

Handouts

Movement Action Plan Training

March- April 2017

in California

*If there is anyway we can help you with your struggle for creating justice, let me know.*

*The files that are in land scape format are in a separate file.*

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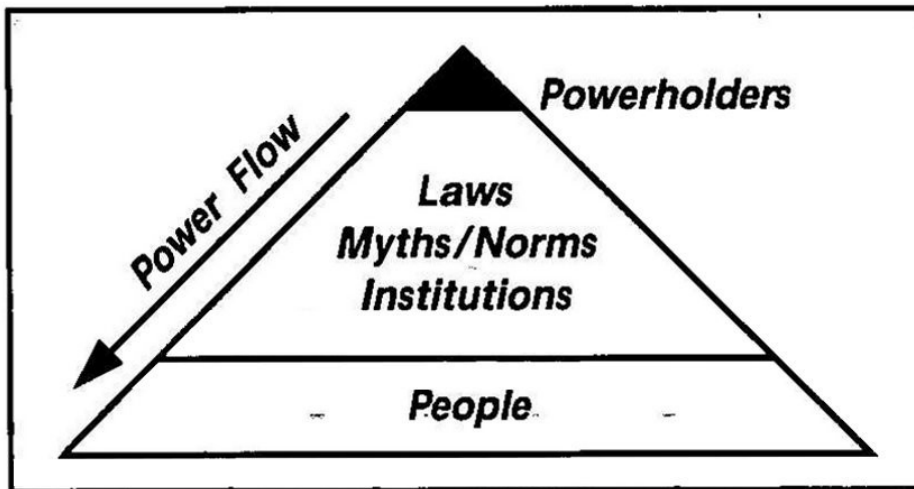
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# Models of Power

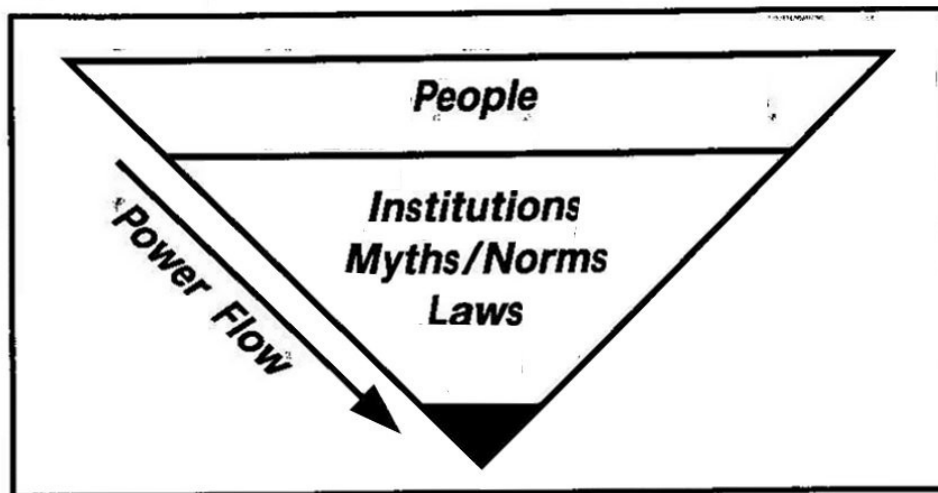
*This represents a very important concept in nonviolence. It flies in the face of everything every hierarchy has told you since you were in kindergarten, yet it is the real state of things.*

**Figure 1: Power Elite Model**



The power elite model is the traditional view of democracy. The founding fathers in the United States believed in this model of power; mainstream political and social theories still uphold this model;<sup>15</sup> and the public generally still believes in it. From this perspective, democracy is viewed as a struggle between competing societal elites, leaving the vote as the primary, if not the only, means by which the

**Figure 2: People Power Model**



Nonviolent social movements are based on the people power model. Not only is placing power in the hands of the people their ultimate goal, but they are also dependent on the power of the people to create social change. The strategy in a social movement is to mobilize ever-larger numbers of ordinary citizens to assert their power and influence on the corporate and state institutions and also to create alternatives themselves.

*I have these on my wall, they are more important than at first they seem. As you watch the powerholders wiggle and squirm you will see them trying to do these very steps. The second one is extremely common – our own Lawrence Wittner and his important research showed that we forced Nixon into the Nonproliferation Treaty, but he acted like it was his idea and like he was not paying any attention to the public demonstrations. After all if you tell the people they are powerful they will try to do more*

## The Three Laws of Political and Social Control:

Keep the problem out of people's consciousness, out of the public spotlight, and off society's agenda of hotly contested issues.

Keep the citizenry so discouraged and powerless that they believe it is futile to undertake social activism on the issue

Keep individual citizens isolated from each other and seeking personal gain rather than working for the common good

from Doing Democracy by Bill Moyer

# 5 Books for Organizing

I brought a few books to the workshop as sample of resources covering needs for planning activism.

“Doing Democracy” by Bill Moyer 2001 - After 40 years of watching new movements remaking old mistakes the authors described many of the basics problems every movement goes through. The “8 Stages”, “4 roles”, powerlessness trap, MAP all come from this book. It is pretty theoretical, not well written, but offers a valuable map of the process. For me it sort of gave me a way to see beyond the crowd and the current work to see why I was doing what I was doing and where I wanted to be going.

The Politics of Nonviolent Action by Gene Sharp 1973 is a 3 volume classic. The 198 Methods of Nonviolent Action is just the topics from Volume 2, under each topic numerous examples are described. He has many books, but “Waging Nonviolent Struggle” 2005 seems to be a more current interpretation of his earlier work. A friend of mine described it as a college 101 Activism course. (It also has the advantage of still being in-print).

“Beautiful Trouble – A Tool Box For Revolution” by Andrew Boyd 2012 is a book of what we can take. It is a resource of possible actions with a nice discussion of each one. It is interesting to compare the way Gene Sharp categorized actions and how Boyd does.

“Organizing For Social Change” Midwest Academy Manual For Activists 1991 is more of a cookbook than say “Doing Democracy” and is has more theory than “Beautiful Trouble.” It is oriented more toward the “Make it Concrete” phase of a movement. It has the “Strategy Chart”, “power mapping”, and advocates our target must always be a specific individual.

“Why Civil Resistance Works” by Erica Chenoweth & Maria Stephan 2011 I cited this book a couple of times. This is a statistical study of the effectiveness of violent and nonviolent resistance campaigns. It goes on to extract statistical evidence about what makes nonviolent resistances succeed. It is an esoteric work, but provides valuable information.

# Brief Reference list

This is a deliberately short list. There are literally thousands of great books on various aspects of nonviolence. If the information you are looking for isn't answered here contact me and tell me what you want.

“A Force More Powerful” a video about 5 of the resistances I use this a lot as a way of helping people understand both that nonviolence is powerful and how they work. 174min

“A Force More Powerful” by Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall a modern book about 12 nonviolent resistances. It is more in-depth than the video. 544pgs.

Russia 1903: A People Strike

India: Movement for Self-Rule

Poland: Power of Solidarity

The Ruhrkampf, 1932: Resisting Invaders

Denmark, the Netherlands, the Rosenstrasse: Resisting the Nazis

El Salvador, 1944: Removing the General

Argentina and Chile: Resisting Repression

The American South: Campaign for Civil Rights

South Africa: Campaign Against Apartheid

The Philippines: Restoring Democracy

China, Eastern Europe, Mongolia: The Democratic Tide

“Bringing Down A Dictator” narrated by Martin Sheen, about the 2000 overthrow of Milosevic. Another good video to see that nonviolence works and the details of how they did it. 56min

“Doing Democracy – The MAP Model for Organizing Social Movements” by Bill Moyer with JoAnn McAllister, Mary Lou Finley & Steven Soifer. This is the source for the MAP eight stages. This is where you need to go if you have been exposed to the Eight Stages and want to know more. If you want to know more than the charts give you about the stage you are in you need this book. It is a very important concept unfortunately it is wordy and can be difficult to digest. 226pgs

“Why Civil Resistance Works - The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict” by Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan This is a very important work, it is the first statistical analysis of whether nonviolence or violence is more effective. It further goes on to analyze statistically why nonviolence works. If statistics are not your thing let someone else read it and give you the highlights. 296pgs

“The Power of the People – Active Nonviolence in the United States” Edited by Robert Cooney & Helen Michalowski from original by Marty Jezer this a coffee table book about nonviolence movements and key people in the US. It is an easy way to get familiar with our history 269pgs

“Waging Nonviolent Struggle – 20<sup>th</sup> Century Practice and 21<sup>st</sup> Century Potential” by Gene Sharp This is like a college 101 course on nonviolent resistance, based on and an update of his 3-volume set. While Gandhi said 80% of nonviolence should be constructive this book only deals with the resistive, but it does that well. 598pgs

“Beautiful Trouble – A Toolbox for Revolution” assembled by Andrew Boyd. A new book which is a bit of a handbook of collected actions. If you are having trouble thinking of actions this is an easy place to look for ideas. 460pgs

# Possible Actions

## **198 Methods of Nonviolent Action**

*While this is more on the theoretical side, I hope it will help open your thinking to a wider range of possible actions. It is well worthwhile just reading the big headings and thinking about them first*

These methods were compiled by Dr. Gene Sharp and first published in his 1973 book, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Vol. 2: *The Methods of Nonviolent Action*. (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1973). The book outlines each method and gives information about its historical use.

