

PEACEFUL RESISTANCE AND NOVIOLENT ACTIONS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

**Review of Nonviolent Conflict and Civil Resistance:
A Handbook**

**Can Societies Fight
Violence through
Nonviolent Actions?**

Compiled

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Introduction to the User

This manual is a training guide on **nonviolence advocacy and peaceful resistance** against social injustices affecting both urban and rural grassroots communities. The manual is specifically designed for community based organisations and grassroots institutions (community based organisations, cooperatives, community development structures and associations, social change activists and peace builders) that represent public interests and needs at different levels.

The training guide has come at an opportune time when Zimbabwe is experiencing violent social unrest emanating from lack of discipline on the part of dissenters and violent response by state agencies and actors, particularly the police and other law enforcement agencies. Fifth forces involved are criminal actors and political entrepreneurs who have found an opportunity to groove their unlawful scores. Consequently, this makes peaceful nonviolent actions and genuine dissention a sudden field of violence, barbarism and savagery advocacy.

Using nonviolence actions and peaceful resistance is meant to END the use of violence. In other words, nonviolence strategies are based on a desire to address the different forms of violence affecting communities – “be it physical violence or what’s been called ‘structural violence’ (deprivation, social exclusion, and oppression) — without committing further violence.”¹ Nonviolence campaign and peaceful resistance is designed to work in the face of violent oppression and intimidation. The approach does not rely on the good will of the opponent but a determined opposition! It takes three forms which are (i) protest and persuasion, (ii) non-cooperation and (iii) intervention.

¹ Clark, H. et al. (2009) Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns: War Resisters International [Online] Available at: http://wri-irg.org/wiki/index.php/Nonviolence_Handbook. (Accessed: 20 July 2016)

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Definition of Terms

Civil Resistance – the use of nonviolence strategies to challenge a particular power, force, authority or regime, usually by civilian based movements in defence of justice, their basic rights and freedoms

Violence – it is an action or practice that threatens to physically harm or actually harms another. It can be inflicted on people or properties.

Violence Flanks – a situation where violence emerges from a nonviolent campaign.

Nonviolent action – an action by unarmed person or persons using force without any threat of harm

Social Change –any significant changes or alterations over time in behaviour patterns and cultural values and norms

Backfire – public reaction of outrage to an event that is publicized and perceived as unjust²

Defection –it is a conscious desertion of loyalty to a person, group or belief in favour of another.

1.

² Hess, D. and Martin, B. (2006) Repression, backfire, and the theory of transformative events *Mobilization*, Vol. 11, No. 1, June 2006, pp. 249-267 : <https://www.uow.edu.au/~bmartin/pubs/06mobilization.html>

Introduction: Social Justice and Peaceful Resistance & Nonviolent Conflict

The society we live in is complex and sophisticated mainly because of diversity of interests; unequal power relations and scanty resources that are failing satisfy the entire world's inhabitants' needs and wants. Yes, the problems can be at family, community, national, regional and international levels. As a result, problems have become part of every society. However, it is interesting that when people realize problems emerging, they have a tendency of seeking to address it, albeit in different ways. What is peculiar in the contemporary governance systems is the establishment of Social Movements (SM). In generic terms, SM refers to a collective action by people to address an identified problem. Jessica Horn (2013:19) defines "Social movements are forms of collective action that emerge in response to situations of inequality, oppression and/or unmet social, political, economic or cultural demands."

It is important to note that these Social Movements emerge in different ways and they are triggered by different problems and issues. Although SMs differ across the world, it is generally agreed that they go through continuing stages of emergence, coalescence, bureaucratization, and decline, which makes them somehow common. Some SMs use violent methods while others use non-violent methods to achieve their objectives. This manual reviews, however, appraises nonviolent methods as a progressive approach to fighting injustices and demanding respect for human rights.

This review, therefore, is meant for social change campaigners and advocates who believe in nonviolence activism. I advance knowledge and understanding of the importance of nonviolence actions and peaceful engagement or resistance against systems of oppression, corruption and socio-economic and political injustices experienced by communities and their inhabitants. The motivation to advance the understanding and use of nonviolence campaign actions emerge from the view that 'violence begets violence.' Any use of violence, no matter the justification can only multiply violence and ultimately breeding violent extremism.

There is a general belief that the use of violence makes those opposing or violating their rights understand what the victims want. For instance, when people use violence against those leading corruption, local leader or authority, they anticipate that their demands will be attended to. However, it is this culture of violence that has made the world produce violent extremism and radicalism. It is violence that has led to the destruction of properties, loss of life, permanent injuries and underdevelopment. The poverty experienced in the world today is to a greater degree a manifestation of violence inflicted upon others, albeit in different forms.

Time, energy and resources are wasted in an attempt to correct the effects of violence and conflict at the expense of socio-economic development and the maintenance of sustainable livelihoods. Therefore, realising the effects of violence and their implications, I have found it fit to contribute towards the reduction or elimination of violence towards a more progressive peaceful resistance when social change is on demand. Nonviolent actions and peaceful resistance can help social change makers to become more powerful and engaging than those that become violent in pursuit of similar interests.

1.1. Importance of this Handbook

This handbook is simply record key aspects that support social justice groups to advance their effectiveness in demanding justice through waging a nonviolent struggle. The handbook demystifies nonviolent civil resistance and plainly accompanies easy to follow strategies and tactics to wage a successful nonviolent resistance at any level. After studying this handbook, one should be able to powerfully understand the concept of nonviolent conflict and peaceful resistance. Readers should be able to learn practical techniques of participating in, organizing and leading direct nonviolent actions. Steps provided in this handbook in organising successful social movements recommended for use in addressing social injustices antagonising communities. Most importantly, I seek to shape individuals' personal attitude and mental responses to violence through nonviolence.

Task

To make it easier for you to appreciate the learning journey you are about to take,

- list down the different Social Movements you know in your country or community;
- Identify the problems they are seeking or have sought to address (match each social movement with a problem it seeks and address;
- Identify actions they used to address the identified problems.

What is your judgement? Were the SMs successful or they failed? Why? How?

2. Global History of Nonviolent Social Movements

Nonviolent struggles are not new in human history's demand for social justice. They have in the past been used to fight slavery, colonialism and racial discrimination. There is ample evidence from historical examples that nonviolent action can be an effective method for social action as opposed to the use of violence. Labour unions, religious groups and races have fought nonviolent struggles for justice by simply defying unjust laws and demanding their rights from their oppressors without using any threats of harm. The toppling of the Philippines dictator Ferdinand Marcos in 1986 through "people power," the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe in 1989, the thwarting of a coup in the Soviet Union in 1991, the ending of apartheid in South Africa in the early 1990s, the resignation of President Suharto due to popular pressure in Indonesia in 1998, and the overthrow of Serbian ruler Milosevic in 2000 (Ackerman and DuVall 2000) are some of the successful examples that the world has experienced.

In India, Mahatma Ghandi fought the unjust salt law and ultimately the British colonial regime by simply defying the Salt Laws and creating alternative salt production channels without using violence. In the United States of America, the American Civil Rights Movement led by Martin Luther King Junior, James Lawson, Mary King and others fought racial discrimination by waging a nonviolent war. From the Tunisian 2011 revolution to the 2012 Egyptian fall of Hosni Mubarak's regime nonviolence actions mediated by social media pulled down dictatorial regimes. However, one wonders whether all these struggles were successful or indeed they were failures.

There are also examples of nonviolent campaigns that have been less successful, such as the repression of the Chinese prodemocracy movement in 1989 and failure of the movement, led by Aung San Suu Kyi, to overthrow the Burmese military regime (Schock 2005). Yet the track record for nonviolence seems quite a bit better than for violence: it is hard to think of a single recent success by an armed liberation struggle against a powerful state. In South Africa, the antiapartheid movement made much more progress after armed struggle was subordinated to nonviolent action (Zunes 1999). In East Timor, nonviolent protests in urban areas were far more successful in building international support than guerrilla warfare in the interior (Fukuda 2000). In Palestine, the first Intifada, from 1987-1993, which was largely unarmed, was much more successful in winning popular support in Palestine and internationally than the earlier terrorist campaigns by the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and then the more violent tactics used in the second Intifada from 2000.³

Demonstrating the success or failure of nonviolent struggles fought by SM can be substantively relative depending on one's standpoint, but generally the traction made by a SM to influence the behaviour of the opponent [Oppressor rather] significantly makes a positive difference. The purpose of waging a nonviolent action is to provoke

³ Martin, B. (2005) How Nonviolence Works. University of Wollongong. Borderlands E-Journal. Vol, 5 (3), 2005. [Online] Available at: www.borderlands.net.au/vol4no3_2005/martin_nonviol.htm. (Accessed: 03 October 2016)

response. Therefore, in my view, the first milestone is the ability to provoke response.

