.

Brian Martin. Dissent and heresy in medicine: models, methods and strategies. *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 58, 2004, pp. 713-725.

* Brian Martin. Iraq attack backfire. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 16, 17-23 April 2004, pp. 1577-1583.

Articles in refereed conference proceedings

Brian Martin. Obstacles to academic integrity. Proceedings of the 3rd Asia-Pacific Conference on Educational Integrity: Creating a Culture of Integrity, University of South Australia, Adelaide, 6-7 December 2007, pp. 21-26.

* Brian Martin. Opposing surveillance. *From Dataveillance to Überveillance and the Realpolitik of the Transparent Society* (The Second Workshop on the Social Implications of National Security, Wollongong, 29 October 2007), edited by Katina Michael and M. G. Michael (Wollongong: University of Wollongong, 2007), pp. 71-82.

Other articles of significance

* Brian Martin. How nonviolence is misrepresented. *Gandhi Marg*, Vol. 30, No. 2, July-September 2008, pp. 235-257.

* Jørgen Johansen and Brian Martin. Sending the protest message. *Gandhi Marg*, Vol. 29, No. 4, January-March 2008, pp. 503-519.

* Brian Martin. Enabling scientific dissent. *New Doctor*, No. 88, November 2008, pp. 2-5.

Brian Martin. Expertise and equality. *Social Anarchism*, No. 42, 2008-2009, pp. 10-20.

Brian Martin. Comment: citation shortcomings: peccadilloes or plagiarism? *Interfaces*, Vol. 38, No. 2, March-April 2008, pp. 136-137.

Brian Martin. Writing a helpful referee's report. *Journal of Scholarly Publishing*, Vol. 39, No. 3, April 2008, pp. 301-306.

Brian Martin. Surviving referees' reports. *Journal of Scholarly Publishing*, Vol. 39, No. 3, April 2008, pp. 307-311.

Brian Martin. Contested testimony in scientific disputes: the case of the origins of AIDS. *The Skeptic*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 2007, pp. 52-58.

Brian Martin. Anarchist theory: what should be done? *Anarchist Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2007, pp. 106-108.

* Brian Martin. Energising dissent. *Dissent*, No. 24, Spring 2007, pp. 62-64.

* Brian Martin. Safeguarding your group. *Chain Reaction*, No. 101, December 2007, pp. 31-33.

* Brian Martin. Schweik in Wollongong. *FriedensForum: Zeitschrift der Friedensbewegung*, No. 3, June/July 2006, pp. 39-40 (translated into German by Hanna Poddig).

* Brian Martin. Globalising nonviolence: overcoming the obstacles. Published as: Globalisierung der gewaltfreiheit: überwindung der hindernisse. Gewaltfreiheit ist das ziel — und der weg. *Forum Pazifismus: Zeitschrift für Theorie und Praxis der Gewaltfreiheit*, No. 10, II/2006, pp. 8-12 (translated into German by Kai-Uwe Dosch).

Brian Martin. Caught in the defamation net. *GP Solo (American Bar Association General Practice, Solo & Small Firm Division)*, Vol. 23, No. 1, January/February 2006, pp. 48-51.

Brian Martin and Lyn Carson. Getting over post-election blues. *Australian Review of Public Affairs*, 14 February 2005,
http://www.econ.usyd.edu.au/drawingboard/digest/0502/martin_carson.html

* Brian Martin. On the whistleblowers' protection. *Philosophy and Social Action*, Vol. 30, No. 1, January-March 2004, pp. 19-34.

* Schweik Action Wollongong [Brian Martin, Sharon Callaghan and Yasmin Rittau, with Chris Fox]. Nonviolence insights. *Social Alternatives*, Vol. 23, No. 2, Second Quarter 2004, pp. 70-76.

* Brian Martin. Terrorism: ethics, effectiveness and enemies. *Social Alternatives*, Vol. 23, No. 2, Second Quarter 2004, pp. 36-37.

Encyclopaedia entries

* Brian Martin. Anti-coup; Power and nonviolence theory; New information technology and peace activism. In: Nigel Young (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Peace* (New York: Oxford University Press, in press) [accepted December 2007 and February 2008].

* Brian Martin. Activism, social and political. In: Gary L. Anderson and Kathryn G. Herr (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Activism and Social Justice* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2007), pp. 19-27.

Brian Martin. Grassroots science. In: Sal Restivo (ed.), *Science, Technology, and Society: An Encyclopedia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 75-81.

B10.3 Ten career-best publications

* Brian Martin. *Justice Ignited: The Dynamics of Backfire* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 232 pages.

This book presents a new framework, growing out of nonviolence research, for understanding tactics of outrage management, with case studies including massacres, the beating of Rodney King, whistleblowers, torture technology, the Iraq war and terrorism.

* Brian Martin and Wendy Varney. *Nonviolence Speaks: Communicating Against Repression* (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2003), 230 pages.

This is the first systematic examination of the intersection between nonviolence theory and communication theory, with applications to three major case studies.

* Brian Martin. *Nonviolence versus Capitalism* (London: War Resisters' International, 2001), 187 pages.

This is the major study of nonviolent alternatives to capitalism and how to move towards them using nonviolent methods.

* Brian Martin. *Technology for Nonviolent Struggle* (London: War Resisters' International, 2001), 160 pages.

This is the major study analysing the role of technology in nonviolent resistance to aggression and oppression.

Lyn Carson and Brian Martin. *Random Selection in Politics* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999), 161 pages.

This book describes how choosing decision-makers randomly has been and could be used in political systems.

* Brian Martin. *Information Liberation* (London: Freedom Press, 1998), 189 pages.

This book presents an approach to information based on power and its corruptions, using case studies of the mass media, intellectual property, surveillance, defamation and other topics.

* Brian Martin. *Social Defence, Social Change* (London: Freedom Press, 1993), 157 pages.

This book argues that introducing nonviolent defence systems has to be part of process of social change. It covers a wide range of topics including feminism, policing, telecommunications and alternative economics.

Brian Martin. *Scientific Knowledge in Controversy: The Social Dynamics of the Fluoridation Debate* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 266 pages.

This book is an analysis of the fluoridation controversy as a set of struggles involving knowledge and power, including attacks on dissidents.

* Brian Martin. *Uprooting War* (London: Freedom Press, 1984), 300 pages. Revised edition published in Italian, 1990.

This book presents an analysis of the roots of war — including the state, bureaucracy and other social structures — and grassroots challenges to them.

Brian Martin, *The Bias of Science* (Canberra: Society for Social Responsibility in Science, 1979), 100 pages.

