UNIVERSIDADE CATÓLICA PORTUGUESA

“THE BIRTH OF GEN FREE”: MEASURING HOW CREATIVE ACTIVISM CAN GENERATE CHANGE

Projeto apresentado à Universidade Católica Portuguesa para obtenção do grau de mestre em Mestre em Ciências da Comunicação, área especializada em Comunicação, Marketing e Publicidade

Por

João Arbués Moreira

Faculdade de Ciências Humanas

Setembro, 2022

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Sob orientação de Professor Doutor Alexandre Duarte

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Abstract

This study measures the effectiveness of creative activism and how it fares when compared to conventional approaches. Conventional forms of activism like protesting or petitioning are still in use today (Nygård & Jakobsson, 2013) and are seen as an effective way to influence the public and achieve change (Ekman & Amnå, 2012). Creative activism makes use of these same methods, but adapts to the evolving nature of audiences and provides a solution to the challenging landscape of information that activists have to fight through (Duncombe & Harrebye, 2021). This innovative way to achieve change has had few studies and real-life applications since its conception, which is why this project will significantly further its study. The Duncombe-Harrebye method will be used to collect data, which will strengthen the method's ability to accurately measure how people react, feel and remember creative campaigns of an advocacy nature. Proving that creative activism is the ideal form of advocacy would shift how social movements should perform their actions, presenting them with a more effective way to achieve their goals. Through a mix of quantitative and qualitative data, collected from observation, spot interviews and follow-up questionnaires, we analyze how passersby felt during three staged interventions, what they thought about the message and elements of these interventions, and finally what and how they remembered them some time after experiencing them. The results show that creative activism outperformed conventional methods in every quantitative metric, with the qualitative results showing appreciation by participants toward the creativity, entertainment and originality of creative activism. On top of this, we registered better long-term memory results as well as more initiative to perform actions to advance our proposed solution.

Keywords: creative activism, social movements, advocacy, social change, petitioning, public demonstrations, pamphlet distribution

Abstract

Este estudo mede a eficácia do ativismo criativo e a sua performance em comparação com abordagens convencionais. Formas convencionais de ativismo como protestos e petição continuam a ser utilizadas hoje em dia (Nygård & Jakobsson, 2013) e são vistas como uma maneira eficaz de influenciar o público e de alcançar mudança (Ekman & Amnå, 2012). O ativismo criativo dá uso a estes mesmos métodos, mas adapta-se à natureza evolutiva da população e proporciona uma solução para o desafiante panorama de informação que os ativistas têm de lutar para serem devidamente ouvidos (Duncombe & Harrebye, 2021). Esta forma inovadora de alcançar mudança, desde a sua conceção, tem sido alvo de poucos estudos e aplicações no terreno, o que faz com que este projeto acrescente e desenvolva significativamente o estudo do ativismo criativo. O método de Duncombe-Harrebye será usado para a recolha de dados, o que dará ainda mais força à capacidade deste método de medir, com precisão, a forma com o as pessoas reagem, sentem e recordam campanhas criativas de uma natureza ativista. Provar que o ativismo criativo é a forma ideal de advocacia mudaria a maneira como movimentos sociais deveriam proceder, apresentando-lhes com um método mais eficaz para atingirem os seus objetivos. Através de uma mistura de dados quantitativos e qualitativos, recolhidos de observações, entrevistas no local e questionários de follow-up, analisámos como os pedestres se sentiram durante três intervenções encenadas, o que eles pensaram sobre a mensagem e os elementos dessas intervenções, e finalmente como e oque se lembraram algum tempo depois de as terem experienciado. Os resultados mostram que o ativismo criativo superou os métodos convencionais em todas as métricas quantitativas, com os resultados qualitativos a mostrarem apreço do público à criatividade, entretenimento e originalidade do ativismo criativo. Além disto, registámos melhor retenção de memória a longo prazo bem como mais iniciativa de tomar ações que procurassem avançar a solução que propusemos com as intervenções.

Keywords: ativismo criativo, movimentos sociais, advocacia, mudança social, petição, demonstrações públicas, distribuição de panfletos

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Introduction

Progress is only possible when change occurs. It is what allows us to improve our ways of life, to create better things and better people. Activism has always been the primal form for communicating and ultimately achieving major social change, with many social movements marking the history of the 20th century. We will start this project by understanding how social movements have evolved and what goes into forming and maintaining them, as well as understanding what they can achieve and what roots they have laid in modern society. We will continue our research into the emotions and their role in human behavior, acknowledging their role in social change and looking at their relationship with art. Finally, we will discuss the existing literature about creative activism, as well as other forms of activism. In the second part we will present our methods for collecting data and describe how our creative activism will take place. We then move on to the third part where the data, both quantitative and qualitative, will be analyzed and where conclusion will start to take shape. We will then conclude this project with by presenting our findings. The academic nature of this project had limited resources, without any financial backing from institutions that work in the same field, however the validity and significance of the results will be assured nonetheless.

Chapter I - Social Change

The attempt to achieve change in the status quo by an individual is as difficult as the scale of that wanted change. Changing the way a friend acts towards us, for example, is much easier than changing the way an entire country acts towards a race or a gender (Gardner, 2006). However difficult, it is vital for the evolution of society and is, therefore, an integral goal of many people's lives. In modern society, every nation and its citizens have had their views morphed on a variety of topics (Young, 2015). To understand how these structural changes to society have happened is to know how to achieve them in the future, thus the relevance of old and new theories of social change, the starting point of this literature review.

1.1. Social Movement Theory

The paradigm of how scholars theorized about social movements has evolved greatly since its first definitions. The first studies of collective behavior and their research on social movements dictated that the emergence of relevant collective behavior was strongly tied to occurrences of social and cultural breakdowns (Couch, 1968; Linton & Hallowell, 1943). In fact, Morris (1999) demonstrates how social movements were considered to be spontaneous, unorganized, and unstructured occurrences, unrelated to organizational and institutional behavior. However, his theories suggest that emotions and irrational ideologies are key to social movements, since they appeared to occur in contexts characterized by mass enthusiasm, mass hysteria, rumor, and collective excitement. This made social movement participants seen as irrational and over-emotional practitioners of the unpredictable. Since then, social movements

and collective behavior theories have established a strong relationship between emotions and nonrationality (Buechler, 2013; Morris, 2000; Weber & King, 2014).

1.1.1. Political Processes Model

Since its initial theories were drafted, social movement studies developed greatly and with its development, a new dominant model emerged, one that recognizes the influence of the political processes. There has been a consensus on the basic theoretical components that drive social movements i.e. the key factors that dictate the power, mobilization and ultimately success of any given movement: political opportunities; organizational vehicles or mobilization structures; and collective processes of interpretation, or framing processes (McAdam, 1996 and 1999; Tarrow, 2022, Elis & Van Kessel, 2009; Jasper, 2010).

1.1.1.1. Political Opportunities. Usually, social movements are nearly powerless against the established political environment, with efforts to advance their collective interest having a hard time seeing the light of day, due to the unmovable nature of our political structures Tarrow (2022). However, as the author adds, these structures may be consistent, but they are not permanent, as the political environment occasionally provides groups of people with opportunities to bring forth their interests, showing the major role that external resource mobilization has on movements. The main events that destabilize the political scene are wars, economic crises, regime changes, and significant political realignments (in power positions or demographic aspects). The consensus among scholars adds that these events are so vital to social movements that groups can only engage successfully in collective action if they have benefited from an emerging political opportunity (Morris, 2000; McAdam, 2017).

1.1.1.2. Mobilizing Structures. An opportunity for a movement to rise will go to waste if said movement isn't able to find and provide mobilizing structures. These are the vehicles through which individuals can mobilize and assemble towards collective action in order to give form to their claims for change. (Jasper, 2010; McAdam et al., 1996). The vehicles available when an opportunity for successful collective action ends up being decisive on the ability of groups to achieve said action. According to empirical studies, the most common mobilization structures are informal networks, formal organizations and preexisting institutional structures (Krinsky & Crossley, 2014; Morris 1981; Oberschall, 2017). Interestingly, it is with the study of this concept that social movement theory takes an initial stride away from the nonrational and emotional approaches where movements were theorized to be unstructured and unplanned. The marginal individual, as it turns out, is not capable of joining in collective action unless provided with the necessary resources to do so, thus the inability of the spontaneous to achieve it (Oberschall, 2017).

1.1.1.3. Framing Processes. Much like an opportunity goes squandered without the existence of mobilization resources for it, both of these factors are ultimately insufficient without the correct cultural understanding amongst the individuals of a group. The shared meanings and definitions, referred to as the framing processes, are what bring people together in joining each other in a new cultural dynamic. According to McAdam (2017, p. 6), "people need to feel both aggrieved about some aspect of their lives and optimistic, that, acting collectively, they can redress the problem. The affective and cognitive dimensions come together to shape these two perceptions". The author goes on to explain that anger, fear and hope are thus the mobilizing

emotions that are necessary for a movement to develop. Anger at a perceived injustice grants a sense of righteousness in vocalizing discontent as well as taking more drastic action. Fear of an imminent threat serves as a catalyst to action by forcing individuals to seek and fight for a solution. Finally, the hope that the injustice or threat can be dealt with through collective action needs to be an ever-present feeling that will allow the previous two to grow. Without hope, there is no action and without action, there is no movement. The lack of either of these two mobilizing perceptions (or the strong constituent emotions needed to make them actionable) will render any movement unlikely to develop (Elis & Van Kessel, 2009).

1.1.2. Criticism and new factors

Political opportunities, mobilizing structures and framing processes, since their initial introduction to the field of social movements, have consensually been considered the three major factors for collective action to occur (Jasper, 2010; Krinsky & Crossley, 2014; McAdam, 2017). However, as with anything that gets consensual approval, these three basic factors aren't without their critics. While the first social movement theories were too focused on the spontaneity of emotions and the non-rationality of individuals, critics of the political process model deemed it too rational and overly structural, lacking in acknowledging the power of individual action and laying too much importance on external occurrences (Elis & Van Kessel, 2009; Jasper, 2018; Ferree, 1992). It holds true that a political opportunity presents the necessary space for a movement to rise, but empirical studies have noted how even when an opportunity like that seems far from available, collective action can burst onto the scene. That is exactly what Kurzman (1996) and Rasler (1996) suggested in their work on the Iranian Revolution of 1979. In a country where the framing processes for a revolution were already in place, where discontent

over repression grew larger and the population's will stronger, the political authorities closed their ranks and attempted to shut down the possibility of civil unrest with strength and intimidation, however it they were met with the now famous revolution that brought the end of the Pahlavi dynasty. The lack of political opportunity for the Iranian Revolution proves not that these opportunities aren't, after all, necessary for collective action, but rather that the relationship between both should be a more relaxed and independent one. Morris (2000, p. 4) suggests that this relationship should be seen as reciprocal: "A reciprocal relationship exists between a challenging group's capacity to mobilize and the presence of political opportunities. Thus, in some instances, collective action can generate political opportunities where none existed previously; in other instances, political opportunities can clear the way for collective action". Furthermore, existing criticism (Ferree, 1992; Jasper, 2018; Morris, 2000) as well as newer studies (Campbell, 2021; McAdam & Scott, 2005; Parker, 2010) identify five more factors that the political processes model has also failed to recognize as central to the sustainability of social movements.

1.1.2.1. Agency-Laden Institutions. Perhaps the best example that collective action isn't as spontaneous as previously thought relies on the cultural and organizational resources that some institutions can mobilize when they deem necessary. These institutions, often long-lasting, are hosts of potential challenging groups and are defined as agency-laden institutions (Parker, 2010; Hart, 1996). It's within them that a strong belief system shapes the way its members function morally and politically in their social networks. Furthermore, agency-laden institutions create and perpetuate the trust, contacts, solidarity, rituals, meaning systems, and options of said

members, individually and within the social groups they have created and with whom they share their interests.

1.1.2.2. Tactical Solutions. For mass-based social movements to take form, leaders must develop specific tactics that take into account both the cultural framework of the challenging community, from the challenges they face to their status in society, as well as the community's main organizational vehicles. These tactical solutions are vital for successful collective action and should therefore be seen as a casual factor rather than a mere dynamic of the process (Campbell 2021; McAdam, 1993).

1.1.2.3. Leadership Configurations. In his study on the Montgomery bus boycott case, Morris (2000) determined that having a single leader is a flaw in any movement. The author assigned much of the strength of that civil rights movement to the varied configuration of leaders who mobilized the masses and guided them to the desired social changes. Each of these leaders headed an organized following, and by working with them simultaneously they showed how social movement leadership can affect both the origins and the outcomes of collective action. Besides mobilization, leaders are asked to generate and manage media coverage of their work, a task that is essential for the sustainability of any movement due to the traction that media coverage grants in modern societies (Gamson & Wolfseld, 1993; McAdam & Scott, 2005).

1.1.2.4. Protest Histories. Simple as it may sound, taking lessons from history can produce much more efficient results (Awcock, 2020). This is not a novelty concept for leaders and protesters, but it is something that was lacking in social movement theory. Protest traditions

help leaders respond adequately to the need of developing their movements rapidly. Efficiency is key in situations where time is crucial, thus the key role of available resources provided by protest traditions (Buechler, 2013). Going back to Morris's (2000) analysis of the civil rights movement in the USA, many of the movement's leaders' tendencies for pacific and non-violent protests were brought back from a trip to India where they were able to meet with the religious leader Mahamat Gandhi. These practices were one of the main factors that led to the massive adherence to the movement by groups that could be dissuaded from joining a more aggressive form of protesting.

1.1.2.5. Transformative Events. Looking at the final criticism of the political processes theory for social movements, transformative events were conceptualized by McAdam & Sewell (2001) after the authors realized the need to differentiate between the many events that generate collective action. While they agree that many events can generate said action, some of them can mark a radical turning point that drastically changes the outcome of social movements. This is not to take away from the less impactful events, but rather to look at how the assassination of Martin Luther King, the fall of the Berlin Wall, or more recently the Russian invasion of Ukraine, and appreciate the transformative role these events played.

1.1.3. The integration continuum

The next step in social movement theory shifts the focus from the factors that are necessary for collective action to successfully happen, to the factors that allow us to measure how said collective action has impacted society, or to be more precise, to determine where the subject of a movement falls on the line that goes from fully integrated to totally fragmented. In

their innovative work, Keohane & Victor (2011) proposed three factors to achieve this: linkages, uncertainties and interests.

1.1.3.1. Linkages. Integration of new policies or ideologies will depend heavily on the ability to reach many distinct groups and parties and be seen as something positive for them Hudzik (2015). For a lot of these groups, there might not be a moral connection to the movement's policies, which raises a question as simple as "what do I get from this?". Linkages refer precisely to the additional benefits that can be extended to groups and parties, allowing for better integration (Keohane & Victor, 2011). Deal-making will generate gains from cooperation for both sides and strengthen the incentive for compliance. This can be observed in many of the climate agreements that are in place today (Held & Roger, 2018).

1.1.3.2. Uncertainties. A major impediment to cooperation is the uncertainty in projections of benefits and risks of integrating new policies Walker (2012). While some issues, such as the ozone layer deterioration, present precise projections that assure groups of the decisions to make, other issues, like the microplastic surge, are so complicated that they can deter risk-averse parties from partaking in them. Furthermore, overly complex issues tend to be difficult to integrate into society due to the constraints that systems of public administration often present, especially with topics that affect wide interest groups. Uncertainty, in these cases, leads to the creation of smaller clubs, easier to manage, where the changes affect specific groups instead of a nationwide one (Keohane & Victor, 2011).

1.1.3.1. Interests. The two previous factors regulate the interest that parties have in agreeing and cooperating toward tackling an issue. Interest is precisely the last factor identified by Keohane & Victor (2011) that determines the level of integration for any social movement's issue. Ultimately, if the interests of all crucial players are similar, then an agreement that will lead to achieving the benefits of cooperation will be nearly inevitable. Empirical studies have attested to this, with the Ozone accords serving as a good example of shared interest working as predicted (McAdam, 2017). These accords emerged with ideas that favored both the United Nations' need for a global treaty on the ozone layer and the strong demand from the most powerful states, firms and NGOs to invest resources exclusively in that treaty. On the other hand, we can look at the state of gun ownership laws in the USA as an example of a conflict of interests that halts any movement on the topic. Anti-gun and pro-gun movements have divided the general population (Kaufman, 2021) just as much as the political structures and leaders of the country, with little to no progress being done in any direction to tackle the issue of gun-related deaths in the country.

1.1.4. Impediments to collective action

Human beings have a natural affinity for routine, they tend to create a suitable and stable environment for themselves so they can thrive (Marien et al., 2018). Collective action almost always requires people to depart from those routines, to go act against the norms and values they have developed and begin to act in accordance with new conceptions (Buechler, 2013). Mobilizing people to do these things is an incredibly difficult task, often met with resistance even when the goal is of interest to someone (McAdam, 2017). In his work, the north American professor focused on the lack of grassroots activism in climate change issues,

proposing impediments that have limited the emergence of collective action on this topic and, crucially, to any collective-action-seeking movements. Of the four impediments raised by the author, one is related to extreme climate occurrences and is therefore heavily tethered to the climate change issue, while another of them mentions the inability to convey anger and fear in the communication of this issue. The role of these emotions in achieving collective action is something we have previously discussed, thus we will focus on the remaining two: no clear identity ownership of the issue and an extended time horizon.