Task: In your community or country identify one SM that you consider successful and list (i) nonviolent campaigns it has led, (ii) its successes and (challenges you think hampered its actual intended results.

The SMs' successes are however, debatable. Different stakeholders have taken different views on judging the social movements. By way of example, while there may not be a clear-cut judgement on successes, one cannot doubt that the purpose upon which the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) was achieved. The institution was established to facilitate the writing of a new constitution which was done in 2013. The Zimbabwe National War Veterans Association was established to demand welfare benefits for War Veterans and in 1995, the group led a nonviolent demonstration that forced the government to reward them with \$50 000 (Zimbabwean Dollars). That is a success!

3. Understanding Nonviolence Conflict and Peaceful Resistance

Now that you have a general understanding of the history of nonviolent SMs. There is need to actually interrogate the theory and practice of nonviolent campaigns, to some degree, by some of the SMs described earlier. At the end of this section, one should be able to explain what are nonviolent campaigns and their difference with violent campaigns. One should also be able to justify the value of choosing nonviolence over violence.

Are you ready?

3.1. What is Nonviolent Conflict

Nonviolence or nonviolent conflict involves the use of peaceful tactics such as sit-ins, boycotts, strikes, mass demonstrations and many other ways to push for social change without being violent or committing further violence. Chenoweth and Stephan (2008) define nonviolent conflict as “a civilian-based method used to wage conflict through social, psychological, economic, and political means without the threat or use of violence. It includes acts of omission, acts of commission, or a combination of both.” Nonviolence as a strategy for social change is used for different reasons. Some use it because; (i) they do not want to commit further violence (ii) they want to practise it as a way of life (iii) to show the power of being peaceful and many other reasons.

The best way of understanding the importance of nonviolence and peaceful resistance is a better approach in the fight for justice is by asking the reasons why violent campaigns are as bad as violent wars.

- a) Violent conflict:** Violence is a deliberate use of physical force or power to cause harm such as injury, death, psychological harm, poor development, or deprivation. In a community with corruption, systems of oppression, poverty and lawlessness, some dissenting groups are tempted to use violence by burning properties, beating their opponents, looting resources (private or public). In warring communities violence involves assassinations, arson, roadside attacks, bombings and abductions. People and their communities fear pursuing their daily activities because of such violence, hence, suffering loss of livelihoods

When violence is used by an individual, community or a group of people intending to provoke response or influence their authorities and public decisions that becomes an act of violence –a violent campaign or action. Those who use violence assume that the threat of violence or its use will force the opponent to accommodation thereby producing a desired result. Where violence is used, government or law enforcement agents usually respond with matched violence to restrain any action that undermines their authority and the commission of criminality. And they are easily justified. Isn't it?

- b) Nonviolent conflict and peaceful resistance:** Nonviolent actions are activities meant to confront injustices in a peaceful manner. Peaceful actions are utilized to influence social change and decision processes as opposed to deliberate use of physical force. Sharp (2003) observe that nonviolent resistance achieves demands against the will of the

opponent by seizing control of the conflict through widespread non-cooperation and defiance.

In other words nonviolence involves avoiding destruction of properties, avoiding physical fighting (and provocation). Nonviolent strategies and actions involve peaceful protests, petitions, picketing among many others. There are about 198 methods identified by Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall.⁴ However, while nonviolence is a better approach to influence public authorities and decisions, it requires discipline, critical skills in communication, social movement organising and management.

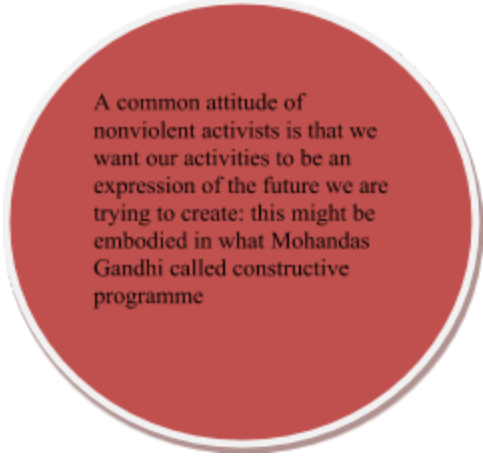
3.2. Why Nonviolence and Peaceful Resistance Work

Why does nonviolence work in your view? Why is violence wrong?

Nonviolence tactics and strategies are used by organisations, community groups and structures or at times individuals with an objective to influence the behaviour of duty bearers or authorities. For many years nonviolence strategies have been used in Africa, Europe, Asian and America to fight injustices and systems of oppression with great successes.

Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan (2008) in their work *Why Non Violence Works* observe that between the years 1900 – 2006, nonviolent campaigns “have achieved 53% success compared to 26 % for violent resistance campaigns.”⁵ It is such successes that we need to build on and promote its usage. We use nonviolence to;

- To defeat violence and prevent further use of violence
- To push for social change and justice without being violent
- To prevent destruction of property and loss of lives
- To shame the opponents and brand them as corrupt, violent, lawless, brutal, racists or torturers, abusers etc.
- To prevent any hostile behaviour towards the opponents
- To increase local and international legitimacy.
- To encourage broad-based participation in the resistance
- Violence lowers cost of opponent’s repression



A common attitude of nonviolent activists is that we want our activities to be an expression of the future we are trying to create: this might be embodied in what Mohandas Gandhi called constructive programme

3.3. Ways of Waging Nonviolent Struggles

First, one should appreciate that there are two broad ways of waging a nonviolent struggle, either by Promoting or Opposing the opponent or both.

⁴ Ackerman, Peter, and Jack DuVall. *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Non-Violent Conflict*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.

⁵ Chenoweth, E. and Stephan, M. (2008) *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. *International Security*. Vol. 33 (1)

- **Oppose** – the act of opposing focuses on what the organisers or dissenters are disagreeing with. For example, community members can oppose growing corruption by public officers in their area or women can oppose the use of traditional practices that maintain violence / oppression against them.
- **Promote** – this is when organisers provide alternative solutions to the existing problem or issues. When a problem emerges, simply opposing authorities or decision makers without giving alternative solution may be considered unhelpful. Therefore, the organisers or dissenters can proffer an alternative solution. For example, instead of opposing a new school fees charge, the dissenters could propose fundraising alternatives as a way of subsidising proposed fees.

In view of the above discussion, nonviolent campaigns can be either opposing or promoting a particular issue. The choice of the type of action depends on the nature of issues the organisers are seeking to address.

3.4. Forms of Nonviolence and Peaceful Resistance Tactics

There are about 198 tactics for waging nonviolent resistance that can be used by social movements to confront social injustices within their communities.⁶ However, these tactics can be categorised into 3 forms which are (i) Protest and Persuasion (ii) Non-cooperation and (iii) Intervention (Ackerman and DuVall, 2000). The following are examples of each category of nonviolent methods that can be used to wage peaceful struggles.

- a) **Protest and Persuasion:** this approach involves physical occupation of space and it is conflictual in nature. Organisers act in a way that directly confronts the target opponent.
 - Marches and protest meetings
 - Signed public statements
 - Declarations of indictment and intention
 - Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
 - Banners, posters, and displayed communications
 - Records, radio, and television
 - Wearing of symbols
 - Prayer and worship
 - Delivering symbolic objects
- b) **Non-cooperation:** non-cooperation literally means withdrawing social, economic or political support and avoiding acting in a way that aids the opponent. This approach usually takes away legitimacy and cooperation, patronage, assistance or backing that the opponent feeds on. By way of example, non-cooperation is similar to denying a tree some water or simply denying a parasite some food.

