



**Initiative for Policy Dialogue and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung New York  
Working Paper 2013**

# **World Protests 2006-2013**

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**September 2013**

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**First published:** September 2013

Initiative for Policy Dialogue, Columbia University, New York - [www.policydialogue.org](http://www.policydialogue.org)

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung New York Office - [www.fes-globalization.org/new\\_york/](http://www.fes-globalization.org/new_york/)

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**JEL Classification:** D74, I3, J5, J83, P16, F6

**Keywords:** protests, riots, social movements, campaigns, demonstrations, austerity, crisis, democracy, inequality, social justice.

### **Acknowledgements**

Thanks to José Antonio Ocampo (Professor of Professional Practice and Co-President of the Initiative for Policy Dialogue, Columbia University) and to Michele Auga (Executive Director of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's New York Bureau) for their overall support and guidance.

Notes of appreciation to Hendrik Schöler, intern at Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung New York Bureau, who contributed to the text and to the production of figures and tables, as well as to Patrick Kelly, intern at the Initiative for Policy Dialogue, Columbia University, who contributed to the original database entries.

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# World Protests 2006-2013

By Isabel Ortiz, Sara Burke, Mohamed Berrada and Hernán Cortés<sup>1</sup>

## Executive Summary

This September 2013 study analyzes 843 protests occurring between January 2006 and July 2013 in 87 countries covering over 90% of world population. The paper focuses on: (i) major grievances driving world protests (ii) who is demonstrating, what protest methods they use, and who are they opposed to (iii) achievements and repression of social movements in the short term, and (iv) the main policy demands of world demonstrators. The paper calls for policy-makers to listen, whether messages are articulate or communicate only through frustration and violence.

In recent years the world has been shaken by protests. From the Arab Spring to the *“Indignados”* (outraged), from Occupy to food riots. There have been periods in history when large numbers of people rebelled about the way things were, demanding change, such as in 1848, 1917 or 1968; today we are experiencing another period of rising outrage and discontent, and some of the largest protests in world history.

Our analysis of 843 protest events reflects a steady increase in the overall number of protests every year, from 2006 (59 protests) to mid-2013 (112 protests events in only half a year). Following the onset of the global financial and economic crisis began to unfold, there is a major increase in protests beginning 2010 with the adoption of austerity measures in all world regions. Protests are more prevalent in higher income countries (304 protests), followed by Latin America and the Caribbean (141 protests), East Asia and the Pacific (83 protests) and Sub-Saharan Africa (78 protests). An analysis of the Middle East and North Africa region (77 protests) shows that protests were also prevalent prior to the Arab Spring. The majority of violent riots counted in the study occurred in low-income countries (48% of all riots), mostly caused by food-price and energy-price spikes in those countries. Interestingly, the period 2006-2013 reflects an increasing number of global protests (70 events), organized across regions.

The main grievances and causes of outrage are:

- **Economic Justice and Anti-Austerity:** 488 protests on issues related to reform of public services, tax/fiscal justice, jobs/higher wages/labor conditions, inequality, poverty/low living standards, agrarian/land reform, pension reform, high fuel and energy prices, high food prices, and housing.
- **Failure of Political Representation and Political Systems:** 376 protests on lack of real democracy; corporate influence, deregulation and privatization; corruption; failure to receive justice from the legal system; transparency and accountability; surveillance of citizens; and anti-war/military industrial complex.
- **Global Justice:** 311 protests were against the IMF and other International Financial Institutions (IFIs), for environmental justice and the global commons, and against imperialism, free trade and the G20.
- **Rights of People:** 302 protests on ethnic/indigenous/racial rights; right to the Commons (digital, land, cultural, atmospheric); labor rights; women’s rights; right to freedom of assembly/speech/press; religious issues; rights of lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgendered people

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(LGBT); immigrants' rights; and prisoners' rights. A lesser number of protests focus on denying rights to specific groups (eg. immigrants, gays).

Although the breadth of demand for economic justice is of serious consequence, the most sobering finding of the study is the overwhelming demand (218 protests), not for economic justice per se, but for what prevents economic issues from being addressed: a lack of "real democracy", which is a result of people's growing awareness that policy-making has not prioritized them—even when it has claimed to—and frustration with politics as usual and a lack of trust in the existing political actors, left and right. This demand and the crisis of political representation it expresses is coming from every kind of political system, not only authoritarian governments but also representative democracies which are failing to listen to the needs and views of ordinary people.

A profile of demonstrators reveals that not only traditional protesters (eg. activists, unions) are demonstrating; on the contrary, middle classes, youth, older persons and other social groups are actively protesting in most countries because of lack of trust and disillusionment with the current political and economic system. They are increasingly joining activists from all kinds of movements, not only in marches and rallies (the most common methods of civil protest, in 437 events), but in a new framework of protest that includes civil disobedience and direct actions such as road blockages and occupations of city streets and squares to raise awareness about their demands (a total of 219 occupations of public spaces). The period covered by this study also captures the advent of a new era of civil disobedience/direct action carried out by computer hackers and whistleblowers who "leak" massive amounts of government and corporate data. Contrary to public perception, violence and vandalism/looting appear in only 75 events, or 8.9% of world protests. Though only used by a few, 33 events record desperate methods such as hunger strikes and self-inflicted violence (eg. self-immolation or protesters sewing their own lips).

Who do protesters oppose? An analysis of main protests in the period 2006-2013 shows that demonstrators mostly address their grievances to national governments, as they are the legitimate policy-making institutions that should respond to citizens. Protestors demand that policy-makers take public responsibility for economic, social and environmental policies—that should benefit all, instead of just the few. However, protests against the inadequate political and economic system appear second in importance, reflecting significant discontent with the working of current democracies and demands for real democracy. Protestors further oppose (by order): corporations/employers, the IMF, elites, the financial sector, the ECB, military and police forces, free trade, economic/military powers (eg. EU, US, China), the G20, the World Bank, specific political parties, some social groups (eg. migrants, homosexuals, gypsies) and, in some cases, religious authorities.

Not only is the number of protests increasing, but also the number of protestors. Crowd estimates suggest that 37 events had one million or more protestors; some of those may well be the largest protests in history (eg. 100 million in India in 2013, 17 million in Egypt in 2013). As of 2013, as many as 63% of the protests covered in the study achieved neither their intended demands nor their expressed grievances in the short-term. This outcome is not necessarily negative, since many of the protests are engaged with long-term structural issues that may yield results in time. Some 37% of protests resulted in some kind of achievement, mostly in the areas of political, legal and social rights—global issues and economic justice appear the most difficult areas to achieve change.

Repression is well documented in over half of the protest episodes analyzed in the study. According to media reports, the protests that generated the most arrests were in Iran, the UK, Russia, Chile, Malaysia, US, Canada and Cameroon; the most deaths were reported in Kyrgyzstan, Egypt and Kenya; the most injuries, in Egypt, Thailand and Algeria. Our research also documented a rising concern with some modes

of repression that do not imply the use of physical violence: citizen surveillance. It must be noted that while arrests and surveillance are directly linked to government-led repression, a number of the injuries and deaths may be a result of violent clashes between different groups.

The set of policies needed at the national and global levels to address the grievances described in this paper cross over virtually every area of public policy, from jobs, public services and social protection to taxation, debt and trade. Governments need to listen to the messages coming from protesters. However, policy reforms will be insufficient if governments fail to guarantee democratic participation and curtail the power of elites—not only in local and national governments but in the institutions of global governance as well. Leaders and policymakers will only invite further unrest if they fail to prioritize and act on the one demand raised in more of the world’s protests between 2006 and 2013 than any other—the demand for real democracy.

## 1. Introduction: Rising Outrage and Discontent

In recent years the world has been shaken by protests. Throughout the Middle East and North Africa, rising income and group inequalities, high youth unemployment and a lack of opportunity to engage in society—compounded by decades of state and police corruption and violence—are issues at the heart of protests against largely authoritarian governments. Europe has seen its own explosion of protest, with movements of hundreds of thousands of “indignant” citizens occupying public squares in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Italy and throughout the region to demand real democracy, decent jobs and an end to economic austerity and technocratic governments that benefit elites. In the United States, the Occupy movement raised public awareness and outrage about rising inequality and put a spotlight on dysfunction in the world’s oldest constitutional democracy. At the same time, Brazil’s much younger democracy, which—under the leadership of left-wing workers’ and social democratic parties—has implemented redistributive policies to fight poverty and rising inequality, nonetheless finds tens of thousands in the streets demanding more: dignity and an end to government corruption. These waves of protests, and the social and political movements behind them, are by now quite familiar to us because of the extensive, international media coverage they have received. What may be less well known is that all along, these demonstrations have also been accompanied by frustrated, violent protests, with a particular spike in 2007-08 due to the food price riots in those years.

What these multifarious protests have in common—regardless of where they take place geographically or where their demonstrators are on the political spectrum—are failures of economic and social development and a demand for more direct democracy, fueled by a lack of faith in official political processes and traditional political actors. Social and political activism is increasing among groups that feel left behind, from indigenous peoples to youth, workers, farmers, women and pensioners. A deep crisis in political representation is felt and articulated even by average citizens (eg. the middle classes) who do not consider themselves social or political activists (Puschra and Burke 2013).

The financial and economic crisis of 2008 exacerbated pre-existing concerns about poverty, unemployment and rising inequality. In higher income countries, the deployment of vast public resources to bail out private banks considered “too big to fail” forced taxpayers to absorb the losses, caused sovereign debt to increase, and, ultimately, hindered global economic growth. Since 2010, the cost of adjustment has been passed on to these populations, and in return, there are fewer jobs, lower incomes and reduced access to public services. Households feel austerity measures the most and are shouldering the costs of a “recovery” that has largely excluded them.

People living in developing countries face widespread poverty, few decent work opportunities and millions just like them being denied their rights. For the majority of the world population, development outcomes have been insufficient, and since 2008 they have confronted a crisis of unprecedented magnitude. Many food- and fuel-price protests are related to the removal of subsidies and increases in regressive value added taxes (VAT) as a result of the expansion of austerity measures worldwide. In 2013, 119 countries are contracting public expenditures, that is, austerity is not just being adopted in Europe but by most developing countries’ governments (Ortiz and Cummins, 2012, 2013). The United Nations has repeatedly warned that austerity is likely to bring the global economy into further recession and to



increase inequality (United Nations, 2013a) and has also proposed alternatives since the crisis of 2009 (eg. United Nations 2009). The International Labour Organization's index of social unrest documents rising levels of worldwide discontent: the *World of Work Report 2012* warned that social unrest was being aggravated in 57 of the 106 countries surveyed. The main findings of the present paper indicate that social unrest tends to rise in every region during the period covered, primarily due to a cluster of issues related to economic justice and austerity. Notably, however, a demand for "real" democracy occurs more frequently than any other single issue as a causal factor in the world's protests between 2006 and mid-2013.

But worldwide discontent is found with grievances going well beyond short-term austerity measures. It is instead a measure of people's growing awareness that policy-making has not prioritized them—even when it has claimed to—and that a wrongheaded development model, focused on abstract growth rates that benefit elites, accompanied by only a few safety nets for the poorest, excludes the majority of the population. Many of the world's protests arise when large majorities of people feel left out, and when neither the middle classes nor the poor find public services adequate for their needs. Protests reflect widespread frustration with governments that do not deliver—in every sort of political system—and with the increasing power of markets and corporations, which promote and benefit financially from the downsizing of public sectors. Further, the demand for social justice and people's rights resonates throughout many grievances, many of them longtime struggles that remain at the forefront of world protests.

## **2. Methodology**

This paper presents the results of a protest event analysis<sup>2</sup> undertaken between June and September 2013 by a team of four researchers. The study analyzes data on 843 protest events in 84 countries, as well as a great number that cross international boundaries. The research compiles data from 7½ years of news reports available online, published between January 2006 and July 2013, covering a variety of protests—from demonstrations and rallies, to the campaigns of social and political movements, to unorganized and often violent crowd actions such as riots.<sup>3</sup> The study investigates protests in countries representing 91.9% of world population<sup>4</sup>, setting each event in time and place and identifying a number of other properties, including: main grievances/demands, who is protesting, what protest methods they use, who their opponents/targets are, and what results from the protests, including achievements and repression. The objective of the study is to document and characterize manifestations of protest from the onset of the world crisis/recession to date, to examine protest trends globally, regionally and according to country-income levels, and to present the main grievances and demands of protesters in order to better understand the drivers of social unrest.

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<sup>2</sup> Protest event analysis (PEA) is a research method developed by sociologists over the past few decades to map, analyze and interpret occurrences and properties of large numbers of protests by means of content analysis, via sources such as newspaper reports (Koopmans and Rucht, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> Excluded from the research sample are those periods when protests escalate to armed conflicts (eg. Libya) or civil war (eg. Syria). Also excluded are a small number of culturally specific lifestyle issues (eg. protests against bullfights).

<sup>4</sup> For a complete list of countries represented in this study, see Annex II

**Figure 1. Countries Covered in the Study, 2006-2013**

Algeria	Denmark	Japan	Oman	Sudan
Angola	Egypt	Jordan	Pakistan	Syria
Argentina	Ethiopia	Kazakhstan	Palestinian Territories	Tanzania
Australia	France	Kenya	Peru	Thailand
Bangladesh	Germany	Kyrgyzstan	Philippines	Tunisia
Bolivia	Ghana	Libya	Poland	Turkey
Brazil	Greece	Madagascar	Portugal	Uganda
Bulgaria	Haiti	Malaysia	Romania	United Kingdom
Burkina Faso	Hungary	Mali	Russia	Ukraine
Cameroon	Iceland	Mauritania	Saudi Arabia	United Arab Emirates
Canada	India	Mexico	Senegal	United States
Chad	Indonesia	Morocco	Singapore	Uzbekistan
Chile	Iran	Mozambique	Somalia	Vietnam
China	Ireland	Myanmar	South Africa	Western Sahara
Colombia	Israel	Nepal	South Korea	Yemen
Democratic Republic of Congo	Italy	Nicaragua	Spain	
	Ivory Coast	Niger	Sri Lanka	
	Jamaica	Nigeria		



Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 2013  
[Covered countries are darkened]

The time period reviewed begins in 2006—before the full-blown crisis emerges in 2008—and continues through two distinct phases: 1) the fiscal expansion of 2008-09 and 2) fiscal contraction/austerity since 2010. Also, although this research has been informed by previous work in global protest event analysis, as well as by existing databases and classification methods, this analysis does not screen for one type of protest (eg. nonviolent campaigns) over another (eg. looting and riots), such as the case-study based *Global Nonviolent Action Database (GNAD)* does in its mission to cover the global history of nonviolent campaigns (Leakey, 2013; Sharp, 1973). Nor does it amass the big-data associated with the *Global Database of Events, Language, and Tone*, which uses automated software algorithms to data-mine international news coverage from 11 major English language news organizations and a number of local, regional and national news sources in most countries (Leetaru and Schrod, 2013). Instead, aiming to produce research-driven data and a method sensitive to the potential for unexpected findings in a time of great international economic and political volatility, this study does not begin with pre-defined variables. Rather, it begins with broad searches, gathering open text—in the original language on sources published in Arabic, English, French, German, Portuguese, and Spanish, and in translation for other languages—in the wording of news reports and the protest-movements themselves, text that then informs new searches and eventually the categorization and coding of findings.

The units of analysis used in this study are 1) the “protest episode”, defined as an event or sequence of events ignited by identifiable grievances or set of demands, and 2) the “protest event”, comprising part of an episode and lasting no longer than one year. Since some protests on the same issue and led by the same actors are active throughout multiple years, those episodes have been broken down into their component events for the purposes of statistical analysis. For example, from January 2006 (the beginning of the period covered by the paper) through 2009, unions in the United States are organizing consistently against attacks on collective bargaining rights. Rather than counting this continuous and years-long activity as a single event, it is divided into four events, one for each year in the episode. For brevity’s sake these events have been re-aggregated year by year into one protest episode each in Annex I.

In order to control for bias in the selection of news sources, a widely recognized challenge within the protest-event analysis framework, this study includes at least one internationally or regionally recognized media source per country covered (eg. *BBC News*, *Al Jazeera*, *Le Monde*, *Hindu Times*, *The New York Times*, *Xinhua*), augmented by at least one local or independent news, academic or organizational source per country (eg. *Democracy Now!*, *Global Nonviolent Action Database*, *Jadaliyya*, *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, *15MPedia*, *Radiobubble*,). This strategy for overcoming selectivity bias nevertheless does not fully represent all protests taking place, as small and moderate protests will often not be covered in the media, while large and violent protests have a greater tendency to be covered (Klandermans and Staggenborn, 2002), nor can the strategy compensate for the fact that international sources are more readily available online for the whole period, while national and especially local sources are less accessible via the internet the older they are. The analysis of methods was strongly influenced by Gene Sharp’s “198 Methods of Nonviolent Action”, which details types of nonviolent protest and persuasion, forms of social, economic and political non-cooperation, and means of nonviolent interventions (Sharp, 1973), although Sharp’s typology proves ultimately to be too detailed in its enumeration of methods and too constrained—for the

purposes of this study—by its focus on only nonviolent action. Please refer to the Annex 2 for further notes on the methodology and statistical methods used.

### **3. The World Awakes: Protests Increase 2006-2013**

There are times in history when large numbers of people rise up to complain about the way things are, demanding change. It happened in the turbulent years of 1848, in 1968, and it is happening again in our times (Schiffrin and Kircher-Allen, 2012). In recent years, the world has been shaken by protests. Our analysis of 843 events reflects an increasing number of protests, from 2006 (59 protest events) to mid-2013 (112 protest events in only half a year). While protests occur in all world regions and across all income levels (Tables 1 and 3), the study found a greater prevalence in high-income countries (304 events), followed by Latin America/Caribbean (141 protests), East Asia/Pacific (83 protests) and Sub-Saharan Africa (78 protests). An analysis of the Middle East/North Africa region (77 protests) shows that protests are also prevalent prior to the Arab Spring. The period 2006-2013 reflects an increasing number of protests, organized across regions that specifically target global rather than national issues (70 events).<sup>5</sup>

The research reveals that the largest majority of protests happen in higher income countries, where dissatisfaction with the impacts and mismanagement of the economic crisis runs high. These protests target governments that are (in principle) less rather than more repressive, in countries with overall higher education levels and a greater opportunity to finance grassroots movements than in lower income countries. This becomes evident as we see a clear correlation between income levels and number of protest events.<sup>6</sup> In the regional breakdown, Latin America/Caribbean follows only the high-income region in number of protests, benefitting from a democratic tradition coupled with middle-income levels. This is followed by East Asia. Approximately equal numbers of protest events are found in Sub-Saharan Africa (78) and the Middle East/North Africa (77): this appears to be due in part to the impacts of high food and fuel prices, to austerity measures such as the removal of food and fuel subsidies and to increases in VAT and wage bill reforms, in addition to demands to end poverty and structural inequalities and to seek tax justice and real democracy.

It is noteworthy that the majority of violent protests and riots counted in the study are occurring in the region of Sub-Saharan Africa (43% of all riots) and in the low-income group of countries (48% of all riots). Research shows a sharp rise in the number of riots in 2008 (Table 2), many due to food price spikes hitting a number of those countries.

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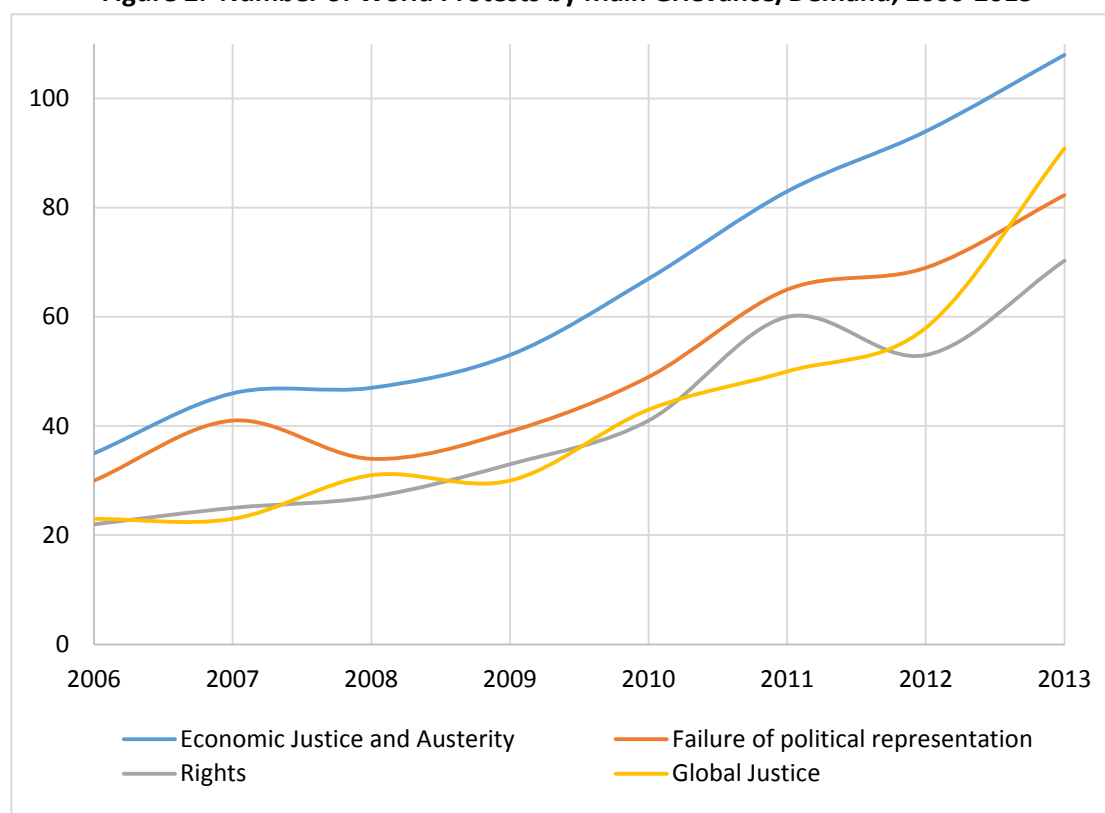
<sup>5</sup> Country income group and regional classifications are taken from World Bank data sets, which use gross national income (GNI) per capita to classify every economy as either low income, middle income (subdivided into lower middle and upper middle), or high income. The Bank also classifies geographic regions; note that “high-income” is both an income- and a regional-classification in the Bank’s system. (For more information, see <http://data.worldbank.org/about/country-classifications>).

<sup>6</sup> Since not all protests occur in a single country, income group or region, the category “Global” has been added to the analysis of protests by country-income and region to reflect rising numbers of internationally-organized protests (70) which are due to both the increased ease of organizing across borders and growing awareness of the links between local/national issues and issues related to globalization.

**Table 1. Main Protests by Region, 2006-2013**

	Total	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013*
<b>High-Income (Region)</b>	304	17	25	25	35	44	57	60	41
<b>Latin America/Caribbean</b>	141	14	12	15	12	21	22	25	20
<b>East Asia/ Pacific</b>	83	3	9	10	9	12	20	11	9
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	78	7	6	8	8	5	18	15	11
<b>Middle East/North Africa</b>	77	3	11	6	7	11	18	15	6
<b>Global</b>	70	7	5	8	8	8	10	14	10
<b>Europe/Central Asia</b>	47	3	4	4	4	7	6	11	8
<b>South Asia</b>	43	5	5	4	4	8	2	9	6
<b>World Total</b>	843	59	77	80	87	116	153	160	111

Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 2013

**Figure 2. Number of World Protests by Main Grievance/Demand, 2006-2013**

Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, data for 2013 are projected based upon ½ year

**Table 2. Main Riots, 2006-2013**

World Region	Total	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013*
<b>Riots</b>	110	9	10	15	13	17	21	16	9
<b>Total Events</b>	843	59	77	80	87	116	153	159	112
<b>Riots as % of Total</b>	13%	15%	13%	19%	15%	15%	14%	10%	8%

Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 2013

Protests taking place in countries experiencing armed conflict from external forces, civil war or both (eg. Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria) often made counting protests too difficult with the research method used, in part because international news reports do not cover civil protests, and archives for local sources are particularly difficult to obtain. For this reason the study has excluded from the research sample those countries during periods of armed conflict.

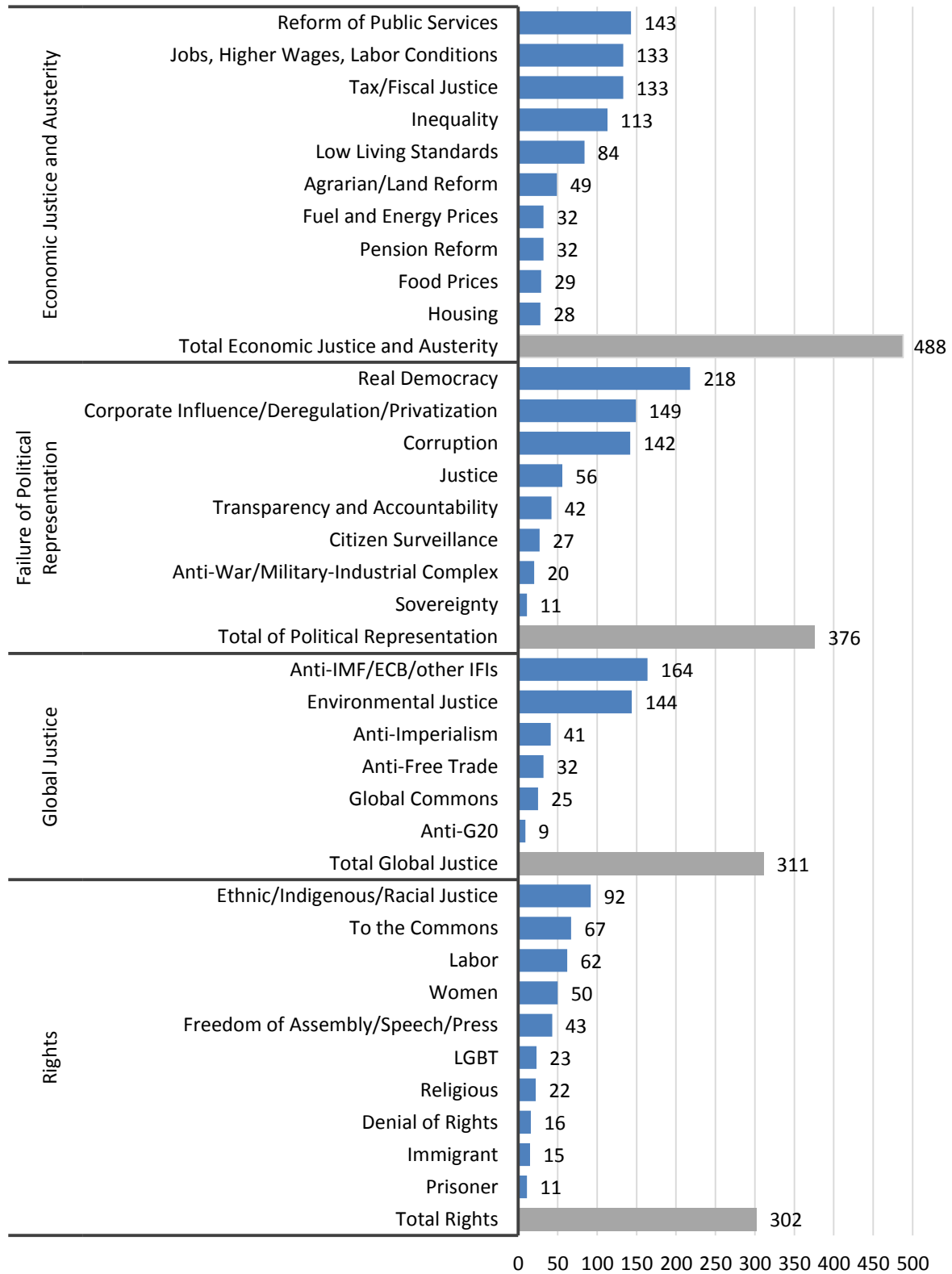
#### 4. Main Grievances/Demands

The 843 protest events analyzed in this paper can be classified into four different main categories related to the grievances and demands raised, and therefore to the issues that generated them. Most of the protests counted are due to more than one grievance and encompass more than one sort of demand, so the demands are not mutually exclusive: researchers “tag” each protest event with the full set of grievances/demands found to have contributed to it.

