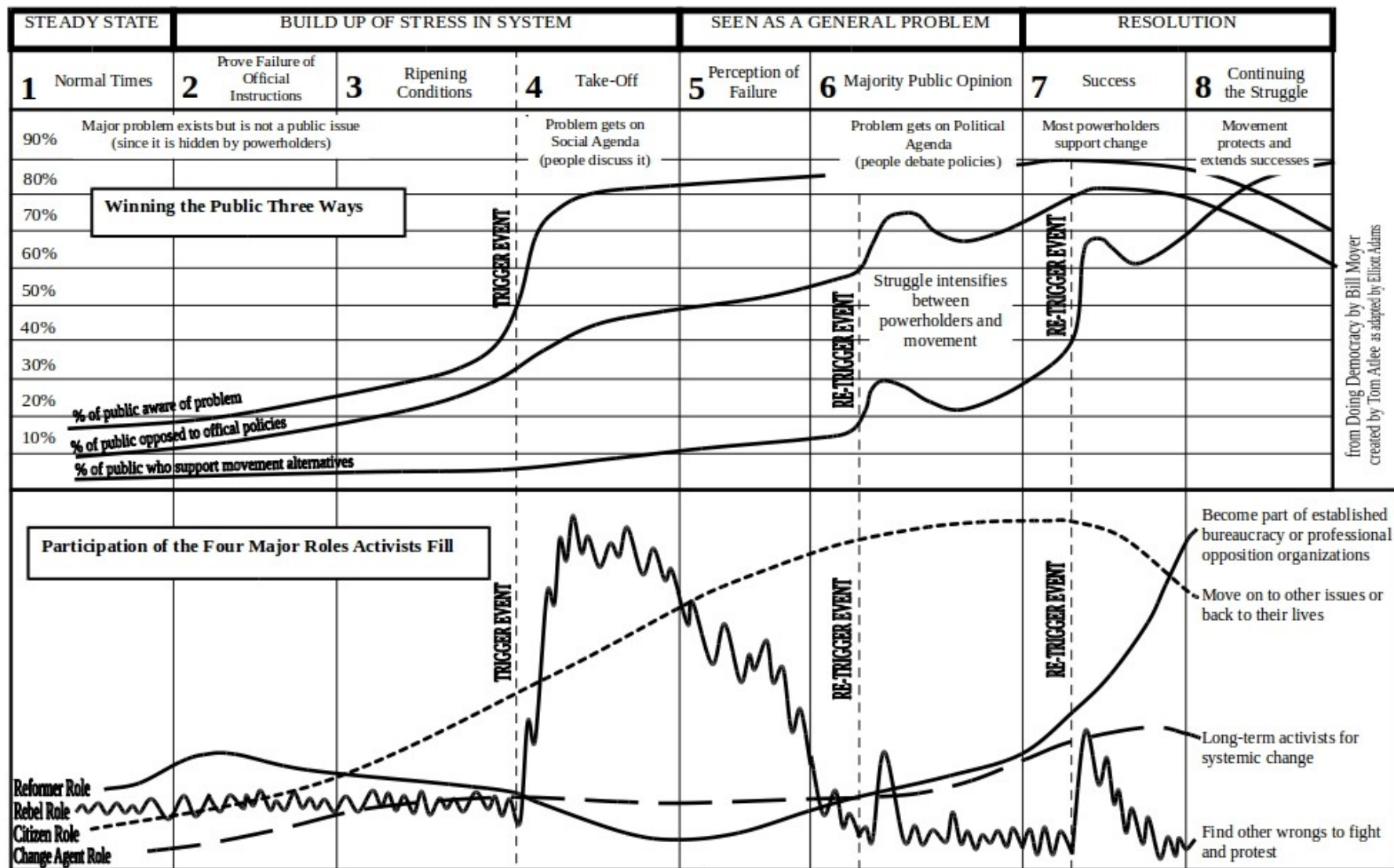


## Eight Stages of Social Movements



from Doing Democracy by Bill Moyer  
 created by Tom Atlee as adapted by Elliott Adams



