Recovering Nonviolent History

Civil Resistance in Liberation Struggles

edited by
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Identity Formation in Nonviolent Struggles

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Nationalism can be a powerful force for mobilizing participation in nonviolent civil resistance; it can also be shaped and reinforced by collective nonviolent action. The cases presented in this volume raise questions of particular social scientific importance: How are national identities shaped through nonviolent actions, and are such actions shaped by activists' shared identities? I argue that the study of social movements reveals that collective identity, perceptions of the field of struggle, and how conflict is waged are mutually recursive. Tactical choices reflect collective or national identities, and collective action catalyzes the construction of collective identities as meaning is formed through interaction with opponents, allies, and bystanding publics. Certain strategies[1] and tactics[2] will seem more likely or will only be conceivable as a function of the values and identities to which a group subscribes. Conversely, collective action and conflict can introduce new forms of identification or reinforce preexisting ones. Identities can also be strategically deployed through public symbolic actions to draw attention to a cause, to frame injustice against a group, or to generate dilemmas for opponents by playing on cultural norms.

The histories of nonviolent struggle described in this book can provide new opportunities to examine relationships between collective action and collective identity and to better understand how their interaction influences the outcomes of large-scale campaigns of nonviolent resistance. Sociologists have contributed much to the study of social movements, perhaps especially with respect to culture, but often have failed to account for strategic dimensions of nonviolent action or to fully appreciate that social movements are strategically engaged in conflicts. Conversely, most of the

literature on strategic nonviolent action has tended to overlook the cultural dimensions of nonviolent social movements such as collective identity. The chapters that follow, however, offer an important opportunity to build bridges between these two fields and to begin to understand better how culture and identity interact with nonviolent resistance or, more precisely, how strategic nonviolent power shapes and is shaped by nationalist groups' memories, ideologies, values, and worldviews.

In this chapter, I review theoretical developments in the study of social movements, nationalism, and strategic nonviolent action that could complement one another and help us to better appreciate the importance of tactics, their innovation, and the cultural underpinnings of nonviolent power. In particular, I focus on the relationship between the construction of collective identity, such as nationalism, and the methods of collective action that nonviolent resisters develop and deploy. Each can limit or enhance the other in crucial ways that help determine the outcome of nonviolent national struggles. I refer to the contributors' works in this volume as well as other cases to demonstrate ways in which nationalist collective identity and nonviolent tactics shape one another in conflict with opponents and how they must be reconciled with one another when they do not align easily.

Collective Identity and Nationalism

In the 1980s, identity and self became topics of increasing attention among sociologists[3] and collective identity emerged as a concept to address the perennial question of why people participate and maintain their involvement in movements. This can be a particularly important concern when a movement's ultimate goal (e.g., independence or an end to occupation or foreign domination) seems distant and while autocracy and repression persist. Defining what is meant by *collective identity* has required considerable theorizing.[4] Collective identity usually refers to a shared sense of "we-ness" that "derives" or "emerges" from shared cognitions, beliefs, and emotions among a group of individuals actively pursuing social or political change.[5] A range of closely related concepts has clustered around collective identity such as solidarity, commitment, consciousness, ideology, emotion, and self. The integral relationship between the personal and the collective is fundamental, as Francesca Polletta and James M. Jasper explain: "We have defined collective identity as an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution. It is a perception of a shared status or relation, which may be imagined rather than experienced directly, and it is distinct from personal identities, although it may form part of a personal identity."[6]

Similarly, framing theorists have emphasized what William A. Gamson has called the "mesh between individual and cultural systems"[7] and have

emphasized the critical work within movements of aligning personal and collective identities such that participation in movement activities seems natural and compelling.[8]

I focus here on one particularly prominent form of mass collective identity, *nationalism,* an identification with an extensive political community, often but not always incorporating a narrative of ethnic origin or distinction such as language.[9] Nationalism is a deeply psychocultural process that meets social psychological needs for belonging and solidarity and encourages groups to pursue the establishment of a state that represents their national identity. Interestingly, the emergence of social movements and civil resistance parallels the spread of nationalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through at least some of the same historical and material developments such as the spread of print technology and national education.[10] More importantly, however, I am interested in how the kinds of methods that nationalist groups use to advance their interests help construct their sense of national identity. A general reading of nationalism studies might conclude that national affiliation is a product of self-identification with imagined communities that has been facilitated by macro-level material changes such as the rise of capitalism, the development of print technology, the wide accessibility of print languages, the rise of the revolutionary nation-state, and the spread of state-sponsored education.[11] This book contributes to the field by examining the role of nonviolent collective action in nationalist movements for independence and, thus, provides new opportunities to study ways in which nonviolent resistance and national identities influence one another.