### **THE METHODS OF NONVIOLENT PROTEST AND PERSUASION**

#### **Formal Statements**

1. Public Speeches
2. Letters of opposition or support
3. Declarations by organizations and institutions
4. Signed public statements
5. Declarations of indictment and intention
6. Group or mass petitions

#### **Communications with a Wider Audience**

7. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
8. Banners, posters, and displayed communications
9. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books
10. Newspapers and journals
11. Records, radio, and television
12. Skywriting and earthwriting

#### **Group Representations**

13. Deputations
14. Mock awards
15. Group lobbying
16. Picketing
17. Mock elections

#### **Symbolic Public Acts**

18. Displays of flags and symbolic colors
19. Wearing of symbols
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobings
23. Destruction of own property
24. Symbolic lights
25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names

28. Symbolic sounds
29. Symbolic reclamations
30. Rude gestures

#### **Pressures on Individuals**

31. "Haunting" officials
32. Taunting officials
33. Fraternization
34. Vigils

#### **Drama and Music**

35. Humorous skits and pranks
36. Performances of plays and music
37. Singing

#### **Processions**

38. Marches
39. Parades
40. Religious processions
41. Pilgrimages
42. Motorcades

#### **Honoring the Dead**

43. Political mourning
44. Mock funerals
45. Demonstrative funerals
46. Homage at burial places

#### **Public Assemblies**

47. Assemblies of protest or support
48. Protest meetings
49. Camouflaged meetings of protest
50. Teach-ins

#### **Withdrawal and Renunciation**

51. Walk-outs
52. Silence

- 53. Renouncing honors
- 54. Turning ones back

## **THE METHODS OF SOCIAL NONCOOPERATION**

### **Ostracism of Persons**

- 55. Social boycott
- 56. Selective social boycott
- 57. Lysistratic nonaction
- 58. Excommunication
- 59. Interdict

### **Noncooperation with Social Events, Customs, and Institutions**

- 60. Suspension of social and sports activities
- 61. Boycott of social affairs
- 62. Student strike
- 63. Social disobedience
- 64. Withdrawal from social institutions

### **Withdrawal from the Social System**

- 65. Stay-at-home
- 66. Total personal noncooperation
- 67. "Flight" of workers
- 68. Sanctuary
- 69. Collective disappearance
- 70. Protest emigration (hijrat)

## **THE METHODS OF ECONOMIC NONCOOPERATION: (1) ECONOMIC BOYCOTTS**

### **Actions by Consumers**

- 71. Consumers boycott
- 72. Nonconsumption of boycotted goods
- 73. Policy of austerity
- 74. Rent withholding
- 75. Refusal to rent
- 76. National consumers boycott
- 77. International consumers boycott

### **Action by Workers and Producers**

- 78. Workmen's boycott
- 79. Producers boycott

### **Action by Middlemen**

- 80. Suppliers and handlers boycott

### **Action by Owners and Management**

- 81. Traders boycott
- 82. Refusal to let or sell property
- 83. Lockout
- 84. Refusal of industrial assistance
- 85. Merchants "general strike"

### **Action by Holders of Financial Resources**

- 86. Withdrawal of bank deposits
- 87. Refusal to pay fees, dues, and assessments
- 88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
- 89. Severance of funds and credit
- 90. Revenue refusal
- 91. Refusal of a government's money

### **Action by Governments**

- 92. Domestic embargo
- 93. Blacklisting of traders
- 94. International sellers embargo
- 95. International buyers embargo
- 96. International trade embargo

## **THE METHODS OF ECONOMIC NONCOOPERATION: (2) THE STRIKE**

### **Symbolic Strikes**

- 97. Protest strike
- 98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike)

### **Agricultural Strikes**

- 99. Peasant strike
- 100. Farm Workers strike

### **Strikes by Special Groups**

- 101. Refusal of impressed labor
- 102. Prisoners strike
- 103. Craft strike
- 104. Professional strike

### **Ordinary Industrial Strikes**

- 105. Establishment strike
- 106. Industry strike
- 107. Sympathetic strike



## **Restricted Strikes**

- 108. Detailed strike
- 109. Bumper strike
- 110. Slowdown strike
- 111. Working-to-rule strike
- 112. Reporting "sick" (sick-in)
- 113. Strike by resignation
- 114. Limited strike
- 115. Selective strike

## **Multi-Industry Strikes**

- 116. Generalized strike
- 117. General strike

## **Combination of Strikes and Economic Closures**

- 118. Hartal
- 119. Economic shutdown

## **THE METHODS OF POLITICAL NONCOOPERATION**

### **Rejection of Authority**

- 120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance
- 121. Refusal of public support
- 122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance

### **Citizens' Noncooperation with Government**

- 123. Boycott of legislative bodies
- 124. Boycott of elections
- 125. Boycott of government employment and positions
- 126. Boycott of government depts., agencies, and other bodies
- 127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions
- 128. Boycott of government-supported organizations
- 129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents
- 130. Removal of own signs and place marks
- 131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
- 132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions

### **Citizens' Alternatives to Obedience**

- 133. Reluctant and slow compliance
- 134. Nonobedience in absence of direct supervision
- 135. Popular nonobedience
- 136. Disguised disobedience

- 137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse
- 138. Sitdown
- 139. Noncooperation with conscription and deportation
- 140. Hiding, escape, and false identities
- 141. Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws

### **Action by Government Personnel**

- 142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
- 143. Blocking of lines of command and information
- 144. Stalling and obstruction
- 145. General administrative noncooperation
- 146. Judicial noncooperation
- 147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
- 148. Mutiny

### **Domestic Governmental Action**

- 149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
- 150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units

### **International Governmental Action**

- 151. Changes in diplomatic and other representations
- 152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
- 153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition
- 154. Severance of diplomatic relations
- 155. Withdrawal from international organizations
- 156. Refusal of membership in international bodies
- 157. Expulsion from international organizations

## **THE METHODS OF NONVIOLENT INTERVENTION**

### **Psychological Intervention**

- 158. Self-exposure to the elements
- 159. The fast
  - a) Fast of moral pressure
  - b) Hunger strike
  - c) Satyagrahic fast
- 160. Reverse trial
- 161. Nonviolent harassment

### **Physical Intervention**

- 162. Sit-in
- 163. Stand-in

- 164. Ride-in
- 165. Wade-in
- 166. Mill-in
- 167. Pray-in
- 168. Nonviolent raids
- 169. Nonviolent air raids
- 170. Nonviolent invasion
- 171. Nonviolent interjection
- 172. Nonviolent obstruction
- 173. Nonviolent occupation

### **Social Intervention**

- 174. Establishing new social patterns
- 175. Overloading of facilities
- 176. Stall-in
- 177. Speak-in
- 178. Guerrilla theater
- 179. Alternative social institutions
- 180. Alternative communication system

### **Economic Intervention**

- 181. Reverse strike
- 182. Stay-in strike
- 183. Nonviolent land seizure
- 184. Defiance of blockades
- 185. Politically motivated counterfeiting
- 186. Preclusive purchasing
- 187. Seizure of assets
- 188. Dumping
- 189. Selective patronage
- 190. Alternative markets
- 191. Alternative transportation systems
- 192. Alternative economic institutions

### **Political Intervention**

- 193. Overloading of administrative systems
- 194. Disclosing identities of secret agents
- 195. Seeking imprisonment
- 196. Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws
- 197. Work-on without collaboration
- 198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government

# Six Points of Confrontation

This maybe helpful in thinking about possible places to do actions

Each of the four types of direct action (protest, non-cooperation, intervention, or creative solution) [Note Hanna uses one more category of action than Sharp uses] can be used at any of the Six Points of Confrontation listed below.

- Point of production: when harmful items are created
- Point of destruction: when resources are extracted, pollution is released, or natural resources are destroyed
- Point of consumption: where products reach the consumer
- Point of decision: where plans for the future are determined;
- Point of assumption: where social norms are developed and upheld;
- Point of potential: when cultural or historic moments become action opportunities.

From Hanna Strange, Ruckus Society

# Six Principles of Nonviolence

## **1. Nonviolence is a way of life for courageous people .**

It is active nonviolent resistance to evil.

It is assertive spiritually, mentally, and emotionally.

It is always persuading the opponent of the righteousness of your cause.

## **2. Nonviolence seeks to win friendship and understanding .**

The end result of nonviolence is redemption and reconciliation.

The purpose of nonviolence is the creation of the Beloved Community.

## **3. Nonviolence seeks to defeat injustice, not people .**

Nonviolence recognized that evil doers are also victims and are not evil people.

The nonviolent resister seeks to defeat evil, not people.

## **4. Nonviolence holds that suffering can educate and transform .**

Nonviolence accepts suffering without retaliation.

Nonviolence accepts violence if necessary, but will never inflict it.

Nonviolence willingly accepts the consequences of its act.

Unearned Suffering is redemptive and has tremendous educational and transforming possibilities.

Suffering can have the power to convert the enemy when reason fails.

## **5. Nonviolence chooses love instead of hate.**

Nonviolence resists violence of the spirit as well as the body.

Nonviolent love is spontaneous, unmotivated, unselfish, and creative.

Nonviolent love gives willingly, knowing that the return might be hostility.

Nonviolent love is active, not passive.

Nonviolent love is unending in its ability to forgive in order to restore community.

Nonviolent love does not sink to the level of the hater.

Love for the enemy is how we demonstrate love for ourselves.

Love restores community and resists injustice.

Nonviolence recognizes the fact that all life is interrelated.

## **6. Nonviolence believes that the universe is on the side of justice .**

The nonviolent resister has deep faith that justice will eventually win.

Nonviolence believes that God is a God of justice.