⁶ Ackerman, Peter, and Jack DuVall. *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Non-Violent Conflict*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2000

- Boycott of social affairs
 - Collective disappearance
 - Non-consumption of boycotted goods
 - Elections boycott
 - Refusal to accept appointed officials
 - Civil disobedience of illegitimate laws
 - Economic shutdown
- c) **Intervention:** the practice of intervention is a disruptive approach. It disturbs the usual actions of the opponents, hence, upsetting the targeted decision makers and pressuring them to reconsider their actions.
- Defiance of blockades
 - Seeking imprisonment
 - Overloading of administrative systems
 - Finding alternative institutions
 - Nonviolent interjection
 - Sit-in

3.5. Strategic Capacity of Nonviolence Actions

There are four major advantages of using nonviolent actions and peaceful resistance. There include;

- **Solidarity and Trust Building:** Nonviolence and Peaceful Resistance promotes solidarity and trust among participants. Many people can only realise their power when they come together with others who also believe in the same action. In other words, members of the public easily support peaceful actions than violent actions.
- **Defeat opponent's pillar of support and promote backfire:** Nonviolent actions attempts to prevent the opponent's use of violence or making sure that the violent response by the opponent will 'backfire.' Backfire simply means a reaction against actions that are perceived as unjust.⁷ The approach could also undermine pillars of support of an opponent. While the government can easily justify the use of violence to counter attack violent protestors, armed insurgents any violence against peaceful actors is likely to backfire.
- **Mobilisation:** the use of non-violence can increase support from by-standers or nonparticipants. The more people see peaceful actions advancing their interests, the more likely they desire to join the protest or demonstration. Chenoweth and Stephan observes "nonviolence changes the quality of communication with bystanders or 'outsiders' — people not yet concerned about the issue or not yet active about it, people who can be potential allies" (*Spectrum of Allies*⁸).

⁷ Ram, S. and Summy, R., (2007). Nonviolence: An Alternative for Defeating Global Terror (ism). Nova Publishers.

⁸ Russel, J.K. (2010) Shift the Spectrum of Allies. Principle. [Online] Available at:

- In your opinion, why do people use violence in your opinion? Identify one SM that has used violence and list reasons for using violence.**

4. The Trifecta: Unity, Strategy and Nonviolent Discipline

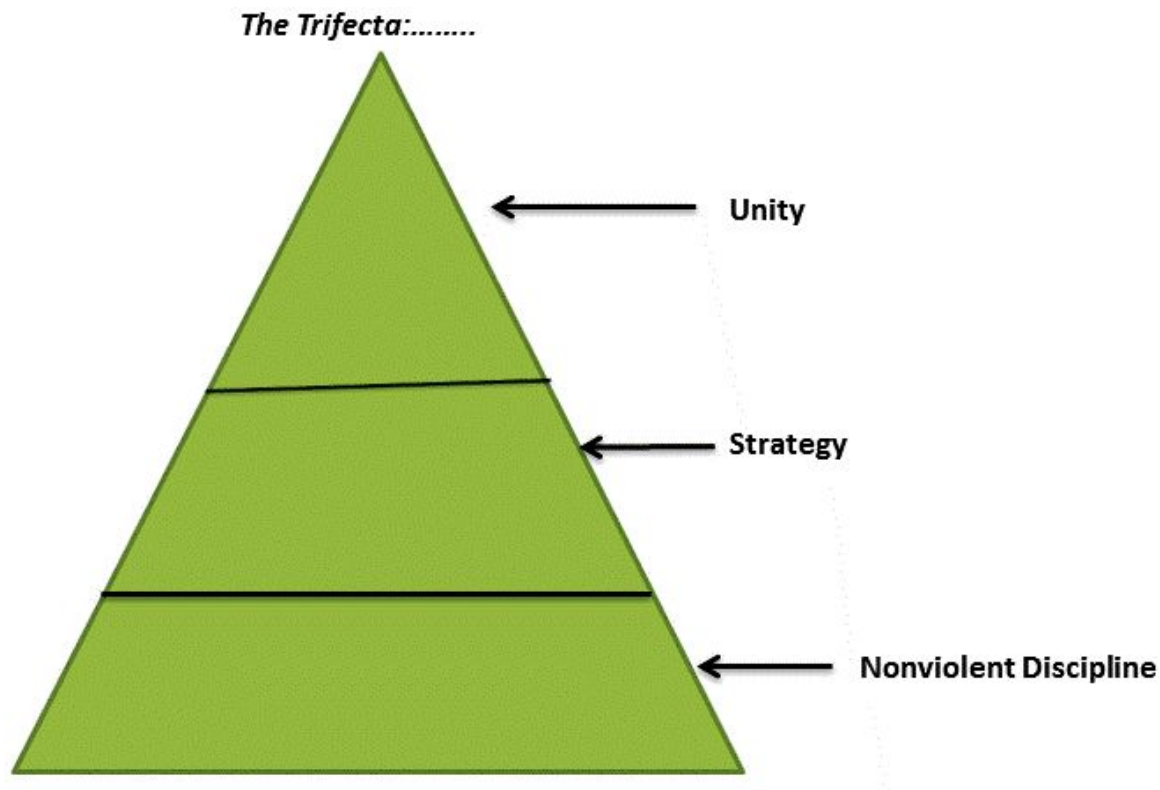
While nonviolent conflict and peaceful resistance can be advantageous to SMS fighting injustices, there is need to work against ineffectiveness, inefficiency and the indeed the dilemma of failure. A celebrated nonviolent struggles campaigner and leader of the International Centre on nonviolent Conflict Hardy Merriam (2010) outlines three factors; unity, strategy and discipline as prime requisites to any successful nonviolent campaign regardless of social, economic, political and technological conditions.

6.1 Conditions for Successful Social Movements

a) The Trifecta: Unity, Strategy and Nonviolent Discipline

There is a general debate on what factors actually contribute to the success or failure of a nonviolent social movement. Ordinarily, Socio-economic and political structural contexts such as level of education of movement leaders, ideological values, financial and material resources, the nature of opponent being fought and many others in which each movement operates may be considered essentials towards any nonviolent social movement success. However, in an attempt to answer this question, Hardy Merriam (2010) argues that while several factors affect nonviolent struggles, there are three major universal factors which are; Unity, Planning and Nonviolent Discipline.

Marriam challenges the view that “power originates from the capacity to instigate violence and control of resources” arguing that if that is the case then all social movements would fail. Instead, the success of each movement depends on how the movement leaders are able to keep the entire social force united. Also, the extent to which movements are able to strategically plan their actions in view of the obtaining social, economic and political contexts determines the extend off their success. Finally, Merriam posits that each movement’s capacity to maintain it nonviolent approach will determine the nature of repression it may experience and advantages to escalating backfire and defections and attracting local and international attention for sympathy and support.



- Unity** – social movements rallies its power from the number of people who support it and actively take part in its activities. This means unity is a profound attribute where upon the movement will be able to influence the opponents actions based on the critical mass behind the demand for social change. In other words the participation of more people makes the movement more authentic, more legitimate, more powerful and influential. This means each social movement should have the capacity to mobilise say students, farmers, teachers, health workers, miners and the general people and manage to keep them united until the achievement of the desired end. Failure to unite participants in a movement could result in movement failure as it will have few takers and supporters. In addition, the movement should be able to continually recruit, mobilise and influence more people so that its 'people power' effect grows bigger and bigger. Merriam sums the argument of unity by stating that;

“Successful movements also continually reach out to their opponent’s supporters, understanding that one of the strengths of sustained civil resistance in the service of a unifying vision is the ability to induce loyalty shifts and defections among its opponent’s ranks.” (Marriam 2010)

- Strategy** –like any other living organisation or institution, a social movement will have to make strategic decisions in different ways. This means strategy planning, organising, coordination and implementation are critical factors in determining the success of a movement. Success does not emerge with spontaneity but a thoughtful process in determining what to campaign for, how to wage the campaign (i.e. tactics to use), when to start the campaign, who to involve and which stakeholders to collaborate, expose or leave out.

Influencing defections, managing repression and escalating backfire all require critical thinking and decision making. In this view, for a movement to succeed, it will have to make strategies that inform their tactics of waging a nonviolent conflict.

- **Nonviolent Discipline** –maintaining a nonviolent discipline should be a virtue. Some members of the movement may become emotional or lose temper and become violent such that the movement will be considered a violent group of campaigners. Such a tag kills the spirit, commitment and emphasis on nonviolence as a strategy to defeat perpetrators of diverse social injustices. Any use of violence by the social movement can give the opponent justification to use force against campaigners. Therefore maintaining nonviolence can give greater credibility to the movement, it will be able to appeal positively to the local and international citizens, supporters and possible funders. The movement will be able to attract sympathy and support.

In view social movements you listed earlier. Identify two SMs and list factors that influenced their success or failure using the Trifecta.

SM 1.....SM

2

5. Social Movements and Nonviolent Campaigns

Let us discuss Social Movements. In order to organise effective nonviolent resistance activities and mobilising for success, there is need to understand what a SM really is. Planning for a successful nonviolent conflict requires an organised, unified and well positioned SM. Therefore, in this section, I discuss why movements emerge or rather why SMs are a necessity, structure and characteristics. At the end of this section, the reader should be able to explain what a social movement is and how and why it emerges, albeit in different forms and structures. This section also helps new social activists to understand the difference between a social movement and an organisation.