This book analyses bias in two scientific research papers and uses these case studies to explore biases in the wider social structure of science.

B10.4 Other evidence of impact and contributions to the field

Many of my books and articles have been translated into foreign languages, with individual articles translated into one to four languages and 19 languages involved in total: Bengali, Chinese, Croatian, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Norwegian, Persian, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Spanish and Swedish.

My publications have an exceptional impact via the web, receiving over a million hits in each of the years 2006, 2007 and 2008.

I have examined 13 PhD theses in a variety of fields including philosophy, sociology, Asian studies and communication, and been external examiner for many masters and honours theses.

In the past three years I have been an external referee for over 40 journal articles for many different journals including *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Political Science Review*, *Perspectives in Politics*, *Public Understanding of Science*, *Review of International Political Economy and Science, Technology, & Human Values*.

I was national president of Whistleblowers Australia for four years (1996-1999) and am currently vice-president, and have given personal advice to hundreds of whistleblowers and dissidents. Journalists, including many from outside Australia, contact me regularly for interviews and background information.

Over 20 years ago I founded Schweik Action Wollongong, a small nonviolence group. I have been a leader in numerous Schweik community research projects, for example on crisis communication and on Muslims responding to attacks. Our project reports are widely known overseas; several have been translated into other languages.

B10.5 Any aspects of your career or opportunities that are relevant to assessment and that have not been detailed elsewhere in this application.

Not applicable.

B1 CURRENT DETAILS

GAMS ID	M01329
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Family name	MacLeod	Role	APD
First name	Jason	Second name	Graeme
Title	Mr		
Current Department/school/other	Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies		
Current Organisation	The University of Queensland		

B2 POSTAL ADDRESS

Department/school/other	Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies
Organisation	The University of Queensland
Postal address line 1	ACPACS
Postal address line 2	University of Queensland
Locality	Brisbane
State	Queensland
Postcode	4072
Country	Australia

B4 MEMBERSHIPS/ASSOCIATIONS**B4.1 Are you a current member of the ARC or its selection or other advisory committees?**

Yes No X

B4.2 Are any of your relatives or close social/professional associates current members of the ARC or its selection or other advisory committees?

Yes No X

If Yes, please name the ARC member(s)

B4.3 Will you be associated with a Commonwealth-funded Research Centre as at 1 January 2010?

Yes No X

B5 HAVE YOU EVER BEEN AWARDED A FELLOWSHIP FROM THE ARC?

Please indicate if you have received any of the following Fellowships from the ARC: APD, APDC, APDI, APF, ARCIF, ARF, FF, IRF, QEII, RC-ATSI, or SRF.

Yes No X

If yes, please provide details below:

Fellowship type	Funding commencement year	Finish year
------------------------	----------------------------------	--------------------

B6 AFFILIATIONS

If you are nominated as a Chief Investigator, will you be employed more than 50% of your time in 2010 at an organisation that is outside the higher education sector and that engages in research which is funded predominantly from State/Territory or Commonwealth Government sources?

Yes No ☒ X

B7 QUALIFICATIONS**B7.1 PhD qualification awarded**

Discipline/Field	Political science		
Organisation	The University of Queensland		
Country	Australia		
Month and Year awarded		(or) Date Thesis Submitted/ Proposed Submission Date	01/12/2009

B7.2 Other qualifications (including highest Qualification if not PhD)

Degree/Award	Year	Discipline/Field	Organisation and country
BA Hons I	2002	Social science	La Trobe University, Australia
B Social Work	1996	Social work	The University of Queensland, Australia

B8 ACADEMIC, RESEARCH, PROFESSIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL EXPERIENCE**B8.1 Current and previous appointment(s)/position(s) - during the past 10 years**

Position held	Organisation	Department	Year appointed and Status
RA (casual)	The University of Queensland	ACPACS	2008, Other
Lecturer (sessional)	The University of Queensland	Political Science	2007, Currently not employed
Hon research fellow	Monash University	Asian studies	2007, Other
Lecturer (sessional)	Christian Heritage College	Social science	2005, Currently not employed

B8.2 Organisational affiliations for eligibility purposes for this Proposal

Name of the organisation you will be associated with for the purposes of satisfying the eligibility requirements for your nominated role in undertaking the proposed research. (i.e. for a CI this will usually be the Eligible Organisation at which they will be employed or hold an adjunct appointment as at 1 January 2010 and beyond; for Fellowship candidates it will be the Host Organisation; and for PIs it will generally be their main employer as at 1 January 2010).

Role	Organisation	Type of Affiliation
APD	University of Wollongong	Employee

B8.3 INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION AWARD

Yes No ☒ X

Are you requesting an International Collaboration Award?

If you are an Australian-based PI, you must choose No

B9 ADDITIONAL FELLOWSHIP DETAILS**B9.1 Host organisation—department, contact numbers and email address**

Host organisation	University of Wollongong		
Host department name	Arts Faculty		
Contact name	Brian Martin		
Phone	02-4221 3763	Fax	02-4221 5341
Email	bmartin@uow.edu.au		

B9.2 Will you be undertaking research which forms a part of a Commonwealth-funded Research Centre's activities?Yes No ☒ X**B9.3 Current salary**

Classification	Salary (AUD\$ gross)
RA (casual)	9000

B9.4 Citizenship/Residency Details

Australian citizen?	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> X No
Country/ies of citizenship	Australia
Country of residence	Australia
Current Australian residency status	Aust. Citizen

B9.5 MobilityWould you be moving from another organisation to take up this Fellowship? Yes ☒ X No

If No, reasons for not moving to another organisation are to be stated in Part B 10.6 in the additional text part of the Application Form.

If Yes, and you intend to apply for reimbursement of relocation costs, please indicate which region you will be relocating from:

North America

Europe/Asia (Northern Hemisphere)/Africa/South America

Asia (Southern Hemisphere)/Oceania

X within Australia

B9.6 For APD candidates, do you wish your Fellowship to bea) 100 percent for 3 years OR b) 75 percent for 4 years ☒ X**B9.7 For ARF, QEII or APF candidates, do you wish your Fellowship to be**

a) 100 percent funded by the ARC OR b) 50 percent funded by the ARC

B9.8 If you are unsuccessful in obtaining a Fellowship do you wish to

a) remain as a CI/PI on the project

Note: The ARC will not provide support, in whole or in part, to meet the salaries of CIs or PIs.