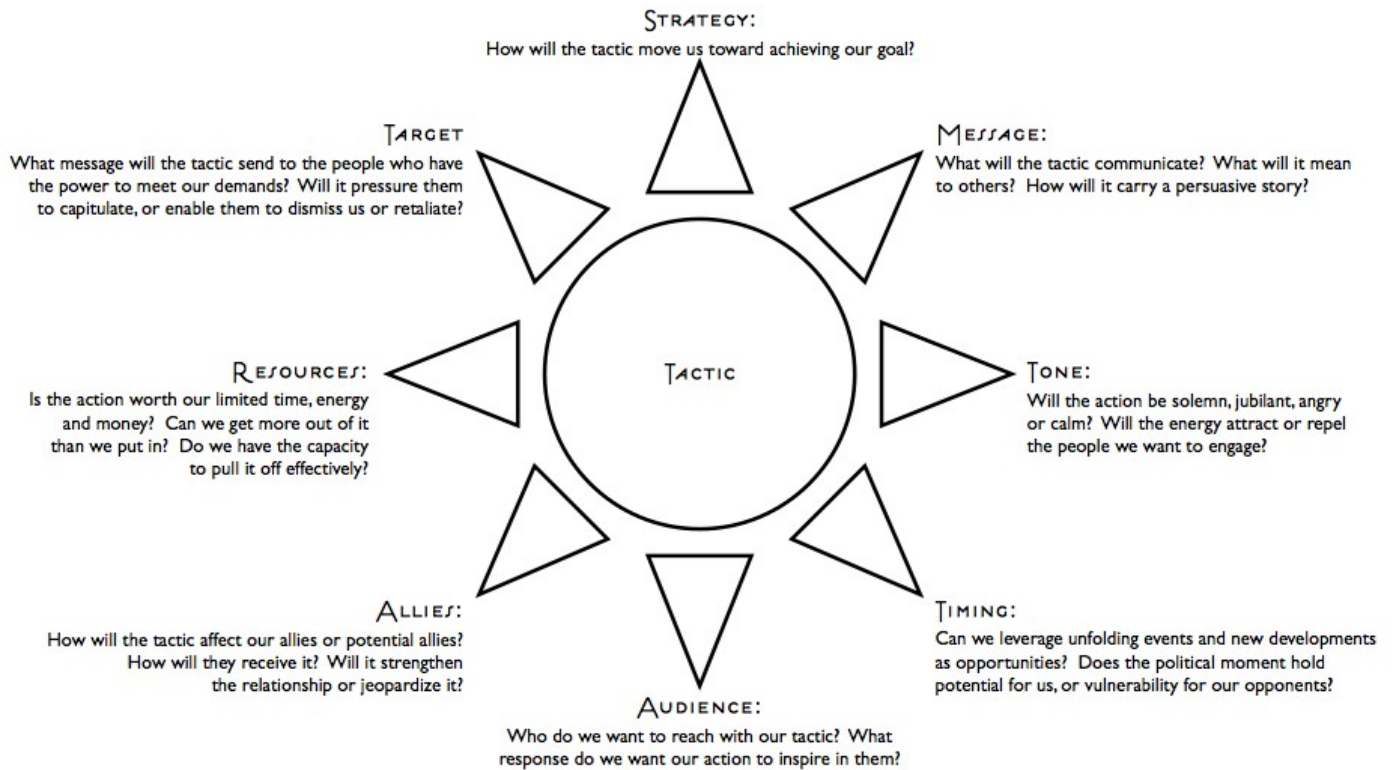
From the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change in Atlanta, Georgia

From the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change in Atlanta, Georgia

# The Tactic Star

by: Beyond the Choir

Choosing or inventing a successful tactic often involves some intuition and guesswork — and always risk. But the more we study our contexts, the better we become at judging when to pull which punches. Projecting and measuring success is complex, but we should not let the murkiness of these waters deter us from diving into them. Patterns do emerge. We can learn a great deal from our experiences when we critically analyze them. This tactic star names some key factors that change agents should consider when determining their tactics. The same tool can be used to evaluate actions after they have been carried out.



**Strategy:** How will the tactic move us toward achieving our goal?

**Message:** What will the tactic communicate? What will it mean to others? How will it carry a persuasive story?

**Tone:** Will the action be solemn, jubilant, angry, or calm? Will the energy attract or repel the people we want to engage?

**Timing:** Can we leverage unfolding events and new developments as opportunities? Does the political moment hold potential for us, or vulnerability for our opponents?

**Audience:** Who do we want to reach with our tactic? What response do we want our action to inspire in them?

**Allies:** How will the tactic affect our allies or potential allies? How will they receive it? Will it strengthen the relationship or jeopardize it?

**Resources:** Is the action worth our limited time, energy and money? Can we get more out of it than we put in? Do we have the capacity to pull it off effectively?

**Target:** What message will the tactic send to the people who have the power to meet our demands? Will it pressure them to capitulate, or enable them to dismiss us or retaliate?

The action is never  
the action  
the reaction is  
always  
the action

Saul Alinsky

# Movements- Campaigns - Actions -

A movement is made up of multiple campaigns and a campaign is made up of multiple actions. But the absolute distinction between them is not important. It is just important in our planning to see that there are different sizes of strategy we work with.

A campaign is a series of actions that are

linked,  
sequential and,  
escalating.

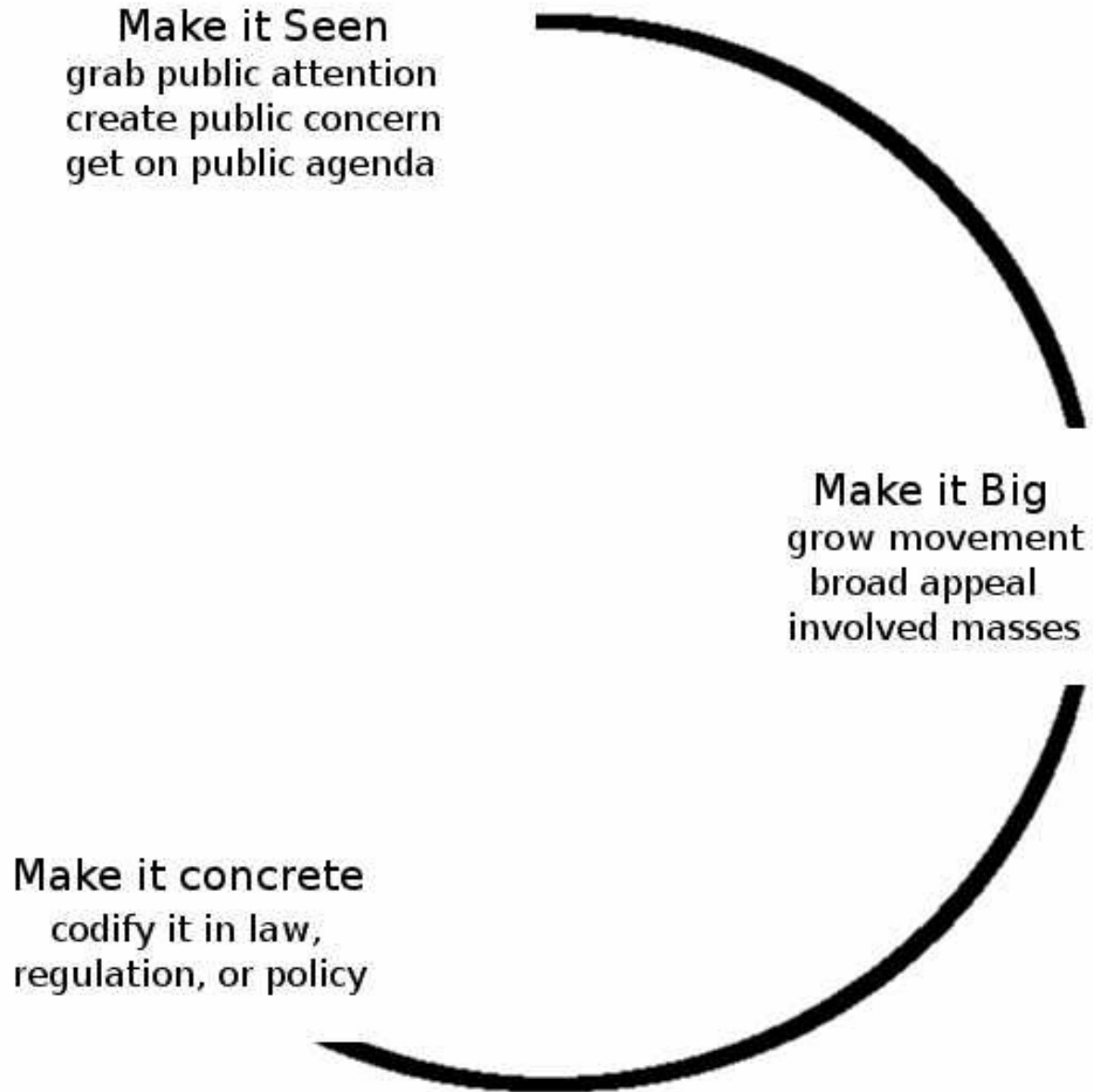
Linked – meaning that people can see they are related – they might use the same signs, same mottos, same logos, same organization name, etc

Sequential – the actions have a logical (and strategic) sequence in which they are used. Any group of actions will be much more effective if they have a strategic sequence. Typically, even if you have not thought about this idea before, it is not hard to figure what the strategic sequence of a group of actions should be.

Escalating – actions should escalate. If you keep doing the same action over and over the campaign actionists will loose energy – the need something new and they need escalation. You want the power holder a little on edge. After an action you want them to say, “Whew, we got through that one. But I wonder what they will do next time.”