- **Economic Justice/Anti-Austerity:** 488 protests on issues related to reform of public services, tax/fiscal justice, jobs/higher wages/labor conditions, inequality, poverty/low living standards, agrarian/land reform, pension reform, high fuel and energy prices, high food prices, and housing.
- **Failure of Political Representation and Political Systems:** 376 protests on lack of real democracy; corporate influence, deregulation and privatization; corruption; failure to receive justice from the legal system; transparency and accountability; surveillance of citizens; and anti-war/military industrial complex.
- **Global Justice:** 311 protests were against the the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other International Financial Institutions (IFIs), for environmental justice and the global commons, and against imperialism, free trade and the G20.
- **Rights of People:** 302 protests on ethnic/indigenous/racial rights; right to the Commons (digital, land, cultural, atmospheric); labor rights; women’s rights; right to freedom of assembly/speech/press; religious issues; rights of lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgendered people (LGBT); immigrants’ rights; and prisoners’ rights. A lesser number of protests focus on denying rights to specific groups (eg. immigrants, homosexuals).

Beginning in 2006, there is a steady rise in overall protests each year up to 2013 (Figure 2). As the global crisis begins to unfold in 2007, and with the rise of food and fuel prices, we observe a first jump in the number of protests, especially those related to issues of economic justice and against austerity. A second increase begins in 2010 and intensifies in 2011 with the expansion of austerity measures worldwide, growing discontent with the workings of governments from autocracies to democracies and a lack of accountability of decision-makers to the people. Protests linked to rights also show a sharp rise throughout the covered period as well, mainly due to the presence of large demonstrations for indigenous, racial and immigrants’ rights and—with the extension of the economic crisis—on the right to the commons. Global-justice related protests rise from just 23 in 2006 to 58 in 2012: there are projected to be more than 60 such episodes in 2013, making this the fastest growing cluster of demands, since—as of July 2013 there are already more than 50 episodes.

**Figure 3. Number of Protest Events by Grievance/Demand, Detailed, 2006-2013\***



Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 31st 2013

**Table 3. Main Protests by Country Income Groups, 2006-2013**

Income Group	Total	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013*
High-Income	329	18	26	27	36	46	66	64	46
Upper-Middle-Income	250	18	23	22	26	41	46	45	29
Lower-Middle-Income	131	14	15	13	9	12	23	26	19
Low-Income	63	2	8	10	8	9	8	11	7
World Total	773	52	72	72	79	108	143	146	101

Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 2013

#### 4a. Economic Justice/Anti-Austerity

As an aggregate, the main reason why people around the world are protesting is because of a lack of economic justice (Table 4; Figure 4). Overall, 488 such episodes are found in the period 2006-2013, or 58% of total protests counted in the study. They reflect people's outrage at public policy failures and lack of broad-based development, as well as strong demands for reform of public services to benefit citizens, jobs and better living and working conditions, tax and fiscal justice, land and pension reform and stable and affordable food and fuel. The majority of global protests for economic justice and against austerity manifest people's indignation at the gross inequalities between ordinary communities and rich individuals/corporations (Box 1). The idea of the 1% versus the 99%, which emerged during the US protests, quickly spread around the world, feeding earlier grievances against elites' manipulation of public policies in their favor, while the majority of citizens continue to suffer from low living standards. Protests have accelerated because of the contraction of decent jobs as a result of the global crisis and expansion of austerity measures worldwide since 2010.

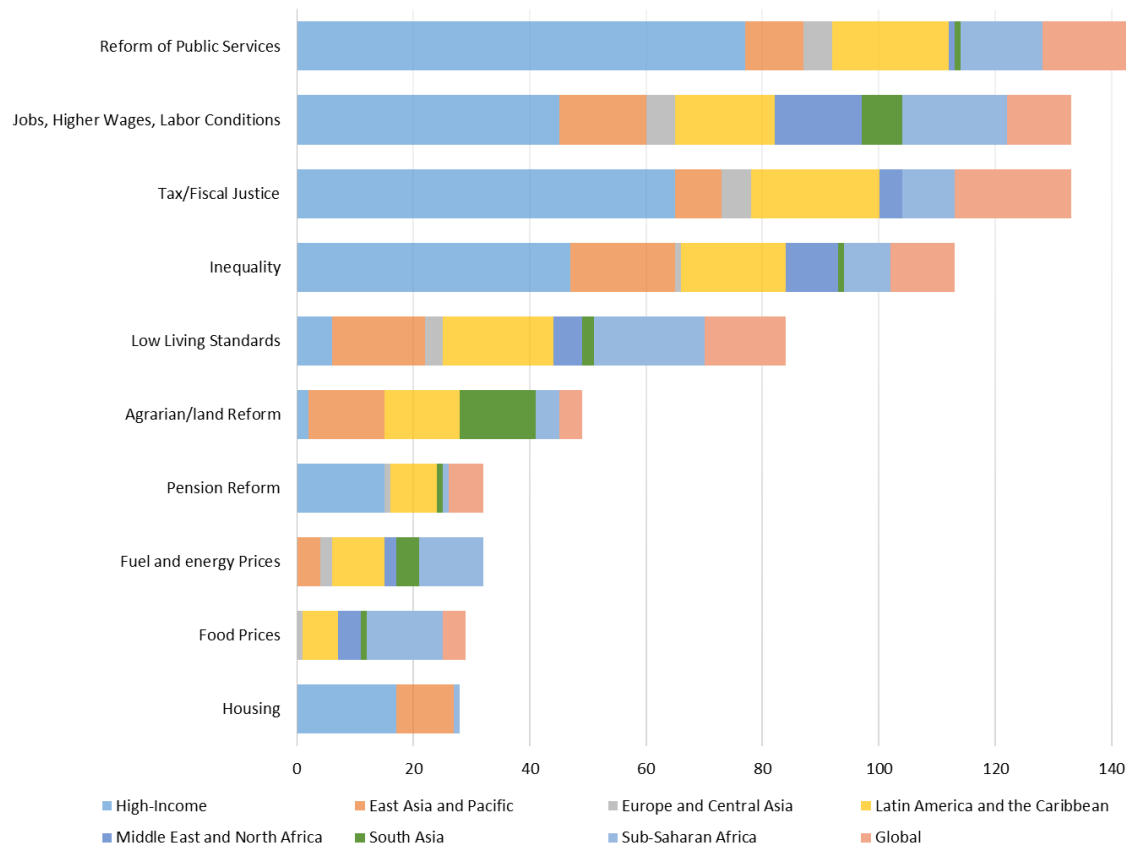
**Table 4. Protests for Economic Justice/Against Austerity by Country Income Group, 2006-2013\***

Economic Justice and Austerity	High-Income	Upper-Middle-Income	Lower-Middle-Income	Low-Income	Global
Reform of Public Services	82	28	11	7	15
Jobs, Higher Wages Labor Conditions	51	27	29	15	11
Tax/Fiscal Justice	66	33	6	8	20
Inequality	52	35	13	2	11
Low Living Standards	7	33	20	10	14
Agrarian/Land Reform	2	26	16	1	4
Fuel and Energy Prices	2	8	15	7	0
Pension Reform	16	7	2	1	6
Food Prices	0	7	9	9	4
Housing	17	11	0	0	0

Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 31st 2013



**Figure 4. Protests for Economic Justice/Against Austerity by Region, 2006-2013\***



Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 31st 2013

### BOX 1: People Protest Austerity Worldwide

In 2013, people in as many as 119 world countries are suffering from sharp reductions in government expenditure due to increases in public debt (in many countries created by bailing out banks) and reduced economic growth as a result of the world recession. Globally, only two out of every five persons of working age has employment, 900 million people are working poor and 70 million workers are estimated to have dropped out of the labor market altogether since the start of the global crisis (ILO 2012, 2013). A recent review of 314 IMF country reports in 174 countries from 2010 to 2013 identifies the main adjustment measures considered by governments: (i) Eliminating subsidies (food, fuel and others) in 100 countries, despite record-high food prices in many regions; (ii) Wage bill cuts/caps in 98 countries, reducing the salaries of public sector workers who provide essential services to the population (iii) VAT increases on basic goods and services that are consumed by the poor—and which may further contract economic activity—in 94 countries; (iv) Rationalizing and targeting safety nets in 80 countries, at a time when governments should be looking to scale up benefits through social protection floors; (v) Reforming pension and health care systems in 86 and 37 countries and (vi) Labor flexibilization reforms in 30 countries, eroding workers' rights (Ortiz and Cummins, 2013). Contrary to public perception, austerity measures are not limited to Europe; in fact, since 2010 many of the principal adjustment measures feature most prominently in developing countries and this is well reflected in our mapping of global protests. What is important to understand is that protests that appear random are linked by a set of policies adopted by Ministries of Finance and generally advised by IMF surveillance missions. Since 2008, and intensifying each year after, citizens around the globe from the US,

Spain and Australia to the Philippines, Nigeria, Chile, Egypt and Kenya, have expressed outrage that the crisis is used as an opportunity to cut back the State (even though the lesson of other crises is that the state needs to be stronger not weaker) and to impose unpopular reforms (eg. social welfare cuts) instead of regulating the financial sector and ending corporate welfare. Citizens' organizations worldwide have called on governments to assume their responsibilities and promote a recovery for all.

The 488 protest events relating to economic justice/anti-austerity can be further detailed in the 10 following categories:

**(i) Reform of Public Services** is the most prevalent cause of protests related to economic justice/anti-austerity, appearing as a causal factor in 17% of all protest events counted.<sup>7</sup> Citizens march against full and partial privatization, rationalization of services, budget cuts, cost-recovery measures and other reforms that are perceived to reduce the quality and quantity of public services in areas such as education, health and water, among others. Protests existed pre-crisis (eg. Australia, Chile, Egypt, Malaysia, South Africa) but spiraled after 2010 with the adoption of austerity measures in Europe and elsewhere (eg. Egypt, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Turkey).

**(ii) Jobs, Higher Wages and Labor Conditions:** This is one of the second most prevalent causes of economic justice related protests, appearing in 133 protest events in all regions, or 16% of the total, and reflecting the large jobs crisis both before and during the world recession. Most significant are the May 1<sup>st</sup> demonstrations that mobilize workers, unions and the unemployed in virtually in all world countries. Many national protests also have a specific focus on better working conditions (eg. Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Chile, China, Egypt, Germany, Greece, India, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Myanmar, Philippines, Portugal, Russia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sudan, Thailand, Tunisia, UK, US, Western Sahara).

**(iii) Tax/Fiscal Justice** claims are also found in 16% of events worldwide, especially those focused on inadequate national taxation and fiscal systems as well as a lack of international tax cooperation, both of which benefit the wealthy instead of the majority of citizens. Protests demand that governments fight tax evasion and avoidance and illicit financial flows (eg. Germany, Philippines, Spain, United Kingdom, United States), lower taxes/VAT on basic products that people consume (eg. Iran, Portugal, Uganda), stop transfers to the financial and corporate sectors (eg. Indonesia, Malaysia, Spain, United Kingdom, United States), improve inter-regional transfers (eg. Greece, Italy) and adequate taxation of extractive resources

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<sup>7</sup> Note that a single protest event or episode typically expresses more than one grievance or demand. For example, the summer of 2013 protests in Brazil, which begins with a campaign for free and reduced public transportation and becomes a much wider protest demanding that the government enforce laws against corruption. When a grievance or demand is expressed in terms of the percentage of protests in which it appears—whether of the total 843 protest events, or the percentage among countries in that region, or among countries in that income group—it will not likely be the only demand put forward in the protest. Therefore, when this paper asserts, for example, that reform of public services is a causal factor in 17% of all protest events, this does not mean that all other causes are to be found in the remaining 83%.

(eg. Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Kyrgyzstan, Tanzania). The strength of the citizens' movements to audit sovereign debts (eg. Brazil, Ireland, Philippines, Spain) and to repudiate nationalized private sector debts are also noted.

**(iv) Inequality:** More than 13% of the world's protests denounce inequalities in income, wealth and influence on policy-making and question democratic systems that allow rent-seeking by elites and corporations. The Occupy movement powerfully mobilized citizens with slogans such as "we are the 99%" and middle classes around the world are actively demonstrating against inadequate government policy decisions that benefit elites instead of the majority (eg. Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Chile, China, Egypt, Germany, Greece, India, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Myanmar, Philippines, Portugal, Russia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sudan, Thailand, Tunisia, UK, US, Western Sahara).

**(v) Low Living Standards** is an issue raised in almost 10% of world protests, often to protest inequalities (eg. Philippines, United States), but also workers' demand for decent wages (eg. Bangladesh, China, Indonesia). Results also show that people protest austerity-motivated cuts (eg. Bulgaria, Israel, Spain, United Kingdom) and rising prices of goods and services (eg. Brazil, Burkina Faso, Haiti, India, Niger, Romania).

**(vi) Agrarian/Land Reform:** 49 protest episodes (close to 6% of world totals) were found in the period 2006-2013 (eg. Brazil, Colombia, Pakistan, Philippines). Notable examples include India, where landless farmers staged a 600 kilometer march for land rights, and Sudan, where there have been violent police backlashes against protests that denounce land-grabbing—selling public land to foreign investors.

**(vii) Pension Reform:** Governments in most higher income countries are considering reforms to their social security systems as an austerity measure (eg. raising contribution rates, increasing eligibility periods, prolonging the retirement age and/or lowering benefits), resulting in widespread protests (eg. France, Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom, United States). Other countries have also experienced important protests against pension reforms (eg. Chad, Chile, Sri Lanka, Ukraine).

**(viii) Fuel/Energy Prices:** The removal of fuel subsidies—an element of fiscal austerity, particularly for developing countries—and unaffordable energy prices have sparked protests in many countries (eg. Algeria, Cameroon, Chile, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Peru, Sudan, Uganda). To better understand why, consider the cases of Nigeria and Kyrgyzstan. With the majority of Nigeria's population living on less than \$2 per day, cheap petrol is viewed by many as the only tangible benefit they receive from the state, hence the massive protests since 2012 when Minister of Finance Okonjo Iweala removed a fuel subsidy that kept food and transportation costs low. In Kyrgyzstan in 2010, the price of heating rose by 400% and electricity by 170%: subsequent demonstrations ended in violent riots and the resignation of President Bakiyev.

**(ix) Food Prices:** Since 2007-08 international food prices have spiked to historic highs, with local food prices at near record levels in many countries, the food prices related protests represent more than 3% of

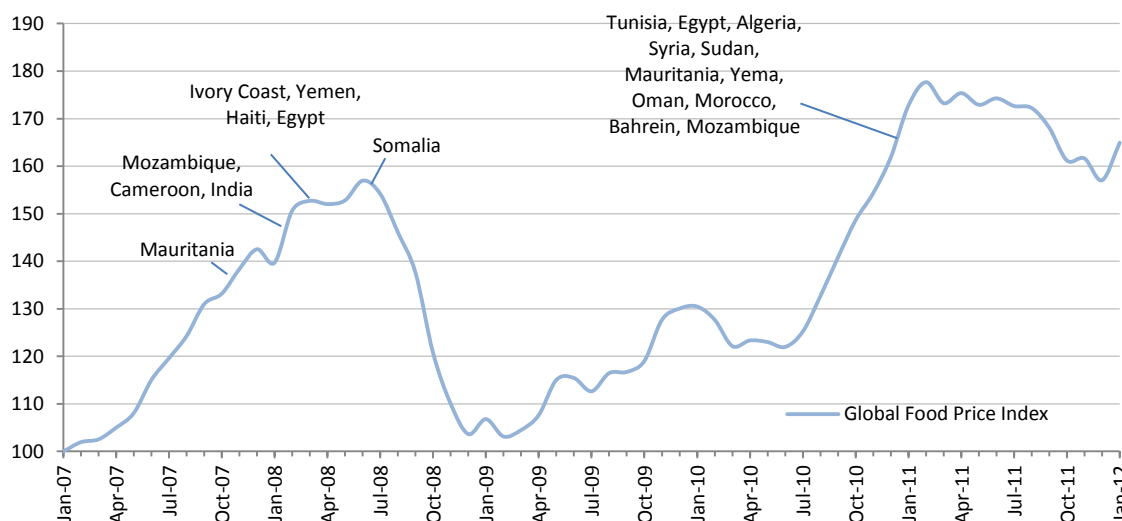
world protests, and have an inverse relation with income levels (virtually absent from High Income countries, they are a reason for outrage in over 14% of the cases in low income countries), resulting in many riots and revolts because of unaffordable food (eg. Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Egypt, Ethiopia, Haiti, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Peru, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, Uzbekistan). In some countries (eg. Colombia, Mexico) small farmers are protesting the withdrawal of agricultural subsidies and/or competition of agricultural imports because of free trade agreements or conditions set for loans from IFIs. Food prices are also the target of globally organized movements in 6% of the cases.

**(x) Housing:** The right to an affordable decent home has been at the center of a number of protests around the world, particularly after the housing bubble and the subsequent eviction of families unable to pay mortgages (eg. Ireland, Spain, United Kingdom, United States). Housing has also profiled high in protests in China, South Africa and Western Sahara.

#### BOX 2: Food Price Riots

The global food price spikes in 2007-08 caused many riots in developing countries, and the food price spikes of 2010-11 contributed to the overall unrest leading into the Arab Spring (Figure 5). On average, populations in a sample of 55 developing countries—many of them with a high incidence of poverty and hunger—were paying 80% more for basic foodstuffs at the start of 2012 when compared to price levels prior to the 2007-08 crisis (Ortiz and Cummins, 2012). The causes of soaring global food prices are many, including among others weather shocks, financial speculation, lack of investment in agriculture, deregulation and free trade agreements that partially opened the agricultural markets of Southern countries. Moreover, the problem has been aggravated by fiscal austerity, resulting in the elimination of food subsidies and increasing value added taxes (VATs). These riots call for urgent policy action at national and international levels to address the root causes of hunger and poverty.

**Figure 5: Global Food Price Index and Food Riots, Jan. 2007 to Jan. 2012**

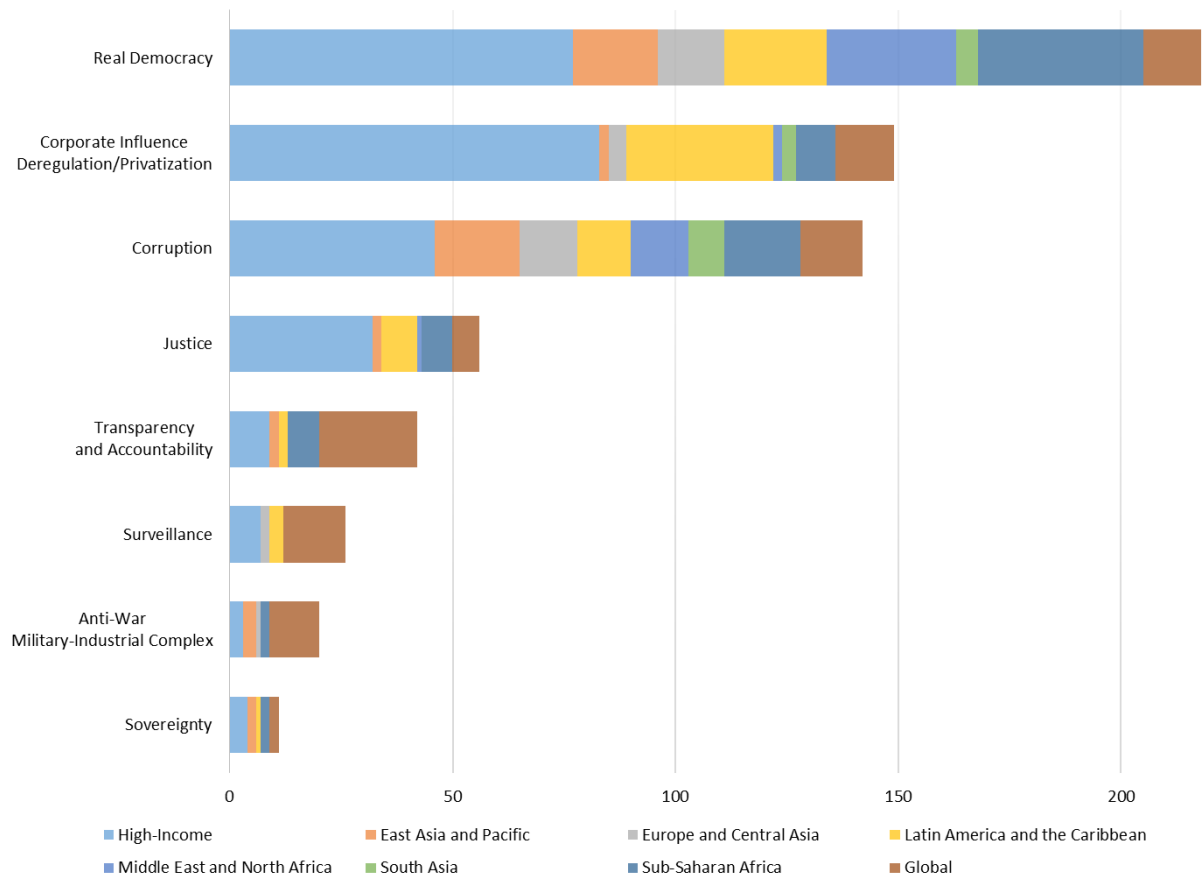


Sources: Authors' calculations based on Food and Agriculture Organization's (FAO) *GIEWS* (2012) and analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 31st 2013

## 4b. Failure of Political Representation and Political Systems

While the cluster of issues related broadly to economic justice are involved in the greatest percentage of protests counted, those related to a failure of political representation and political systems are the next most common reason people around the world protest. More than 44% of all protests considered between 2006 and 2013 (a total of 376 protest events overall) involve a failure of political representation and political systems. This is the case not only in countries with autocratic governments, or only in the low income countries, where 30% of protests are due to a failure of government to provide needed services, justice and accountability, but also in high-income countries, where more than 42% of protests relate to a failure of political representation, as well as in over 50% of the protests in upper middle income countries (Figure 6; Table 5). Formal representative democracies are faulted around the world for serving elites and upholding the requirements of private property while using every means from markets to violent repression to hold in check the inherent unruliness of the *demos*, the people.

**Figure 6. Protesting Failures of Political Representation/Political Systems by Region, 2006-2013\***



Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 31st 2013

**Table 5. Protesting Failures of Political Representation/Political Systems by Country Income Group, 2006-2013\***

Failure of Political Representation	High-Income	Upper-Middle-Income	Lower-Middle-Income	Low-Income	Global
<b>Democracy</b>	82	61	39	23	13
<b>Corporate Influence/Deregulation/Privatization</b>	88	30	8	10	13
<b>Corruption</b>	49	42	25	12	14
<b>Justice</b>	32	11	0	7	6
<b>Transparency and Accountability</b>	9	3	1	7	22
<b>Surveillance</b>	7	4	1	0	14
<b>Anti-War/Military-Industrial Complex</b>	3	0	2	4	11
<b>Sovereignty</b>	4	2	2	1	2

Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 31st 2013

An examination of the reasons why people protest in this issue area reveals:

**(i) Real Democracy:** An unexpected result of the study is the intensity of demands from around the world for “real democracy”, a cause of 26% of all protests counted and the single most prevalent protest issue to emerge from the study. Understood as the call for a society in which people participate directly in the decisions affecting their lives and experience the benefits of liberty and equality in their daily lives. Protests for real democracy are not concentrated in a particular region or income group, but the highest percentages by region occur in Sub-Saharan Africa (eg. Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanzania) and the MENA countries (eg. Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Western Sahara, Yemen) where 48% and 43% respectively of all protests in those regions include demands for real democracy.

**(ii) Corporate Influence, Deregulation and Privatization** are the nexus of the second most prevalent cause of rebellion against failures of political representation. 18% of protests worldwide (149 events) oppose policies and practices that put the private interests of corporations and financial and other elites ahead of the rest of the population. In some developing countries, decades-long pressure from IFIs like the IMF and World Bank has resulted in deregulated and export-oriented economic systems in countries that are not able to deliver adequate services for their own people (eg. privatization of public services was a key grievance in the 2011-2013 student-led protests in Chile; protests against privatization of electricity drew thousands into the streets in Australia in 2008; in 2013 in Delhi, India 100,000 farmers and peoples' movement activists protest land acquisition for private profit).

(iii) Opposition to **Corruption** is behind 17% of protests globally, with 142 events counted. Protests against corruption are often sparked by prior complaints over poorly delivered public services in health, transportation, education and security, such as the massive 2013 anti-corruption protests in Brazil, which began as protests against rising bus fares (eg. also Egypt, Tunisia, Turkey, Yemen). Corruption is behind 15% of protests in high-income countries, 18% in middle income countries and 19% in low income countries.