Integrating Conflict and Tactics into the Study of Social Movements

Until recently, the sociological study of social movements has usually been conducted in isolation from the conflicts in which the movements are involved, generally focusing on issues of movement emergence, participation, and maintenance. Nevertheless, some sociologists have acknowledged the way in which identities are constructed in opposition to other parties in conflict. Bert Klandermans situates movements' activities within a dynamic and interactive field of contesting parties and asserts that collective action events are sites of meaning construction and transformation: "Episodes of collective action have an enduring impact on the participants; their collective identities are formed and transformed."[12] I argue that tactics are an integral part of these episodes of give and take among nonviolent movements, authorities, countermovements, and the public, and the interactive nature of tactics constitutes one of the primary threads by which collective identity and collective action are tied to one another in conflict situations.

Interactivity and Identity Boundaries

Tactical choices made in response to discriminatory or oppressive political conditions have important repercussions for social movements. As Verta Taylor and Nella Van Dyke claim, "protest actions are one of the means by which challenging groups develop an oppositional consciousness," a collective readiness to take action against the status quo.[13] Systematic discrimination, countermovement tactics, and state repression are all pressures that can encourage resistance and "oppositional consciousness."[14] Indeed, both tactics and identities are each, to a large extent, other centered. Each depends on or reacts to others in order to have meaning and purpose. Because of their creative tension with opponents, tactics contribute to "boundary formation," the process of group differentiation that creates and sustains collective identity, even as collective identities are malleable and can change.[15] Any tactic in a conflict situation is intended to influence an opponent through coercion, persuasion, or bargaining. And any individual or collective identity is defined to some extent in contrast with others, even when a group demands inclusion such as in campaigns for civil and cultural rights. In the latter situation, demands for inclusion can advocate a distinctive ethnic or national identity and coexistence within a multicultural state. In Chapter 11, Ishtiaq Hossain shows that in 1948 and 1952 the Bengalis were mobilized nonviolently, not to press for their independence but for the inclusion of Bangla alongside Urdu as a state language in Pakistan. The Bengali language movement could thus be said to exhibit an integrative dimension in relation to other Pakistanis.

Struggle can also be integrative by providing an opportunity to overcome ethnic, religious, or other divisions in opposition to a common opponent, at least temporarily. Language education, song, poetry, and commemoration all contributed to the development of a distinctive Bengali national identity that sustained a nonviolent struggle and led to the de facto independence of Bengalis from Pakistan in 1971. Systematic discrimination, countermovement tactics, and state repression are all pressures that encourage boundary formation or "oppositional consciousness."[16] Similarly, in Chapter 10, Yeshua Moser-Puangsuwan describes the way in which a unitary national identity superseded religious and ethnic divisions during the Burmese nonviolent resistance to British colonialism, though ethnic strife has reemerged since independence.

The integrative potential of nonviolent civil resistance is one of its most promising features, and the tendency of nonviolent struggles to foster democratic political systems through the building of civil society has been documented.[17] However, it is necessary to consider Manfred Steger's warning that, while nationalism may offer a powerful force for mobilization in nonviolent campaigns, it may by its exclusive nature encourage ethnic polarization (e.g.,

see Jason MacLeod's Chapter 12 on West Papua) and the adoption of violent strategies in the future.[18]

In some cases, symbolically rich nonviolent methods have been used not only for the construction of collective identity but as vehicles for identity deployment by which marginalized collective identities are openly expressed in order to encourage public debate or to make use of culturally resonant identities to enhance legitimacy.[19] In nonviolent independence struggles, statuses with prestige, such as motherhood, may be emphasized to challenge a regime's monopoly on legitimacy. As Amr Abdalla and Yasmine Arafa describe in Chapter 7 on Egypt, 300 women challenged British repression of nonviolent protesters by framing the event as attacks on "unarmed sons, children, boys and men." Similarly, Egyptian women wore veils to protest British occupation and successfully undermined the authorities' capacity to stop them. According to an officer in charge, "any force you use to women puts you in the wrong."[20] Similarly, women's veils in both Algeria and Egypt have constituted symbolic challenges to Westernization and foreign domination. In Algeria between 1871 and 1954, as Algerians under French colonial rule retreated into their families and traditional Islamic communities, the veil became a battleground over the legitimacy of local culture under a colonial regime. The veil signaled devotion to Islamic culture and, as such, constituted a rejection of the imposition of French culture.[21]