5.1. What are Social Movements?

Literally, a Social Movement' is any group of people standing up against injustices or seeking to promote particular rights, issues or interests. Merriam (2016) defines a movement as "on-going collective efforts aimed at bringing about consequential change in a social, economic, or political order. Movements are civilian-based, involve widespread popular participation, and alert, educate, serve, and mobilize people in order to create change." This means movements do not have a contested identity (like rioters); they are continuous in nature and involve mobilising people in order to effect social change through popular actions by the masses. War Resisters International (2009) defines SM as any type of group action. They go further saying "They are large, informal groupings of individuals and/or organisations focused on specific political or social issues, in other words, on carrying out, resisting, or undoing a social change."⁹

SMs are highly dynamic and they are shaped by circumstances. They expand and shrink in response to diverse factors –enabling or constraining. To better understand SMs, Castells (2010:73) says they should be interpreted in terms of "**what they say they are.**" SM are usually long term –until their objective is achieved –and if not, SMs can exit across generations. But, systematic repression SM leaders including targeted elimination, killing or harassment could exterminate a SM.

According to Porta and Diani (2006) are that social movements are different from general social processes in that they have mechanisms through which actors engage in collective action. Thus SMs are;

- Involved in conflictual¹⁰ relations with clearly identified opponents.
- Are linked by dense informal networks
- Share a distinct collective identity.¹¹
- Involve voluntary participation
- Involvement diverse populations

⁹ War Resisters International (2009) Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns. The War Resisters International

¹⁰ Being conflictual means having an oppositional relationship between actors (in this case the Social Movement and its opponent).

¹¹ Porta and Diani (2006) Social Movements: An Introduction. 2nd Edition. Blackwell Publishing. USA

- Not an organisation
- Not a spontaneous outburst (not a riot)
- Has a visible or clear constituency or membership base
- Retains some continuity over time
- Engages clear internal and external targets in the change process¹²

5.2. Social Movement Building

a) How and Why Do Social Movements Emerge?

Social Movements emerge out of different reasons. The major reason why SMs emerge is a result of inequality and injustices. Social Movements do not emerge by accidents, but they emerge as a result of conditions that which people seek to change. Ideally, as more and more people observe a negative situation affecting their lives, they build issues-based social ties whereupon a unified purpose and language of action is gradually developed. What makes a Movement to be noticeable in any territory are usually trigger events whereupon a series of actions are commenced. However, it must be noted that not all situations that are negative –injustice or inequality leads to the establishment of a SM (Mahmud 2010). This means SM can be deliberately and consciously established while giving ample time for the conditions of waging a conflict to ripen.¹³ Having said the above, what are the goals of SMs within societies?

b) Objectives of Social Movements

Social movements are there to;

- **Help citizens to gain their full citizenship** –by demanding respect people’s rights and ensuring active participation in decision making as well as the enjoyment of citizen’s freedoms. Examples of such movements include the Women’s Rights Movements, Gay Rights Movements and Civil Rights Movements.
- **To redistribute resources and power more equitably and fairly** –by demanding equal treatment and beneficiation from local, national or international resources. Such movements include Labour movements; Natural Resources based movements, Anti-Poverty movements.
- **To redefine social norms and values** –through advocating for new social practices and norms. The Anti-Female Genital Mutilation movements, (in fact Women’s Rights Movements also fit here); Environmental Protection and Animal Rights Movements are such examples.

So Given the Above, Why are Social Movements Important?

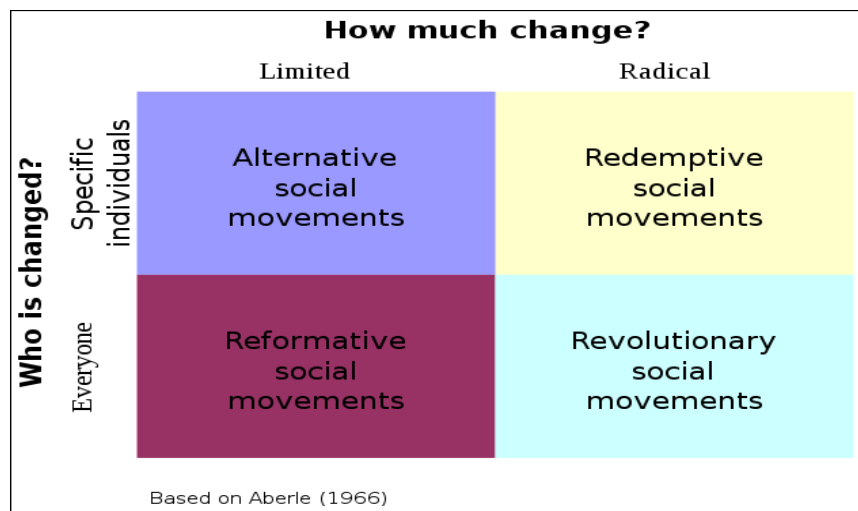
¹² See Batliwala 2012:3.

¹³ Horn Jessica.

c) Types of SM, Memberships and Structures

The goals of SMs or what they want to change also determines the type of movement. Generally, there are 4 types of SMs which are Redemptive, Alternative, Reformatory and Revolutionary Social Movements.

Reformatory SMs seek to advocate for gradual or minor changes while revolutionary SMs seeks to promote radical changes or a total change and control of the situation. Redemptive SMs are radical but they are focused on changing individual attitudes and behaviours. Religious groups for instance, they are redemptive movements. Alternative SMs are also focused on “self-improvement and limited, specific changes to individual beliefs and behaviour.” Below is a summarised diagrammatical presentation of the different types of SMs.



A SM's structure is determined by the type and goal of the SM. Generally, some movements are a collective of individuals within a specific society, a coalition of different organisations pursuing common interests while others are simply championed by one institution. Other SMs are established outside of any institution, but creates relationship with institutions such as NGOs which complement the movement's interests. Below is a generic prototype of a SM structure.



Organisers are the people leading the SM while volunteers and activists assist the organisers in planning and implementing daily activities. Supporters are the people who take part in actions scheduled by the SM organisers while potential supporters are people who are yet to become part of the movement. They are still bystanders who could be interested in the SM actions if mobilised well.

5.3. Social Movements Success and Sustainability

Why should people join a SM and what makes the movement strong?

Do social movements succeed because of conditions or skills strategic choices?

People join social movements depending on various factors. They could join because of your (i) compelling reasons or cause; (ii) historical contexts attached to your movement, (iii) emotional feelings attached to the movement (vi) perceptions of benefits (v) movement's symbolism *etcetera*. If you are an activist and social movement leader, it is vital to keep this question in mind always: Why should people join your movement?

Social Movements do not operate in a vacuum but in a contested space where there are competing interests from both opponents and the SM itself. This means, a SM is influenced by structural conditions. These conditions include (a) the environmental socio-economic and political situation (b) the conditions related to the opponent and conditions related to the population within which the SM and its target opponent exist and solicit support. Below table shows some of the structural conditions.

Structural Conditions that Influences Social Movements

Conditions related to the social/political/economic environment	Conditions related to a movement's opponent	Conditions related to the population
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The amount of open political space in a society – The presence of independent media – The political history of a country – A country's geopolitical neighbourhood – A country's degree of internet freedom – The structure of a country's economy (i.e. capitalist, socialist, resource-based [i.e. a rentier state and/or hydrocarbon exporter]) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – An oppressor's willingness to use violent – repression to maintain its rule – An oppressor's control of material resources and the information environment – International support for the movement or its adversary – The nature of the political elites in a certain country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The educational level of the population – The income distribution in the society (i.e. the presence of a middle class and the prevalence of poverty) – Internet access – A population's culture and history – A population's heterogeneity – A population's fractiousness (i.e. due to political or ethnic divisions)

It must be noted that, as mentioned earlier in the Trifecta, SMs do not necessarily succeed because of structural conditions but because of **Strategy, Unity and Discipline**.

6. The Strategy Diagram: Planning for Nonviolence Actions

Successful nonviolent movements are usually a result of creative thinking, strategic planning, vision creation, common understanding, effective communication and mobilisation. Each social movement and its leaders in particular, should possess specific skills that make the movement sustainable and effective. Below I tackle five issues that are important for any nonviolent social movement to succeed in its endeavours; (a) Creating a Vision (b) Power Analysis (c) Spectrum of Allies (d) Pyramid of Strategies and (e) Pillars of Support.