(iv) **Justice**, or a failure to receive justice from the legal system (not “environmental justice” or “economic justice”), is a cause of 7% of all protests, with 56 episodes counted overall. Of those, 10% are directed at failed governance in high-income countries. Notable examples involve 1) “hacktivists”<sup>8</sup> affiliated with Anonymous who challenge unwilling state authorities to uphold laws against rape, child pornography and police violence or face public exposure of the perpetrators’ identities (eg. Canada, United States) and 2) banking and finance-activists agitating for reparations from both the shadow-banking (Mafia) and legal banking systems (eg. Italy, Spain).

(v) **Transparency and Accountability** are demands behind 5% of protest events worldwide and 33% of all globally organized protests, which emerge in waves of response to the financial crisis and aim their demands at international finance and the formal (eg. UN, ECB, IMF) and informal (eg. G20) institutions that govern and regulate it (eg. the global May Day protests of 2010, 2011 2012 and 2013). Particular targets include tax havens and massive tax avoidance by large corporations and high-net-worth individuals. The next greatest concentration of protests against failed transparency and accountability is in developing countries facing regressive tax and subsidy reforms (eg. Brazil, Colombia, Kenya, Philippines, Thailand).

(vi) **Surveillance** of citizens by governments and of workers by corporations is a cause of more than 3% of all protests, with 27 episodes counted. Most protests—especially since the Manning/Wikileaks 2011 leak of United States diplomatic cables and intensifying with the 2013 case of surveillance whistleblower Edward Snowden—have focused on the actions of the United States, but many are international in scope. 21% of all internationally targeted protests against surveillance involve whistleblowers and networks of open-internet activists who target national governments (eg. Australia, Brazil, Canada, Netherlands, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States) for spying on citizens and restricting/privatizing the internet.

(vii) **Anti-War Protests** and those against the **Military-Industrial Complex** are a factor in slightly more than 2% of protests, with 19 episodes counted overall. Protests by global networks working against war and war technologies make up 16% of the episodes, with most protests focusing on the United States wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and a lesser number targeting arms shipments to Sub-Saharan Africa. These episodes taper off after 2006 until an upsurge in protests against the United States military’s use of drones begins in 2012. The greatest number of nationally coordinated anti-war/military protests occur in the South Asia/Pacific region (eg. Myanmar, Philippines).

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<sup>8</sup> Digital activists

**(viii) Sovereignty** is an ongoing issue for indigenous peoples (eg. Brazil, Canada, Peru, United States), for autonomous regions within countries (eg. Mexico, Spain) and for former colonies still under economic or military domination (eg. Philippines, Tibet, Western Sahara). Protests to assert sovereignty comprise slightly over 1% of all protests.

#### **Box 3: Real Democracy and Occupy Worldwide**

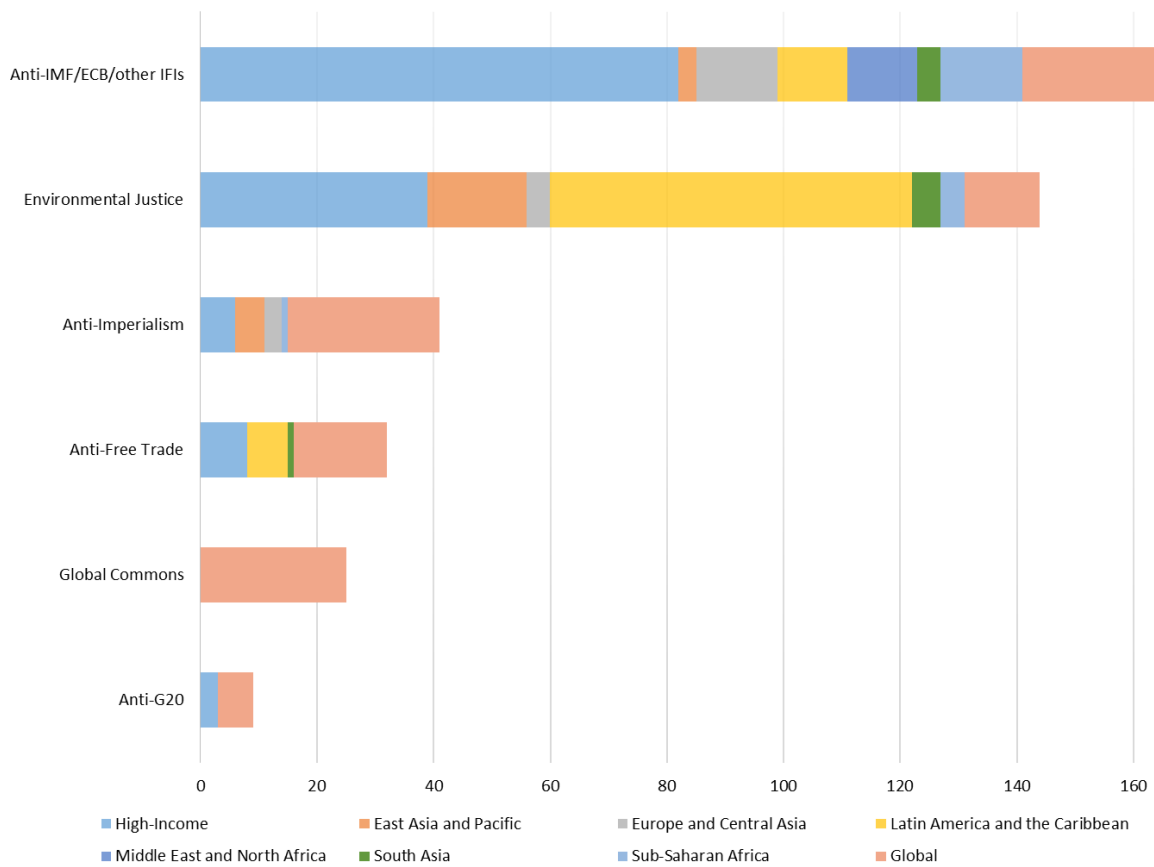
Counterposed to formal, representative democracy, real democracy is a demand not just for better governance and wider representation, but also for universal direct participation and a society in which principles of liberty and equality are found not only in the laws and institutions but in everyday life (Rancière, 2006). Unlike the “contagion” within which financial crises of recent years have spread from country to country, the occupations of Puerta del Sol in Madrid (which called for “¡Democracia real YA!”), Syntagma Square in Athens (“Demokratia!”) and Zuccotti Park in New York (“Democracy now!”) spread because the grievances in one place—frustration with politics as usual and a lack of trust in the usual political actors, left and right, coupled with a willingness even on the part of the middle classes to embrace direct actions—resonated in the other places as well. The large general assemblies in these occupations allowed thousands of people at a time to experience “Democracy Now!”, enacting a new framework of protest as they affirmed principles of autonomy and solidarity, denounced inequality and the entire system that creates and perpetuates it, and debated demands but did not adopt formal platforms. Inspired by the outbreak of Occupy Wall Street one month earlier, on October 15, 2011, Occupy protests spread from the US in a global “day of rage” to around 950 cities in 82 countries including Amsterdam, Brussels, Buenos Aires, Cape Town, Frankfurt, Hong Kong, Lima, London, Oakland, Oslo, Madrid, Manila, New York, Rome, São Paulo, Seoul, Stockholm, Taipei, Tokyo, Toronto and Zurich. Many ties forged during these occupations continue to resonate in activist networks newly energized to engage in further organizing.

### **4c. Global Justice**

Protests organized at a global or international level, protests targeting multinational corporations, international financial institutions or intergovernmental organizations (eg. the G20) that set global norms and policies undemocratically, are part of a cluster demanding global justice. More than 37% of all the protests considered in the study (311 events) include the global justice component as one of their main grievances (Figure 7; Table 6). These protests take place in both developed countries (eg. high-income countries 40%) and developing countries (eg. Latin American/Caribbean 41%, South Asia 35%, Sub-Saharan Africa 24%), where different actors employ strategies with a global impact or analysis, and in which—even though the protest may occur at the local level—it nevertheless has a clear link to global issues, such as climate change, natural resource exploitation or the role of the multinationals and international organizations. The research identifies many such local protests (eg. increased prices on maize in Mexico, 2006-07, and maize flour in Kenya, 2007-present) that are also protesting the global policy roots of the problem (eg. price spikes following free trade agreement implementation or tax policies promoted by the IMF). Some of the environmental justice protests counted below *are* primarily focused at the local level, however, their links to the global processes are established and increasingly becoming a key issue for campaigns whose scope of demands is ultimately global or necessitates global cooperation.



**Figure 7. Protests for Global Justice by Region, 2006-2013\***



Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 31st 2013

**Table 6. Protest for Global Justice by Country Income Group, 2006-2013\***

Global Justice	High-Income	Upper-Middle-Income	Lower-Middle-Income	Low-Income	Global
Anti-IMF/ECB/other IFIs	84	23	19	15	23
Environmental Justice	45	65	10	11	13
Anti-Imperialism	6	3	6	0	26
Anti-Free Trade	8	7	1	0	16
Global Commons	0	0	0	0	25
Anti-G20	3	0	0	0	6

Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 31st 2013

**(i) Anti-IMF/ECB/other IFIs:** The most prevalent global justice protests are those related to policies with negative social impacts, which are agreed to behind the closed doors of IFIs, especially the IMF and European Central Bank (ECB). They are the target of 164 protests, or 20% of all protests. About 35% of

anti-IMF, ECB, and other IFIs protests occur in Europe/Central Asia, followed closely by the globally organized protests (34%), and then by those occurring in the high-income countries (26%) due to austerity trends; however they are also prevalent in many developing countries.

**(ii) Environmental Justice:** Not only environmental issues, but environmental *justice* is a demand in 144 events, or 17% of all protests. The demand is increasingly present in protests around the world, rising from only 10 in 2006 and 2007, to 28, 24 and 26 in 2011, 2012 and 2013. Although there are many demands for environmental justice coming from indigenous communities or countries in the Global South (eg. Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, India, Mexico, Myanmar, Nigeria, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Tanzania), many environmental justice demands are now raised in Northern countries (eg. France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, Poland, Romania, United States) and at the global level (eg. G20, United Nations [Rio+20], United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change [UNFCCC], World Social Forum). The latter frequently emphasize links to anti-nuclear protests, natural resource exploitation conflicts and environmental impacts of infrastructure projects.

**(iii) Anti-Imperialism:** In this category we include the protests which have as their main target the exercise of power by hegemonic states over economically or politically less powerful countries and social groups. Most common are protests against US foreign policy and economic interests (eg. in Australia, Japan, Philippines, South Africa, United States), protests against the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in East Europe (eg. Ukraine); protests denouncing either Chinese (eg. in Vietnam), Israeli (eg. Globally) or Japanese (eg. in China) foreign policy. Anti-imperialism appears 41 times in the protests analyzed, representing 5% of total protests, mainly at the global level but also important in the Europe-Central Asia and East Asia and the Pacific regions.

**(iv) Anti-Free Trade:** During the 1990s protests against the implementation of Free Trade Agreements were in the headlines frequently. Today the majority are already implemented. Their effects are at the core of protests involving food issues in Latin America and Asia (eg. Mexico, Peru, South Korea). One of the best known—due to the famous corporations involved and its media impact—are the 2012 protests in India against the authorization given to Wal-Mart and Tesco to conduct business in that country. Anti-free trade protests appear 32 times, representing 4% of the total protests.

**(v) Global Commons:** impediments to good governance of the global commons, those resources that exceed the bounds of national governments and to which all countries—and by extension, their peoples—have right of access are an emerging cause of protest, representing 3% of all protests. Demands to maintain these resources as goods held in common are increasing: they make up 36% of all protest events at the global level. Protests related to internet governance occur at both the national (eg. Argentina, Poland) and the global levels, in which movements such as Anonymous, the various national Pirate Parties and organized opposition to the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement have a pivotal role in campaigning for an open internet as part of a global commons. Protests on governance of climate and biodiversity (eg. the People's Summit on Climate Change, 2009 Klimaforum during the UN Conference of the Parties in Copenhagen, Cúpula dos Povos in the UN Rio+20 Conference of the various World Social Forums) are also a significant factor in advocacy for the global commons.

**(vi) Anti-G20:** Although the G20 was created in 1999 as a forum for finance ministers and central bankers, it became a Summit for heads of state with the financial crisis in 2008. From then on it has been a target of global protests whenever its meetings take place: there have been nine Summits since 2008. Anti-G20 protests represent 1% of the total protests.

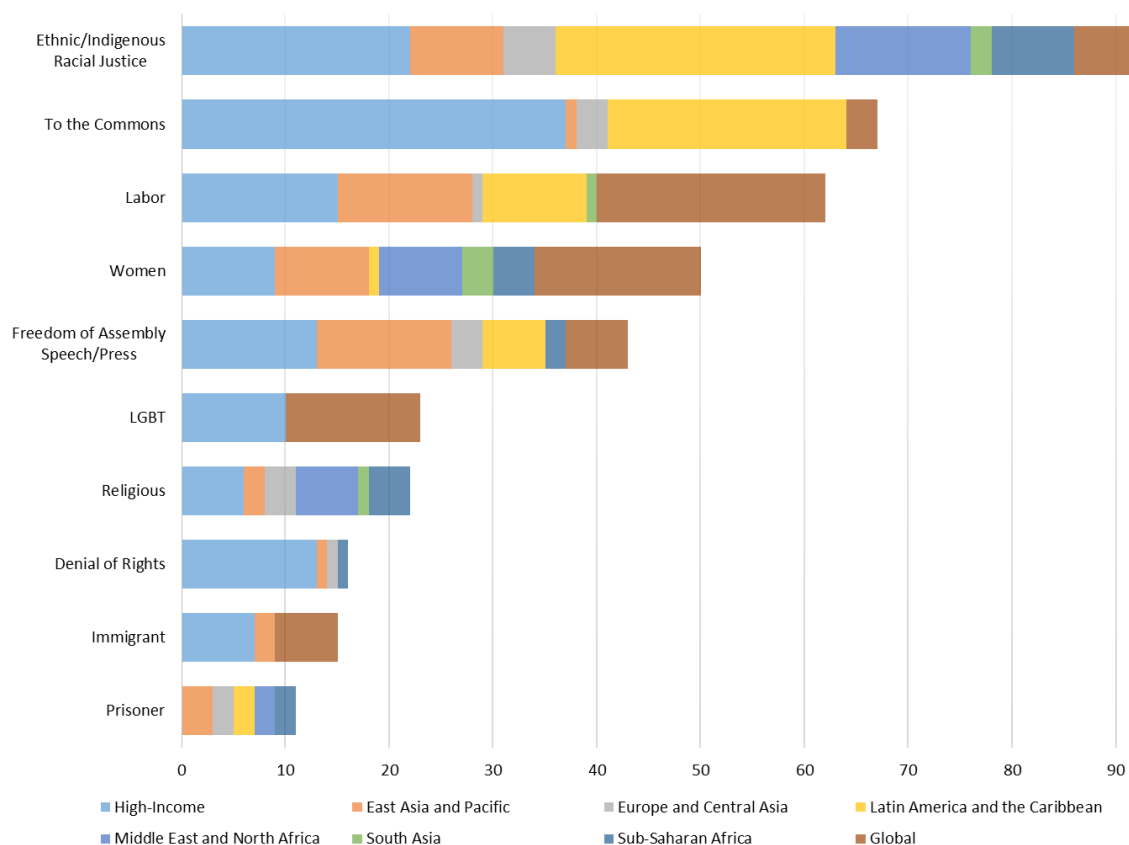
#### **Box 4: Local to Global Justice**

When indigenous activists in Canada's Idle No More movement came up against a national government intent upon pushing the limits of historic treaties with native tribes in order to facilitate natural resource extraction and a more "pro-business and pro-growth" environment, they realized they needed to create a strategic, coordinated campaign in solidarity with other kinds of activists—in the Quebec student and workers' rights movements, with scientists organized against the "death of evidence", alongside Canadian tar sands protesters, global climate justice activists, and others—in order to achieve their own aims. When Turkish protesters objecting to the development of Gezi Park in Istanbul as well as Brazilian protesters demanding affordable public transportation see their protests evolve into national demands for sweeping changes in social protection, distribution of wealth and government corruption, their common assertion of a "right to the city" links multiple issues in different cities and countries into a single campaign. Movements seeking to meaningfully and effectively link their campaigns are increasing, such as the "unga tax" campaign in Kenya, in which local and regional organizations—including African Asian Forum, Bunge la Mwananchi (the People's Parliament), Bunge la Wamama Mashinani (the Women's Parliament), Disability Focus Africa, East African Tax and Governance Network, Kamunkunji Youth Congress, Kiambu Young Women Alliance, Tax Justice Network Africa and Unga Revolution—linked up with "The Rules" international campaign to show how the City of London ("Tax Haven Capital of the World") and the Kenyan government were colluding to fashion Kenya into "Africa's flagship tax haven". The broad coalition took advantage of both grassroots networks and mobile phone petitioning to defeat the tax, although contesting the broader economic system requires finding a way to more effectively link the issue of tax justice to the local nodes of other global issues, including land reform, global health, climate change, rights of women and girls, food security and international trade.

## **4d. Rights**

Rights are a central issue in protest movements for their role in maintaining a balanced distribution of freedom and authority necessary to maintain the social contract. Protests asserting a loss of or threat to peoples' rights occur in 36% of all protests counted (Figure 8; Table 7). The highest concentrations of rights-based protests are found in the globally organized protests (58%), followed by the East Asia and Pacific region (46%) and the Europe and Central Asia region (45%). A much smaller number (less than 2% of total protests) seek to deny rights: here it is mainly national governments that are refusing to extend certain rights (eg. to the commons, for freedom of speech) or to grant them to a specific category of people (eg. women, indigenous peoples).

**Figure 8. Protests for Rights by Region, 2006-2013\***



Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 31st 2013

**Table 7. Protest for Rights by Country Income Group, 2006-2013\***

Protests for Rights	High-Income	Upper-Middle-Income	Lower-Middle-Income	Low-Income	Global
<b>Ethnic/Indigenous/Racial Justice</b>	22	36	25	3	6
<b>To the Commons</b>	40	24	0	0	3
<b>Labor</b>	16	12	12	0	22
<b>Women</b>	12	15	6	1	16
<b>Freedom of Assembly/Speech/Press</b>	13	22	0	2	6
<b>LGBT</b>	10	0	0	0	13
<b>Religious</b>	7	4	8	3	0
<b>Denial of Rights</b>	13	2	0	1	0
<b>Immigrant</b>	7	2	0	0	6
<b>Prisoner</b>	0	6	3	2	0

Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 31st 2013

**(i) Ethnic/Indigenous/Racial Justice:** The greatest number of rights-based protests (11%) relate to issues of ethnic, indigenous or racial justice (eg. Argentina, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Kyrgyzstan, Mauritania, Nigeria, Palestine, Sudan, Tanzania, Ukraine, United States).

**(ii) Assertion of a Right to the Commons** (digital, land, cultural, atmospheric) is behind 8% of surveyed protests (eg. Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Mexico, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United States, United Kingdom). Preserving and accessing the Commons is a driver of 25% of global protests as well.

**(iii) Labor:** Beyond the protests regarding economic justice, labor rights are an active concern of over 7% of protests. These rights have a higher occurrence in the East Asia/Pacific region, where they represent a concern for over 15% of protests (eg. Indonesia, Philippines, Vietnam) and where high growth in recent years has not always been synonymous with the extension of labor rights or even the right to unionize. Other countries have also experienced protests for labor rights (eg. China, Colombia, Germany, Ireland, Kazakhstan, Mexico, Pakistan, Portugal, Spain, United States).

**(iv) Women:** Women's rights represent 6% of the world's protests. 12% of protests in the Middle East/North Africa region (eg. Iran, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia), are for women's rights, although such protests are also occurring in countries from other regions (eg. China, India, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Mali, Mauritania, Pakistan, Poland, Russia, United States). Women's rights are also a key concern of internet activists, mainly due to the role of the group Anonymous (eg. Brazil, Canada, Mexico, United Kingdom, United States).

**(v) Freedom of Assembly/Speech/Press.** These rights are a concern of 8% of globally organized protests and are mentioned in 16% of the protests in the East Asia/Pacific region (due primarily to the large number of protests counted in China, 25%, specifically targeting the extension of these freedoms).

**(vi) Lesbian/Gay/Bisexual/Transgendered:** LGBT rights protests make up 3% of the world's protests and are concentrated in high income countries (eg. France, Poland, Russia, South Korea, United States). They represent 18% of the internationally coordinated protests surveyed.

**(vii) Religious:** Protests related to religion account for less than 3% of all protests, but this issue is a driver of 10% of protests in the Middle East/North Africa region, reflecting the demands of the Arab Spring. Multiple groups dedicated to this issue are found in countries with an official religion (eg. Egypt, Morocco) as well as in secular countries (eg. France, Turkey). Beyond their region of concentration, religious-rights influenced protests appear in a variety of countries (eg. Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, France, Indonesia, Israel, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Turkey, Vietnam).

**(viii) Denial of Rights** (eg. immigrants, homosexuals): Though representing just under 2% of the world's protests, the denial of rights is a peculiar case in this category, concerning movements that are against the expansion of certain rights to some groups (eg. against LGBT in France, against African immigrants in Israel, against women's rights in Mali). The majority of these protests are in high-income countries.

**(ix) Immigrant:** Demonstrations supporting immigrants' rights appear in just under 2% of the surveyed episodes. This classification does not discriminate between protests regarding internal migrations (eg. China) or international migrants (eg. Europe and the United States). It is also worth noting that these rights appear within the agenda of internationally active groups, a factor in over 8% of their protests.

**(x) Prisoner:** Protests and demonstrations regarding prisoners' rights and the fair treatment of prisoners represent just over 1% of the world's protests. Research reveals that—while remaining a small part of the total—these protests become more frequent as a country's income lowers. These protests are often disturbingly graphic, as prisoners resort to extreme means such as hunger strikes (eg. Palestinian Territories) or sewing their own lips (eg. Kyrgyzstan) in order to attract media attention and to publicize their cause.

**Box 5: Right to Assemble – Uganda's "Walk to Work" and "Walk to Pray"**

Despite the fact that Uganda is formally a democracy and has elections, President Museveni has been in power for 27 years; demonstrations are not allowed in Uganda because Section 56 (2) (3) in Uganda's penal code, which allows any combination of two or more people to be labeled an unlawful society upon the declaration of the attorney general that it is dangerous to peace and order in Uganda. The government regularly breaks up any public demonstration, closes newspapers and radio stations, and detains protesters for long periods without trial. In February 2011, Uganda held its fourth presidential and parliamentary elections. Human rights activists from various civil society groups seeking to address the lack of government accountability and to protest escalating food and fuel costs, called for people to "walk to work" as a form of protest to evade the severe repression on people's right to associate. Hundreds "walked to work". Initially the government did not know how to respond (repressing people going to work?) but soon the Ugandan government contended that these walks constituted an unlawful assembly and responded by deploying security forces to disperse protesters. Reports indicate that police and military killed nine people, some 100 people were injured including assaulting over 30 journalists, confiscated audio recorders and cameras documenting the violence, and about 700 people were arrested. Walking to work became illegal. Yet Ugandan citizens rebelled, and in late 2011 they started to "walk to pray", which ultimately was also repressed.

## 5. Demonstrators 2006-2013: Who Protests and How?

In addition to identifying why protests are increasing around the world—the main grievances and demands—one of the key objectives of this research is determining *who* is protesting. The accuracy of this determination varies considerably with the type of protest. For example, the 95 riots identified in the study (in Bangladesh, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mauritania, Morocco, Mozambique, Niger, Peru, Somalia and the United Kingdom) yield little verifiable information about participants<sup>9</sup>, whereas the 127 strikes counted (in Argentina, Bangladesh,

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<sup>9</sup> A notable exception found during this research was the case of the 2011 riots in the United Kingdom, for which a great deal of information could be found on the rioters because of a *Guardian* newspaper/London School of Economics joint study into the summer 2011 disorder. It remains the only research involving interviews with large numbers of people who took part in the riots. See <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/series/reading-the-riots>.

Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Denmark, Egypt, France, Ghana, Greece, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kazakhstan, Mexico, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, South Africa, Spain, Tanzania, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States, Vietnam, and Yemen) are almost always organized by coalitions led by trade unions, the demographics of whose memberships are more or less well documented, depending upon the union's legality in its national context. Social movements and their campaigns and activities tend to fall somewhere in the middle, with activist groups and individuals sometimes characterized or identified in press coverage and sometimes not.

To learn more about who protests and how, this research gathered information—within the constraints outlined above—on groups and coalitions, where they protest and organize, how many protest, how they protest (eg. riots, social movement activities or organized campaigns), what methods they use (eg. marches, blockades, internet activism), how they communicate and how they finance themselves. However, the time and intensity of research necessary for a detailed study of all these facets of agency in recent protests is outside the bounds of this study. Nevertheless, the initial phase of the project, in which researchers conducted broad searches, gathering open text from documents of news coverage and the protest movements themselves, provides useful insights.

## 5a. Who Protests?

**Traditional Organizations:** Agents advocating for social change that are already integrated into the official political system—trade unions, non-governmental organizations, community coalitions, faith communities, social service agencies and political parties—remain key organizers and participants in many campaigns, strikes, factory occupations, marches and rallies, as well as petition drives and attempts to seek legal/electoral or rights-based redress. Examples include the large coalitions of trade unions, youth congresses, women's alliances, tax justice networks and community groups active in Kenya to defeat proposed VAT taxes and to demand lower prices for food and fuel, the “people power” campaign of the Hindu Rights Action Force and allied organizations demanding ethnic rights in Malaysia, and the network of trade unions and progressive organizations, which rallied and occupied the state capitol building to protest passage of anti-union legislation in the US state of Wisconsin. Depending upon the national context, these protesters are both middle class and working poor, students and other youths, middle aged and elderly. Women, immigrants and religious groups are also significant actors in these organizations.

**New Agents for Change:** A somewhat different picture emerges from many new social and political movements that have sprung up between 2006 and 2013, in which waves of middle-class people of all ages—people who do not consider themselves activists and yet have been brought newly into the streets by the Arab Spring, the *Indignados* movements of Europe and the Occupy movement in the US and countries around the world—protest because they are disillusioned with official political processes and the political parties and other usual political actors associated with them. Mass middle-class involvement in protest indicates a new dynamic: An existing solidarity of middle classes with elites has been replaced in countries around the world by a lack of trust and awareness that neither the prevailing economic

system nor their own political systems are producing positive outcomes for them. Alongside activists from labor, immigration and anti-war protests, people in these new movements have become key organizers and participants in many direct actions (eg. the occupation of public squares and streets, street “teach-ins”, and the blockades of roads, bridges and train tracks). The fact that 26% of all the protests covered in the study include the demand for real democracy is due in no small measure to the growing ranks of the middle classes in protests.