OR

b) be removed as a named Investigator so that a salary may be funded from the project (eg as a Research Associate) X

OR

c) seek no support for the project (no funding can be made)

B9.9 Has a successful eligibility exemption/advice been granted by the ARC for this Fellowship candidate?

Yes No X

B10 RESEARCH RECORD RELATIVE TO OPPORTUNITIES

Jason MacLeod

B10.1 Most significant contributions to research field

I am the only person to have conducted and published research on struggles in West Papua from the perspective of nonviolence theory.

I am currently based at the Australian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies and the School of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Queensland where I am completing doctoral research. My thesis analyses the nonviolent strategies and tactics employed by West Papuans working to enlarge the prospects of self-determination. I am building theory around the dynamics of nonviolent struggles for self-determination and territory, a type of nonviolent struggle that has its own unique logic different from struggles to change a particular leader or policy which have been the focus of most previous research into nonviolent social movements. During my candidature I have been engaged as a research fellow by Monash University and a consultant for the University of Queensland and Oxfam to undertake research projects on Indonesia and West Papua, on conflict transformation, and on mining, conflict and environmental governance in West Papua and the Philippines.

My research into these diverse areas listed above has involved making linkages between previous disparate theoretical traditions. My doctoral thesis brings together international relations theory with the literature on social movements and nonviolent struggle. In my research consultancy work I have sought to integrate insights from conflict analysis, conflict resolution, nonviolence, community development and reconciliation into a coherent and unified framework for conflict transformation and peacebuilding.

B10.4 Other evidence of impact and contributions to the field

- I was the recipient of a Quaker Peace Award – the Donald Groom Fellowship – in 2002.
- I was the only Australian representative invited to attend the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict's international workshop on strategic nonviolent action in Quebec in 2004.
- I coordinated the translation of York Zimmerman's award winning documentary films *A Force More Powerful* and *Bringing Down a Dictator* from English into Indonesian.

B10.5 Any aspects of your career or opportunities that are relevant to assessment and that have not been detailed elsewhere in this application.

Not applicable.

B10.6

The project will explore the intersections between nonviolent action and violence, discourse and conventional politics, developing nonviolence theory through comprehensive case comparisons from around the world. I have a unique set of skills, expertise and experience that I will bring to bear on each one of these dimensions. In relation to the violence-nonviolence dimension, I have extensive experience with the arguments from both social movement and nonviolent action research. I have also conducted years of fieldwork in West Papua, a context where movements for self-determination and independence have made a transition from armed to nonviolent struggle. On the discourse-nonviolence dimension, I have experience with cross-cultural communication (including language skills in Bahasa Indonesia, Spanish and Tok Pisin). In addition I am conducting action research into the relationship between multi-media forms of story-telling (text, song and film) — all forms of discursive action — and social change, particularly the way discursive action helps develop oppositional consciousness and social change. On the strategy-action nexus, I have extensive experience with nonviolence strategy; indeed, this is a key theme in my publications.

I also have years of experience teaching nonviolence at a tertiary level. I developed curricula for courses on nonviolent social change at the University of New England in 2004, coordinated a course on nonviolent social change at the University of Queensland in 2007 and 2008, and have taught nonviolent social change at the University of Sydney in 2009. My work as a nonviolent social movement educator and trainer also enables access to allied NGOs and key researchers investigating these struggles. In addition to my experience as a lecturer at a tertiary level, I am a co-director of the Change Agency, a highly regarded activist education and training institute based in Australia working with organisations and communities to win tangible victories for social and environmental justice. Our clients include Amnesty International, Greenpeace, Get Up, World Vision, conservation councils and others. As part of my work at the Change Agency I coordinate a multi-year project in the Asia Pacific region (the Pacific Project) partnering with local indigenous organisations to deliver research and nonviolence education and training on human rights and democratic transitions in nondemocracies.

I am a part of several international networks that give me access to the leaders of many of the world's contemporary nonviolent struggles. Some I know personally through my connections with the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict in Washington, DC. I also have experience working with the Peace Brigades International, the world's oldest international nonviolence organisation with expertise in providing unarmed protection to activists at risk in conflict zones. I served on the PBI Indonesia project from 2000 to 2004. I keep abreast of the literature into nonviolent social movements and the dynamics of many current struggles around the world.

I am attracted to the University of Wollongong because of the opportunity to work alongside Professor Brian Martin, one of the world's foremost researchers into nonviolent action, and the Centre for Asia Pacific Social Transformation Studies (CAPSTRANS), part of the Arts Faculty. I am a participant in Professor Martin's writing programme that brings together up-and-coming nonviolence researchers from diverse fields from around the world. The writing programme has enhanced the volume and quality of my own writing. I also look forward to the opportunity to work with other PhD students at the University of Wollongong who bring together research and activism for social change.

I am prepared to relocate from the University of Queensland to the University of Wollongong.

PART C—PROJECT COST

Costs should be quoted exclusive of the GST.

C1 BUDGET DETAILS

C1.1 Year	1				
		COSTING			
Column 1	2	3	4	5	
Source of funds	ARC	University	Other	Total	
DIRECT COSTS					
Personnel (Salaries + On-costs)					
MacLeod - APD 75% funded by ARC	60138	41730	0	101868	
CI Martin @ 0.3FTE + on-costs	0	58064	0	58064	
PhD stipend	20427	0	0	20427	
Casual esearch Assistant (Level 5) @ 0.4 FTE (720 hours) + 18.11% on-costs	29379	0	0	29379	
Total Personnel (a)	109944	99794	0	209738	
Teaching Relief					
Total Teaching Relief (b)	0	0	0	0	
Equipment					
Total Equipment (c)	0	0	0	0	
Maintenance					
Total Maintenance (d)	0	0	0	0	
Travel					
Total Travel (e)	0	0	0	0	
Other					
Advertisement costs for PhD scholarship	2500	0	0	2500	
Total Other (f)	2500	0	0	2500	
TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (g)	112444	99794	0	212238	
INDIRECT COSTS					
CIs, PIs and any researcher Level A or above x multiplier					
CI Martin x 0.92		53419	0	53419	
APD MacLeod x 0.92		38392	0	38392	
TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (h)		91811	0	91811	
TOTAL COSTS (i)	112444	191605	0	304049	

