NADINE BLOCH AND LISA SCHIRCH

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SYNERGIZING NONVIOLENT ACTION AND PEACEBUILDING

SNAP

AN ACTION GUIDE

UNITED STATES
INSTITUTE OF PEACE
Making Peace Possible

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About This Guide

This action guide seeks to build bridges between peacebuilding and nonviolent action practitioners so that methods are used strategically and effectively on the path toward conflict transformation. It shows how dialogue, direct-action skills, and approaches can be synergized to advance justice and sustainable peace. This guide is for trainers, facilitators, and other practitioners serving the many organizers, activists, mediators, negotiators, and peacebuilders who want to learn more about how to integrate nonviolent action and peacebuilding strategies in their work.

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A Primer on Strategic Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding Processes

This action guide makes the case that both nonviolent action and peacebuilding approaches—direct action and dialogue—are necessary to transform violent conflict and increase the likelihood that groups will achieve their goals. This unit provides a primer on nonviolent action and peacebuilding so that we may begin to understand how they can be integrated in the conflict transformation process.

What Is Conflict Transformation?

For our purposes, *conflict transformation* is an umbrella term for the processes that change or transform violent conflict into nonviolent conflict, where individuals use various institutional and extra-institutional channels and a variety of nonviolent methods to address root causes and build a just and sustainable peace.

People advance a just and sustainable peace using different methods. Some favor institutional methods, like elections and court cases. For example, human rights lawyers will focus on legal strategies and rule of law systems, and high-level peacebuilding specialists may focus on diplomatic solutions to conflict. Extra-institutional methods, like nonviolent action and local peacebuilding efforts such as intergroup dialogue, work outside of formal institutions. For example, community leaders may employ traditional councils to resolve neighborly disputes, and grassroots activists may organize a boycott to hold a company to account for polluting local water sources. We'll return to those concepts later in the guide.

The path to transforming conflict is neither linear nor straightforward. Peacebuilding methods like dialogue, mediation, and negotiation may be needed as activists begin to organize and build movements, and nonviolent action tactics like mass protests and strikes may be needed to help negotiators use conflict resolution methods to bring a more just, rights-respecting peace agreement over the finish line.

This guide does not address the entire scope of conflict transformation. The point of this guide is to show specifically how people can use nonviolent action and peacebuilding approaches in tandem to transform conflict and achieve a more just and sustainable peace. Different approaches are necessary at different times and in different contexts.

TABLE 1.

Types of Change

KIND OF CHANGE	WHERE IT PLAYS OUT
Personal change	Individual and internal work: self-awareness of one's identity, sources of power, skills, attributes, knowledge
Relational change	Interactions between people; dialogue and communications
Cultural change	Societal shifts in values—away from domination and violence and toward partnership, justice, equity, and nonviolent approaches
Structural change	Institutional shifts away from harmful structures, institutions, laws, and regimes

Adapted from John Paul Lederach, Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation across Cultures
(New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995).

WHAT KINDS OF CHANGE ARE WE TALKING ABOUT?

This action guide is relevant to individuals, organizations, and movements aiming to achieve just and sustainable peace in their societies and communities. That requires four types of change, as shown in table 1.

In practice, this means that those that seek to create positive change, or changemakers, focus on personal reflection and growth, building organizations and diverse coalitions, modeling fair and participatory internal decision-making processes, and addressing structural injustices. This guide identifies strategic planning processes for addressing each of these dimensions of conflict transformation.

Moving from personal to structural changes requires challenging, and often confronting, the structural barriers (e.g., exclusionary policies, corruption, institutional discrimination) that marginalize or repress individuals and groups. It entails developing processes to resolve inevitable conflicts in both the short and the long term, and it requires integrating nonviolent action and peacebuilding approaches and techniques into a successful strategy.

What Is Nonviolent Action?

Nonviolent action is a method of advancing social, political, and economic change that includes tactics of protest, noncooperation, and intervention designed to shift power in a conflict without the threat or use of violence. These methods are nonviolent in that they do not include the threat or use of injurious force to others. Nonviolent action is also known as "people power,"

"civil resistance," "nonviolent resistance," or "nonviolent direct action."

Nonviolent tactics attempt to change the status quo for a variety of purposes, including harmful ones. Here, however, we are referring only to nonviolent action grounded in a respect for universal human rights that

Nonviolent action methods, like those shown in table 2, can take a variety of forms to help build awareness and shift power.

aims to build more just and inclusive societies. It differs from *nonviolence* as a principled way of life that rejects violence for moral or ethical reasons.

Nonviolent action is grounded in a particular *understanding of power.* Regimes, governments, and non-state actors (corporations, militant groups, terrorists) rely on the consent and obedience of ordinary people in order to rule or wield power. Understanding this is key to a "social view" of power, in comparison with a "hierarchical" lens that sees only the top dog with power. When the people who make up the organizations and institutions that support the regime or other power holders refuse to obey or withdraw their consent and cooperation from that system by engaging in mass civil resistance, the opponent's power can be undercut, disrupted, and even disintegrated.

The strength of nonviolent action is that it builds and shifts power by heightening awareness and participation in the process of applying social, economic, and political pressure, so that powerful groups cannot ignore the needs and interests of other groups in society. The weakness of nonviolent action is that balancing power and creating pressure for change alone may not lead to sustainable changes.

Nonviolent action requires courage and a willingness to take risks. It is not weak or passive. It is an active engagement and a powerful way for people to advance their rights, freedom, justice, and self-determination—without the use of violence. While it is true that violent warfare or terrorist attacks can disrupt or destroy a regime or an institution, these do not commonly lead to peace or justice. Nonviolent methods, however, can challenge unjust institutions in ways that can

enable a more just and peaceful society.[1] History shows that the success of nonviolent action is not dependent on the kind of regime or opponent (autocratic, democratic, or violent) that is faced but rather relies more on the capacity and skills of ordinary people.[2]

WHAT ARE THE METHODS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION?

Some methods protest, disrupt, or interrupt the present power structure, while others reward it or build alternatives to it. Some methods confront the system with, for example, symbolic protests or consumer boycotts. Other methods build power by providing services and governance. In 1972, Gene Sharp identified 198 methods of social, economic, and political nonviolent action;[3] today a new catalog of nonviolent resistance methods is under way—with hundreds of new methods identified.[4]

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT SUCCESSFUL NONVIOLENT ACTION?

Data in *Why Civil Resistance Works*[5] show that nonviolent campaigns have been more than twice as effective as violent campaigns. When we use the term *nonviolent campaign*, we are referring to a series of observable, continual nonviolent tactics in pursuit of a goal. Successful nonviolent campaigns do the following:

Support mass participation: Successful nonviolent campaigns choose tactics that enable more people to participate; they are on average eleven times larger than campaigns that use violence. Larger numbers of participants strengthen the power and legitimacy of a nonviolent campaign or movement, increase the power and make it more

TABLE 2.

Nonviolent Action Methods

NATURE OF METHODS		
Nonviolent Methods Category (General Behavior)	**PENALTY/CONFRONTATIONAL (NEGATIVE)**	**REWARD/CONSTRUCTIVE (POSITIVE)**
Expression (Saying Something)	**Protest** Action that is primarily communicative with the intent to criticize or coerce	**Appeal** Action that is primarily communicative with the intent to reward or persuade
Acts of Omission (Not Doing Something)	**Noncooperation** Refusal to engage in expected behavior by acts of omission	**Refraining** Halting or calling off disruptive actions or expression to reward or persuade
Acts of Commission (Doing or Creating Something)	**Disruptive Intervention** Direct action that confronts another party to stop, disrupt, or change their behavior	**Creative Intervention** Modeling competing behaviors and constructing competing institutions

Source: Michael Beer, "Revisiting the Methods of Nonviolent Action," International Center on Nonviolent Conflict Blog Post (forthcoming 2018).

difficult to crush or infiltrate a campaign or movement, and lay the groundwork for ongoing involvement.

Maintain nonviolent discipline: Successful nonviolent campaigns use tactics that leverage power while maintaining nonviolent discipline. Keeping actions nonviolent increases participation and reduces the potential for infiltration and the likelihood of repression by authorities. Such repression often backfires when movements maintain nonviolent discipline—moving bystanders to sympathize with nonviolent activists over repressive opponents, and encouraging loyalty shifts or defections from the authority's supporters.

Invest in planning: Successful nonviolent campaigns and movements engage in ongoing strategic planning that harnesses assessment, sequencing, escalation, and innovation of tactics to lead to a successful end game. Planning encourages creativity, imagination, connectivity, and sustainability. The more groups unite around goals and innovate tactically, the more likely they are to win.

What Is Peacebuilding?

Peacebuilding is an umbrella term used to describe a wide range of efforts by diverse actors in government and civil society. Peacebuilding addresses conflict at the community, regional, or national level through participatory processes that involve dialogue, principled negotiation, mediation, and collective problem solving. High-level peacebuilding led by the United Nations (UN) or nation-states includes official diplomacy and conflict prevention efforts to solve deep-rooted drivers of conflict. Locally led peacebuilding efforts

Peacebuilding methods highlight the importance of relationship building and creative problem solving.

include dialogue programs and other community-based efforts to reduce conflict and improve relationships and the quality of life.

A peacebuilding approach does not back away from conflict or tension. It is "hard on the problems, but soft on the people," meaning that it encourages individuals to distinguish between a person's beliefs and actions and the human dignity of the person. People can criticize ideas and behaviors while maintaining respect for the person. Such an attitude is the prerequisite for building strong and sustainable relationships and trust.

Formal peacebuilding processes require structures for wide participation and deep discussion of the underlying interests and grievances that fuel conflict. Public participation is an essential component for achieving a sustainable outcome.

Half of all peace agreements fail. Elite-led state-to-state or high-level peace processes that limit or exclude public participation and interests are more likely to fail than those that put the people—or society—at the center of the process. Research on all peace agreements reached in the post–Cold War period found that the involvement of civil society actors, including religious groups, women's groups, and human rights organizations, reduced the risk of failure by 64 percent.[6]

A comprehensive peace process requires a careful look at *who* participates, *what* issues are on the table, and *how* to structure the process. In short, a comprehensive peace process requires creating structures for wide participation and deep discussion of underlying interests and grievances that fuel conflict. Only a *wide* and

deep multileveled, sequential process using principled negotiation techniques will enable a community to build a broad consensus on the way forward. The Colombia peace process, which culminated in a landmark peace accord last year, featured the active involvement of victims' groups, women's groups, and other civic actors.

The strength of peacebuilding is that it uses inclusive processes to develop solutions that satisfy the interests of all groups. Peacebuilding processes like community-led dialogue can be helpful within a nonviolent campaign or movement to help build strong coalitions. Dialogue and negotiation are also helpful to develop creative solutions and negotiate a sustainable outcome between a nonviolent movement and external stakeholders. The weakness of peacebuilding processes is that dialogue and negotiation are often ineffective if there is a significant power imbalance between groups.

WHAT ARE THE METHODS OF PEACEBUILDING?
The UN and many scholars and practitioners use the term *peacebuilding* to refer to a wide spectrum of activities to transform conflict, including community and economic development, participatory governance, and programs to bring groups together across the lines of conflict to find sustainable solutions.

In this action guide, we focus mostly on dialogue and negotiation peacebuilding processes. *Negotiation* is a process where two or more people or groups pursue their self-interests. In principled negotiation, stakeholders communicate with each other to address interests that may be incompatible, and they identify underlying needs and interests to develop creative solutions that meet the fundamental needs of all groups.

Negotiation begins with dialogue. *Dialogue* is a way of talking that encourages active listening and honest but respectful speaking. The goal of dialogue is to improve understanding and relationships between people or groups. Dialogue and negotiation tend to be most productive when groups recognize their interdependence and desire to maintain a relationship in the long run.

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT SUCCESSFUL PEACEBUILDING PROCESSES?

Comprehensive peacebuilding processes have at least three interrelated benefits:

Broad buy-in: Peacebuilding processes are more likely to succeed if there is public support for them. Lack of public support is a key characteristic of failed peace agreements.

Legitimacy: Dialogue and negotiation are more effective if stakeholders hold roughly equal power and are seen as legitimate by key groups. Peace negotiations that include only armed actors may be seen as legitimizing the use of violent struggle to achieve political power. A peace process that includes empowered and legitimate civil society representatives is more likely to succeed.

Sustainability: Peace processes that involve active public participation are more likely to address a range of factors fueling conflict. Addressing root causes and finding a political solution can prevent the recurrence of violent conflict.

In conclusion, this unit provides foundational knowledge of nonviolent action and peacebuilding so that we can better understand how they can work synergistically together to transform violent conflict and build just and peaceful societies. The Circle of Principles (figure 1) below helps visualize how the principles of effective nonviolent action and peacebuilding reinforce one another.

FIGURE 1.

Circle of Principles

Resources

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Notes

1. "Do Civil Resistance Movements Advance Democratization?," International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, accessed June 29, 2018, https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/blog_post/civil-resistance-movements-advance-democratization/.

2. Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

3. Gene Sharp, *Politics of Nonviolent Action, Part Two: The Methods of Nonviolent Action*, ed. Marina Finkelstein (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1973).

4. Michael Beer, "Nonviolent Action Methods," International Center on Nonviolent Conflict Blog Post (forthcoming 2018).

5. Chenoweth and Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works*.

6. Desiree Nilsson, "Anchoring the Peace: Civil Society Actors in Peace Accords and Durable Peace," *International Interactions* 38, no. 2 (April 1, 2012): 243–66, https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2012.659139.

Introducing an Action Guide for Synergizing Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding

Boycotts and protests, or dialogue and negotiation? Pressure or engagement? Which approaches, and in what sequence, are most effective for transforming conflict and building just and peaceful societies? Scholars, activists, organizers, and peacebuilders have been grappling with these questions for decades. This is the core idea of this action guide: nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes achieve more success when they are intentionally used together rather than separately.

Is Combining Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding a New Idea?

Yes and no. In 1971, feminist nonviolent activist Barbara Deming wrote "Revolution and Equilibrium" asserting that activists needed "two hands of nonviolence." One hand is held palm facing out, to say "stop the injustice!" The other hand is offered as if to shake someone's hand. Notable nonviolent activists such as Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. also advocated this two-handed approach. They supported the use of strategic nonviolent tactics to shift power while also reaching out a hand to dialogue or negotiate with adversaries.

Successful nonviolent activists have been using dialogue and negotiation for many years. At the same time, the most effective peacebuilding processes were successful in large part thanks to the support of nonviolent movements.

In Liberia, Tunisia, Guatemala, Colombia, South Africa, Nepal, and many other places, positive social and political change occurred as a result of a combination of nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes. This guide does not "invent" this synergy. Rather, it seeks to address the challenges that arise when nonviolent activists and peacebuilders encounter barriers or "stalemates" with one approach. Nonviolent activists recognize the need for so-called peacebuilding skills. Peacebuilders recognize the need for shifting power dynamics. Yet, both fields do not fully draw on the skills and strategies each can offer the other. This guide begins to address that challenge.

Quaker activist and peace scholar Adam Curle drew the Curle Diagram in 1971 to show how the tools of community organizing and nonviolent direct action were necessary to shift power and enable productive

negotiations and conflict transformation. Mennonite peace practitioner John Paul Lederach elaborated on Curle's Diagram in the 1980s and 1990s. He also acknowledged that the fields and practices of peacebuilding and nonviolent action had developed in parallel, with the "resolutionaries" separate from the "revolutionaries."[1] Lisa Schirch began teaching a course combining strategic nonviolent action and peacebuilding and published a book on this topic in the early 2000s.[2]

In 2017, the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict published *Powering to Peace: Integrated Civil Resistance and Peacebuilding Strategies*, a special report by Veronique Dudouet to explore this intersection.[3] That same year, the United States Institute of Peace published a report by Anthony Wanis-St. John and Noah Rosen titled *Negotiating Civil Resistance*.[4] The reports shared a key conclusion: the synergy between the strategies and skills of nonviolent action and peacebuilding can strengthen the efforts of people working for social justice, political freedom, human rights, inclusion, and environmental sustainability. This action guide follows this hypothesis: a combination of nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes can shift power and increase awareness to enable a sustainable outcome to conflicts between groups. You need both to address the injustices that fuel violent conflict and to rebuild the relationships necessary to achieve sustainable peace.

Before we go any further, let's redefine our terms:

- *Nonviolent action* is a way for ordinary people to exert power collectively without the threat or use of violence. Sometimes referred to as

"civil resistance," it is a means of harnessing the collective strength of organized people through nonviolent tactics such as demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, and protection strategies and building alternative institutions to achieve social, political, and economic goals.

- *Nonviolent organizers and activists* are strategists, campaigners, trainers, tactical experts, skilled professionals, and others who harness nonviolent action to make social change.

- *Nonviolent movements* are fluid groups of people, organizations, coalitions and networks that use nonviolent collective action to advance change-oriented goals.

- *Nonviolent campaigns* describe the sequencing of nonviolent action methods by groups to advance specified goals. Campaigns typically have a clearly defined beginning, middle, and end.

- *Peacebuilding* is a means of transforming conflict to develop sustainable, just solutions and institutions. Though often used as an umbrella term to refer to many diverse efforts, the field of peacebuilding tends to emphasize relationship-based and problem-solving processes such as dialogue, negotiation, and mediation processes that engage diverse stakeholders. Peacebuilders are dialogue facilitators, conflict coaches, trainers, negotiators, and mediators who advocate for peacebuilding processes. In this guide, the term *peacebuilding* refers to skills and processes that build relationships between groups to foster greater awareness of the conflict issues and potential solutions.

- *Conflict transformation* is an umbrella term for the processes that change or transform violent conflict into nonviolent conflict, where individuals use various institutional and extra-institutional channels and methods to address root causes. Conflict transformation includes both nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes to address societal problems and improve relationships between conflict stakeholders. Nonviolent activists and peacebuilders are all changemakers, people who foster change.

- *Power* is the ability to influence others to get a particular outcome. Governments and international institutions often support peacebuilding processes to address root causes and either prevent or respond to violent conflict. However, power imbalances can make negotiation and other peace processes ineffective. Nonviolent action mobilizes people to work together through tactics that shift power and empower communities. Once power is more balanced, peace processes are more likely to find sustainable outcomes.