Parties in conflict can cultivate and deploy identity for strategic purposes, but the interplay of opponents engaged in conflict can also shape their interrelated identities. In the dialogical models of discourse theorists, opponents respond to one another's attempts to control the definition of the situation and public opinion through framing and drawing on discursive repertoires and rhetoric. In the back and forth of framing and counterframing, response and counterresponse, no single party maintains absolute control of the direction of the discourse. These dialogic processes are dynamic, shared, and often unpredictable.[22]

In Northern Ireland, republican prisoners in the 1970s and 1980s challenged the British government's determination to portray them as terrorists by wearing blankets instead of prison uniforms. The republican blanket protest initiated a process of escalation with prisoners expanding noncooperation and the prison authorities trying to make them pay for it, ultimately leading to the "dirty protests" (where prisoners smeared their cell walls with excrement) and the 1980 and 1981 hunger strikes in which ten prisoners died. The first prisoner to die, Bobby Sands, was even elected to the British Parliament in a protest vote.[23] British authorities and the leadership of the Irish Republican Army failed to anticipate the resonance of the hunger strikes among republicans or the advantage of the grassroots political mobilization that the strikes would trigger. Meanwhile, unionists and loyalists interpreted the hunger strikes as a revulsive ploy led by republican

terrorists and Catholic clergy to sanctify murderers, which only deepened their sense of alienation from their Catholic neighbors.[24] Tactical choices constitute cascades of action and response that contribute in an interactive and interpretive fashion to the formation of collective identities. In the Northern Ireland case, hunger strikes broadened and deepened republican and unionist identities as prisoners and British authorities engaged in a heated dialogic battle that was waged largely in the symbolic realms of political, ethical, and religious discourse.

Interactivity and Tactical Choice

Introducing an interactive or conflict dimension to identity construction leads to questions about how social movements and other actors interact, including the kinds of tactics that movements employ and how those choices influence the construction of identity boundaries. The finding that social movements tend to select from stable limited sets of tactics or "repertoires of contention" has inspired the most significant coverage of tactics in the social movement literature.[25] Most social movement scholars, however, have not fully addressed the wide array of methods that have been developed by nonviolent activists or the ways in which tactics exert pressure on or induce other actors (opponents, allies, and bystanders) in fields of contention.

The tactical combination of diverse nonviolent methods (e.g., protests, sit-ins, religious services, boycotts, and commemorations) can persuade or coerce and will invite different responses from opponents and third parties. Burning one's opponent in effigy will evoke a different interpretation and response compared with a respectful funeral to commemorate victims. Each is a symbolic indictment, but they project different messages that are likely to be interpreted in different ways by opponents and bystanders. Furthermore, if collective identities are indeed constructed in relation to others, we can expect that, as tactical engagements between nonviolent movements and their targets change, their collective identities will also be subject to change. For example, selective targeting of factions within a regime is an important strategic concern for nonviolent resisters who can modulate their actions to cultivate identity or loyalty shifts among important groups such as the police and military. Unlike more coercive methods such as blockades or occupying buildings, methods of symbolic protest and persuasion that incorporate humor or highlight cultural similarities between resisters and security forces can play critical roles in challenging assumptions about regime legitimacy on which agents of the regime base their obedience. Distributing flowers and food to security forces or normalizing resistance by incorporating familiar activities into demonstrations, such as prayers, weddings, and musical performances, are time-tested ways to create social psychological dilemmas for a regime's agents and encourage them to identify with nonviolent resisters.[26]

Fortunately, I am not alone in proposing that there is considerable promise in a marriage of conflict theory, nonviolent action theory, and sociologists' work on collective identity in social movements. James M. Jasper wisely calls for a "conflict lens" through which to study social movements:

> There are regularities, a logic, to conflict that is partly independent of resources, biography, and cultural meanings. Finding the right alliances, inventing tactics that surprise one's opponents, or forcing one's foe into a publicly recognized error all have an impact, whatever one's taste in tactics. Similarly, your own tastes, beliefs, and emotions can help you or trip you up strategically. Strategic choices depend so much on the interactions between various players that we need a "conflict" lens to relate social movements to the broader strategic field. The apparatus developed to explain movement emergence—frame alignment, identity, resource mobilization, moral shocks—helps us surprisingly little in accounting for success; we must switch to a different vocabulary, of tactical innovation, vulnerabilities, blunders, credibility, and rules.[27]