C1 BUDGET DETAILS

C1.2 Year	2				
		COSTING			
Column 1	2	3	4	5	
Source of funds	ARC	University	Other	Total	
DIRECT COSTS					
Personnel (Salaries + On-costs)					
MacLeod - APD 75% funded by ARC	60138	49559	0	109697	
CI Martin @ 0.3FTE + on-costs	0	61676	0	61676	
PhD stipend	20427	0	0	20427	
Casual esearch Assistant (Level 5) @ 0.4 FTE (720 hours) + 18.11% on-costs	30548	0	0	30548	
Total Personnel (a)	111113	111235	0	222348	
Teaching Relief					
Total Teaching Relief (b)	0	0	0	0	
Equipment					
Total Equipment (c)	0	0	0	0	
Maintenance					
Total Maintenance (d)	0	0	0	0	
Travel					
International reference group return airfares, USA 2, Norway 1, Melbourne 1	6600	0	0	6600	
International reference group Wollongong subsistence 4 x 4 x \$150	2400	0	0	2400	
Total Travel (e)	9000	0	0	9000	
Other					
Total Other (f)	0	0	0	0	
TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (g)	120113	111235	0	231348	
INDIRECT COSTS					
CIs, PIs and any researcher Level A or above x multiplier					
CI Martin x 0.92		56742	0	56742	
APD MacLeod x 0.92		45594	0	45594	
TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (h)		102336	0	102336	
TOTAL COSTS (i)	120113	213571	0	333684	

C1 BUDGET DETAILS

C1.3 Year	3				
		COSTING			
Column 1	2	3	4	5	
Source of funds	ARC	University	Other	Total	
DIRECT COSTS					
Personnel (Salaries + On-costs)					
MacLeod - APD 75% funded by ARC	60138	58081	0	118219	
CI Martin @ 0.3FTE + on-costs	0	64626	0	64626	
PhD stipend	20427	0	0	20427	
Casual esearch Assistant (Level 5) @ 0.4 FTE (720 hours) + 18.11% on-costs	31773	0	0	31773	
Total Personnel (a)	112338	122707	0	235045	
Teaching Relief					
Total Teaching Relief (b)	0	0	0	0	
Equipment					
Total Equipment (c)	0	0	0	0	
Maintenance					
Total Maintenance (d)	0	0	0	0	
Travel					
Total Travel (e)	0	0	0	0	
Other					
Total Other (f)	0	0	0	0	
TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (g)	112338	122707	0	235045	
INDIRECT COSTS					
CIs, PIs and any researcher Level A or above x multiplier					
CI Martin x 0.92		59456	0	59456	
APD MacLeod x 0.92		53435	0	53435	
TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (h)		112891	0	112891	
TOTAL COSTS (i)	112338	235598	0	347936	

C1 BUDGET DETAILS

C1.4 Year	4				
		COSTING			
Column 1	2	3	4	5	
Source of funds	ARC	University	Other	Total	
DIRECT COSTS					
Personnel (Salaries + On-costs)					
MacLeod - APD 75% funded by ARC	60138	67361	0	127499	
CI Martin @ 0.3FTE + on-costs	0	68181	0	68181	
Casual research Assistant (Level 5) @ 0.4 FTE (720 hours) + 18.11% on-costs	33047	0	0	33047	
Total Personnel (a)	93185	135542	0	228727	
Teaching Relief					
Total Teaching Relief (b)	0	0	0	0	
Equipment					
Total Equipment (c)	0	0	0	0	
Maintenance					
Total Maintenance (d)	0	0	0	0	
Travel					
International reference group return airfares, USA 2, Norway 1, Melbourne 1	6600	0	0	6600	
International reference group Wollongong subsistence 4 x 4 x \$150	2400	0	0	2400	
Total Travel (e)	9000	0	0	9000	
Other					
Total Other (f)	0	0	0	0	
TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (g)	102185	135542	0	237727	
INDIRECT COSTS					
CIs, PIs and any researcher Level A or above x multiplier					
CI Martin x 0.92		62727	0	62727	
APD MacLeod x 0.92		61972	0	61972	
TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (h)		124699	0	124699	
TOTAL COSTS (i)	102185	260241	0	362426	

C2 JUSTIFICATION OF FUNDING REQUESTED FROM THE ARC

Personnel

The APD will collect a wide range of case material about nonviolent action and other forms of action and assess it in the light of emerging categories. This requires someone with special attributes: a deep understanding of nonviolent action and highly developed research skills. The APD will work closely with me through all project stages, including completing and submitting papers, so funding is necessary through all years of the project.

The APD, Jason MacLeod, is a rare individual with the required attributes: extensive experience with nonviolent action — including training others in nonviolent strategies — and demonstrated research and writing capacity. His organising and publications in support of West Papuan activists are path-breaking. I expect Jason to devote at least one day per week continuing his work with West Papua and to develop connections between West Papuan struggles and the theory in this project.

The PhD student will tackle a project focussing on a technique of social action — cyberactivism — that has applications to all the nonviolence boundaries addressed in the project and addresses emerging forms of activism. This will complement the APD's broad-ranging approach.

One of the aims of the project is to increase the capacity for nonviolence research in Australia. I have a long track record in mentoring and supervision, as shown for example in co-authorship of two books and numerous articles with former PhD students. Most PhD students I have supervised have come from other universities, attracted by my research areas and record. Nearly all students I have supervised for a year or more have obtained their degrees: for both completions and discontinuations see www.uow.edu.au/arts/sts/bmartin/others/supervision.html.

Last year I initiated high-output writing programmes based on the work of Robert Boice and Tara Gray, as described in my recent article in *Australian Universities' Review*, for my own PhD students and for others in the faculty, with excellent results. Using this programme for the APD and PhD student in the project will help lay the basis for outstanding nonviolence research by these participants.

Because of the large amount of case-study material involved, an RA is needed for two days per week through the project period to classify material and develop a database of actions and context. The APD and I will choose case studies, identify key sources and develop preliminary categories; the RA will go through the sources identifying examples that fit the categories, for example instances of violence, nonviolence, discourse and conventional action and their contexts.

Travel

Members of the international reference group will provide essential research support for the project by offering feedback on the theory as it is developed, applying the theory to their specialist areas and contributing their own writing.

Most contact will take place electronically. Two meetings in Wollongong, in the second and fourth years, will be run as workshops to trial the developing theory and produce publications, either a book or a set of articles for a special issue of a journal.

Each reference group member brings an individual angle on nonviolence: Jørgen Johansen, activist strategies; Barbara Müller, activist organisations; Kurt Schock, social movements; Tom Weber, Gandhian movements. These will provide complementary perspectives on the emerging theory.

C3 DETAILS OF NON-ARC CONTRIBUTIONS

The primary contributions from the University of Wollongong is the CI's salary @ 0.3 FTE plus on-costs and covering the considerable shortfall in salary for the APD, totalling \$216,731 over four years.