From Separation to Synergy

Some view nonviolent action and peacebuilding as separate, incompatible, or contradictory skill sets. Nonviolent action focuses on shifting power to achieve victory against an (often) oppressive or unresponsive opponent. Peacebuilding processes seek to build relationships, increase awareness of underlying inter-ests, and discover potential solutions. Each approach has its own history, community of practice, literature, and education and training programs. Nonviolent action and peacebuilding are most often taught separately in both popular and academic settings.

This action guide seeks to reduce the separation and create a synergy for both peacebuilding and nonviolent action practitioners so that the most strategic and effective methods from each field are considered on the path toward conflict transformation. Instead of viewing nonviolent action and peacebuilding as opposing methods of change, this guide illustrates how both approaches support each other on the pathway toward change.

Some synergy has already begun, as many people working "on the ground" in many different settings intuitively use both sets of skills in their work to transform their societies—often to great practical effect. Others who self-identify as either peacebuilders, activists, or organizers are beginning to become interested in learning more about "synergizing non-violent action and peacebuilding" strategies and skill sets.

Who Are We to Write This Guide?

We are two activists, trainers, teachers, and facilitators who have long explored how to synergize nonviolent action and peacebuilding. Here is a little bit of informa-tion about each of us.

Nadine Bloch is currently training director for *Beautiful Trouble* and an innovative artist, nonviolent practitioner, political organizer, direct-action trainer, and puppetista. Her work explores the po-tent intersection of art and politics, where creative cultural resistance is not only effective political action but also a powerful way to reclaim agency over our own lives, fight oppressive systems, and invest in our communities—all while having more fun than the other side. She is a contributor to

Beautiful Trouble: *A Toolbox for Revolution* (2012, O/R Books), *Beautiful Rising*: *Creative Resistance from the Global South* (2017, O/R Books), *We Are Many, Reflections on Movement Strategy from Occupation to Liberation* (2012, AK Press), and author of the special report *Education & Training in Nonviolent Resistance* (2016, U.S. Institute of Peace). Check out her column on the blog *Waging Nonviolence*, "The Arts of Protest."

Lisa Schirch is research director for the Toda Peace Institute and senior policy advisor with the Alliance for Peacebuilding. From 1995 to 2017, she taught a graduate-level course on combining strategic nonviolent action and strategic peacebuilding at

the Summer Peacebuilding Institute and served as a research professor at the Center for Justice and Peacebuilding at Eastern Mennonite University. Her book *Strategic Peacebuilding* (2004) provides a conceptual framework for recognizing the role of nonviolent action in peacebuilding. Her book *Ritual and Symbol in Peacebuilding* (2005) and her article "Strategic Arts-Based Peacebuilding" (2008) explore the role of the arts in nonviolent action. In *Dialogue on Difficult Subjects* (2007), Schirch and coauthor David Campt explore the role of dialogue in nonviolent social movements to address racism and other social problems. In *Conflict Assessment and*

Peacebuilding Planning (2014), Schirch provides assessment and strategic planning tools. Schirch frequently takes to the streets and the blogosphere to work for social justice.

We have also been working with a variety of colleagues in the two fields who are seeking greater synergy between nonviolent action and peacebuilding strategies and greatly appreciate their support. They have helped us develop this action guide in several ways, by participating in trial runs of training activities, commenting on the content and structure of the guide, and contributing to the reading and writing of drafts.

Who Is This Guide For?

This guide is for experienced trainers interested in serving the many organizers, activists, mediators, negotiators, and civil society professionals who see the need for more training in how to integrate nonviolent action and peacebuilding strategies. While many experienced trainers know either the field of nonviolent action or the field of peacebuilding, few know both fields. Users of this guide might include the following:

- The leaders of nonviolent activist groups who realize that "all we are doing is focusing on street action, and we need more organizational strength in order to win or be viable in the longer term"

- The members of negotiation teams who realize that "pressure generated through nonviolent mass action can challenge power differences and strengthen our negotiating leverage"

- The women's empowerment project organizers who realize that existing laws obstruct women's participation in political dialogue, negotiation, and decision making, and that "we need to build awareness and power for women's rights" through dramatic nonviolent action

- The anticorruption activists who are asking "how do we translate public demands for transparency and accountability into laws and governance institutions that are enforced and sufficiently supported?"

- The rule of law task force members who have reached an impasse in addressing police bribery and realize that "we need community members to both dialogue directly with the police *and* press for change through nonviolent action in the community"

- The donors who see that their investments in development are undermined by poor governance practices and recognize that "we need to support communities that are using non-violent action to raise public awareness of predatory governance"

The trick, of course, is to find a variety of ways to make this synergy common practice.

How Is the SNAP Guide Organized?

Transforming conflict requires strategy. Units 1, 2, 5, 6, and 9 provide a strategic framework that helps highlight the synergy of nonviolent action's ability to build power with peacebuilding skills that foster greater awareness of the issues and interests of all groups.

Three units in this guide focus on typical peacebuilding skills. Dialogue skills in unit 3 enable changemakers to defuse conflict and build coalitions. Facilitation skills in unit 4 aid in the development of group process. Negotiation skills in unit 8 help groups find creative solutions with adversaries.

Unit 7 of this guide focuses on how to choose nonviolent tactics that will shift power.

The sequence of the units follows a basic outline of good strategy. In reality, activists, organizers, and peacebuilders know that there is no straight line to success—change moves more like a helix with peaks and valleys, achievements and setbacks. Also, this action guide does not pretend to be all inclusive. For example, we do not do a deep dive on communications and messaging or changing legal systems. Rather, it is intentionally selective in an effort to create an accessible, reasonably sized guide. (There are additional materials in the "Resources" section of each unit.)

The action guide started with a primer to provide basic information about the fields of nonviolent action and peacebuilding. Unit 1 provides a detailed overview of the synergy between nonviolent action and peacebuilding. The guide illustrates this complementarity in several case studies.

Unit 2 highlights key principles and elements of strategy, necessary for all conflict transformation. Improving strategy is an overarching organizing theme for the guide.

Unit 3 explores the skills needed for building diverse coalitions, a common characteristic of successful nonviolent movements. Communication skills such as active listening, defusing anger, and effective dialogue are central to the field of peacebuilding.

Unit 4 addresses the challenge of facilitating effective meetings and making decisions in groups. These peacebuilding skills are helpful for building group cohesion and decision-making capacity. Honing these skills can help changemakers build stronger coalitions and address internal conflicts.

Unit 5 introduces conflict assessment exercises from both fields. Good assessment is necessary for good strategy. In particular, inclusive and diverse participation

in the conflict assessment processes helps ensure that the analysis is reflective of the lived experiences of different people in society.

Units 6 and 7 identify more advanced strategic planning skills to better integrate nonviolent action and peace-building approaches. While many groups like to jump ahead to the fun and exciting stage of choosing non-violent direct-action tactics, this often results in ineffective tactics that are not explicitly linked to strategy.

Unit 8 returns to a focus on how to sequence and synergize nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes. It explores the concept of "negotiation ripeness" and how to determine when to use nonviolent action to build power, when to use dialogue to strengthen coalitions and public support, or when to negotiate with adversaries to find a sustainable solution. Negotiation in this context is critical to winning allies, channeling direct action into concrete outcomes, and consolidating victories. When and if a nonviolent movement has successfully shifted and gained negotiating power, principled negotiation strategies can help prepare a group to achieve tangible wins.

Unit 9 reviews the sequencing of nonviolent action and peacebuilding methods to maximize their effectiveness. It helps changemakers develop planning time lines to operationalize and implement their integrated strategies, using skills emphasized earlier in the guide, in order to achieve their goals.

Each unit can stand on its own to create an individual short training session, or units can be combined as a framework for creating longer one- to four-day training sessions or multiple weekly sessions. A typical unit includes the following:

- Learning Objectives

- Front Line Story

- Key Concepts: basic information

- Beyond the Page: exercises to help a group practice skills and apply knowledge

- Resources

This action guide is useful in both formal and informal training settings. In addition to the "Resources" section at the end of each unit, you can find a glossary of terms at the end of the guide. For access to free supplemental SNAP materials and resources, please contact snap@usip.org.

We, of course, would love to hear from you and learn from your experiences using SNAP in your workshops and training programs. If you have suggestions or would like to share your experiences, please e-mail snap@usip.org. We also thank you for your creativity, commitment, and contribution to effective social change and conflict transformation.

Making This Common Practice

How to Maximize Learning in a Training or Workshop

We recommend that you use training approaches grounded in experiential learning and a participatory framework that builds on and synthesizes knowledge and skills that already exist in the room while accommodating a variety of learning and communication styles. Experiential[5] and Popular Education[6] techniques encourage deeper engagement with the concepts and often more meaningful and empowering participation in the learning process.

If you are already skilled in adult education and training in a Popular Education approach, this guide should make it easy for you to design and lead (and train others to lead) workshops and extended programs on synergizing nonviolent action and peacebuilding strategies and skills. If you are less experienced but motivated and daring, this guide should help you offer educational experiences of value to your organizations and movements. Contact snap@usip.org for some helpful basic training tips in using this guide, as well as some other basic resources on good group facilitation and training.

Build Bold Spaces

We consider this an advanced guide as many of the exercises are written for experienced facilitators or trainers in leading workshops with diverse audiences on complex issues. Current best practices in training emphasize the importance of preventing unhealthy social norms and oppressions through building a healthy community framework for the work that you will be doing if you use this guide.

Invest in setting up a space that is open to bold sharing but not tolerant of racism, sexism, or other oppressive ways of interacting. We believe the work itself can offer significant benefits in the here and now if grounded in this way.

Invest in solid facilitators/trainers who can

- take advantage of "learning moments,"

- equalize participation in the group to access the knowledge in the room,

- use a variety of teaching methods that honor a broad spectrum of learning styles, and

- communicate and build a commitment to the strategic importance of training and education in nonviolent movements.[7]

Prioritize the Debrief

Often, the most important work in an exercise (and there are many in this guide!) is done in the debrief or evaluation section. One format is the "Quick and Dirty Debriefing Framework" that can work in very little time or can serve as a scaffolding for deep processing, based on the three "F's":

- **FEELINGS:** Encourage participants to process their feelings by asking, "How did that feel?"

  NOTE: If the exercise brought up intense energy or trauma, this may need to be handled more formally before being able to move on to thinking about what happened or what was learned.

- **FACTS:** Ask "What happened?"

  NOTE: This section is about learning what people experienced from different perspectives in the group, not about establishing "facts" per se. In a role play, it is often very eye-opening to some, that one group of participants (e.g., role-playing police) would have experienced something very different from another group (e.g., role-playing protesters).

- **FUTURE:** Ask "What lessons/learnings/aha moments can we take with us?"

  NOTE: This is the essence of taking the experience forward or into the future beyond the workshop.

Resources

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1. John Paul Lederach, "Revolutionaries & Resolutionaries: In Pursuit of Dialogue," *Conciliation Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (1989): 87.

2. Lisa Schirch, *The Little Book of Strategic Peacebuilding* (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 2004).

3. Veronique Dudouet, *Powering to Peace: Integrated Civil Resistance and Peacebuilding Strategies*, vol. 1 (Washington: DC: International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, April 2017).

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5. "What Is Experiential Education?," Association for Experiential Education, accessed November 13, 2017, http://www.aee.org/what-is-ee.

6. "Popular Education," Intergroup Resources, accessed December 8, 2017, www.intergroupresources.com /popular-education/.

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Synergize for Success

CONTENTS

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of the lesson, participants will be able to:

Identify how nonviolent action is both distinct from and complementary to negotiation or other peacebuilding processes to achieve political, economic, and social changes or reforms

Identify how peacebuilding processes are helpful to build relationships both within a nonviolent movement and between diverse stakeholders in the wider conflict

Construct a diagram that includes peacebuilding and nonviolent methods that could increase awareness of key issues and shift power in ways necessary for effective negotiation

Synergize for Success

Conflict transformation requires a wide variety of tasks, such as taking action in the streets, building relationships and recruiting new members to the movement, analyzing information and developing strategies for effective action, and sitting down with adversaries to brainstorm ways to satisfy each other's interests. Yet most movements and peacebuilding processes either de-emphasize or lack these complementary skill sets. Nonviolent activists know how to engage in nonviolent conflict and motivate people to take joint public action, but they may have less experience in facilitating a delicate meeting featuring diverse groups and opinions. Peacebuilders may excel at dialogue or negotiation strategies to solve complex problems, but they may get stuck when one group has far more power than another group, making "getting to yes" that results in a fair and just resolution difficult or impossible.

This unit describes how a synergy between nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes improves the chances of success. The Curle Diagram illustrates this synergy to translate nonviolent tactics into effective pressure to bring groups to the negotiation table. And a case study illustrates what synergy between nonviolent action and peacebuilding looks like in practice.

Liberia Mass Action for Peace

Social change in Liberia would not have taken place without a combination of nonviolent action, dialogue, and negotiations in a peace process.

A series of civil wars in Liberia between the government and armed rebel groups fighting for control of the country brought devastation to the civilian population. During the Second Liberian Civil War, community organizers went door-to-door recruiting women to join a group that would become known as Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace (WLMAP) in 2003. The group brought together Muslim and Christian women who mobilized their efforts and used various nonviolent tactics to call for an end to the violence.

The women dressed in white clothing during weekly protests, implemented a sex strike, and held a public candlelight vigil. They eventually secured meetings with President Charles Taylor and rebels from the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia, getting both sides to agree to attend peace talks in Ghana.

The Liberian women raised money and sent a delegation to Accra to continue applying nonviolent pressure on the warring parties during the negotiations. They staged a sit-in at the building where the negotiations were taking place, blocking the doors to prevent anyone from leaving until a settlement was reached. The leader of WLMAP, Leymah Gbowee, even threatened to take off her clothes, an act that would bring shame to the men and prevented guards from removing the women.

The Liberian women became a widely recognized political force against violence and Taylor's regime. Their persistent actions led to the government and the rebels signing a ceasefire agreement and Taylor's resignation, signaling an end to a fourteen-year civil war. The women remained active throughout the peace process, working to register people in different parts of the country to vote. In 2006, Liberians elected Africa's first female head of state, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, who served two terms as president. The combination of nonviolent action and negotiation effectively brought an end to the civil war in Liberia.

Adapted from the Global Nonviolent Action Database.

Key Concepts

No single process or tactic on its own is likely to bring about sustainable change. A combination of nonviolent actions (strikes, vigils, boycotts) and peacebuilding processes (dialogue, negotiation, mediation) is more likely to transform conflict, create social change, and build a more just and sustainable peace.

HOW CAN NONVIOLENT ACTION HELP PEACEBUILDING PROCESSES BE MORE EFFECTIVE?

Nonviolent action is often essential where power asymmetries between the conflict parties make successful negotiation or dialogue less likely. Silent vigils, petitions, sit-ins, and symbolic protests can increase awareness of issues, shift incentives, and help "ripen" conflicts for resolution. Nonviolent action can help:

- *Increase awareness of the key issues*, beginning with community organizing to raise awareness within a group, then raising awareness of larger numbers of people until there is broad recognition of the need for social change

- *Shift power between groups* so that the needs and interests of all groups can be met

- *Raise the urgency* of ending violent conflict and *integrate the voices of the marginalized or those excluded* from formal or informal peace processes

HOW CAN PEACEBUILDING PROCESSES HELP NONVIOLENT ACTION BE MORE EFFECTIVE?

Peacebuilding methods like negotiation, mediation, and dialogue are critical for helping establish next steps and translate movement goals into sustainable change. Peacebuilding approaches can help:

- *Build diverse coalitions and alliances* necessary for successful movements, including communicating with key people who may be opposed to an issue to change sides

- *Negotiate with power holders to achieve concrete gains* and translate mass action into specific policy, legal, and other needed changes or reforms

- *Prepare movements and political activists* to appropriately communicate and effectively govern with diverse constituents

The Curle Diagram

How Do Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding Fit Together?

It is possible for nonviolent action or peacebuilding processes to bring about changes on their own. But often it is the synergy of both processes that addresses the roots of conflict and builds inclusive, just societies.

Conflict transformation is an art, not a science, and the specific steps are dependent on a deep understanding of the particular context. Sometimes groups start by negotiating and then realize that power is unbalanced, and a powerful government is not negotiating in good faith. Nonviolent action may follow such an unproductive negotiation.

This guide uses adaptations of what is known as the "Curle Diagram," which originates from Quaker nonviolent activist and peacebuilder Adam Curle. As illustrated in figure 2, conflict transformation often passes through a variety of phases.

The Curle Diagram includes four blocks of activity. The diagram may look linear, but conflict transformation is not a step-by-step process. It might be helpful to imagine the arrow here as a helix moving forward but visiting a variety of phases. The four stages of the Curle Diagram refer to the following:

Latent or "hidden" conflict: Conflict transformation often begins with addressing a situation where there is latent conflict. For example, some groups may be experiencing marginalization or discrimination, preventing their advancement in society. In these cases, there may be a low public awareness of conflict and some groups have more power than others. Conflict transformation in this stage starts with community organizing, coalition building, and capacity building to inform people about the issues at stake and empower people to become agents of change.
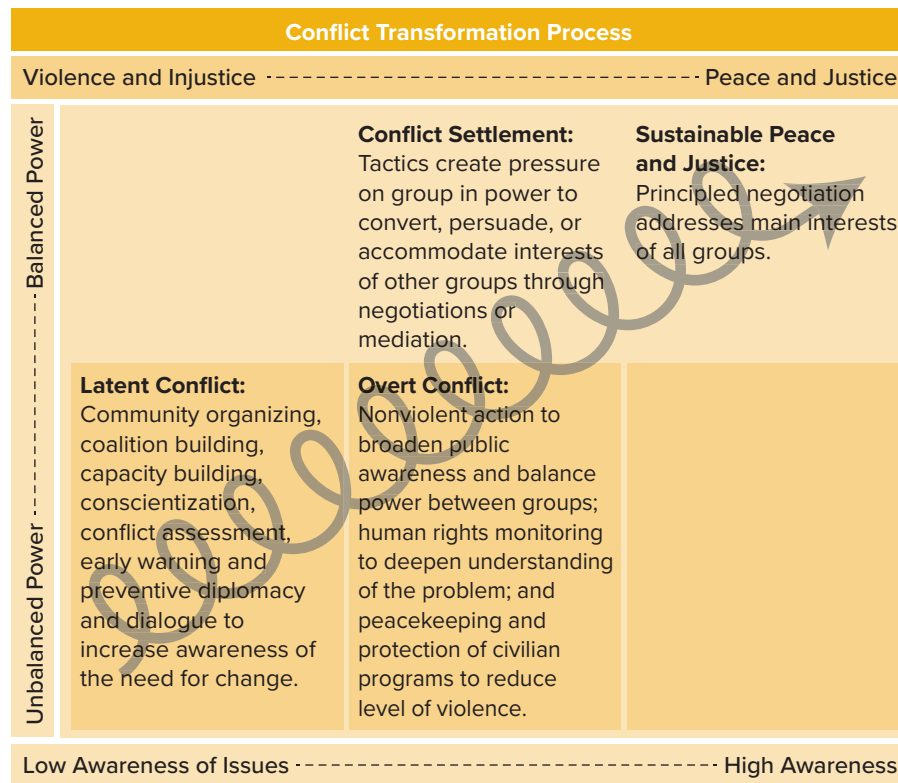
Overt or "open" conflict: In this stage, there is greater public awareness of conflict. Nonviolent action can bring conflict into the open and increase public awareness to persuade or pressure other groups to bring about social change by helping to shine a light on group grievances and changing the incentive structures of other groups.