1.1.4.1. No clear identity ownership. Having people empathize with an issue and getting them to share the same emotions towards it is, a demanding task in itself, but is also no guarantee that massive collective action will take place. The reason for this relies on the fact that any individual will usually have a variety of other issues on their mind, some of which they might identify with more (Converse, 2006). It's precisely this "competition" for identification that can impede collective action. In many cases, recordings of public opinion will show great numbers backing a movement, but they do little to present how much identification each response assigned to the issue (Converse, 2006). Some issues, like climate change, resonate with a lot of people and generate in them strong environmental views, but these often get trumped with other more pressing matters for each individual, with the exception being extreme conservatives, to whom climate change opinions are core to their beliefs (McCright & Dunlap, 2011; Kahan, 2015). Consequently, the climate change issue does not "belong" to anyone other than these extreme conservatives, whose platforms intend to dismiss the issue and achieve no progress on the matter. For movements without clear identification ownership, McAdam (2017, p. 12) offers that "this does not, of course, make collective action impossible. It does, however,

mean that for a movement to develop, organizers must be able to establish a clear, compelling connection between the issue and one or more highly salient identities, thereby conferring ownership of the issue to those groups".

1.1.4.2. Extended time horizon. When presented with many distinct issues, people will feel greater identification with some rather than others. Just as identity plays a role in the "choosing" of which issues fill most of our concerns, the period where we expect them to have an impact does as well. Issues that are expected to impact us in the long term tend to be supplanted by those that have an immediate impact (Flam & King, 2007). Environmental problems will take longer to manifest when compared to economic or civil rights problems, which leads the latter to have higher visibility and feel more pressing than the former (Leiserowitz, 2006; Nisbet, 2009). The longer-term horizon of some issues forces social movements to work harder in order to mobilize collective action and generate the right reaction toward them. In his conceptualization, McAdam (2017) provides the example of how climate change policies threaten to shut down existing jobs and to t economic growth, which makes them less popular due to the existing economic difficulties that most laborers feel. Piggot (2018), for example, sees this as one of the reasons for the constant constraints in the fossil fuel supply

1.2. The democracy dynamic

Social movements have, by definition, a multitude of goals, all of which will hopefully culminate in the main one: achieving change (Amenta et al., 2010; Bartels, 2008; Carnes, 2013). We have discussed how movements can rise and thrive, but to understand how they can accomplish the change we must first understand how change happens. In a democratic state, the

answer simply relies on elected officials. They are the people elected by the population to represent their needs and desires, and it's their job to fight for them (Beerbohm, 2015; Sheffer 2018). Since change ultimately comes from the hands of elected officials, a social movement's ultimate goal should then be to get them "on their side" and motivated to act.

1.2.1. Drivers of political action

While impacting a politician's views and actions is not easy to do, it is helped by the fact that politicians have an interest in learning what their constituents want and adjust their agenda in conformity (Erikson et al., 2008; Sevenans, 2021), with the intent of fulfilling their jobs accordingly, or in some less ethical but equally useful case, to keep their position and remain in power (Downs 2021; Miller and Stokes 1963). In any case, when their goal is to keep up with the public they represent, politicians have shown many different ways in which they garner perceptions of their constituents: direct contact with them, opinion polls, mass media reports and different forms of advocacy (Burstein, 2014; Fenno, 2003; Geer, 1996; Herbst, 1998). However, some studies have shown that politicians' agenda doesn't always focus solely on their constituents. Bartels (2008) states that public policy tends to go hand in hand with the preferences of the wealthy who can aid their campaigns and play a significant role in the economic health of their people. The rich and powerful are able to communicate their interests more effectively, making use of their connections and ability to pressure elected officials (Schlozman, Verba & Brady, 2012). In contrast, poorer, less resourceful groups are more dependent on other forms of communication, namely protests, which provide them with an effective weapon to get their message across (Wouters & Walgrave, 2017). Gilens (2005) takes this theory further and proposes that politicians tend to protect the powerful, with their policies

showing a bias toward maintaining the status quo against those who challenge it. Finally, and unsurprisingly, political decision-making is highly influenced by politicians' own opinions, ideologies and beliefs (Carnes, 2013; Mondak, 1995). Politicians are, after all, fellow citizens of the institutions they represent, so even though their efforts often represent the will of others, their emotional connection to certain issues and rational attachment to others will play a key role (Beerbohm, 2015; Sevenans, 2021). With this in mind, movements should also look at elected officials as fellow individuals who will react internally to the messages being communicated.

1.2.2. Advocacy, politicians and their opinions

For any form of advocacy, such as protests, to get a politician to act in accordance with their ideas, they need to change their opinion on the issue at hand. According to Wouters & Walgrave (2017), there are three elements of politicians' opinions that affect their actions and thus need to be targeted by protesters: salience, position and intended action. The authors propose these elements as a continuation of the work of Bryan & Jones (2006), who argued that perceptions, calculations, and subsequent actions were the key factors in the outcome of protests. Both sets of factors share the same principles, hence we will look into the former ones to fully grasp what concepts were theorized by both authors.

1.2.2.1 Salience. It is essential for a politician to care about an issue and to understand its importance (Sevenans, 2021; Sheffer, 2018). Understanding the salience of an issue can be hindered by the clutter of information that politicians get bombarded with, which means that protests need to stand out and explicitly convey the urgency of an issue, consequently getting

politicians to intervene in it. This explains why protesters' initial goal is to draw political attention to their cause (King, Bentele & Soule, 2007; Wouters & Walgrave, 2017).

1.2.2.2. Position. We have discussed how important a politician's own ideologies are for their decision-making processes, so it comes as no surprise that for their potential action to be aligned with a movement's ideas, so should the politicians' opinions be aligned with them. In the words of Wouters & Walgrave (2017, p. 4), "the politician should hold a position that is in line with the definition of the problem put forward and see some merit in the solution encapsulated in the signal". Studies have identified the importance of politicians' positions and noted how, when in alignment, the chances of enacting the public's demands are much higher (Erikson et al., 2008; Sheffer, 2018, Soroka & Wlezien, 2010). Finally, having a politician on the same side of a movement grants that movement an "elite ally" that can contribute to its future advocacy campaigns.

1.2.2.3. Intended action. Getting a politician to recognize the salience of an issue and having him share the same positions as those who advocate for it won't lead to action unless the politician intends to act on his newfound beliefs and opinions. The step from agreeing on the theory to joining in the action is what makes a protest work. A protest's ultimate goal will be achieved if it is able to get a politician to use one of the many forms of action they have at their disposal, from taking a public stance or asking a question in parliament, to introducing a bill or getting fellow partisan to also take action (Wouters & Walgrave, 2017).

1.2.3. Swaying politicians with protest

We have discussed the potential impact of advocacy on politicians' opinions and how it can lead to action, let us now shift our focus to what constitutes "good" protesting, or to be more precise, what characteristics protests need to have to affect politicians. The WUNC framework developed by Charles Tilly (2006) provides an answer to these questions. According to the American sociologist and political scientist, for a protest to affect political representatives, it needs to display worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment. These four characteristics are what politicians look for in a protest and, since being originally proposed (Tilly, 1993), they have been subject to empirical studies that have confirmed their validity (Bailey et al., 2020; Basu, 2012; Wouters & Walgrave, 2017).

1.2.3.1. Worthiness. Protesters must show politicians that they are moral, law-abiding citizens worthy of receiving what they ask for. They can display this by behaving peacefully, and by doing so, protesters can their main target a sense of what group of the public is behind their claims. It is therefore important for movements to forgo the immediate advantages of more violent protests for better-behaved ones, gaining the recognition and respect necessary (Tilly & Wood, 2015; Schnapp & Tiews, 2006; Schneider & Ingram, 2005). In some instances however, as Wouters & Walgrave (2017) noted, when authoritarian regimes are sovereign disruptive protests that rely on more aggressive tactics may be a better solution to bring the message across to politicians. In cases like this, the authors argue that politicians can see the resistance to tyranny with respect and worthiness.

1.2.3.2. Unity. Displaying a strong unity in a protest, be it with a coherent message or with a constant stream of gestures and symbols such as clapping, marching or badges and flags (Tilly & Wood, 2015), will convey strong indicators of clear group identity and consequently persuade politicians of its ability and value. Wouters & Walgrave (2017) state that unified protests are able to produce a clear message that is easily interpreted and discussed amongst people's social groups. Conversely, protests that produce a variety of messages, each with its share of support within the movement, will render politicians confused about what exactly is being claimed and what the movement's direction is (Habel, 2012). Moreover, having a coherent message throughout protests shows that a movement has a strong organizational capacity, which can be seen by politicians as a threat, if protestors chose to move against them, or as an opportunity if they were to join forces with the protestors (Soroka & Wlezien, 2010).

1.2.3.3. Numbers. Perhaps the most direct impact a protest can have on a politician is the turnout of protesters. Sizeable attendances will display a strong democratic representation (Burstein & Linton, 2002), something that sparks the interest of politicians, due to their desire to connect with large audiences and to understand the needs of their constituents. The ability to amass a sizable number of participants is crucial for attracting politicians and with it comes the importance of the mobilization structures that a movement must have (Jasper, 2010).

1.2.3.4. Commitment. Politicians can be skeptical of the nature of a protest and whether it is part of a temporary trend or a rooted and long-lasting struggle (Sevenans, 2021). It is important for protesters to show their commitment by demonstrating their persistence and ability to endure resistance from opposing parties or any other setbacks Habel (2012). The

prospect of continuous contention by a significant segment of the population, which will likely continue to take action on an issue and keep voting with it in mind, can make politicians take the movement's claims more into consideration (Popkin, 1991).

1.2.3.5. WUNC framework in Belgium. Of the empirical studies above mentioned, the Wouters & Walgrave (2017) study with Belgian elected officials produced relevant information on the efficacy of each characteristic of the WUNC framework. The data collected showed that how politicians viewed the behaviors of protesters and whom they comprised were key to their opinions, i.e. that unity and numbers were the major characteristics that change the elected officials' perception of the issues at hand and their importance. Worthiness and commitment registered positive results as well, but not as significant as the other two.

1.2.4. The digital political space

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the Internet and its digital transformation has brought many changes to the social movement landscape (Castells, 2015). We will discuss most of these changes in a later chapter, however let us briefly understand how the Internet age has impacted the political landscape. The Internet allows political parties to establish global networks, a space where they can reach their members just as easily as the rest of the population. The same can be said for social movements since these global networks allow them to coordinate on a global scale as well (Dolata & Schrape, 2018; Gerlach, 2001).

1.2.4.1. The Internet and political organizations. For political organizations, the Internet and its global networks can serve two distinct roles, depending on their size and age of

them. For older and larger organizations, the already abundant resources and linkage to party and government politics leads them to focus heavily on amplifying their routine communications and reducing the usual costs of said communications (Dolata & Schrape, 2018). Newer, smaller and less resourceful organizations can use the Internet to create a strong digital presence that can allow them to reach their desired target and conquer a significant space in the political scene within which they act (Graber et al., 2004).

1.2.4.2. The Internet and social movements. The networking and mobilizing resources the Internet can provide have proven extremely useful for social movements that work on a multi-national scale (Castells, 2015), as well as for movements that challenge more traditional powerful elites or forms of international government (Ayres, 1999). The internet can provide these movements with the possibility of remedying the existing disparities of wealth and power, an issue that continually threatens the health of democracy (Graber et al., 2004).

1.3. Art as a catalyst for change

One of the most key features of the democratic landscape is freedom of speech, the ability to express one's opinion about society without persecution. Of all the forms of expression, art is the one that has the ability to codify and solidify social values and culture, through the repetition of symbols and imagery (Bayeh, Amer & Abood 2017; Anderson & Milbrandt, 2005). When given the space to appear, artistic work can function not only to maintain traditional cultural values but also to challenge the status quo by exploring social justice, injustice and freedom (Reed, 2019). Although they aren't able to change the world on itself, the arts give voice to individuals and group needs that drive social movements for change (Milbrandt, 2010).

1.3.1. The functions of art in social movements

In his work, Reed (2019) proposed a series of overlapping functions that the arts have in social movements. These functions have been adopted by other scholars in their work and have become a staple in how the scientific field views the role of arts in shaping modern society (Day, 2011; Dutta, 2011; Nepstad, 2007). According to the author, the arts serve to empower and deepen the commitment of activists, as well as harmonize their agendas and reinforce group values and ideas. The arts can also recharge and rejuvenate activists by providing them with aesthetically pleasing pieces that generate the joy and energy necessary for them to continue their efforts in a social movement. Through retelling historical events related to an issue, the arts are able to re-establish or revise an emotional tone or a public perception. They are also able to set the emotional tone of movements, as well as lead participants toward action. The arts also allow movements to communicate their issues and ideals beyond their group of activists and onto the rest of their social landscape (Dutta, 2011). Finally, they are also a valuable tool for challenging dominant ideas by exposing issues of social justice or economic inequality, as well as issues related to a movement's ideology, making sure that said movement remains grounded and true to its purpose in society (Day, 2011). Many other works have since applied Reed's theory to social events, finding solid evidence in the functionality of different examples of artworks. Milbrandt (2010) made that exact relationship salient in their work, providing us with a compilation of examples for each of the functions listed above. We will look more into each one, with the addition of other examples that have since been identified and studied.

1.3.1.1. Challenging dominant ideas and movements. In order to challenge dominant ideas and values established in a society, it is necessary to lay down new ideological terms, which work toward a more just and equal system. However, reducing these ideological terms to simple narratives for everyone to understand can be nearly impossible (Dutta, 2011). Art can play with emotions and meanings to achieve this, conveying the same message of these ideological terms but in a more subtle and almost subconscious way. It can outright question existing dogmas and spark the creation of a movement (König, 2022). Egypt's 2011 revolution against a corrupt government came from the uprising of the masses towards the injustices of the patriarchal system in place and its hierarchal structures that gave power and protection to few elites, whose political hegemony and the subsequential class disparity was maintained by controlling the law and religious interpretations throughout time (Badran, 2014). This revolution was aided, amongst others, by a lot of the artwork from Huda Lufti, who initially exposed the disparities between men and women in her exhibition *Zan'it al-Sittat* (2008) and *Making a Man out of Him* (2010), In her art, she displayed the oppression that male power causes, both to women and men, thus showing its fragility. In other cases, art can be used to collect criticism and provide a platform where citizens can voice their discontent and new ideas. Such was the *Freedom of Expression National Monument*'s purpose, a space created by Erika Rothenberg, John Malpede and Laurie Hawkinson in New York City (2004), where people could literally verbalize their concerns with the current government through a giant red microphone. As Desai, Hamlin & Mattson (2010) stated, the artwork portrays the real divide that many people feel from the systems of power and decision-making in the United States.

1.3.1.2. Reinforcing values and creating ownership. Once a movement gains traction, it is important to further develop its numbers and reach. This is done mainly, as we have seen before, by mobilizing resources available, but there is also the need to cement the ideas behind the movement and reinforce the values embedded in its participants. Payne (2007) discusses this in his book, citing the impact of the song "*We Shall Overcome"* on the civil rights movement, giving protestants an injection of courage against the fear of those who attempted to silence the movement. Furthermore, the song provided a strong sense of ownership for the movement, due to the power of the lyrics and the connection it created between listeners and the movement. The anthem to this social movement was so impactful that it became a symbol of freedom and justice, especially in the context of protest. It was sung plenty more times throughout history in other, equally groundbreaking movements such as those for the destruction of the Berlin Wall and those that happened at Tiananmen Square in China (Milbrandt, 2010).

1.3.1.3. Setting emotions and moving to action. The most common association we make with art is its ability to convey and provoke emotion. That is the intent of most, if not all, artworks and it is from that ability that we can observe one of the biggest roles it plays in social movements: it is able to move individuals from inaction to action, as well as move them from unrest to a peaceful state (Jasper, 2018). It is able to set the emotional tone of protesters depending on the civil unrest at hand, and while its ability to generate action is more obvious, the opposing ability to bring a fearful audience to a calm resolve is extremely useful and necessary. Milbrandt (2010) shows us the example of the work done by Alison Saar and how it was able to change the way black women were portrayed and perceived. In *The Liberation of Aunt Jemima* (1972), the artist transformed a popular image of a black woman holding a white child by adding

to it empowering elements such as rifles and grenades. By juxtaposing what was seen by the civil rights movement as a derogatory depiction of black women, with these elements of empowerment, the artist was able to change the symbolic connotation of a picture that was once considered a tool for the opposition of the movement, to one that is now appreciated within it. Moreover, the empowerment message was strong enough to move fellow black women to join the movement and fight for their newly portrayed future.

1.3.1.4. Resisting dominant forces. We have seen the functions of art in a democratic landscape, where freedom of speech allows for a multitude of opinions and therefore artworks. However, art can also aid the resistance to forces that often threaten democracy. When governments tighten their military hold on the population, launching oppressive measures and depriving people of their rights and needs, art has repeatedly served as a means for enacting and solidifying resistance movements (Scott, 1990). From 1970 to 1989, the Chilean regime, in an attempt to silence the opposition, was responsible for the disappearance of almost 10,000 people. In an effort to protest these disappearances, the mothers of the victims organized sewing workshops and created a traditional tapestry where their stories were told. When these tapestries were able to make it out of the country, they not only informed other nations of the injustices happening in Chile, but they also gave strength to the population that remained in the fight (Moran, 1988). This movement inspired a similar one in Argentina, where instead of the tapestry the mothers of disappeared children were white scarves on their heads. These white scarves are still seen as a symbol of resistance in the country (Bonner, 2010).