## CITIZEN ROLE

### Effective

- Promotes positive American values, principles, and symbols, e.g., democracy, freedom, justice, nonviolence
- Normal citizen
- Grounded in the center of society
- Promotes active citizen-based society where citizens act with disinterest to assure the common good
- The active citizen is the source of legitimate political power
- Acts on "confirmatory bias" concept
- Examples: King and Mandela

### Ineffective

- Naive citizen: Believes the "official policies" and does not realize that the powerholders and institutions serve special elite interests at the expense of the majority and the common good
- Super-patriot: Gives automatic obedience to powerholders and the country

## REFORMER ROLE

### Effective

- Parliamentary: Uses official mainstream System and institutions - e.g., courts, legislature, city hall, corporations - to get the movement's goals, values, alternatives adopted into official laws, policies, and conventional wisdom
- Uses a variety of means: lobbying, lawsuits, referenda, rallies, candidates, etc.
- Professional Opposition Organizations (**POOs**) are the key movement agencies
- Watchdogs successes to assure enforcement, expand successes, and protect against backlash
- POOs nurture and support grassroots

### Ineffective

- POOs: Dominator/patriarchal model of organizational structure and leadership
- Organizational maintenance over movement needs
- Dominator style undermines movement democracy and disempowers grassroots
- POO "Realistic Politics": Promotes minor reforms rather than social changes
- POO co-optation: Staff identify more with official power holders than with movement grassroots

## REBEL ROLE

### Effective

- Protest: Says "NO" to violations of positive, widely held human values
- Nonviolent direct action and attitude; demonstrations, rallies, and marches including civil disobedience
- Target: Powerholders and their institutions, e.g., government, corporations
- Puts issue and policies in public spot light and on society's agenda
- Actions have strategy and tactics
- Empowered, exciting, courageous, risky, center of public attention
- Holds relative, not absolute, truth

### Ineffective

- Authoritarian anti-authoritarian
- Anti-American, anti-authority, anti-organization structures and rules
- Self-identifies as militant radical, a lonely voice on society's fringe
- Any means necessary: Disruptive tactics and violence to property and people
- Tactics without realistic strategy
- Isolated from grassroots mass-base
- Victim behaviour: Angry, dogmatic, - aggressive, and powerless
- Ideological totalitarian: Holds absolute truth and moral, political superiority
- Strident, arrogant, egocentric; self needs before movement needs
- Irony of negative rebel: Negative rebel similar to agent provocateur

## CHANGE AGENT ROLE

### Effective

- Organizes People Power and the Engaged Citizenry, creating participatory democracy for the common good
- Educates and involves the majority of citizens and whole society on the issue
- Involves pre-existing mass-based grassroots organizations, networks, coalitions, and activists on the issue
- Promotes strategies and tactics for waging long-term social movement and Stage Six
- Creates and supports grassroots activism and organizations for the long term
- Puts issue on society's political agenda
- Counters new power holder strategies
- Promotes alternatives
- Promotes a paradigm shift

### Ineffective

- Too utopian: Promotes visions of perfectionist alternatives in isolation from practical political and social action
- Promotes only minor reforms
- Movement leadership and organizations based on patriarchy and control rather than participatory democracy
- Tunnel vision: Advocates single issue
- Ignores personal issues and needs of activists
- Unconnected to social and political social change and paradigm shift

**FOUR ROLES SOCIAL ACTIVISTS FILL**

from Doing Democracy  
by Bill Moyet

## Campaign Strategy Chart

This chart for developing campaign strategy is a great way to plan campaigns because it lets you see many factors clearly at once, and it asks the right question in the right order – you can't figure out what sort of tactics you're going to use until you've figured out the important dynamics of your campaign and the power structure you hope to change.

You can use the chart to plan individually, but for many groups it's most useful in a serious group strategy session – sit everyone down for maybe 2 hours uninterrupted (a retreat is great, but if you can't do that, at least let people know it'll be a long and important meeting) and put this up on the chalkboard or flip charts. You'll be surprised how empowering it can be to involve everyone in your group in the process of developing your campaign strategically, and not just carrying out strategy a few select thinkers have come up with.