# Three Strategy Phases a Movement Goes Through



from Elliott Adams

# Cycle of Societal Violence

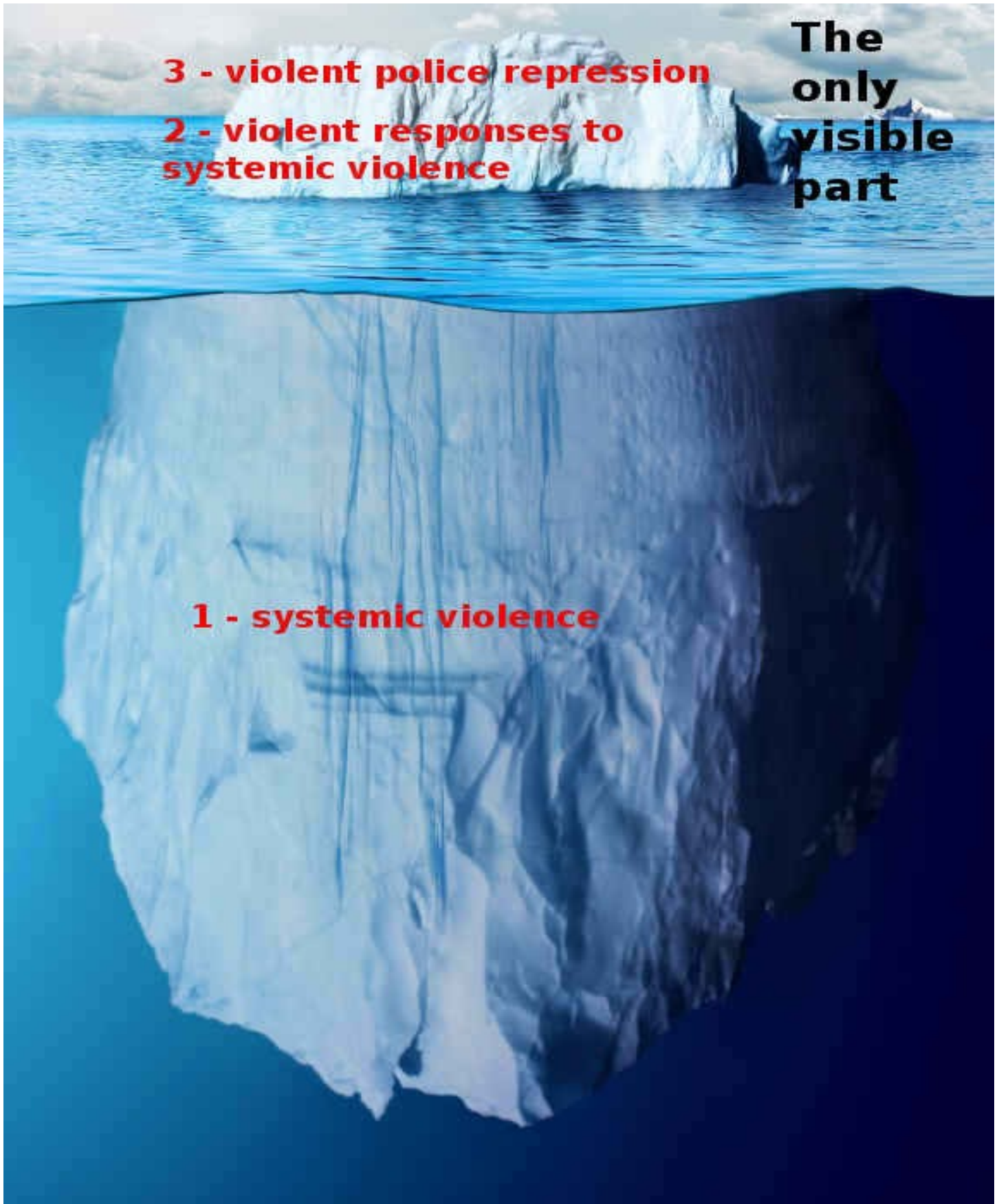
from Kim Redigan of Meta Peace Team

One way of looking at societal violence is that systemic violence creates a seething mass of frustration and anger (1), this engenders violence from those victimized (2), which results in violent responses from police to “establish order.”(3)

**3 - violent police repression**

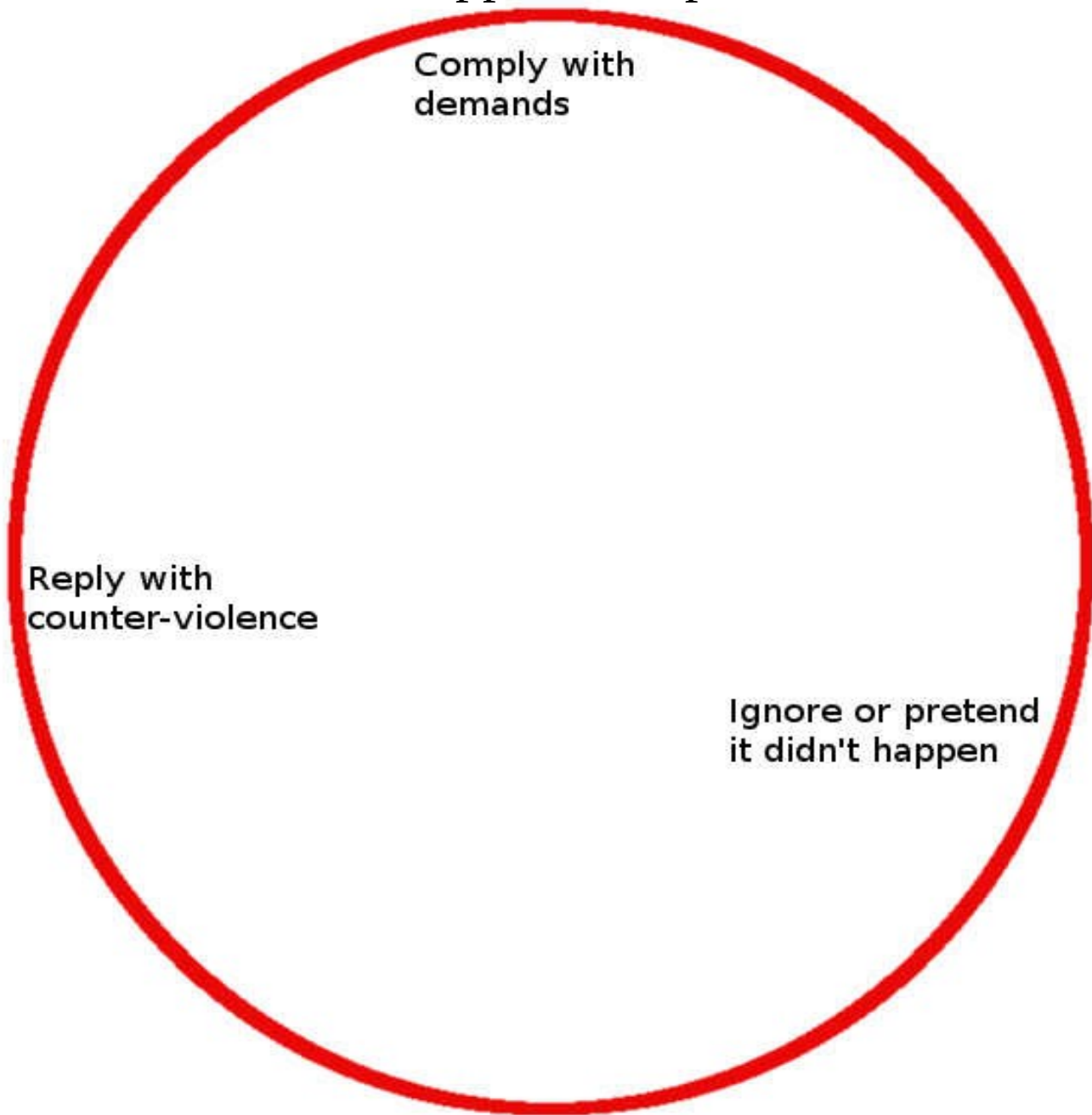
**2 - violent responses to  
systemic violence**

**1 - systemic violence**



# The 3 Normal Responses to Violence

all of which support the spiral of violence



We look for another way, variously called the 4<sup>th</sup> way, active nonviolence response, or moral jujitsu. It takes originality, something unexpected, sometimes humor, a shift of frame, something far from the normal responses to break out of the spiral of violence.

From "Violence To Wholeness" by Ken Butigan

# The Powerlessness Trap

*We did not present this piece in the workshop, but I think you will find it useful. Remember this was written years ago based on the experience in other movements. I think you will be surprised at how current these arguments that we are powerless are; that is because these exact same arguments come up in every movement even as it is succeeding.*

Taken from "Doing Democracy" by Bill Moyer, adapted by Cindy Campbell.

Even though grassroots activists and their social movements have been powerful and often successful throughout history, most activists still believe that they are powerless and feel that their movement is ineffective and failing. In order to be effective activists must first be open to the possibility that they are powerful and that their social movement might be progressing along the road to success. The following are statements from the powerlessness trap (which can be self fulfilling prophecies) and responses to them.

- 1) **"Nothing has changed. The movement is merely treading water."** After years of effort, activists see little or no real change in the policies or practices of the powerholders or in the intolerable conditions they oppose
- 2) Social change takes time, frequently 10-20 years or more. The powerholders are deeply tied to and invested in the status quo. In most social change we are asking the few to give up power and money, so they resist change. Change comes from the people and works its way all the way down to the powerholders where it is finally implemented in policies. So policies not a reasonable place measure incremental progress.
- 3) **"The powerholders are too powerful and will never listen to us."** They pay no attention to either the movement or the public, even though the majority public opinion may oppose current policies. Yes movements have been successful before, but those were different times, and their issues were not as central to the powerholders' greed and privileged position as is our issue.
- 4) The powerholders' strategy is to officially appear as though opposing social movements and public opinion is not swaying them. For example, President Nixon publicly claimed to be paying no attention to the anti-Vietnam War movement, even pretending that he was watching a football game on TV during one of the big demonstrations in 1969. But after the war we learned that he backed down on many war plans - such as direct assaults on dikes in North Vietnam, which would have flooded much of the country, and the use of nuclear bombs - because of the anti-war movement
- 5) **"The movement is always reactive, not pro-active."** The movement only does crisis management, merely reacting to the latest crisis rather than taking the initiative for positive change, the powerholders are totally in charge of the process.
- 6) The dynamic struggle between social movements and powerholders is often like a chess match, in which both sides are reacting to events and to the moves of each other side in their effort to win the confidence of the public. Many activists only see one side of the give-and-take - the reactions of the movement. It is more accurate to perceive the whole interplay of both sides, including the reactive crisis management actions of the powerholders.
- 7) **"The movement is not getting anywhere because it is focusing on an endless series of issues. Why doesn't everyone all work on the same issue?"** The movement jumps from opposing one issue to another -- nuclear testing, logging old-growth forests, immigration restriction, corporate globalization, and so forth.
- 8) There are many critical problems that need to be addressed immediately. So, there needs to be many different important social movements and sub-movements at the same time. People need to address the issues that they are most concerned about and that are closest to their lives and interests, as this is what gives them and the movement the energy and power.