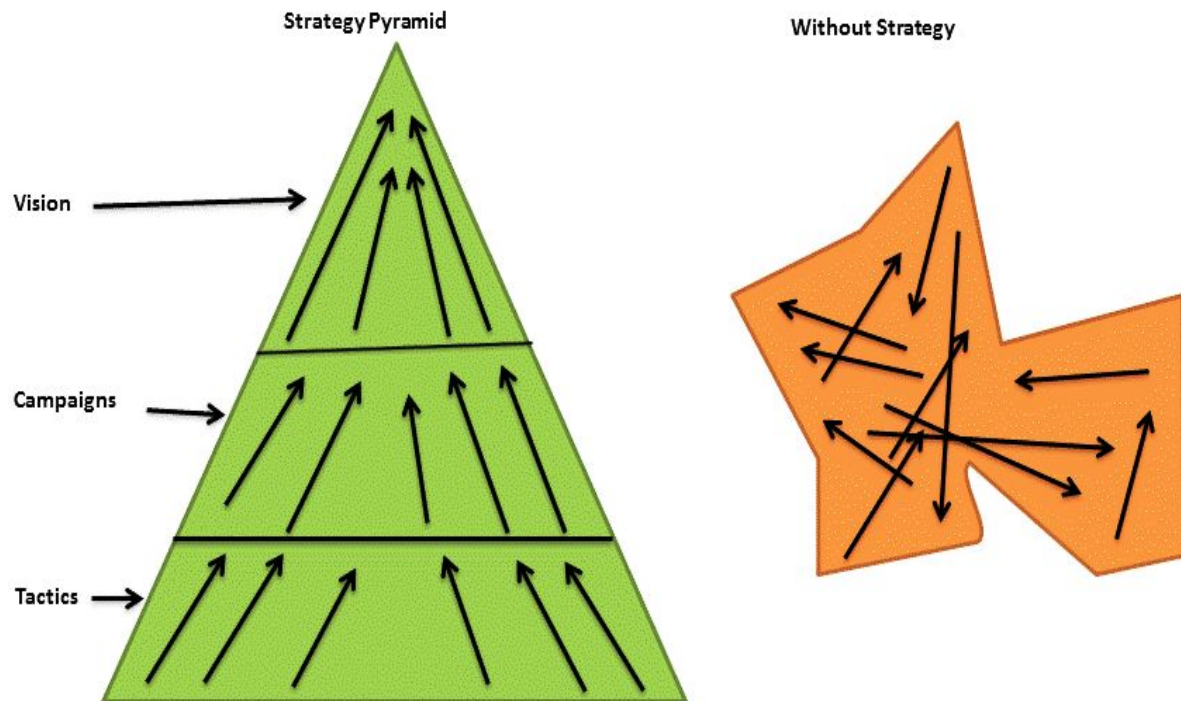
6.2 Strategies and Tactics in Nonviolent Campaigns and Civil Resistance

Does strategy matter in nonviolent civil resistance actions? Is visioning the ends of a struggle necessary? What is the difference between strategy and tactics? These are some of critical questions that those who fight social injustice have. Sun Tsu in his book “The Art of War” says “strategy without tactics is the slowest route to victory; Tactics without strategy is the noise before defeat.” Therefore, a careful selection of strategies and tactics used to wage a nonviolent campaign determines the movement’s possible success. Strategy is “the plan of action for a conflict including when to fight and how to utilize various specific actions to advance the goals of the grand strategy. To develop a strong strategy, one needs to;

- Assess the problem being addressed
- Formulating demands (identifying your goal)
- Understanding the target (the one holding power to meet your demands)
- Identifying specific forms of power that you have over the target and how to effectively over power the opponent

On the other hand, “tactics refers to plans for more limited conflicts within the selected strategic plan” (Sharp: 65). There are three levels of strategies. All the levels should support each other and any disconnect could cost the struggle. Therefore it is important to choose strategies and tactics and implement the carefully and with dexterity.

Strategy Diagram



a) Visioning: Creating a Vision

In order to be able to build a successful movement there is need to create a vision which all the participants and possible participants resonate with. A 'Vision' is the grand strategy of a movement, the long term wish that a movement seeks to achieve. Therefore, creating a vision means being able to develop a unifying proposition where diverse people identify with. This means for people to participate in a social movement, they have to become part of the collective vision, have collective interests and feel that they have common grievances which if addressed, they individually feel happy about. Jack DuVall suggests a number of ways when creating a vision; these include;

- **Identifying a unifying proposition:** a unifying proposition is an issue that identifies with many people whom the movement would like to attract. For example, Mahatma Ghandi of India identified 'self-rule' as a major issue that all Indians yearned for. He then called for commitment from millions of Indians to passionately support the cause by asking ***"The British are ruling this country for their own benefit, so why should we help them?"***
- **Common grievance:** identifying a common grievance and its magnitude that many people in a community have can also assist a social movement to create a vision. A CBO, for example, can gather information about the common grievances that people have and rally their support behind a demand for the grievances solutions.
- **Unifying language:** it is also vital to understand a language of unity. When one speaks in a language that unifies people, there is bound to be unity based on the language –for instance – a language that defends workers is likely to

be supported by workers. This means a unifying language creates a future imagination which people can support. However, it is important to note that 'unifying language' should not be reduced to propaganda or some instrumentalisation of language because it may amount to lying, manipulation and deception.

"If you lie your way to power, popular consent to your power is unlikely to survive the discovery of your deceit, and to believe otherwise is to make cynicism a justification for expediency. No campaign can represent people it misleads, because then their participation is based on false beliefs instead of shared ideas." (Jack DuVall 2010)¹⁴

- **Collective vision building:** people can also gather to develop a collective vision. This is whereby a particular group of people come together to imagine a future they want and which can be achieved by being together.

b) Campaigns

After developing a vision, there is need to develop a broad strategy or campaign that will be implemented to achieve the intended vision. Campaigns refer to a series of organised and observable tactics that are repetitively directed to a specific target to achieve identifiable goals. However, it is important that campaigns can be violent or nonviolent depending on the tactics a social movement chooses.

A campaign is not an event, but a connection of specific tactics chosen on the basis of their capacity to put pressure to the target to achieve specific ends. Therefore, given that campaigns involve a series of tactics and actions, they have identifiable leadership and they usually have names that separate them from individuals. For example, an "Anti-corruption Campaign" emerging in Zimbabwe called "#Bring Back 15 Billion" involves a series of specific individual actions that contributes to the broader vision of combating corruption. Such individual actions are called tactics.

c) Tactics

Tactics are individual actions launched in a campaign to meet explicit objectives. Tactics are implemented to mobilise a specific type of power in a campaign. For example, marches and sit-ins are two different tactics that can be used in a campaign against environmental pollution. The learning point here is that the tactics can be different, they mobilise different types of power but both are targeted at stopping environmental pollution. When implementing different tactics in a campaign, they should be sequenced in a way that is logical and advantageous to the movement. This is called tactical sequencing.

6.3 Understanding Power (Power Analysis)

All social movements and community organisations must understand the different kinds of power within their communities. The objective is to understand (a) the different forms of power that the nonviolent movement or institution is seeking to overpower and also (b) the kind of power that the movement seeks to build or nature. Before discussing the different forms of power, it is important to ask the question ***'Where does power come from and why do people obey power?'***

¹⁴ DuVall, J. (2010) Civil Resistance and the Language of Power. Open Democracy –Free Thinking for the World [Online] Available at: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/print/56917> (Accessed: 02 October 2016).

Power can come from authority bestowed in someone, knowledge, sanctions, skills, human resources and intangible sources (belief, fear, religion, charisma, and behaviour), material resources among other sources. Besides, people also obey power for different reasons. Some of the reasons include; habit, fear of sanctions, moral obligation, self-interest, psychological identification with the ruler, zones of indifference and absence of self-confidence.

Traditionally, people are used to power imposed on the people by government, local authorities or institutions. This is called '**power-over**'. However, there are also other forms of power such as power-with, power-within and power-to. Besides, power can be visible, invisible or hidden.

Forms of Power

Form of Power	Comment
Power over	This is the kind of power that we often know. A form of power used by authorities. It is power imposed on the people. Power over is the traditional view of power, especially in highly repressive societies where the few makes decisions and the majority simply obeys.
Power-within	Power-within is related to an individual's sense of self-worth and self-knowledge; it is the capacity to imagine and have hope. Power-within means, on one hand, to understand our own situation of dependency and oppression, and to want to freedom from this; on the other hand it means to realise that every person has the possibility to influence the course of their own life and to change it. Developing power-within is crucial in any empowerment process.
Power-with	Power-with is power found in common ground among different people, and building collective strength. Awareness develops that you are not the only one affected by a situation, but that others have had similar experiences, too. This can lead to the realisation that people do not personally bear the guilt for their fate, but that often a structural or political pattern is at fault. This realisation and cooperation in the group can strengthen one's self-esteem. Not everybody has to find ways to deal with the situation — it is possible to struggle jointly for change. The group provides the opportunity to combine skills and knowledge, to support each other. Power-with is related to the power of numbers, to the collective power we build when joining together with others, forming organisations, networks, and coalitions.
Power-to	Power-(in relation) -to refers to our goals and to the dominant power relationships. It is the power to achieve certain ends and opens up the possibilities of joint action for change. The question is: What leverage do we have, working in groups and coalitions, against the entrenched corporate and political power? Any nonviolent movement needs to set into motion empowerment processes that develop these types of power, in order to challenge what is usually understood when we talk about power: power-over.