Jasper also prudently warns us to strike a balance between studying social movements as military and nonviolent action strategists might do and recognizing that movements are eminently social phenomenon: "Strategic interaction is crucially important, the very stuff of protest, but if it is the only lens, then 'conflict' replaces 'social movements' as the appropriate framework. A purely strategic lens misses much of the 'why' of protest."[28] Jasper invites movement scholars to incorporate strategy and tactics more fully into their research when he classifies "artful strategies" as one of the primary dimensions of protest.[29] He notes that strategic tactical choices are conditioned by the cultural environments in which they are made, but they are also creative and often effective acts developed by those who can proficiently interpret their cultural and political scene. In short, both the conflict approach represented by the nonviolent action literature's focus on strategy and tactics and the work on culture and identity fill gaps in each other to produce a more comprehensive picture of social movements, as I explain more fully in the next section.

Collective Identity and Nonviolent Tactics

Since the late 1980s, cultural models that emphasize the role that social movements play as "staging areas" for the construction of meaning and identity have become increasingly prevalent in the study of social movements and can help us understand tactical choice in nonviolent civil resistance movements.[30] The concept of repertoires that has been used to describe tactical choices has also been adopted to describe the way in which movements' persuasive use of rhetoric or "symbolic repertoires" are constrained and enabled by the cultural environment in which they are embedded.[31] We

may expect the same cultural constraints and opportunities to influence nonviolent activists' tactical choices and their ability to mobilize participants and sustain their engagement. Readers of this book will find narratives from regional, historical, religious, and philosophical traditions provide familiar and emotive languages that call citizens to sustained nonviolent action in the name of values that transcend the propaganda of colonial and autocratic regimes.

The case of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Poland presented by Maciej Bartkowski in Chapter 14 demonstrates how the currents of national patriotism closely associated with military struggle could also be associated with nonviolent resistance. The martyrdom and sense of sacrifice around which Poland's national identity was built became a vehicle for the development of nonviolent campaigns of resistance known as organic work that aimed both to develop national economy and, through preservation of language and culture, to "awaken patriotism." Interestingly, in this case, a sense of Polish identity was fused with a new positivistic intellectual trend that harnessed national fervor in the service of strategic nonviolent resistance.

In other cases, religious traditions have played important roles by providing new rationales for resistance, even if the primary methods of action were essentially secular such as economic strikes and boycotts. In Chapter 8, Nikki R. Keddie notes the way in which the emergence of the Babi and Baha'i sects within Iranian Shiism in the middle of the nineteenth century challenged the centuries-old quietism of Shia leaders and introduced new ideas about political involvement and, in the case of the Baha'i, the imperative of using nonviolent methods to press for major constitutional reforms. Similarly, Abdalla and Arafa report in Chapter 7 that Islamic law played a fundamental role in legitimizing Egyptian resistance in 1805 against an Ottoman governor and was used to encourage nonviolent discipline during massive demonstrations and a four-month siege of the governor's citadel. Understanding the framing resources (e.g., culture, history, tradition, and religion) available to nonviolent activists is important and, as these examples illustrate, it is also important to understand the impact that participation in nonviolent action has on communicating and internalizing meaning within movements.

The Cultural Power of Nonviolent Tactics

One might expect that strategic collective actions would figure more prominently in work on social movements. But this is an interesting oversight since the relationship between culture and action sits at the core of the sociology of culture and, as I have already noted, the construction of collective identity takes place in relation with others to whom tactics are addressed.[32]

Most research on social movement identity work has focused on text, narratives, and discourse. According to Scott A. Hunt and Robert D. Benford, "Fundamentally, collective identities are talked into existence . . . personal and collective identities shape and are shaped by collective action and the subsequent identity talk."[33] They acknowledge the capacity of participation in collective action to influence identity construction, but the visual, temporal, and spatial dimensions of collective action tactics—often underestimated or ignored altogether—also play an important role. In many cases, texts or scripts are incorporated into strategic collective action through declarations, song lyrics, speeches, visual projections, and theater, but also there often can be found a rich and meaningful choreography or dramaturgy of colors, symbols, clothing, movement, and sounds.[34]