PART D—RESEARCH SUPPORT

D1 RESEARCH SUPPORT OF ALL PARTICIPANTS

For each participant listed in Part A3, provide details of research funding for the years specified in the table below. That is, list all projects/proposals/fellowships awarded and any requests submitted involving that participant for funding.

- The current Proposal is listed first and will be auto populated into the table. List other Proposals and/or projects (including Fellowships) in descending date order.
- ARC-funded projects/fellowships for which reports (including Progress and Final Reports) required in the *Conditions of Grant/Funding Contract/Funding Agreement* have been submitted should be indicated by a double asterisk (**) after the Description.
- Asterisk (*) refers to any items that are in the same area of research as this Proposal.
- Support types (**Sup type**) are 'R' for requested support, 'C' for current support, 'P' for past support.
- The ARC Project ID applies only to Proposals, current and past projects (including fellowships), funded by the ARC.

Note, details should be provided for **all** sources of funding, not just ARC funding.

Description (All named investigators on any Proposal or grant/project/fellowship on which a participant is involved, project title, source of support, scheme)	(*)	Sup type	ARC Project ID (if applicable)	2008 (\$'000)	2009 (\$'000)	2010 (\$'000)	2011 (\$'000)	2012 (\$'000)
Theory for nonviolent social transformation	*	R	DP1095753			112	120	112

D2 STATEMENTS ON PROGRESS OF ARC-FUNDED PROJECTS

n/a

D2.1 List of the projects that you are providing statements for

n/a

D2.2 Provide the statements

n/a

PART E — PROPOSAL DESCRIPTION

E1 Theory for nonviolent social transformation

E2 Aims and background

Aim: to extend and update nonviolence theory so that it encompasses new domains — including interfaces with violence, discourse and conventional political action — and addresses the new interactive communication environment.

Governments spend hundreds of billions of dollars every year on military research and development but hardly any for research into nonviolent action. Yet nonviolent action has played a crucial role in many extraordinary political changes in recent decades. Prominent instances include

- the toppling of the regime of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines in 1986
- the collapse of Eastern European regimes in 1989
- the failure of the 1991 Soviet coup
- the end of the Suharto government in Indonesia in 1998
- the ousting of the Milosevic government in Serbia in 2000

There are dozens more examples from Africa, South America and Asia (Ackerman and DuVall 2000; Crow et al. 1990; McAllister 1991; McManus and Schlabach 1991; Schock 2005; Zunes et al. 1999; for more sources see McCarthy and Sharp 1997).

Government preference for military over nonviolence funding is mirrored in the scholarly realm, where the focus is on the study of violence, with nonviolence neglected. Looking just at one field, terrorism, the amount of research from conventional security-oriented approaches is enormous compared to research on nonviolent alternatives to terrorism (on the latter see for example Martin, 2002; Ram and Summy 2007).

Nonviolent action has increasingly become the method of choice by social movements. In some countries, armed struggle has been accompanied or superseded by nonviolent struggle, for example in South Africa in the years prior to the end of apartheid in the early 1990s, East Timor from the late 1980s until independence, and West Papua today. In many western social movements, commitment to nonviolent practices has become standard in campaigns, explicitly or as a default option.

Although nonviolent *action* is increasingly understood, used and accepted, nonviolence *theory* has not developed to the same extent. There is a need to move to broader terrains, beyond the usual frameworks, and to include new forms of action, for example on the Internet. The aim of this project is to extend nonviolence theory to new domains in order to provide greater insight into the dynamics of social action and to be more fruitful in offering insights to practitioners.

For the past 30 years I have been researching nonviolent action, continually opening up new areas, for example connections with capitalism, technology and communication, with an overarching interest in strategy. In other research on scientific controversies, whistleblowing and information issues, I have kept up with emerging forms of action in professional, bureaucratic and Internet arenas. I am in regular touch with numerous nonviolence scholars and activists in Australia and around the world. This experience puts me in a prime position to take a major step in nonviolence research, namely to develop a framework that goes beyond the traditional ambit of nonviolence theory.

Background

Nonviolence is commonly divided into two traditions, principled and pragmatic (Stiehm 1968). The principled tradition, associated with Gandhi, advocates nonviolence on moral grounds, namely that it is immoral to use violence against others. The Gandhian approach is often accompanied by an emphasis on moral witness and attempts to persuade opponents.

The pragmatic tradition advocates nonviolent action because it is more effective than violence. The key figure in this tradition is scholar Gene Sharp whose 1973 book *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* presents a theory of power, 198 methods of nonviolent action — picketing, mock awards, vigils, renunciation of honours, social boycott, stay-at-home, refusal to sell property, peasant strikes, judicial noncooperation, mutiny, sit-ins and seizure of assets, to pick a few examples — and an empirically derived set of stages in campaigns that Sharp calls the dynamics of nonviolent action.

The theory behind most nonviolent activism is not greatly different from that given by Gandhi and Sharp. Gandhi remains the key influence in much principled nonviolence, such as ploughshares actions involving damaging military weapons systems. Such activists are often religiously motivated and see their actions as bearing moral witness.

Actions in the pragmatic tradition — the most common sort in western countries — often proceed without any explicit attention to theory. Protesters may be unaware of ideas in the area and just do what seems effective, perhaps having read about or witnessed other actions. For example, when workers walk off the job or sabotage equipment, seldom are they familiar with theory about these sorts of actions.

Increasingly, though, activists use a wide variety of tools for analysis, group dynamics, preparation, communication and other facets of actions and campaigns. Ideas about nonviolent action are part of the activist toolkit and most commonly they are drawn from Sharp, including the consent theory of power and examples of nonviolent action. Examples of successful campaigns are widely used.

Nonviolence theory, as deployed by activists, has not greatly developed since Sharp's key work, published over 35 years ago. Sharp's new book (2005) simply restates the theory with new case studies. Yet there are many facets of theory that have been tackled since then and many others worthy of attention. This is not just a question of theory for activists: activist practice long has been and continues to be a key stimulus for developing theory.

Among the developers of post-Sharp pragmatic nonviolence theory — which includes applying nonviolence ideas to new arenas — I have played a significant role. The areas addressed by these developers include:

- critique of Sharp's theory of power (Martin 1989; McGuinness 1993)
- bureaucracies (Martin et al. 1997)
- capitalism (Martin 2001a)
- technology (Martin 2001b)
- communication (Martin and Varney 2003a, b)
- social movement dynamics (Schock 2005)
- tactics against injustice (Martin 2007)

However, there remain some important areas that deserve much greater attention both theoretically and practically. Four interfaces are of special importance:

- between violence and nonviolent action
- between nonviolent action and conventional political action
- between discourse and nonviolent action
- between action and strategy.