Adapted from: Speck, Andreas. (2009) Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns: War Resisters International. England. Also available at: <http://andreasspeck.info/content/nonviolence-and-power>

Understanding the different forms of power helps SMs to populate pillars of support

of their opponents. It helps SMs to understand the different sources of power sustaining the problem they want to address.

6.4 Pillars of Support

The pillars of support are the institutions, organisations and individuals whose cooperation, consent and compliance sustain the opponent or support the movement. Pillars of support are also known as pillars of power.

Pillars of Support Simplified!

[Eric Stoner](#) says "Many believe that power grows out of the barrel of a gun, as Mao Zedong famously said. However, research and experience show that power stems not just from a powerful opponent's ability to use force, but also from the consent and cooperation of the institutions and organizations that sustain the oppressor: the media, the army, the police, the courts, the universities, organized labour, international backers, and others.

Use a pillars of power analysis to identify the institutions without whose support your target would collapse, and to strategize ways to nonviolently weaken or remove those institutional "pillars," so that the foundations that sustain the target begins to crumble and the system falls.



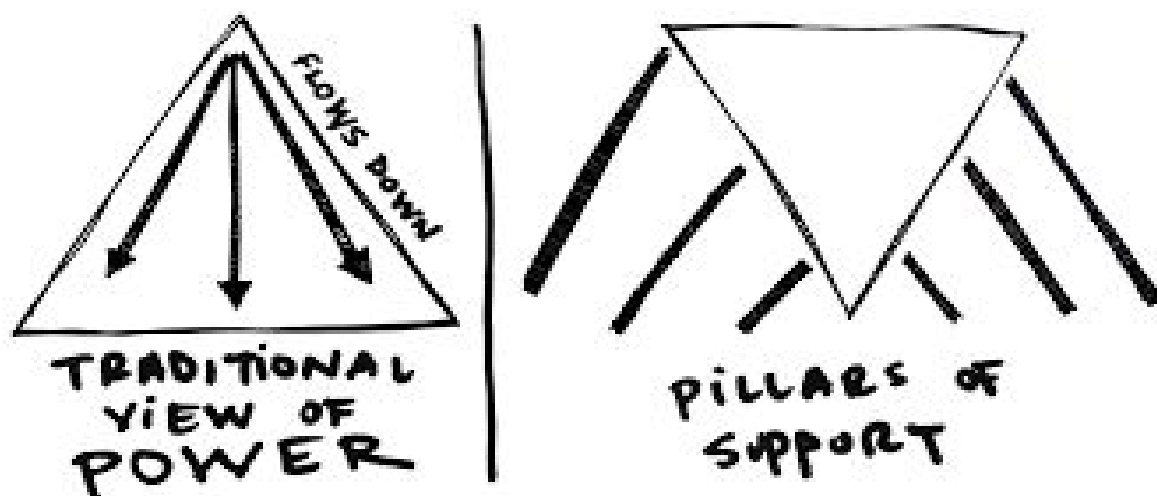
The general understanding of power is that only those who control the institutions and control resources are powerful. When things get difficult those in power use violence and coercion by influencing resources and institutions they control. Some institutions like the police, army, courts, are coercive, hence compelling compliance or obedience leading to survival of the opponent. Thriving on fear maybe? Non-coercive institutions such as religion, educational institutions,

culture and the media powerfully influence social attitudes and behaviours of individuals.¹⁵

However, from a nonviolence point of view, power resides among the masses whose cooperation, compliance and consent is sought by the opponent. This means withdrawal of consent and non-cooperation by the masses makes the power of the opponent contingent rather than guaranteed. In other words, those considered powerful are vulnerable once consent and cooperation is withdrawn at any point.

For community organisations and movements, the learning point is that 'identify the pillars that support your target opponent and identify strategies that can be used to win their souls so that they can withdraw their support to your favour.' Find ways to neutralise those pillars so that the foundations that support the opponent is weakened. As a result of the withdrawal and non-cooperation, it will be evident that power resides in the thousands of people and institutions that sustain the opponent. Collective power removes fear and connected power is healthier as opposed to individual power. Below is a diagrammatic presentation of the "Traditional view of Power and the pillars of support.

Diagrammatic Presentation of Traditional Power



While dealing with the traditional sources of power is problematic, the inverted triangle symbolises its weakness. Whole pillars do not need to be knocked down to weaken power; weakening the pillars can have a great effect to the opponent. In fact knocking

Task

- Identify a problem you want to address
- Draw an upside triangle and write the problem inside the triangle. On the sides of the triangle list the pillars of power or factors you have identified.
- Lastly, discuss in groups how you can weaken or knock down the identified pillars of power or factors.

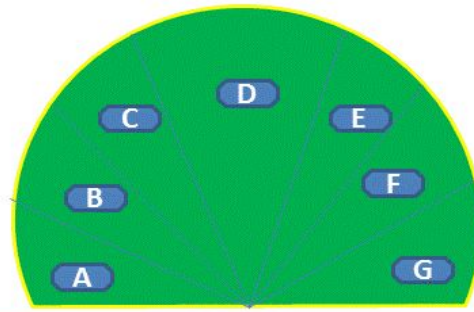
¹⁵ Boyd, A
E

6.5 Spectrum of Allies

Tactics adopted by any movement become more relevant and effective if they are chosen in relation to how much they can attract mass supporters or followers. Therefore, the Spectrum of Allies is a strategic exercise that is undertaken to identify possible allies both for the organisers or social movement and for the opponents. The importance of the exercise is helping the movement to identify allies that can be moved closer to the movement and steered into action. Once a spectrum of allies is clear, mobilisation can now be done with optimism and action will be tipped to win.

On one side, there are active and passive allies on the Social Movement and on the other side there are also active and passive allies of the opponent. At the middle are neutral groups and individuals who neither back nor dispute the contenting parties. Therefore, the spectrum of allies must be done thoroughly in order to maximise support from possible allies and identify strategies to weaken the opponent's allies too. It is important to limit antagonism from potential allies. Below is a diagram showing the spectrum of allies.

In sum: Movements seldom win by overpowering the opposition; they win by shifting the support out from under them. Determine the social blocs at play on a given issue, and work to shift them closer to your position. [\(Smucker 2012\)](#)



Leading Activists	A	Actively Support, encourage and nature
Active allies	B	Identify and contact, empower
Passive allies	C	Provide opportunities to support the movement, encourage participation and inform
Oblivious neutrals	D	Win over, build relationship and don't provoke them into action
Passive Opponents	E	Give them an opportunity o change their position, recognise their actual needs and fears
Active opponents	F	Arouse doubts, build relationships, soft on person and hard on problem/issues
Leading Opponents	G	Reveal Motives

Task

The objective of this lesson is to teach you how to identify your potential allies and opponents' allies so that you are able to mobilise with efficiency and effectiveness. Therefore;

- Identify an issue that you want to address in your community. Then list down your objectives (one or two only).
- Draw the Spectrum of Allies diagram and list your potential allies and your opponent's allies. Please observe active, passive and neutral allies and opponents, on both ends.
- Chose nonviolence tactics that helps you to draw more allies closer to your movement and to actively participate in your actions.

7. Effective Communication in a Nonviolent Struggle

7.1 Communicating for Success

Communication is a critical component at every stage of the social movement; first within the movement and secondly communication with targeted audiences outside the movement. This means there is (a) internal communication and (b) external communication.

- a) **Internal Communication** –involves sharing of information among the leadership, movement structures, and close allies
- b) **External communication** -involves sending out information to the stakeholders, opponents and diverse audiences. This communication is essential in building a critical mass, reconfirming the message of the movement, countering attacks by opponents and communicating a commitment to nonviolence approaches always.

Failure to communicate can jeopardise the movement's attempts to build a critical mass, and mobilising support from the local people and international community. It is, therefore, necessary to publicize your movement's intentions, commitment to nonviolence, issues and arguments you are advancing. Communication can be done songs, music, newspapers, television, radio, leaflets, public gatherings, meetings, pamphlets and many other ways. In doing so, it is vital to consider fast communication tools, real-time enabled reporting tools.