Even noncooperation and nonviolent intervention (e.g., strikes, sit-ins, and occupations), which are designed to interrupt institutions and social systems, can be laden with symbolic meaning. In Chapter 12, MacLeod describes the role that indigenous and religious rituals have played in nonviolent resistance in West Papua, first against Dutch colonialism and then against Indonesia after 1963. Nonviolent methods such as collective tax resistance and withholding of labor were undertaken alongside collective singing, dancing, and drinking palm wine. These kinds of cultural activities (e.g., choices of dress and food) continue to serve as everyday markers of identity and resistance among committed nationalists.[35] Even as recently as July 2010, simple public demonstrations featuring traditional dress and dance evolved into a merchants' strike and the occupation of the parliament building. In such instances, symbolic protest and persuasion become almost seamless with nonviolent noncooperation (e.g., strikes) and nonviolent intervention (e.g., occupying the parliament building).

Experienced organizers make sure that the symbolism of a collective action is not lost on the media and, thus, interpreting or narrating events for the public through television and radio interviews and print outlets is important. However, in order to account more fully for the power and influence of nonviolent action, the study of the capacities of carefully choreographed and symbolically rich tactics to convey shared ideology and national patriotism should accompany the textual or narrative framing and identity work that has attracted much attention among social movement scholars.[36] In fairness, one of the reasons that the relationships between collective identity and nonviolent tactics have been understudied is because they are so difficult to disentangle. People engage in collective action out of shared emotional commitments to ideologies and identification with groups, but collective action often encourages participants to express and experiment with new identities. At the same time, tactics are inspired and constrained by the availability of resources, political opportunities, in-group conflict, group history, and opponents' tactical moves. Thus, it is often difficult to attribute causality in the

relationship between tactical choices and collective identity. There is also much ground to cover in documenting the vast array of tactics that are used by social movement organizations as well as the many ways in which tactics interact with organizational dynamics and induce opponents to capitulate and third parties to collaborate, processes that feed back and shape collective identity.

Collective Identity Shapes Tactical Choices

A group's history and ideology shape the repertoire of tactics on which it might call, influenced by the opportunity structures and the kinds of institutions that the movement encounters.[37] In his work on "taste in tactics," Jasper describes the important relationship between the ways in which actors perceive themselves and the tactics they are inclined to deploy: "Tactics are rarely, if ever, neutral means about which protestors do not care. Tactics represent important routines, emotionally and morally salient in these people's lives. Just as their ideologies do, their activities express protestors' political identities and moral visions."[38]

Movement organizations are inclined to adopt tactics that express or reflect their shared identity, beliefs, and experience. Song has played an important role in several of the movements discussed in this book, circumventing prohibitions, communicating messages not understood by colonial occupiers, or reaching less literate sectors of the population as in Burma and West Papua. The Burmese independence struggle, presented by Moser-Puangsuwan in Chapter 10, also involved several of the symbolic nationalist tactics of its contemporary sister movement, the Indian independence movement. In the 1920s, the Buddhist monk U Ottama encouraged the founding of cultural associations across Burma committed to Wunthanu, meaning, "to love and cherish its own culture, country, and people." As in India, strategies of nonviolent noncooperation became linked to a "constructive program" based on practices such as the wearing of local homespun cloth (*pinni*) and the eating of Burmese foods. It is often difficult to disentangle instances in which collective identity inspires the development of tactics that seem natural within activists' frames of reference and those in which the stirring of national fervor through carefully choreographed tactics is largely pragmatic as leaders seek to tap into preexisting wells of national identification. In the empirical world, both alternatives are probably in operation at the same time.[39]

Tactics Shape Collective Identity

Tactics serve as valuable expressions of identity that re-create and sustain collective identity, but they are also influential at critical moments in which

identities can be renewed or transformed.[40] Some tactics are adopted because they are particularly suited to building collective identity and studies have documented the important roles that strategic collective action methods (including marches, rallies, and parades) can serve as political activities and as vehicles for building solidarity, even if that may lead to factionalism within social movements.[41]

Tactical choices also shape collective identities by inspiring or requiring new rationales and justifications for novel or controversial actions. In the 1950s, Algerian women, who had formerly worn the veil as a form of communal cultural resistance to French colonialism, adopted Western dress and manners to evade French counterinsurgency measures and smuggle contraband for the resistance. In the process, women who had been confined to domestic spheres developed new identities independent of patriarchal Islam and became known as national heroes. The tactical imperative to abandon the veil forced both men and women to reconstruct the roles and status of women in Algerian society.[42]

Collective identities, including national identities, can be shaped in fundamental ways during nonviolent movements for self-determination. As Walter H. Conser Jr. points out in Chapter 16 about nonviolent resistance against the British, the United States has over time eulogized violence in its story of national origin, but a careful historical review shows that, during colonial resistance, national identity and nonviolent strategy were closely related to one another. Exploitative British tax policies incited widespread refusal to pay taxes and boycotts of duties items and their merchants, heightening colonists' sense of difference from Britain, instilling confidence, and catalyzing the formation of a unique American identity that views taxes with great suspicion.