This project aims to address these vital areas. Each one constitutes a boundary for nonviolent action as well as a crucial point for activists.

E3 Significance and innovation

Activists increasingly recognise the advantages of nonviolent action over armed struggle:

- it is more inclusive, allowing ready participation by women, children, the unfit and many people with disabilities
- it is more likely to win over opponents and third parties
- it usually leads to fewer casualties
- it is less likely to lead to a new repressive system.

Nevertheless, scholars continue to neglect nonviolent action. This project aims to expand nonviolent action theory by tackling several domains regularly encountered in practice yet theoretically undeveloped.

The interface between nonviolent action and conventional political action is dealt with in nearly every nonviolence campaign yet hardly theorised. Sharp defines nonviolent action as forms of political, social or economic action, without the use of force, that go beyond conventional action such as voting, lobbying or investment. In a dictatorship, a petition could be nonviolent action, opening signers to arrest or worse, whereas a petition in less repressive societies is a routine, conventional sort of action. Nonviolent actionists regularly move back and forth between conventional and nonviolent action. The patterns and dynamics of action across this boundary need examination, categorisation and illumination.

The boundary between violence and nonviolence has received a fair bit of attention. The consensus among nonviolence researchers is that mixing violent and nonviolent methods in campaigns is counterproductive, usually reducing the effectiveness of the nonviolent components (Sharp 1973: 573-655). In practice, every democratic transition, including those conceptualised as nonviolent such as the Indian independence movement, has included both violence and nonviolence. Given the under-theorisation of the violence-nonviolence intersection, addressing this boundary is vital for the advancement of nonviolence theory and practice.

The interface between discourse and nonviolent action has received little attention, yet it is increasingly important. Discourse is itself sometimes categorised as nonviolent action, as in the case of Chinese dissidents using email to express their criticisms. In other cases discourse is similar to conventional political action. Yet even within the principled nonviolence tradition, discourse plays a formal role: Gandhi saw dialogue with the opponent as a necessary preliminary stage before moving — if needed — to nonviolent action. In pragmatic nonviolence, discourse is central to one of Sharp's three main types of nonviolent action, protest and persuasion. Wendy Varney and I theorised the connections between communication and nonviolence (Martin and Varney 2003a, b). However, there remain major unexplored areas in this nexus, notably theorising the tactical and strategic dimensions to verbal interactions and the use of cyberspace in campaigning.

New communication technologies increasingly play a key role in activism, for example the use of texting to organise actions, mobile phones to record events with photos and videos being put online immediately, webpages to reveal leaks and undermine censorship, and much else. These facets are hardly addressed in nonviolence theory, which developed long before such technologies.

The link between strategy and action is the fourth important area needing theoretical attention. Sharp (2005) and his associate Robert Helvey (2004) have increasingly emphasised the importance of strategy in nonviolent action and in recent years the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict has made strategy a focus for much of its work. Strategy is undoubtedly important, but in many conflicts the

conditions for conventional approaches to strategy are not present. A strategy — in essence, a plan to achieve a goal given particular resources and obstacles — assumes a capacity for self-aware agents to analyse, plan and act. Yet in many struggles the activists are not a coherent, organised group subject to discipline but instead form and dissolve in an ad hoc fashion (Jordan 2002). This sort of postmodern activism needs to be conceptualised differently in order to think coherently about strategy.

Addressing these four important dimensions — nonviolence interfaces with conventional action, violence and discourse, and the strategy-action interface — offers the possibility of a major development in nonviolent action theory.

The innovation in tackling these areas will come from the method of addressing them. Sharp, in developing his pioneering analyses of methods and dynamics of nonviolent action, implicitly used a grounded theory approach: he analysed hundreds of nonviolent campaigns, discerned patterns and developed frameworks to capture these patterns. Sharp entered his investigations with a prior awareness of nonviolent action, derived from Gandhi, but took a different approach, jettisoning Gandhi's moral apparatus and instead looking for effective methods of nonviolent action (Weber 2003). (Incidentally, Sharp never conceptualised his work as grounded theory — he just did it that way.)

I plan to use a similar approach in my analysis of the four dimensions. I enter these arenas with awareness of pragmatic nonviolence but without a commitment to Sharp's boundaries around nonviolent action. I will look at the dynamics of campaigns that involve cross-boundary elements, looking at action-in-practice and probing for principles that might (or might not) cut across the boundaries. In other words, I am approaching the study of action generally, starting from what is usually called nonviolent action but being open to other ways of acting.

E4 Approach and methodology

To develop principles, I will investigate a wide range of case studies, looking for patterns. The general approach is to become familiar with features of case studies, develop frameworks that capture key elements and then test the frameworks against those and other case studies. This seems to have been Sharp's approach, though he never discussed methodology.

One way to test the theory is to see whether activists can use it to make sense of their own experiences and current campaigns. To facilitate such testing, I will use interactive means such as wikis, in the tradition of participatory action research.

E4.1 Nonviolence–violence boundary

Nonviolence advocates commonly argue that mixing violence and nonviolence is not a good idea, as it undermines the effectiveness of nonviolent action. However, in many actual campaigns, both methods have been used. To understand the conditions for effectiveness, it is worth looking at numerous struggles to see what goes on when the two approaches are mixed. For example:

- In the East Timorese struggle against the Indonesian invasion and occupation from 1975, initially armed struggle was the primary mode of resistance. In the late 1980s, the East Timorese strategy changed to a combination of nonviolent resistance in urban areas accompanied by defensive-only military resistance in the countryside (Fukuda 2000).

- In the South African resistance to apartheid, armed struggle was used by the African National Congress from the 1970s but in the 1980s and early 1990s there was a greater use of nonviolent methods (Zunes 1999).

- In Vietnam during the Vietnam war, the primary mode of resistance to the South Vietnamese government was armed struggle, mainly in the countryside. However, the Buddhist opposition used nonviolent methods at the same time, mainly in urban areas.

- In the US during the Vietnam war, the peace movement primarily used nonviolent methods such as rallies and draft resistance. However, there was some violence, notably by the Weathermen, later known as the Weather Underground.

- Resistance to the Nazi occupation of Europe included both violence by partisans and nonviolent methods such as public protests, bureaucratic obstruction of orders and sabotage in factories (Semelin 1993).