Conflict settlement: Nonviolent movements also shift power. Once power is more balanced, and awareness of the conflict is widespread, conflict settlement becomes more likely. Sometimes balanced power between groups may simply *persuade a group* to change a policy or practice, or a group may be *forced* to yield power, allowing other groups to achieve their goals. More often, change happens as the group with more power *accommodates* the interests of other groups in society. Most of the time, conflict settlement happens through the use of peacebuilding techniques such as dialogue, mediation, or negotiation to create a detailed agreement on how the conflict will end and how new policies, structures, and leadership will be put in place.

Sustainable peace and justice: Conflict transformation processes strive to achieve a sustainable peace and justice, illustrated in the upper left-hand corner of the diagram. **Sustainable peace** is possible when the negotiations address the root causes of a conflict and policies and institutions are in place that protect basic human rights and promote inclusive governance.

FIGURE 2.

Curle Diagram

Conflict Transformation Process		
Violence and Injustice - Peace and Justice		

Conflict Settlement: Tactics create pressure on group in power to convert, persuade, or accommodate interests of other groups through negotiations or mediation.

Sustainable Peace and Justice: Principled negotiation addresses main interests of all groups.

Latent Conflict: Community organizing, coalition building, capacity building, conscientization, conflict assessment, early warning and preventive diplomacy and dialogue to increase awareness of the need for change.

Overt Conflict: Nonviolent action to broaden public awareness and balance power between groups; human rights monitoring to deepen understanding of the problem; and peacekeeping and protection of civilian programs to reduce level of violence.

Balanced Power / Unbalanced Power

Low Awareness of Issues - High Awareness

How Does the Curle Diagram Illustrate the Roles of Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding?

The Curle Diagram illustrates two basic forces: increasing awareness of the issues and balancing power between groups. Both are necessary for sustainable peace and justice.

Nonviolent action's primary focus is on *shifting and balancing power* between groups. While some nonviolent movements also practice peacebuilding skills of dialogue, facilitation, and negotiation, these tend to receive less emphasis in nonviolent action training.

Peacebuilding's primary focus is on *building relationships and raising awareness* of the interests and needs of all groups, the structural root causes, the interdependence between groups, and potential solutions. While some peacebuilding processes also pay attention to power dynamics, in general the field of peacebuilding places less emphasis on power than on building awareness and relationships.

WHY DO PEACEBUILDING PROCESSES NEED NONVIOLENT ACTION?

Negotiation and peace processes are rarely successful if there is a large imbalance of power. If one group has far more power than another, the group with more power may not feel it is necessary to change and may not negotiate in good faith. Nonviolent action can reinforce successful peace processes in three main ways:

1. **Nonviolent action shifts power:** Nonviolent action mobilizes people to take joint action to increase their power and public legitimacy and to put pressure on conflict actors. When power shifts, negotiation can be fruitful as all groups recognize the costs of the status quo and are more likely to participate in negotiation processes in good faith.

2. **Nonviolent action raises public awareness and legitimacy:** Nonviolent action brings hidden or latent conflicts into the open and increases public awareness of the legitimacy of the problems. Peacebuilding processes are more likely to succeed when there is wide acknowledgment of the problem and public commitment to address it.

3. **Nonviolent action can include creative interventions:** Nonviolent interventions can promote self-organizing and alternative structures to help the public imagine and build a more peaceful and just future. The interventions can also offer protection for peacebuilders, negotiators, human rights activists, journalists, and others to safely do their work.
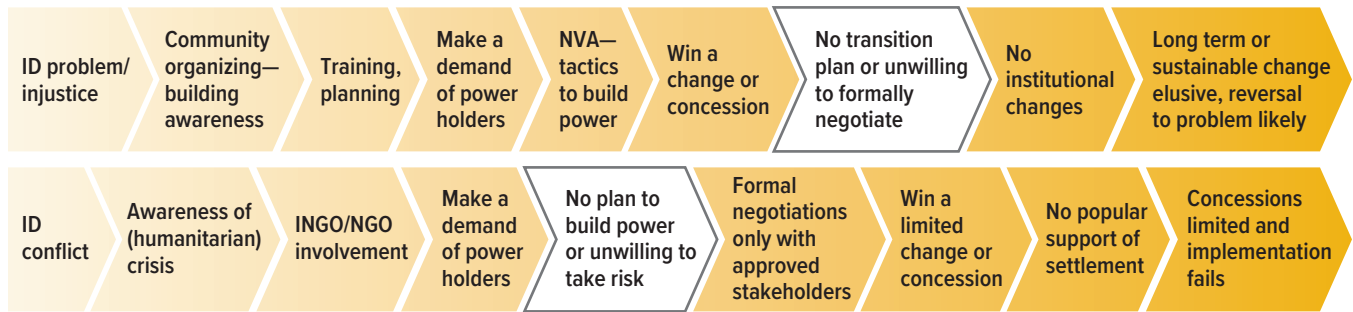
WHY DOES NONVIOLENT ACTION NEED PEACEBUILDING PROCESSES?

Nonviolent movements require skills in building relationships and developing solutions. Peacebuilding processes can reinforce successful nonviolent movements in three main ways:

1. **Peacebuilding skills help build stronger nonviolent movements and coalitions:** Internal conflict within a nonviolent movement and ethnic, religious, class, and gender divisions within society are significant reasons why movements fail. Successful nonviolent movements build wide and diverse coalitions. The use of dialogue, facilitation, and negotiation skills to address internal conflicts, facilitate inclusive decision making, and build coalitions increases the likelihood of a successful nonviolent movement.

2. **Peacebuilding processes use negotiation to find sustainable outcomes:** Nonviolent movements that end where one group "wins" and the other "loses" create the conditions where the losing group may restart the conflict. Successful peace processes address the interests of all stakeholders through principled negotiation. Peacebuilding skills can help nonviolent movement leaders link the power of their movements to detailed policy proposals and high-level negotiations that determine long-term implementation and sustainable outcomes.

3. **Peacebuilding processes can develop new institutions and inclusive political processes:** Peacebuilding processes offer the opportunity for re-creating how social groups relate to each other over the long term.

FIGURE 3.

The Gaps in Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding Approaches

| ID problem/ injustice | Community organizing— building awareness | Training, planning | Make a demand of power holders | NVA— tactics to build power | Win a change or concession | No transition plan or unwilling to formally negotiate | No institutional changes | Long term or sustainable change elusive, reversal to problem likely |

| ID conflict | Awareness of (humanitarian) crisis | INGO/NGO involvement | Make a demand of power holders | No plan to build power or unwilling to take risk | Formal negotiations only with approved stakeholders | Win a limited change or concession | No popular support of settlement | Concessions limited and implementation fails |

What Happens When There Is No Synergy between Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding Skills?

Nonviolent movements that do not use dialogue and negotiation may achieve short-term wins, but they may be unable to reach a settlement that delivers long-term change. Some activists may assume the path to success looks something like this: a group identifies an injustice, organizes the community to respond, decides on a few tactics to build their power, and hopefully "wins" over their adversary. What is not shown in this narrative is that all too often there is no sustainable "win" because there is no negotiated solution that satisfies all stakeholders.

Peacebuilding narratives also map the path to success. Peacebuilders identify a conflict and often

attempt to address that conflict first through dialogue, often facilitated by an NGO (nongovernment organization), and then through an official negotiation process between the adversaries. This narrative is also deficient. Many times, negotiation processes are unsuccessful because one side holds more power than the other side and does not want to give it up. Negotiation also tends to fail when it excludes key stakeholders like women, youth, and other parts of civil society, and when there is not sufficient public support for a negotiated outcome.

Figure 3 provides an example of the gaps in nonviolent action and peacebuilding approaches.

FIGURE 4.

Revolution Meets Resolution
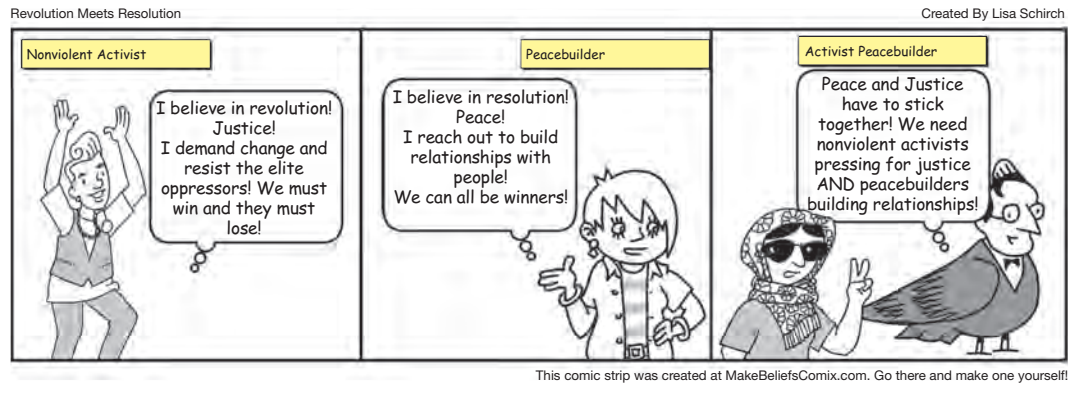
What Are Obstacles to Greater Synergy between Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding Today?

In short, there is often a lack of strategic planning. Different moments in the conflict transformation process call for different tactics and methods. However, not everyone is aware of the full range of tactics and strategies they can employ, and they may not have the time, the skill set, or both to integrate them. There is also a human tendency to stereotype and seek comfort with the individuals and approaches we are most familiar with, creating further hurdles to working together. Figure 4 provides an example of what an

"activist peacebuilder" would look like to illustrate the coming together of nonviolent action and peacebuilding perspectives.

Table 3 illustrates some of the common ground, differences, and even tensions between the fields of nonviolent action and peacebuilding. While many people use both nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes and recognize the need for these different approaches, there are real differences as illustrated in table 3.

TABLE 3.

A Comparison of Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding Approaches

	NONVIOLENT ACTION	**PEACEBUILDING**
Shared goal	*Achieving a just, peaceful society* with an absence of structural and direct violence	
Shared means to achieve goal	Working toward change without using violence because of a pragmatic belief that peacebuilding and nonviolent action methods are more strategic and/or moral than violent methods	
Ethical orientation	Emphasis on *empowerment of marginalized groups* to promote justice and speak truth to power	Emphasis on *engaging all stakeholders* in a conflict to hear their interests and needs
Methods	*Extra-institutional* methods including (a) nonviolent protest and persuasion, (b) noncooperation, (c) intervention and nonviolent protection, and (d) developing new parallel nonviolent institutions and systems	Both *institutional and extra-institutional* methods including (a) official high-level diplomacy, negotiation, and mediation in political processes and structural reforms; (b) midlevel "Track II" unofficial dialogue and develop-ment processes; and (c) local level, grassroots dialogue and development
Agents of change	*Grassroots communities* and their allies and global networks, as well as an increasing number of the mainstream or initially unallied groups and individuals who join in movement activities	*Multitrack* including grassroots communities and religious, business, government, military, and other sectors
Theory of change	Involve *more* people in working for change by demonstrating their collective power to demand change, to withdraw their support from unjust systems, or to protect others from violence	Involve *key people* or influencers working for change by solving problems together to develop mutually satisfying solutions to address root causes of violence
Terminology	Identifies *allies* or *opponents* or *adversaries* based on their affiliation with the movement and uses language of *shifting power* and *winning campaigns*	Identifies *stakeholders* based on whether they have a stake in the relevant issues and uses language of *win-win solutions* and *transforming relationships*

Adapted from Veronique Dudouet, Powering to Peace: Integrated Strategies of Civil Resistance and Peacebuilding Strategies*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: International Center on Nonviolent Conflict Special Report, April 2017).*

Who Needs to Be Involved?

As illustrated in the Curle Diagram, conflict transforma-tion requires a combination of "insiders," who work inside the systems and institutions that should be changed, and "outsiders," or those who do not have close ties to the systems and institutions that should be changed. In other words, we need "key people" with the power to make official policy changes and "more people" in the public or "civil society" who are willing to dialogue, organize, advocate, and press for changes from the outside. More often than not, insiders have

TABLE 4.

Stakeholder Involvement

SITUATION	KEY PEOPLE	MORE PEOPLE	INSIDER/ OFFICIAL INSTITUTION	OUTSIDER/ UNOFFICIAL/ MOVEMENT
		ESSENTIAL INVOLVEMENT		
Nonviolent action to shift power balance in order to bring authorities to the negotiation table		✔		✔
Negotiation and diplomatic peacebuilding processes in order to develop creative options for sustainable solutions to the conflict	✔		✔	
A comprehensive campaign that uses the synergy of both institutional and extra-institutional processes (e.g., securing voting rights for marginalized group through protest and legal implementation)	✔	✔	✔	✔

access to institutionalized forums for problem solving and policy making. Outsiders have access to communities and can organize social groups to influence those on the inside, as demonstrated in the case of the Liberian women. Table 4 illustrates the emphasis for involvement in the sectors of "key people" versus "more people" and "insiders" versus "outsiders."

Can We Energize the Synergy?

Instead of seeing nonviolent action and peacebuilding approaches to conflict transformation as being opposed, or somehow better or worse, it might be more helpful to see them as existing *on a strategic spectrum* of conflict transformation methods. Each method is appropriate and useful at certain phases of a campaign, movement, or peace process. The methods have *comparative advantages*.

In Liberia, both nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes brought about conflict transformation that led to a more just and sustainable peace agreement. Peacebuilding processes helped build a wider coalition of groups, including Muslim and Christian women. This made it possible for women to exert a powerful influence on male leaders in both government and the armed rebel groups to reach a ceasefire in their negotiations.

In many or most cases, it is beneficial to understand both nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes, to have both sets of skills or "tools in your toolbox" so that you can use the right tool at the right time. That way—whether you are challenging exclusionary policies, addressing corruption that is fueling violence, or implementing a peace agreement to end a violent conflict—you can use both approaches synergistically to achieve maximum impact.

Beyond the Page #1

Sequencing Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding Methods

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- Reflect on and identify the elements of nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes that contributed to the end of the Liberian civil war and a democratic transition.

SETUP:

- Copy the chart on the following page (use a larger font for groups of more than six). Cut apart the different stages of the Liberia story.

- Use string or strips of tape on the floor, table, or wall to create the POWER and AWARENESS lines in the diagram.

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. Give one piece of the story to different people or subgroups in the training session.

2. For the facilitator: Color code or note on each paper where you think each piece belongs in the diagram in a nonobvious way so you can rearrange later if needed.

3. Ask each person or subgroup to place their piece of the story on the diagram to sequence the story as they think it might have happened.

4. In a large group, discuss the following questions:

   A. How and why did each nonviolent tactic play a role in social change? How did the women sequence their tactics? What did each tactic achieve for the group? What impact, if any, did each tactic have on the balance of power between groups?

   B. At what points did negotiation take place internal and external to the campaign?

   C. What else could have happened? Were there alternative sequences or activities that may have made sense or delivered alternative outcomes? What was the role of culture in the campaign?

   D. If not already addressed: Did the group's sequencing differ from what happened in Liberia? What might have been the impact these differences had on the process or outcome?

Representatives of Women's Mass Action for Peace meet with Liberian president Charles Taylor and pressure him to join peace talks in Ghana.	Muslim and Christian women take off their jewelry, dress in plain white clothes, and demonstrate in the streets of the capital city Monrovia.
Liberian women hold a sit-in to surround the peace talks between the rebels and the government.	Liberian president Charles Taylor resigns, and the peace process sets a timetable for free democratic elections.
Liberian women use a sex strike to pressure their partners to support peace.	Liberian women hold a candlelight vigil in Monrovia.
Liberian women register people, especially women and young people, to vote throughout Liberia.	Muslim and Christian women decide to work together for peace, despite a history of interreligious tension.
Community organizers in Liberia go door-to-door recruiting women to join a group that would come to be known as Women's Mass Action for Peace.	When police come to arrest the women blocking the doors to the negotiations in Ghana, Liberian women's leader Leymah Gbowee threatens to remove her clothing, an act that would bring shame to the men involved.
Liberians elect the first female president in Africa.	The rebels and the government negotiate a ceasefire in Ghana.

ANSWERS

1. Community organizers in Liberia go door-to-door recruiting women to join a group that would come to be known as Women's Mass Action for Peace.

2. Muslim and Christian women decide to work together for peace, despite a history of interreligious tension.

3. Muslim and Christian women take off their jewelry, dress in plain white clothes, and demonstrate in the streets of the capital city of Monrovia.

4. Liberian women use a sex strike to pressure their partners to support peace.

5. Liberian women hold a candlelight vigil in Monrovia.

6. Representatives of Women's Mass Action for Peace meet with Liberian president Charles Taylor and pressure him to join peace talks in Ghana.

7. Liberian women hold a sit-in to surround the peace talks between the rebels and the government.

8. Liberian president Charles Taylor resigns, and the peace process sets a timetable for free democratic elections.

9. When police come to arrest the women blocking the doors to the negotiations in Ghana, Liberian women's leader Leymah Gbowee threatens to remove her clothing, an act that would bring shame to the men involved.