A golden rule to remember is that an effective media and communication strategy should be multipronged, sequenced, creative and adaptable (i.e. a similar message packaged for different audiences). The communication strategy should be connected to the overall strategies and tactics for the movement. In addition, communication must be of high quality, messages should avoid creating antagonism and hate with potential allies while maintaining commitment to nonviolence. You need to have a message that is clear concise and well packaged to attract more people than your competitors.' Your messaging should therefore, be CLEVER (CCLVR)¹⁶ meaning it should be;

- Concise
- Credible
- Simple (language)
- Visible to many relevant audience
- Repeated consistently

While all strategies require communication, social movements must consider that arousing popular consciousness about the cause of their movement is important. Conscientising the target audience about a movement's cause involves;

- Developing a clear understanding of the issue or cause

¹⁶ Miller, C. (2006) Nonviolent Transformation of Conflict –Africa: Strategic Nonviolent Struggle: A Training Manual. University for Peace. Geneva

- Identifying appropriate communication tool and
- Informing the target audience about the intended action and its justifications
- Communicating the possible challenges that will be faced
- Motivating the target audience and explaining why they must join the cause
- Ensuring that the issue, participants' commitment and campaign strategies employed will deliver victory to the movement.

7.2 Mediums of Communication

Audio	Visual	Print material	Display	Hand-outs	Electronic
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Music • Radio • CDs • Cassettes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Videos • Television • DVDs • Theatre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Newspapers • Newsletters • Journal • Textbooks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stickers • Posters • Graffiti • Banners • Artwork 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fliers • Brochures • Pins • Pamphlets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SMSs • Blogs • Facebook • Twitter • Emails • Websites • Mobile phones
Adapted from: Miller, (2006) Nonviolent Transformation of Conflict –Africa: Strategic Nonviolent Struggle: A Training Manual . University for Peace. Geneva					

7.3 Media Plan

Recognising that each strategy and tactic used to wage a nonviolence conflict requires different communication methods and different messaging styles, it is vital for each movement to have a media strategy. A good media strategy should include; what is planned, follow-through actions, target audience identification, a strong and consistent message, media contacts and leads within the movement. Social movements must have designated persons capable of analysing the independent media outlets and level of independence or repression also. Finally, it is necessary to use international language and terminologies more than the local language in order to attract the international attention. To create an effective media plan;

8. Nonviolence Discipline, Violent Flanks, Repression and Backfire

“We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protests to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.” –**Dr Martin Luther King Junior**

Session 4:

6.1 Managing Violent Flanks and Repression

Maintaining discipline, even under repression or provocation, in a nonviolent struggle is an important factor towards a successful nonviolent struggle¹⁷. This is called nonviolent discipline –a situation where participants in a nonviolent movement are able to maintain peaceful discipline even if they are being provoked or facing repression from the authorities. When a movement changes from being nonviolent into being violent, there is likelihood of the campaign being thwarted by the opponents. It also reduces possible participation by other people who were yet to join in support of the movement.

Violent Flanks: In every movement, violence sometimes erupt either resulting from the movement organisers intentions or by external agents meant to portray the movement's actions as violent. These are called violent flanks. Violent flanks can be radical. Chenoweth, notes that from 1900 – 2006 about 30% of nonviolent campaigns had significant elements of observed violence. There are several reasons why violence emerge when any movement have an event. Violent flanks could leverage the movement's nonviolent campaign or decrease it leverage. Below are some the pros and cons of violent flanks;

Leverage from Violent Flanks	Decreasing Leverage from Violent Flanks
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Raising the profile of the movement and its demands• Increasing extensive attention• Credibility threatening escalation• Maintaining the radical commitment• Diffusing and reinforcing an oppositional culture• Challenge the regime in their monopoly of power.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Can increase social disruption and disorder• Discrediting all regime opponents• Provides justification for widespread repression by opponent• Reduce popular participation• Alienate potential third-party supporters• Decrease likelihood of backfire• Allows the regime advantage to invoke propaganda

In view of the above, while there are some seemingly benefits of violent flanks, it is important to note that any form of violence undermines the credibility of any movement or campaign, it invites repression and it ultimately has no any strategic successes. The opponent will have a justification to use force and invoke propaganda as long as they feel threatened by social movements' violence.

¹⁷ Nathan Schneider (2016) Maintain Nonviolent Discipline. [Online] Available at: <http://beautifultrouble.org/principle/maintain-nonviolent-discipline/> (Accessed on 25 July 2016)

Repression: this refers to the act of physically or psychologically suppressing the interests, desires or thoughts of an individual or group. Usually within communities, it is the state that suppresses movements by using violence, batons, teargas and unleashing police dogs. While repression is intended to inhibit, restrain or prevent progression of a movement or its demands, it can potentially yield negative results in favour of the movement. Such results are called backfire (see backfire for further explanation).

Discipline -Erica Chenoweth and Kurt Schock observe that keeping nonviolence discipline has a potential of mobilising more people to join. The authors note that when a movement becomes violent (violent flanks) participants are likely to be fewer and fewer because they are afraid to be associated with violence or being injured in the process. The authorities may also find justification to use force once a movement turns violent. In order to be able to maintain a nonviolent discipline;

- **Clear objective of the nonviolent action:** Participants must exactly know the purpose of the nonviolent campaign;
- **Code of conduct or guide:** Everyone should be aware of the principles on nonviolence and the expected behaviour. In fact organisers must agree on a guideline on how the movement will maintain discipline among its members.
- **Training:** Training the participants to appreciate the importance of nonviolence will help to shape their attitude towards their opponents even under provocation.
- **Peacekeepers:** The organisers of a nonviolent campaign can appoint Marshals or Peacekeepers. These are people who will help in maintaining nonviolence during a protest, demonstration or during picketing. At times bystanders especially those drunk or drugged could attempt to disrupt peaceful actions leading to violent flanks. Therefore, the Marshalls can help to prevent such disruptions if earlier anticipated and planned
- **Provocations:** potentially provocations may actually emerge from the target opponents with a view to discredit the work of the peaceful movement. Under such circumstances, the organisers must prepare their participants to get ready for violent reactions (reprisals). Finding an alternative means of waging a nonviolent struggle which are less harmful is important also. It is also important to have First Aid trained people ready to assist in case of injuries. A communication person responsible for getting in touch with law enforcement agencies should be designated. This helps to pressure the authorities to respond to the provocations or at least expose their double standards.
- **Issue selection** –intentionally choose less directly threatening and less political issues. For example, single out an individual issue than putting blanket claims on many. For instance, it is less threatening to target one corrupt Minister than blaming all of them. Blaming all Ministers would attract a heavy backlash but singling out the most problematic individual could help your issue to succeed as it will be less political and less

threatening.

- **Tactical choice** –it will be a necessity to make tactical choices such as dispersion tactics (spread out the movement's actions), low visibility, rapid mass mobilisation and de-mobilisation (get there first and safety in numbers), understand timing, location and choosing appropriate issues to fight for.
- **Social distance** –consider social history as an important component. Social history can be reduced through expression of common values, symbols, clothing, shared history, culture and use of intermediaries (example of Black and White community in the USA)
- **Leadership and organisational structure** –choose different leadership strategies (centralised – decentralised or mixed leadership structure). Some social movement leaders emerged from decentralised to centralised leadership.
- **Build resilient leadership structures** –pay attention to leadership selection and skills building. For example, consider high and low profile leaders, local leaders, creating redundancy and succession lines, clear movement principles and functional movement culture
- **Communication to security forces** –it is beneficial to communicate with security leaders also giving assurance, warnings and appeals.
- **International Visibility:** Use the international community to lobby for social change too.

Nonetheless, while repression is effected mainly by the opponent, there is likelihood of backfires. This consequent can work in favour of the social movement.