As Hossain reveals in Chapter 11 on Bangladesh, the potential for widespread public participation in nonviolent resistance can broaden and amplify the impact of collective action on national identity. People of all ages participated in the defense of the Bangla language and heightened their sense of national identity through language education, attending rallies, reciting poetry, and singing anthems to commemorate the martyrs of the language movement.

Reconciling Identity and Tactics

We have established that tactical choices reflect and shape identities, but the close dialectical relationship between collective identity and collective action also produces tension that can be constructive or disruptive. Since the collective identities to which nonviolent resisters subscribe are never monolithic and coexist with their many personal and social identities, any tactical choice is likely to offer a better fit for some social movement

organizations than for others.[43] External factors, such as political opportunity and countermoves by opponents, can produce strategic imperatives that recommend some tactics over others. In such circumstances, movement leaders can be encouraged to introduce new, unfamiliar, and sometimes uncomfortable tactics. Internal debate within social movements over reconciling collective identity with innovative tactics can:

1. Limit tactical repertoires when tactics violate norms. Though the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress overruled him, Mohandas Gandhi (Mahatma) proposed in 1939 that Indians nonviolently support their colonizer, Britain, in its war effort against Germany. He felt that a principled concern for one's opponent might require suspending the use of civil disobedience, especially if it jeopardized opportunities to win over an opponent.[44]

2. Instigate shifts in the content of collective identities to incorporate new forms of collective action. In Chapter 15, Howard Clark reports that the threat of Serbian attacks in Kosovo in the early 1990s generated a compelling strategic imperative among Albanians to counter stereotypes of them as dangerous Muslim fundamentalists. Kosovo Albanian Muslims therefore began to recognize Catholic festivals and the central humanitarian organization was symbolically named after Mother Teresa of Calcutta (herself an Albanian). One group even considered a mass conversion to Catholicism! We can only imagine the debates among Albanians over the theological and ethnic ramifications of such a proposal. The strategy was never realized as it would have appeared a blatantly opportunistic ploy to cultivate potential Western allies. Even so, this openness to Catholicism required a reconceptualization of Albanian Muslim identity.[45]

3. Lead to contention within and among social movement organizations.[46] Analyzing anticolonial resistance in Mozambique in Chapter 5, Matt Meyer uncovers a contentious and hidden history of grassroots nonviolent organizing and constructive work that ultimately came to define a unique Mozambican national identity. In Mozambicans' struggles against the Portuguese, guerrilla tactics were favored over nonviolent tactics. However, Meyer reveals that "two lines of struggle" existed in the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane and his successor Samora Machel. Repression by the Portuguese elevated armed struggle over nonviolent action but not without friction between Mondlane and Leninists in FRELIMO. Nevertheless, through a legacy of cooperative organizing from the 1940s to the 1960s and the work of organizations such as the Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM) in the 1960s and 1970s, FRELIMO's zones of occupation became areas with strong civic infrastructure and grassroots empowerment that left an indelible mark on Mozambican national identity. Today, conflict repertoires in Mozambique reflect

a "'resistance and reconciliation' consciousness" that is unique across Africa, but it emerged only out of the tension between violent and nonviolent strategies that were negotiated in the midst of conflict.

Conclusion

Collective action (such as nonviolent resistance) and collective identity (including nationalism) are closely related, especially with regard to tactical choices made in a field of contention. By examining lost histories of nonviolent nationalist and independence movements, we gain access to cases that begin to reveal the intersection of the construction of nationalist identity and strategic nonviolent campaigns for national independence and freedom from foreign occupation or colonization. In the process, we can better understand how collective identities and nonviolent collective action mutually reconstitute and shape one another.