10. The rebels and the government negotiate a ceasefire in Ghana.

11. Liberian women register people, especially women and young people, to vote throughout Liberia.

12. Liberian women hold another candlelight vigil in Monrovia.

13. Liberians elect the first female president in Africa.

Beyond the Page #2

Ideal Community/Village Exercise

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- For groups not as familiar with nonviolent actions or peacebuilding, this exercise will offer a first taste and provide a framework for the discussion of nonviolent action and conflict transformation through shared experiences.

SETUP:

- **You will need** crayons, markers, and large sheets of paper; props such as a hat, tie, or jacket; name tags; and two or more facilitators, if possible, or recruit participant(s) depending on the size of group.

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. Divide up into small groups (four to six people) and give each group large sheets of paper and crayons or markers. Ask them, "What would you like to see in an ideal community or village?" Encourage them to draw their ideas about food, school, recreation—the sky's the limit!

2. When communities have taken shape on the paper, the facilitators transform into CEOs of a multinational corporation interested in extract-

ing something from the community (water, fossil fuels, land, etc.). The facilitators will be making several visits to each community. They should be upbeat and offer whatever they think the groups want to hear—money, jobs, future—regardless of what would actually be happening (i.e., taking away their land).

- Visit #1: The facilitator introduces him/herself and says how happy they are to have found the perfect location for their next expansion. The facilitator should not stay too long or say too much.

- Visit #2: The facilitator either points to or draws right on the community map the location they want, which could be the nicest spot in town. The facilitator keeps their talk positive as they engage the community. Again, this should be a quick visit.

- Visit #3: At this point, the facilitator may escalate and take some of the community by actually tearing off some of the community map for your factory, plant, mall, or whatever. They can also continue to mark

up the community if they are not ready to escalate to tearing off a piece of the map.

- The facilitator continues tearing away paper in small amounts and talking about the advantages of development. They should try to pace their paper snatching so that it allows the community time to organize and fight back. Groups with more activists will be able to tolerate faster snatching, whereas "beginners" will need the facilitator to go slowly. The facilitator should try not to create despair or "win" too quickly.

- The facilitator continues to draw/take away paper until the group has organized sufficiently against them and has experienced resistance or some type of nonviolent action.

3. End the game and debrief:

- **Feelings:** How did it feel when the business person visited your communities? In the beginning, later?

- **Facts:** What happened—did communities win or lose? What did they try—tactics? Was there a strategy? Did the communities interact in any way or just manage on their own? What could have been different? Were there identifiable phases of the resistance work? Did you get to any kind of dialogue or negotiation?

- **Future:** What lessons or experience can you take away from this game? Strategic learnings?

4. The exercise can be replayed if groups want to try their hand at resisting again.

(Adapted from a Ruckus Society/Training for Change tool adapted by Karen Ridd in Thailand, 1995, from a game led by Pom, Thai student and grassroots environmental activist, 1994)

Resources

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Start Strategically for Successful Conflict Transformation

CONTENTS

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of the lesson, participants will be able to:

Understand strategy and planning as critical components of transforming conflict

Identify the key elements of strategic planning in a six-step process

Recognize how strategic planning can support the appropriate sequencing of nonviolent action and peacebuilding methods to achieve conflict transformation goals

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Start Strategically for Successful Conflict Transformation

Strategic planning is necessary for any group that wants to rely on more than luck and good intentions to achieve its goals. Strategy takes creative thinking and organizing. It means not just taking to the streets or the negotiation table and hoping for the best. A good strategy lays out a carefully planned set of actions and contingencies and anticipates the actions of other conflict parties. Effective strategic planning should integrate a wide variety of nonviolent action and peacebuilding tools and approaches.

This is the first of four units on strategic planning. Starting strategically means first identifying a vision of the future and your mission in relationship to that vision as part of a six-step planning process. Later units will flesh out remaining steps, including conducting assessments, setting SMARTT goals, choosing tactics, and creating implementation time lines.

U.S. Civil Rights Movement

The U.S. civil rights movement (1942–68) held a **vision** of a desegregated United States where all people had the right to vote, rooted in the **values** of racial equity, human rights, and justice. The **mission** of the civil rights movement at this time was to restore universal suffrage in the southern United States and overturn legal segregation.

An **assessment** of points of intervention revealed that segregated businesses and public assets like lunch counters, transportation, and schools were particularly vulnerable to public pressure. Based on this information, the movement launched specific campaigns to meet specific **goals**: desegregation of lunch counters, bus seating, and other segregated public spaces. The movement's **overall strategy** was to turn public opinion against institutionalized racism, impose economic costs on businesses upholding segregation, and secure substantive reform in U.S. law. These goals would require combined **strategic steps** of various tactics, such as litigation, the use of mass media, boycotts, and demonstrations, as well as sit-ins and other forms of civil disobedience.

Hundreds of thousands more participated in a wide variety of **tactics**, including marches, boycotts, and voter registration drives throughout the U.S. South.

Organized mass nonviolent tactics helped expose the national racial segregation crisis and leverage this knowledge into widespread organized confrontations and interventions. These actions brought key people, including business owners and elected officials, to negotiating tables across the southern United States. In turn, the movement catalyzed an intervention by the federal government to overturn segregation laws in southern states, move the passage of the national Voting Rights Act of 1965 in Congress, and end legal discrimination in housing, education, and employment.

Adapted from "The U.S. Civil Rights Movement (1942–1968)," International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, accessed June 29, 2018, https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/the-us-civil-rights-movement -1942-1968/.

Key Concepts

WHAT IS STRATEGIC PLANNING?

As Antoine de Saint-Exupery wrote, "A goal without a plan is just a wish." Strategy is generally considered to be a way to achieve specific goals under conditions of uncertainty. Strategic planning is a way to chart how to achieve a goal through clear action steps and ongoing assessment.

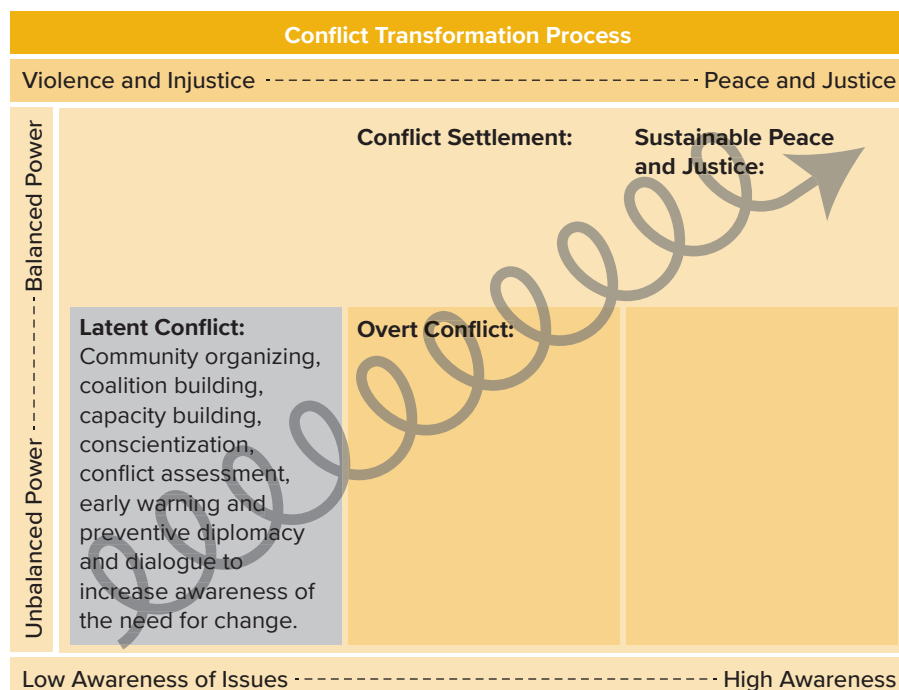**WHAT DOES STRATEGIC PLANNING HAVE TO DO WITH CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION?**

Strategic planning in the SNAP context means determining when and how to use relevant nonviolent action and peacebuilding methods to achieve specific conflict transformation goals. For illustrative purposes, we use the Curle Diagram and its focus on power, awareness,

and justice to structure our strategy discussion (see figure 5). To move from latent conflict to sustainable peace and justice, you need good strategy.

The rest of this guide contains units focused on elements of strategic planning to support functions such as assessing conflict, building power and capacity, and maximizing participation and inclusion in both nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes.

FIGURE 5.

Curle Diagram: Latent Conflict

Conflict Transformation Process		
Violence and Injustice - Peace and Justice		

Conflict Settlement:

Sustainable Peace and Justice:

Latent Conflict: Community organizing, coalition building, capacity building, conscientization, conflict assessment, early warning and preventive diplomacy and dialogue to increase awareness of the need for change.

Overt Conflict:

Balanced Power

Unbalanced Power

Low Awareness of Issues - High Awareness

> *Good strategy naturally includes a synergy of nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes.*

What Are the Components of Strategic Planning?

General components of strategic planning include six steps (shown in figure 6): vision and values, mission development, assessment, goal setting, strategic steps, and tactical implementation.

Vision: The broadest description of what ideal conditions would exist in your desired, transformed, sustainable future.

Values: The principles and deeply held beliefs that are the framework for building the desired vision of the future world; these are included in the vision.

Mission: Your group's specific purpose or reason for existing—what you want to do to advance the vision you hold.

Assessment: A systematic evaluation of all the factors that could have an impact on reaching your vision through your stated mission. Usually includes analysis of internal organizational strengths and weaknesses, as well as external threats and opportunities.

Goals: Specific and measurable things you want to accomplish—defining how much you will accomplish by when. Most goals fall into three main categories: internal organizational development, external programmatic work, and network/

community capacity building and outreach support.

Strategic steps (objectives): The plan for HOW you will achieve your goals and move closer toward your vision. Includes identifying specific nonviolent tactics and articulating an actionable theory of change.

Implementation or action plans: Identifying WHAT tactics or activities will be done, by WHOM and by WHEN, and WITH what resources/budget. Action plans can turn into very detailed accounts of how strategies will become real activities or **tactics.**

Theory of change: A theory of change links these seven steps together. It is a strategic narrative that explains how your strategy will achieve your goal. The following sentence is an example of a theory of change: Local farmers in Ghana will be able to make more money from their crops if they work together to form their own farming cooperative and refuse to work with international corporations. *[Your goal] will happen if [the target] does [action that brings about goal] and they will be induced to do this by [tactic/approach].* Change is, of course, never guaranteed. But being explicit in naming how your theory of change will influence your goals is the first test of your proposal. You

If (the target) is influenced by (tactic/approach) to do (an action), then (your goal) will happen.

Strategic Planning Pyramid

- Vision & Values
- Mission
- Assessment
- SMARTT Goals
- Strategic Steps
- Implementation Plans and Tactics

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could also state this as an if-then statement: If (the target) is influenced by (tactic/approach) to do (an action), then (your goal) will happen.

For specific examples, see the "Beyond the Page" exercise on page 51 where there is a guide to developing the Strategic Planning Pyramid.

How Does Strategic Planning Help Activists and Peacebuilders Build a More Sustainable, Just Peace?

"If you don't know where you're going, you'll end up someplace else."

—Yogi Berra

Since tactics are often more immediately gratifying than conducting an assessment or strategic planning

process, they tend to be a primary focus for activists and peacebuilders alike. But if you have not first identified goals and mapped out a way to achieve them, even the most engaging tactic will not get you closer to where you want to go. Worse, you may squander your limited resources in the process.

For example, repeatedly holding marches or rallies that do not attract new participants, fail to influence the opponent's behavior, and put participants at risk may be strategically unwise. Similarly, continuing to pursue negotiations or national dialogue processes that exclude key groups and reinforce power asymmetries is unlikely to yield results.

This is where the strategic planning and assessment processes come in. They are frameworks that help you better understand your situation and use your resources to develop a strategy that applies the appropriate tools from both the nonviolent action and the peacebuilding tool kits to achieve goals.

Strategic plans and assessments can also help in the learning and evaluation process. Critical to effective peacebuilding and nonviolent action is active learning. You need to be able to adjust and correct course as needed, based on the results of rigorous evaluation and assessment. Doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results is common as people tend to do what they know or have done before.

Planning also enables organizers to be more intentional about choosing peacebuilding approaches or nonviolent tactics. For example, it may make strategic sense to use lower-risk and less-resource-intensive tactics in contexts where there are attacks on nonviolent movements. It means prioritizing activities based on available resources. Given that resources are often limited, planning processes that link ends to means, that identify tangible goals, and that evaluate the different methods of action based on likely impacts are essential to being an effective activist or peacebuilder.

Beyond the Page #1

The Blanket Game

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:
Facilitator instructions: *DO NOT SAY THESE OBJECTIVES BEFORE THE GAME!*

- To distinguish between strategy, goals, and tactics

- To talk about group dynamics in decision making, personal participation, and implicit bias

- To experience and talk about the importance of communication

- Place a blanket or sheet on the floor that will hold the number of people who are participating (standing close to each other).

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. Have the group stand on the blanket (groups of eight to twenty-five people work best). Use a blanket the appropriate size for the number of people (they should be slightly packed onto the blanket).

2. Then, present them with **The Great Turning Challenge.** The top of the blanket represents the troubled present, and the face-down side represents our desired future. In order to reach the desired, improved future, they need to flip the blanket over. Everyone must make it to the other side. No one may leave the blanket, lean on walls, and so on. Beyond the obvious team challenge, this framework can help a group focus overtly on the need for collective action to make social change (for what it is worth, it is a very doable task).

3. After the group successfully completes the task, help the group debrief and reflect on the experience. Make sure to give some space for any immediate reactions or feelings. And remember, even if you do not manage to flip the blanket without losing anyone, you will still learn a lot from the process.

   - **Feelings:** How did this exercise feel? What emotions did you experience? Did you feel heard? Were your needs met?

   - **Facts:** What actually happened? What was the goal? The strategy? The tactic(s)? In this case, the goal was given by the facilitator (flip the blanket over), the strategy was the method devised to

achieve the goal, and the tactics were the particular ways the group implemented the strategy.

- **Group dynamics:** How did you all figure out what to do? Who made decisions? Who was listened to? Who was ignored? Did any issues surface?

- **Communication:** Did everyone know what was going on? When it was happening? Before? After? Insights on communication? Styles/process? How were communication and dialogue skills used?

- **On a personal level:** How did you participate? Did you take a leadership role? A follower role? Did you actively participate in finding a solution, or not? Why?

- **Future:** What did you learn from the exercise that you can apply in the future to strategic planning? Are there any insights or applications to your professional work? How do you and fellow workmates function under stress?

The following variations for the Blanket Game can be undertaken when the group has more time:

1. **Social learning emphasis:** Use a timer and time the group as the members try to turn the blanket over. After debriefing, ask if they would like to do it again. Again, time them. Groups will always do better the second time around, and this can open up a conversation about social learning—that once people figure something out they are able to repeat or replicate it more efficiently.

2. **Introduce a powerful opponent:** After running through the exercise once (or twice if you have

FIGURE 7

Blanket Game Solution

A   B
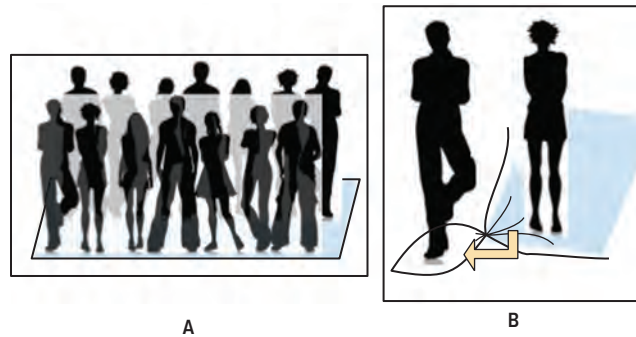
timed it), run through the game again with one addition: explain that while most people want a better future world (represented by flipping the blanket), some benefit from the unjust status quo and do not want things to change. Ask for a volunteer to act as a privileged power elite member who wants to stall or stop the great turning to a more just and equal world. This person can easily derail change (e.g., by touching their foot on the floor). Debriefs here will open up conversations about real-world campaign decisions on timing, sequencing, and

tactical choice: Persuasion? Dialogue? Negotiation? Use of nonviolent action (pick the person up or surround them)? Set a time limit on this version, as it is unlikely to achieve success without a fixed endpoint. (Another lesson!)

SOLUTION

Twist the blanket from one corner and move people onto the "new" side as there is room. See part A of figure 7, with everyone on the blanket, and part B, as the blanket is twisted and people can move onto the reverse side.

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Dialogue to Defuse Interpersonal Conflict and Support Coalition Building

CONTENTS

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of the lesson, participants will be able to:

Identify how communication skills and dialogue can foster greater participation in conflict transformation

Identify nonverbal and verbal forms of communication necessary to defuse hostility and find solutions to challenging conflicts

Identify the characteristics of active listening, paraphrasing, and respectful engagement

Practice how to use dialogue and communication to build coalitions and develop consensus on group goals, strategy, and tactics

3

Dialogue to Defuse Interpersonal Conflict and Support Coalition Building

Peacebuilding methods, including interpersonal communication and dialogue, can help defuse interpersonal conflict and strengthen internal dynamics within groups. These skills can help to widen support and build coalitions between groups and recruit others to join a nonviolent movement. This unit provides a practical understanding of the communication and dialogue skills that can enhance activists' and peacebuilders' abilities to do their work effectively and strategically.

Chile's "No" Campaign

General Augusto Pinochet came to power in 1973 after a military coup ousted the democratically elected Chilean president Salvadore Allende. Under Pinochet's rule, thousands of political opponents were assassinated, tortured, and disappeared. In 1983, during the country's economic crisis, trade union leaders organized the growing dissent to the regime into public resistance actions. They used slowdowns, *cacerolazas* (noise brigades), lightning or flash protests (short, spontaneous actions that dispersed before police could arrive), strikes, and many other tactics. Women used cultural dance and created *arpilleras* (tapestries) to document the regime's brutality, communicate with the outside world, and raise money to support the opposition. All these nonviolent tactics helped solidify the broad civil resistance movement and build a strong coalition that would bring about a power-shifting national referendum.

The Catholic Church, which avoided directly opposing the regime, was able to open up political space while Pinochet was in power to make room for organizing and protection for victims of human rights abuses. The Cardinal of Santiago also made efforts to mediate between reformers and the government.