## **5b. Methods of Protest**

Guided by a summarized and updated version of Gene Sharp’s “198 Methods of Nonviolent Action” (Sharp, 1973), our research finds that marches, followed by protest assemblies (or rallies), occupation of public spaces and other kinds of civil disobedience/direct action (including by computer activists of “hacktivists”) are the four most common methods of protest found in the period 2006-2013. In total, 27 protest methods are found in the research (Figure 9).

**Marches and Protest Assemblies:** Taken together, marches and rallies are by far the most common methods of protest encountered in the study. Marches are an aspect of 437 events and occur in almost every country covered. By region, the greatest prevalence of marches is in East Asia and the Pacific (found in over 73% of the region’s protests), followed by Europe and Central Asia (68%) and in the globally-organized protests (67%). Protest assemblies, or rallies, are the next most common protest method, found in 382 events. Although research uncovered a relatively small number of marches in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia compared with other regions, the incidence of protest assemblies was highest there, found in 71% of protests in Sub-Saharan Africa and 54% in South Asia.

**Occupations and Civil Disobedience/Direct Action:** Civil disobedience involving the occupation of a public square, street, government building or factory—a tactic made notorious by the occupations of Tahrir Square in Egypt, Syntagma Square in Greece, Puerta del Sol in Spain, Zuccotti Park in New York and Gezi Park in Istanbul—is the next most common method of protest, in 219 events. Other kinds of civil disobedience and direct action appear in 147 events. These two methods—to occupy and to commit civil disobedience—while against the law in most instances, are nevertheless becoming established as acceptable tactics to the middle classes acting in new social movements in all regions. The ongoing protests of women in Saudi Arabia who defy laws against their right to drive cars, the “Walk to Work” protests organized by Activists for Change in Uganda (Box 5) to protest high food and fuel prices (when the government declared gatherings of more than 2 people to be illegal), or the 2013 protests in Brazil—which escalated from the demand for affordable public transportation to breaching the parliament building to demanding an end to government corruption—these are all examples of a new era and a new framework of protest.

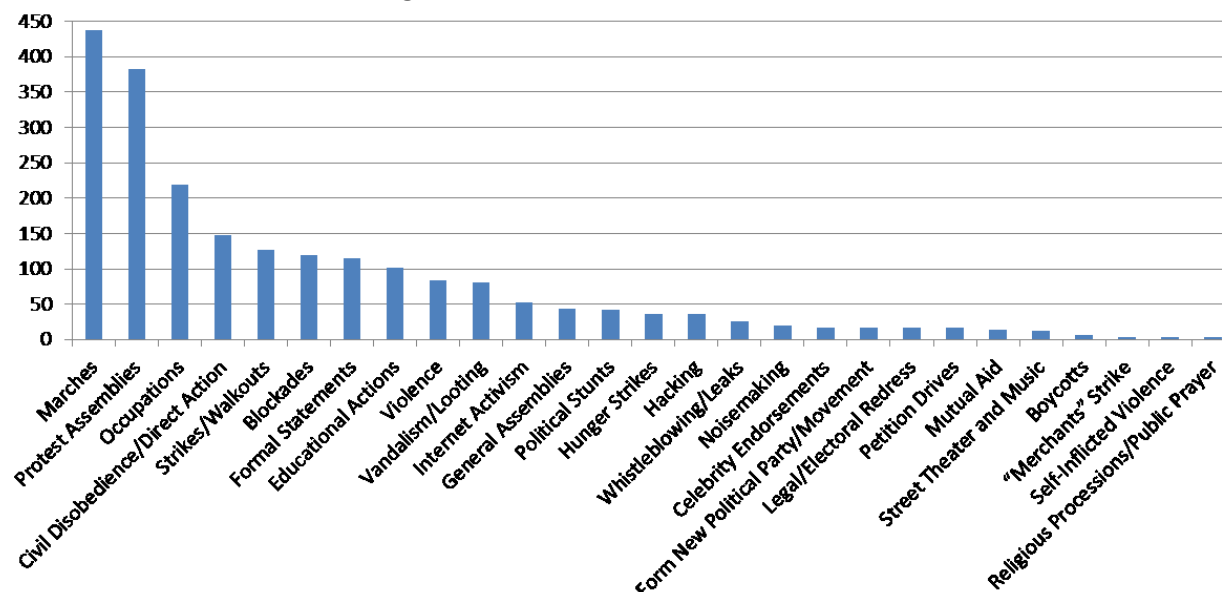
**Whistleblowing/Leaks:** The period covered by this study also captures the advent of a new era of civil disobedience/direct action carried out by computer hackers and whistleblowers who “leak” massive amounts of government and corporate data, from the publishing of Wikileaks’ “Iraq and Afghan War Diaries”—a set of 391,000 classified US State Department cables and reports made public in October



2010 and linked by Amnesty International to the igniting of protests in Tunisia at the beginning of the Arab Spring—to the June 2013 leak by former US CIA contractor Edward Snowden, which reveals the extent of US spying on foreign governments as well as US citizens.

**Hunger Strikes and Self Inflicted Violence:** Though more rarely employed, desperate methods such as self-immolation or protesters sewing their own lips are also among the methods used, particularly for those in prison (eg. Bolivia, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia) and those whose dignity has been destroyed by deprivation and the brutality of authorities (eg. Hungary, India, Tunisia).

**Figure 9. Methods of Protests 2006-2013**

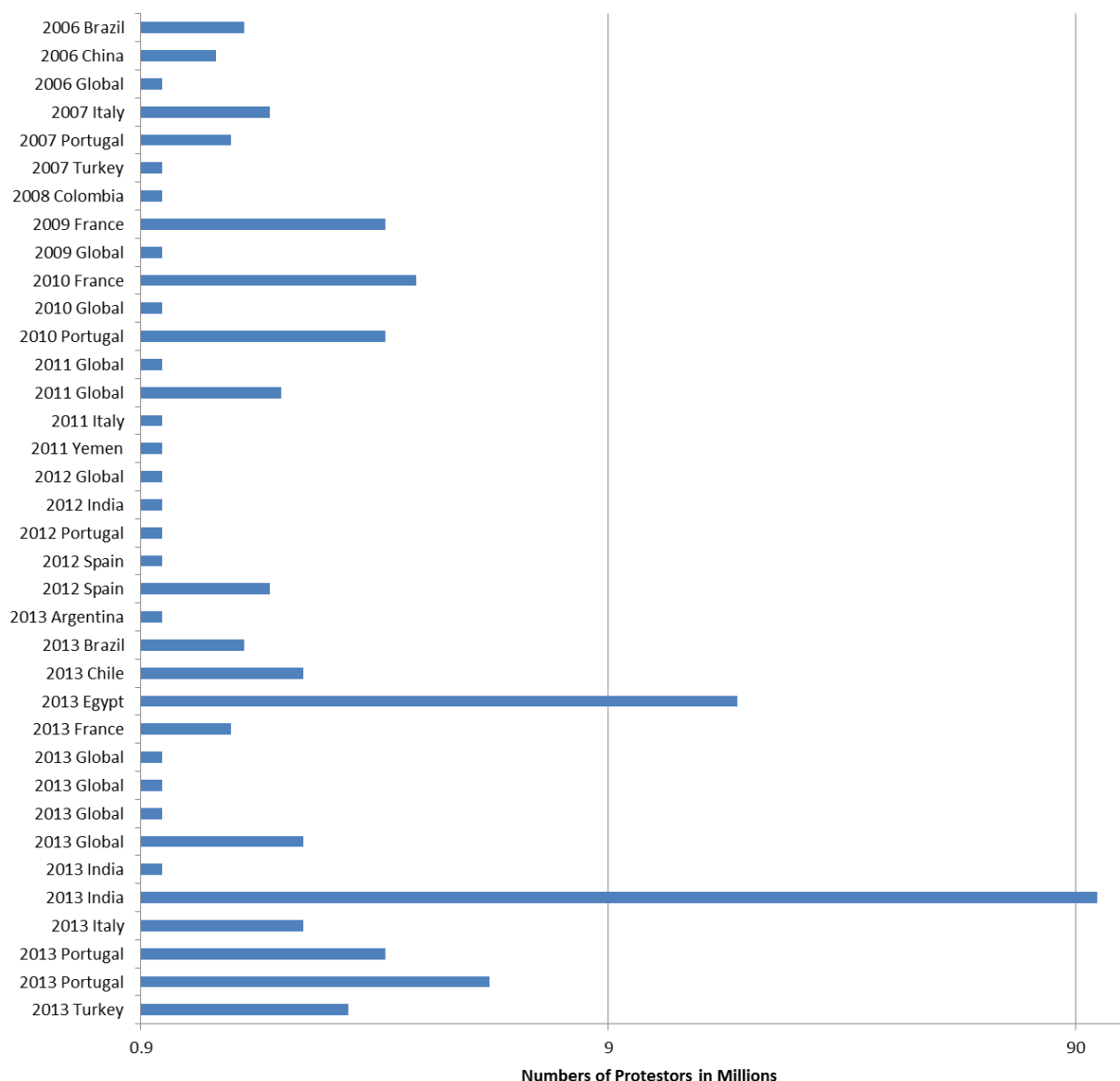


Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013  
[Number of Protest Events in which Method used]

## 5c. Some of the Largest Protests in History

A controversial determination in relation to any protest is the number of demonstrators. Depending on the news source, estimates frequently diverge by tens of thousands, sometimes even by millions. Some protest event analysis relies upon police reports when a key research variable is the number of protesters (Klandermans and Staggernborn, 2002), however it is far beyond the scope of this research to conduct a fuller analysis utilizing police records in the many countries covered. Nevertheless, crowd estimates are found in 383 of the 475 protest episodes noted in this study, 37 of which had one million or more protesters (see Figure 10). The largest of these may well be among the largest protests in history (eg. 100 million in India in 2013 protest low living standards, attacks on wages and the need for better labor conditions and attention to inequality, and 17 million people in the streets of Egypt in 2013 overturn the government led by President Morsi, although Egypt's military takes control shortly afterward).

**Figure 10. Protests Estimated to Exceed 1 Million Demonstrators, 2006-2013**



Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 31st 2013; Logarithmic Scale

## 6. Who Do Protesters Oppose?

Just as key objectives of this research are to find out who is protesting (and how and why), it is also important to identify the main targets, or opponents, of the protests.

**Governments:** The most frequent target for protesters, by a wide margin, is their own national government—as the legitimate policy-making institution responsible to citizens. 80% of all protests (674 events) demand that governments take responsibility for economic, social and environmental policies so that they benefit all, instead of the few.

**Political/Economic System:** Protests against the inadequate political and economic system appear second in importance (366 events or 43% of all protests), reflecting significant discontent with the working of current democracies. Close to 50% of protests in the high-income region, East Asia/Pacific, Middle East/North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa regions target “the system”, corroborating the previously noted demands for greater “real democracy”.

**Corporations/Employers:** Together, they are the third most common adversary of protests, appearing in 243 events (29% of total protests) relating to: 1) opposition to corporate vested interests influencing policy-making (eg. Australia, Egypt, Germany, Greece, India, Japan, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom, United States), 2) labor disputes and requests to employers for better wages and working conditions (eg. Bangladesh, Chile, China, Colombia, Egypt, Ghana, Indonesia, Ireland, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, South Africa, South Korea, Tanzania, United Arab Emirates, Vietnam), 3) confronting private interests in natural resource extraction (eg. Bolivia, Canada, Colombia, Greece, Madagascar, Myanmar, Romania, Vietnam), 4) construction of infrastructure by corporations with negative environmental and social impacts (eg. Argentina, Brazil, China, India, Mexico, Myanmar, Peru, South Africa, United States), and 5) local businesses’ inability to compete with large foreign corporations (eg. Colombia, India, Mexico, Spain, United Kingdom).

**International Monetary Fund:** The IMF is a target of 168 protests overall, or 20% of total protests. The breakdown by country-income group shows the highest instances occurring in both high-income countries (25% of IMF protests) and low-income countries (24% of IMF protests), where the IMF is targeted for promoting a “new Washington Consensus” that favors the interests of corporations, wealthy investors and the financial sector. The World Bank, to compare IMF to the other Bretton Woods Institution, appears in only 2% of overall protests, an order of magnitude less than those protests directed at IMF.

**Elites:** Protests against the privilege of elites drive 141 events, or 17% of total protests (eg. the global Occupy movement against the richest 1%, protests against abusive landowners in India, demonstrations against the Mafia in Italy).

**European Union:** The EU is a target in 16% of all protests, 36% of globally organized protests and 30% of protests in the Europe/Central Asia and high-income regions, appearing as a driver of 135 protests overall, mostly against the imposition of austerity policies in Europe. Closely linked are protests against the financial sector (16% of all protests and 31% of protests in the high-income region and among globally-organized protests) and the European Central Bank (84 protests, 10% of protests overall) for their role in the economic crisis of the region. Demonstrations focused upon the EU and ECB are also in countries where governments are entering into free-trade agreements with the EU (eg. Colombia, Mali, Senegal, South Africa, South Korea, Vietnam). Free trade as such is a target of 9% of the world’s protests.

**Military/Police:** Taken together these armed forces are the target of 9% of the world’s protests. Linked to this are protests against the United States in particular, largely because of ongoing military intervention

or the presence of US military bases (eg. Afghanistan, Iraq, Japan, Philippines, Ukraine). In Asia, anti-imperialist protests frequently target China.

**Political Parties/Groups:** About 7% of protests target specific political parties or groups (eg. Canada, Egypt, Italy, Libya, Philippines, Russia, Tunisia, Turkey, United States). 6% of protests target local governments; 2% target social groups (eg. migrants, homosexuals, gypsies) and religious authorities.

**Table 8. Main Targets of World Protests, 2006-2013\***

Opponent	Count	Percentages
<b>Government</b>	672	80%
<b>Political/economic system</b>	366	44%
<b>Corporations/employers</b>	241	29%
<b>IMF</b>	168	20%
<b>Elites</b>	141	17%
<b>EU</b>	135	16%
<b>Financial Sector</b>	134	16%
<b>ECB</b>	84	10%
<b>Military/police</b>	75	9%
<b>Free Trade</b>	74	9%
<b>Political Parties/Groups</b>	62	7%
<b>US</b>	59	7%
<b>Government (local)</b>	47	6%
<b>China</b>	31	4%
<b>G20</b>	25	3%
<b>Social Groups</b>	20	2%
<b>World Bank</b>	19	2%
<b>Religious authorities</b>	13	2%

Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 2013

## 7. What Do Protests Achieve?

As of 2013, as many as 63% of the protests covered in the study achieved neither their intended demands (when demands are stated) nor results toward alleviating the expressed grievances. This outcome is not necessarily negative, since many of the protests are engaged with long-term structural issues that may yield results in time, while incremental, short-term or symbolic achievements may prove to be precursors to a comprehensive shift in power structures (eg. Arab Spring) or lead to more effective organizing of subsequent protests (eg. 2013 "Sovereignty Summer" in Canada built a coalition from multiple protest movements to draft an "omnibus"<sup>10</sup> strategy against the current government in response the

<sup>10</sup> An "omnibus" includes multifarious things in one. Joan Bryden in the 5/10/2012 *Canadian Press* described the 2013 national "Omnibus Budget Bill" as a "huge, complex bill is stuffed with a host of non-budgetary matters,

government's ideologically driven "omnibus" budget bill). However, it is important to note that 37% of protests resulted in some kind of demonstrable achievement. In the context of this study, "achievements" are taken to be the set of direct-, mixed- and indirect-responses from targeted opponents or by society to a protest episode, responding in some measure to the grievances raised by protesters.

Research found that achievements related to political, legal and social rights—including the right to information and government transparency—made up almost half of the 37%; these include for example, a change of government (eg. revolution in Tunisia, 2010), adoption of a new constitution (eg. Iceland, Morocco), changes to law or policy (eg. the French government repeals a regressive law on new work contracts for youth, 2006), the resignation of presidents/ministers, new elections, the creation of a new political party or movement, the legal recognition of political or social rights and the exposure of government or corporate secrets (eg. Manning/Wikileaks, United States). Economic achievements are mixed and represent less than a third of total achievements; these include results related to contract or other labor victories (eg. immigrant construction workers strike in United Arab Emirates and win a 20% wage increase, 2007) and, to a much lesser degree, demands related to subsidies, tax increases, pension reform, labor market reforms, better social investment and the postponement or change of controversial economic measures. There are also a small number of positive results (less than 10% of achievements) linked to stopping or stalling protested urban development and infrastructure projects. Findings also include symbolic and other less tangible achievements, like changes in public discourse (eg. Occupy Wall Street makes income inequality an issue in both national [US] and international debates, 2011), or the opening of a dialogue or agreement of an opponent to negotiate (eg. Chile's government agrees to negotiate with the student movement on State support for education, 2011). These kinds of achievements are especially difficult both to identify and to quantify; they represent roughly 10% of achievements noted.

#### **Box 6: Iceland's "Anthill"**

In 2011, two democratically-elected governments stepped down in Europe "to satisfy markets" and were replaced by non-elected technocratic governments tasked to deal with austerity and debt. While many have questioned the legitimacy of these events in Greece and Italy, much can be learnt from the experience of the small country of Iceland. Iceland lived for many years on a financial bubble that burst in 2008. When the crisis hit, images of Iceland's people banging pots and pans in front of the Parliament and demanding the resignation of both the Prime Minister and President of the Central Bank appeared in media headlines all around the world—the so-called "Kitchenware Revolution". The crisis had a deep impact on Iceland's people, who organized themselves to create an alternative to the current system with the participation of all Icelanders. This is the origin of the grassroots movement known as "The Anthill" ("No single ant has the same amount of wisdom as the entire anthill"). In November 2009 The Anthill organized the National Assembly with the participation of 1200 Icelanders chosen randomly and considered representative of Icelandic society (with 300 representatives of organizations and institutions), who were asked to name the values that a new constitution should be based upon as well as their own vision for Iceland's future and possible ways of action to rebuild the country's economy and society.

including controversial changes to environmental regulations, immigration law, fisheries management and Employment Insurance."

The outcomes had a huge impact: a national referendum was held in March 2010 that allowed citizens to vote on whether and how Iceland should repay its nationalized private debt, claimed by the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. This was not a sovereign debt issue; private Icelandic banks held €6.7 billion in deposits from British and Dutch banks, and when they collapsed, the government decided to make this private debt public. According to the IMF, the debt was the result of privatization and deregulation of the banking sector, facilitated by easy access to foreign funding, and the growing imbalances were not detected by Iceland's financial sector supervision. In the referendum, Icelandic voters delivered a resounding "no" (more than 90%) to reimbursement the Dutch and British banks and to the orthodox policies that would have accompanied the debt repayment plan. After massive international pressure, a second referendum was called in April 2011; Icelanders again rejected a proposed repayment plan. Despite pressures and threats because of Iceland's heterodox policies—debt repudiation, capital controls, and currency depreciation—Iceland is recovering well from the crisis. It has regained access to international capital markets while preserving the welfare of its citizens, with support from the IMF. In 2012, Iceland credit rating was already much higher than that of Greece. Furthermore, in March 2012, Iceland's former prime minister went on trial for negligence in the Icelandic banking collapse in 2008, an example of a country demanding that its politicians respond to the public interest and contribute to a just society.

## 8. Repression and Surveillance

Repression of some kind—resulting in arrests, surveillance, injuries and deaths due to state-organized violence—is documented in well over half of the protest episodes analyzed in the study, though it must be noted that some of the reported injuries/deaths are a result of crowd violence and not repression. Reliable data on repression can be difficult to secure from news sources alone, and—as with the determination of protest size—it is beyond the scope of this research to conduct a special analysis of repression. However, an examination of the data gathered on repression suggests that more research should be done on what appears to be a wide disparity between the Global North and South in terms of the repression of protest by authorities and the coverage of protests in the news media. This differential in news coverage has multiple causes, including the different weights (and therefore clout) that countries have within the international economy, the size of a country's financial markets, and the economic interests at stake. From the data gathered it seems as though the anti-austerity protests in southern Europe, which have a clear link to the Euro zone crisis and involve some of the bigger economies in the world, are intensively covered in the news media (often with live information linked to market changes). On the other side, many protests in countries of the Global South have a secondary presence in the international news media, often even when the number of protesters killed, injured or arrested is very large and are therefore only reflected in local and alternative media sources.

Our research also documented the rising concern with some modes of repression which do not imply the use of physical violence. This is what Julian Assange termed in a December 4, 2011 press conference to announce the release of WikiLeaks' *Spy Files*, "the international mass surveillance industry", which, he said, "sells equipment to dictators and democracies alike in order to intercept entire populations."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Announcement is on Wikileaks site at <http://www.wikileaks-forum.com/spy-files/144/spy-files-wikileaks-exposes-global-surveillance-industry/6886/>

These new forms of control are enabled by new laws and arrangements between governments, private companies and national security agencies, and are reported in a number of countries (eg. Argentina, Bulgaria, China, Greece, Hungary, UK, US).

Table 9 presents a summary of protests with a large number of people arrested, injured or killed in 2006-2013, as reported by media sources. While arrests are linked to repression, a number of the injuries and deaths may be a result of widespread, violent clashes between different groups. According to media reports, the protests that generated the most arrests were in Iran, the UK, Russia, Chile, Malaysia, US, Canada and then Cameroon; the most deaths were reported in Kyrgyzstan, Egypt and Kenya; the most injuries, in Egypt, Thailand, Algeria and then Hungary.

**Table 9. Protests with High Numbers of Reported Arrests, Injuries and Deaths, 2006-2013\***

Country	Year	Protest Grievance/Demand	Estimated No.
<b>Reported Arrests</b>			
Iran	2009-10	Iranian election protests	4,000
UK	2011	London/England Riots (Social exclusion, unemployment, lack of opportunities)	3,200
Russia	2011	Electoral fraud, against President Putin	3,000
Chile	2011	Student movement, against proposed education reforms	2,000
Malaysia	2011	Against the privatization of water management	1,700
US	2006	May Day labor demonstrations, better jobs, justice for immigrants	1,200
Canada	2010	Anti G-20 demonstrations	1,118
Cameroon	2008	Food and fuel price riots, low living standards	1,000
Global	2011	Occupy demonstrations on 15 October 2011 in 950 cities in 82 countries "United for #GlobalChange" demanding social and economic justice, real democracy	950
<b>Reported Injured</b>			
Egypt	2011	End of the 31 year old state of emergency, departure of president Mubarak, lack of democracy	6,460
Thailand	2010	Prime Minister Abhisit to stand down as he did not come to power legitimately, call for elections	2,000
Algeria	2010-11	Democracy, emergency state law, high food and oil prices	826
Hungary	2006	Protests in Hungary demanding Prime Minister resignation after being recorded admitting lies related with the economic situation during the electoral campaign	800
<b>Reported Deaths</b>			
Kyrgyzstan	2010	Against President Bakiyev's government corruption, high heating costs and living expenses, ethnic violence	2,600
Egypt	2013	Military coup of July 3rd 2013	2,000
Kenya	2007-08	Outrage at election results declaring President Kibabi winner, other grievances	1,500
Egypt	2011	End of the 31 year old state of emergency, departure of President Mubarak, lack of democracy	840

Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 2013

## 9. Main Policy Demands from World Protesters 2006-2013

If there is repression, what are the controversial demands that protesters are putting forward? Our research identifies the following main demands of civil society to policy-makers, by order of recurrence in the number of world protests. The list of demands is by no means closed, it is a brief summary of recurrent policy alternatives in the 843 protest events. The majority of them are in full accordance with United Nations proposals and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

**Table 10. Main Policy Demands by Grievance/Issue, 2006-2013\***

Grievance/Issue	Number of Protests	Main Policy Demands
<b>Lack of Real Democracy</b>	218	Policymakers must serve the interest of all citizens (instead of elites); participatory/direct democracy
<b>Anti-IMF-ECB-World Bank</b>	164	International Financial Institutions should not interfere with national development; current IFIs should be closed down and new institutions be put in place to promote development for all
<b>Corporate influence/ Deregulation/Privatization</b>	149	Rent-seeking practices should be forbidden; public institutions must respond to priorities for all citizens instead of prioritizing the private interests of corporations, financial and other elites
<b>Environmental Justice</b>	144	Policymakers to secure adequate taxation/public revenues from natural resource extraction; Policymakers to solve conflicts related to infrastructure construction with negative social and environmental externalities; Policymakers to stop nuclear plants and use other more environmentally friendly forms of energy
<b>Reform of public services</b>	143	Stop reforms based on fiscal savings - the state to guarantee the right to food, water, housing, health, education, social protection and rest of human rights
<b>Corruption</b>	142	Prosecute corrupt practices and ensure political and economic systems that respond to citizens
<b>Tax/Fiscal Justice</b>	133	Fair taxes that raise greater revenue from upper income groups and corporations, fight tax fraud and evasion, crack down on tax havens; stop/reverse transfers and bail-outs to the financial sector and austerity measures; lower taxes/VAT on basic products that poor people consume
<b>Jobs, higher wages, Labor conditions</b>	133	National and global crisis recovery strategies should focus on employment-generating real-economy growth, raising wages, social protection and living standards to promote national demand and socio-economic development
<b>Inequality</b>	113	Policymakers must put an end to gross economic inequalities as well as other inequalities (eg ethnicity/race, gender, etc) as established by human rights standards



<b>Ethnic/indigenous/racial Justice</b>	92	Minority groups are to be defended and their rights preserved, the existence of an external majority should mean reinforcing their rights, not infringing on them
<b>Low living standards</b>	84	Policymakers to end poverty and raise living standards including wages
<b>Right to the Commons</b>	67	Commons are cultural and natural resources available to all as a product of the efforts of a whole society and need to be widely accessible
<b>Labor Rights</b>	62	Policymakers to protect labor rights as fundamental to social democracy; labor rights to allow workers and their families to live in dignity
<b>Legal justice</b>	56	Policymakers to ensure that national judicial systems enforce justice for all, without discrimination
<b>Agrarian/land reform</b>	49	Policymakers to redress inequalities in land ownership and land use to allow for decent incomes in rural areas
<b>Women Rights</b>	50	Half of the world population (women) still lacks basic rights; Policymakers to ensure gender equality in policy-making
<b>Freedom of assembly /speech/press</b>	43	Freedom of the assembly, press, speech and dialogue are essential driving forces of a democracy and must be strongly protected
<b>Transparency and accountability</b>	42	Stop the formal and informal (eg. G20, financial sector, vested interests) influence in national policy-making and ensure that policymakers respond to people
<b>Anti-imperialism</b>	41	World/regional powers must stop interference in national policy-making of weaker nations; respect for national sovereignty; stop wars and military intervention
<b>Fuel and energy prices</b>	32	Policymakers to ensure affordable fuel and energy to populations, keeping equitable subsidies when necessary
<b>Pension reform</b>	32	Stop pension reforms driven by cost-savings and pressures from private insurance; instead focus on old-age income security
<b>Anti-free trade</b>	32	Policymakers to stop the drive to free trade agreements that hinders national productive capacities and employment
<b>Food prices</b>	29	Policymakers to ensure affordable food to populations
<b>Housing</b>	28	Policymakers to ensure the right to a decent home and stop evictions
<b>Citizen Surveillance</b>	27	Stop surveillance/spying on citizens and restricting the internet
<b>Governance of the Global Commons</b>	25	Ensure good governance/stewardship of the global commons eg. internet, climate, biodiversity
<b>LGBT Rights</b>	23	Ensure lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered rights; sexual

		orientation is a personal choice that must be the sole decision of the person involved without external coercion
<b>Religious Issues</b>	22	Religious freedom needs to be guaranteed in its various expressions
<b>Anti-war/Military-Industrial Complex</b>	20	Enforce peace, stop wars and military intervention; rent-seeking practices by the military-industrial complex must be forbidden
<b>Denial of Rights</b>	15	This category refers to conservative majorities opposing the rights of minorities (eg sexually straight against gay rights, religious against women's abortion, nationals against migrants' rights)
<b>Immigrant Rights</b>	15	Promote immigrant rights and better conditions of living
<b>Prisoner Rights</b>	11	Human rights are to be equally enforced for prisoners
<b>Sovereignty</b>	11	Policy-making to focus on national interest
<b>Anti-G20</b>	9	The G20 (or the G8) are non-legitimate and non-democratic organizations that should not set policies that interfere with national development

Source: Authors' analysis of world protests in media sources 2006-2013, \*As of July 2013

## 10. Conclusion

In summary, this study finds that between 2006 and 2013 outrage and discontent expressed in protest is increasing worldwide. The grievances and demands driving the world's protests cluster into one of four main categories: economic justice/anti-austerity, failure of political representation and political systems, global justice, and rights. The leading cause of rising protests is a cluster of grievances related to economic justice and against austerity policies that include demands to reform public services and pensions, create good jobs and better labor conditions, make tax collection and fiscal spending progressive, reduce or eliminate inequality, alleviate low-living standards, enact land reform, and ensure affordable food, energy and housing.