6.2 Generating Backfire and Defections

An effective movement should be able to cause backfires and creating defections. A defection is a conscious decision to desert an ally or change of loyalty in favour of another. In this case, a movement should be able to influence members of their opponents to shift allegiance from the opponent into supporting the movement. On the other hand, backfire refers to the opposite consequences of repression. It can be a public reaction of outrage to an event that is publicized and perceived as unjust.¹⁸

Backfire: Backfire means people's reaction or outrage to something considered unjust¹⁹. Put simply, backfire happens when repression has an opposite impact of what it was intended for. When authorities respond to nonviolent action using force, there is high likelihood of people reacting with outrage. This means repression can turn out to be a mobilising factor through public outrage over the gross violations. "Repression sometimes can lead to greater movement mobilization: repressive events that are perceived as unjust have the potential to generate enormous public

¹⁸ Hess, D. and Martin, B. (2006) Repression, backfire, and the theory of transformative events Mobilization, Vol. 11, No. 1, June 2006, pp. 249267 : <https://www.uow.edu.au/~bmartin/pubs/06mobilization.html>

¹⁹ Martin, B. (2005) How Nonviolence Works. University of Wollongong. Borderlands E-Journal. Vol, 5 (3), 2005. [Online] Available at: www.borderlands.net.au/vol4no3_2005/martin_nonviol.htm. (Accessed: 03 October 2016)

outrage against those seen as responsible.”²⁰

Backfiring may, however, not take place where protestors or dissenters are also acting violently because the state will have justification of matching violence with violence. When any resistance remains disciplined and committed to nonviolence, more people will blame the use of violence and there will be reason for more public members to join force against the oppressor. A strong social movement should ensure that backfiring happens whenever possible on two conditions which are; communication and discipline.

- **Discipline:** Maintaining discipline is crucial so that any violent action by authorities is plainly observed as unfair, unjust and disproportionate. Any violent flank can cause the state to justify its use of force. Training participants and emphasizing commitment to nonviolence can help to maintain discipline.
- **Communication:** It is important to communicate effectively locally and internationally about any beatings, abductions or casualties. Publicising the brutalities experienced by nonviolent campaigners exposes the opponents and it can attract condemnations, sanctions and pressure (local and international pressure).
- **Censorship:** this is not necessarily a condition for backfire, but it can be exploited where possible, in order to secure backfire. A Social Movement can also generate a lot of attention on issues that are censored. Censorship involves violating free speech. Therefore, in order for the tactic to work, one has to communicate the censorship issues to relevant stakeholders. Martin and Wright (2003) note that evidence of backfire in censorship include attacks on Whistle-blowers, dismissal of academics and police beatings among others.

Backfire Principles²¹

- *Reveal* -reveal the injustice as it happens and challenge the cover ups.
- *Redeem* -validate the target and challenge the devaluation
- *Reframe* -emphasize the injustice and challenge its reinterpretation
- *Redirect* -intensify support mobilisation and be wary of official channels
- *Resist* -make sure to guard against being bribed and intimidation

Nonviolence campaigners must appreciate that not all violent attacks by the opponents, state or authorities ‘backfire.’ Some attacks smartly done such that public outrage is inhibited. The table below shows how backfire can be inhibited by the opponent and how nonviolent campaigners can overcome the opponent’s efforts.

Opponent’s Tactics to Prevent Backfire	Movement Overcoming the Cover Ups.
▪ Hiding attacks from observers (torture)	▪ Expose the attacks
▪ Intimidation or bribery (witnesses)	▪ Resist bribery and intimidation

²⁰ Davenport, C., Johnston, H. and Mueller, C.M. eds., 2005. Repression and mobilization (Vol. 21). University of Minnesota Press.

²¹ Martin, B (2012) Backfire Manual: Tactics Against Injustices. Irene Publishing.

▪ Devaluing the target	▪ Validate the target
▪ Using official channels (authoritative pronouncements or official inquiries that give an appearance of justice)	▪ Avoid or discredit the official channels
▪ Reinterpreting the violence (blaming it on other groups)	▪ Interpret the act as an injustice
<p>Martin, B. (2005) How Nonviolence Works. University of Wollongong. Borderlands E-Journal. Vol, 5 (3), 2005. [Online] Available at: www.borderlands.net.au/vol4no3_2005/martin_nonviol.htm. (Accessed: 03 October 2016)</p>	

Defections:

Defection, as mentioned earlier, is the withdrawal of support of the incumbent opponent (regime) in favour of the social movement. This can happen by having the defecting person providing information to the movement organisers, stepping down from their positions, abandoning the authority's camp or merely disobeying orders from the incumbent authority. For example, people being used by the government to suppress mass peaceful resistance (police, military and civil servants) may end up not obeying orders and start helping the social movement against the regime. Imagine what happens when family members of a Policeman leading the repression team? The Policeman may choose to side with the social movement because he or she cannot be seen torturing or beating his own family members for the support of a murderous regime.

When repression increases, more pillars of power supporting the incumbent regime may end up getting divided on the value of continuing to use violence. Some will sympathise with the regime while others will find it best to support the civil resistance movement. As a result those supporting the nonviolent campaign may end up defecting to give leverage to the nonviolent movement. However, defections are not guaranteed but they can be augmented depending on the social movement's strategies. Therefore, SMs waging nonviolence should aim at creating defections. Some of the conditions for creating successful defections include;

- Disproportionate use of force by the incumbent
- Social movement's capacity to communicate to relevant audience / exposing the repression locally and internationally.
- Effective social movement mobilisation to stretch the regime's despair
- Pronounced commitment to non-violence

6.3 Challenges in Nonviolent Actions

Bruce Hartford (1963)²², in his notes on Nonviolent Conflict Training, he notes that while nonviolent actions are possible, they are faced with challenges, some of which are very fatal. Some of the challenges are reactions from the opponents involving individuals, institutions and the government. These include;

- Verbal abuse
- Spitting on
- Kicking and stepping on
- Beatings with fists, chains, and police batons
- Dragging female protesters across a room by the hair
- Throwing manure, eggs, tomatoes, exploding firecrackers, rocks, & bricks at protestors
- Knocking sit-ins over and rolling them down a flight of stairs
- Chokings by police (the infamous "choke hold")
- Attacks with home-made flame-throwers (hairspray ignited with a cigarette lighter)
- Pouring hot tar over heads
- Cars attempting to run over pickets
- Stabbing with a knife or objects

9. Grassroots Nonviolent Campaigns: Planning for Action

This session is meant to give the reader an opportunity to plan for a nonviolent campaign using all the teaching material and knowledge acquired from this handbook. The readers should be able to contextualise the practice of nonviolence conflict into their organisations or SM work and life experiences. Therefore, each group should develop a Plan of Action identifying specific issues needing attention and critical strategies to address it.

Successful contextualisation of each social movement's situation and clarity on what it is going to do in fighting social injustices using nonviolent ways will demonstrate the general effectiveness of this handbook. Below are specific instructions towards the Plan of Action development. In doing this exercise refer to notes above/in this guide.

²² Hartford, B (1963) Notes from a Nonviolent Training Session (1963) [Online] Available at: <http://www.crmvet.org/info/nv1.htm>. (Accessed: 02 October 2016)

Task

Having completed the above teaching material;

- Identify two issues (social injustices) to address in your community;
- Identify the target opponent and its pillars of power
- Use the spectrum of allies to identify allies and opponents
- Develop a pyramid of strategies (in your pyramid create a vision of your SM, identify a Campaign and list specific tactics that will be used to wage a nonviolent struggle.
- Develop a communication strategy
- Suggest execution time frames

Finally, get ready to peacefully promote your community's cause

Appendix 1: 198 Nonviolent Strategies (Ackerman and DuVall, 2000)

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 earth writing

Group Representations

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

Symbolic Public Acts

18. Displays of flags and symbolic colours
19. Wearing of symbols
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobing
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

Honouring 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 honours
54. Turning one's 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 non-cooperation
67. "Flight" of workers

68. Sanctuary
69. Collective disappearance
70. Protest emigration (hijrat)

The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: Economic Boycotts

Actions by Consumers

71. Consumers' boycott
72. No consumption 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 Non-cooperation: 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 departments, 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 placemarks
- 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 non-cooperation
- 146. Judicial non-cooperation
- 147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
- 148. Mutiny

Domestic Governmental Action

- 149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
- 150. Non-cooperation 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

Self-exposure to the elements

- 158. The fast
 - i) Fast of moral pressure
 - ii) Hunger strike
 - iii) Satyagrahic fast
- 159. Reverse trial
- 160. Nonviolent harassment

Physical Intervention

- 161. Sit-in
- 162. Stand-in
- 163. Ride-in
- 164. Wade-in
- 165. Mill-in
- 166. Pray-in
- 167. Nonviolent raids
- 168. Nonviolent air raids
- 169. Nonviolent invasion
- 170. Nonviolent interjection
- 171. Nonviolent obstruction
- 172. Nonviolent occupation

Social Intervention

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

Economic Intervention

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

Political Intervention

- 192. Overloading of administrative systems
- 193. Disclosing identities of

secret agents
194. Seeking imprisonment
195. Civil disobedience of

"neutral" laws
196. Work-on without
collaboration

197. Dual sovereignty and
parallel government