In an attempt to legitimize his regime, Pinochet held a national plebiscite in 1988 to extend his rule for another eight years. However, the public overwhelmingly voted no, forcing the dictator to step down. A diverse coalition made up of Chilean popular movements, labor unions, the Catholic Church, and other groups was a driving force behind Pinochet's defeat. The coalition was built by people with the skills and willingness to dialogue and negotiate with other groups, despite the groups having differing views on several issues. Some groups wanted an entirely new constitution, while others only wanted Pinochet to leave office. Some groups supported Allende, Pinochet's predecessor, and others were initially in favor of Pinochet and opposed Allende. While there was significant diversity in the coalition, they were all able to agree on one goal: ending Pinochet's presidency and transitioning to democratic rule.

The plural views of the opposition were represented in the "No" side's use of a rainbow as its main symbol. The coalition cut across ideological and political lines to successfully delegitimize the regime. The groups registered 7.5 million people to vote in the plebiscite, despite Pinochet's use of widespread repression and torture to maintain control of the country. Another part of the campaign involved television programs and advertisements in which members of the opposition used a fifteen-minute daily broadcast to expose Pinochet's human rights abuses and bring awareness to the breadth of opposition to the regime.

The coalition of diverse groups, which also included military defectors, the international community, and businesses, was key to the success of the "No" campaign and helped Chile transition to democracy.

Adapted from "Chile: Struggle Against a Military Dictator (1985–1988)," International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, accessed June 8, 2018, https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/chile-struggle-against-a -military-dictator-1985-1988/.

Both activists and peacebuilders need to be able to actively listen and communicate respectfully to build understanding and relationships with a variety of people to accomplish their goals.

Key Concepts

HOW ARE COMMUNICATION AND DIALOGUE SKILLS USED IN NONVIOLENT ACTION AND PEACEBUILDING?

The tools of communication and dialogue have long been the driving force of peacebuilding approaches around the globe. Nonviolent movements also have a long history of using these skills, a reminder that these two fields have similar origins and many points of connection.

Peacebuilders and nonviolent activists can use communication and dialogue skills in these ways:

A. To educate and inspire people and reach out to potential allies or uncommitted individuals to be supportive of the issue

B. To build relationships and trust with people in communities and strengthen their capacity to do collaborative work

C. To defuse tense situations within a group or between insiders and outsiders

D. To understand each other's interests and identify common ground while acknowledging the diversity in any group

E. To identify and prioritize goals

F. To make collective decisions through inclusive and engaged participatory processes

G. To communicate with each other in ways that show respect, and to build a culture where each individual and group feels respected and listened to, which in turn increases the chance they will feel ownership and commitment to the process and cause

H. To communicate or negotiate with key people, power elites, or opposition representatives, including authorities or government officials (unit 8 will address this point)

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT BUILDING COALITIONS TO SUPPORT A SUSTAINABLE AND JUST PEACE?

Successful nonviolent movements require the active participation of large numbers of people, which in turn requires **building broad coalitions**, like the one that led to victory in Chile's "No" campaign. Similarly, peacebuilding processes that engage diverse groups and stakeholders are more likely to succeed than those that are purely elite-led or exclusive in nature.[1] Communication, dialogue, and negotiation skills are important to all the activities in the first block of the Curle diagram (see figure 5).

HOW DOES INTERNAL GROUP CONFLICT IMPACT SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND PEACEBUILDING EFFORTS?

Nonviolent activists and peacebuilders often seek to address oppressive systemic issues. Yet, these issues are often as prevalent within these groups as in the societies at large. Racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of social oppression can drive conflict within an organization even as it works toward ending that oppression in the wider society.

It is important to overcome internal issues because it will better position the organization or movement for success if its work is not bogged down in internal conflicts. Advancing the long-term goals and objectives of negotiations and peace processes requires listening to constituent groups and engaging them in meaningful dialogue. Furthermore, when groups embody the ideals they are promoting, they are more likely to be seen as legitimate by other groups in society, by the opponent, and by the international community.

Many nonviolent movements are made up of smaller autonomous or self-organizing "affinity groups." These are small groups of people who make decisions together and support each other in carrying out an agreed upon tactic to achieve a common goal. The affinity group is one place to use dialogue as a means to listen to and empower each member. It is a place to address issues of power and privilege within the group and recognize the interconnections between racism, sexism, homophobia, and other forms of systemic oppression. Building trust within the group is key to being able to tackle problems effectively. While the term *affinity group* is fairly unique to nonviolent movements, the idea is somewhat parallel to "working groups" or "caucus groups" that function in peacebuilding processes as supportive small groups that meet on the sidelines of a negotiation or dialogue to discuss and process decisions and events.

HOW DOES DIALOGUE HELP BUILD INTERNAL UNDERSTANDING AND COHERENCE?

Dialogue is "a sustained interaction among groups to learn from each other and transform relationships, as they address practical and structural issues in society."[2] It is a way of talking that encourages active listening and honest but respectful speaking. The goal of dialogue is to improve understanding and relationships between people or groups that are in conflict or differ in their approach to addressing a problem. Unlike negotiation, dialogue does not aim for an immediate solution to a problem. Instead, dialogue is useful when there are different experiences and perceptions between groups. Dialogue creates the space to talk about problems in a place where everyone is committed to listening to each other and trying to understand different points of view.

Dialogue is different from debate (as shown in table 5). In a debate, participants either consciously or unconsciously believe that there is only one right way to believe or act. When people believe they alone hold the whole truth, it may lead them to think there is no need to listen to others, other than to figure out how to overpower their position. Dialogue requires participants to keep their minds open to the process of learning and changing through hearing another's point of view.

Dialogue can be both formal and informal. Anyone can use dialogue skills informally to ease discussions on difficult subjects. You can find an overview of some of these skills below. To do a deeper dive, check out USIP's new dialogue tool kit.[3]

WHAT ARE THE CRITICAL COMPONENTS OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION SKILLS?

Some communication experts estimate that 60–80 percent of communication is nonverbal.[4] That means each person communicates with others primarily through facial expressions, body posture, and eye movements. Researchers have found that some people are much better at reading nonverbal cues than others. *Emotional intelligence* is a term used to describe how

TABLE 5.

Comparison of Debate and Dialogue

DEBATE	DIALOGUE
The goal is to "win" the argument by affirming one's own views and discrediting other views.	The goal is to understand different perspectives and learn about other views.
People listen to others to find flaws in their arguments.	People listen to others to understand how their experiences shape their beliefs.
People critique the experiences of others as distorted and invalid.	People accept the experiences of others as real and valid.
People appear to be determined not to change their own views on the issue.	People appear to be somewhat open to changing their understanding of the issue.
People speak based on assumptions made about the other's positions and motivations.	People speak only about their own understanding and experience.
People oppose each other and attempt to prove each other wrong.	People work together toward common understanding.
Strong emotions like anger are often used to intimidate the other side.	Strong emotions like anger and sadness are appropriate when they convey the intensity of an experience or belief.

Source: Lisa Schirch and David Campt, The Little Book of Dialogue for Difficult Subjects: A Practical, Hands-On Guide *(Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 2007).*

someone may be feeling by "reading" their faces and bodies to understand what they are trying to communicate. The ability to interpret and employ culturally appropriate eye contact, facial expressions, and body language is especially important when communicating across cultures since postures and physical expressions may have different meanings in different cultures. Want to determine your own emotional intelligence to interpreting nonverbal communication? Take the emotional intelligence quiz listed in the Resources section.

WHAT ARE THE CRITICAL COMPONENTS OF VERBAL COMMUNICATION SKILLS?

Both listening and speaking require verbal communication skills, including active listening and paraphrasing. Active listening is an important skill because it helps people feel their concerns are heard and acknowledged. When people feel heard, they are less likely to repeat themselves, yell or shout, or be very angry. Active listening is an essential skill for defusing an

angry or violent confrontation. Table 6 provides some of the key skills needed to practice active listening effectively.

HOW CAN DIALOGUE AND COMMUNICATION TECHNIQUES BE USED TO DEFUSE HOSTILITY AND AGGRESSION?

Understanding what escalates and what defuses aggression can be helpful in managing relationships and communication (see table 7 for examples). Peacebuilders tend to use methods that defuse hostility and aggression. Nonviolent actors may engage in activities that escalate conflict and create tensions, but the goal should not be to create animosity or to use personal attacks. Understanding when, where, and how to escalate conflict, without instilling hostility, is important to successful conflict transformation.

A tool to help activists and peacebuilders remember skills and actions to safely engage with and/or defuse hostility and aggression is a mnemonic

TABLE 6.

Key Skills for Active Listening

Empathize—Put yourself in the other person's shoes and try to understand how that person feels.	*Identify*—Try to identify the *feelings* or emotions of the speaker, the *meaning* of their message, and the *specific content* they are trying to communicate.
Validate—Affirm to the other person that their experience is valid, even if you have had a different experience.	*Paraphrase*—Restate in your own words what you heard a person say, including the feelings and meaning of their message.
Clarify—Ask questions to get more information.	*Gather information*—Attempt to understand more about the situation.

Stay calm—Take a deep breath and keep breathing slowly. Try to center yourself and calm your body's reactions to the situation.

TABLE 7.

Defusing Hostility and Aggression

FACTORS THAT ESCALATE HOSTILITY + AGGRESSION	METHODS OF DEFUSING HOSTILITY + AGGRESSION
Limited choices: being cornered without a way of escaping and "saving face"	**Offer a way out:** help the other person save face by doing one or more of the following: • reassure an aggressive person that their concerns are legitimate • offer the option to pursue the issue in a different setting (off the street) • refrain from openly judging the person's behavior
Use asymmetrical posturing: when one person or group has or is perceived to have more power than another	**Use symmetrical posturing:** nonaggressive, nonchallenging body language
Use ostentatious symbols of power: physical postures that project power, such as sunglasses, high-tech equipment, expensive vehicles, contextually extravagant lifestyles, uniforms, guns, or other symbols of wealth and power	**Show respect:** acknowledge local customs, leadership, and ethical/moral norms
Refusal to acknowledge the other side or their point of view	**Acknowledge** the equal humanity of all and the legitimacy of their concerns or point of view
Listening only to defend your own point of view	**Listen to understand** the other person rather than to defend your own position
Focus on people rather than problems	**Disagree with ideas, not with people:** be hard on the problem and soft on the people
Be stubborn	**Share your willingness to be cooperative**
Demand to solve the problem immediately	**Call for a time-out** so that everyone can calm themselves down and reflect on the issues

TABLE 8.

The 6 D's of Assertive Intervention

Direct intervention:
- Use open, nonthreatening body language, hands visible and empty
- Use active listening
- Lower volume, slow movement
- Do not touch angry people or police
- Use appropriate content, be flexible, sing or chant

Delay: Wait it out, if that is an option; put time on your side

Distract: Direct attention elsewhere

Delegate: Work with a buddy or allies

Distance: Put space between you and the problem

Document: Let people involved know you are filming, from a safe distance if possible

Source: Beautiful Trouble.

called **the 6 D's of Assertive Intervention**, shown in table 8.

Dialogue, active listening, and other forms of interpersonal communication are critical tools for activists and peacebuilders alike. They are essential for building the kind of trust and relationships that are key to building coalitions, solving problems, and transforming conflicts. The following exercise gives individuals the opportunity to apply some of the dialogue concepts we have presented to different coalition- and alliance-building scenarios.

Beyond the Page #1

Practice Building Alliances and Coalitions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:
- Improve understanding of how to build alliances and coalitions. The following scenarios provide an opportunity to experiment with using communication, dialogue, and negotiation skills.

- To experience through a role play based on the Chile Front Line story the importance of communication, dialogue, and negotiation skills in building alliances and coalitions to foster greater participation in nonviolent campaigns.

SETUP:
- You will need space for groups of two people to role-play.

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. Divide the participants into groups of two.

2. Ask each pair to work with one of the following scenarios to practice the skills. The scenarios are fictional but are based on the real-life dilemmas faced within the "No" campaign.

3. Debrief in the large group.

    - **Facts:** What happened in each scenario? What worked well and what did not?

    - **Communication:** What communication strategies did you use? What did you notice about the verbal and nonverbal communications your partner used? Were they effective?

    - **On a personal level:** What part of the conversation was particularly challenging and how did you overcome it?

SCENARIO A: FAR LEFT AND CENTER ORGANIZERS OF THE "NO" CAMPAIGN

Both left and center political parties want to oust Pinochet, but they disagree on tactics. The far-left parties want to use a combination of street protests and sabotage of government property and antagonize the police and military. The center wants to focus only on large-scale public protests with absolutely no property damage or aggression to police or military. The center wants to make sure the movement has wide participation and tactics do not prevent public participation. If the far left uses violence, fewer people will participate or have sympathy for the movement. The far left believes the center is not radical enough and is too compromising with Pinochet's forces. It believes only a combination of coercive force and punishment will bring down the state. In this scenario, have one person play the role of

far-left organizer and the other play the role of center organizer. The center organizer should approach the far-left organizer with communication and dialogue skills from this lesson.

SCENARIO B: CATHOLIC CHURCH AND LABOR UNIONS

The leaders of both the Catholic Church and the labor unions are concerned about Pinochet's aggression toward those who oppose his policies. The Catholic Church has hosted vigils for those whom the regime has "disappeared" and tortured. The labor unions are focused on pursuing workers' rights to organize and fair wages. The Catholic leaders want the "No" campaign to emphasize that Pinochet needs to leave in order to end the torture and disappearances of Chilean civilians. The labor unions want to emphasize an economic message of democratic socialism, with greater attention to fair wages. The Catholic leaders and labor unions disagree on the focus of the "No" campaign. In this hypothetical scenario, have one person play the role of Catholic leader and the other play the role of labor union leader. The labor union leader should approach the Catholic leader with communication, dialogue, and negotiation skills from this lesson.

SCENARIO C: THE "NO" CAMPAIGN AND THE MILITARY

In every country there are family relationships that cross the lines of conflict. In Chile, it is possible that leaders in the "No" campaign would have had private, family connections to leaders in Pinochet's military. In this scenario, have one person play the "No" campaign organizer and the other play the role of a military leader. Using the skills in this lesson, the "No" campaign organizer approaches a Chilean military leader to understand whether it might be possible for the military to defect to the side of the Chilean people in the event of a "No" campaign win in the plebiscite.

Beyond the Page #2

Using Hassle Lines to Practice Defusing Difficult Situations

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- Experience a simulation of conflict and conflict intervention to identify and practice how to escalate and de-escalate behavior; discuss implications for general conflicts

- Create a common experience to ground a discussion on managing conflict

SETUP:

- You will need a space large enough for pairs to stand and interact with each other.

HOW IT IS DONE:

Hassle lines are essentially mini role plays done in lines with participants facing each other (or in concentric circles facing each other).

1. Have participants arrange themselves in two parallel lines facing each other. Everyone should be standing directly across from someone. Have participants shake hands with the person across from them to make sure that they know who their partner is. (If it is an odd number, one of the facilitators can join the shorter line, or the odd person out can take observation notes.)

2. Give a scenario for the role play once people are in their two lines. Assign roles, one to each line of people. Instruct folks to interact only with the person they shook hands with and to ignore others around them. Each person will be interacting with their partner according to assigned roles.

Here are some potential scenarios:

- Nonpolitical dog kicker: You are outside, maybe on the street or in a park, and for some reason, you (one line of people) are aggressively kicking a dog. Perhaps the dog bit you, or perhaps you are angry about something else. The other line of people wants you to stop kicking the dog. Perhaps it is their dog you are kicking, or perhaps they just like dogs.

- Disrupter versus listener: Everyone is at a community hearing. One line of people is intent on disrupting the hearing (they are activists, have made their phone calls, met with their elected officials, and feel that the hearing is a sham—which is why they want to shut it down). The other line is a "regular" citizen who came to the meeting to find out what is going on. The citizen wants the disrupter to be quiet so they can hear.

- Heckler versus protester: Everyone is at a protest. One line is a heckler, intent on being nasty and aggressive toward the protester (the other line). The protester just wants to hold the rally and get the heckler/anti-protester to go away or stop.

- Angry, flipped-out protester versus protester: Everyone is at a meeting or community gathering. One line is a protester, and the other line is a protester who is losing it—very angry, upset, maybe incoherent, nasty.

- Unfriendly media versus activist: At a public event, one line plays unfriendly, antagonistic media, and the other plays a protester.

3. Encourage people to be theatrical and get into their roles: "The more you put into it, the more you get out of it." (Just like life!) Give them ten seconds to get into character.

4. Say "Go!" and run the role play for 90–120 seconds. Call out "Freeze!" or clap to stop the activity.

5. Shake it out, open up the circle, and debrief. Some prompt questions in addition to the Feelings? Facts? Forward? Series could include the following: How did it feel to. . . . ? Were you successful at. . . . (de-escalating, escalating, achieving your goal, etc.)? What specific tools did you use? What did your partner try, and did it work? What do you think they should have done?

6. Before the debrief loses energy, set up another hassle line with new roles for each line, giving each one the opportunity to be the assertive or aggressive role. Run two or three role plays as you have time, and close by reviewing the frameworks and tools listed below.

7. Things to notice while the role play is happening, and then to highlight during the debrief:

   - PHYSICAL: body posture/stance; what hands, eyes are doing; rate and type of movement

- VERBAL: level of sound, noise; speed; content of conversation

- EMOTIONAL: relationship built? listening used? commonalities or differences established?

8. Offer a framework/mnemonic for assertive intervention and de-escalation if appropriate. Ask participants to reflect on the "ABCD/E" of the role play. Were you able to do each of the following? Why or why not? How do communication and dialogue skills contribute to your ability to respond?

   - A—Assess the situation

   - B—Breathe and ground before responding

   - C—Choose how you are going to respond

   - D—De-escalate through your choices

   - E—Escalate and consider the potential consequences

9. Offer the 6 D's as a way to think about defusing hostility and aggression. See table 8.

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4. Communication experts debate the exact percentage of nonverbal to verbal communication. While an exact percentage is unclear, there is wide agreement that nonverbal communication is significant.

Facilitate to Develop Group Goals and Consensus

CONTENTS

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of the lesson, participants will be able to:

Identify how facilitation skills can help meetings run more effectively to achieve group goals

Practice using facilitation skills to develop consensus on activist and peacebuilders' goals, tactics, and strategy

Facilitate to Develop Group Goals and Consensus

Who has not been at a meeting where people interrupt each other, one person dominates the conversation, or a group talks aimlessly without ever making a decision? Many suffer from meeting fatigue. People lose interest in the work because they cannot seem to agree or get anything done together.