Although the breadth of demand for economic justice is of serious consequence, the most sobering finding of the study is the overwhelming demand, not for economic justice *per se*, but for what prevents economic issues from being addressed: a lack of real democracy. Understood as the call for a society and a world in which people are able to participate in decisions affecting their daily lives—and in which both the benefits and principles of democracy (eg. freedom, equality/justice and solidarity) are experienced in daily life as well—this demand and the crisis of political representation it expresses is coming from every kind of political system. Not only authoritarian governments but also representative democracies both old and new are failing to listen to or represent the needs and views of ordinary people, and people are increasingly responding in protest.

In line with the worldwide yearning for real democracy, middle-class protesters of all ages—from students to retired pensioners—are increasingly joining activists from all kinds of movements, not only in

marches and rallies, but in a new framework of protest that includes civil disobedience and direct actions such as road blockages, occupations of city streets and squares, and mass educational events and “happenings” to raise awareness about issues like debt, fair taxation and inequality. The target of most protests is the national government in the country where the protest occurs, but many protests also explicitly denounce the international political and economic system, the influence of corporations and the privilege of elites. A large number of protests against austerity implicate the International Monetary Fund and the European Central Bank, which are widely perceived as the chief architects and advocates of austerity.

The study finds a correlation between higher country income levels and a higher incidence of protests as recorded in mainstream and international media accounts, although the majority of violent protests and riots are in the region of Sub-Saharan Africa and in low-income countries. A sharp rise in the number of riots in 2008 attests to the anger and desperation caused by food-price and energy-price spikes in those countries. Not only riots but more than half of all protests experience some sort of repression in terms of arrests, injuries or deaths at the hands of authorities, or subsequent surveillance of suspected protesters and groups. Built upon decades of rising inequalities and decreasing opportunities for decent work (especially for youth) and full engagement in society, the world situation just described has become the status quo for majorities of people in countries around the world.

The set of policies needed at the national and global levels to begin to address the grievances described in this paper—which are so numerous and inter-related that they are exceeding the capacity of existing political arrangements to deal with them in a peaceful, just and orderly way—cross over virtually every area of public policy. Meaningful action will have to address demands related to social protection, education and health, labor market institutions, land and agrarian reform, taxation and fiscal expenditures, climate change, industrial policy, monetary and trade policy, sovereign debt restructuring, international tax cooperation, financial and macroeconomic regulation and supervision, sustainable development, food- and water-security, housing, environmental protection, equal protection under the law, access to affordable energy, public services, peace and security, the global Commons and surely others as well. However, any such policy reforms will be insufficient if governments fail to first guarantee democratic participation and curtail the power of elites—not only in local and national governments but in the institutions of global governance as well.

Governments need to listen to the messages coming from protesters and protests, whether these are articulate or communicate only through frustration and violence. A real transformation is required beyond the calls for “policy shifts” and “transformational change”, which are by now standard buzz-words of the world’s governments and intergovernmental organizations. Leaders, policymakers and advisors will only invite further unrest if they fail to prioritize and act on the one demand raised in more of the world’s protests between 2006 and 2013 than any other—the demand for real democracy.

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## Complete List of Media Sources Consulted

15MPedia	Arnet.ir	Cameroon Info
2 oceansvibe radio	Articulação Semiárido Brasileiro	Camp for Climate Action
20 Minutos	Asahi Shimbun	Canadian Press
99 get smart	Asamblea Nacional de Afectados Ambientales	Capital FM
ABC	Asia Times	Caracol
ABS-CBN News	Asian Correspondent	Caribbean 360
ABC News	Asian Food Worker	CBC News
Academia	Asociación de Usuarios de Bancos, Cajas y Seguros	CBS
Actualidad	Associated Press	Center for Constitutional Rights
Afaaq	Associazione Nazionale Comuni Italiani	CGPI
AFP	Aufait	Change.org
Africa Renewal	Australian Broadcasting Corporation	China Daily
Africa Review	BBC	Choike
African Arguments	Belfast Telegraph	Clarín
African Futures	Berazneva, Julia ; Lee, David R. "Explaining the African Food Riots of 2007-2008: an empirical analysis"	CNN
AlAhram	Berne Declaration	Comisiones Obreras
Al Akhbar	Bloomberg	Comité pour l'Annulation de la Dette du Tiers Monde
Alarabiya	Bolivia.com	Common Dreams
Al Jazeera	Bolpress	Computer Weekly
All Africa	Bulalat	Condé Nast Traveler
All Voices	Burma Rivers Network	Confederação Geral dos Trabalhadores Portugueses
Al Monitor	Business Daily Africa	Confederação Unitaria do Trabalhadores
Amazon Watch	Business Insider	Contrainfo
Amnesty International	Business Mirror	Cooperativa.cl
Anarchy Library	Business News	Coordinadora 25S
ANCI	Cadena SER	Copenhagen Post
Antena 3		Crónica
Anti Defamation League		CS Monitor
Antigua Observer		CSEJ Jamaica
Aporrea		
ARA		
Arabian Business		

Cupula dos Povos	El Expectador	Fletcher Forum
Daily Kos	El Correo Gallego	Folha de Sao Paulo
Dailymail	El Mirador	Forbes
Daily Maverick	El Mundo	Foreign Policy
Daily News	El País	Fox News
Daily Star	El Popular	France 2
Daily Times of Nigeria	El Tiempo	France 24
Dalje.com	El Universal	France 3
Debt and Development Coalition Ireland	Electronic Frontier Association	Free Aiweiwei
Del Pirono	En Lucha	Free Malaysia Today
Democracia Real Ya	English People.com	Free Republic
Democracy Now	Environmental Justice Organisations, Liabilities and Trade	Freedom House
Democratic Underground	Epoch Times	Frontline Defenders
Demotix	Espectador	Galway FM
Desbanka	EthSat	Gandul
Deutsche Welle	EU Business	Generação a rascal
Diario de Noticias Portugal	EU Times	General Confederation of Greek Workers
Diario Libre	Eurasianet	Ghana Web
Dibg	EURODAD	Glender
Digital Journal	Euronews	Global Legal Monitor
Diplomatic cables	Europa Press	Global Post
Down to Earth	European Trade Union Confederation	Global Research
DW	Facebook	Global Unions
Earth Works Action	Falun Gong	Global Voices
EchoGéo	FayerWayer	Gosnews ru
Economic Times	FEMEN	Green European Foundation
Eironline	Feministing	Green Left
El Colombiano	Ferriz	Grrreporter
El Comercio	Financial Express	Guelph Mercury
El Confidencial	Financial Times	Haaretz
Eldiario.es	Firstpeoples.org	Hindu
El Economista		Hindustan Times
El Espejo Diario		Hispan TV

Hotnews	IRIN	Lanzhou Morning
Huffington Post	Irish Congress of Trade Unions	Latam
Human Rights Watch	Irish Examiner	Le Figaro
Hungarian Ambiance	Islam Web	Le Matin
Hurriyet Daily News	Israel National News	Le Monde
IAEA	Jadaliyya	Le Monde Diplomatique
Indefence	Jakarta Globe	Le Parisien
Independent.ie	Jakarta Post	Le Point
Indian Times	Jamaica Observer	Le Soir
Indiegogo	Jamhuri Media	Le Soir d'Algerie
Industrial Workers of the World	Japan Daily Press	Legal Monitor
Indymedia	Japan Update	Lehet más a politika
Info Libre	Jerusalem Post	Libcom.org
Infobae	Jeune Africa	Liberation
Infowars	Jewish Telegraphic Agency	Libero
Inquirer	Journalist for Democracy in Sri Lanka	Life site news
Integral Leadership Review	Jubilee Debt Campaign	Ligas Mayores
Inter Press Service	Jurnalul	Liveleaks
Interasian Solidarity	Klimaforum	London School of Economics
Interfax	Korea Times	Los Andes
International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Movement	Kyiv Post	Los Angeles Times
International Business Times	L'économiste	Los Tiempos
International Citizen deb Audit Network	L'express	Maan News Agency
International Confederation of Trade Unions	La Jornada	Macau News
International Herald Tribune	La Marea	Madrilonia
International Socialist	La Nación	Magharebia
International Viewpoint	La Primera de Puebla	Mail online
Into the fire	La Razón	Malaysia Star
Intolerancia	La Republica	Mapa de Conflictos mineros
IOL News	La Resistencia	March for Alternatives
IPP Media	La Tribune de Madagascar	Marea Ciudadana
	La Vanguardia	Marea Grogga
		Marea Verde
		Marxist

Metro	NPR	Portafolio
Milenio	NTN24	Power and World Politics
Mines and communities	NVDB	Pravda
MNI Alive	Oakland Local	Precarios Inflexiveis
Modern Ghana	Occupy websites	Prensa Libre
Morena	Only in Jamaica	Press TV
Mother Jones	OpEdNews	Proceso
Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens	Open Democracy	Protests in Hungary
Movimento Sem Terra	Otra Prensa	Public Broadcasting Service
Movimiento Estudiantes Chile	OWNI	Publico
National Mirror	Pak Tea House	Put People first
National Public Broadcasting	Pambazuka	Que se lixe a troika
National Public Radio	Pan African	Raddir Fólskins
Nazret.com	Participedia	Radio Free Asia
NBC	Partido Comunista do Portugal	Radio Free Europe
New Europe	Patasalud	Radio Free Liberty
New Internationalist	PBS Newshour	Radio Netherlands
New Macau Association	People's Daily Online	Radio Okapi
New Zimbabwe	Periodismo Humano	Radio Programas del Perú
News 24	Peru 21	Radiobubble
News Daily	Pfaffe, Peter "A Protest Event Analysis of South's Africa Rebellion of the Poor"	Readwrite.com
News of Iceland	Philippine Daily Inquirer	Realitatea
Nicaraguan Report	Philippine Star	Rebellion
No Mine	Pirate Party	Rediff India
No TAV	Plataforma Afectados Hipoteca	Redlar
Nonviolent action database	Plataforma Auditoría Ciudadana de la Deuda	Refworld
North Star	Plataforma Ciudadania Casamento	Resistencia Qom
Noticia Cristiana	Policy Alternatives	Reuters
Noticias PIA	Politics HU	RF1
Notimérica		RFI
Nouvel Observateur		Rianovosti
Novedades		Robin Hood Tax Campaign
Novinite		Rome Today
		Roll.sohu



RT	South Asia Morning Star	The Irate Greed
RTBF	South China Morning Post	The Nation
RTE News	Spero News	The New York Times
Rtv Romania	Spiegel	The News Pakistan
Rue89	Standard Digital News Kenya	The Other Russia
SABC News	Standart	The Portugal News
Sada	Stars and Stripes	The Progressive
Sanahi Online	Strait Times	The Real News
Schneider, Mindi “We are hungry!”	Stratfor	The Reykjavik Grapevines
Seattle Times	Stuff.ca.nz	The Rio Times
Segabg	Sudan Tribune	The Saint Petersburg Times
Services, Industrial, Professional and Technical Union	Süddeutsche Zeitung	The Standard
Servindi	Sydney Morning Herald	The Star
Shangaiist	Taipei Times	The Wall Street Journal
Siasat	Take the square	The Washington Post
Sina	Te interesa	Think Africa
Sindicato Unitario de Trabajadores en la Educación del Perú	Techdirt	Tiempo Argentina
Sky News	Telegraph	Time
Slate Afrique	Telesur	Times of India
Slate Magazine	Telquel	Time World
Social Science Research Network	Terra	TN
Socialist Worker	The Age	Today’s Zaman
Sofia Globe	The Atlantic	Tomalaplaza
Solidar	The Argentinian Independent	Toronto Global and Mail
Somos Sur	The Australian	Towleroad.com
SOS Halkidiki	The Christian Science Monitor	Transform!
South African Broadcasting Corporation	The Chronicle	Transnational Institute
South African Civil Society Information Service	The Daily Telegraph	Truth
	The Free Speech Blog	Tucumahoy
	The Gleaner	Twitter
	The Globe and Mail	UBUNTU Forum
	The Guardian	Uchile
	The Independent	Udn.tv
		Uhuru News

UK Uncut	Vanguardia	Xinhuanet
Ukrinform	Via Campesina	Yabiladi
Ultimas Noticias	Visit Greece	Yahoo
UNAM	Voice of America English News	Yayoflautas
Unión General de Trabajadores	Voice of Congo	Yemen Post
United Press	Voxeu	Yemen Times
Universal Cargo	Warsaw Business Journal	Ynetnews
University World News	WikiNews	Youtube
Upi.com	Wikipedia	Yuri Leveratto
US Department of State	Wired	Zacks Investment
US News	Workers World	Zero hedge
USA Today	World Social Forum	Zonaeuropa.com
Uzmetronom	World Socialist Web Site	

## Annex 1: Main World Protest Episodes 2006-2013

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
01/06	01/06	South Africa	Stop the construction of a multi fuel burner in South Durban by the paper company Mondi	Protest assemblies, formal declarations, legal / electoral redress, civil disobedience / direct action, protest stunts	Government, World Bank, corporations / employers	
01/06	01/06	United States	Protests against the implementation of a policy to reduce pensions and healthcare protection for public employees in NY	Strikes, formal statements	Government (local)	Arrests, harassment
01/06	02/06	Global	Global protest against Western and US imperialism, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the publication of Prophet Allah's cartoons	Protest assemblies, protest stunts, destruction of property	EU, USA, military / police	200 killed
01/06	12/06	Pakistan	Reform national rape and sex laws which undermine women's rights	Formal statements, educational actions, protest assemblies	Government, social group	
01/06	01/07	South Africa	Against administrative reallocation of the province of Gauteng to a North-West province	Blockades	Government	13 arrests, lawsuit
01/06	01/07	United States	Stop the war in Iraq and Afghanistan	Occupations, protest assemblies, educational actions	Military / police	Arrests
01/06	03/07	South Korea	Stop land grabbing for US military purposes and the military relation between the two countries	Hunger strikes, protest assemblies, marches	USA, military / police, government	Police violence
01/06	12/07	United States	Create public housing in New Orleans whose rebuilding after Hurricane Katrina was privatized	Occupations, civil disobedience / direct action, protest assemblies,	Corrupt political / economic system, corporations / employers	Arrests, police violence
01/06	01/08	Western Sahara	Demands claiming the independence from Morocco	Protest assemblies, violence	Government, corrupt political / economic system	Arrests, torture, police violence
01/06	12/08	United States	Create an independent investigation in Katrina's crisis management by the government (economic and racial injustice) and claims in favor of jobs, housing and public services in New Orleans	Occupations, protest assemblies	Government, government (local)	Arrests
01/06	08/10	Argentina	Stop paper mill construction on the border of Argentina and Uruguay and creation of an environmental assessment	Occupations, blockades, marches, protest assemblies	Corporations / employers, government	Police violence
01/06	09/10	United States	Stop the surveillance of citizens-protestors, enforcement of the Handschu agreement, legislate in order to protect whistleblowers and against the legal immunity for corporations on data gathering	Whistleblowing/leaks, internet activism, civil disobedience / direct action, hacking	Military / police, corrupt political / economic system	New laws

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
01/06	12/10	United States	Against the attacks to weaken or destroy union's and workers' rights in different sectors	Strikes, occupations, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action	Political party / group, elites	New laws, harassment
01/06	01/11	Argentina	Stop the gold mine in Veladero owned by the Barrick Gold Corp. and create an environmental assessment	Marches, protest assemblies, blockades	Corporations / employers	
01/06	08/12	Mexico	Stop the construction of the dam "La Parota" and the land grabbings linked to it	Marches	Government	3 killed
01/06	07/13	India	Stop the Posco steel project in the state of Odisha	Occupations, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers	4 killed, 1000 arrests
01/06	Ongoing	Brazil	Stop the Belo Monte dam construction in Pará and defense and respect of indigenous rights	Occupation, blockades, celebrity endorsements	Government, corporations / employers	Arrests, expulsion
01/06	Ongoing	Brazil	Campaign and social movement to defend the rights of the people displaced due to a dam construction and protection of the common goods (water and energy)	Protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers	
01/06	Ongoing	Brazil	Land reform and land right to benefit those local workers who have been working on it instead of the defence of landowners as a condition to create a more solidar society (Movimento dos Trabalhadores rurais sem Terra)	Marches, hunger strikes, occupations	Elites	1 killed
01/06	Ongoing	Brazil	Campaign and project (Articulação Semiárido Brasileiro) for the provision of public water in remote/dry areas through cheap technology and break the monopoly of access to natural resources	Mutual aid	Government, corrupt political / economic system	
01/06	Ongoing	China	Farmers demanding the government to stop land confiscation and better compensation for grabbed lands	Blockades, violence, marches, occupations	Government	Police violence, lawsuit, injured
01/06	Ongoing	Global	Against the Economic Partnership Agreements with the European Union and African countries and the pro-trade liberalization	Marches, protest assemblies	Free trade, EU	New laws
01/06	Ongoing	Global	Political party (Pirate Party) with presence in more than 60 countries in defense of rights and freedom of individuals, participative democracy, free and neutral network and update of patents and copyrights laws	Form new political party/movement, civil disobedience / direct action, hacking, whistleblowing/leaks, internet activism	Government, government (local), corporations / employers, corrupt political / economic system, elites	
01/06	Ongoing	Ireland	Debt and Development Coalition in Ireland, with more than 80 NGOs in it, campaigning and demanding the cancellation of illegitimate debts and denouncing the role of financial sector and IFIs	Marches, protest assemblies, educational actions	IMF, ECB, EU, government, finance, corrupt political / economic system	

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
01/06	Ongoing	Italy	Campaign (No TAV Torino) against the construction of a high-speed train between Lyon and Turin which would cross the Susa Valley	Strikes, formal statements, blockades, occupations	Government, EU, corporations / employers	Arrests, injured
01/06	Ongoing	Italy	Campaign and social movement against the corruption and the Mafia role while educating in favor of legality	Educational actions, marches	Government, corrupt political / economic system, elites	
01/06	Ongoing	Mexico	"Unión Vendedores 28 de Octubre" in defense of vendor rights and demanding decent places to sell and dignity	Marches	Government, corporations / employers	Arrests, new laws
01/06	Ongoing	Morocco	Young jobless graduates right to work and organize	Protest assemblies	Government, IMF	1 killed, arrests, torture, police violence
01/06	Ongoing	Vietnam	Workers right to unionize independently from the regime and demanding better working conditions	Strikes, formal statements	Government, corporations / employers	Arrests, torture
02/06	Ongoing	Canada	Uphold historical treaties for indigenous land right and use in native reserves all over the country	Occupations, blockades, general assemblies, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers,	
02/06	04/06	France	Against the implementation of a new labor contract law deregulating, specifically, youth contracts	Occupations, marches	Government	Police violence
03/06	05/06	United States	Campaign and demonstration across the US demanding justice for immigrants culminating in massive national marches on May 1st	Marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, formal statements, noisemaking, political stunts	Political party / group, government	1200 arrests
04/06	04/06	Nepal	Coalition of political parties demanding the end of the rule of King Gyanendra, a new constitution and the "return" of the Parliament	Strikes, formal statements	Political party / group, military / police	150 injured
04/06	05/06	India	Protests of youth and professionals against the reservation bill, which would mean more quotas to lower castes in higher education	Strikes, formal statements, self-inflicted violence, protest assemblies	Government, elites, corrupt political / economic system	Police violence
04/06	04/06	Egypt	Judges in favour of the independence of justice from the government	Occupations	Government	torture, 15 arrests
05/06	05/06	Global	May 1st, International Workers' Day, with workers demanding more and better jobs, improvement of working conditions, social protection, against labor flexibilization (Europe) and migrants rights (US)	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers, corrupt political / economic system, elites, free trade	
05/06	08/06	Indonesia	Protests due to social exclusion of locals in favor of Chinese population, which resulted in riots	Violence	Elites, social groups	

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
05/06	05/06	Mexico	Violent deployment in front of Salvador de Atenco's Market of flowers vendors and detention of many of them	Blockades, mutual aid	Government (local)	2 killed, 290 arrests, harassment
05/06	11/06	Mexico	Education conflict in Oaxaca	Strikes, formal statements, blockades, occupations	Government (local)	7 killed, 100 arrests, police violence, new laws
05/06	06/06	Ukraine	Pro Russian protests against NATO maneuvers in Crimea and demanding the deployment of NATO troops	Marches, protest assemblies, blockades	Military / police, USA, EU	Violence
06/06	12/10	Rusia	Coalition protesting against Putin in face of December elections, demanding the end of corruptions and free elections	Marches	Corrupt political / economic system, political party / group, government	Arrests
06/06	06/06	Ghana	Unrealized promise of employment by Newmont mining company (producing gold in the Ahafo mine), which had promised that 50% of its employer would be youth locals	Protest assemblies	Corporations / employers	76 injured, police violence
07/06	08/06	Global	End of the aggression of Israel in Lebanon and Palestine	Marches, protest assemblies	Military / police, USA, government	
07/06	12/11	South Korea	Against the free-trade agreement with the US	Protest assemblies, marches, civil disobedience / direct action	Free trade, USA, government	Arrests, police violence
07/06	07/13	China	Protests in Hong Kong on the 1st of July (the day that its sovereignty was transfered from the UK to China) demanding democracy and economic and social justice	Protest assemblies, occupations, marches	China, government, corrupt political / economic system	228 arrests
08/06	09/08	Iran	Demands by various women's activists groups for the elimination of inequality between men and women in front of the law	Petition drive	Government, religious authorities	Arrests, police violence
08/06	Ongoing	UK	Campaign (Camp for Climate Action) demanding the government to take responsible action against climate change	Protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, general assemblies, political stunts	Corporations / employers, corrupt political / economic system, government	
09/06	09/06	Libya	Against the rule of Muammar Gaddafi	Destruction of property, violence	Corrupt political / economic system	
09/06	10/06	Ghana	Campaign by the teacher's trade unions demanding higher wages for public teachers	Strikes, formal statements	Government	New laws
09/06	09/07	Global	Global campaign denouncing and demanding the end of the humanitarian situation and massacre in Darfur	Marches, protest assemblies	Military / police, corrupt political / economic system	

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
09/06	10/06	Hungary	Protests and demands of Prime Minister's resignation in light of his recognition of having lied in order to win the elections	Occupation,s marches, violence	Government, political party / group	100 arrests, 800 injured
10/06	10/06	Bolivia	Protests of prisoners demanding better living conditions in Bolivian jails	Hunger strikes, self-inflicted violence, civil disobedience / direct action	Government	
10/06	10/06	Global	Protests during the World Bank Group and IMF Annual Meetings	Marches, educational actions, protest assemblies	World Bank, IMF, USA, EU	Expulsion
10/06	05/07	Nigeria	Against the environmental degradation of the Niger Delta (which holds the most important Nigerian oil reserves) due to oil extraction and demanding a share of oil revenues to serve local people instead of just government and private companies	Occupations, blockades, violence	Government, corporations / employers, elites, corrupt political / economic system	
10/06	06/07	Bolivia	Mining protests demanding the nationalization of mines instead of increasing taxes and the improvement of working conditions	Strikes, formal statements, protest assemblies, violence, blockades, destruction of property	Government, corporations / employers	15 killed, injured
11/06	11/06	Turkey	Demonstrations against Pope's Benedict XVI visit	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, religious authorities	
11/06	12/06	India	Equality and dignity for all regardless of castes	Violence, destruction of property, protest assemblies	Government, elites, corrupt political / economic system	Arrests, police violence
12/06	02/07	Mexico	Increase of food prices (maize, eggs and milk), which drove to demans of economy democratization, stop the NAFTA, real participation of population in politics and the social and democratic reform of the State	Marches	Free trade, USA, government, corrupt political / economic system, corporations / employers, elites, IMF	
01/07	01/07	Global	World Social Forum is an on-going process where social movement, activists, campaigners, etc. join together every 2 years against the neoliberal system under the slogan "Another world is possible." This edition was celebrated in Nairobi (Kenya)	Marches, educational actions, protest assemblies	Government, corrupt political / economic system, elites, finance, IMF, USA, free trade, military / police	
01/07	01/07	China	End of corruption and nepotism by provincial officials in Dan Zhou and better working conditions	Marches, destruction of property	Corporations / employers, government (local)	
02/07	01/11	Israel	Campaign to end the gender segregation in buses	Petition drives	Government	
02/07	Ongoing	Kenya	National campaign and social movement demanding changes on the "UNGA Bill" which increased food VAT to 16% including its removal and more economic justice	Protest assemblies, violence, destruction of property	Government, IMF, corrupt political / economic system	