- In major actions against corporate globalisation, some protesters smash windows, burn cars and assault police while the majority remain peaceful. In the movement, there is a vigorous debate, centred on the idea of “diversity of tactics,” about the effectiveness of mixing violence and nonviolence.

- In the first intifada (1987-1993), the primary Palestinian actions were nonviolent, including strikes, boycotts and rallies, but there was some violence such as throwing of stones. In the second intifada (2000-), suicide bombings have been prominent, while a wide range of nonviolent actions continue to be used, though with little international publicity.

In these and other examples, both violent and nonviolent methods are used. The task is to determine the conditions for effectiveness. Some preliminary hypotheses are:

- If violent and nonviolent methods are used in separate domains — in space or time — violence is less likely to undermine the effectiveness of nonviolence. Examples include East Timor and South Africa.

- When violence is the primary mode of struggle against oppression, it is harder for nonviolence to make a difference. The Vietnam war is an example.

- In less overtly repressive societies, violence is more likely to be counterproductive. The US anti-Vietnam war protests and anti-corporate globalisation protests are examples.

After preliminary hypotheses are formulated, then case studies can be probed more deeply and new case studies sought. How many case studies are needed? This depends — it is a matter of depth and breadth.

Sharp investigated hundreds of instances of nonviolent action. Using historical examples, he illustrated every one of the 198 methods of nonviolent action he identified. However, for the framework of stages in a nonviolent struggle that he called the dynamics of nonviolent action, he used a smaller number of examples, some of them extensively.

Kurt Schock, in his investigation into social movements and nonviolent action, picked six case studies for in-depth assessment. He chose three successes (such as the Philippines) and three failures (such as China 1989). His approach shows the value of in-depth investigation.

In general, studying many examples is useful to gain a sense of patterns in the data. In-depth investigations into specific cases are useful to probe and illustrate dynamics. I plan to use this combination for each of the four dimensions, compiling numerous examples for pattern-recognition and testing and going into specific cases for greater understanding.

To return to the violence-nonviolence interface, a range of examples will be sought in which both methods were used during campaigns or actions in order to stimulate and test hypotheses. Then selected cases will be chosen for an in-depth examination.

E4.2 Nonviolent–conventional action boundary

Nearly every campaign involving nonviolent action also involves conventional political action. For example, the US civil rights campaign, noted for bus boycotts, sit-ins, marches and rallies, also contained its share of conventional political action, including activist meetings, letters, leaflets, meetings with officials, voter registration, election campaigning and voting. There are several questions about this boundary that have not been examined systematically.

- Is there a “dynamics of conventional action” — a set of typical stages, principles or critical interactions in a campaign — parallel to Sharp’s dynamics of nonviolent action?

- What is the effect of mixing conventional and nonviolent actions? What are the advantages and disadvantages? Is it sometimes counterproductive? In particular, can use of conventional action sometimes undermine nonviolent action, analogously to the use of violence?

- Do some sorts of nonviolent action lend themselves to complementary uses of conventional action, and vice versa?

To examine the nonviolent-conventional action interface, a wide range of campaigns will be examined, looking for patterns, developing preliminary hypotheses and then testing and elaborating the evolving framework.

E4.3 Nonviolence–discourse boundary

Discourse sometimes is nonviolent action, for example a sermon critical of the Nazis during the occupation. On the other hand, all forms of nonviolent action — fasts, consumer boycotts, rent strikes — can be considered to be forms of discourse. Whatever the terminology, there are areas of discourse (or discursive action) that are not addressed in nonviolence theory, for example cyberspace tactics (Megens and Martin 2002).

Gandhi always began his campaigns by attempting dialogue with opponents. In nonviolence theory, this is considered to be preliminary to nonviolent action per se. However, Sharp did not classify or analyse such dialogue stages.

Another aspect of discursive action is the form in which discourse occurs. The medium of communication — telephone, text messaging — has hardly ever been addressed in nonviolence theory (Martin and Varney 2003a: 165-169). Nor have expressive dimensions of discourse, for example shouting at rallies, been incorporated into nonviolence theory. In some cases Sharp’s dynamics of nonviolent action can be expanded to cover these aspects of discourse. For example, hate speech can rebound against the speaker along the lines of Sharp’s political jiu-jitsu.

The aim in addressing the nonviolence-discourse interface is to develop a framework parallel to Sharp’s dynamics of nonviolent action: a dynamics of discursive action, or semiotics of satyagraha, covering elements missing from Sharp’s framework. A wide range of case studies will be used to develop and test the new framework.

E4.4 Strategic dimension

In Sharp’s formulation of nonviolent action, strategy plays a large role: activists are encouraged to develop a plan, with analysis of the situation, assessment of strengths and weaknesses, well-defined goals and use of methods appropriate to the task. This is in the tradition of nonviolent action as an alternative to armed struggle, with military strategy as a paradigm for nonviolence strategy.

Some campaigns fit this framework, especially when activists are unified against a repressive government. However, many nonviolent struggles do not satisfy the conditions for elaborate strategic planning. Sometimes there are no leaders with the credibility to direct planning, or there may be a diversity of opposition groups with varying agendas. Many contemporary actions — some anti-corporate globalisation

actions, for example — are organised in an ad hoc fashion, with organising groups dissolving after the events. Strategies, rather than driving campaigns, mostly result from actions taken, in the style of emergent strategy (Mintzberg 1994).

Campaigns often have a coherency due to shared beliefs, communication between groups and individuals, demonstration effects, media coverage and actions by opponents. This coherency needs to be explained using categories in addition to strategic planning.

To capture the contemporary dynamics of nonviolent action, a range of action arenas — to talk of campaigns is already to assume some collective focus — will be examined, looking for mechanisms influencing choices to act and actions taken. These will be assessed as reflecting an explicit strategy or an emergent (unplanned) strategy. For action arenas with emergent strategies, the aim will be to identify, classify and understand the ways actions can be effective without formal strategic planning.

E4.5 Theory development process

This project will use a qualitative approach, as with nearly all research in nonviolence theory. The aim is to develop frameworks that make sense of a range of case studies, namely capture key elements.

Sharp's dynamics of nonviolent action — still the most important framework in the field — captures a number of elements of a wide range of nonviolent campaigns. Sharp proceeded by personally studying hundreds of cases and pulling out what he considered to be key stages. For the crucial stage of political jiu-jitsu, he drew on the prior concept of moral jiu-jitsu, developed by Richard Gregg (1934).