9) In addition, a large centralized movement would inevitably get bogged down in bureaucracy and in-fighting. It is better to have many local grassroots groups that are independent but voluntarily cooperate, forming coalitions and joint actions.

10) Such decentralized movements are harder for the powerholders to infiltrate, undermine or jail the leaders.

11) **"Any successes that might have occurred were accomplished by events and powerful forces *outside* the movement."** It was the Vietnamese who won the war, Reagan and Gorbachev who signed the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty, and the French government decided on its own to stop nuclear tests in the Pacific and halt the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI).

12) Most positive developments that are related to social movement issues are connected to the movement's actions. For example, the last thing on Reagan's mind during his 1980 election campaign was to make a deal with the Soviet Union; his campaign was based on building ever more unclear weapons to "save the free world" from the "evil empire." Seven years later, after the new anti-nuclear weapons movement had won over a great majority of the public, Gorbachev was favored over Reagan in West German polls by 80 percent. Only then did Reagan decide to walk with his arm around "Darth Vader" in Moscow's Red Square and sign a nuclear weapons treaty.

13) Powerholders always take credit and movements often give them credit for making the changes that they were forced on them by the change in public opinion.

14) **"The movement has not achieved its (long-range) goals."**

15) Social movements take many years and need to be evaluated by how well they are progressing along the normal path of success not by whether they have achieved their ultimate goals. The expansion of movements to deal with new and larger purposes and goals is part of the process of social change. During the process, activists learn about problems that were unknown at the beginning of the movement and keep moving the goal posts farther away.

16) **"Activists wish nostalgically for the glorious past eras and movements, symbolized by the 1960s."**

17) What today's activists don't realize is that those movements were quite similar and that activists, by and large, felt the same way as activists do today. For the first 3 years and the last 4 years of the anti-Vietnam war movement, activists felt powerless and depressed. From 1972 to the end of the war in 1975 (immediately following the high-energy years of 1967 to 1971), ever-fewer people attended demonstrations and the war raged on as the killing and bombing increased. It seemed that both the decade of movement opposition and the majority of public opinion against the war (which the movement created) were having no effect on the government's war policy. But after the war, much of the credit (and blame) for the war ending was given to the anti-Vietnam war movement.

# The Role of Anger and Niceness in Nonviolent Struggle

by Elliott Adams and Cindy Campbell

1. • We use the word anger for two different meanings: 1) an emotion we feel, which may not even be outwardly expressed, “indignation” 2) a behavior or outward expression, or a type of acting out, as in “an angry outburst”.
2. • Anger, the emotion, is a great energy source, which you can choose to use to create positive change.
3. • Our anger can embolden us to demand that things change in a positive way
4. • “Revolution isn’t timid or easy” — be bold!
5. • When niceness is motivated by fear it can be accomidating of violence.
6. • Niceness can be powerful in building community and cooperation.
7. • But insincere cutesy or sweetness — is usually either revolting or insulting
8. • Express anger at people’s actions, but not at them as people — support them personally while you insist that they change their behavior
9. • Raging at people — may make you feel better, but it generally is not useful to bring about positive social change
10. • Notice what makes you “see red” and review the reasons for it later
11. • Go somewhere safe and feel and express all your emotions — including grief, fear, rage, anguish, etc. — ask close friends to support you or be alone if that is safer
12. • Intense fury often comes from past experiences — don’t let your past interfere with or distort your present work

# The Power of Noncooperation

Selections from an essay by Shelley Douglas in *From Violence to Wholeness*

These selections may be used as a meditation, with each selection read slowly and distinctly by a different person followed by a pause before the next piece is read. It is also possible to follow the meditation by a discussion on "What does no cooperation mean to me?"

1. For Gandhi, the Sanskrit word **Satyagraha** defined how to wage a struggle for justice. It means a struggle in which we do not seek to exterminate our opponent, but through love and a willingness to suffer, we seek to create with our opponent a just resolution of the conflict. It means love force, soul force, or truth power.
2. **Swaraj**, home-rule for India, would come only when every Indian exercised **swaraj**, self-rule, in his or her own life. The imposition of British rule was made possible by Indian cooperation, and could be ended by noncooperation. Indians had to learn to respect themselves, to throw off the limitations of untouchability and of their own reverse racism; Indians had to learn to govern their own desires for wealth and property; Indians had to refuse to surrender to their centuries of conditioning to caste divisions so that they could work together for freedom.
3. What Gandhi called for and sometimes achieved was a struggle within each person's soul to take responsibility for the evil (or injustice) in which she or he was complicit, and having taken responsibility, to exercise self-control and begin to change.
4. Gandhi's refusal to see the British as solely responsible for the situation of India was the key to Indian independence.
5. We must recognize our cooperation with evil (or injustice) and withdraw it. It is essential to the struggle for social change.
6. So often people feel powerless to create change because those in power who are held responsible for our situation do not listen to our voices. This is true. They exist to hold power or make profit. However, we tend to overlook that while systems do not listen to people very well, they are in fact made up of the very people to whom they do not listen! The existence of the system depends upon the cooperation of all the players. If we withdraw our support from the system, then change will begin.
7. In Noncooperation, there are logical steps in recognizing our responsibility and withdrawing our complicity:
  - Know what it is that is wrong enough to justify noncooperation.
  - Know how we are involved in supporting it.
  - Know how best to withdraw our support.
  - Know what to do with the support that is withdrawn from the system.
8. Noncooperation may include marches, boycotts and tax refusal, but it also includes an inner dimension: the refusal to allow our minds to be manipulated, our hearts to be controlled. Refusing to hate those who are identified as enemies is also noncooperation.
9. Negativity is never enough. It is not enough to oppose the wrong without suggesting the right.
10. We are They! Both we and our opponents are caught in the same evil (or unjust) system.



11. No one person owns the truth — each one has a piece of it, as Gandhi said, and if we can put all our pieces together we may find a bigger truth.

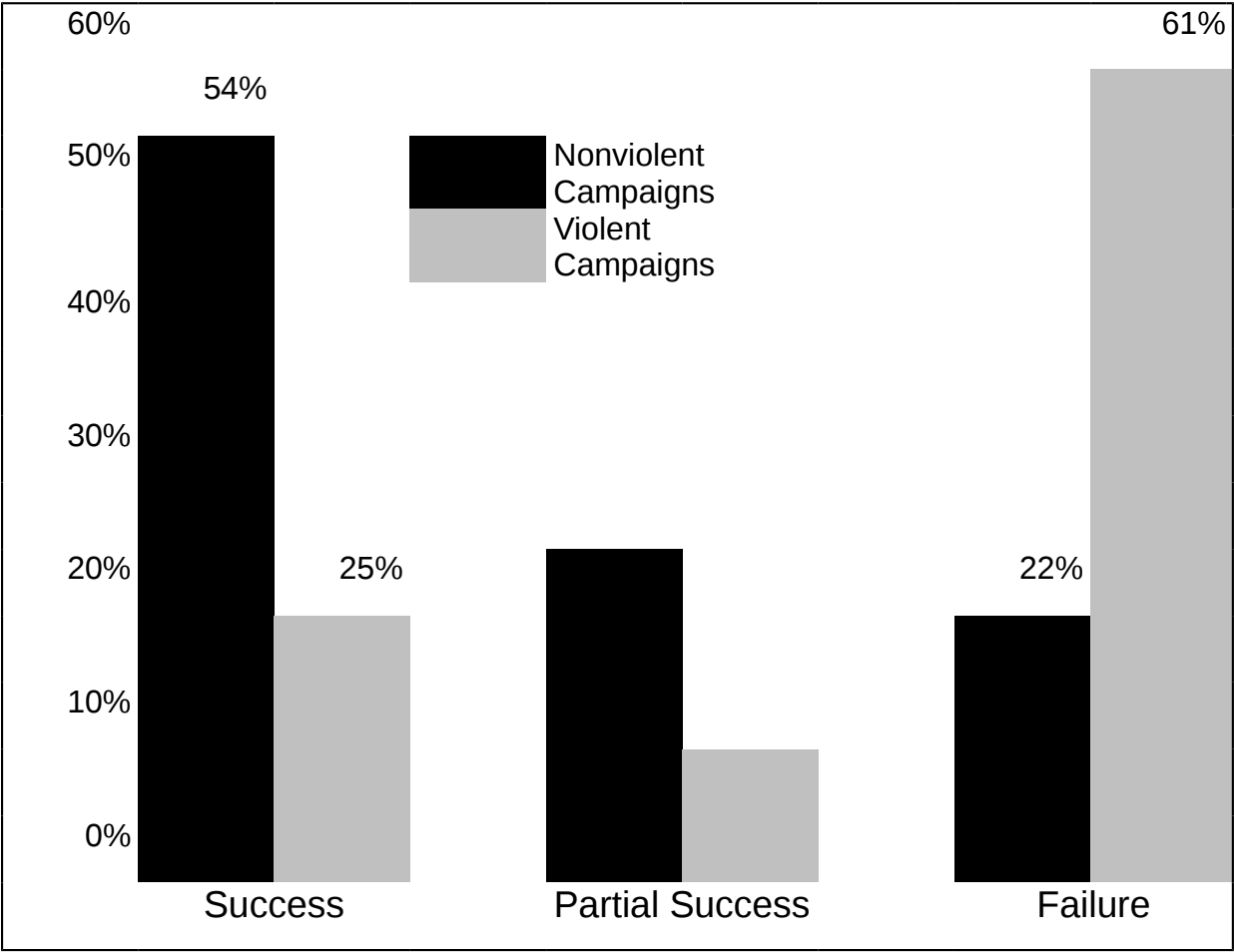
12. Recognizing our own complicity in an evil (or unjust) system means that we can take responsibility for it through noncooperation. It also means that we can confront our own failures, forgive ourselves, and from that process learn compassion. We can be honest enough to admit our own imperfections and our lack of certainty, and accept the same in other people.