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
03/07	03/07	Portugal	Demonstrations organized by one of the most important trade unions against the political economy of the government	Marches	Government, elites, corrupt political / economic system	
03/07	03/09	Pakistan	Campaign and movement to repeal the state of emergency and reinstate the rule of law after the illegal dismissal of judges	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, political group, elites, corrupt political / economic system	100 injured
03/07	03/07	Poland	March of Catholic groups to ban abortion	Marches, protest assemblies	EU	
04/07	04/07	Ukraine	Marches in favour of the Ukraine Prime Minister (Viktor Yanukovych) and viceversa	Marches, protest assemblies, occupations	Government	
04/07	06/11	Portugal	Protests against the closing of an emergency health center in Valença	Blockades	Government (local)	
04/07	05/07	Turkey	Stronger guarantees on secularism and more separation among state and religion as Erdogan's candidacy to presidency is seen as a threat to secularism	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, political party / group	
05/07	05/07	China	Protests in Macao against corruption, illegal labour and the lack of local jobs due to an influx of cheap foreign labour to the lucrative casino's business. Demands of resignation of Macao Beijing appointed leader	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers	1 injured, 10 arrests
05/07	05/07	Global	May 1st, International Workers' Day, with workers demanding the right to decent work and social and economic justice	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers, corrupt political / economic system, elites, free trade	
05/07	Ongoing	Portugal	"Precários Inflexíveis", social movement against the insecurity of unemployment and with the aim of reversing the growth of precarious working conditions	Occupations, educational actions	Government, finance, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system	
05/07	08/07	Chad	Trade unions organizing a general strike of public workers and leading a campaign to increase minimum wage and pensions	Strikes, formal statements	Government	Harassment, police violence
05/07	05/07	Italy	Demonstration in Rome in favour of the traditional family and against homosexual marriage law	Marches	Government, social group	
05/07	05/07	Poland	Gay demonstration and campaign to protest against repressive anti gay measures of the Polish government	Marches	Religious authorities, political party / group, government	
05/07	09/11	Myanmar	Stop the Myitsone Hydropower project in the Burma River (Kachin State)	Occupations, petition drives	Government, China, corporations / employers	Arrests, new laws



Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
05/07	05/07	Portugal	General strike organized by the main trade unions against cuts in public services and labour reform implemented by the Socialist Party	Strikes, formal statements	Government, corporations / employers	
06/07	01/08	Egypt	Protests in small villages demanding clean drinking water due to the lack of drinking water in rural areas	Marches, protest assemblies	Government (local), corporations / employers	
08/07	08/07	Argentina	Workers in the province of Santa Cruz demanding higher wages and the demilitarization of the region and more security	Marches, protest assemblies, strikes, formal statements	Government, military / police	17 injured
08/07	08/07	Bangladesh	Student's protests in Dhaka due to university corruption spreading to the whole country leading to a state of emergency	Marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action	Government	Police violence
08/07	09/07	Bolivia	Strikes and protests against President Morales refusal of constitutional court ruling in relation with the change of the administrative capital from La Paz to Santa Cruz	Strikes, formal statements, protest assemblies	Government, corrupt political / economic system	Police violence, new laws
08/07	08/11	United States	Campaigns and social movements against the role of corporations, their influence over the government and against foreclosures	Protest assemblies, legal / electoral redress, occupations, educational actions	Corporations / employers, finance	Arrests
08/07	09/08	Myanmar	Social movement lead by monks and students calling for civilian rule, economic reforms and democracy	Protest assemblies, marches	Corrupt political / economic system, military, government, elites	Killed, arrested, police violence
09/07	02/08	Morocco	Protests and riots against subsidy removal on food, which increased prices 30%	Violence	Government	34 arrests, lawsuits
09/07	03/08	Saudi Arabia	Right to drive for Saudi women	Civil disobedience / direct action	Religious authorities, military / police, government	Arrests
09/07	08/13	Nicaragua	Protests of elderly people known as "Los Viejitos" asking for pension payment	Occupations, blockades, marches, protest assemblies	Government, IMF	Police violence
09/07	Ongoing	Greece	Creation of citizen journalism ("Radiobubble") to counter the traditional media information coverage of Greece reality	Educational actions	Government, corporations / employers, IMF, EU, ECB, corrupt political / economic system	
09/07	09/07	Uzbekistan	Farmers' protests due to the high food prices	Marches, protest assemblies	Government	New laws
09/07	10/07	Australia	Campaign and protests against free-trade agreements (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) and imperialism	Marches, protest assemblies, destruction of property	Free trade, government, corrupt political / economic system, USA	Arrests, police violence
09/07	09/07	Algeria	Demonstration demanding the end of Al-Qaeda and islamist violence	Marches	Political party / group	

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09/07	02/08	South Africa	Discontent of Joe Slovo residents due to government's promises on housing creation that have never been accomplished	Occupations, blockages	Government	Police violence
09/07	10/07	Bangladesh	Demonstrations and protests of textile workers in Dhaka demanding an increase of the minimum wage	Protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers	
09/07	09/07	Egypt	Workers of the Misr Spinning & Weaving Co. (public textile company) demanding better working conditions, an equal distribution of benefits in public sector companies and the resignation of the CEO	Occupations,	Government, WB, corrupt political / economic system	Arrests
10/07	10/07	Global	Protests during the World Bank Group and IMF Annual Meetings in Washington DC	Marches, educational actions, protest assemblies	World Bank, IMF, USA, EU	2 arrests
10/07	10/07	India	Implementation of a land reform leading to land rights for the Dalits (lowest caste)	Marches	Government, elites, corrupt political / economic system	
10/07	11/07	United Arab Emirates (Dubai)	Burj Dubai construction workers (mainly immigrants) demanding higher wages and better working conditions	Strikes, formal statements	Corporations / employers, government	400 arrests
10/07	11/07	Malaysia	Racial, cultural and religious discrimination of Hindus owing to Constitution's Article 153, which asserts ethnic Malay supremacy	Protest assemblies, legal / electoral redress, political stunts, blockades	Government	120 arrests, lawsuit, police violence
11/07	11/07	Mauritania	Protests all over the country and some riots due to an increase in food prices	Violence	Government	1 killed, police violence
11/07	11/07	Malaysia	Coalition of NGOs and political parties demanding reforms of the electoral system to end vote manipulations	Marches	Corrupt political / economic system	245 arrests, police violence
11/07	11/10	South Korea	Demonstrations against the G20 during the celebration of its summit	Protest assemblies	G20, corporations / employers, finance, corrupt political / economic system, free trade, USA, IMF, elites	
11/07	12/07	Japan	Trade unions demanding full salary and advantages for Japanese workers in US bases	Strikes, formal statements, protest assemblies	Military / police	
11/07	04/08	Senegal	Protests and riots in Dakar denouncing the low living standards and the rising cost of food	Occupations, blockades, destruction of property, violence	Government	24 arrests, torture
12/07	01/12	Yemen	South Yemen Movement against central governance and in favor of federalism or the secession of the South	Strikes, formal statements	Government, corrupt political / economic system	

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12/07	02/08	Kenya	Political parties and movements denouncing electoral fraud after the election of president Kibaki	Marches, violence, destruction of property	Government, corrupt political / economic system	1500 killed, 250000 displaced
01/08	12/08	Greece	National protests against austerity measures during 2008, mainly lead by the main trade unions, opposing government and economic policy	Strikes, formal statements	Government	Police violence
01/08	12/08	Italy	General strike organized by the CGIL union against the government economic policy, its management of the crisis and the destruction of the public sector	Strikes, formal statements	Government, corrupt political / economic system	
01/08	01/10	Spain	Implementation of the Bologna Process (European Higher Education Area), which lead to many protests in all Spain by students who denounced the privatization of public universities	Marches, occupations, strikes, formal statements	Government	Arrests
01/08	Ongoing	Global	Women's protest through civil disobedience and direct action by the group FEMEN aiming at undermine the foundations of the patriarchal world	Civil disobedience / direct action, protest assemblies, internet activism	Social group	Arrests
01/08	Ongoing	Global	Global movement of "hacktivists" "Anonymous" advocating for an open Internet and against citizen surveillance through hacktivism, direct action or whistle-blowing-leaks	Hacking, internet activism, whistleblowing/leaks, civil disobedience / direct action	Corrupt political / economic system, military / police, government, USA	Arrests, harassment
01/08	07/08	Tunisia	Youth demonstrations denouncing unemployment and nepotism in job allocation processes keeping locals away from finding decent jobs	Strikes, formal statements, destruction of property	Government	1 killed, arrests
02/08	02/08	Mozambique	Demonstrations and food and fuel riots in Maputo due to the 14% increase in the price of fuel and consequent hikes in bus fares and food prices	Protest assemblies, violence, destruction of property	Government, corrupt political / economic system	4 killed, 100 injured
02/08	07/10	Turkey	National campaign demanding the end of internet censorship	Marches, protest assemblies, blockages	Government	
02/08	02/08	Philippines	Demands for the resignation of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, end of corruption and proper use of public money	Marches	Corrupt political / economic system, political party / group, government	Hundreds killed
02/08	02/08	Burkina Faso	Riots due to the increase of food and fuel prices and the high cost of living	Protest assemblies, violence, destruction of property	Government	100 arrests
02/08	02/08	Cameroon	Demands for lower food and fuel prices and real democracy which erupted in riots and violence	Protest assemblies, violence, destruction of property	Government, corrupt political / economic system	100 killed, 1000 arrests

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02/08	02/08	Australia	Marches in Sidney, lead by workers and some Parliament members, demanding to stop the privatization of electricity	Marches	Government	
03/08	04/08	Ethiopia	Riots and peaceful gathering of farmers due to the drought and spike in food prices	Protest assemblies	Government	
03/08	06/08	Chile	Chilean Studen Movement demonstrating against the new general law on education and for improvements in the university system and free public transportation for students	Strikes, formal statements	Government	Arrests
03/08	07/08	Argentina	Farmers and workers campaigning to put an end to soy export taxes	Strikes, formal statements, blockades	Government	18 arrests, injured
03/08	03/08	China	Protests which grew into riots in the Tibetan Autonomous Region asking for better treatment for Tibetans and the independence from China	Marches, protest assemblies, destruction of property	China, government, corrupt political / economic system	Killed, arrests, injured, new laws, violence
03/08	12/08	Global	Global demonstrations to end the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq	Marches, protest assemblies	Military / police, USA, government	
04/08	04/08	Ukraine	Demonstrations against the adhesion of Ukraine to NATO when US President Bush visited the country	Marches, protest assemblies, occupations	USA, military / police, EU	
04/08	05/08	Indonesia	Marches demanding lower fuel prices	Marches	Government	100 arrests
04/08	01/09	Peru	Demonstrations and some riots in Lima demanding lower food prices and an increase in financial aid to the poor	Violence, destruction of property	Government	216 arrests
04/08	04/08	Ivory Coast	Riots against the increase of food and fuel prices and low living standards	Violence, destruction of property	Government	1 killed, 10 injured
04/08	04/08	Haiti	Riots due to the increase in food prices	Violence, destruction of property	Government, IMF, WB	4 killed, 20 injured
04/08	04/08	Egypt	General Strike to protest against high food prices and low living standards	Strikes, formal statements	Government	
04/08	04/08	Bangladesh	Riots lead by textile workers demanding an increase of wages and lower food prices	Protest assembly, destruction of property, violence	Government, corporations / employers	20 injured, police violence
04/08	05/08	Global	Regional protest in Southern Africa against the shipment of arms to Zimbabwe from a Chinese container vessel	Civil disobedience / direct action, blockades	Military / police, corporations / employers	
04/08	08/10	India	Demonstrations in Uttarakhand to stop the 6 hydroelectric dam projects on the Ganges River	Hunger strike	Government, corporations / employers	

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05/08	05/08	Global	May 1st, International Workers' Day, with workers demanding the right to decent work and social and economic justice	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers, corrupt political / economic system, elites, finance, IMF, World Bank, free trade	530 arrests
05/08	05/08	Somalia	National food riots due to the increase of food prices	Protest assemblies, violence, destruction of property	Government, corporations / employers	2 killed, injured
05/08	07/08	South Korea	National campaign to keep the ban on US beef imports	Protest assemblies, marches	Free trade, USA, government	200 injured
06/08	06/08	Global	Shipping strike in Europe demanding the increase of the help to cope with fuel prize increase	Strikes, formal statements	EU, government	2 killed
06/08	12/08	Thailand	Demands of government resignation and decentralization of power by movements and political parties in favour of a large Royal control of the Parliament	Occupations, blockades	Government, political party / group	Police violence, several injured
06/08	07/08	Nicaragua	Demonstrations demanding lower food and energy prices	Marches, protest assemblies	Government	
07/08	07/08	United States	Demands for protection of the native lands, natural environment and sacred sites for indigenous people	Political stunt, civil disobedience / direct action	Government, corporations / employers	
07/08	07/08	Niger	Demonstration against food prices increase and electricity blackouts demanding a national nuclear powerplant as Niger's main export is uranium	Marches, protest assemblies	Government	
09/08	10/08	Colombia	National campaign and demonstrations by unions, truckers, teachers and public servants demanding better working conditions and higher wages	Marches, violence, destruction of property	Government, corporations / employers	41 killed
10/08	12/09	Iceland	Spontaneous social movement reflecting the popular disenchantment with political system and financial sector (demands for the resignation of Prime Minister and Chief of Central Bank)	Formal statements, protest assemblies	Government, finance, corrupt political / economic system	
10/08	Ongoing	Iceland	Campaign "InDefence" aiming to gather information, provide analysis and contribute to a balanced discussion of issues such as the use of the Anti-Terrorism Act against Iceland and the resolution of the Icesave dispute	Educational actions, internet activism	Finance, EU, corrupt political / economic system	
10/08	10/08	Iran	"Merchant strikes" all over the country's Bazaars demanding the elimination of the VAT tax raise	Strikes, "merchants" strikes	Government	

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11/08	Ongoing	Hungary	NGO, which decided to become a political party in 2009 "Lehet más a politika" (Politics can be different), and obtained 16 seats in the 2009 Parliament elections	Form new political party/movement	Corrupt political / economic system, finance, military / police, free trade, EU, IMF, ECB,	
12/08	Ongoing	Brazil	Stop and postpone bids of Brazilian oil by foreign companies and direct the funds towards the training of local workers	Marches, occupations, strikes, formal statements	Government, corporations / employers	
12/08	12/08	Greece	Killing of teenager by police officer that generated riots, spread protests all over the country and evolved towards a protest for economic and social justice	Occupations, marches	Government, military / police	200 arrests, injured
01/09	12/09	Greece	National protests, mainly lead by trade unions, against austerity measures during 2009 and for an alternative plan to alleviate the crisis impact on people	Strikes, formal statements, blockades	Government	
01/09	01/10	United States	Local and national environmental campaign and demonstrations against fossil fuels and mountain top removal	Civil disobedience / direct action, marches, protest assemblies, educational actions, political stunts	Government, corporations / employers	Arrests
01/09	Ongoing	France	Revoke the construction of a new airport in the Region of Nantes (Aéroport Notre Dame des Landes) and instead renew the old one (Aéroport Nantes Atlantique)	Marches, occupations	Government (local)	
01/09	03/09	Madagascar	Demonstrations by political movements ("Young Malagasies Determined") demanding freedom of expression, the resignation of ministers and the departure of President Marc Ravalomanana	Marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, destruction of property, violence	Government, political party / group	135 killed, police violence, new laws
01/09	01/09	Iceland	Demonstrations in front of the Parliament and occupations of the Central Bank to reflect popular disenchantment with political system and the financial sector	Occupations	Government, finance, corrupt political / economic system	20 arrests
01/09	03/09	France	General Strike in Martinique and Guadeloupe denouncing the high cost of living and low minimum wage	Strikes, formal statements	Government, corporations / employers	
01/09	02/09	Global	World Social Forum is an on-going process where social movement, activists, campaigners, etc. join together every 2 years against the neoliberal system under the slogan "Another world is possible." This edition was celebrated in Belém (Brazil) and focused on the Collective Rights of Stateless Peoples	Marches, educational actions, protest assemblies	Government, corrupt political / economic system, elites, finance, IMF, EU, USA, free trade, military / police, G20	

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01/09	06/09	UK	Strike in the energy sector to demand employment for British citizens in British refineries	Strikes, formal statements	Corporations / employers, EU	
01/09	03/09	France	General Strike against austerity measures and for protection of wages from downward pressures	Strikes, marches	Government, corrupt political / economic system, finance, EU, IMF	
02/09	Ongoing	Spain	National campaign and social movement "Plataforma de Afectados por las Hipotecas" demanding the stop of evictions, a debt audit and the cancellation of families' debts	Marches, occupations, strikes, formal statements, noisemaking	Government, finance, corrupt political / economic system	Arrests
02/09	02/09	Ireland	March organized by the Irish Coalition of Trade Unions for a fairer way in dealing with the economic crisis and ensuring the people's interests come first	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, IMF, ECB, EU	
02/09	02/10	Niger	Demonstrations by a coalition of NGOs, political parties and trade unions ("Front for the Defence of Democracy") claiming for real democracy and against Parliamentarians high salaries and President Mamadou Tandja	Marches, protest assemblies, strikes, formal statements	Government	Injured, new laws, police violence
03/09	Ongoing	Jamaica	Campaign ("Campaign for Social and Economic Justice") to repudiate public debt and conduct an audit to identify people who have enriched themselves at the public expense	Marches, educational actions,	IMF, government	
03/09	Ongoing	Kenya	Claims against increasing Parliamentarians salaries and VAT, demands for better living conditions and end of corruption	Occupations, political stunts, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, destruction of property, violence	Government, IMF, corrupt political / economic system	4 killed, arrests, police violence
03/09	Ongoing	Spain	Denounce fraudulent commercial behavior of Spanish banks and saving banks related with the commercialization of a financial product known as Preferred shares	Occupations, civil disobedience / direct action, noisemaking	Government, finance, corrupt political / economic system, corporations / employers	Arrests
03/09	05/09	Madagascar	Demonstrations of political movements asking for the return to a civilian rule and elections after Andry Rajoelina's <i>coups d'état</i>	Marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, destruction of property, violence	Corrupt political / economic system, military / police	1 killed, 34 injured, police violence
03/09	07/09	Pakistan	Villagers claiming to stop land grabbings by Varyaam Faqir, a feudal lord	Hunger strikes	Government, elites, corrupt political / economic system	Violence
03/09	04/09	Thailand	Thai's people revolution against the non-legitimate government of Mr. Abhisit and a call for real democracy	Occupations, marches, destruction of property	Government, elites, corrupt political / economic system	2 killed, 70 injured

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03/09	04/09	Global	Demonstrations and marches in London during the G20 Summit demanding a democratic governance of the economy for jobs and climate justice	Marches, educational actions	Corrupt political / economic system, G20	1 killed, 100 arrests
04/09	05/09	Tanzania	Campaign lead by a NGO network ("Ngorogoro") to stop plans to grab Masai lands	Marches, protest assemblies	Government	3 arrests
04/09	Ongoing	United States	National conservative movement ("The Tea Party") in favor of tax cuts and government downsizing and against Obamacare, gun registry and other measures	Marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action	Government, political party / group	
04/09	Ongoing	United States	Campaign and demonstration in favor of LGBT rights and marriage equality for same-sex couples	Legal / electoral redress, educational actions, celebrity endorsements, marches	Government, government (local), corrupt political / economic system	Killed
05/09	05/09	Global	May 1st, International Workers' Day, demanding the end of the crisis, the transformation of global economy and job creation	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers, corrupt political / economic system, elites, finance, IMF, World Bank, free trade, G20	150 arrests
05/09	06/09	China	Anniversary of Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 demanding real democracy	Marches, protest assemblies	Corrupt political / economic system, government	Arrests, police violence
06/09	01/10	China	Coalition of different movements and activists against the construction of the Guangzhou-Hong Kong high-speed train	Occupations, protest assemblies	Corporations / employers, government (local)	Police violence
06/09	07/10	United States	National campaign and protests to stop austerity-based cuts on education and in defence of public education	Strikes, formal statements, protest assemblies, marches, civil disobedience / direct action	Government, government (local), corporations / employers, finance	Arrests
06/09	02/10	Iran	Iran presidential election lead to massive protests ("Green revolution") in the entire country and by Iranian communities abroad demanding free elections	Protest assemblies, violence	Government, corrupt political / economic system	36 killed, 4000 arrests
07/09	07/09	China	Ethnic protests in Urumqi (NW China) by the Uyghur group, mainly workers, against the Han community which lead to deep violence	Marches, protest assemblies, destruction of property	China, government, corrupt political / economic system	184 killed
07/09	02/10	South Africa	Protests in Balfour demanding to provide townships with public services and better economic opportunities which developed into riots	Violence	Government (local)	Police violence
08/09	08/09	Mali	Campaign lead by Islamic groups against the extension of women's rights of the New Family Law	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, political party / group	
09/09	09/09	Morocco	End of religiously inspired freedom limitations	Civil disobedience / direct action	Religious authorities, government	Arrests, harassment



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10/09	10/09	Global	Rallies during the World Bank Group and IMF Annual Meetings in Istanbul (Turkey)	Marches, educational actions, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, destruction of property, violence	World Bank, IMF, USA, EU	2 arrests, police violence
10/09	10/09	Italy	March organized by journalists and unions in favor of press freedom	Marches	Government, corrupt political / economic system	
10/09	10/09	Romania	General Strike organized by trade unions and "Alliance Budget" against the wage law presented by the government	Marches, strikes, formal statements	Government, IMF	
10/09	Ongoing	Mexico	Extinction of the electricity national company "Luz y Fuerza Centro", which lead to strikes by unions demanding the payment of salaries and pensions and relocation of workers	Hunger strikes, strikes, formal statements	Government	11 arrests
11/09	11/09	South Korea	National rallies organized by unions against the new labor laws, which limited the role of current trade unions	Protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers	
11/09	10/12	Iceland	Social movement and campaign ("The Anthill") aiming to create a public debate to define what society Icelanders want	Protest assemblies, meetings	Corrupt political / economic system	
12/09	02/10	Portugal	Coalition campaigning and demonstrating against marriage equality for homosexual couples after the approval of the new law	Marches, petitions	Government, social group	
12/09	05/11	Palestinian territories	Elimination of the sale of Israeli settlement goods in Palestina	Boycotts, educational actions	Government, corrupt political / economic system	
12/09	Ongoing	Mexico	Campaign to boycott the fuel prices increase by using public transport instead of cars and denounce the role of foreign oil companies ("Gasolinazo")	Boycotts	Government, free trade, USA, corrupt political / economic system, corporations / employers, elites, IMF, finance	
12/09	10/10	Indonesia	National marches to protest for Century Bank bailout, corruption and nepotism, demanding the building of a real democracy	Marches, blockades, destruction of property	Government, corrupt political / economic system, elites, finance	gunshots, police violence, arrests
12/09	12/09	Global	Alternative Summit ("Klimaforum") in Copenhagen organized by civil society organizations during the celebration of the Conference of the Parties number 15 of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change	Marches, educational actions, general assemblies, political stunts	Governments, corporations / employers	
12/09	Ongoing	Italy	Coalition of civil society, lead by "El Popolo Viola", campaigning and organizing marches demanding Berlusconi's resignation and change of the political culture	Marches, assemblies	Corrupt political / economic system, political party / group, government	

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01/10	08/10	China	Factory workers of foreign firms (Foxconn, Honda, Toyota and more) strike demanding better working conditions	Strikes, formal statements, protest assemblies	Corporations / employers	
01/10	12/10	Bangladesh	Textile workers' unions demanding an increase of the minimum wage	Blockades	Government, corporations / employers	
01/10	12/10	Greece	National protests against austerity measures during 2010 demanding (among others) to stop tax evasion and the privatization of companies, and find a common solution with an open dialogue among all the actors	Strikes, formal statements, blockades	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system	3 killed, 23 arrests
01/10	Ongoing	Germany	Antinuclear groups and the Green Party demanding the no-return to nuclear energy	Occupations, protest assemblies, blockades	Government	
01/10	Ongoing	Germany	German Confederation of Trade Unions in solidarity with workers in austerity-hit Europe and demanding higher wages and the introduction of a mandatory minimum wage	Marches, protest assemblies	EU, government, IMF	
01/10	Ongoing	Greece	Campaign and social movement ("Den Pilorno") to expand social benefits to include the whole society regardless of their income and denounce corruption in public goods management	Occupations, protest assemblies, marches	Corrupt political / economic system, government, finance, elites, corporations / employers, EU, ECB, IMF	
01/10	Ongoing	Mexico	Coalition of political parties and social movements ("MORENA"), campaigning for a new economic model and political regime in Mexico	Form new political party/movement,	Government, corrupt political / economic system, IMF, free trade, USA, corporations / employers, finance, elites	
01/10	Ongoing	United States	National campaign by "National Action Network" demanding justice for Trayvon Martin and investigate "stand your ground" and "stop and frisk" laws	Marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action	Government, government (local)	Arrests
01/10	04/10	Japan	Against the presence of the US military bases in Japan, especially in Okinawa	Protest assemblies, marches	Military / police, USA	
02/10	02/10	Jamaica	Strike and protests by trade unions against the sell of Jamaica Airlines and demanding the government to consider workers' demands	Strikes, formal statements, marches, protest assemblies	Government	
02/10	Ongoing	UK	Campaing of civil society organizations ("Robin Hood Tax Campaign") demanding the taxation of financial transactions to finance public and social needs at home and abroad	Marches, educational actions, street theater and music	Finance	
02/10	03/10	Pakistan	Strike of Pearl Continental Union Hotel workers to reinstate union leaders and force the management to negotiate the labor disputes	Occupations, hunger strikes	Corporations / employers	