1.3.1.5. Providing energy and closure to movements. We have discussed how art can set the emotions of activists and protesters, from fear to peace and from inertia to action. Reed (2019) added in his work that some artworks have been created with the intent of providing a renewed source of energy to existing movements, especially long-lasting ones. While still making use of its ability to convey emotions, in this function, art takes on a rejuvenating task, which is incredibly valuable for movements that experience frequent setbacks, such as failures within the system of laws, or emotional grievances, such as loss of human life. The fight for the eradication of AIDS sees plenty of the latter, thus the creation of the AIDS Memorial Quilt created by Cleve Jones in 1985, which has since served as an uncommon and uplifting response to the tragic loss of human life Milbrandt (2010). Moreover, when a movement has been fulfilled in its majority, art plays the role of cleansing discord within a movement, bringing a sense of closure to it. The television series *Art21: Art in the Twenty-First Century* (2001) shed light on this by addressing the criticism and tension upon the creation of the Vietnam War Memorial and the Civil Rights Memorial, both by Maya Lin. Part of the community showed disapproval that the latter was not assigned to a black artist, however when both were viewed by the public, the strong emotions they were able to convey harmonized the tension between two different movements (Afshar & Terwiel, 2019).

1.3.1.6. Retelling history. Historical events and stereotypes are often the subjects of artworks, with their depictions shaping the collective memory and identity of society (Desai, Hamlin & Mattson, 2010). Just as art possesses this ability to frame history, it can also reframe it in the light of contemporary social values. As Milbrandt (2010, p.3) phrased: “contemporary artists challenge and reframe our understanding of history by depicting individual stories that

disrupt and discredit the grand narrative by revealing its omissions and biases". Contemporary artwork has sought to retell history on plenty of occasions, such are the examples of Kara Walker and her imagery of the untold stories of slaves that challenge the traditional narrative of the genteel South, the work of Adriana Varejão that focuses on the violence and struggles of the Portuguese colonization of Brazil, or the plays put on by Paula Abood that show the oppression suffered by Arab women in the early origins of Australia (Bayeh, Amer & Abood, 2017; Robertson & McDaniel, 2017; Mattson, 2010).

1.3.1.7. Defusing and diffusing. Reed (2019) develops the previous idea of art's ability to retell history by theorizing two distinct functions that overlap and intersect said ability, those of defusion and diffusion. As seen before, many contemporary artworks critique and reframe the messages and imagery of social movements, sometimes transforming them into non-threatening symbols that, now defused, can be diffused in society. With this, the author concludes that the symbols and images of one generation will evolve drastically when perceived in the contexts that new generations live in, thus changing their meaning. The constant defusion of movements' symbols does ease the communication of themselves throughout time, but as new generations reappreciate them, their power can be lost (Milbrandt, 2010).

1.3.1.8. Breaking media clusters. Finally, contemporary art has the ability to compete with the media cluster present in most modern societies. The emergence of the Internet, coupled with other dominant media (television, radio, newspapers) has created a barrier to many movements, especially smaller ones, by making it harder to break through all the information and make visual statements of resistance (Reed, 2019). To achieve this, artists often resort to

guerrilla tactics to raise awareness, making good use of the same popular media to present their ideas.

1.3.2. When art becomes ineffective

For all the important functions art has in social movements, its mostly positive influence on them is precisely that – mostly positive. As with anything that shapes society so profoundly, the arts can also play a negative role in the development of social movements. In his review of *The Art of Protest*, Nepstad (2007) alludes to some of the problems found in the 1980s Live Aid concerts, namely how despite the good intentions of organizers and artists that raised millions to fight famine in Africa, the messages conveyed were not true to the reality in the continent. Speeches and messages during the shows failed to frame the famine issue in Africa as a consequence of neocolonialism, instead assigning blame to natural causes. Furthermore, the author sheds light on the patronizing way in which Western cultures provide charity for these countries in need. Though it was able to help its cause, this example serves to show us how the above-mentioned functions of art can fail when the artworks and its messages and symbols lack the veracity and enlightenment necessary for aiding movements in accomplishing long-lasting collective action.

1.3.3. The Spivak Question – "Can the Subaltern Speak?"

In his most famous essay, Spivak (1988) brought forward the injustices present in the structures that allow citizens to speak their minds. When a social movement is able to provide a platform for an individual to speak about the issues and injustices surrounding a minority, or

subaltern, and that platform allows them to reach large audiences, it is usually recognized as a great victory. However, as the author reminds us, having one person speak being allowed to speak is not an indicator that the structures of power have changed. In fact, many years later, Majaj (2002, p.202) argued that "silencing cannot simply be challenged by speaking out on behalf of the voiceless, because articulation is caught up in the problematics of representation: in particular, the tension of speaking for the 'other' and empowering the 'other' to speak for herself". This problem of representation, according to the author, extends to a problem of the role of power, where, by speaking for others, one is participating and with it validating the same power structures that prevent the others from speaking. In an interview more than a decade later, historian and activist Paula Abood would comment on this question adding that since learning of these problems raised by Majaj, she changed her practices in order to be able to create platforms where the control of the narrative is given to the minorities she defends, in addition of course to the platforms she creates for them to share their struggles (Bayeh, Amer & Abood, 2017). Similar to the idea of the common saying "give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach a man how to fish and you feed him for life", giving representation to minorities in the arts, and doing so by working respectfully and critically with those who have been silenced and thus helping them build a safer, more supportive community, artistic expression proves to be important in achieving collective resistance.

Chapter II - Emotions

We have briefly mentioned the role of emotions in social change, especially in achieving collective action. Fear, anger and hope are just some of the many emotions that can dictate how we act, how we perceive an issue and thus how a movement will communicate with its audience. To understand the role of emotion is to understand what they are, how they come to be, how they can be manipulated and to what effect.

2.1. Defining emotion

Emotion can be simply explained as a reaction from the brain to an event, but academic definitions describe emotion as a patterned collection of chemical and neural responses, intense and generally short-lived, produced by the brain when it is faced with an event, usually external to the self (Damásio, 2004; Nabi, 2002; Ortony, Clore & Collins, 2022). Emotional responses are the way humans react to specific objects and events that have a specific range of actions. Evolution has taught the human mind to associate certain objects and events that have been experienced with other ones that are set to also cause emotions so that another adequate pattern of emotional responses arises (Ortony, Clore & Collins, 2022). If we have learned to fear a certain colorful animal due to the painful effects of its blood (even if we don't understand what poison is), we are likely to have an equally frightened response to a different colorful animal. Damásio (2001) goes on to explain that the main target of emotions is the body, to which they aim to either generate an emotional state or enact specific behaviors and facial expressions. Altering an emotional state can result, for example, in a state of alert or a state of calm, while provoking a specific behavior can mean activating a survival instinct. Thus, emotions allow

humans to successfully handle objects and events, whether they are good or bad, advantageous or dangerous.

2.1.1. The ingredients of emotions

Throughout his career, António Damásio has dedicated his efforts to understanding the human brain, pushing the boundaries of neuroscience. The author stated that "emotions are not subjective, private, elusive or undefinable (…) their neurobiology can be investigated objectively" Damásio (2001, p.1). There are many different theories that further define what constitutes an emotion, but there is a general consensus that dictates that emotions are constructed by five components: a cognitive appraisal of an event; an arousal component; a subjective feeling state; a motivational component; and a motor expression (Fiske & Taylor, 2013; Plutchik, 1982; Schuman & Scherer, 2014). Of these five components, all are either straightforward or have been previously explained, with the exception of feeling, which we must distinguish from emotion. Feelings are the mental, inherently subjective, representation of the physiological changes that characterize emotions, thus being a direct consequence of them (Schuman & Scherer, 2014). It is this shift from body to mind that distinguishes feelings from emotions. While emotions correlate to an immediate response by us to a specific situation, the feeling that comes with said emotion correlates to a mental state, amplifying the impact of that situation to reach both body and mind (Damásio, 2004).

2.1.2. Emotional classification

The study of emotions had led to many attempts to classify emotions systemically, by creating models that allow for the comparison of two emotions (Eerola & Vuoskoski, 2011; Harmon-Jones et al., 2017; Nabi, 2002). In the many models proposed, there are two distinct approaches that guide the vast majority of theories: dimensional, focusing on ranging every emotion in two or three dimensions; and discrete, classifying a set of basic emotions that comprise all others.

2.1.2.1. Dimensional model. Dimensional models categorize emotions as a generalized motivational state characterized by two or three affective dimensions, which are commonly related to valence, arousal and intensity, with the first two being the most predominant ones present in most models. Valence refers to a continuum with a state of pleasure and unpleasure on its ends, while arousal does the same with arousing and subduing states (Bradley et al., 1992; Rubin & Talarico, 2009; Russel, 1980). Finally, the models that include intensity often apply a similar continuum with strain and relaxation states at its ends (Harmon-Jones et al., 2017; Plutchik 1982). Other models propose a slight variant on these dimensions, like Thayer (1990) who suggested that the two affective dimensions should instead be split into energetic arousal and tense arousal, or Schlosberg (1954) who claimed the three dimensions to be “pleasantness–unpleasantness", "attention–rejection" and "level of activation".

2.1.2.2. Discrete models. The other emotion classification model focuses on categorical emotional states, establishing a determined number of basic emotions that underline every other emotion (Frijda, 2000; Nummenmaa & Saarimäki, 2019; Plutchik, 1982). In the words of Eerola

& Vuoskoski (2011, p.3), “all emotions can be derived from a limited number of universal and innate basic emotions such as fear, anger, disgust, sadness and happiness”. The authors used for their example the list of six basic emotions proposed by Ekman (1999), one of many lists that have been proposed as the basic emotions. However, many studies have proposed a different number of basic emotions, ranging from the previous six to more than twenty (Cowan & Keltner, 2021; Frijda, 2000; Lazarus, 1991; Ortony, 2022). Among them, we can often find fear, grief, love, rage, anxiety, compassion, depression, envy, fright, gratitude, guilt, happiness, hope, jealousy, relief, shame, disgust and surprise. These lists share a lot of the same emotions, with some adding more contextual ones relevant to the matter of their study in some cases, although we can definitely notice the presence of the “big six” mentioned in the beginning. In this type of model, emotions can be considered discrete if they lead to an emotional state that has a unique appraisal pattern, subjective experience and action tendencies (Eerola & Vuoskoski, 2011).

2.2. Emotions in social movements

The definition of emotion, even amongst authors who disagree with it, seems to always contain the word “reaction”. Emotions constantly guide our actions, regardless of whether they come to be when we are alone or in a social context, they can thus be described as a set of responses to be followed by a person in any given situation (Van Kleef et al., 2016).

2.2.1. Occurrence of emotion

In his study of discrete emotions Nabi (2002), gave the example of fear, anger and hope as emotions that arise as a reaction to an external circumstance, namely a threatening one. As

discussed before, a threat presents an opportunity for a social movement to arise, or at least an opportunity for an individual to act in an attempt to neutralize said threat. The reason for it relies, in part, on the three previously mentioned emotions. Fear and anger are considered negative emotions aroused in the presence of threatening situations, while hope is considered a positive one (Frijda, 2017; Lazarus, 1991; Lerner & Keltner, 2001). A fearful response will occur when appraising a situation leads to the recognition that it is out of our control, like feeling the earth shake at the beginning of an earthquake. On the other hand, anger will emerge when we attribute the threat to an individual agent, directing our anger toward them instead of the threat itself (Ortony, 2022). When in an emotional state of anger, we take on the role of the judge while the other agent takes the one of the defendants, similar to how a contempt stage will lead us to believe we are rightful and pure while the other agent is wrongful and despicable (Oakley, 2020). Hope is seen as a positive emotion because, even though it arises from the appraisal of an imminent threat, it requires that a positive future outcome is attainable (Lazarus, 1991). As we will discuss later on, it is the possibility to end the threat that motivates hopeful individuals to act. In fact, much like the appraisal of a threat, there are various concepts and events, usually cultural ones, which generate emotions that help us understand the emergence, recruitment patterns, longevity and decline of social movements (Jasper, 2018). These causal mechanisms impact individuals from cognitive processes, as well as emotional ones, and it is the study of these emotional ones into which we will look.

2.2.1.1. Moral Shock. Moral shocks are unexpected events or rising pieces of information that cause a sense of outrage and indignation that can often lead those who appraise to spur into action. They are often the first line of recruitment for social movements, since a

person who goes through a moral shock will usually be more inclined to partake in political action of their own will, without the need to be recruited by an acquaintance of the movement (Jasper & Poulsen, 1995). Moral shocks can be triggered by highly publicized events like an oil spill, or by personal experiences like witnessing a hate crime. They can be sudden or more gradual, and they can come from something new that is to come or something that already exists and has its damages now come to light (Jasper 2018). The responses to moral shocks tend to vary since most people will usually resort to resignation, believing that the government and their leaders won't be affected by their protest. On the other hand, moral shocks can be strong enough to the point where they channel the necessary amount of fear and anger that leads to indignation and consequently to action.

2.2.1.2. Blame. For action to come from moral shocks, blame has to be assigned to something. That something will be the target of the action, and it is crucial for social movements to correctly do so (Frijda, 2017). Blame assignment will depend on several aspects of its causer: whether the source is natural or human; if it is embodied by other humans or by a piece of technology; if it already exists or will exist in the future; and finally if there is an entity responsible for fixing it. When we perceive the source to be natural, we tend not to assign blame to any group, but rather see it as an "act of god" (Van Kleef et al., 2016). When we find humans culpable of causing something wrong, the outcome will strongly arise, but if we see it as a technological problem, we tend not to have such strong emotions since we see the threat as fixable by whoever is responsible for the piece of technology. With this, we can derive that outrage will be more emphatic the more we can clearly define the source of a threat (Erikson, 2010; Walsh, 1988). Issues that are already happening, that have been slowly unfolding over

time, generate denial and resignation in us and our tendency to not recognize the full extent of the issue, with thoughts such as “what could I have done” (resignation) or “it’s not that bad otherwise I would’ve done something” (denial). Newly discovered issues also bring up resignation, but add trauma to the mix, especially when the culprits have already abandoned “the crime scene”, i.e. when we cannot find the source to be blamed and to hurl our anger at.

2.2.1.3. Injustice framing. Social movements, as we have previously seen, require a strong alignment between their members if they are to succeed in achieving their goals. Amongst other things, they must align the framing of their social context and the movement itself (Van Kleef & Côté, 2022). One specific kind of framing that is particularly important is that of injustice framing, which relates to the idea that in every social movement there needs to be a conviction that existing conditions are unjust for some if not all, groups (Oberschall, 2017). Injustice framing can then be described as the process by which movements establish that viewing a certain condition or situation generates indignation and outrage over a perceived injustice, as well as finding an identity to assign blame for said injustice (Gamson, 1992).

2.2.1.4. Collective identity. Collective identity “refers to a sense of solidarity among members of a social movement itself, and sometimes to an underlying social categorization in whose name a movement claims to speak (Jasper, 2018). However, the author goes on to add that it should not be seen solely as a cognitive process, but rather more as an emotion. Collective identity can be understood by the positive effect it generates towards other members of the group and how collective labels can help someone to define themselves in a matter that brings them affection towards others just as much as from others towards them. This self-definition through

collective identity is what makes participation in social movements so pleasurable for some, regardless of objectives and outcomes (Lofland, 2017b).

2.2.1.5. Membership maintenance. A frequent problem for social movements is the ability to keep their existing members and remain strong throughout time. Just as they are able to explain the origin and rise of social movements, emotions can also help us understand how they can keep "surviving". Lofland (2017b) has listed many factors that lead members to leave, among them we find lack of success, shifting goals, factionalism and long hours of work. While all this is true, Jasper (2018) notes how he failed to acknowledge the emotions that accompany those factors, such as embarrassment and disappointment from failures, and frustration from the hard work and conflicting dichotomies within the movement. However, the culture within a movement (values, objects, roles, stories) can discourage defection by generating joy, hope, enthusiasm, affection and pride to be a part of it. These are the emotions that give the pleasure of belonging and remaining despite the belief of a lack of possibility for success.

2.2.1.6. Decline. Finally, we look at the emotions that contribute to the decline of a social movement. Failure to provide the emotions that originate a movement, as well as the ones that help it stay strong will undoubtedly lead a movement to its end. Moreover, those important emotions also have a counterpart that contributes to a movement's decline: affection can become jealousy or envy, and joy can become disgust or hatred. When we take the pleasures out of movement participation, the failures of not achieving our goals lead to disappointment, and the hard work's appraisal will lead to exhaustion (Hirschman, 2002).

2.2.2. Affects and reactive emotions

Depending on how they a formed, emotions can be seen as being in a spectrum with effects and reactive on its ends. Some emotional states, like love for a significant other or loyalty to a team is strong abiding effects where emotional reactions can come and go, or in other words, they are more permanent emotions that move us and that generate emotions within us (Frijda, 2017). On the other side of the spectrum we can find emotions like anger at an outcome, which is usually a more short-term response to an event, less like to "stick around". Other emotions can shift between the two ends, like fear, which can be an effect when it is targeted at an abstract concept like death or war, or on the side of reactive emotions when it is targeted at something more specific such as a public murder or ongoing war (Van Kleef & Côté, 2022).