13. Even when we feel that the people who range themselves against us have become close-minded or unreasonable, we do not have to retaliate in kind. We can find the places in ourselves where we are close-minded and unreasonable, and understand the fear behind such feelings. We can forgive and refuse to be drawn into a cycle of hate and fear.

14. The power of nonviolence lies in facing ourselves with love and compassion, while honestly confronting our own evil, and then in facing the evil of our opponents honestly, while confronting them with love and compassion. Nonviolence is an invitation to nurture the good, to confront the evil (or injustice), and in doing so

# Rates of Success, Partial Success, and Failure of Campaigns

from "Why Civil Resistance Works" by Erica Chenoweth & Maria Stephan



# Movement Action Plan

## ***A Schematic for Social Movements***

*Diagrams of MAP (Movement Action Plan) were on the walls during the training. After watching new movements making the same mistakes earlier movements had made the authors of “Doing Democracy” pooled their knowledge and experience of 40 years in movement work to developed a road map of the social movement process. Movements go through the same process whether they are small like getting a crossing light put in front of a school or large like the civil rights movement in the US.*

Included here are several components that work together. One component is the stages and road map. The stages are briefly described in the chart. The graphs illustrate the relationships between the stages and the movement. It is usually relatively easy to figure out the stage we are in by looking at the three critical lines, % of public who know about the issue, % of public that recognize that the existing policies (actual policies, not what the politicians say is happening) are bad, and critically the % of people who support alternative policies. The distinction between the last two seems subtle but is critical. So late in the Iraq War many people thought the war (or occupation) was a mistake, that it was being run badly, and that we never should have gone in. That is different than actually thinking we should get out. That difference was what we heard the administration saying – yes the war is going badly, but we can’t get out because it will empower the enemy, or to honor those who lost their lives we need take it to a “victory”(what every that is). Once you figure out what stage the movement is in then by referring to the chart you figure out what needs to be accomplished and what your goals are at that stage.

The other big component deals with the roles activists fill. With this there are three components: a definition of the four roles, effective and ineffective ways of filling those roles, and a graph of when which roles are important when. There are two critical things to remember about the roles. The roles describe jobs that need to be done; they do not describe a kind of person. And that all of these roles are critical to a movement. Activists should strive to be able to fill the role that is needed at that time. Start by reading the effective and ineffective ways of filling each role. By going to the graphs and knowing the stage the movement is in you can see what roles are most needed in that stage. There is also a brief description of each role to help.

The book amplifies all of these components.

## ***Movement Process***

adapted by Janet Chisholm from “Doing Democracy” by Bill Moyer

- **Social movements are composed of many sub-goals and sub-movements, each in their own MAP stage**
- **Strategy and tactics are different for each sub-movement, according to the MAP stage that the sub movement is in.**
- **Movements keep advancing sub-movements through the Eight Stages**
- **Each sub-movement is focused on a specific goal (e.g., for civil rights movements: restraints, voting, public accommodation)**
- **All of the sub-movements promote the same paradigm shift (e.g., shift from hard to soft energy policy)**

# Characteristics of Successful Nonviolent Social Change Movements in the U.S.

adapted by Janet Chisholm from “Doing Democracy” by Bill Moyer

- **Social Movements are proven Powerful.**
- **Movements are at the Center of Society.**
- **The real issue is Social Justice vs Vested Interest.**
- **The Grand Strategy is to Promote Participatory Democracy.**
- **Our constituency is the Ordinary Citizen.**
- **Success is a Long-Term Process – Not an event.  
Celebrate Successes along the way !**
- **Social Movements must be Nonviolent to grow !**

## ***Effective vs. Ineffective Activism***

| Effective Roles                            | Ineffective Roles                            |
|--|--|
| Empowered and hopeful                      | Disempowered and hopeless                    |
| Positive attitude and energy               | Negative attitude and energy                 |
| People power: Participatory democracy      | Elitist: Self-identified leaders or vanguard |
| Coordinated strategy and tactics           | Tactics in isolation from strategy           |
| Nonviolence/means equals ends              | Any means necessary                          |
| Promote realistic vision and social change | Unrealistic utopianism or minor reform       |
| Assertive/cooperative (win-win)            | Passive or overly aggressive/competitive     |
| Feminist/relative/nurturer/adapt<br>ive    | Patriarchal/absolute truth/rigid<br>ideology |
| Faith in people                            | Put the "masses" down                        |
| Peace paradigm                             | Dominator paradigm                           |

from Doing Democracy by Bill Moyer

# Four Roles Activists Fill in Social Movements

It is important to remember that these do not describe people - these are roles.

Effective activists recognize that all roles are necessary and they learn to fill all roles depending on what the campaign needs at the time.

## Citizen Role

The "normal" citizen is grounded in the center of society and is the source of legitimate power. When filling the Citizen role the activist puts their social activism in the center of society and grounds it in widely held basic values, like: freedom, equality, justice, patriotism, etc.

## Rebel Role

When filling the Rebel role the activist puts critical social problems and moral violations in the public spotlight. Rebels use methods outside of normal political channels, including nonviolent direct action and community education in the form of rallies, marches, leafleting, and petitions.

## Change Agent Role

When filling the Change Agent role the activist educates, motivates, and organizes the public and activists to become actively involved in democratic process. They promote citizen-based democracy in which all segments of society are engaged in resolving social problems.

## Reformer Role

When filling the Reformer Role the activist promotes the movement through mainstream systems and institutions, such as courts, legislatures, lobbying, referenda, lawsuits, etc.

By Elliott Adams based on  
Doing Democracy by Bill Moyer

# ***The 8 Stages in Brief***

This is a brief description of all 8 stages. Hopefully this will give an overview.

(adapted by Elliott Adams and Janet Chisholm from "Doing Democracy" by Bill Moyer)

## **Stage 1 - Normal Times**

"We should do something!"

15% of public see there is a problem

5 to 10% of public have stopped supporting existing policies

<5% of public support alternative policies

- **A critical social problem exists that violates widely held values**
- **The powerholders support the problem: Their "Official Policies" tout widely held values but the real "Operating Policies" violate those values**
- **The public is unaware of the problem and supports powerholders**
- **The problem/policies are not a public issue - are not on the public social agenda**

## **Stage 2 - Prove the Failure of Official Institutions**

"Let's get someone to do something about this!"

15 to 25% of public see there is a problem

10 to 20% of public have stopped supporting existing policies

<5 to 5% of public support alternative policies

- **The movement uses official channels - courts, government offices, hearings, commissions, etc. - to try to correct problem, but may prove they don't work**

**The movement becomes experts; research the problem, how it effects people, the role of the powerholders in supporting the problem**

## **Stage 3 - Ripening Conditions**

"We need allies. We need to act!"

25 to 45% of public see there is a problem

20 to 35% of public have stopped supporting existing policies

5 to 5% of public support alternative policies

- **Public recognition of the problem and of the victims grows**
- **The public sees the victim's faces, the problem becomes human**
- **20 to 30 percent of the public opposes the powerholders policies**
- **More active local groups form**
- **The new movement needs the help of pre-existing institutions and networks.**



#### Stage 4 - Take Off

"Now it's on the front page! We were right! Now others will understand!"

45 to 80% of public see there is a problem

35 to 50% of public have stopped supporting existing policies

5 to 10% of public support alternative policies

- **Dramatic nonviolent actions/campaigns heighten public awareness of the problem**
- **Trigger events are the hallmark of this stage**
- **Actions show the public that conditions and policies violate widely held values**
- **Nonviolent actions are repeated around the country**
- **The problem is put on the social agenda**
- **The new social movement rapidly takes off**
- **40 percent of public opposes the current policies/conditions**

#### Stage 5 - Perception of Failure

"Is this the end? Despair & Desertion?"

80 to 85% of public see there is a problem

50 to 55% of public have stopped supporting existing policies

10 to 15% of public support alternative policies

- **People in movement feel the goals are unachieved**
- **People in movement see the problems go on unchanged**
- **People in movement see the numbers down at demonstrations**
- **Despair, hopelessness, burnout, dropout, settles in and it seems movement has ended.**
- **Frustration and desperation lead to the emergence of the negative rebel role**

#### Stage 6 – Majority Public Opinion

"Our message is sinking in! Change is possible! And we have alternatives!"

85% of public see there is a problem

55 to 75% of public have stopped supporting existing policies

15 to 30% of public support alternative policies

- **The majority of the public opposes present conditions and the powerholders current policies**
- **The problem is put on the political agenda**
- **Demonology: Powerholders foster the public's fear of the alternatives and of activism**
- **The movement shows how the problem and policies affect all sectors of society**

- The movement involves mainstream citizens and institutions in addressing the problem
- The movement promotes alternative policies
- The movement promotes a paradigm shift, not just reforms
- 50% of public oppose existing policies

#### • **Stage 7 – Success!**

“We have solutions! And we’ve uncovered related issues to work on, too!”