While trying to influence opponents and bystanders, nonviolent resistance movements express and define the boundaries of their collective identities. The tactics they choose are shaped by their worldview and ideology. As contributors to this collection show, some tactics can create significant material dilemmas for opponents, but others can convey meaning through symbols and careful choreography. The latter thus play important roles in the interactive framing battles through which nonviolent resistance movements mobilize, construct collective identity, instill discipline, motivate participants, bring public pressure to bear on opponents, and shape popular political cultures.

Although previous research has indicated that movements tend to draw from familiar tactical repertoires that reflect their participants' worldviews and tastes, both external opportunities and opponents' moves can encourage the use of novel nonviolent tactics that do not align perfectly with shared identities, requiring that tactics, identities, or both be modified. A movement's power through nonviolent resistance may be enhanced or internal conflicts may ensue, either of which may impact the movement's sustainability and outcomes.

The nonviolent struggles presented in subsequent chapters offer a promising opportunity for scholars to synthesize what we know about movement cultures, strategies, and outcomes, and the interdisciplinary mix that this volume represents promises to raise new questions and directions for research. The interaction of culture and nonviolent strategy is rich and untapped. Future researchers will do well to gather more ethnographic data on the activities of nonviolent movements to better capture the intricate work of framing identities and the tactical choice of choosing methods that reflect nonviolent resisters' biographies and collective identities.

Notes

This chapter draws from and expands on a previously published article: Lee A. Smithey, "Social Movement Strategy, Tactics, and Collective Identity," *Sociology Compass* 3 (2009): 658–671. I thank Maciej Bartkowski, Gregory Maney, and Lester Kurtz for feedback on earlier drafts. All errors, however, remain mine.

1. Strategy in nonviolent conflict can be understood as a general plan of action that addresses important questions such as why, when, and how best to achieve an overall goal. Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action,* part 3: *The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973), 493.

2. In this chapter, "tactics" refers to the strategic actions that movement organizations undertake. Gene Sharp, one of the foremost scholars of the study of nonviolent resistance, has developed a now-famous list of 198 "methods" that correspond with the kinds of actions that I refer to as "tactics." Sharp defines a "tactic" as the strategic application of "methods" in a particular engagement with opponents. This distinction in terminology is not generally recognized or followed meticulously in the social movement literature, perhaps to avoid confusion when the term "methods" often refers to research methods. See Gene Sharp, ed., *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 2005), 444–459. For greater insight into different categories of "methods," see the concluding chapter and conflict summaries in this book.

3. Sheldon Stryker, Timothy J. Owens, and Robert W. White, eds., *Self, Identity, and Social Movements* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 3–4.

4. Ibid., 5–6; Francesca Polletta and James M. Jasper, "Collective Identity and Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology* 27 (2001); Scott A. Hunt and Robert D. Benford, "Collective Identity, Solidarity, and Commitment," in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements,* ed. David A. Snow, Sarah Anne Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004).

5. William A. Gamson, "The Social Psychology of Collective Action," in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory,* ed. Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 55; Alberto Melucci, "The Process of Collective Identity," in *Social Movements and Culture,* ed. Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 44–45; Viktor Gecas, "Value Identities, Self-Motives, and Social Movements," in *Self, Identity, and Social Movements,* ed. Sheldon Stryker, Timothy J. Owens, and Robert W. White (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 99–100.

6. Polletta and Jasper, "Collective Identity and Social Movements," 285.

7. Gamson, "Social Psychology of Collective Action," 55.

8. David A. Snow and Doug McAdam, "Identity Work Processes in the Context of Social Movements: Clarifying the Identity/Movement Nexus," in *Self, Identity, and Social Movements,* ed. Sheldon Stryker, Timothy J. Owens, and Robert W. White (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 46–53.

9. In Chapter 11, Ishtiaq Hossain presents the central role that the Bengali language movements of 1948 and 1952 played in laying the ethnic nationalist foundations for Bangladesh's successful independence bid in 1971.

10. Sidney G. Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics,* 2nd ed., Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 43–53.

11. Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism (New Perspectives on the Past)* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); Benedict R. O. G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991); Anthony D.

Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1995). Interestingly, as a number of chapters in this volume show, national or patriotic education was often conducted illegally and against the wishes of the authorities.

12. Bert Klandermans, "The Social Construction of Protest and Multiorganizational Fields," in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory,* ed. Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 93.

13. Verta Taylor and Nella Van Dyke, "'Get up, Stand up': Tactical Repertoires of Social Movements," in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements,* ed. David A. Snow, Sarah Anne Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 270.