Building on the interpersonal peacebuilding skills from the last chapter, this chapter provides an introduction to using facilitation skills and processes in group gatherings. Facilitation is useful for helping groups of people dialogue with each other and find consensus. Activists, organizers, and peacebuilders can use this lesson to understand how to facilitate and create opportunities for productive and open dialogue with diverse groups to broaden their participation and enthusiasm.

Curbing Police Corruption in Uganda

In Uganda, corruption is not uncommon. Police have often been accused of demanding bribes, extortion, and abuse of authority.

The nongovernmental National Foundation for Democracy and Human Rights (NAFODU) in Uganda launched a "fight corruption" campaign that used radio programs, trained volunteer networks to monitor corruption, and offered support to victims of police corruption.

As one part of the campaign, NAFODU facilitated meetings with high-level police officials as well as street-level police officers and citizens. Through facilitated dialogue, citizens expressed their grievances. They also learned that some police officers wanted to improve their institution's image and find ways to address corruption. These meetings were unique, as citizens do not usually have an opportunity to talk with officials in an egalitarian setting where everyone has an opportunity to talk.

These meetings began to win people over to the campaign and increased the size of the campaign. Not only did more citizens join because of particularly effective facilitated meetings. More police officers also joined, providing more information, access, and the possibility for principled negotiation to develop solutions to the problems of police corruption.

Adapted from Shaazka Beyerle, Curtailing Corruption: People Power for Accountability and Justice (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2014): 187–201.

Key Concepts

WHAT SUPPORTS SUCCESSFUL GROUP GATHERINGS?

Nothing kills enthusiasm for a group and its cause like disorganization or long, unproductive group gatherings. With attention to roles and process, meetings are much more likely to foster effective dialogue and be productive. By assigning various roles to participants, organizers can achieve high-functioning meetings that include participatory/collaborative decision making. Not all roles are required at every gathering, though larger groups and more difficult subjects will benefit from delegated roles and responsibilities (see table 9).

WHAT ARE IMPORTANT FACILITATION SKILLS, RESPONSIBILITIES, TASKS, AND TIPS?

Facilitation is a learned skill. "Natural leaders" or people who play important leadership roles in other activities may make excellent candidates for serving as facilitators, but not always.

Social movements sometimes have powerful charismatic leaders who can mobilize a group with rousing chants or compelling speeches. Others have efficient managers that can juggle many moving parts. Effective facilitators have an additional set of skills. While facilitators do keep their eye on the agenda of a meeting, they have a larger goal of empowering and helping people to communicate and hear each other. Good public speakers may be tempted to use their rhetorical skills to sway disparate people to their points of view. But rather than convincing participants to accept one point of view, good facilitators create a space where all points of view can be heard and shared.

Facilitators are similar to but also distinct from other types of effective leaders. The role of the facilitator may be the most important element of a successful dialogue, as their role is dedicated to process, not to content.

Key competency skills of effective facilitators are shown in table 10.

TABLE 9.

Meeting Roles

ROLE	RESPONSIBILITY
Agenda setter(s)	Meet before the meeting; represent the diversity of people who will attend
Facilitator(s)	Run or chair the meeting; encourage equalized participation of attendees; monitor time and agenda; dedicated to the process, not the content of the meeting; encourage use of cofacilitators when possible
Notetaker	Write/document discussions, commitments, and information
Scribe	Public, large note taking on flip charts or overhead to capture key ideas; supports group in following agenda, limits repetition, and guides meeting participation
Hospitality/nurturer	Attends to people's physical needs, including temperature of the room, food and drink, and emotional support
Timekeeper	Keeps time; helps meeting run smoothly
"Stack" tender	Keeps a list or "stack" of people who would like to speak
Doorkeeper	Welcomes people, especially latecomers, and brings them up to speed
Accessibility person	Provides physical, language (translation), or other support to participants
Devil's advocate	Prevents "groupthink" by offering alternative views
Tech	Supports use of computers, projection, livestream, or other technology

TABLE 10.

Facilitation Competency Skills

Establish the purpose of the meeting, gathering, event, or dialogue	Welcome all points of view (within group agreements)
Guide development of "group agreements"	Manage the agenda and guide the process
Foster dialogue, discourage debate (unless debate is on the agenda)	Model active listening skills, including summarizing and paraphrasing what others say
Monitor group dynamics and equalize participation	Help deal with difficult participants

Summarize the discussion and help focus the group members on talking concretely about next steps they want to take individually and collectively

FIGURE 8.

Sample of Basic Group Agreements

Listen to understand the other's point of view rather than to prepare a defense of your own view. Try to listen more than you speak.

Respect others by not speaking over others or calling people names or using other oppressive behavior.

Take space/give space: If you are a person who talks a lot, step back and let others talk. If you are a person who hesitates, share your experiences and thoughts.

WAIT (Why Am I Talking?): Ask yourself this to make sure you have something valuable to add.

Speak about personal experiences. Start your sentences with "I" rather than "you." "I experienced...."

Minimize interruptions and distractions.

What is learned here can leave. What is said here stays. Outside the group, discuss the content of what was said, not who said what.

Ask questions. Ask honest, thought-provoking questions that give people the opportunity to explore and explain their underlying assumptions.

Stay through the hard times. Make a commitment to stay in the dialogue despite the tensions.

Recognize common ground not to solve the problem or agree on everything. Every two people share something in common.

Use hand signals for agreement, slow down motion, volume motion.

"Ouch," then educate. If someone says something hurtful, don't just disengage. Let the individual and the group know why it was hurtful.

WHAT ARE "GROUP AGREEMENTS"?

Groups and organizations work best when they have a set of shared agreements or baseline organizational principles that support participants doing their best work. Setting group agreements for a meeting or dialogue will strengthen group ownership in the process and, if done together, can help participants consciously choose to honor and protect specific behaviors. If difficult situations or behaviors arise, the group can use the agreements to help resolve the issues. Setting group agreements together communicates that everyone in the group is essentially equal. This is important because most settings where people interact involve some degree of hierarchy where

FIGURE 9.

Facilitation and Group Process Tips and Tools

Simple tools for equalizing participation:

- The Go Round: each person speaks for a timed amount
- Talking sticks (the one holding the stick is entitled to speak) or talking stones (giving the same amount of stones or other objects to each person; when others speak, they deposit their stone in the middle of the circle until there are no more stones)
- Working in different-sized teams from pairs, to triplets, to any smaller subset of the whole group, and then reporting back to big group
- Use a progressive stack (move underrepresented groups to the head of the queue)
- Use a variety of participation methods from individual writing responses to pair shares to small groups with report outs to whole group role plays

Quick collective decision-making tools:

- Fist to 5: using one's hand to signify 0 support (the fist) to all in support (5 fingers)
- Thumbs up or down
- Yes/No go-rounds
- Dot voting (using colored dots/sticky notes to create visual voting record)
- Straw polls or using a nonbinding "temperature" check on a decision or question facing the group

Dealing with difficult behaviors, situations, individuals:

- Setting group agreements, baseline organizational principles, etc.
- Empowering the group to hold each other accountable
- Using a "bike rack" or scribed list of topics to address at another time
- Taking breaks; start off meetings with check-ins or grounding work
- Developing and using agendas/lesson plans, possibly standard formats
- Working in smaller teams or pairs (or larger groups, depending on the issue)
- Including fun, games, and movement into the agenda
- Have a counselor, social worker, other professional on call or in the room with you
- Checking in with individual participants during the break
- Using meta-discussions to address/name difficult situations/conversations

someone is in an authoritative role over others. This is a key reason to develop "group agreements" rather than "ground rules," which imply imposition on others.

Generally, there are two ways to set agreements. In a setting with time constraints, one approach is to list suggestions and ask if people can comply with them in the workshop. With more time, it is important that each person has a chance to contribute to developing the agreements. Beware of prematurely assuming that people have agreed when they have not. After developing the proposed agreements, the facilitator can ask for public indication that the group is willing to hold itself and others accountable to the agreements. A list of basic group agreements is shown in figure 8.

These group meeting facilitation skills are important to foster engaging, respectful, productive, and empowering meetings to address key problems and challenges. Creating an effective environment in which to discuss, assess, and plan is critical to maintaining momentum and enthusiasm in both peacebuilding and nonviolent action. People need to feel they are both listened to and part of the solution in order to stay engaged in nonviolent conflict transformation for the long haul. Figure 9 provides key tips for navigating group processes to foster participation and decision making and ways to handle difficult situations.

Beyond the Page #1

Facilitation and Group Decision-Making Role Play

(20–30 min.)

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:
- Explore and practice using simple facilitation tools and tricks for supporting effective meetings and reaching group consensus on collective goals

SETUP:
- Place chairs in a circle or around a table as if setting up for a meeting. Then prepare written role directions or "spikes" (suggestions on how to act during the role play) to hand out to some participants. In the following spike suggestions, change the *italic sections* to fit your issue area:

  - You want to spend the whole $10K to start new projects. You think your group is fine without any additional monies for its current work.

  - You think you should give all the money to a *local food pantry/soup kitchen*. Your group really wanted to *grow enough food to donate to a soup kitchen*, but you have not been able to do that. You can be very emotional about it.

  - You want to purchase *the building you meet in or the land you are renting for your community garden.*

  - You want to take most of the money and invest it so that your activist work/*garden*/*compost project* has an endowment. Act

as though you are the only one who has any financial sense in the group.

- Maybe you have had a bad day. Say something mean, dismissive, or rude. (E.g., We will tell people your paper said to do this!)

  - Note: This is understandably difficult. It is here to give your group the opportunity to model stopping oppressive behavior, the capacity to address issues when they arise in a compassionate and healthy way.

- Interrupt people constantly or talk incessantly.

- Fidget or have a side conversation with someone else in the group. Be a bit disruptive.

HOW IT IS DONE:
1. Have the group split into smaller groups of about seven to ten people each—or use a group about this size in the middle of the room in a "fishbowl" setup (everyone else can watch them as if they were in a fishbowl). They should sit in a circle or around a table.

2. Hand out the small slips of paper that will "spike" the conversation they are about to have; the spikes will help bring up specific issues.

3. Give them the following situation to role-play: *You are a local activist group in your neighborhood. You have been working together for a while, and this is one of your regularly scheduled meeting times—maybe they happen every month or two. Amazingly, someone has given your group a $10K anonymous grant, and you need to figure out what to do with this generous gift.*

4. Tell those folks who have spikes to do their best to follow the directions on the paper, but not give away what it says.

5. Tell the group they have five minutes to figure out what to do. Say GO!

6. After three to five minutes, stop the role play to debrief and collect some lessons. Write these lessons on a flip chart. For guidance on how to conduct the debrief for this exercise, please review the "Quick and Dirty Debriefing Framework" on page 26 and the action guide's accompanying materials for facilitators.

   a. What did people notice?

   b. Were there any roles that were used to help the process? Facilitator, note taker, time keeper, and so on?

c. What kinds of problem behaviors came up, and what did you do about them?

7. After a couple minutes of debrief, run another role play following the same scenario but ask for a new volunteer facilitator. Have people swap out the old spikes for new ones.

8. Run the role play again for three to five minutes and debrief. Harvest and scribe what comes up. Make a big sheet of TOOLS/TIPS for artful facilitation.

   a. What kinds of things were done, or could be done, to equalize participation in the meeting?

   b. What kinds of things were done, or could be done, to help facilitate collective decision making? Was there an agenda or were any tools used for the meeting process (go-rounds, hand signals, voting or straw polls, individual or pair work, etc.)?

   c. What kinds of things were done, or could be done, to deal with difficult situations or people in the meeting?

9. Thank the facilitator and the groups and give a big round of applause for a great meeting role play!

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Assess to Build Awareness and Better Strategy

CONTENTS

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of the lesson, participants will be able to:

Identify six questions to ask in any conflict analysis or environmental scan in preparation for developing a strategy for conflict transformation

Use a variety of tools to help provide answers to six key assessment questions

Articulate why assessment is critical to strategic planning

5

Assess to Build Awareness and Better Strategy

Effective conflict transformation begins with assessment of the context. In order to make a strategic plan, we first have to analyze and understand who is involved.

The Curle Diagram illustrates the need to build awareness within a movement, within the public, and within the opponent group(s). Assessment tools are an important way that people begin to raise their own awareness of the problem. A sophisticated analysis of allies and adversaries, their motivations, sources of power, histories, and perspectives is essential to developing a solid strategy.

Both nonviolent action and peacebuilding have unique assessment tools that, when intentionally used in concert with each other, can strengthen and support powerful strategic planning. Some of their tools are shared, and others are distinct. This unit synergizes conflict analysis tools from both fields.

Key Concepts

WHY IS ASSESSMENT NECESSARY?

While fear of "analysis paralysis" is real, the risks of taking ineffective action far outweigh the risks of spending too much time carefully assessing the context. Every conflict and every context are unique. Just because a boycott worked in South Africa or India does not mean it will be successful in Egypt or Colombia. Just because mediation by one group worked in Mozambique does not mean it will work in North Korea. Enthusiasm for using a particular method of action without first assessing the conflict is a common problem. Successful nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes require an ongoing assessment of the people, places, motivations, power sources, actions, and time factors. This assessment helps people know who they should talk to, what they should do, what forms of power to create, and when to engage in dialogue, negotiation, and/or direct action.

Carrying out a conflict assessment is one of the first steps in building a successful conflict transformation process, as illustrated in the Curle Diagram in figure 5.

WHAT ARE THE CRITERIA FOR A GOOD ASSESSMENT?

Too often, only a small group of people leading a peacebuilding process or a movement sit in a closed room and develop a strategy for engaging in political and social change. Even then, a relatively short amount of time is spent assessing the context. And unfortunately, "groupthink" frequently blinds people to seeing important aspects of their own context, leading to time and resources spent carrying out a strategy doomed to fail.

Ideally, a diverse group of people with different backgrounds, identities, and experiences will come together to participate in an interactive conflict assessment process using the tools and exercises outlined in this unit. Diversity is important because people tend to fill out assessment tools in wildly different ways. There is no one "right" way to assess power dynamics. And groups in conflict often misinterpret or misunderstand the motivations of other groups.

Expect to do some research when you cannot answer the questions that a particular tool brings up. Glossing over or inventing answers could negatively impact your understanding of the situation and lead to faulty strategic thinking.

Good assessment requires good communication skills like active listening. It requires the ability to informally dialogue with people with different experiences. And it requires setting up a time and space for a diverse group of people to have a facilitated dialogue to come to a shared assessment of their context. Further, if you have the opportunity to go out into your community and conduct surveys, focus groups, or "sensing" operations, this type of action research will deliver better and more accurate results.

At a minimum, carrying out assessment research requires setting up a communication channel with opponents, allies, and everyone in between to check on their perceptions, interests, and readiness to negotiate. This is necessary because groups will need to conduct ongoing assessments after each round of nonviolent tactics and discussions with an opponent to assess changes in perceptions of power, motivations and interests, and even possible solutions.

Why invest in assessment and evaluation? As the philosopher Heraclitus said, "The only thing that is constant is change."

Critical Note: There is nothing static or "finished" about the assessment process. Every assessment that leads to an action, event, or theory of change should be followed up with its own evaluation to assess the effectiveness of that action. Assumptions about the context should be regularly interrogated. Change is the only constant in the world, and that understanding can fuel our assessments and more effective pathways. Establishing a culture of assessment can support robust and successful campaign planning.

The Six Key Assessment Questions

WHAT DO WE NEED TO KNOW ABOUT OUR SPECIFIC CONTEXT TO IMPROVE OUR STRATEGY?

There are six assessment questions (outlined in table 11) that can help you better understand the specific context in which you are working to improve your strategic planning.

TABLE 11.

The Six Key Assessment Questions

1. WHO	Are the stakeholders (the people who have a stake or interest in the conflict)?
2. WHY	Are the stakeholders acting the way they do? What are their motivations?
3. WHAT	Factors are driving or mitigating conflict?
4. HOW	Is conflict manifested? What are the stakeholders' means and sources of power?
5. WHEN	Does conflict take place? Are historical patterns or cycles of the conflict evident?
6. WHERE	Is the conflict taking place—in what cultural, social, economic, justice, or political context or system?

1. WHO Are the Key Stakeholders and Where Do They Stand on the Conflict?

Nonviolent action and peacebuilding require mapping out the wide range of stakeholders, including real and potential allies and adversaries. Peacebuilding involves inclusive processes that require the participation of diverse groups in formal peace processes and citizen support for a negotiated agreement. Likewise, non-violent movements win when a significant mobilization of a population occurs. In fact, Stephan and Chenoweth's research shows that no major nonviolent campaign failed to achieve its goal if it mobilized 3.5 percent of the population.[1] Many movements win with much less. Still, 3.5 percent of some countries adds up to tens of millions of people—not a small number. Outreach and mobiliza-tion, then, are critical for conflict transformation.

There are two key tools for mapping out who is a "stakeholder," or someone with an interest in the outcome of the conflict: **Spectrum of Allies and Oppo-nents** and **Stakeholder Mapping.** Together, the two tools help develop an effective strategy for building a broader set of allies and reducing support for those groups driving the conflict.

The first tool is from nonviolent action. The Spectrum of Allies and Opponents is helpful in creating categories of "active" and "passive" allies to measure the level of their support, as well as "passive" and "active" adver-saries to measure the level of their resistance.

The second tool is from peacebuilding practice. The Stakeholder Mapping tool identifies the relationships groups have with each other. This tool can provide insight into possible entry points for dialogue or negotiation with adversaries. A key stakeholder is someone that has a stake in the conflict and a stake in the resolution of the conflict and has been and will be affected by the conflict and its possible resolution. Stakeholders include allies, neutral people with a stake in the conflict, and opponents. Stakeholders also include spoilers who may benefit from continued conflict and will aim to prevent all other stakeholders from negotiating with each other.

The U.S. civil rights movement is a good illustration of how analyzing stakeholders can contribute to an effective and integrated peacebuilding and nonviolent action strategy. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was one of the leading organ-izations driving the movement. In order to grow, they realized they needed to reach and engage their "passive allies"—northern white people and local black communities. Their strategy relied on an analysis of these passive allies and disengaged middle people who could be activated to join the movement. Images and news of the lunch counter sit-ins stirred local black leaders to take action to support the student protesters. SNCC invited northern whites, especially students, to join in the Freedom Rides that would transport white people from the north to the southern cities that were on the front lines of the civil rights struggle. Here they not only witnessed the violence against African Ameri-cans but also felt this oppression personally—which mobilized their own families and communities of northern whites as allies in this struggle. In other words, SNCC used tactics that intentionally broadened partici-pation in the movement.