2.2.3. Efficacy messaging

Social movement leaders have the responsibility to pass on specific emotions to other members in order to maintain and prosper their movement. This can be achieved with speeches and diffusion or artworks (songs, books, pictures, movies, etc.) which we will explore later, but in any of these one strategy that's very commonly used to generate the necessary emotions is that of communicating efficacy messages. By portraying threats as something that can be managed and dealt with, it is possible to influence such important drivers as fear, hope and anger (et al., 2010). The inclusion of efficacy in fear-based messages will dimmish people's fear of a threat, allowing them to confront it with action with a now more alleviated sense of danger. Conversely, efficacy messages are remarkably effective, to the point of almost being necessary, at increasing hope. This comes from the fact that hope emerges when a perceived threat is met with the belief

that changing things for the better is possible. By communicating information about a threat and then information on how to proceed in a way that neutralizes it, social movements can increase hope (Chadwick, 2015). For anger, studies have shown that efficacy messages can both increase and decrease it (Tausch, et al., 2011; Valentino et al., 2009), with some stating that "efficacy signals personal confidence for dealing with a threat, which is the appraisal pattern associated with anger", and others that "efficacy may imply the removal of barriers to goal attainment, thereby decreasing anger" (Feldman & Hart, 2016, p.102).

2.2.4. Active emotional responses

Of the many emotions we have seen, some can be good predictors of behavior that are relevant to social movements. Cognitive appraisal theory, according to Feldman & Hart (2016, p.102) proposes that "specific emotions guide behavior based on the relationship they signal between individuals and their environment, which triggers a particular action tendency in order to cope with the emotion". We can see an example of this in the perceived sense of control associated with anger, which can lead to optimistic judgments of the future which will in turn lead to more risk-taking actions (Lerner & Keltner, 2001). On the other hand, fear, which is characterized by a perceived lack of control, can often lead to immobilization and risk-averse actions (Huddy et al., 2005; Lerner & Keltner, 2001). Finally, hope, in this context, is usually an indicator for measuring enthusiasm, which is seen as a signal that progress is steady and success is imminent. Enthusiasm will lead individuals to act in an attempt to maintain their progress and further achieve their goals (Marcus et al., 2000). With this in mind, we can see how anger and enthusiasm contribute to political participation, whilst fear may deter it.

2.3. Art as a dealer of emotion

The idea that art is a vehicle for conveying emotions is not recent, and neither is the study of its relationship with emotions. Barwell (1986) discussed how, since the emergence of theories of art, there has always been an observed value of the expressiveness of artworks. Art can express many things, from emotions, moods and feelings, to attitude, character and thought (Barwell, 1986; Belfiore & Bennet, 2007; Menninghaus, et al., 2019).

2.3.1. Expressing emotion

There are two main factors when understanding how art expresses emotions: how authors express themselves and their emotional states when doing so (Matravers, 2005). There are four main theories regarding the routes that artists use to convey emotions with their art: the direct route, which uses messages whose form is similar to other affects or emotions to spark said emotion or effect on the audience; the indirect route, which relies on expressing what the artist felt during an experience in order to incite audiences to look for that same experience, resulting in a similar emotional sensation; the narrative route, that manipulates the audience's imagination by creating a narrative with characters and situations that they can identify with, as well as with the emotions that the characters or situations arouse; finally, a fourth, unnamed, route that relates to the production of emotions by audiences when they deliberately attempt to process an artistic input, like a song or painting (Noy & Sharav, 2013; Langer, 1957). Furthermore, the expressive properties of an artwork are heavily dependent on the artist's emotional state, or as Barwell (1986, p.4) put it, "a song cannot be sad unless its composer was sad and intended to express that sadness in her composition.". However, in his work he goes on

to add that "(a) poet may not have to be in the emotional state when he creates but merely be recollecting it in tranquility" (Barwell, 1986, p.4). The author is opening up the possibility that artists can work themselves into emotional states that were previously experienced with enough conviction that they produce the same emotion if the artwork was created at that previous time.

2.3.2. Art production

We have seen how artists use art to express emotions they feel and that in result will reach an audience. Naturally, amongst that audience are other artists, who will also be impacted by what they experience, which will create a flow of creativity, where one artist will lead others to express themselves, and so on, thus improving the overall creative and expressive ability of a society (Iyengar et al., 2012). Moreover, the production of art, i.e. what leads an artist to create an artwork, is said to also be influenced by the inputs they receive, from their human experiences and impulses, artistic infrastructures and their education, all of which provide them with the context and motivation for their work (Benedek et al., 2017).

2.3.3. Emotional outcomes

Interacting with the arts has many outcomes and in this section we will explore the emotional ones. The exposure to art by an individual, as we have hinted before, can lead to new emotions and feelings, from anger and rage to solidarity and identity, among many others. as well as deepen an individual's appreciation for what surrounds them, broaden their perspective and even enhance their spirituality (Belfiore & Bennet, 2007; Noy & Sharav, 2013). Engaging with art allows the establishment of connections that cross individual boundaries like race,

gender, age, income and location, which leads to a more tolerant society, where emotions like unity, solidarity and familiarity can thrive (Dwyer, 2008; Iyengar et al., 2012). We can observe this in the artworks mentioned in the previous chapter: the anger and uprising generated by the paintings of Huda Lufti (2008 and 2010) during the Egyptian revolution; the courage granted by the song "We Shall Overcome" (Payne, 2007); the identity and positivity of Alison Saar's (1976) depictions of black women; the joy brought by the AIDS Memorial Quilt by Cleve Jones (1975) during times of grief.

2.3.4. Aesthetic experience

The production of art by artists and its appraisal by an audience has been categorized, in several studies, as an aesthetic experience (Benedek et al., 2017; Borstel & Korza, 2014; Carrol, 2012). There are many definitions of what it entails, but most theories agree that it refers to a sensory experience reported by people who become deeply involved with what they are perceiving, appreciating the meaning and beauty of it (Belfiore & Bennet, 2007; Csikszentmihalyi & Robinson, 1990; Menninghaus, et al., 2019). The aesthetic values that artists incorporate in their work, explicitly or implicitly, stimulate the interpreter's senses and guide them to deeper connections (Borstel & Korza, 2014). Appreciating an artwork is not only recognizing the artistic qualities it has, but also obtaining something of value from it, more specifically to be emotionally moved (Belfiore & Bennet, 2007). This idea is solidified by the therapeutic function that art can serve by easing symptoms of depression or other psychological pathologies (Madden & Bloom, 2004). Furthermore, Csikszentmihalyi & Robinson (1990) argued that the emotions and thoughts generated by an artwork may be different based on subjectiveness, but the way it feels to appraise said artwork – the aesthetic experience – will be

the same regardless of cognitive and emotional content. In their work, Borstel & Korza (2014), together with other artists and art evaluators, propose a set of attributes that encompass the qualities and values of aesthetics, among them being the *emotional experience* that art evokes, the *sensory experience* that heightens the power of the artist's messages and the *stickiness* of artwork that is able to be impactful and of value. Finally, a common criticism of the aesthetic experience comes from the fact that its values and qualities are predominantly centered around European-American white values, thus failing to reflect non-dominant cultures (Kiley et al., 2015; Carroll, 2012).

Chapter III - Activism

We have discussed how social change theory has evolved and understood how it can be achieved by those who, in our form of government, have the power to do so. However, the number of people who do hold this power is short, which makes it almost impossible for a single individual to achieve major social changes on his own. Unless, of course, they happen to be a politician. Democracy dictates that politicians have the ability to pass new laws and reform old ones, thus generating real change on a large and lasting scale. They represent the will of their fellow citizens and it's their job to serve the needs and desires of their constituents, the same ones that elect them in the first place (Wouters & Walgrave, 2017). As we've seen, single non-politician individual has an exceedingly difficult time trying to achieve major change, having instead to place his trust in elected politicians. However, he can majorly influence what these politicians see as the needs and desires of their constituents. Of the many ways we have seen that politicians keep close track of public opinions, the most prevalent ones range from more direct methods such as opinion polling (Geer, 1996) or contact with constituents (Fenno, 2003), or on a larger scale, by paying attention to mass media (Herbst, 1998) and advocacy (Burstein, 2014). In this chapter, we will shift our focus towards the latter of these methods – advocacy. It can come in many forms, but the most predominant one is activism, a subject into which we will now look.

3.1. Forms of activism

Activism can be seen in the many forms of civic engagement an individual can partake in. Voting is one of the most common political activities (Jeong, 2013; Nygård & Jakobsson, 2013), one that exerts immense pressure on elected officials, with its outcomes affecting all

citizens; and campaign work, such as handing out leaflets or attending party meetings, as a great source for generating collective benefits, but one that requires greater initiative, time and effort than voting. These two can be seen as the more conventional forms of civic engagement, while protest can be seen as a more modern one (Ekman & Amnå, 2012), which corresponds to the willingness of citizens to engage in dissent, and can take the shape of unofficial strikes, boycotts, petitions, the occupation of buildings, mass demonstrations, and even acts of political violence. Both these forms of activism are focused primarily on how citizens can influence representative democracy, either directly or indirectly. Verba et al. (1978, p.1) defined political participation as "legal activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take.". Activism has the clear intent to influence elected officials, but we have also seen an equal interest in influencing other citizens, transforming individual action to group movements (Ekman & Amnå, 2012). Protests, in all their different forms, are the modern approach that takes on the tough role of achieving activists' goals.

3.2. Globalizing activism

One of the most common messages of activist campaigns is Patrick Geddes' "Think Globally, Act Locally". The Scottish planner and conservationist coined the saying in 1915, inspiring fellow activists to look at the problems of the world and attempt to fix them in their local community, in the hopes that by seeing many local communities change their way, eventually global change would be accomplished. In 2021, Jane Goodall proposed a different view on this quote, a completely inverse one, to be exact. The conservationist and ethnologist advised fellow activists to turn the sentence around and to "Think Locally, Act Globally". With

this way of thinking, Goodall hoped to give hope to those who felt powerless and unmotivated when confronted with the world's problems (Goodall, 2021). These two quotes share two important characteristics: they have inspired many people to partake in civic engagement and to create and join protests; they have the ambition to reach a global audience. Doing the latter is, naturally, a much harder task when compared to reaching a local audience. As discussed before, protests are very effective at generating local action, however activism on a global scale requires communication on a global scale (Mattoni, 2016).

3.2.1. Platforms for group activism

The path to global change has led to the creation of activist groups, where individuals who share the same beliefs come together and attempt to bring their change to a wider platform. They do so by coordinating communication and action through global networks (Gerlach, 2001), whether through large digital communities or personal digital media (Bennet, 2003). In fact, many activists have cited the importance of these personal digital spaces in creating networks and coordinating their efforts across many political landscapes. The rise of web-based infrastructures has brought to life digital communication networks, which were quickly adopted by activists as a way to create and access global networks. It would seem that digital media has become an important organizational resource in global movements, but there are also potential problems associated with these global communication-based networks. For one, Bennet (2003) argues that the ease of joining and leaving these networks means that it becomes difficult to control campaigns or to achieve strong collective identities. This problem comes from the tendency that some movements have to decentralize their structure, removing a "leading figure" from its structure, and allowing all its members to make up their front lines of communication.

This strategy allows smaller movements, especially ones that begin locally, to work around their usual weaknesses of having few resources and lack of support from major representatives. The Internet and its digital networks provide a very cheap means of reaching a wider audience, as well as the ability to merge different movements into one group which has many different focuses that are enforced as one. The digital world thus provides a space for network individualism, which enables people to join a multitude of causes with different goals, in an amount much larger than they would be able to join in the material world (Wellman, 2000). This happens because in the digital sphere people can establish personal links to different causes much more easily (Castells, 2015).

3.2.2. Strengths and weaknesses of digital networks

In his analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of global activism through digital networks, Bennet (2003) identified that the communication campaigns that characterize global activism run for a longer time when they are less centrally controlled, making the lack of leadership a tougher wall against attempts to shut down a movement. One of the reasons for this lies in the individual identity and lifestyle narrative among some networks, where a campaign's communication can travel incredibly well across platforms and see its message endorsed by many people (Castells, 2015). This ease for "spreading the message" does mean that it isn't always fully understood by its audience, which brings the author to state that these communication formulas, despite reaching wide audiences, carry little ideology in their messages and thus do little to further its cause.

3.2.3. Spreading messages through digital media

Another interesting development brought by digital networks is the new types of media identified as micro and middle media (Mattoni, 2016). They provide activists with a way to communicate information without having to turn to mass media. Micro media can refer to emailing lists or message apps, whilst middle media is made up of Internet channels like blogs, forums or organization sites. Through these, activists are able to reach their audiences independently from mass media and the constraints it can have (Klein 2009; Lasn 1999). In his book, Reed (2019) noted these limitations of mass media with the example of the Fox News broadcast of the concert Artists United Against Apartheid, which aimed to raise money to fund education centers in South Africa and featured musicians who during their set talked about their roots and social issues related to apartheid. However, the broadcast by Fox News cut a lot of those speeches in between songs or sets and substituted them for advertising spots. The author does state that though corporate sponsorships may undermine political messages in events like this concert, these events still have the ability to mobilize political sentiments that support activist agendas. This is the reason, despite flaws like the one highlighted in the previous example, activists still want to get their political messages into the mass media. As its name states, mass media allows them to reach an even wider audience. In order to get their message to mass media, movements have learned to latch their movements corporations that are heavily publicized, as well as by giving names and creating logos that stick easily with audiences. Bennet (2003) gives the example of a group of NGOs that successfully stopped the introduction of a sterile seed strain by labeling it “The Terminator”, which rapidly made its way to mass media and brought new players to the campaign.

3.3. A creative approach

Activism has always been a means for achieving social change (Walker, 2012). The different forms it can take with new or old media, as previously discussed, are still in use today and are seen as an effective way of achieving said change. However, a new view on activism has gained traction in the most recent years. In an attempt to adapt to the changes that audiences go through, this novel approach to activism seeks to provide a solution to the challenging landscape of information that activists have to fight through.

3.3.1. Creative activism

Individuals are bombarded with information every day, a good percentage of it of a commercial nature and tailored to their tastes and preference (Duncombe & Harrebye, 2021). The public's ability to ignore this message has developed greatly which makes the ability to be seen much tougher to grasp, as well as the ability for a message to be interiorized. This new approach is known as creative activism and can be defined as a practice that attempts to create a new political space in an attempt to revitalize the political imagination through innovative tactics (Harrebye, 2015; McIntyre, 2022). These tactics can take many forms, such as flash mobs, urban guerrilla gardening, identity correction, forum theatre, infiltrating media-jacking, prefigurative interventions, etc. They make use of new media and look to play with the right emotions to get their message across to their audience. Creative activism relies on creativity and imagination as a tool to challenge, resist and solve whatever issues it targets. It brings new tactics that shake up what we are used to seeing in activist actions, and with this it challenges the efficacy of other,

more conventional, forms of activism. In order to understand the strengths of this novel approach to activism, we must first look into why it has surfaced in recent years.

3.3.2. Creative vs. conventional

As McIntyre (2022) stated, we all too often slip into habits and tend to apply the same tactics, messages and strategies over and over again. Sometimes this is because they worked well for us at one time or because they suit our personality and political leanings or ethics or ideology or because we've been inspired and enlightened by particular people or historical figures and want to emulate them. However, the efficacy of the unexpected is soon lost when we do the same thing over and over (Harrebye, 2015). This can make a lot of our tactics and messages boring and ineffective, not just for the people we're trying to reach or influence, but also for ourselves. Protests and other performative political are essential for our democratic systems as they have challenged, legitimized, and improved political reforms (Duncombe & Harrebye, 2021), yet these conventional forms of civic advocacy often seem unable to keep up with the changing political landscape, relying on methods of engagement that were effective in the past but seem increasingly out of step with the current times. Current developments in the political landscape make it more important than ever for activists to know how to influence and achieve change. It may be daunting to bring forward new methods that answer these necessities, whether due to lack of inventiveness or due to sheer fear of being criticized McIntyre (2022). But, just as something new can fall on its face, so can applying the same means you always have. Using unconventional tactics runs the risk of being criticized and losing some people's interest but may draw others in who would otherwise pay little attention.

3.3.3. The art in creative activism

Creative activism starts from an activistic standpoint and focuses its efforts on three main traits (Harrebye, 2015). First, it strategically and consciously uses the new media, something that traditional methods don't do, creating them insufficient. It is highly related to art, and while art plays an essential role in this form of activism, creative activism wants to have an impact and break free of the institutional framing of the art world that is usually confined within the exclusive spaces of galleries, museums and private collections, in turn trying to engage with the globalized world on its own terms. Secondly, creative activism is focused more on processes than results. This is obviously not to say that it doesn't aim for results, but the truth is that creative activists prefer to pose questions and provoke reflection, avoiding communicating cemented beliefs in their actions. Its goal is to have the public question the inner makings of their reality, to have them ask what is right and wrong as well as why things are the way they are. Thirdly, it is project-based, which is why classical theories of social movements, such as collective behavior theory are useful but also insufficient when describing the mobilization and organization of protesters. Harrebye (2015, p.4) cites Pelle Sørensen, in his forthcoming work "Project Critique – On Social Critique and Participation in Project Based Movements.", who states that "project organized social activism is not based on a stable political organization – concerning party membership or a well-defined repertoire of protests such as strikes and mass demonstrations. Neither does it stress the importance of long-time planning and registration. The new form of critique is better expressed through creative events, contemporary groups on Facebook and spontaneous reaction, than on policy agendas and membership". Creative activism thus relates to the new networks that we previously discussed due to the possibility of creating decentralized and temporary networks for the successful mobilization of protesters (Klein, 2009).