14. Mansbridge and Morris, *Oppositional Consciousness.*

15. Melucci, "The Process of Collective Identity," 47–48; Hunt and Benford, "Collective Identity, Solidarity, and Commitment," 442–447.

16. Mansbridge and Morris, *Oppositional Consciousness.*

17. Adrian Karatnycky and Peter Ackerman, "How Freedom Is Won: From Civic Resistance to Durable Democracy" (New York: Freedom House, May 24, 2005), http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/special_report/29.pdf.

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27. James M. Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 296.

28. Ibid., 46.

29. Ibid., 319.

30. Gary Alan Fine, "Public Narration and Group Culture: Discerning Discourse in Social Movements," in *Social Movements and Culture,* ed. Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 129–130.

31. Rhys H. Williams, "Constructing the Public Good: Social Movements and Cultural Resources," *Social Problems* 42, no. 1 (1995): 124–144; Rhys H. Williams,

"From the 'Beloved Community' to 'Family Values': Religious Language, Symbolic Repertoires, and Democratic Culture," in *Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State,* ed. David S. Meyer, Nancy Whittier, and Belinda Robnett (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 247–265; Taylor and Van Dyke, "'Get up, Stand up.'"

32. Ann Swidler, "Cultural Power and Social Movements," in *Social Movements and Culture,* ed. Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 25–40; Hunt and Benford, "Collective Identity, Solidarity, and Commitment," 437–438.

33. Hunt and Benford, "Collective Identity, Solidarity, and Commitment," 445.

34. Lee A. Smithey and Lester R. Kurtz, "Parading Persuasion: Nonviolent Collective Action as Discourse in Northern Ireland," *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 24 (2003): 319–359.

35. In Chapter 5, Matt Meyer describes similar ethnically inspired tactics that occurred in Mozambique during the 1920s and 1930s. Singing, dancing, and carving served as forms of noncooperation and symbolic protest.

36. Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000): 611–639.

37. Swidler, "Cultural Power and Social Movements"; Charles Tilly, *Regimes and Repertoires* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). As in any nonviolent campaign, corporations, states, churches, and other institutions present different vulnerabilities, which recommend more or less persuasive symbolic methods or more coercive acts of noncooperation or intervention.

38. Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest,* 237.

39. The documentary film, *The Singing Revolution,* offers a compelling example of the way in which a traditional activity, in this case choral singing of Estonian folk songs, came to constitute a social movement tactic as it allowed Estonians to signal national solidarity and defy Soviet hegemony. James Tusty and Maureen Castle Tusty, *The Singing Revolution* (New York: Docurama Films, 2008), http://www.singingrevolution.com/.

40. Rick Fantasia, *Cultures of Solidarity: Consciousness, Action, and Contemporary American Workers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Klandermans, "The Social Construction"; Polletta and Jasper, "Collective Identity and Social Movements," 285; Sharon Erickson Nepstad, *Convictions of the Soul: Religion, Culture, and Agency in the Central America Solidarity Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Taylor and Van Dyke, "'Get up, Stand up,'" 270.

41. Mary Ryan, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order," in *The New Cultural History (Studies on the History of Society and Culture),* ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Mary Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City During the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Verta Taylor and Nancy Whittier, "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization," in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory,* ed. Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 120; Dominic Bryan, *Orange Parades: The Politics of Ritual, Tradition, and Control* (London: Pluto Press, 2000); Verta Taylor, Leila J. Rupp, and Joshua Gamson, "Performing Protest: Drag Shows as Tactical Repertoire of the Gay and Lesbian Movement," *Research in Social Movements, Conflict, and Change* 25 (2004): 105–137; Lee A. Smithey and Michael P. Young, "Parading Protest: Orange Parades in Northern Ireland and Temperance Parades in Antebellum America," *Social Movement Studies* 9, no. 4 (2010): 393–410.

42. Fantasia and Hirsche, "Culture in Rebellion."

43. Francesca Polletta, "Strategy and Identity in 1960s Black Protest," *Research in Social Movements, Conflict, and Change* 17 (1994): 85–114; see also Melucci, "The Process of Collective Identity," 50.

44. Mahatma Gandhi, ed. Louis Fischer, *The Essential Gandhi, an Anthology* (New York: Random House, 1962), 337–338; Mohandas K. Gandhi, ed. Krishna Kripalani, *All Men Are Brothers: Autobiographical Reflections* (New York: Continuum, 2005), 31–32.

45. Howard Clark, *Civil Resistance in Kosovo* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 66.

46. Neil J. Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963); Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest,* 240–242.