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
03/10	Ongoing	United States	Social movement and campaign ("United We Dream Network") to give undocumented children of undocumented immigrants a pathway to citizenship	Marches, protest assemblies, strikes, formal statements, hunger strikes	Corrupt political / economic system, government	600 arrests
03/10	03/10	Portugal	Strike of public service workers due to freeze of wages and cuts on pensions	Strikes/walkouts, blockages	Government, corporations / employers, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system	
03/10	Ongoing	Russia	Campaign ("Putin must go") to demand the resignation of Vladimir Putin as the only way to reestablish democracy in Russia	Celebrity endorsements, blockades	Corrupt political / economic system, elites, political party / group	Arrests
03/10	05/10	Thailand	Social movement against the <i>coups d'etat</i> and to ensure an egalitarian society while demanding the resignation of Primer Minister Abhisit	Occupations, marches, violence	Government, corrupt political / economic system, political party / group	86 killed, 2000 injured
04/10	05/10	Kyrgyzstan	Demonstrations against corruption and rising cost of living (especially energy) which erupted into violent protests demanding President Bakiyev's resignation	Violence, destruction of property	Government, corporations / employers, corrupt political / economic system, IMF, WB	2600 killed, arrests, torture, displaced, police violence, violence
04/10	04/10	Indonesia	Marches in Jakarta against government decision to remove the tomb of an Islamic scholar from the cemetery	Marches, violence	Government	3 killed, 100 injured
05/10	05/10	Global	May 1st, International Workers' Day, mainly demanding the abandon of free-market policies that have caused world recession and poverty	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers, corrupt political / economic system, elites, finance, IMF, World Bank, G20, free trade,	
05/10	06/10	India	National marches organized by opposition parties due to the increase in fuel prices	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers	
05/10	06/10	Global	G20 Summit in Toronto with several demonstrations against it organized by civil society organizations	Marches, educational actions, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, destruction of property, violence	G20, Free trade, IMF, WB, finance, corporations / employers, USA, EU, corrupt political / economic system, elites	1118 arrests
05/10	05/10	Romania	March in Bucharest organized by the trade unions against the austerity measures implemented by the government	Marches	Government, IMF, EU	
05/10	11/10	Bangladesh	Crisis related with water, gas and electricity management, which lead to demonstrations by the Bangladesh Nationalist Party calling for new elections	Blockades	Government, IMF, WB	Arrests, police violence

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
05/10	Ongoing	Colombia	Farmers and workers against the free trade agreements with the US, European Union and South Korea	Political stunts, protest assemblies	Free trade, USA, EU, government	
05/10	06/10	Romania	Public sector strike against the IMF-imposed austerity program of the government and demands to clamp down tax evaders and corruption	Marches, strikes, formal statements	Government, IMF, EU	
06/10	08/10	Peru	Protests against natural resources exploitation in the Camisea region	Strikes, formal statements, blockades, occupations	Government, corporations / employers, corrupt political / economic system	25 arrests, 18 injured, police violence
06/10	11/10	France	General Strike and national marches against the reform of the pensions	Strikes, formal statements, marches	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system	
06/10	06/10	Italy	General Strike against austerity measures and for an alternative plan to alleviate the impact of the crisis on people	Strikes, formal statements, marches	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system, finance, elites	
07/10	07/10	China	Marches of Guangxi citizens against the Xinfu aluminium plant	Marches, blockades, occupations	Corporations / employers, government	Police violence,
07/10	Ongoing	Argentina	Protest by the Qom indigenous communities in the region of Formosa against land grabbing and for respect and dignity of its culture	Occupations, blockades, hunger strikes	Government, military / police	4 killed, arrests, displaced
07/10	07/10	Iran	Raise of the VAT by the government leading to protests by merchants all over the country	Strikes, "merchants" strikes	Government	
07/10	06/11	India	Farmers and peasant against the construction of coal-based powerplant by the Nagarjuna Constructions Company Farmers and peasant protesting in Andhr Pradesh against the construction of a coal based power plant by Nagarjuna Constructions Company	Civil disobedience/direct action	Government, corporations / employers	2 killed
09/10	09/10	Mozambique	National food and fuel riots	Protest assemblies, violence, destruction of property	Government, IMF	12 killed, 280 injured, 148 arrests
09/10	Ongoing	Spain	Platform ("Marea Ciudadana") merging all the "tides" (white for health, yellow for education, etc.) against cutbacks and in favour of democracy	Marches, strikes, occupations	Government, corrupt political / economic system, IMF, EU, ECB, finance, elites	Harassment, arrests
09/10	09/10	Turkey	Kurdish Education and Language Movement demanding to provide Kurdish language in public school instead of only Turkish in the Kurdish region	Boycotts	Government, political party / group	
09/10	10/10	Iran	Gold merchants against the VAT raise on gold	Strike	Government	

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
09/10	03/12	Spain	Two General Strikes against the economic policy of the socialist (2010, austerity measures) and conservative (2012, Labour reform) government	Marches, strikes, formal statements	Government, corporations / employers, EU	235 arrests, 161 injured
10/10	01/11	Sri Lanka	Campaign by fishermen to stop the construction of a seaplane platform on Negombo Lagoon	Occupations, protest assemblies	Government	
10/10	06/11	Argentina	Hacktivists from "Anonymous" protesting digitally (hacking sites, collapsing Twitter accounts, etc.) to stop the Digital tax	Hacking, internet activism, civil disobedience / direct action	Government	
10/10	12/11	United States	National campaign in favour of open Internet, freedom of speech for journalist and whistleblowers, Justice for Bradley Manning and Julian Assange and stop corporate spying	Whistleblowing/leaks, internet activism, civil disobedience / direct action, hacking	Military / police, corrupt political / economic system	Arrests, new laws, lawsuit
10/10	11/10	Western Sahara	Against the Moroccan repression and in favor of better public infrastructure and services	Occupations	Government, corrupt political / economic system	19 killed, 723 injured, 159 missed, police violence
10/10	Ongoing	Australia	Occupy Sydney and Melbourne in favour of economic and social justice, against the corruption of financial sector and corporate greed	Occupations, marches, general assemblies, protest assemblies, political stunts, civil disobedience / direct action	Corrupt political / economic system, elites, government, corporations / employers, free trade, finance, IMF, G20, USA	Lawsuits, 91 arrests
10/10	10/10	China	Student's assembly in the Qingquan region in defense of the use of Tibet language in education and demanding culture equality	Marches, protest assemblies	China, government	Police violence,
10/10	10/10	South Korea	One-person protest asking the government more transparency in relation to the publicaiton of job openings	Marches, protest assemblies	Government	
10/10	Ongoing	UK	Campaign and social movement ("UK Uncut") demanding to put and end to tax loopholes benefiting corporation and thinking to create alternatives to austerity measures	Civil disobedience / direct action, marches, protest assemblies	Government, finance, corrupt political / economic system	Harassment, arrests
10/10	12/10	UK	Marches and protests organized by several student's unions against tuition fees increases in universities	Marches, occupations	Government, corrupt political / economic system	300 arrests
11/10	11/10	Tanzania	National demonstrations demanding transparency on election counting process due to the delay in the presentation of election results	Marches, protest assemblies, blockades, destruction of property	Political party / group	Police violence
11/10	11/10	Ireland	March of student's, organized by unions, in opposition to a proposed increase in university registration fees	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, IMF, ECB, EU	2 arrests, violence

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
11/10	11/10	Portugal	General Strike against austerity measures	Strikes, formal statements	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system, elites, finance	
12/10	12/10	Rusia	Right-wing movements (some football hooligans) protesting violently against immigration	Marches, destruction of property	Social group	20 killed, 20 injured, 120 arrests
12/10	12/10	Malaysia	Rally in Kuala Lumpur against the privatization of water management and the bailout of SYABAS shareholders (privatized water company)	Protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers, finance	60 arrested, police violence
12/10	12/10	Tunisia	Merchants and street vendors in Sidi Bouzid demanding more jobs, higher wages and the need for re-distributive social justice	Self-inflicted violence, protest assemblies, marches, civil disobedience / direct action, destruction of property, violence	Government (local), corrupt political / economic system	Police violence
12/10	12/10	China	Protests, lead by a political party ("New Macau Association") in Macau during the 11th anniversary of sovereignty transfer due to government's corruption, lack of voting rights and price of housing	Marches, protest assemblies	Corrupt political / economic system,	
12/10	01/11	Tunisia	"Tunisian Revolution" (aka "Jasmine Revolution") demanding the end of the current government (President Ben Ali) unable to address the need for re-distributive social justice	Occupations, protest assemblies, marches, civil disobedience / direct action, destruction of property	Government, corrupt political / economic system	300 killed, 700 injured, arrests
12/10	02/11	Tanzania	Opposition political parties demanding the end of government corruption and political rights	Marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, violence	Government, military / police	2 killed
12/10	02/11	Algeria	National protests denouncing low living standards and inequality, demanding President's resignation and the end of the state of emergency law	Occupations	Government, political party / group	3 killed, 826 injured, arrests, police violence
12/10	12/10	Bolivia	Rise of fuel prices ("Gasolinazo") leading to several protests (some of them violent) by trade unions and citizens demanding a price decrease	Strikes, formal statements, protest assemblies, destruction of property	Government	Police violence
12/10	01/11	Chile	Conflict in the region of Magallanes because of the increase in gas prices	Marches, strikes, formal statements, blockades	Government	2 killed
12/10	12/12	China	Marches in Hong Kong on New Year's Eve demanding more democracy	Marches, protest assemblies, blockades	Corrupt political / economic system, government	
01/11	06/11	United States	Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker-led austerity-based attacks on collective bargaining, wages and benefits of public-sector unions	Protest assemblies, occupations, civil disobedience / direct action, legal / electoral redress, general assemblies	Government (local), political group, elites	Arrests

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01/11	12/11	Colombia	Miners and indigenous peoples protesting against natural resources exploitation (coal, gold and oil) and demanding better working conditions and indigenous rights' respect	Strikes, formal statements, blockades, hunger strikes, violence	Corporations / employers, government	
01/11	12/11	Greece	National protests against austerity measures in 2011	Strikes, formal statements, blockades, civil disobedience / direct action, political stunts, general assemblies, protest assemblies	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system	43 arrests
01/11	12/11	Italy	General Strike against austerity measures and tax reforms	Strikes, formal statements, blockades	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system, finance, elites	
01/11	Ongoing	United States	National campaign and demonstrations organized by Climate organizations against the Keystone XL Tar Sands pipeline	Civil disobedience / direct action, protest assemblies, occupations, educational actions	Government, corporations / employers	Arrests
01/11	02/12	Senegal	President Abdoulaye Wade aim to be reelected for a third term initiated protests led by youth demanding a real democracy, social and economic justice and stop President's intentions of reelection	Internet activism, protest assemblies	Government, corrupt political / economic system	3 arrests
01/11	12/11	Jordan	Government corruption and the increase of food prices lead to demands of resignation of the cabinet and economic justice	Protest assemblies, occupations	Government, corrupt political / economic system	
01/11	02/12	Yemen	"Yemeni Revolution" demanding President's departure, end of corruption and real democracy	Marches, protest assemblies, violence	Corrupt political / economic system, elites	killed, thousands injured
01/11	04/11	Oman	Demonstrations demanding the end of corruption and higher wages	Protest assemblies, occupations	Government, corrupt political / economic system	2 killed, police violence
01/11	04/11	Mauritania	Marches led by youth demanding democracy, economic and social justice, resignation of the prime minister and women's rights	Marches, protest assemblies	Corrupt political / economic system, government, political party / group	
01/11	04/11	Saudi Arabia	Shia prisoners condemned to jail without trial	Civil disobedience / direct action	Government	Arrests
01/11	02/11	Egypt	"Egypt Revolution" in the streets all over the country demanding the end of the 31 years of state of emergency law and departure of President Mubarak, real democracy and social and economic justice	Occupations, marches, protest assemblies	Corrupt political / economic system, government, military / police	840 killed, 6467 injured, police violence
01/11	06/11	Syria	Popular uprising against President Assad demanding him to step down which afterwards became a civil war	Violence	Corrupt political / economic system, government, elites	Violence

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01/11	03/11	Sudan	Low income people and youth marching against high prices and corruption and demanding economic and political reforms	Marches, protest assemblies	Government	Police violence
02/11	09/11	South Africa	Demonstrations against the lack of jobs, the absence of public services (especially health) and demands for the economic empowerment of black people	Protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, destruction of property, violence	Government	2 killed, police violence
02/11	Ongoing	Ireland	Marches every weekend in Ballyhea against bank bondholders' bailouts	Marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action	Government, finance, corrupt political / economic system, elites	
02/11	02/11	Global	World Social Forum is an on-going process where social movement, activists, campaigners, etc. join together every 2 years against the neoliberal system under the slogan "Another world is possible." This edition was celebrated in Dakar (Senegal) under the Arab Revolutions context	Marches, educational actions, protest assemblies	Government, corrupt political / economic system, elites, finance, IMF, ECB, EU, USA, G20, free trade, military / police	
02/11	02/11	Italy	Women's marches in more than 200 cities asking for Berlusconi's resignation, and founding of a new democracy without sexism	Marches	Government, political party / group	
02/11	02/12	Iran	"Green Movement" denouncing 2009 detention during the protests for electoral fraud and government corruption	Marches	Government, corrupt political / economic system	97 injured
02/11	02/11	Libya	Marches denouncing the unfair arrest of the opposition Lawyer Fathi Terbil who defended political prisoners	Marches	Government, political group	40 injured, police violence, violence
02/11	03/11	Libya	Armed rebellion firstly in Eastern region to end Gaddafi's regime	Violence	Political party / group, elites, corrupt political / economic system	30000 killed, violence
02/11	03/11	China	Chinese pro-democracy protests in several cities inspired in the Tunisian revolution aka. "Jasmine Revolution"	General assemblies, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action	Corrupt political / economic system	60 arrested, new laws
02/11	09/11	Morocco	Constitutional reforms towards real democracy, economic reforms, and ethnic recognition	Marches, civil disobedience / direct action, internet activism	Government, corrupt political / economic system	6 killed, 128 injured, 120 arrests
03/11	09/11	Saudi Arabia	Demands for voting rights for Saudi women	Civil disobedience / direct action	Government, corrupt political / economic system	
03/11	03/11	Angola	End to the 32-year rule of President José Eduardo dos Santos	Protest assemblies, educational actions	Government, corrupt political / economic system	17 arrests



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03/11	Ongoing	Portugal	Social movement ("Geração à Rasca") born in preparation of the 12th March 2011 protest in Portugal demanding the transparency of politics, debt audits and questioning the legitimacy of international and European institutions	General assemblies, educational actions	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system	
03/11	03/11	China	Farmers displaced from their lands because of the construction of the Xiangjiaba hydraulic power station demanding a cash settlement for the lost land	Protest assemblies, blockades, destruction of property, violence	Government	50 injured, police violence
03/11	03/11	UK	"March for the Alternative" organized by the Trade Unions Confederation against UK government cuts and demanding jobs, growth, justice and an alternative to austerity through taxation and fair redistribution	Marches	Government, corrupt political / economic system, corporations / employers, elites, finance	214 arrests
04/11	04/11	Nigeria	Protests in 12 Northern Muslim States demanding democracy and against corruption and Christians from the South, which became riots	Violence, destruction of property, protest assemblies	Corrupt political / economic system, elites	830 killed, 65000 displaced
04/11	07/13	Myanmar	Villagers marching and occupying to stop current activities and expansion project of the Letpadaung Copper Mine	Marches, protest assemblies, occupations	Government, corporations / employers, China	Arrests, police violence
04/11	Ongoing	Japan	Put an end to nuclear power use in Japan	Protest assemblies, marches	Government, corporations / employers, corrupt political / economic system	
04/11	05/11	China	Campaign to free Ai Weiwei from prison	Street theater and music, petition drives	Government	Arrests
04/11	Ongoing	India	Campaign ("India against Corruption") against corruption demanding an anti-corruption legislation and its enforcement	Hunger strikes	Government, corrupt political / economic system	Arrests
04/11	11/11	Colombia	Protests led by student's unions and worker's unions against the education reforms and demanding better wages and pensions	Marches, occupations, violence	Government	
04/11	04/12	Uganda	Campaign ("Walk to work") demanding lower fuel and food prices	Civil disobedience / direct action, political stunts	Government, corrupt political / economic system	5 killed, 100 injured, 700 arrests, teargas, new laws
04/11	04/11	China	Truck drivers demonstrating and demanding lower fuel prices and higher wages to keep up with inflation	Protest assemblies	Government	3 killed, police violence

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04/11	Ongoing	Chile	Chilean Student Movement in favor of public education, higher participation of the State in education, change of the National Constitution and copper revenues to national development	Marches, strikes, formal statements	Government, corrupt political / economic system	2000 arrests
05/11	05/11	Brazil	Improvements of the Sao Paulo public transportation to take into account all fringes of the population	Occupation, stunt	Government	
05/11	05/11	China	Protests in Inner Mongolia for defense of human rights, dignity and mongolian culture and against pollution	Marches, protest assemblies	China, government, corporations / employers	1 killed, 50 arrested
05/11	05/11	Global	May 1st, International Workers' Day, with demands for democracy and social justice, worldwide support of the Arab Spring and employment	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers, corrupt political / economic system, elites, finance, IMF, World Bank, G20, free trade	
05/11	06/11	South Korea	Tuition rises in universities sparks student's protests against university reform	Marches, protest assemblies, street theater and music	Government	Lawsuit
05/11	06/11	Saudi Arabia	Right to drive for Saudi women	Civil disobedience / direct action, internet activism	Religious authorities, military / police, government	Arrests
05/11	03/13	Indonesia	Strikes demanding higher wages, better working conditions and the extension of social security	Marches, strikes	Government, corporations / employers	arrests
05/11	Ongoing	Spain	"15M Movement", "Indignados" denouncing the lack of real democracy and the need of a deep social, economic and political change	Marches, occupations	Corrupt political / economic system, government, finance, elites, corporations / employers, military / police, religious authorities, IMF, ECB, EU	Lawsuits
05/11	06/11	Sri Lanka	Workers marching to force the government to abandon the private pension system	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, IMF, WB	1 killed, 150 injured
06/11	06/11	China	Migrant workers caused riots in Chaozhou protesting for better job conditions and the payment of salaries	Marches, destruction of property	Corporations / employers	Injured, violence
06/11	12/11	Kazakhstan	Strike of oil workers due to military repression on a wage dispute, workers demand better working conditions	Strikes, blockades	Government, military / police	14 killed, 80 injured
06/11	06/13	Vietnam	March in Hanoi against Chinese imperialism (digs, explorations, etc.) in the South-East Asian sea	Marches	Corporations / employers, government, corrupt political / economic system, free trade, China	Arrests, torture
06/11	06/11	China	Riots in Zengcheng due to poor treatment of migrant workers	Marches, destruction of property, violence	Military / police, government	Police violence

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06/11	09/11	Australia	Unions and workers asking to stop job cuts and wages caps from public sector workers	Marches	Government	
07/11	Ongoing	Malaysia	Campaing and marches led by political parties to reform the electoral system, free elections, share of oil revenues to national development and better standards of living	Marches, protest assemblies	Corrupt political / economic system, government	1700 arrests
07/11	09/11	Israel	Youth groups in favor of economic and social justice	Occupations, general assemblies, protest assemblies, marches, civil disobedience / direct action, educational actions, internet activism	Government, corrupt political / economic system	
08/11	07/12	Bolivia	Protests against the construction of a road crossing the Territorio Indígena y Parque Nacional Isiboro-Sécure and demands for respect of indigenous rights	Marches, occupations	Government	Police violence
08/11	12/11	Niger	Riots due to high energy prices and low living standards	Destruction of property	Government, corporations / employers	1 killed, arrests, police violence
08/11	08/11	UK	"London riots" then spreading all over the country with people resentful about unemployment, lack of opportunities and racism	Destruction of property	Military / police, corrupt political / economic system	3100 arrests
08/11	08/11	China	Demonstrations against a chemical plant in Dalian	Marches, protest assemblies	Corporations / employers	Police violence
08/11	08/11	Chile	General Strike (with the support of student's unions and copper workers) demanding reform of the pension system, new Workers' Code, copper revenues to finance public services and reduction of fuel taxes	Strikes, formal statements, noisemaking	Government, corrupt political / economic system	
09/11	10/11	Brazil	Marches in more than 20 cities against corruption and in support of President Dilma Rousseff's governmental "clean-up" operation	Marches	Corrupt political / economic system	
09/11	Ongoing	United States	"Occupy Wall Street," the social movement that spread all over the country denouncing inequality and corruption in the political and economic system	Occupations, general assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, internet activism, hacking, marches, protest assemblies, mutual aid, street theater and music, strikes/walkouts, hacking	Finance, corrupt political / economic system, elites, corporations / employers, free trade, IMF, G20, military	New laws, 700 arrests, police violence
09/11	12/11	Angola	Protests against the 32 years rule of President José Eduardo Dos Santos. Demands to end corruption and better economic opportunities	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corrupt political / economic system	Arrests
09/11	01/12	South Korea	Enactment petition of an ordinance guaranteeing the freedom of LGBT students' rights	Petition drives	Government (local)	

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09/11	01/12	China	Demonstrations in Wukan against corruption and land grabbing	Occupations, protest assemblies	Government (local)	1 killed
09/11	10/11	Bulgaria	Marches and riots against the Roma community led by far-right political parties	Marches, destruction of property	Social group	200 arrests, violence
09/11	11/11	Mauritania	Equal treatment for Black Africans as with Arabs	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corrupt political / economic system, elites	2 killed, arrests, police violence
10/11	11/11	Italy	Marches demanding the resignation of Berlusconi and the end of austerity measures and banker's government	Marches	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system, finance, political party / group	70 injured, police violence
10/11	01/12	Germany	"Occupy" movements asking to curb the power of financial markets, denouncing inequality and the corruption in the political and economic system	Occupations, protest assemblies, educational actions, marches, legal / electoral redress, internet activism, civil disobedience / direct action	Finance, corrupt political / economic system, elites, corporations / employers, ECB	Arrests
10/11	Ongoing	Russia	Music group ("Pussy Riot") against Vladimir Putin and in favor of real democracy and women empowerment	Street theater and music	Corrupt political / economic system, political party / group, government	Arrests
10/11	10/11	Global	Global protest first called by "Democracia Real Ya!" from Spain and followed by "Occupy" movements from different cities. Marches in more than 950 cities in 82 countries	Occupations, marches, destruction of property, civil disobedience / direct action, internet activism, hacking	Corrupt political / economic system, elites, finance, IMF, G20, free trade	950 arrests, 150 injured
10/11	10/11	South Africa	"Occupy South Africa" denouncing economic injustice and demanding political and economic reforms	Occupations, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action	Finance, free trade,	
10/11	Ongoing	UK	"Occupy London" denouncing economic injustice and the role of corporations	Occupations, educational actions, marches, protest assemblies, general assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, political stunts	Corrupt political / economic system, finance, government, elites, corporations / employers, IMF, Free trade, G20, ECB, EU	20 arrests
10/11	Ongoing	Spain	Organization of grandparents ("Yayoflaudas") defending their grandchildren's rights against the financial sector and speculators	Marches, occupations	Finance, elites, corrupt political / economic system, government	Harassment
11/11	06/10	Global	Protests during the G20 Summit in Cannes (France)	Marches, educational actions, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, destruction of property, violence	G20, Free trade, IMF, WB, finance, corporations / employers, USA, EU, corrupt political / economic system, elites	

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
11/11	11/11	Sudan	Marches all over the country against high food prices and police violence	Marches, protest assemblies	Government	Police violence
11/11	12/11	Ukraine	Protests of Chernobyl clean-up workers, Afghan's war veterans and children in the World War II in order to receive their entire pension payment	Marches, occupations, hunger strikes	Government	1 killed
11/11	04/12	Germany	Anti-war and antinuclear protests calling for the end of Afghanistan war and the end of nuclear proliferation	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, military / police	
11/11	05/12	Canada	"Québec Student Protest" in response to the increase in university tuition	Strikes, marches, blockades, formal statements	Government (local)	arrests, police violence, new laws (Bill 78)
11/11	Ongoing	Spain	"¡Democracia Real Ya!" denouncing the lack of real democracy and demanding the elimination of political class privileges and changes in the political and economic system	Marches	Corrupt political / economic system, government, finance, elites, corporations / employers, military / police, IMF, ECB, EU	
11/11	11/11	Vietnam	Chinese "Falun Gong" practitioners demanding religious freedom from abroad (in China it is illegal)	Protest assembly	Government, China	30 arrests
11/11	11/12	Poland	Demonstrations during Poland Independence Day from right-wing movements and the Catholic Church on one side, and from left-wing and anarchist movements on the other side	Marches	EU, political group / party	342 arrest, injured
11/11	11/11	Portugal	General Strike against austerity measures	Strikes, formal statements	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system, finance, elites	2 arrests
11/11	11/11	UK	Public sector strike against UK government cuts	Strikes, formal statements, occupations, general assemblies, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, internet activism	Government	75 arrests
12/11	12/11	Democratic Republic of Congo	Marches organized by political parties claiming election fraud and against the reelection of Kabila as President	Marches, protest assemblies	Corrupt political / economic system, military / police	24 killed
12/11	12/11	Philippines	"Occupy Mendiola" against the inequality brought by the current system disregarding 99% of the population	Occupations, civil disobedience / direct action, general assemblies, protest assemblies, marches, political stunts	Elites, corrupt political / economic system, finance, IMF, free trade, USA, corporations / employers, government	5 arrests, 3 injured, police violence

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
12/11	01/12	Libya	Youth claiming that the democratic demands of the revolution have not been met. Demands of federalism and a faster transition to democracy	Protest assemblies, violence	Corrupt political / economic system, government	
12/11	Ongoing	Ethiopia	Muslims protesting against government interference in religious affairs	Marches, protest assemblies, destruction of property, violence	Government, religious authorities	4 killed
12/11	Ongoing	Greece	Campaign and social movement against the mining exploration in North-East Greece (especially in Halkadiki) by Eldorado, a Canadian mining company	Marches, occupations, blocks, destruction of property, violence	Government, corporations / employers, corrupt political / economic system	Arrests, injured
12/11	Ongoing	Russia	Social movement denouncing the electoral fraud and corruption. Demands to invalidate the election's results and real democracy	Marches	Corrupt political / economic system	3000 arrests, new laws
12/11	02/12	Global	Protests by the Congolese diaspora in more than 12 cities all over the world denouncing the electoral fraud and the repression of protests and of opposition groups	Marches, protest assemblies, destruction of property, violence	Military / police, government, corrupt political / economic system	
12/11	01/12	Kyrgyzstan	Hunger strikes and riots in prisons due to their inhuman conditions	Hunger strikes, self-inflicted violence, destruction of property	Government	35 injured
12/11	01/12	Mauritania	Resignation of the government and real democracy	Occupations	Government, corrupt political / economic system	Police violence
12/11	12/11	Italy	Rallies against racism	Protest assemblies	Social group	
12/11	05/12	Ireland	Peaceful sit-in after workers from the Vita Cortex plant were laid off without having received their pays	Occupations, blockades	Corporations / employers	
12/11	12/11	Sudan	Students groups demanding respect for Darfur students and cessation of police repression	Occupations, protest assemblies	Military / police, government	4 killed, arrests, police violence
01/12	01/12	Global	Protests during the World Economic Forum in Davos (Switzerland)	Marches, educational actions, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action	G20, USA, EU, IMF, ECB, Free trade, corporations / employers	100 arrests, police violence
01/12	02/12	Romania	Demonstrations all over Romania against austerity measures. Demands for government resignation and new elections	Marches, violence	Government, IMF, EU, ECB	280 arrests
01/12	02/12	Global	Protests in Europe against the approval of the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement	Hacking, marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience	EU, government, corporations / employers	
01/12	08/12	Tanzania	Doctors and teachers demanding higher salaries	Strikes, formal statements	Government	Torture