3.3.4. Criticism on new forms of activism

As with any new social movement, creative activism isn't immune to criticism, in fact precisely because it represents a new form of activism, it is subject to past opinions and studies on the nature of new social movements. It is common for new social movements to develop from the conventional political way of life, which makes its novelty overstated by other authors in the field (Martin, 2015; Plotke, 1990). Furthermore, these new movements often appear as a response to a cultural crisis and should be seen as cyclical responses to them (Buechler, 2016; Brand, 1990). These critics don't necessarily take away merit or importance to creative activism, but rather help us to frame it in our current times and to better understand its rise.

3.3.5. Establishing the current context

Regardless of possible criticism, creative activism does possess characteristics that have not been a part of previous social movements: the reality it lives in is unprecedented (Duncombe & Harrebye, 2021). The global gap between rich and poor has never been bigger and the ecological balance is in imminent danger, which has shot up the number of stress-related and existential depressions in our society (Whiteley, 2011). As for the rest of the status quo, even though we have established that it is common for our systems to enter a state of crisis, it is still important to identify what the crisis is this time around. Liberal democracies around the world are under pressure from outside and within, the plethora of misinformation plagues our democratic system and gives strength to populists everywhere, giving them the tools to be seen as saviors rather than putting to scrutiny the message they convey (Vraga & Bode, 2020). The

gap for between the elites and the remainder of the population has risen to be much more than economical, there are severe breaks in trust and disregard between each other (Marpi & Erlangga, 2021). The representative systems seem outdated, while the direct participation of citizens is increasingly socially skewed and individualized. Social media has turned our deliberative culture on its head, not helped by the mediatization of politics, where characters and personalities trump rational discussion and actual social issues (Akram & Kumar, 2017). Emotional appeals and staged spectacles hold sway, while reasoned explanations and empirical facts are easily dismissed as "fake news." (Buechler, 2016).

3.4. Emotions and protest

We have discussed the reasons why social movements begin, and why activism is a common answer to even more common problems, both through a socio-political lens as well as an emotional one. By taking a closer look at the act of protest, we can boil it down to its participants and their desire for change (Flam & King, 2007). What brings them to protest is an urgent need for whatever change they seek, a need that manifests itself in some sort of emotion (Rasler, 1996). Human's ease to become unsatisfied with their surroundings, when allied with being informed about some injustice or social issue that is gaining traction, leads them to empathize with it and seek a solution (Chadwick, 2015). We have previously seen how emotions lead people to join in collective action, the most common form being protest, with studies showing that emotions are what make some people decide to march on the streets or attend a gathering with fellow solution-searchers (Jasper, 2018; Lerner & Keltner, 2001; Lofland, 2017a). Certain emotions, like fear or anger, aren't just incidental characteristics we have, they play a motivational role in protest (Jasper, 2018). Emotions are, after all, as much part of the culture as

cognitive understandings and moral visions are, and all social life occurs through culture (Damásio, 2004; Lerner & Keltner, 2001). Our world is constantly affected by emotion, in the way we relate with each other and to every experience we have throughout our lives. These emotions guide and control our choices as much as our rational does. Our heroes influence our choices because of how much we admire them; nostalgia impacts our decisions because of the emotional attachments to places and objects; basic needs like hunger, sleep or sex determine how we interact with others and what we do we our time (Garfinkel, 1964; Noy & Sharav, 2013). There would be no social movements without all these feelings or emotional responses to our greater surroundings. Some emotional responses are so strong that people search out protest groups (Jasper & Poulsen, 1995). Manipulating these emotions can be done in a multitude of ways, but perhaps the most common one is art (Spitfire Strategies, 2017). Although historically there have been challenges to finding scientific ways to measure art's impact on our emotions, as seen in the previous chapter, all of the above-listed emotions can be generated by experiencing works of art. After all, what is the goal of the arts but to stimulate a feeling, move us emotionally, or alter our perception? Art is an expression that generates affect, and its value is often seen in the new perspectives and new ways it can make us see our world (Duncombe, 2016). A notable example of this is how comedy is able to make audiences experience social issues, break social taboos and increase feelings of empathy and connection toward groups that require such emotions to achieve the change they desire (Duncombe & Harrebye, 2021). The popular tv show "Modern Family" was able to impact public perception towards the LGBTQ community (Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transgender and Queer) at a time when LGBTQ rights were being voted for in western nations (Spitfire Strategies, 2017). The use of pop culture to build recognizable and thus shareable imagery is a common tactic for social movements, as

discussed before. Callahan's (2009) study on Rha Goddess's play "Low" provides us with several indicators that can show us possible changes taking place within the audience during the play. On top of the emotional responses discussed previously, concepts like re-humanization, validation, enlightening insights and even something as simple as generating interest in taking action were measured during this play, adding to the list of impactful reactions in which exposure to art can lead to protest. Emotions play a critical role in protest, they are essential to the act of protest and therefore the greatest form of activism we can generate (Jasper, 2018). While some emotions can be temporary responses to events, people or art, others create longer-lasting affective ties, that can be difficult to break down, something that can have both positive and negative consequences. Naturally, a long-lasting tie towards a social movement that seeks to change some injustice is a cherished thing, but a strong affection towards tradition or outdated values can make said change harder to accomplish (Flem & King, 2007).

Methods

This study intends to further the research on creative activism, specifically by testing if this new form of advocacy is able to achieve better results and if it should be more used by social movements. To do this, we must be able to accurately measure the efficacy of creative activism in contrast with more conventional activism, which will require a method that is able to evaluate both forms of advocacy in terms of quality and quantity of the interactions with the public in a scientifically relevant way. Though it may be challenging, if a work/project is going to contribute to social change, it must be able to measure said change (Korza & Bacon, 2012). Measuring a concept like social change is difficult but researchers been able to do so by establishing what outcomes should be attained, and key indicators that will be able to measure that said outcome is being achieved (Isar, 2004; Korza & Bacon, 2017; Stern, 2014). To measure change, we might want to define our outcomes around what people know (awareness), how they feel and think (attitudes), how they behave (behavior), or how they communicate (discourse). Each of these outcomes should have its specific set of indicators that are fairly simple to measure, such as weather someone is paying attention, what their tone is when talking, how long they engage, or what facial expressions are produced to specific topics (Isar, 2004; Korza & Bacon, 2017; Walmsley & Oliver, 2011). Regardless of what outcomes and indicators are chosen, researchers agree that an attempt to measure change will be more credible if it combines information from both quantitative and qualitative methods (Galloway, 2009; Korza & Bacon, 2012). Collecting data for these kind of research can be done in many ways, the most common ones rely on interacting with people (in person, phone, focus group, etc.), getting written answers from the public (in-person surveys, online questionnaires, etc.), and observing and documenting how

audiences engage with our work/project (Korza & Bacon, 2017; Stern, 2014; Walmsley & Oliver, 2011).

4.1. The Duncombe-Harrebye Method

In our attempt to measure the efficacy of creative activism, we used the same methods present in Duncombe & Harrebye's (2021) research, which yielded them credible and pertinent results. When contacted, the authors expressed the desire for their method to be "put to the test" under different circumstances, in order to further its development and solidify its credibility (something they also noted on the final pages of their work). The Duncombe-Harrebye method measures the efficacy of creative activism by acting out three different activism interventions about a chosen issue (public speech, petitioning and pamphlet distribution) once with a conventional approach and another with a creative one, similar to A/B testing. The intent with this comparison is to repeat the "ask" but to vary the sensory experiment. The interventions last an hour each and always take place in the same location, to ensure demographic diversity. They are spread out in multiple days, with the conventional and creative approaches being performed in succession.

4.1.1. The indicators

For each intervention, five indicators were measured: *attention*, which correlates to reading and listening to the conveyed messages, providing signatures or taking pamphlets; *thought*, the opinions and knowledge about the chosen issue; *feeling*, positive or negative emotions about both the interventions and the activists performing them; *memory*, of the

intervention and the conveyed messages; *action*, the changes in behavior in response to the intervention.

4.1.2. The data collection

In order to accurately measure the proposed indicators, as well as to perform the interventions, a team of 4 activists and 4 volunteers was assembled. The activists acted out the interventions, while the volunteers took distinct roles, some were trained to observe interactions and take notes, others to interview passersby pedestrians and ask for their contact information, for further inquiry. The observers were instructed to note the quantity and quality of interactions, by recording how many people stopped to listen and interact, for how long, and how receptive they were to signing petitions and taking pamphlets, as well as by noting when the interaction with the activists provoked reactions such as laughter, nodding, scowling or taking pictures/videos with their phones. The interviewers were instructed to introduce themselves as being part of a research project and ask people who had shown interest in the intervention what they thought and felt about it, as well as the issue, and how likely they were to take a new form of action based on what they had seen or learned. The interviewers followed the same script for their questioning (see Appendix A) with each interview lasting about 1 minute. Interviewers were told to ask participants if they were willing to answer follow-up questions at a later date, and if so their contact information was gathered. After 7 days, a short four question survey was sent to them, by email or text message, asking about any new thoughts given to issue or new actions taken since (see Appendix B).

4.1.3. The issue

In order to apply the Duncombe-Harrebye method correctly, the issue addressed by the interventions has to be chosen with some requirements in mind. Firstly, the issue must be real and current, yet not widely known. It also needs to have a robust informational component and it should be an issue which people don't have strong biases or pre-conceptions towards. Following this requirements, we have chosen to use our interventions as a platform to introduce an anti-smoking law in Portugal, similar to the one enacted in New Zealand at the end of 2020, which prohibits the sale of tobacco products to people that are born after 2008. The most recent numbers show that about 17% of the population are smokers and that almost 72% of 13 to 18 years old have tried it at least once (INE, 2019). Another study in that same year estimated that more than 13 500 people died in Portugal due to tobacco-related diseases, which equates to 12% of the deaths that occurred in Portugal that year (IHME, 2020). This law presents an innovative approach to banning the sale of tobacco, by not forcing current smokers to radically quit their addiction, but rather preventing future consumers from becoming addicted themselves. The novelty of this type of law resides in the fact that it can be more easily discussed and approved by politicians and citizens who are smokers, something that is usually a bias that shuts down most attempts to reduce tobacco consumption (Satterlund et al., 2011). In fact, this issue fulfills all the above requirements: the New Zealand anti-tobacco law is a real and current issue, yet few people know about it; there is little bias and pre-conceptions on it aside from the usual friction with laws that are of a prohibitive nature (Astuti et al., 2020), though this doesn't extend to this type of law due to its novelty nature previously discussed; there is extensive information on the dangerous and harms of smoking so the robustness of it is assured.

4.1.4. The interventions

The interventions performed three activist actions: distributing pamphlets, petitioning for signatures and conveying information with signs and posters in a public demonstration. We decided to change the public speech intervention of the Duncombe-Harrebye method for a public demonstration, since the latter is more adequate to Portugal's advocacy trends, with the former being rarely, if ever, used. For the conventional approach, volunteers performed the interventions in a traditional way, by plainly asking for a signature, quietly handing out a pamphlet and stating facts and other relevant information on the issue to passerby pedestrians. For the creative approach, layers of sensory experiences and copywriting were added to the interventions: a dozen of cigarette-looking poles were placed on the ground, creating a grid that pedestrians will have to zig-zag through, meeting at the end our volunteers with signs above their head that read "Here's a path without any smoke" and that were handing out pamphlets with information on the issue, our proposed solution and a small call-to-action (see Appendix C); large cardboard-made cigarettes were laid out on the ground with a smoke machine behind them (out of sight), making it seem as though they were lit up. The (harmless) smoke hindered the pedestrian's path while also blocking a little bit of their view ahead. Behind the smoke curtain our volunteers had signs above their heads that read "Do you want a smoke-free future?" and were collecting signatures to bring the issue to the Assembleia da República (Portuguese Parliament); finally, a volunteer wearing a pack of cigarettes costume and a prop pistol stood behind a sign along the floor that read "the tobacco industry is killing Portugal" (this sign was also used in the conventional intervention, for reasons that will be explained later on), with posters to his side that conveyed the same information as the conventional intervention (all three interventions are documented in Appendix E).

Analysis

Our experiment yielded both quantitative and qualitative results for each intervention, which will be detailed and discussed in this chapter. The interviews made with participating pedestrians contribute to both types of results, though the qualitative data gathered from them is more extensive and comprehensive. We will start with the quantitative data from each intervention, which will give us the initial analysis points and then we will then move on to the qualitative one, which will provide greater depth to understanding them, as well as coming up with new conclusions.

5.1. Quantitative Data

5.1.1. Distributing Pamphlets

In our first intervention we were able to distribute a total of 310 pamphlets. As we can see in the figures in Table 1, the number of people that passed by the intervention was slightly different, something that happened solely during this intervention. The reason for this is due to the fact that this intervention was started about 10 minutes before the usual exit time of work (6 pm). The difference was about 85 people (483 to 568), which isn't much in the global context. In any case, we were able to film both conventional and creative approaches which allowed us to account for this difference in passersby and accurately measure which approach was more effective at distributing pamphlets by dividing the number of distributed pamphlets by the amount of passersby. Of the 483 people of were approached, 122 decided to take a pamphlet from our activists, which means the conventional approach worked 25,26% of the time. On the

other hand, after setting up our creative approach, of the 568 people who were approached by our activists, 188 decided to take a pamphlet, which means our creative approach worked 33,09% percent of the time. If we round the numbers slightly, we can see that the conventional approach handed out a pamphlet every 1 in 4 people that passed by, while the creative approach handed out 1 in 3. This represents an increase in distribution and clearly shows that the creative approach was more effective than the conventional one.

Table 1
Pamphlet Distribution Numbers

	Passersby	**Distributed**	**Efficacy**
Conventional	483	122	25,26%
Creative	568	188	33,09%

The interviews we did with people who took our pamphlets were recorded and further transcribed, allowing us to code and count them in order to perform a quantitative analysis of the given answers. The answers present in Table 2, organized by question, allow us to use numbers to access positive, negative and neutral reactions and feelings towards this intervention, the same being applied to the other two. The number of interviews we got from the creative approach was exactly double of the conventional one, so once again we will be measuring the percentage of answers instead of total numbers, to make sure we make our analysis with the right perspective. In the conventional approach interviews, nearly all interviewees justified taking a pamphlet because they were “given one”, which is to say they took it without much thought, one person even saying it was “out of politeness”. Out of the 21 people interviewed during the conventional, we can determine that 18 answers showed neither *positive* nor *negative* sentiment, which equates to 85,7% of total answers being *neutral*. The remaining 3 people all took a pamphlet because our

activists “convinced” them to. It was interesting seeing this happening, as people would deny a pamphlet initially but in the 2 seconds while they were still passing by our activists, saying something along the lines of “it’s for a good cause” changed a few people’s minds to take the pamphlet, perhaps again out of politeness. In any case, we see these 3 instances as *positive*, comprising 14,3% of total answers for the conventional approach. In the creative approach interviews, for the same question, the most common reason for taking a pamphlet was “out of curiosity”, a contrasting reason to do so for the 12 of the 42 interviewed people who said so (28,6%). One of the main reasons for taking a creative approach is precisely to be able to get more attention to our intervention and to spark an interest in engaging with it, something that these numbers show clearly. This is not to say that everyone who noticed our huge cigarettes on the floor took a pamphlet, in fact 10 of the interviewees also took one because they were “given one” (23,8%), which was one of the second most common answers. This wasn’t the only answer common to both approaches, since 1 person also took a pamphlet because they were “convinced” by our activists (2,3%). The creative approach was able to generate more diversity among answers, with 10 people stating that they took one because they “agreed with the topic” (23,8%) and 8 because they were a “smoker and want to stop” (19%). These two answers show us how the creative approach allowed many passersby to identify the issue of our intervention and have that positively influence them to take a pamphlet, which helps us understand the increase in distribution with the creative approach. Interestingly, both these answers are also tied with curiosity, as some people wanted to find out what we were talking about once they figured out the issue. Finally, 1 person mentioned they took a pamphlet because it “looked pretty”, which even though it isn’t necessarily tied to the creative approach, they may have seen it as pretty due to the rest of the visual elements present. All in all, 32 of the answers were *positive* (76,2%)

while 10 were *neutral* (23,8%), an impressive increase in positive experience and perception of the creative approach. For the second question, we were only able to ask the people who had experienced the creative approach, an oversight on our part (we should have reworded the question for the conventional approach) but we can still measure the opinion people had on the creative elements we build. 14 people had *positive* things to say about them, from "funny" and "interesting" to "creative" and "original", while 2 people said *negative* things, calling them "ugly" and "weird". This means that 33,3% of opinions were *positive* while 4,8% of them were *negative*, with the remaining 61,9% being *neutral*, though it is relevant to add that some people didn't answer the question and some didn't understand the obstacles. This latter point was also something we noticed and coded in our data. Most people (76,2%) saw and understood what the obstacles meant, identifying the issue and agreeing with it sometimes, but some had different things to say. 4 people stated they "didn't understand" what the obstacles meant (9,5%), 3 said they weren't "impactful" (7,1%), and 3 others simply "didn't notice them" (7,1%). The creative approach we chose was, for the most part, able to convey the right messages, but as expected, it would be nearly impossible for everyone to notice, understand and appreciate them in a such a short time. For the last question, we will focus on determining if people gave an answer that foresees them to take action or not. Thus, in the conventional approach, 22,7% gave *negative* answers, 59,1% gave *neutral* ones, and 18,1% gave *positive* ones, while the creative approach registered 51,3% *positive* responses, 28,2% *negative* and 20,5% *neutral* ones. Experiencing the creative approach made people more intent on taking action, almost tripling *positive* answers. On the other hand, *negative* answers remained at a similar number, which means that most of the *positive* answers were "stolen" from otherwise *neutral* people.