Beyond the Page #1

Spectrum of Allies and Opponents

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- Identify active and passive allies; the friendly, disengaged, or unfriendly middle; and passive and active opponents

- Determine the priorities and resources to move groups or individuals as far to the middle or left to become allies

The Spectrum of Allies and Opponents is a tool that helps identify allies, people who are neutral in the middle or are bystanders, and opponents. Movements, campaigns, and other peacebuilding efforts succeed not by spending all their resources trying to convince their staunchest opponents, which would be extremely costly and highly unlikely, but by intentionally shifting passive allies over to active allies, friendly middles into passive allies, disengaged middles into friendly middles, and so on. Successful conflict transformation comes from moving individuals and groups one step at a time—which is realistic and achievable. After specific stakeholders are identified, you can then determine what resources you will need to reach those groups or individuals.

The tool, shown in figure 10, is simple but requires attention to detail since its usefulness is directly related to the degree of specificity when filling it out.

SETUP:

- You will need large sheets of paper and markers

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. Do part 1, identification of stakeholders, now, and save your responses for part 2 in the next unit.

2. Choose a specific conflict to analyze, and identify your campaign or mission.

3. On a large sheet of paper, make a U-shaped arc, as illustrated in figure 10. Identify by name the individuals, groups, organizations, corporations, and government institutions that fit into the categories listed in the diagram in the blue sections. Make sure you are very specific. Writing "Labor Unions" or "Banks" or "Media" or "Mothers" will not be helpful; writing "Local 721 Rank and File" or "Lloyds of London" or "CNN Local" or "Mothers with children in the military" will be. Make a list of questions to answer if you do not know where specific groups belong on the spectrum. For example, some churches may be active allies, but others may be in opposition, so list each of them separately and include research questions to ask to ensure you have placed them correctly on the spectrum. Specificity matters because who you identify will help you know what actions to take to move them one section closer to your position of active ally, and away from active opponent. Part 2 is about filling out the rest of the diagram, from actions to reach each sector to tactics that affect targets.

FIGURE 10.

Spectrum of Allies and Opponents

Actions to
educate, build
connections, and
overcome fear

Actions to increase
solidarity, coordination,
and risk taking

Actions to arouse
doubts and conflicts
within opponent's camp

Middle:
Friendly,
disengaged,
unfriendly

**Passive
allies**

**Passive
opponents**

Actions to
increase solidarity,
coordination,
and risk taking

Actions to discredit,
undermine, and
weaken leadership

**Active
allies**
**and our
organizations**

**Active
opponents**

TACTICS that reach and apply
pressure on those who can give
you what you want, or those who
can more directly affect them

*Research
questions:*
1.
2.
3.
4.

Targets: primary, secondary

Goal

Spectrum of Allies and Opponents

Diagram adapted from the Toronto & York Labor Council Campaign Planning Handbook, 2011.

Beyond the Page #2

Stakeholder Mapping

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- Develop a visual map of the relationships between adversaries and allies, bystanders, spoilers, or other stakeholders

- Identify an access point to reach out to or to build relationships with allies, adversaries, or other stakeholders

SETUP:

- You will need large sheets of paper and markers

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. Choose a specific conflict to analyze.

2. Write the names of different stakeholders on sticky notes or pieces of paper. Use larger

pieces for major stakeholders and smaller pieces for less important stakeholders. You can also draw circles with stakeholder names inside instead of using paper, as illustrated in figure 11.

3. Arrange the stakeholder names on a large sheet of paper. Draw lines illustrating the relationships between the same stakeholders.

4. Use a dotted or red line to connect adversaries. Use a solid or green line to connect groups that have positive relationships or connections of some sort. Referring back to the Spectrum of Allies tool, you may illustrate with connecting

lines if any active allies have relationships with groups in the disengaged middle.

5. Use an arrow at the end of the line to illustrate who holds power or influence over the other. If influence is equal, put an arrow on both ends.

6. Highlight with a star where there are "entry points" where peacebuilding processes (e.g., dialogue, negotiation) and nonviolent action tactics (e.g., boycott, flash mob) might be helpful to both increase support for social change and decrease support for violence.

Sample Stakeholder Map
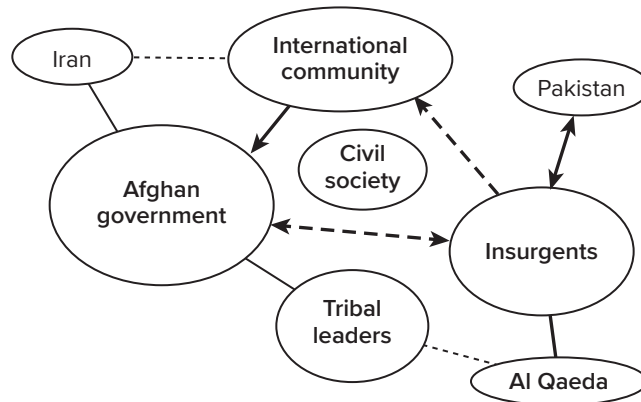
2. WHY Are the Key Actors Motivated to Drive Violence or Mitigate Conflict?

People's motivations drive their behavior. Nonviolent movements are made up of diverse groups with diverse motivations. Within a nonviolent movement, it will be important for these groups to understand each other's interests and needs so they can identify common ground that unites them all. People often decide to join a nonviolent action or even to risk their lives to protect basic human needs for dignity, respect, identity, and economic and physical safety. Similarly, parties to a conflict may decide that ongoing fighting has become untenable or that it is in their best interest to mitigate violence. People may decide to enter into a dialogue or negotiation process if the costs of conflict are too great or the conflict is "ripe," a term we will discuss more in unit 8.

It is also important for activists and peacebuilders to understand an opponent's underlying interests and needs. An opponent is more likely to accommodate, convert, or negotiate if they believe they can achieve their basic interests and needs by doing so. A nonviolent movement that is perceived as attacking an opponent's needs and interests will face greater opposition. Similarly, a dialogue or negotiation that does not fully understand how an opponent's interests and needs incentivize them to engage in the process will likely result in a stalemate. While an opponent may insist publicly on some demand, they may actually be more concerned with their interest in saving face and avoiding humiliation, or their need to feel secure. The better we understand and recognize the underlying motivations of the opponent, the more likely we will be able to achieve our own goals.

There may also be other stakeholders motivated to support or oppose conflict transformation. Business leaders may not explicitly support a nonviolent movement, but they may have an interest in ending the conflict and put pressure on the opponent to change. Spoilers, groups like arms dealers and other businesses that indirectly benefit from conflict, may do everything in their power to derail a peace process. It is important to assess whether there are other agendas that may impact the success of a nonviolent movement or peace process.

In the strategic planning section of this guide, you are asked to identify your goals. Your goals should directly relate to your underlying interests and needs. In unit 8 we will explore how motivations shape negotiation. This tool helps to identify each stakeholder's underlying needs and interests in order to negotiate toward creative solutions.

In the "onion" diagram in figure 12, needs and interests are often hidden underneath public positions, like the layers of an onion.

Positions are what people say they want in public. These can be political demands or conditions under which they will stop fighting.

Interests are desires, concerns, and fears that drive people to develop a public position.

Needs are the most basic material, social, and cultural requirements for life that drive people's behavior and their positions and interests.

For example, a government might state a *position* that it demands total control over oil and gas pipelines. Its *interest* is in making a profit. Its *need* is to survive.

FIGURE 12.

Onion Diagram

- Needs
- Interests
- Positions
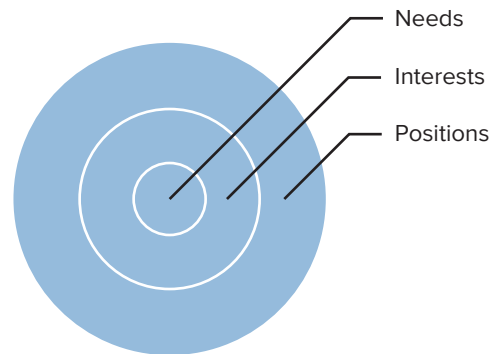
The drive to satisfy core human needs shapes human behavior. Conflict occurs when people perceive that others are obstructing or threatening their needs and rights. Depending on how threatened people feel, they may be willing to fight, die, or harm others to satisfy their needs. It is important to remember that threats and punishments are often ineffective at changing the behavior of people trying to satisfy what they perceive to be their basic human needs.[2]

Identifying the motivations of all stakeholders enables changemakers to choose specific goals and make plans that take these needs and interests into account.

Beyond the Page #3

Positions, Interests, and Needs Onion Analysis

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- Identify the underlying motivations, including the positions, interests, and needs of the participants' own group, their potential allies, and opponents, as well as bystanders, spoilers, and other key stakeholders

SETUP:

- You will need large sheets of paper and markers

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. In small groups of four to six people, draw the "stakeholder motivation" table to create a way of organizing information inspired by the onion diagram (see table 12).

2. Identify a list of key stakeholders based on the spectrum of allies and stakeholder map analysis above. Include yourself or your group in this list.

TABLE 12.

Stakeholder Motivations

STAKEHOLDER	POSITIONS	NEEDS	INTERESTS

3. What are the positions, interests, or underlying needs that motivate each of these stakeholders? In this tool, imagine identifying the layers of the onion for each of the stakeholders, including your own group.

4. In the large group, ask how this assessment tool helps anticipate potential threats or opportunities in their strategic planning. What nonviolent tactics might inadvertently threaten another group's basic needs or underlying interests, and thus make them even more resistant to change? What are potential ways of addressing the interests and needs of the opponent? How will your own interests and needs shape your goals?

3. WHAT Is Driving or Mitigating the Conflict?

The tree analysis assessment tool borrows from both nonviolent action and peacebuilding tool kits. This tool is like an environmental scan that organizes the patterns and problems people face into the shape of a tree.

The roots of the tree are the "root causes" or broad institutional and structural factors that create an environment where social injustice is possible. Economic inequality, for example, is a root cause of many violent conflicts. The trunk of the tree is the key problem you want to address. In this example, violent elections are the key problem. At the top, visible part of a tree are symptoms of the root causes. They can also be "conflict drivers" that increase the possibility of violent conflict. Climate change or environmental shocks such as droughts that destroy crops, and the abundant supply of cheap weapons are each examples of conflict drivers.

Efforts to stop the conflict by addressing a symptom of the conflict will have little effect. In many cultures there are types of trees or plants that regenerate even after their tops are cut off, such as the cassava plant or the

FIGURE 13.

Tree Analysis Tool

High crime rate

Migration

Unemployment

Terrorism

Poverty

Threats to democracy

Social and
economic
inequality

Corrupt
government
institutions

Political exclusion
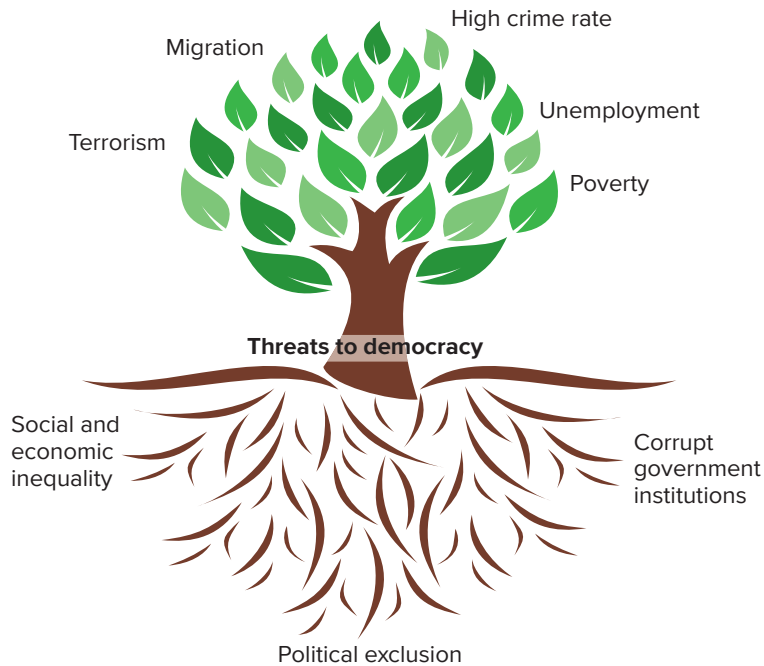
raspberry bush. These plants are metaphors illustrating how "roots" are able to regenerate and spread, despite efforts to eliminate them.

Conflict transformation requires addressing root causes of a conflict. Figure 13 illustrates social and economic inequality and government corruption as root causes of violent elections. The branches of the tree are symptoms of the root causes. These symptoms fuel more conflict and violence. It is important to address

the conflict drivers of violent elections, such as a high crime rate, youth gangs, and ethnic clashes. But addressing these factors might not change the underlying structural conditions or root causes of election violence. This tool can help a group prioritize its work. A group using this tool might decide to focus on a goal of addressing corruption instead of poverty or crime because, according to this analysis, corruption is a root cause of poverty.

Beyond the Page #4

Tree Analysis Tool

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- Identify, organize, and prioritize social problems to enable choices of goals and targets in nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes

SETUP:

- You will need large sheets of paper and markers

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. In small groups of four to six people, identify key challenges or social problems that participants see and feel in their lives.

2. Draw a tree. Discuss where the problems belong on the tree. What is the main problem? What are the root causes? What are the symptoms or drivers of the core problem?

3. Groups can and should create as many trees as they want, and then discuss the different ways people analyze social problems. Which of the main problems (trunks) affects the most people? How will this tool affect the strategy for nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes?

In the large group, ask participants how this assessment tool helps them organize and prioritize social problems and set goals in their strategic planning.

4. HOW Are Key Actors Using Power to Drive or Mitigate Conflict?

Power is the ability to influence others. When one person or group has the ability to influence or control others, they have power. But power is not fixed or static. It is always shifting. People can build power for themselves through nonviolent action, sometimes paving the way to meaningful negotiations. People can also take away power from others through nonviolent action.

There are many sources of power. Nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes do not rely on power that comes from physical strength or weapons. For

example, power can draw on information, authority, experience, charisma, economic resources or economic boycotts, large numbers of people taking action together, and networks or social capital. Social capital refers to the quantity and quality of relationships between people and groups. It is based on the idea that social networks have value. People have power when they hold networking abilities, relationships with others, and the ability to mobilize people.

The power of any person or group relates to the amount of influence they have on others. People can

feel disempowered, or as if they have no or little power, when they are not consulted or included in decision-making processes that affect their lives.

Power is given to others through consent and cooperation. When people withdraw their consent and refuse to cooperate with an oppressive group, power shifts. The power of any stakeholder is related to how dependent others are on them. This dependence may be very real and direct, or it may be perceived. Power shifts when people withdraw support from the stakeholder and/or build parallel institutions that reduce their dependency on that system of power.

Power is almost always a key dynamic in peacebuilding processes. Those with more power than others do not have to negotiate or consider the needs of other people. Through nonviolent action, groups can try to shift and balance power. A thorough analysis of different forms of power, or the potential to build or block power, is essential to an effective conflict-transformation strategy. Peacebuilding and nonviolent action methods can shift power by moving key stakeholders along the spectrum of allies.

There are two types of tools related to power. The **Power Analysis Tool** identifies the sources of power for each of the stakeholders. It is useful for helping each stakeholder consider how they can increase their power. The **Pillars of Support Tool** identifies an opponent's sources of power. It is useful for developing a strategy to weaken an opponent's ability to control or influence others.

Beyond the Page #5

Power Analysis Tool

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- Identify existing or potential sources of power for each stakeholder to recognize how best to leverage your power and create new sources of power

SETUP:

- You will need large sheets of paper and markers

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. In small groups of four to six people, brainstorm sources of power, or provide each group with a list like the one below.

Sources of Power:

- Physical or military strength

- Identity (gender, ethnic background; family of origin, position, or authority)

- Personal ability (such as communication skills or professional competency)

- Economic resources

- Information

- Education (knowledge and skills)

TABLE 13.

Breakdown of Stakeholder Sources of Power

STAKEHOLDER	SOURCES OF POWER

- Moral or spiritual power

- The personal power of charisma

- Social networks and social capital

2. What are the key stakeholder's different sources of power? Remember to include yourself and your group in this list of stakeholders. Make a chart like that shown in table 13 and identify the key sources of power for each stakeholder in the stakeholder map. This can include potential sources of power.

3. Next, identify how the stakeholders in the conflict are dependent on each other. Are they interdependent, or does one side have more influence on the others?

4. How does power play into the dynamics of the conflict? In what ways do stakeholders use power as a means to engage with each other?

5. In the large group, ask participants how this assessment tool helps them anticipate potential threats or opportunities in their strategic planning. How can you leverage or increase your own sources of power? How will you decrease the sources of power of their opponent?

Beyond the Page #6

Pillars of Support Tool

The Pillars of Support assessment tool (shown in figure 14) helps us identify and analyze the organizations and institutions that provide power to our opponent. A government's political power ultimately depends on its legitimacy and the consent and cooperation of its citizens. In any given society these individuals may be organized in labor unions, the bureaucracy, security forces, businesses, religious groups, student associations, and other groups. When individuals or stakeholders within these key pillars of support withhold or withdraw their labor, buying power, technical skills, and knowledge this can weaken or erode the opponent's power base. However, like governments, pillars of support are not monolithic. Their

FIGURE 14.