I plan to follow in the steps of Sharp, but with several modifications to make the methodology more efficient and robust.

- I will look at a wide range of case studies for each of the four dimensions (E4.1 to E4.4). To achieve this in a reasonable time, I will rely on APD Jason MacLeod to help find cases, collect data and help write up case study summaries.

- The PhD student will focus on cyberactivism — generally, the use of the Internet and related technology in social action — looking at interfaces with all the boundaries involved, including discourse most obviously, support for conventional action, as well as support for violence. By delving into a multifaceted method of action, the PhD student will be able to assess the adequacy of the framework in each of its four dimensions in a unique way.

- I will establish an international reference group to support the project by suggesting directions for investigation, giving feedback on the evolving frameworks and contributing to publications. Most contact with reference group members will be via email, Skype and online collaboration tools. It will be quite valuable to bring them to Wollongong on two occasions for intensive workshopping oriented around producing individual or joint books and articles around common themes addressed in the project.

I will select reference group members who are leading active nonviolence researchers, including

- Jørgen Johansen, Norway, affiliated with many universities and War Resisters' International and author of five books on nonviolence (in Norwegian and Swedish)

- Barbara Müller, Institute for Peacework and Nonviolent Conflict Transformation; co-creator and secretary (1997-2004) of the German Platform for Constructive Conflict Settlement; author of a comprehensive study of the Balkan Peace Teams (Müller 2006).

- Kurt Schock, Rutgers University, author of the major contribution *Unarmed Insurrections* (Schock 2005).

— Tom Weber, La Trobe University, one of the world's leading Gandhian scholars.

I will also be in regular touch with the other nonviolence researchers in Australia, notably Ralph Summy, UQ.

E5 National benefit

Nonviolent action is increasingly used by a wide range of movements at national, sub-national and transnational levels. As an alternative to armed struggle, it has numerous advantages, including greater participation, lower casualties, and a smaller likelihood of a repressive successor regime.

Nonviolent action has already benefited Australia through helping end the Suharto government without massive loss of life. An improvement in the understanding of and capacity for nonviolent action has enormous potential benefits in improving the prospects for democratic transitions within Indonesia (Aceh and West Papua) and in countries such as Burma, China and North Korea.

In developing strategies and running campaigns, nonviolent activists draw on shared pools of experience and, to a limited extent, theoretical work, notably Sharp's theory of power and methods of nonviolent action. In this context, new theoretical frameworks — including and going beyond nonviolent action — can provide powerful tools for social change, benefiting Australia as well as the rest of the world.

The project involves building nonviolence research capacity in Australia and, via the international reference group, throughout the world, positioning Australia in a key role in an emerging international research network. Nonviolence movements are increasingly sophisticated in sharing experience and skills; the project will help create a parallel research effort to support movements with knowledge while tempering unwise plans and actions with informed understanding and critical assessments.

Improving the effectiveness of nonviolent action will help counter the attractions of violence. Nonviolence is a method and a goal, and improved nonviolence theory will contribute to both.

E6 Communication of results

I will publish papers in top peace research journals such as *Peace & Change* and *Journal of Peace Research* and in a wide variety of scholarly journals depending on the case studies and themes addressed, for example political science journals for articles addressing the conventional-nonviolent action boundary and communication studies journals for the nonviolence-discourse boundary. The aim in targeting journals is to raise key theoretical ideas to relevant audiences. I am committed to writing in an accessible fashion even for scholarly papers; as one editor said to me, "Your article is unlike [in accessibility] other contributions."

I will write a book pulling together the different threads in the research, as a contribution to theory relevant to social action.

To maximise availability of the research, I will put all articles on my website and supplement these with an activist-oriented summary, in the style of my widely used "Backfire basics." As well, I will write short accounts for magazines oriented to activists, such as *The Nonviolent Activist* and *Peace News*.

I anticipate having the opportunity to present talks to both academic and activist audiences in Australia and internationally, and use these opportunities to both present the work and obtain feedback for improvement. Based on these experiences, I will develop a slide show, with an accompanying script and sources of information, for use by others, making it available on my website, similarly to my backfire slide show. In addition, I will set up an interactive website with blogs, wikis and annotatable texts to

stimulate contributions from a wide range of scholars and activists; this will also be tied to the investigation of the nonviolence-discourse boundary. The reference group for the project will offer guidance on the most effective ways to disseminate findings from the project — including their own writings from the workshops.

I will work intensively with the APD and PhD student to develop their writing and other communication skills. They will be participants in the high-output writing programmes that I run with my own PhD students and others in the faculty. Currently I am initiating a high-output programme involving several up-and-coming nonviolence researchers in Australia, Thailand and Germany. I expect the APD, PhD student, reference group members and possibly the RA produce significant outputs and I will work with them to target all the modes I will be pursuing myself, including academic papers, popular accounts, blogs, wikis, talks and workshops.

Because communication is central to nonviolent action (Martin and Varney, 2003a, b), I aim to model good communication practice concerning research into nonviolent action, which means trying different approaches — including interactive methods — and learning from experience.

E7 Role of personnel

The APD will be responsible for identifying and analysing information on a wide range of struggles and campaigns relevant to each of the four facets to the project. Many of these will be cases previously examined in the nonviolence literature, but with special attention to boundary-crossings, such as the role of violence in otherwise nonviolent campaigns. Others will be ones not normally seen as examples of nonviolence, such as conventional political campaigns with an occasional use of nonviolent action.

The APD, Jason MacLeod, brings to the project vast experience with nonviolence and West Papua. I will expect Jason to continue this work, to extract insights from West Papuan struggles relevant to the project and to apply theory from the project to West Papua.

The PhD student will analyse activist campaigns that use new communication technologies. This focussed study allows a sort of benchmarking across the four facets of the project. I expect to work closely with the PhD student to provide guidance on nonviolence theorising while drawing insights for the four dimensions of nonviolent action theory development.

The RA will systematically analyse writings about struggles and campaigns identified by me and the APD, identifying instances of nonviolent action, violence, discourse and conventional action and classifying them according to actor, method, circumstances and other categories developed in the project. The RA will have responsibility for putting this information into a database.

The reference group members will comment on project plans, assess early outputs, recommend case studies, give feedback on theory as it is developed, and join two workshops in Wollongong to produce publications.

My role as CI will be to conceptualise the theoretical dimensions of the project, establish a work plan for the APD and the PhD student, participate in collecting information, analysing documents and cataloguing tactics, formulate and test theories, liaise with reference group members and lead efforts in publication and other communication of results.

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