Table 2

Coded Answers for the Pamphlet Distributing Interviews

	Conventional	Creative
Q1: Why did you take a pamphlet?	**17 -** "I was given one" **3-** "The volunteer convinced me to" **1-** "Out of politeness"	**12-** "Out of curiosity" **10-** "I was given one" **10-** "I agree with the topic" **8-** "I'm a smoker and want to stop" **1-** "The flyer looked pretty" **1-** "The volunteer convinced me to"
Q2: What did you think of the obstacles on the floor?	-	**6-** "Funny" **3-** "Creative" **2-** "Nice" **1-** "Original" **1-** "Good" **1-** "Interesting" **1-** "Ugly" **1-** "Weird"
		32- Understood and/or agreed with the issue **4-** "I didn't understand them" **3-** "I didn't notice them" **3-** "They aren't impactful"
Q3: How likely are you to take action after this?	**9 -** "Maybe" **3-** "I won't" **3-** "I'll talk with my friends" **2**- "I don't know many smokers, so I won't" **1-** "Likely" **4-** Doesn't know/answer	**10-** "I'll talk with my friends" **7-** "I don't know many smokers, so I don't" **5-** "Likely" **4-** "I'll find out more about this solution" **4-** "I won't" **1-** "Educate my kids" **8-** Doesn't know/answer

5.1.2. Petitioning

Due to the logistics of assembling the creative approach for our second intervention, we had to move about 200 meters from the previous location. The location remained similar to the original one, dominated by Portuguese people that commuted through it at that time of day.

Unlike the first intervention, the flow of people passing through the narrow street we chose was constant throughout both approaches, however we weren't able to film consistently the intervention without compromising it. Due to the narrowness of the street and how close it was to traffic, filming the intervention required us to be on the road which was not only dangerous but also very noticeable for approaching pedestrians, which we noticed right away how it could influence our experiment. Thus, the numbers we collected, displayed in Table 3, lack evidence of the number of people passing by, but are still interesting indicators of the final outcome. Our four activists were able to collect a total of 35 signatures, with 13 of them coming from the conventional approach (which correlates to 37,15% of total signatures) and 22 from the creative one (which correlates to 37,15% of total signatures). The difference here is very noticeable since the creative approach yielded nearly double the number of signatures when compared to the conventional approach, proving once again to be more effective.

Table 3
Signature Collection Numbers

	Signatures	**Net %**
Conventional	13	37,15%
Creative	22	62,85%

As for the interviews, the split between the conventional and creative approach was close, with 12 being made during the conventional approach and 16 during the creative one, whose answers can be seen in Table 4. For the first question, in the conventional approach there were 14 instances of a *positive* answer, which means that some people gave two *positive* comments in their answer, thus why this number is higher than total the number of interviews for

that approach. We chose to do this in our coding of the interviews because, as in this case, both comments are relevant and should be registered. The answers “I wanted to help” and “The issue is important” were given by many people, so if someone mentions both reasons in their answer, as they did in this example, we count both of them, thus allowing us to measure the percentage of interviewed people who felt those things during the experience. This became important for the petitioning interviews because they were longer than with other interventions, due to people interacting with our activists for much longer, which meant they had more things to say. Going back to the first question, the 14 *positive* answers contrast with the 23 *positive* answers in the creative approach, which means the latter produced 27,1% more than the former. The *positive* answers range from “You cause interests me”, which was the most common one for both approaches, to “I wanted to help” and “I liked the volunteers”. It is interesting to note that in the conventional approach 5 people stated they “liked the volunteers” (41,7%), while in the creative only 4 said the same (25%). This decrease contrasts with the 1 person who answered “they wanted to help” (8,3%) in the conventional approach versus the 6 that said so in the creative one (37,5%). Once again, these numbers show us how creative approaches can allow people to identify the issue and create a desire to engage with us, instead of relying on the activists to persuade them to do so. For the second question, we registered a great number of *positive* answers, which is to be expected since people who were interviewed had already signed the petition, and thus had an interest in it. We attempted to interview everyone who stopped and talked to our activists but those who rejected to sign the petition, also rejected being interviewed. In the conventional approach we registered 9 *positive* answers, while the creative approach increased them by 18,75%, producing 15 *positive* answers. Both approaches, like in the first question, shared many of the answers, the most common being “give voice to the people”

followed by “improves society” and “informative”. In the third question, common to all interventions, the conventional method had 67% *positive* answers and 33% *negative*, with half of the interviewees saying they would “talk with my friends about this”. In contrast, the creative approach had 75% *positive* answers and 25% *negative* ones, a slight improvement when compared to the conventional ones. However, of those *positive* answers, only 2 were “I’ll talk with my friends about this” and 1 was “I'll find out more about this solution”, which means that while the creative approach did improve the likelihood that a passerby will take action, it significantly decreased the number of answers where that action was already defined.

Table 4
Coded Answers for the Petitioning Interviews

	Conventional	Creative
Q1: Why did you stop to sign the petition ?	**6** - "Your cause interests me" **5**- "I liked the volunteers" **2**- "The issue is important" **1**- "I wanted to help"	**10** - "Your cause interests me" **6**- "I wanted to help" **4**- "I liked the volunteers" **2**- "I dislike smoking" **1**- "I was curious"
Q2: What do you think/feel about petitions ?	**3**- "Give voice to the people" **2**- "Helps change things" **2**- "Important" **1**- "Informative" **1**- "Good"	**6**- "Give voice to the people" **4**- "Good" **3**- "Improves society" **2**- "Informative"
Q3: How likely are you to take action after this?	**6**- "I'll talk with my friends about this" **3**- "Not very likely" **2**- "Likely" **1**- "Very likely"	**9**- "Likely" **4**- "Not very likely" **2**- "I'll talk with my friends" **1**- "I'll find out more about this solution"

5.1.3. Public Demonstrating

The third and final intervention was subject to a more extensive collection of quantitative data. Our volunteers filled with hash marks a total of 9 categories for possible behavior towards our public demonstration, with the results displayed in Table 5. As per the last intervention, the number of people who passed by us was remarkably close, with a difference of only 1% (581 in the conventional approach to 587 in the creative approach) which provides a good basis for our findings. Before diving into the measured results, it is important to state that there was a variance among the observers, with some discrepancies in the numbers recorded. This is natural and expected, since the categories, despite being well defined, are still subject to interpretation, thus even if we tell observers that *Attention* should be marked when someone "stops and takes notice", one observer may consider slowing down your walking speed to read something enough for a hashmark, while another may feel that a full stop is necessary for attention to be given. The Duncombe-Harrebye method accounts for this by having the same volunteers observe both approaches, in order to be able to measure the added observations as accurate ones since "observers, it is safe to assume, are using the same personal criteria for observation and notation whether they are observing the conventional or creative intervention" (Duncombe & Harrebye, 2021, p. 15). For starters, our observers measured 198 instances of attention towards our creative approach in comparison to 74 towards the conventional one, which represents a 169% increase. This shows how creative approaches can be better at grabbing passersby's *attention*, something that the interviews will allow us to confirm and further understand. Though already significant, the increase in *attention* given to the creative approach pales in comparison to the increase in *interest*, *interaction* and *participation*. Both *interest* and

participation had an improvement of around 300%, almost quadrupling the numbers for the creative approach (17 to 71 and 7 to 28, respectively). The biggest difference was in the number of interactions, where the conventional approach registered 4 and the creative one measured 42, more than ten times more. These three measures are great indicators of engagement, and the ability to go past the attention barrier. They require people to actively engage with our demonstration in some way, which creates longer interaction with it. This is not to say that getting attention is irrelevant but is a much shorter experience (only a couple of seconds) when compared to showing interest, interacting or participating, which in some cases lasted for several minutes. Our creative approach was able to garner more attention to our conveyed messages but was even more effective at guiding people towards our message and being a part of the demonstration, since we noticed during the intervention that when people surrounded our activist, others were more likely to notice and step closer. In an inverse but equally positive outcome, the times that *uninterest* was registered went down from 4 in the conventional approach to 3 in the creative one. We were happy to see this for both approaches since it is an indicator that our intervention and its message were well communicated. A decrease of 25% in the creative approach provides yet another example of its effectiveness, however we believe that the decrease may come from the number of people who found the intervention confusing. This is because our posters were placed 3 meters away from the center of the sidewalk, so people weren't able to read them from afar, and since the conventional approach had a sign that indicated the issue of the demonstration but little to no other immediate clues of what was the message, people were bound to be more confused on what was going on. We previously mentioned how public speaking is very uncommon in Portugal, and even though public demonstrations occur far more often, they are still rather uncommon, adding to the confusion.

From all this, we take this decrease in *uninterest* numbers as a sign that the creative approach has the ability to provide better clarity on the issue of the intervention, something which we were also able to notice in the interviews. Interestingly, we predicted that some people would show anger towards our demonstration, especially the creative one, for two reasons: first, because our sign had a strong statement and our activist had a gun in his hand, we expected some people to feel an excess of rage on our part and feel it was exaggerated; second, we also expected some smokers to feel attacked by our message and to act in their defense, criticizing or calling us out, perhaps as a response to a moment of cognitive dissonance. However, we registered zero instances of anger in this intervention, which bodes well for both approaches but especially for the creative one since it was the most "daring" of the two. Finally, the last column of the observation sheet was for instances of *documentation* where people took photos or videos with their phones. The conventional approach wasn't able to register a single instance of this, while the creative approach, with its cigarette pack costume and prop gun, registered 17 instances. This is another measurement where the creative approach shines since the creativity of its elements provides plenty of targets for passersby to capture. It is an important advantage to note, since most of these photos and videos will be shared with either friends and family or on social media, which helps the intervention and its message reach a larger audience. In fact, many hours after the intervention was over, one of our observers received in one of her Whatsapp groups an Instagram story from a friend's friend that captured our demonstration, a perfect example of our previous point.

Table 5
Public Demonstration Observations

	Attention Person stops and takes notice	**Interest** Get closer /smile / nod /point/show friends	**Uninterest** Look bored or confused	**Anger** Look upset or mad	**Interact** Laugh/ call out / boo/ cheer	**Participate** Join the conversation / ask questions	**Document** Take photos / videos	**Passersby** People who passed by the demonstration
Conventional	74	17	4	0	4	7	0	581
Creative	198	71	3	0	42	28	17	587
% Diff	+168%	+318%	-25%	-	+950%	+300%	-	+1%

We were able to perform 22 interviews for this last intervention, with 8 during the conventional approach and 14 during the creative one. The figures in Table 6 show us that for the first question, both conventional and creative approaches yielded 100% effectiveness in conveying what the issue was about. This is not surprising since both of them had a sign that read “The tobacco industry is killing Portugal”, so even those who didn’t really read the posters could know what they were about “cigarettes and/or the tobacco industry”. We also suspect that some people “cheated” and read our sign when they were being interviewed, which would explain how so many people that experienced the conventional approach were able to identify the issue without taking enough time to read our posters, but since there is no way to confirm this, we will have to assume they knew it before the question was asked. The main reason we suspect this relies on the answers to question two, where in the conventional approach 62,5% answered they hadn’t read the posters. 37,5% of them did read them and “liked it”, while 1 single person found the posters “too brief”. Compared to the creative approach, the difference is very significant, with every single person having taken the time to appreciate the conveyed information, which was described as “appealing” or “interesting” 35,7% of the time, “informative” 28,6% of the time and “important” and “pertinent” 14,2% and 7,1% of the time, respectively. On top of this, 5 people (28,6%) said “the issue saddens me”, a *negative* response to our creative props whose impact will be better understood in the qualitative analysis. We didn’t code the third question because most people gave a different answer, but we noted that only 50% of interviewees gave a suggestion to fix this issue when experiencing the conventional approach, while 85% gave one when experiencing the creative approach. This data suggests that creative activism can itself spark creativity in people, much similar to how art generates more artful thinking and creativity. This question and its measurement was something we decided to add to

the Duncombe-Harrebye method because we found it relevant to study how creative activism can effect creativity in those who experience it, something that was also a wish of Duncombe & Harrebye (2021) and a challenge for those who would attempt to further the study of creative activism. For the final question, which appears as the third question in Table 6, the conventional approach had 75% *negative* answers and 25% positive ones, while the creative approach registered 68,75% *positive* answers and 31,25% *negative* ones, following the trend of the two previous interventions, showing that the creative approach is more effective at getting people to decide to take action based on what they experienced. Like in the first intervention, people who answered *positively* in the creative approach described exactly what they planned to do, with the answers ranging from the familiar "I'll talk with my friends", to the expected "I'll post this on my social media" and the debutant "I want to get involved with the cause". Conversely, the conventional approach registered only two different answers, "very likely" and "not very likely".

Table 6
Coded Answers for the Public Demonstration Interviews

	Conventional	Creative
Q1: What was the intervention about?	**8 -** "Cigarettes" / "The tobacco industry"	**14** - "Cigarettes" / "The tobacco industry"
Q2: What did you think about what was being transmitted?	**5-** "I didn't read it" **3-** "I liked it" **1-** "Too brief"	**8-** "I liked it" **5-** "It was appealing" **4-** "The issue saddens me" **4-** "Informative" **5-** "Interesting" **2-** "Important" **1-** "Pertinent"
Q3: How likely are you to take action after this?	**6**- "Not very likely" **2-** "Very likely"	**6-** "I'll talk with my friends" **5-** "Not very likely" **4-** "I'll post this in my social media" **1-** "I want to get involved with the cause"

5.2. Qualitative Analysis

The interviews made during each intervention also provided us with qualitative results, that we can now connect with the quantitative data. The quantitative data allowed us to measure exactly how effective creative activism is in terms of numbers, proving that it serves as a better alternative to conventional approaches when it comes to distributing pamphlets and collecting signatures, as well as capturing attention and getting people to care, interact and join a cause. We now turn to the qualitative data in order to understand why these things happened in our interventions.

5.2.1. Room for change and for compliments

Quantitative data showed us that the creative approaches registered a significant amount of compliments and positive feedback on our creative elements (large cigarettes on the floor, smoke and cigarette costumes), with many answers including words like “interesting”, “funny”, “original”, “appealing” and “creative”. These answers were given only in interviews during the creative approach i.e. the conventional approaches didn’t have one single compliment given to them, which is something we were obviously expecting since the conventional does not have any elements that can be complimented. We were however not sure if the creative approach would get these many positive comments and observations, but we did register a lot of them. People were quick to appreciate these creative elements and almost always mentioned them in their answers:

1) “I thought it was *interesting* and *different* (the cigarettes on the floor), I like the concept that you guys used, they really are something that is in the way and that muddles.”

2) “I am smoking a cigarette right now so I thought it was *pertinent* (…) it’s good to inform and give solutions, and I have a gun pointed at me (laughs), the cigarette pack is going to kill me, it’s very *graphic*, it’s *great*!”

3) “They caught my attention, a huge cigarette on the floor… it’s *creative*.”

4) “(I took the pamphlet because) the cigarettes on the floor, it was a *creative* way to know about… to show visual pollution.”

5) “I found it *funny* because I also hate the cigarettes on the floor (laughs), I have a toddler and he is always playing with cigarettes-butts!”

6) “The tobacco on the floor caught more of my attention than anything else, I thought it was *funny*, *original* (…) an exaggerated reflection of what is Portugal!”

7) “I really liked it, I think it’s a *good lesson*, a good way, very *attractive*! Not that people didn’t already know about this, but it’s very attractive.”

These answers show us different way of how our creative activism was appreciated by those who experienced it. They serve as an example of many other responses and prove two things that we had previously discussed: there is definitely room for improving the conventional ways, to somewhat part with them, because people will appreciate it, they will enjoy if activists do so. The experiences they went through were new and different, not just for sake of being different, but in what is clearly a better way.

5.2.2. Knowledge is action

Passersby who recognized what the issue was were more inclined to participate in our intervention. Many took a pamphlet or signed a petition because they were curious what we had

to say about smoking, or because they agreed that smoking is a bad habit. It is one of the biggest reasons for the better effectiveness of the creative approaches, because these creative approaches allow people to recognize what the issue is without having to speak to us or to come very close and see what is written in pamphlets, signing sheets or posters. The creative elements make people want to come to us, instead of us having to always go to them. This doesn't mean we can sit back and let a couple of cigarettes on the ground their work, but it does mean that while we are talking with someone to have them look at our solutions, someone else will be looking at the man wearing a cigarette pack costume and come to us to share his views or wanting to know what he has to say. This was another very common answer we had in our interviews and it is interesting to see the many different reasons why the creative approaches sparked curiosity and interest in participating:

8) "I saw the tobacco, I am a smoker (…) I noticed the cigarettes - what is this intervention about?"