Goals	Organizational Considerations	Constituents, Allies, Opponents, and 3 <sup>rd</sup> Parties	Targets	Tactics
<div>1. List the Long –term Objectives of your campaign</div> <div>2. What are the Incremental Goals for your work?<div>a) What counts as victory?</div><div>b) How will you win concrete improvements in people's lives?</div><div>c) How will the campaign give people a sense of their own power?</div><div>d) How will it alter the relations of power?</div></div> <div>3. What are the Short-term Goals or Partial Victories that can be steps towards the goal?</div>	<div>1. List the Resources your group has available, including:<div>a) People</div><div>b) Skills</div><div>c) Reputation</div><div>d) Access to money or facilities</div></div> <div>2. List the Ways you want to build your Organization through the campaign – list actual numbers you want to achieve!<div>a) Expand leadership group</div><div>b) Increase members' experience</div><div>c) Build membership base</div><div>d) Expand into new constituencies</div></div> <div>3. List the Internal Problems that need to be considered for the campaign</div>	<div>1. Constituents: Who cares enough about this issue to join in the fight?<div>a) Whose problem is it?</div><div>b) What do they gain if they win?</div><div>c) What risks are they taking?</div><div>d) What power do they have over the target?</div><div>e) Into what groups are they organized?</div></div> <div>2. Allies: Who cares enough about this issue to help out?<div>a) What do they gain if they win?</div><div>b) What risks are they taking?</div><div>c) What power do they have over the target?</div><div>d) Into what groups are they organized?</div></div> <div>3. Who are your Opponents?<div>a) What will your victory cost them</div><div>b) What will they do/spend to oppose you?</div><div>c) How strong are they?</div></div> <div>4. 3<sup>rd</sup> parties: Who does not feel connected to the issue, may not even be aware of it.<div>a) What would make them sympathetic?</div><div>b) What would make them sympathies with opponents?</div></div> <div><div>can graphically display a group's impact, by arrow length, like this:</div><div><div>Power</div><div>Group</div><div>Involvement</div><div><div>←</div><div>XYZ</div><div>→</div></div><div><div>←</div><div>ABC</div><div>→</div></div></div></div>	<div>A target is always a person. It is never and institution or elected body.</div> <div>1. Primary Targets:<div>a) Who has the power to give you what you want?</div><div>b) What power do you have over them?</div></div> <div>2. Secondary Targets:<div>a) Who has the power over the people with the power to give you what you want?</div><div>b) What power do you have over them?</div></div>	<div>For each target, list the tactics that each constituent group can best use to make its power felt.</div> <div>Tactics must:<div>a) Be in context</div><div>b) Be flexible and creative</div><div>c) Be directed at a specific target</div><div>d) Make sense to the membership</div><div>e) Be backed up by a specific form of power</div></div> <div>Tactics include<div>a) Official contact: meetings, letter, phone calls</div><div>b) Educational, awareness-raising events</div><div>c) Actions for information and demands – delivery of a letter, formal march, etc.</div><div>e) Public pressure: call-ins, e-mail or letter writing campaigns</div><div>f) Protests/Demonstrations: rallies, walkouts, noise actions</div><div>e) Media events: press conferences, hunger strikes, banner drops, etc.</div><div>f) Direct Actions: sit-ins, lock-downs, strikes, etc</div></div>

The US Students Association ([www.usstudnets.org](http://www.usstudnets.org)) uses this chart in their awesome Grassroots Organizing Weekend (GROW) trainings – you should contact them to get more information. You can also find the Midwest Academy ([www.midwestacademy.com](http://www.midwestacademy.com)), the folks that came up with this.

This particular version was prepared by the Student Farmworker Alliance ([www.ffalliance.org](http://www.ffalliance.org)) SFW\_Alliance@hotmail.com

## ***Blank Campaign Strategy Chart***

Goals	Organizational Considerations	Constituents, Allies, Opponents, and 3 <sup>rd</sup> Parties	Targets	Tactics
1. List the Long –term Objectives	1.Resources	1. Constituents	1. Primary Targets:	
2. Incremental Goals	2. Ways you want to build your Organization	2. Allies		
		3. Opponents	2. Secondary Targets:	
3. Short-term Goals	3. Internal	4. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Parties		

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