90 to 85% of public see there is a problem

70 to 85% of public have stopped supporting existing policies

30 to 70% of public support alternative policies

- **A large majority of the public oppose the current policies and no longer fear alternative policies**
- **Many powerholders split off from the status quo and change their positions**
- **End-game process: Powerholders change policies (it's more costly for them to continue the old policies than to change), or are voted out of office, or leave by slow invisible attrition**
- **New laws and alternative policies are written and passed**
- **The powerholders try to make minimal reforms, while the movement demands social change, a paradigm shift**

#### **Stage 8 – Continuing the Struggle**

“We have a good group here. And there’s more we can do!”

85 to 70% of public see there is a problem

80 to 60% of public have stopped supporting existing policies

70 to 90% of public support alternative policies

- **The movement works to extend successes (e.g., even stronger civil rights laws)**
- **The movement has to work to oppose attempts at backlash**
- **The movement keeps supporting the paradigm shift**
- **The movement can focus on some of the other sub-issues**
- **It is time to recognize and celebrate successes achieved so far, even though there may still be many more problems**

# ***Find The Stage Your movement Is In***

The value of the “8 Stages of Social Movements” is to guide our next actions. To see where to go next we need to know where we are, what stage our movement is in. I have seen groups that had a hard time agreeing on that basic part.

Three numbers can help you identify the stage your movement is in, the percentage of the public:

- that is aware of the problem
- that no longer supports the existing policies
- that support the alternative policies.

These are shown on one of the graphs in the section on the “8 Stages”.

Most groups find they can agree enough on those three numbers to identify what stage they are in. Once you find the stage your movement is in study the description of what needs to be done in that stage (next below). You may find your movement is on the cusp between two stages. It makes sense to read the description of the stage before your stage to see if anything stands out that still needs to be done. And obviously read over the next stage too.

Don't get confused by thinking about one giant movement. This can be the case of groups that can't decide what movement they are in. There are dozens movements happening at the same time. And movements typically divide into multiple movements as activists get more knowledgeable, see new issues, and see their one issue actually has two routes to solution. It might help to think of a movement as one route to achieve the objective. And if you have trouble agreeing about those numbers maybe people are defining their movement differently.

While we are talking about it, these three percentages are also known as the three times we have to win the public over. To succeed a movement needs to convince the public of all three of these positions – there is a problem, the existing policies support the problem, and finally that the alternative policies are better. The difference between the last two is critical. Many movements fail when they don't convince the public to support the alternative policies.

# Goals Of Each Stage

All movements, large or small, recent or distant history, have a similar structure. Below are descriptions of what our, those who are trying to create change, goals should be in each stage. This is excerpted from the book "Doing Democracy" by Bill Moyer.

## Stage 1

15% of public see there is a problem  
5 to 10% of public have stopped supporting existing policies  
<5% of public support alternative policies

Goals  
The goals of the opposition (that is us) at this stage are -

- to become informed;
- to identify and document that a serious problem exists, how it violates widely held principles and values, and the specific role the power-holders play in maintaining it;
- to create active opposition organizations and infrastructure, no matter how small;
- to move on to the activities of Stage Two; and
- above all, to believe that social change is possible and that you can help create it.

Pitfalls  
The main dangers in normal times are -

- feeling stuck; and
- believing that you are a powerless victim and there is nothing you can do about it.

Political naivety, that is, having blind faith in the power-holders and the social system to address and solve social problems, will cause you to feel stuck. Power-holders promote the belief in powerlessness to keep the populace from acting to change the status quo.

Crisis  
Small numbers of newly involved grassroots citizens realize that a critical problem exists and that neither the official power-holders nor many of the old Professional Opposition Organization's have the interest or ability to solve the problem through the normal channels of the established social system. They realize that they must confront the official institutions themselves and must use the official channels not only in an honest attempt to get policies and practices changed, but also to document that the normal channels for citizens to participate effectively in the democratic process are not working.

Conclusion  
Normal times are politically quiet times because the power-holders successfully promote their official doctrines and policies while hiding their actual behavior. Thus, they keep their violations of societal principles out of the public consciousness and off society's agenda of issues. The opposition is tiny and feels hopeless because it believes that the problem will continue indefinitely, and it feels powerless to change it. Beneath the calm surface, however, the contradictions between the power-holders' actual practices and society's cherished values hold the seeds for popular discontent that can ultimately create dramatic changes.

## Stage 2

15 to 25% of public see there is a problem  
10 to 20% of public have stopped supporting existing policies  
<5 to 5% of public support alternative policies

### Goals

The movement's goals in this stage are -

- to document the problem, including the extent to which the power-holders and institutions are involved;
- to record the attempts to use the normal channels for citizen participation in the democratic institutions related to the specific issue of concern, and to prove that they did not work;
- to become experts; and
- to build new opposition organizations that start small, grow, and spread to many new areas.

### Pitfalls

The major movement pitfalls at this stage are -

- believing that social problems can be corrected solely by Professional Opposition Organizations using mainstream institutions and methods;
- not mobilizing widespread grassroots opposition; and
- continuing to feel powerless and hopeless because the system is not working the way it is supposed to and the power-holders and institutions seem so intractable.

### Crisis

The crisis that ends Stage Two occurs when grassroots activists understand that the normal function of the power-holders, the political system, public institutions, and their procedures violates the public trust in them. Then they realize that extra-parliamentary political action will be needed to seriously address the problem and bring about social change.

### Conclusions

This stage can be particularly disheartening. The problem and the policies of power-holders continue unabated, there is little public dissent or publicity, and the situation seems like it might continue indefinitely – as indeed it might. Yet the efforts of the opposition in this stage can eventually be used to prove that the emperor has no clothes and serve to bolster the movement in later stages. To survive this stage you must be stouthearted, determined, and persistent.

## Stage 3

25 to 45% of public see there is a problem  
20 to 30% of public have stopped supporting existing policies  
5 to 5% of public support alternative policies

### Goals

The purpose of this stage is to help create the conditions for the take-off phase of the social movement. The goals for the movement are

- to help create and recognize the emergence of a variety of ripening conditions that set the stage for the movement to take-off;
- to create, inspire, and prepare the new wave of individuals and groups by forming new networks, offering leadership training, and providing expertise;

- to prepare pre-existing networks and groups that will be concerned about the issue and involved in the upcoming movement;
- to personalize the problem by putting faces on the statistics about victims; and
- to create small, nonviolent demonstrations and campaigns that can serve as prototype models and a training ground for the take-off stagers.

#### Pitfalls

Some of the key hazards of this stage include

- becoming discouraged, and losing new activists, because the ripening conditions for a new social movement were not recognized; and
- allowing the bureaucracy, legalism, and centralized power of the leading Professional Opposition Organization's to squash the creativity, independence, and spontaneity of the new grassroots groups.

#### Crisis

the number of grassroots activists and groups grows larger, and people become increasingly upset and frustrated by both the problem they are concerned about and the mainstream educational and parliamentary methods they have been using to address it. Their upset and frustration grows to the bursting point.

#### Conclusions

The stage is set for the take-off of a new social movement. There is a critical problem that appears to be worsening, proven violations by the power-holders, many victims, spreading discontent, supportive historical conditions, pre-existing networks, and an emerging new wave of grassroots opposition. Yet no one – not the public, the power-holders, or even the new wave of activists m- suspects the giant new social movement that is about to erupt onto the scene.

### Stage 4

45 to 80% of public see there is a problem

35 to 50% of public have stopped supporting existing policies

5 to 10% of public support alternative policies

#### Goals

Some of the specific goals of the stage are -

- to create a new nationwide grassroots-based social movement;
- to put the power-holders' actual policies and practices in the public spotlight and on society's agenda of important issues;
- to create a public platform from which the movement can educate the general public;
- to create public dissonance on the issue by constantly presenting people with two contradictory views of reality – that of the movement and that of the power-holders;
- to win the sympathies and the opinions of a majority of the public; and
- to become recognized as the legitimate opposition.

It is not a goal or expectation to get the power-holders to change their minds, policies, or behavior in this stage.

#### Pitfalls

The chief movement pitfalls of this stage are -

- political naivety – expecting the power-holders to cave in because of the size of the opposition;
- burnout, depression, and dropout from the movement because of unrealistic expectations that the social movement would win in this stage;

- failure to see the take-off stage as a monumental success in the process of winning; and
- developing an attitude of arrogant self-righteousness, ideological absolutism, violence, and self-importance.

### Crisis

The take-off stage is normally the shortest stage, typically lasting between six months to two years. After this dramatic and exciting period, an increasing number of activists realize the limits of protest and the rebel role as the movement's primary mode. In addition, the vast numbers of mainstream citizens joining the movement at the local level become engaged in the change agent work of local organizing and public education. At the same time, many of the rebel activists despair because their expectations of winning quickly through nonviolent direct actions were disappointed.

### Conclusion

The take-off stage is an exciting time, with a trigger event, dramatic actions, high passion, a new social movement in the public spotlight, social tension that creates a crisis of society's values and principles, and high output of energy. It also is the signature stage of the rebel. A previously unrecognized social problem and the power-holders' actual policies both become known, creating a new public issue.

(stage 4)

Within two years the movement wins majority public opinion and progresses to Stage Six. Unfortunately, a large percentage of activists, particularly many rebels, don't recognize this process as success. Instead, they take it as a sign that the movement has failed and their own efforts have been futile. Consequently, many rebels and naive activists move to Stage Five.

## Stage 5

80 to 85% of public see there is a problem  
 50 to 55% of public have stopped supporting existing policies  
 10 to 15% of public support alternative policies

### Goals

The primary goal of the movement is to help those activists stuck in Stage Five to catch up with their social movement and move on to Stage Six.

The movement itself could -

- create effective and efficient democratic organizational structures and group dynamic process;
  - train activists in the Four Roles Model so they learn the difference between effective and ineffective ways of playing the four roles and to respect those playing different roles.
- Adopt a strict policy of nonviolence and counter the negative rebel tendencies that first arise late in Stage Four and bloom in Stage Five; and
- provide activists with training to help them switch from controlling to a cooperative model of relationships.