9) "I wanted to see (the pamphlet) because I am a smoker, well I was a smoker, I haven't smoked in three months, it's very recent (…) (the cigarettes) called my attention, of course, it's a giant cigarette."

10) "I wanted to know what this was about, I noticed the obstacles on the floor and thought the initiative was cool, it would be good if people reduced for their health (…) I understood right away it was something to reduce consumption."

11) "I liked the idea, I was over there looking around and noticed it right away, I was over there at the bus stop and was able to notice it, I liked it."

12) "To be honest I was very distracted (laughs), but I did notice the obstacles on the ground, and I now understand this about smoking (…) it's a good way to get attention."

13) “(I took the pamphlet) because I completely agree that the fewer cigarettes there are, the better.”

As we can see, some people participated in our interventions because they were a fan of our cause (answers 10 and 13), others found the creative elements attractive (answers 11 and 12) and some, to our surprise, because they were smokers and wanted to quit (answers 8 and 9). Once again, no answers like this ones were given during the conventional approaches. This is not to say that in those interviews people didn’t agree with our cause, but rather that they simply accepted our pamphlets, signed petitions or saw our poster because we asked them to and they obliged, sometimes out of sheer politeness. Those who mentioned they agree with our cause in their answers said after they interacted with us, unlike the previous examples where people are stating what they thought before we had a chance to talk with them.

5.2.3. The positives of negative feelings

Another interesting answer we registered many times was people stating how the creative elements made them remember negative opinions and feelings towards tobacco. This represents another advantage of creative activism, using art to convey emotions, to generate emotions on those who observe it. As we studied before, it is one of the most powerful tools of art and creativity and therefore something we were very intent on doing. We were satisfied hear answers like this ones:

14) “I think you are absolutely right (…) it’s unbelievable, the other day I was at a party, it was the 16th birthday of our friend’s daughter and at that party all the kids were smoking… (makes a disgusted face) blah!”

15) “I think that is rubbish (laughs) (…) we don’t like cigarettes anyways, it’s not a good thing.”

16) “I don’t like smoke, I don’t like that other people smoke and I have to breathe it, it’s okay if other people do things they like but not if it goes to me. I didn’t like this, I thought it was ugly.”

17) “Negative! The diseases, the death, the diseases… very negative!”

18) “It’s preoccupying. It’s not something necessarily new but it’s good that there are people to remind us of these problems”

These answers shows us examples of negative feelings and emotions generated by our creative elements that lead people into participating. We can also add answers 2 and 5 from a previous chapter as examples of this. We tried to portray cigarettes precisely in this manner, as trash on the street, as the inconvenient second-hand smoke and as the literal death of us. Almost all the above answers came from people who gave longer interviews than most, because they wanted to express their feelings on the subject. It was interesting to note how sometimes volunteers had to rush the conversation to be able to interview more people, otherwise the interviewees would keep on talking with them. Once again, these sort of answers were only given during the creative approach, with the conventional one receiving some agreeing answers but none of an anecdotal nature, such as these ones. We can imagine how letting your disapproval of tobacco out to a random stranger, almost in a vent-like manner, can have an impact on a person, something we will examine in the follow-up questionnaires.

5.2.4. Doing more with less

As we saw in the quantitative data analysis for the petitioning intervention, when asked why they signed the petition, everyone that experienced the conventional approach said they did so because of the activists that approached them. If we look back at the answers in the quantitative table, some may have said that they found the issue to be important or they were interested in the cause, but that was after speaking with our activists. This means that if we boil down the question "why did you sign this petition" in the conventional approach, then the answer really is because of the activists. This idea doesn't mean we are overlooking our solution and how that may lead people to sign it, but rather it acknowledges that they will hear about that cause via our activists so their role in getting signatures cannot be overstated. Here are a few examples of this:

19) "The way the approach was made was nice, sometimes people don't even care if you want to participate, they just ask your for a signature, but you asked me what I thought and if I wanted to join the cause"

20) "The cause, the interaction with you. This is one of the worst problems and one that is too accessible"

21) "You seem like nice people, responsible with a sense of things (laughs)"

Although our sample size is small, it's still interesting to see three clear examples of this in the few we were able to record. Once again, all other answers during the creative approach, as we saw in the quantitative analysis, also mentioned the interest in the cause and appreciation for the activists but these three actually put it into words exactly what we believe the other ones also experienced. The creative approach once more proved to be more effective at getting signatures,

almost doubling the amount, and we know now that one the main reasons is due to how it allows people to identify the cause and decide to help it and join the intervention before the activists engage with them. It is in this idea that we can find an answer to why it is able to get so many more signatures than the conventional one, and it relies on the fact that not only do more people move towards us on their own but when activists engage with pedestrians they have to spend less time "convincing" them to sign it, which means they move on quicker to new passersby. The shorter interactions happened because a good amount pedestrians already knew what the issue was and only needed to know our proposed solution to go ahead and sign the petition (some were even already onboard with it), instead of having to be told what the issue was, why it is important and why they should care. This idea that people don't need to be convinced, or that they choose to stop and sign the petition on their own, like we theorized for the other interventions, can be seen in some of the answers given during the creative interviews:

22) "Because I believe in the goal of the petition (no more smoke)"

23) "I am mother and I think this is a great option, ending tobacco, I am a smoker but I don't want my kids to smoke."

24) "I agree… I don't want my kids to smoke!"

25) "(I stopped) because I wanted to see what you were fighting for, I wanted to know the reasons you were giving."

To summarize this point, creative activism can "win" people over without having to rely exclusively on the activists and their ability to talk someone into signing, which gives it an obvious advantage in terms of effectiveness in getting the signatures, but also an advantage in maximizing the activists abilities and requiring less resources to achieve the same goal. An

intervention with 4 people doing a conventional approach, according to our collected data, could perform similar to an intervention with2 people doing a creative approach, which in turn means you would only need 2 people to do the job of 4, since those 2 people could be the ones to arrange the creative approach. We are talking about small numbers and in a small sample size context, but resource management in social movements and therefore activism is very important and we have already seen earlier how it can be a decisive factor in how they long-lasting and impactful they can become.

5.2.5. Missing the point

It might seem that we are over emphasizing how well the creative approach got people to recognize the issue and made them want to participate, but the numbers and this qualitative analysis truly show the impact in effectiveness it had. However, there was still one problem we faced with the creative approach, and that was how people answered the third question, which asked how likely they were to take action after experiencing this. Especially in the first intervention, many people said they probably wouldn't take any action since they didn't know many smokers personally and they weren't smokers themselves, even though we were advocating for a solution that affects future generations and not the current one. Here are some examples of this:

26) "I don't know, I don't smoke and neither do my friends, but people should be more careful when they throw their cigarettes on the ground."

27) "Not really, we don't smoke and we don't like cigarettes, but no"

28) "If I smoked I would think about my situation but because I don't smoke this just makes me feel like I took the right decision"

This serves to show that on a few occasions our creative approach wasn't able to spring people to action right away, in the sense that, though it was able to convey the issue and the right emotions for them to engage, unless we had time to present our solution people would interpret the question as if it talked about the act of smoking, sometimes leaving the intervention thinking that was all we were advocating. The above answers were from people who had shown passion against smoking, so their responses surprised us since we thought they would surely want to act with us. From this we take that, for interventions where people don't get to talk with our activists, there should also be a creative element that indicates our solution or, better yet, a visible call to action. Of course, we must remember that for our first intervention we presented our solution in the pamphlet that was being distributed, so we believe that after reading it people's will to act will be even greater (and we will verify this in the follow-up questionnaires). In any case, being able to get someone behind your cause can't go to waste, thus the possibility to further improve our creative approach.

5.2.6. Two heads are better than one

Finally, we will dedicate this section to revealing the suggestions given by people who experienced our public demonstration. The question "How do you think we can solve the issue at hand?" was added to the interview, in an attempt to measure how creative activism could spark new ideas in other people and further understand its potential. In the conventional approach, we had two people say "there should be more awareness on the issue" and one person suggesting to raise the minimum legal age of smoking to 18 years old, which it already is. Conversely, the creative approach produced many different solutions:

1) “Schools have to act out the law better, there are schools that do nothing about their students smoking at recess. They have to care more about this, we have to as well.”

2) “Prohibiting tobacco, I have some doubts… but making it more expensive, raising taxes on it, might disincentivize people.”

3) “It has to be done with a nationwide petition or by a referendum, both are valid, though petitions are easier since they require fewer signatures”.

4) “With information, and if people don’t get the point then raising prices.”

5) “It has to be done with information, teach in schools the harms of tobacco, tax it more and use the money from those taxes to fund awareness campaigns, ads and more. And there is also another great measure, which is already planned to be enacted next year, which forbids smoking bars unless there is a completely shut off area, without the ability to sell or drink there, thus shielding other people from that area.”

6) “Ideally, prohibiting all tobacco products.”

Not everyone was able to come up with a solution on the spot, but the creative approach did yield interesting ideas that even we hadn’t considered, such as pushing for a nationwide referendum or raising taxes on tobacco products and investing the money from those taxes in awareness campaigns. These were all ideas that had a few seconds to be thought of, which made us happy and impressed with what we were able to generate.

5.3. Follow-up Questionnaires

Of the 49 we contacted for a follow-up interview, a total of 27 answered back. The questionnaire presented four questions (see Appendix B) that focused on measuring the memory, information retention and actions taken one week after the interventions. For this section, we will also be analyzing the data quantitatively and qualitatively, and we will be looking to add proof or counterproof to the previous analysis, as well as look for new "truths" hidden in the data. Before we go into the results, it is important to mention that most of our answers came from the pamphlet distribution intervention, with very few from petitioning or public demonstrating. The interviews during the pamphlet distribution did account for more than half of the total interviews, and we believe that people who gave their personal information when signing the petition would rather divulge their email address rather than their phone. In fact, we verified that two of our volunteers registered only email addresses for the petitioning interviews, because initially people were reluctant to give them away, but would accept the offer of the email. This was a mistake on our part, since we had 3 email submissions out of the 14 requests we sent out. This means that our sample size for the petitioning is very small and should be seen as merely indicative, yet we still see value in sharing it. The same can be said for the public demonstration since the volunteers kept prioritizing asking for the email address. The first question was looking to see what people remembered from the intervention they experienced.

5.3.1. Quantitative Data

The first question was looking to see what people remembered from the intervention they experienced, and a staggering 87,5% remembered creative elements like large cigarettes or the smoke in the air. Once again, people answered more than one memory in their response, with

some remembering the activists (20,8%), the signs (12,5%), the portrayed harms of smoking (12,5%) or the information pieces like flyers and posters (20%). The most evident figure is the number of people (who experienced a creative approach) who remembered the creative elements, which adds to the advantage that creative activism has in grabbing the attention of passersby. Moving on to the second question, when asked what the intervention was communicating, the most obvious answer should be the law we wanted to introduce, but we had other interesting responses. 48% did answer something along the lines of "a law that wants to prohibit alcohol for those born after 2008", with most of them even mentioning that New Zealand had "come up" with it. 37% said that we were communicating the harms of tobacco, while 14,8% said it was an anti-tobacco consumption intervention. Another 14,8% mentioned the words "first smoke-free generation", a tagline we "hid" in the information on the pamphlet. Just like in the qualitative analysis, we again see that some people perceived our intervention to be about the harms of smoking, which means that either the pamphlet didn't elucidate them, they didn't actually read the pamphlet, or they answered what they remembered thinking at the time. The third question asked participants if they had given any more thought to the intervention, and if so to describe what they thought about exactly. Only two answered negatively, which means that 92,6% did think about it since, with some saying they reflected on the new solution we proposed (%), others stating that it reinforced their dislike for smoking (%) and a few thought about the contents of the pamphlet (%). A couple of people gave unique answers to this question, mentioning that they disagreed with our proposed solution, that it had been making them want to quit or that it gave them strength to continue their efforts to quit smoking (thought we would love to have been responsible for them quitting, they had stopped a few weeks before the intervention), that they liked our cause but wished the activists had a better interaction with them and that they had more

some research into the law enacted by New Zealand. Finally, and perhaps most relevant, 24% said that the creativity of our approach, and how it made them participate, had stuck with them the past week. The ability to make people come to us during an activism act is patented in these responses, leaving not just us but also the participants moved by creative activism's power to do so. For the fourth and final question, we wanted to know if participants had done anything related to the issue since. About 22,2% said they didn't, with more than half of those negative answers mentioning a similar reason given during the interviews: they don't have friends or family who smoke nor are they smokers. However, the vast majority did something related to the issue, with 59,3% of answers mentioning that spoke to friends, family and/or partners about the issue, our solution or what they saw during that day. Once again, we had three unique answers, with people stating their action was to smoke less, to show the pamphlet around the house and to pester someone until they caught a thrown cigarette from the floor. We had previously mentioned the importance of word of mouth in communicating social movements' causes and how creative activism can be great at generating that, and here we see a clear example of that. Part of the telling someone else about the intervention was due to the novelty of our solution, but many of these word of mouth were because of the creative elements experienced.

5.3.2. Qualitative Data

The follow-up questionnaires have the advantage of providing answers in a stress-free environment, unlike the interviews that were done with people who were commuting and in general were in somewhat of a rush. This means that the answers to our questionnaires were longer and more thought out than those of the interview, so we will use this section to substantiate the previously made points and to come up with new ones. For starters, we

wondered if people who said that we were communicating the harms were recalling what they thought at the time or if they actually hadn't grasped that we were pushing for a new solution to be implemented. Well, one answer helps us alleviate the mystery:

"It was only afterward that I read the pamphlet you gave out and the concrete outline of the proposal; at the time I only understood that it (the intervention) had to do with the prevention of tobacco consumption."

While this answer won't apply to everyone, it does confirm the hypothesis we proposed, that our creative elements could have been improved by containing something that alluded to our solution. We have argued that without creative elements the comprehension of our message will have to be assured by the activists, and here we have an answer that shows precisely how conventional approaches rely too heavily on them, taken from someone who experienced the conventional approach during the petitioning intervention:

"I remember being approached on the street and having you explain what you were doing. Since I identified with the ideas that were presented e did what could to help the project."

If they weren't stopped by our activists they probably wouldn't have had such strong feelings towards our cause and done something to help it. However, creative approaches can't relieve activists of this responsibility because creative elements sometimes will not be enough to convey the exact message to someone. Another answer illustrates this point perfectly:

“Honestly, the first thing I thought of when I saw (the intervention) was that it was alerted to the problem of cigarette buds on the street (…) and the pollution caused by tobacco. Only afterward, by talking with the activists and taking the pamphlet home was I able to comprehend, in its entirety, the message.”

Another example of this later role that the pamphlets played was also testified in a different answer, which yielded an opposite reaction by the participant:

“When I read once more the pamphlet I had in my wallet, the other day, I was surprised with the reach of the proposed solution, it seemed to be very radical and fundamentalistic… prohibiting completely… I do in fact wish that people would stop smoking because there is no benefit that justifies it, but prohibiting the sale to part of the population seems extreme (…)”

In this case, reading the pamphlet, later on, made this person reevaluate our solution to the point of disagreeing with it, which is obviously something we cherish since they provided great counterarguments and, most important of all, gave the issue a lot of thought and debated it. Whether people agree or disagree with our solution isn’t what we are trying to measure, but rather how effective different activist approaches are at getting people to consider, remember and act regarding our solution. To conclude, we share an answer where a person described the impact creative activism had on her:

"(…) I also thought about the clearly appealing and innovative format and how that format, this is, the ensemble created and the type of approach might have influenced my responses to the interview"

It is interesting to note someone recognized the innovation and appeal of creative activism and pondered how experiencing it affected their reactions and opinions, much like what this entire work has attempted to do.

Conclusion

We set to study creative activism, a novel method of advocacy that had been subject to very few studies. Its innovative approach had previously yielded positive results in public interventions that sought change, and so we attempted to confirm those results and to test how they fared when compared to the more conventional ways of activism. We performed three different interventions, following the Duncombe-Harrebye method, to measure the difference in the effectiveness of creative activism, as was ell understanding what lead to those differences. The results of our study has shown that creative activism consistently outperformed its counterpart when it came to getting amassing participation from passersby – more signatures, more pamphlets distributed and more attention to our public demonstration. Interviews performed during each intervention allowed us to understand why creative activism is more effective than conventional activism. Having creative elements in interventions generated more attention towards us, as well as more curiosity, two important factors that lead to having more people participating in the creative approaches. On top of this, we saw that creative activism proved to be more efficient, allowing for our activists to interact with more people than the conventional approach, in the same amount of time. Furthermore, creative activism is less dependent on the activist's ability to persuade people since it allows those who observe its creative elements to interact with the intervention from afar, often leading them to participate on their own will, something that we were never able to register in the conventional interventions. The creative elements guided people toward our issue because where people were better at identifying what we were advocating for. Not only that, they were also far better at remembering them a week later, proving that creative activism is more effective at generating longer-lasting interactions. Our interview data shows that people who experienced our creative interventions

had a better recollection of the events they experienced and had taken more action related to our issue, be it talking with friends about what they saw and our solution, or learning more about it the proposed law we were advocating for. Creative activism, unlike the conventional one, registered plenty of compliments and positive feedback, with many participants appreciating it as interesting, appealing, funny and original. Conversely, some people had negative things to say about what they witnessed, in the sense that our creative elements reminded them of the harms of smoking and made them feel sad or angry about tobacco's presence in our society. These negative feelings proved to be a catalyst for action, with people who expressed them being the most active to join our intervention and wanting to see it go forward. On a less positive side, we saw that creative activism can sometimes lead people to misinterpret our cause, which, even though it wasn't an issue in this specific experiment, can be detrimental to other social movements. It is imperative those who chose the creative approach to activism be mindful and precise with their creative elements, in order to move people in the right direction.