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
01/12	12/12	Greece	National protests against austerity measures in 2012 (including more than 5 General Strikes)	Strikes, formal statements, blockades	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system	2 killed, 270 arrests
01/12	12/12	Portugal	National protests against austerity in 2012 (including two General Strikes)	Marches, strikes, formal statements	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system, finance, elites	
01/12	Ongoing	Germany	Social movement ("Blockupy") against the rule of the Troika and the corruption in the political and economic system	Occupations, protest assemblies, educational actions, marches, legal / electoral redress, internet activism, civil disobedience / direct action	Government, ECB, EU, IMF	400 arrests
01/12	Ongoing	Portugal	"Que se lixe a Troika," meeting place/movement for all those fighting against Troika	Occupations, blockades	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system, finance, elites	
01/12	Ongoing	Spain	People's movement ("Desbanka") who fights against bank's abuses and the financial system	Marches, educational actions	Corrupt political / economic system, finance, government, elites, corporations / employers, IMF, ECB, EU	
01/12	Ongoing	United States	Justice for Edward Snowden, Defeat SOPA and CISPA, stop surveillance of Muslims and scientists, stop outsourcing US intelligence	Whistleblowing/leaks, internet activism, hacking, civil disobedience / direct action	Military / police, government, corrupt political / economic system	Arrests, new law, lawsuit
01/12	01/12	Hungary	March against the new Hungarian constitution	Marches, protest assemblies	Government	
01/12	Ongoing	Nigeria	Protests against fuel price hikes and denouncing the fraudulent subsidy system	Strikes, formal statements, blockades, marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, destruction of property, violence	Government, IMF, corrupt political / economic system, elites	16 killed, police violence
01/12	01/12	Poland	Internet activists against the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement and the Internet censorship	Hacking, internet activism, protest assemblies, marches, civil disobedience / direct action	EU, free trade, corporations / employers, government	
01/12	Ongoing	Kazakhstan	Demonstrations in favor of real democracy and claiming to put an end to corruption	Protest assemblies	corrupt political / economic system, elites	Arrests, torture
02/12	07/13	United States	Campaign and marches across the US to stop the attacks on minority voting rights and demanding justice for Trayvon Martin	Marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action	Government, government (local)	
02/12	Ongoing	Romania	Stop Chevron shale gas activities in Bârlad	Marches, occupations, blockades	Corporations / employers	

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
02/12	02/12	Israel	General Strike in favor of equal rights for contracted and in-house workers	Strikes, formal statements	Government, corporations / employers	
02/12	02/12	Democratic Republic of Congo	March in protest of the election results and the harassment of Christians	Marches	Corrupt political / economic system, military / police, political party / group,	36 killed, police violence
02/12	02/12	India	General Strike against low living standards and the privatization of state companies	Strikes, formal statements	Government	
02/12	05/12	Palestinian Territories	Prisoners protesting against the indefinite administrative detention from Israeli authorities	Hunger strikes, protest assemblies, educational actions	Government, military / police	
03/12	08/12	Angola	Marches demanding President Dos Santos' resignation, the end of corruption and better economic opportunities	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corrupt political / economic system	Arrests, police violence
03/12	Ongoing	Spain	Campaign and social movement ("Plataforma Auditoria Ciudadana de la Deuda") analyzing several issues linked with debt, austerity measures and financial sector	Educational actions	Finance, government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system, elites	
03/12	03/12	Denmark	March in favor to restrict immigration	Marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action	Social group	82 arrests
04/12	Ongoing	Indonesia	Riots against the removal of fuel subsidies	Marches, blockades, destruction of property, violence	Government, IMF	229 arrests, police violence
04/12	Ongoing	Global	Campaign and social movement ("International Citizen Debt Audit Network") to fight austerity measures through the implementations of citizen debt audits	Education actions, marches, protest assemblies	Government, corrupt political / economic system, elites, finance, IMF, ECB, EU	
04/12	04/12	Ireland	March in Galway during the Labor Party Conference to protest the austerity policies implemented	Marches, occupations	Political party / group	1 arrests
04/12	12/12	Philippines	Against the US military presence in Philippines	Political stunts, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers, military / police, USA	
04/12	04/10	Global	People's Summit on Climate Change in Cochabamba (Bolivia)	Marches, educational actions, general assemblies, political stunts	Elites, corporations / employers, financial sector, corrupt political / economic system	
04/12	Ongoing	Mauritania	Social movement, leaded by youth, in favor of women's rights and real democracy	Occupations, marches	Corrupt political / economic system, government	Police violence
05/12	05/12	Canada	Revoke Bill 78 regarding the limitation of freedom of assembly in response to student's strikes	Marches, noisemaking	Government (local), government	arrests, police violence



Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
05/12	05/12	Global	May 1st, International Workers' Day, calling on governments to assume their responsibilities to end the crisis	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers, corrupt political / economic system, elites, finance, IMF, World Bank, free trade, G20	
05/12	05/12	India	Political parties marching to protest the increase in fuel prices	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers	
05/12	06/12	Argentina	"Cacerolazos" and marches in high-income boroughs against corruption, insecurity and some economic measures	Marches, protest assemblies, noisemaking	Government	
05/12	01/13	United States	Campaign against Congress refusal to raise US debt ceiling and the consequent austerity measures implemented	Marches, protest assemblies, political stunts	Government, finance, corrupt political / economic system	
05/12	05/12	Madagascar	Return to civilian rule and speeding up the transition process	Marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action	Government	Arrests, police violence
05/12	Ongoing	Mexico	Social movement ("Yo soy 132") asking for a comprehensive change of the political and economic Mexican system and the instauration of a real democracy	Parches, educational actions, mutual aid	Government, political party / group, elites, corporations / employers	
05/12	05/12	Israel	Restrict the immigration of foreign labor	Protest assemblies, violence, destruction of property	Government, social group	17 arrests
05/12	Ongoing	Morocco	Against austerity measures and for social equity	Marches	Government, IMF, corrupt political / economic system	
06/12	06/12	Bangladesh	Textile workers demanding an increase of the minimum wage	Blockades	Government, corporations / employers	Arrests, injured
06/12	06/12	Global	"Cupula dos Povos," parallel summit to the UN Conference on Sustainable Development ("Rio+20"), celebrated in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)	Marches, educational actions, protest assemblies, political stunts	Governments, corporations / employers	
06/12	06/12	Global	Protests during the G20 Summit in Los Cabos (Mexico)	Marches, educational actions, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, destruction of property, violence	G20, Free trade, IMF, WB, finance, corporations, USA, EU, corrupt political / economic system, elites	
06/12	07/12	Sudan	Protests, mainly led by students, demanding the end of austerity measures and the reinstauration of subsidies	Protest assemblies	Government, IMF	New laws
06/12	07/12	Spain	March of miners ("Marcha Negra") from all over the country towards Madrid demanding a concrete retaining plan for miners	Marches, protest assemblies	Government	8 arrests

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
07/12	08/12	Ukraine	Opposition political parties protesting the law allowing official use of other languages (Russian)	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, social group	Police violence
07/12	08/12	Mexico	Stop the construction of wind farms in Cozumel	Marches	Government, corporations / employers	
07/12	11/12	Peru	Teachers and students strike against law to reform education	Strikes, blockades, occupations	Government	Police violence
07/12	07/12	Spain	Demonstrations all over the country against austerity measures	Marches	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system	15 arrests, 39 injured
08/12	09/12	China	Dispute with Japan over the Diaoyu islands	Marches, formal declarations	Government	Police violence
08/12	01/13	Colombia	Long hunger strike by General Motors' workers in Bogota demanding better working conditions	Hunger strikes	Corporations / employers	18 killed
08/12	Ongoing	United States	Campaign (with the participation of "Anonymous") demanding justice for rape victims	Whistleblowing/leaks, internet activism, hacking, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action	Police, government (local), social group	Harassment
08/12	Ongoing	Democratic Republic of Congo	Kabila's inability to solve the crisis in Goma. Demands of resignation	Marches, protest assemblies	Corrupt political / economic system, military / police, political party / group,	3 killed, police violence
08/12	09/12	South Africa	Protests demanding the increase of miners' minimum wage in Marikana	Strikes, formal statements, formal statements, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action	Corporations / employers, military / police	34 killed
08/12	08/12	Tunisia	Women marches asking for full equality for Women and Men and civil rights protection under the Islamist government	Marches	Government, political party / group	
08/12	05/13	France	Against marriage equality for same-sex couples	Marches, protest assemblies, destruction of property	Government	Arrests, lawsuit
09/12	09/12	Global	Marches (mainly in Muslim countries) against US cultural, military and economic imperialism	Marches, protest assemblies, destruction of property	Military / police, USA, government	Police violence
09/12	10/12	Jordan	Protests against food prices' increase. Demands for economic justice	Protest assemblies, occupations	Government, corrupt political / economic system	Arrests, injured, lawsuit
09/12	11/12	Turkey	Release of the resistant Ocalan and the extension of Kurdish language in schools	Hunger strikes	Government, political party / group	Arrests, police violence

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
09/12	10/12	Palestinian Territories	Recognition of the Paris protocol and the resignation of the prime minister	Violence	Government, IMF	Arrests, police violence
09/12	09/12	Spain	Independence of Catalonia from Spain	Marches	Government	
09/12	09/12	Yemen	Lifting former president Saleh's immunity so he can face charges	Marches, protest assemblies	Corrupt political / economic system, government	
09/12	11/12	Argentina	Against president Kichner and government corruption	Marches, protest assemblies, noisemaking	Corrupt political / economic system, political party / group, government	
09/12	09/12	India	March organized by political parties and unions demanding lower fuel prices and repeal a cap on subsidized fuel	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers	
09/12	09/12	India	Merchant strike against government authorization to Tesco and Walmart to conduct business in India	Strikes	Government, corporations / employers	
09/12	10/12	Spain	March to surround the Spanish Parliament the day the national budget was voted	Occupations, marches, protest assemblies	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system	64 arrests, 37 injured
09/12	09/12	Jamaica	March against gender violence	Marches	Social group	
09/12	09/12	Poland	March in Warsaw against structural reforms by the government and in favor of the Polish Catholic church	Marches	Government, EU	
10/12	12/12	Colombia	Marches and "cacerolazos" against the government. Demands to change its focus on more economic issues that affect people's daily life instead of just the FARC	Marches, noisemaking	Government, political party / group	
10/12	02/13	Canada	Campaign ("Idle no more") in defense of indigenous sovereignty and environmental protection	Blockades, protest assemblies, indigenous dances, occupations	Government	arrests
10/12	05/13	Kyrgyzstan	Demands to nationalize a gold mine because the Canadian firm "Kumtor" was not adequately taxed	Marches, blockades, destruction of property, violence	Government, corrupt political / economic system	100 arrests, 10 injured, new laws
10/12	10/12	India	Against land acquisitions by the government and demands for a "National Land Reform"	Marches	Government, corrupt political / economic system, elites	
10/12	Ongoing	Yemen	South Yemen Movement against central governance and in favor of federalism or the secession of the South	Strikes, formal statements	Corrupt political / economic system	
10/12	11/12	Italy	Students protests against austerity and education privatization	Marches, strikes, formal statements, occupations	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system, finance, elites	

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
10/12	10/12	Hungary	March in Miskolc against gypsies organized by a political party ("Jobbik")	Marches, protest assemblies	Social group	
10/12	10/12	Italy	March in Rome against the austerity measures implemented by the Prime Minister, Mario Monti	Marches	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system, finance, elites	
10/12	01/13	South Africa	Farmers from Western Cape on strike demanding higher wages	Strikes, formal statements, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action	Corporations / employers	6 arrests, police violence
11/12	11/12	Tanzania	Workers from Rukwa protesting against the unequal pay between them and foreign workers	Strikes, formal statements	Corporations / employers	
11/12	11/12	Jordan	Violent protests due to the increase in fuel prices and demands for King Abdullah II's abdications and resignation of the Prime Minister	Protest assemblies, violence, destruction of property	Government, IMF	Arrests
11/12	11/12	Global	Join European strike against austerity in Cyprus, Italy, Malta, Portugal and Spain	Strikes, formal statements, marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience	EU, IMF, ECB, government	74 arrests, 118 injured
11/12	05/13	Australia	Teacher's unions protesting against cuts and layoffs in public education	Marches	Government	Arrests
11/12	11/12	Argentina	General strike to increase minimum wage and social benefits	Strikes	Government	
11/12	11/12	Italy	Mayors from Italy marching in Rome against austerity measures	Marches	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system, finance, elites	
11/12	07/13	Egypt	Demonstrations against President Mohamed Morsi's decree giving himself legal immunity	Blockades, marches, destruction of property, violence	Government, political party / group	16 killed, 700 injured
12/12	12/12	Hungary	Students' marches against tuition fees increase in University and education cutbacks. Demands for public education.	Marches, blockades	Government, IMF	3 arrests
12/12	Ongoing	Mexico	Protests against corruption and the increase of taxes on "vehicle" ownership	Protest assemblies, political stunts	Government, corporations / employers	
12/12	02/13	India	Rapes of women in public spaces that generated protests demanding the instauration of capital punishment for sexual offenders	Marches, protest assemblies, formal statements	Government	Police violence
12/12	01/13	Pakistan	Campaign ("Pakistan Awami Tahreek") to end government corruption	Occupations	Government, corrupt political / economic system, political party / group	

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
01/13	Ongoing	Germany	US NSA spying on German citizens	Noisemaking, protest assemblies	Government, USA, military / police	
01/13	Ongoing	Greece	National protests against austerity in 2013 (including four General Strikes)	Strikes, formal statements, blockades, occupations	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system	31 arrests
01/13	Ongoing	Romania	Several protests from different sectors due to austerity measures and massive layoffs	Marches, blockades, strikes, formal statements	Government, IMF, EU, ECB	
01/13	Ongoing	Tanzania	Local protests in Mtwara to stop a pipeline project	Marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, destruction of property, violence	Government, corporations / employers	Arrests, injured
01/13	01/13	Madagascar	Violent protests in Anosy due to land grabbing by the mining company "Rio Tinto"	marches, protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action, destruction of property, violence	Corporations / employers, government	Police violence
01/13	03/13	Bulgaria	Protests against the increase in water and energy prices	Marches	Government, corporations / employers, IMF, EU, ECB, corrupt political / economic system	25 arrests
02/13	Ongoing	Canada	National campaign and mobilization in defense of cultural and environmental commons	Blockades, educational actions, occupations	Government, corrupt political / economic system	arrests, lawsuit (Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting company)
02/13	Ongoing	Tunisia	Division between opposition (secularists) and pro-government (Islamists) supporters	Marches, protest assemblies, marches, civil disobedience / direct action, destruction of property	Government, political party / group	Police violence
02/13	02/13	Ireland	March to protest country's continued bank debt burden	Marches, protest assemblies	IMF, ECB, EU, government, finance, corrupt political / economic system	
02/13	02/13	Singapore	Citizens in favor of immigration restrictions	Protest assembly	Government, social group	
02/13	02/13	India	General Strike in defense of workers' rights and against economic injustice	Strikes, formal statements	Government, IMF	
02/13	Ongoing	Colombia	Protests by small coffee producers demanding more government support	Marches, blockades	Government	Arrests, police violence
03/13	06/13	Philippines	Students' protest high-education costs and inequality	Protest assemblies	Government	

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
03/13	03/13	India	Farmers and peasants organizations marching against land grabbing by private actors	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, elites, corrupt political / economic system	
03/13	03/13	Poland	General Strike against the labor reform	Strikes, formal statements	Government, corporations / employers	
03/13	03/13	Global	World Social Forum is an on-going process where social movement, activists, campaigners, etc. join together every 2 years against the neoliberal system under the slogan "Another world is possible." This edition was celebrated in Tunis (Tunisia)	Marches, educational actions, protest assemblies	Government, corrupt political / economic system, elites, finance, IMF, ECB, EU, USA, G20, free trade, military / police	
03/13	05/13	Angola	Campaign to free the protesters disappeared and stop the 32 year of rule presidency	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corrupt political / economic system, military / police	Arrests, police violence
04/13	04/13	Denmark	Teachers protest cutbacks in public education	Marches, strikes, formal statements, political stunts	Government	
04/13	Ongoing	Canada	Uphold laws against rape and the protection of children	Hacking, whistleblowing/leaks, mutual aid, civil disobedience / direct action, internet activism	Government, political party / group,	
04/13	04/13	Portugal	Protest austerity walking all over Portugal from different cities to converge in Lisbon "March against impoverishment"	Marches	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system, finance, elites	
04/13	04/13	Chile	Strike by miners from copper mines demanding better working conditions, the nationalization of copper mines and a better pension system	Strikes, formal statements, blockades	Corporations / employers, corrupt political / economic system	
04/13	04/13	Argentina	March "cacerolazo" against President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and the lack of power separation and government corruption	Marches, protest assemblies, noisemaking	Government, corrupt political / economic system	
04/13	04/13	India	Women's demonstration demanding better police standards in dealing with sexual-assault cases	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, military / police	50 arrests
04/13	04/13	Sudan	Farmers from Um Dum denouncing the sale of land to Gulf investors	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers	Police violence
05/13	05/13	Global	May 1st, International Workers' Day. Call on governments to assume their responsibilities to end the crisis	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corporations / employers, corrupt political / economic system, elites, finance, IMF, World Bank, G20, free trade	

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
05/13	Ongoing	Bangladesh	Textile workers demanding an increase of the minimum wage and security on the job after the Savar building collapse	Strikes, formal statements, protest assemblies, destruction of property	Corporations / employers, government	Police violence
05/13	05/13	Bolivia	Unions on strike and marching against the pension reform	Strikes, formal statements, marches, blockades	Government	Police violence
05/13	05/13	Global	Global marches against "Monsanto" and GMO	Marches	Corporations / employers	
05/13	05/13	UK	Protests anti-immigration due to the murder of a British soldier in London	Marches	Social group	
05/13	05/13	Turkey	Demands to cancel the Gezi Park construction project	Occupations, protest assemblies	Government	Expulsion
05/13	Ongoing	Turkey	Protests all over the country demanding improvement of civil rights and freedoms and in favor of secularism	Occupations, street theater and music, civil disobedience / direct action, noisemaking	Government, corrupt political / economic system	5 killed, 620 injured, 155 missed, police violence
06/13	06/13	Global	Big coordinated European demonstration against austerity measures and the Troika in Spain, Portugal, Greece, Italy, France, Cyprus, Slovenia and UK	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, corrupt political / economic system, elites, finance, IMF, ECB, EU	Arrests
06/13	06/13	India	Protests by opposition parties against the fuel-price hike	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, IMF, WB	
06/13	07/13	South Korea	March and petition defending freedom of speech because the national intelligence agency did an online attack against opposition parties	Marches, petition drives	Government	
06/13	06/13	Ethiopia	March against corruption and in favor of political freedom and job creation	Marches	Government, corrupt political / economic system	
06/13	Ongoing	Poland	Protest Chevron and its shale gas project in Zurawlow	Occupations, blockades, civil disobedience / direct action, protest assemblies	Corporations / employers	1 Injured
06/13	Ongoing	Brazil	Popular national uprising against inequalities, corruption and low living standards	Blockades, occupations, marches, protest assemblies	Government, elites, religious authorities, corrupt political / economic system	Arrests
06/13	Ongoing	Colombia	Campaign to defend peasants and end the prosecution of illicit crops	Blockades, occupations	Government, corporations / employers, USA	4 killed, 19 injured, police violence
06/13	Ongoing	Bulgaria	Social movement and demonstrations demanding more transparency, stronger efforts towards fighting crime and corruption and social and economic justice	Marches, blockades	Elites, military / police, government	Arrests, injured

Start	End	Country	Main Grievance/Demand	Methods of Protest	Main Opponent	Reported Repression
06/13	06/2013	Portugal	General Strike against austerity measures	Strikes, formal statements	Government, EU, ECB, IMF, corrupt political / economic system, finance, elites	
06/13	06/13	South Africa	March against the visit of US President Barack Obama	Protest assemblies, civil disobedience / direct action	USA, military / police, free trade	Police violence
06/13	06/13	Sudan	Protests to overthrow the President Omar Hassan al-Bashir	Marches, protest assemblies	Government, military / police	Police violence
07/13	08/13	Colombia	Independence of Catalonia from Spain	Strikes, formal statements, blockades, marches	Government, political party / group	Injured, 61 arrests
07/13	Ongoing	Argentina	Protests of the Mapuche indigenous against the exploitation of the oil fields in Vaca Muerta	Marches, protest assemblies, occupations	Government, corporations / employers	
07/13	Ongoing	Egypt	Marches against the military coup and demanding the reinstitution of democracy	Marches, occupations	Corrupt political / economic system	2000 killed
07/13	07/13	Brazil	General Strike (first one in 20 years)	Strikes, blockades	Government	
07/13	07/13	Chile	General Strike	Strikes, formal statements	Corrupt political / economic system, government, corporations / employers, elites	26 arrests
07/13	07/13	China	Protests against the plants to build a nuclear and a chemical plant in Guangdong	Marches	Government	
07/13	07/13	Greece	Music festival of the PIIGS countries	Festival	Government, EU, ECB, IMF	
07/13	07/13	Global	Anti-imperialist Summit in Cochabamba	Marches, educational actions, general assemblies, political stunts	USA, military / police, finance, free trade, G20, IMF, corrupt political / economic system	

**Source:** Authors' analysis of media sources published from January 2006 to July 2013



## Annex II: Methodology and statistical methods

In figure 2, in order to show the trend of protests during the period, data compiled from January to July 2013 has been multiplied by (12/7) to create an approximation for the whole year of 2013.

In table 2, protest events with reported crowd violence, vandalism or looting and generally described as such by the most trusted of our sources, are categorized as riots.

Section 4, Main Grievances/Demands reflect the categorization of issues subsequent to the data gathering process, as explained in the main methodological section. The following categories have been used for statistical and analytical purposes, as represented in Figures 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8 and Tables 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

- **Economic Justice and Austerity**

With the subcategories:

- Reform of public services (education/health/water)
- Jobs, higher wages, labor conditions
- Tax/Fiscal justice
- Inequality
- Low living standards
- Agrarian/land reform
- Fuel and energy prices
- Pension reform
- Food prices
- Housing

- **Failure of Political Representation**

With the subcategories:

- Real Democracy
- Corporate influence/Deregulation/Privatization
- Corruption
- Justice
- Transparency and accountability
- Citizen Surveillance
- Anti-war/Military-Industrial Complex
- Sovereignty

- **Global Justice**

With the subcategories:

- Anti-IMF/ECB/Other IFIs
- Environmental Justice

- Anti-Imperialism
- Anti-Free Trade
- Global Commons
- Anti G20
- **Rights**
  - With the subcategories:
    - Ethnic/indigenous/racial justice
    - To the Commons (digital, land, cultural, atmospheric)
    - Labor
    - Women
    - Freedom of assembly/speech/press
    - LGBT
    - Religious
    - Denial of Rights (immigrants, gays, etc.)
    - Immigrant
    - Prisoner

Section 5 on demonstrators, methods of protest and number of protestors categorizes different activists regarding their history and methodology of action, and gathers data from multiple sources to create a realistic account of the largest protests seen in 2006-2013.

While categorizing methods, we have kept in mind the *Methods of Non Violent Action* as classified by Gene Sharp (Sharp, 1973), but the 198 methods have proved too granular for the scope of this research, and inconsistent with some of the internet activism that has been on the rise within social movements. The study therefore defines the following categories:

- |   |                                     |                            |
|---|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| - Marches                                   | - Vandalism/looting                 | - Legal/electoral redress  |
| - Protest assemblies                        | - Internet activism                 | - Petition drives          |
| - Occupations (including factory takeovers) | - General assemblies                | - Mutual aid               |
| - Civil disobedience/direct action          | - Political stunts                  | - Street theater and music |
| - Strikes/walkouts                          | - Hunger strikes                    | - Boycotts                 |
| - Blockades                                 | - Hacking                           | - “Merchants” strike       |
| - Formal statements                         | - Whistleblowing/leaks              | - Self-inflicted violence  |
| - Educational actions                       | - Noisemaking                       | - Religious                |
| - Violence                                  | - Celebrity endorsements            | processions/public         |
|   | - Form new political party/movement | prayer                     |

Opponents are the groups or organizations that the protest or movement is targeting. Movements describe their targets in various ways, from very specific such as governments with respect to laws,

corporations in cases of localized strikes and others. Some cases have arisen when the whole system is the target of a movement, as is the case of the Arab Spring-related protest movements, and a few where the target is of a conceptual nature such as free trade.

- |                             |                            |                         |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| - Government                | - Financial Sector         | - China                 |
| - Political/economic system | - ECB                      | - G20                   |
| - Corporations/employers    | - Military/police          | - World Bank            |
| - IMF                       | - Free Trade               | - Social Groups         |
| - Elites                    | - Political Parties/Groups | - Religious authorities |
| - EU                        | - USA                      |                         |
|                             | - Government (local)       |                         |

Section 8 covers a selection of the most repressive protests in each main method of repression (eg. arrests, injuries and deaths). The full list of reported repression can be found in Annex1 with the following categories, numbers are only reported when available from highly trusted sources:

- |   |   |              |
|---|---|--------------|
| - Killed (preceded by the number reported)  | - Missing (preceded by the number reported)   | - Violence   |
| - Injured (preceded by the number reported) | - Displaced (preceded by the number reported) | - Harassment |
| - Arrests (preceded by the number reported) | - Expulsion                                   | - Lawsuit    |
|   | - Police Violence                             | - New Laws   |