In order to guide and train activists for the long haul, the movement needs to change its organizational structure. There are three organizational archetypes: hierarchical, loose or anarchistic, and participatory democratic

In their eagerness to stop being hierarchical and oppressive, groups mistakenly believe that the alternative is no structure or leaders. No structure or rules is not democracy, but disaster, in which the most oppressive and controlling people dominate the group.

At first the anarchistic loose structure provides the freedom for flexibility, creativity, participatory democracy, independence, and solidarity needed for quick decisions and radical nonviolent actions, including civil disobedience, especially at the beginning of the take off stage. But it becomes a liability, creativity, participatory democracy, independence, and solidarity needed for quick decisions and radical nonviolent actions, including civil disobedience, especially at the beginning of the take-off stage. But it becomes a liability after three months. Thereafter, the loose organizational structure tends to cause excessive inefficiency, participant burnout, and group domination by the most domineering and oppressive participants. The decision-making process resembles capitalism's rugged individualism in the free market more than the ideology of participatory democracy. Democratic organizations need structure and rules, but ones that promote participation and leadership.

### Pitfalls

There are many pitfalls for the movement in Stage Five, chiefly:

- People are unable to see that the movements is in the process of success
- There are feelings of dis-empowerment , despair, and burnout,
- Negative rebel attitudes and actions take center stage.
- There is a tendency to ideological totalism, with some activists maintaining that their view is the politically correct belief and that their way is the only way.
- Some activists impose the “tyranny of structurelessness” with their belief that democracy and freedom mean no organizational structures or leadership.
- The movement fails to make the transition from a Stage Four protest to the Stage Six social change movement.

### Crisis

This stage emerges while the movement is still in the take-off stage and continues for some years during the time that the rest of the movement progresses to the majority public opinion stage. The perception of failure has a heyday of one or two years, during which it garners a lot of media attention. It is a short stage, however. It rapidly fades away either because its members become burned out and drop out, or the recognize the futility of downright harmfulness of this approach and join the movement by adopting Stage Six-appropriate activities.

### Conclusions

The crisis of identity and powerlessness is a personal experience for many activists who mistakenly believe that their movement has failed and to not realize that it is actually in the normal process of success. Movement leaders can reduce the feeling of despair and disempowerment by providing activists with a long-term strategic framework, such as the MAP Eight Stages Model, to help them realize that they are powerful and their movement is winning, not losing. The movement also needs to adopt clear guidelines of total nonviolence for participants, and these must be widely publicized and agreed to by everyone involved in movement sponsored activities. Moreover, such nonviolent policies need to be enforced by arranging training in nonviolence for all demonstration participants and by having adequate “peacekeeping” structures and methods as all demonstrations.

Activists need to realize what the power-holders already know – that political and societal power ultimately lies with the people, not power-holders. They need to recognize when their own social movement is powerful and progressing along the normal path of success. Negative rebels need to realize the harmful effects of this role and adopt a more effective manner of activism. Activists can help themselves mature by forming support groups to take care of their personal needs reduce guilt, have fun, avoid isolation, and understand and help create the movement's strategy and tactics.

## Stage 6

85% of public see there is a problem

55 to 75% of public have stopped supporting existing policies



15 to 30% of public support alternative policies

### Goals

Although movements need to organize both locally and nationally they ultimately are only as powerful as their grassroots base. All that an American movement's national offices in Washington, DC, can do is “cash in” on the social and political gains created at the community level all over the country. The movement's chief goal, therefore, is to nurture, support, and empower grassroots activism. The movement needs to -

- keep both the issue and the power-holders' violations of society's principles and values in the public spotlight and on society's social and political agenda's;
- switch the movement's primary focus from rebel and protest to change agent and grassroots organizing for positive social change on the issue;
- adopt participatory democracy and leadership models;
- train activists in the MAP methods, especially how to wage Stage Six;
- create strategic campaigns; and
- keep winning an ever-larger majority of public opinion and involvement against present power-holder policies and in favor of alternatives, including a paradigm shift.

### Pitfalls

Even at the height of Stage Six, the power-holders and mass media will not only report that the movement has failed, but will also refuse to acknowledge that a new, massive, popular movement has been created. Large demonstrations and majority public opposition are dismissed as “vaguely reminiscent of the Sixties,” rather than recognized as modern social movements that are at least as big and relevant as those 35 years ago. And when movements do succeed, they are not given credit. We are told, for example, that no new nuclear energy plants were ordered to be built for the last 25 years because of the cost over-runs, high lending rates, and inflation, rather than being told the truth: that they were stopped by the tremendous political and public opposition created by people power. The pitfalls are numerous:

- Activists become stuck in the protest stage, adopting violence, rebelliousness and macho radicalism.
- Activists believe that the movement is losing and local efforts are futile, when they are actually moving along the normal road of success.
- National, regional, and local Professional Opposition Organization's and their key staff act as if they are the movement, making unilateral programs and decisions for the movement as a whole and thereby disenfranchising grassroots activists.
- The movement gets co-opted by the power-holders, either through collusion or compromise by reformer activists that undercut the achievement of critical movement goals.

### Crisis

There is overwhelming public support for changing power-holder policies and many power-holders begin joining in the calls for change.

### Conclusions

Over many years, even decades, public opinion against the power-holders' policies swells to an overwhelming majority, sometimes up to 80 percent, as in the case of opposition to the Vietnam War. Almost every sector of society – including most politicians – eventually wants to end the problem and change current policies. But strangely, nothing seems to change. Over the years, however, the weight of the massive public opposition, along with the defection of many elites, takes its toll. The political price that the power-holders have to pay to maintain their policies exceeds the benefits and the current policies become an untenable liability.

## Stage 7

90 to 85% of public see there is a problem  
70 to 85% of public have stopped supporting existing policies  
30 to 70% of public support alternative policies

### Goals

The movement's goals for this stage are -

- to wage a successful endgame strategy to achieve one of more major demands;
- to have activists recognize and celebrate their successes;
- to shift the energy of the movement to create the ongoing conditions for sustained and effective citizen-based democracy on other issues; and
- to convince both activists and the public about the need to change the fundamental paradigm that underlies the issue.

### Pitfalls

It is amazing that so many activists get depressed at this time. They either believe that the power-holders, not the movement, are actually responsible for the success, or they are upset because the power-holders have been given the credit, while the movement goes unacknowledged. The movement needs to avoid the following pitfalls:

- Failing to recognize the tell-tale signs of the “endgame” process that the power-holders are pursuing
- Fearing to claim they are near victory because then people will drop out or funders will stop giving grants
- Failing to claim any success because there is still so much suffering in the world that is related to this or other issues and power-holders policies
- Compromising too many key demands and basic principles in order to gain a victory
- Feeling letdown after achieving success on an important sub-issue, which reduces the movement's ability to maintain its momentum
- Achieving an important reform without building toward a paradigm shift and basic social change

### Crisis

The movement succeeds in winning on a major goal. However, the underlying paradigm has not shifted and other sub-issues remain.

### Conclusion

Rather than folding up after its Stage Seven success, the movement needs to maintain processes, systems, and structures (i.e., groups of institutions) on an on going basis at the regional, state, national, and international levels so that citizens can continue to participate in decision making on critical issues of society. Activists now need to address some hard questions: What is success. How can the success be protected from backlash and implemented in actual policies and practices? What else needs to be done? How can this success be built upon to establish true citizen-based democracy?

## Stage 8

85 to 70% of public see there is a problem  
80 to 60% of public have stopped supporting existing policies  
70 to 90% of public support alternative policies

### Goals

The movement's goals include:

- celebrating the successes and the movement's role in achieving them;
- making sure the movement's success is fully implemented and protected against counterattack; and

- maintaining the vitality of the movement by keeping the grassroots and national organizations and structures actively engaged in implementing the successful demands and engaged in sub-movements of the same issue or on other important issues; and
- promoting a paradigm shift, focusing on changing underlying beliefs and applying a similar analysis and strategic plan to other sub-movements on the same issue or to other important issues.

#### Pitfalls

The chief pitfalls of Stage Eight are:

- thinking that the movement is over without making sure that the victory is fully implemented or protected against backlash and counter attack; and
- allowing movement victories to be claimed by the power-holders as theirs and not the movement's.

#### Crisis

Many activists and organizations move on to work on other issues or drop out for a rest. However, this stage continues until all of the movement's demands are fully implemented and the danger of backlash is over.

# **“Our Deepest Fear”**

*by Marianne Williamson*

*Our deepest fear is not that we are inadequate. Our deepest fear is that we are powerful beyond measure. It is our light, not our darkness that most frightens us. We ask ourselves, Who am I to be brilliant, gorgeous, talented, fabulous? Actually, who are you not to be? You are a child of God. Your playing small does not serve the world. There is nothing enlightened about shrinking so that other people won't feel insecure around you. We are all meant to shine, as children do. We were born to make manifest the glory of God that is within us. It's not just in some of us; it's in everyone. And as we let our own light shine, we unconsciously give other people permission to do the same. As we are liberated from our own fear, our presence automatically liberates others.*

## Hopefulness

*“TO BE HOPEFUL in bad times is not just foolishly romantic. It is based on the fact that human history is a history not only of cruelty, but also of compassion, sacrifice, courage, kindness.*

*What we choose to emphasize in this complex history will determine our lives. If we see only the worst, it destroys our capacity to do something. If we remember those times and places—and there are so many—where people have behaved magnificently, this gives us the energy to act, and at least the possibility of sending this spinning top of a world in a different direction.*

*And if we do act, in however small a way, we don't have to wait for some grand utopian future. The future is an infinite succession of presents, and to live now as we think human beings should live, in defiance of all that is bad around us, is itself a marvelous victory.”*

*-- Howard Zinn*