Our data and results are limited to the reality in which they took place: a busy street at the end of a normal workday with plenty of people passing by on their commute home. We didn't find issues with the variety of people that passed by our interventions but it would be relevant to see this study being applied in other contexts, different in their geography and political system. We also had some troubles with our data collection to the small scale of our production, which lead to some missing footage and a smaller sample size than what could have been achieved. Nevertheless, we are confident that our data can play more than just a suggestive role, and the conclusions we were able to draw are of significant academic value.

Creative activism proved to be a progressive evolution of advocacy methods, with plenty of benefits for social movements that adopt it. We also believe our work was able to further the study of creative activism and social movements, providing plenty of data and analysis that can help the continuous process of understanding this innovative concept. Change will always be necessary for progress, activism remains the primal form for societies to achieve the change they desire and creative activism is evidently becoming the primal form to advocate for change.

Appendixes

A. Interview Scripts

Petitioning

1) Why did you stop to sign the petition / *Porque é que parou para assinar a petição?*
2) What do you think/feel about petitions? / *O que acha de petições?*
3) How likely are you to take action after this? / *Qual é a probabilidade de tomar uma ação depois disto?*
    a. Change habits / *Mudar de hábitos*
    b. Discuss with friend / *Falar com um amigo*
    c. Engage in the cause / *Envolver-se com esta causa*

Distributing pamphlets

1) Why did you take a pamphlet? / *Porque é que tirou um panfleto?*
2) What did you think about the obstacles on the ground? / *O que achou dos obstáculos no chão?*
3) How likely are you to take action after this? / *Qual é a probabilidade de tomar uma ação depois disto?*
    a. Change habits / *Mudar de hábitos*
    b. Discuss with friend / *Falar com um amigo*
    c. Engage in the cause / *Envolver-se com esta causa*

Public Demonstration

1) What was the intervention about? / *Sobre o que assunto era esta intervenção?*
2) What did you think about what was being transmitted? / *O que achou do que estava a ser dito?*
3) How do you think we can solve the issue at hand? / *Como é que acha que se pode resolver este problema?*
4) How likely are you to take action after this? / *Qual é a probabilidade de tomar uma ação depois disto?*
    a. Change habits / *Mudar de hábitos*
    b. Discuss with friend / *Falar com um amigo*
    c. Engage in the cause / *Envolver-se com esta causa*

B. Follow-Up Questionnaire

1) What do you remember from the intervention you saw that day? / *Do que se lembra da intervenção a que assistiu nesse dia?*
2) If you remember, what messages were conveyed by the intervention? / *Caso se lembre da intervenção, que informação é que esta estava a comunicar?*
3) Have you thought of the interventions since and, if yes, how? / *Pensou na intervenção desde então e, se sim, de que forma?*
4) Have you done anything related to the matter since (e.g. change your habits, talk with a friend about the subject, or something else)? / *Fez algo relacionado com o assunto desde então (ex. mudar um hábito, falar com um amigo sobre o assunto, ou outra coisa)?*

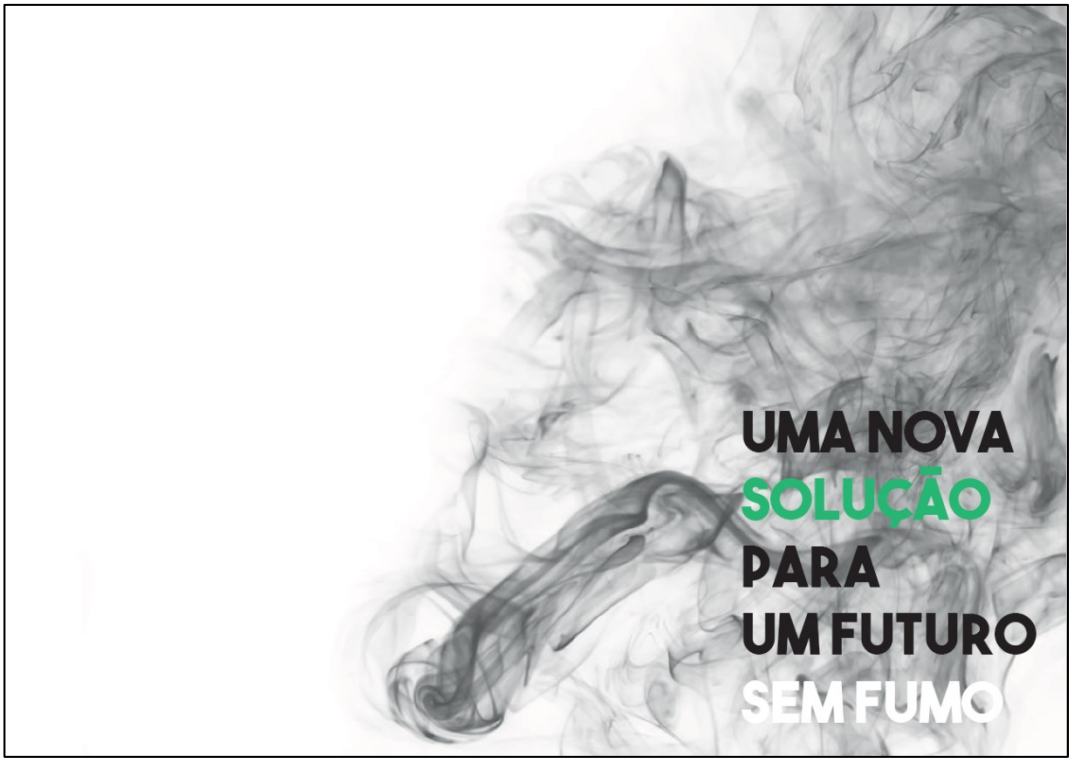
C. Observation Sheet

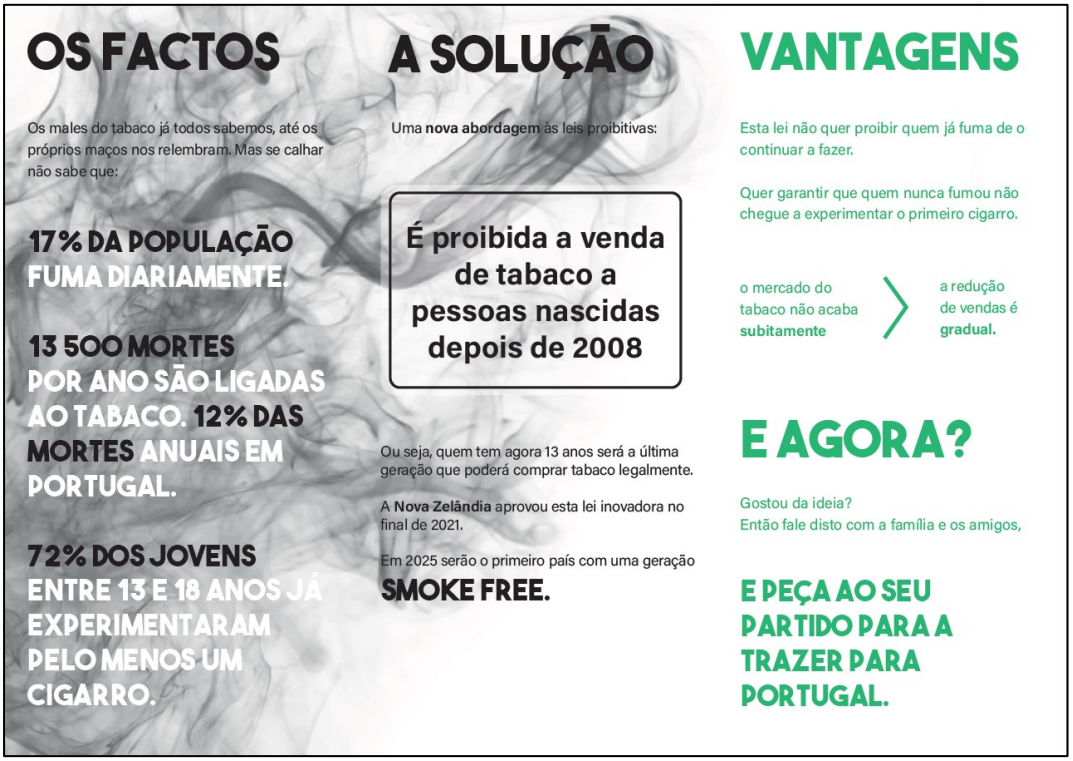
Observer: _____ Date: ___/___/____

	Attention Person stops and takes notice	**Interest** Get closer / smile / nod / point / talk to friends about	**Uninterest** Look bored or confused	**Anger** Look upset or mad	**Interact** Laugh / call out / boo / cheer	**Participate** Join the conversation / ask questions (note what is said/asked)	**Document** Take photos / videos
Experience #1 Conventional activism							
Experience #2 Creative activism							

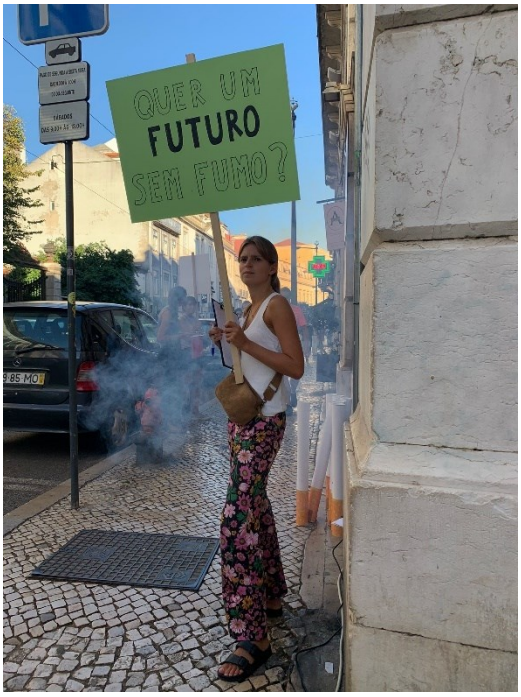
Notes:

D. Pamphlet

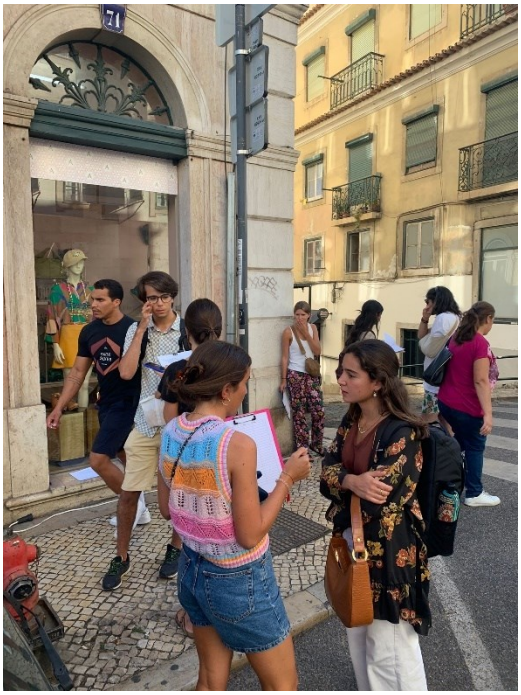

UMA NOVA
SOLUÇÃO
PARA
UM FUTURO
SEM FUMO


OS FACTOS
Os males do tabaco já todos sabemos, até os próprios maços nos relembram. Mas se calhar não sabe que:
17% DA POPULAÇÃO FUMA DIARIAMENTE.
13 500 MORTES POR ANO SÃO LIGADAS AO TABACO. 12% DAS MORTES ANUAIS EM PORTUGAL.
72% DOS JOVENS ENTRE 13 E 18 ANOS JÁ EXPERIMENTARAM PELO MENOS UM CIGARRO.
A SOLUÇÃO
Uma nova abordagem às leis proibitivas:
É proibida a venda de tabaco a pessoas nascidas depois de 2008
Ou seja, quem tem agora 13 anos será a última geração que poderá comprar tabaco legalmente.
A Nova Zelândia aprovou esta lei inovadora no final de 2021.
Em 2025 serão o primeiro país com uma geração SMOKE FREE.
VANTAGENS
Esta lei não quer proibir quem já fuma de o continuar a fazer.
Quer garantir que quem nunca fumou não chegue a experimentar o primeiro cigarro.
o mercado do tabaco não acaba subitamente
a redução de vendas é gradual.
E AGORA?
Gostou da ideia?
Então fale disto com a família e os amigos,
E PEÇA AO SEU PARTIDO PARA A TRAZER PARA PORTUGAL.

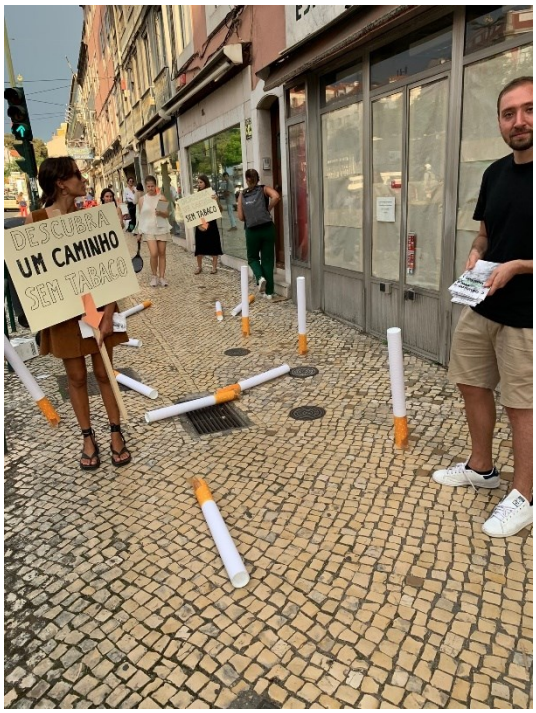
E. Media of the Interventions



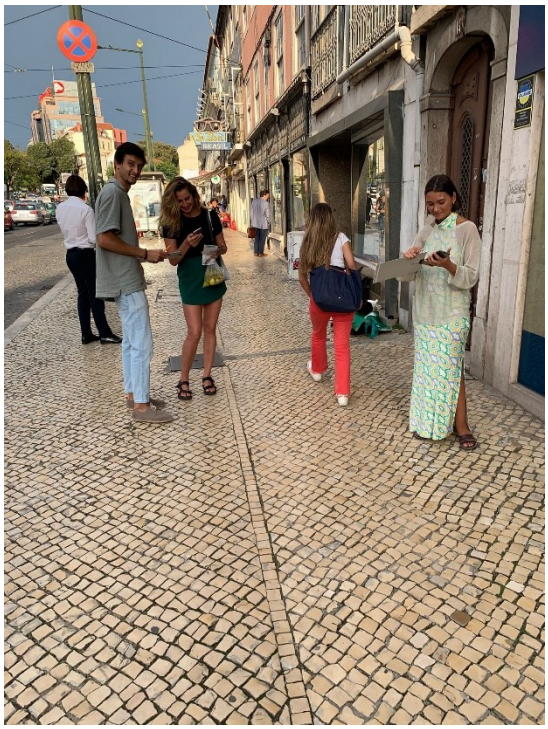
"Do you want a future without smoke?", Petitioning, Creative



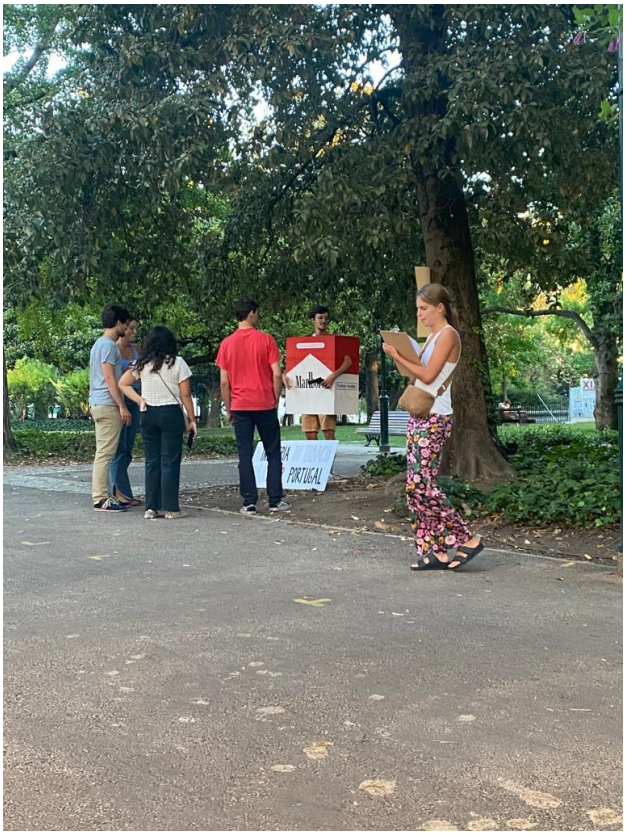
Activists and volunteers, Petitioning, Conventional



“A path without tobacco”, Pamphlet Distribution, Creative



Interviews being conducted, Pamphlet Distribution, Conventional



People observing posters and interacting, Public Demonstration, Creative

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