Pillars of Support Tool
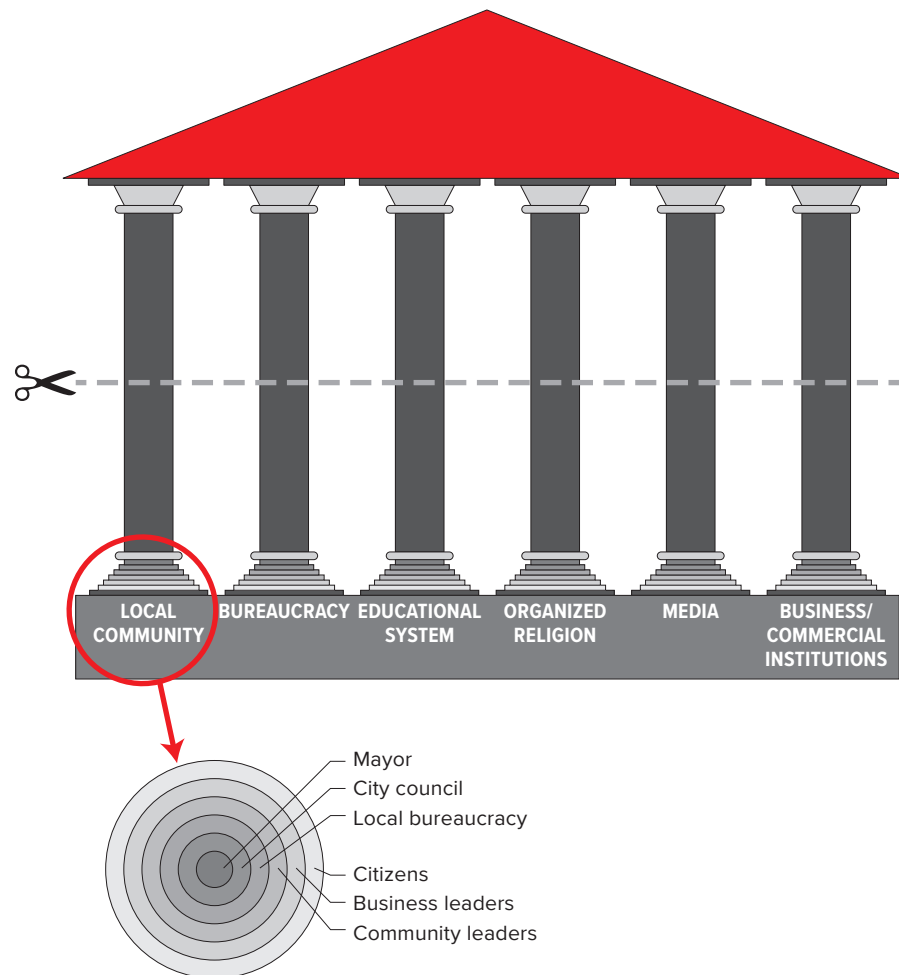
members have different needs, interests, and motivations. Analyzing these nuances is the essence of good assessment.

Each pillar is made up of stakeholders, represented here by concentric circles. These are elements of the support structures, with the center being the most impacted or powerful (the dictator or general might be in the center of the military pillar, with other leadership in the next circle, then regular troops, then veterans, military families, etc.).

Strategic planning requires us to assess ways to both build power and participation in a peacebuilding process or nonviolent movement and weaken the opponent's institutional pillars of support and sources of power.

This tool is great for a big-picture view of institutional stakeholders. It needs to be paired with other tools (Spectrum and SWOT, detailed in unit 6) to translate into campaign planning and work on the ground. Figure 15 provides another way to look at it.

FIGURE 15.

Redistributing Power
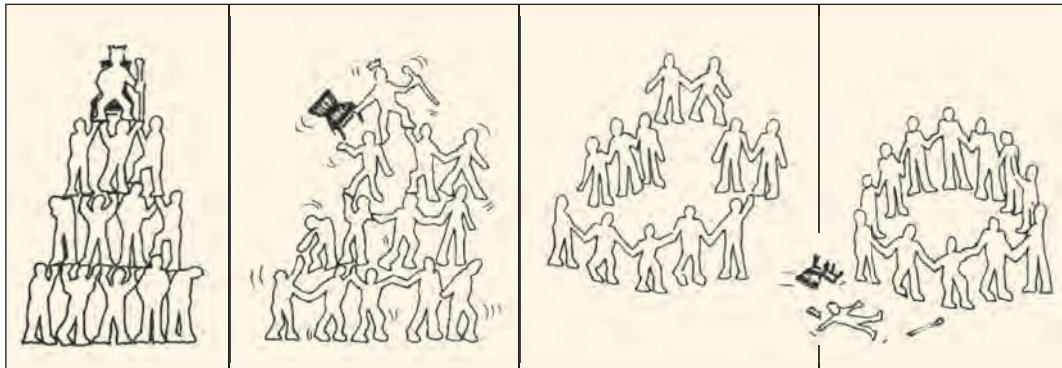
LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- Identify the opponents' sources of power and structures of support

SETUP:

- There are two versions of this exercise. A simple, interactive theater version requires a chair or table or other object that can be lifted by four or five people. A more detailed version of this exercise can be done on paper, requiring large sheets of paper and markers.

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. Draw a diagram of a triangular roof that represents the issue, institution, or policy you want to change. (This is likely the same as the trunk of the tree in figure 13.)

2. Identify the pillars of support or sources of power of the person or group that is in control of the issue you have identified as the core issue. It can be organizations and institutions associated with a government, local militia, corporation, or other group. Write this on a large piece of paper. Identify the five most significant pillars that support this "roof."

3. Proceed using either of the two following versions.

4. In the large group, ask participants how this assessment tool helps them leverage their strengths and existing sources of power, and anticipate potential threats or opportunities in preparation for strategic planning.

Simplified Theater Version

1. Divide into five small groups. Give each group five minutes to brainstorm a plan to withdraw the pillar of support from the person or group in control of the core issue.

2. Ask for five volunteers to represent the five pillars of support. Write the name of each pillar on a piece of paper and tape this to the shirts of the people symbolizing this pillar. These pillars will together lift up the table or chair representing the person or group.

3. Together in the large group, ask each small group to announce its strategy and withdraw the pillar of support, one by one until the table or chair is no longer able to be held by the remaining pillars.

4. Ask the large group: How did each pillar of support depend on consent? What did you learn about power? How did power shift? Was consent withdrawn?

—Adapted from George Lakey, Training for Change

Detailed Paper Version

1. Draw a circle that represents a cross section of each pillar, with concentric circles that you can label with the individuals or groups that compose the pillar itself.

2. As you move out from the center, the power the groups or individuals hold changes, and their connection or loyalty to the institution often diminishes. This will help you visually assess where you could have the most impact on a pillar and which constituencies you may be able to reach as you try to break down support for the system.

—From Beautiful Rising https://beautifulrising.org/tool/pillars-of-power

5. HOW Do You Identify Moments of Vulnerability and Moments of Opportunity?

The timing of a nonviolent action or peacebuilding process can impact its success or failure. Identifying key moments, such as anniversaries and symbolic dates, and optimal times and seasons of the year is part of the analysis process that can lead to planning more successful strategies for conflict transformation. For example, if violence often occurs during elections, a time line can highlight the "window of vulnerability" or potential danger for times in the future when elections are held. The lens can also identify "windows of opportunity" for mobilizing peace, such as anniversaries or sports events that bring people together.

Developing a time line of the history of the conflict enables stakeholders to identify those moments in the conflict. Analyzing the emotional impact of past events may also help stakeholders of opposing groups understand more about the psychological impact particular memories may have had on the other group, and they may perhaps be more able to acknowledge the events and even apologize.

Beyond the Page #7

Past Analysis Time Line Tool

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:
- Identify potential future "windows of opportunity" and "windows of vulnerability"

SETUP:
- You will need about fifty sheets of regular-size letter paper and a rope or tape to mark a time line on the floor

HOW IT IS DONE:
1. Divide the group according to the various "sides," key actors, or identity groups in a conflict. For example, you could identify three groups from the spectrum of allies tool: leading allies, the disengaged middle, and leading opponents. Ideally, a time line is constructed in a large group made up of key stakeholders from different sides of the conflict. But if that is not possible, ask people to put themselves in the position of other stakeholders.

2. Ask people in each small group to share the major events that have shaped how they see the conflict today. They can start as far back in history as they want to begin telling their story of what has happened from their assigned roles, or their own unique history if appropriate.

3. Write a three- to five-word summary of each significant historical event, moment of glory, or

moment of trauma on a separate sheet of paper.

4. The facilitator will use a piece of rope or put tape on the floor to mark the line of history, and will add sheets of paper to mark dates along the time line. Each side of the conflict will lay down the history in chronological order along the line. The historical dates need to be marked so that each group's chronology matches up along the line.

5. When each group is finished laying out its key historical dates, ask everyone to silently walk along the line and read each side's understanding of history. Note how each side remembers different events and may have a different interpretation of events as either traumatic or as a glory.

6. After everyone finishes silently observing the time line, reconfigure small groups made up of different identity groups. Ask them to share with each other what they noticed in terms of commonly perceived events versus differences

in perceptions. Allow space for people to ask questions of each other about their different perceptions.

7. Identify both the key points in history where there are shared memories and the key points where there are disparate memories in which one side's trauma may be the other side's glory. How can these memories create opportunities for transforming the current crisis by memorializing, acknowledging, and/or apologizing for past events?

8. In a large group discussion and debrief, ask the group about the relevance of the time line for strategic planning. If there is time, the process could be repeated by the group for a period of time into the future. What kinds of events, gatherings, or peacebuilding efforts are already in place? Are there windows of opportunity or vulnerability for a nonviolent campaign or a peacebuilding process? Ask how this assessment tool helps them anticipate potential threats or opportunities in their strategic planning.

6. WHERE Is the Conflict Taking Place?

In any society there are "connectors" and "dividers."[3] **Connectors** refer to things that link people across conflict lines, particularly those forces that meet human needs. **Dividers** are tensions or fault lines that refer to those forces that alienate people or interrupt their human needs. Dividers can include the sources or root causes of the conflict.

A nonviolent action or peacebuilding process will impact connectors and dividers. These actions should

be *conflict sensitive* and *do no harm* by reducing the possibility that they could have unintended consequences that would increase divisions between groups and increase the likelihood of violence. An action also should foster resilience by increasing the connectors between groups.

The CDA Collaborative Learning Project's "Do No Harm" approach identifies five categories of connectors and dividers.

Categories of Connectors and Dividers

Systems and institutions: Systems and institutions—like markets, power lines, water pipes, bridges, roads, and communication systems—can connect people across conflict lines. If systems and institutions serve some people and not others, they may increase divisions between groups. For example, if oil pipelines travel through a community but the community does not benefit from the pipelines, the pipelines are an example of a "divider."

Attitudes and actions: Attitudes and actions can either divide or connect people. Even in the midst of war and violence, some individuals behave in surprising ways, such as adopting abandoned children from the opposing side in the conflict or continuing a community soccer group across the lines of conflict. Attitudes and actions can be "connectors" helping groups see the humanity of those on the other side of the conflict. Other people can display hateful behaviors, write graffiti, or call people names on the other side of a conflict.

Shared values and interests: Shared religious or moral values, such as a belief in protecting children or the environment, can connect people across the lines of conflict. UNICEF, for example, has negotiated days of tranquility in conflict zones based on the shared value warring parties place on inoculating children against disease.

Common experiences: The experience and effects of war on individuals can provide linkages across conflict lines. Citing the experience of war and suffering as "common to all sides," people traumatized by war sometimes create new antiwar alliances across conflict lines. In other situations, a common experience of trauma can divide people, as each group is unable to function emotionally.

Symbols and occasions: National art, music, historical anniversaries, national holidays, monuments, and sporting events (e.g., the Olympics) can both divide people by prompting memories of past traumatic events and bring people together or link them across conflict lines, or some combination of the two.

Beyond the Page #8

Connectors and Dividers Tool

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- Examine the broad context of connectors and dividers that exist within a society so we can anticipate how our actions may create further divisions or build a greater sense of connection across the lines of conflict

SETUP:

- You will need large sheets of paper for each group of six to eight people and markers

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. Ask each group to draw a chart with three columns (see table 14).

2. Ask each group to identify connectors in the first column and dividers in the third column.

3. Ask each group to identify in the center column potential peacebuilding processes, activities, or nonviolent actions that could increase the connectors or the dividers. Arrows may be used to indicate whether the action would increase connectors or dividers.

4. After twenty to thirty minutes, ask each group to present its chart to the other groups.

5. In the large group, ask participants how this assessment tool helps them anticipate potential threats or opportunities in their strategic planning.

TABLE 14.

Connectors and Dividers Analysis Tool

CONNECTORS		DIVIDERS
List of connectors that link people across conflict lines, particularly those forces that meet human needs	*Identify nonviolent actions or peacebuilding processes that decrease the dividers and increase the connectors between groups*	**List of dividers** or the tensions or fault lines that divide people or interrupt their human needs

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2. James Gilligan, *Preventing Violence* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2001).

3. *The "Do No Harm" Framework for Analyzing the Impact of Assistance on Conflict: A Handbook* (Boston: CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2004).

Set SMARTT Goals

CONTENTS

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of the lesson, participants will be able to:

Use the results of assessment exercises to develop a strategic plan based on goals

Explain why using nonviolent action and peacebuilding methods within a developed strategy can be more effective compared with using tactics outside of a developed strategy

Identify SMARTT (Specific, Measurable, Attainable, Relevant, Time-bound + Theory of Change based) goals

Use the SWOT (Strength, Weakness, Opportunity, Threat) Matrix and part 2 of the Spectrum of Allies and Opponents Tool as strategic planning tools
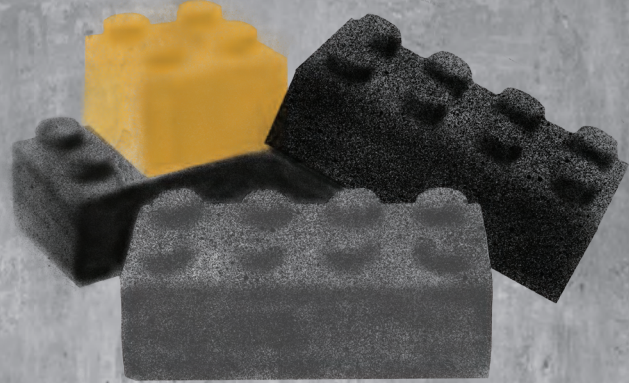
Set SMARTT Goals

This unit guides the next step of strategic planning: how to decide on "smart" goals. Planning is strategic when it grows out of analysis. This unit builds on the exercises and tools from the previous unit on conflict assessment. A strategy is a set of goals, processes, and tactics that all work together to achieve a desired outcome. Both nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes require goal setting. Smart goals enable these processes to work toward conflict transformation and shape the vision for the future. Setting a specific, measurable, attainable, relevant, and time-bound (SMARTT) goal, based on a solid theory of change, is an essential part of strategy.

Danish Resistance to Nazi Occupation, 1940–45

In April 1940, at the onset of World War II, Germany invaded Denmark, which had been neutral in the war. Danish leaders recognized that their country's military forces were no match for Adolf Hitler's superior army. To limit the number of casualties, the Danish king and government negotiated with German authorities, who allowed the Danish government to remain in power while Germany occupied the country.

Over the next several years, Danish leaders employed a strategy of resistance disguised as collaboration. They came up with different nonviolent approaches to undermine German operations. Nonviolent resistors derailed trains carrying war supplies to Germany, and workers participated in slowdowns to limit the Germans' exploitation of Denmark for food, labor, and materials to perpetuate the war.

Danish joint actions to oppose the occupation gave people a sense of national pride and unity. Citizens gathered in public to sing songs about Danish culture and history, organized festivals, and hung the nation's flag outside homes and buildings. In March 1943, Germany allowed Denmark to hold parliamentary elections, which had nearly 90 percent voter participation.

The election year brought increased resistance by the Danish, and workers across the country began to strike. Shipyard and factory workers, fishermen, police, and others walked off their jobs and took to the streets to rally against the Germans. The German authorities imposed curfews that were ignored, and the strikes continued, many of which had been publicized through media outlets that had gone underground to avoid German detection. The Germans, dissatisfied with the Danish government's handling of the situation, took control, cracking down with an increasing number of arrests and acts of violence.

When German troops called for a roundup of the Jewish population in Denmark, Danish citizens offered up their homes and offices as hiding places for Jews. Jews also found refuge in hospitals, schools, and churches. Many Jews were able to flee the country with help from Danish fishermen who volunteered to ferry them to Sweden. Danish defiance of German authorities helped prevent thousands of Jews from being sent to concentration camps.

While Denmark's methods of nonviolent resistance did not stop the Nazi occupation before the end of the war in 1945, they did help the Danish achieve many of their goals along the way. Denmark's nonviolent movement in response to the German invasion allowed the Danish to maintain the sovereignty of their government and preserve their society and culture, all while limiting the amount of resources Germany was able to exploit from Denmark and protecting Danish Jews.

Adapted from "Danish Citizens Resist the Nazis, 1940–1945," Global Nonviolent Action Database, accessed May 16, 2018, https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/danish-citizens-resist-nazis-1940 -1945; Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall, A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

Key Concepts

HOW DO WE GET FROM ANALYSIS TO STRATEGIC PLANNING FOR CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION?

As we saw in the last unit, strong strategic planning is based on accurate and detailed conflict assessment. A quick look back at the Six Step Strategic Pyramid Planning process from unit 2 will show that we are now ready to use the assessments to set goals. Each of the tools in the previous unit offers unique insights into how to identify and frame your goals and tactics.

Strategic planning is an ongoing process, and the most useful plans set short- and long-term goals with regular assessment points along the way. This cycle will allow you to refine your work, change course if needed, and use your resources efficiently. Assessments will enable you to determine whether you have moved from one phase of the Curle Diagram to another, leading to more informed decision making on appropriate goals for a specific phase of conflict.

Table 15 illustrates the six key areas of assessment we reviewed and the corresponding questions for a planning process.

The SWOT Matrix shown in figure 16 is one tool that can help you move from assessment to planning by organizing your answers to these questions into internal and external factors. Strengths and weaknesses are considered internal factors, and opportunities and threats are considered external. Where they intersect become scenarios around which to design goals. In this way, and with the results of the assessments introduced in the last unit, the SWOT analysis prepares the way for choosing SMARTT goals.

The process has two steps. First, integrate information from the other assessment tools into internal *strengths* and *weaknesses*, alongside external *threats* and *opportunities*. Then, identify (1) your "best-case" scenarios, (2) where you have "missed opportunities,"

TABLE 15.

Assessment for Strategic Planning

	ASSESSMENT QUESTION	PLANNING QUESTION
WHO	Who are the stakeholders (the people who have a stake or interest in the conflict/issue)?	Who are we trying to influence or change? Who are our primary and secondary targets (those who can reach the primary targets if you cannot)?
WHY	Why are the stakeholders acting the way they do? What are their motivations?	Why are we motivated to take action and why will people join us?
WHAT	What factors are driving or mitigating the conflict/issue?	What issues will we focus on given all the problems that exist?
HOW	How are stakeholders waging conflict? What are their sources of power?	How can we generate more and greater sources of power?
WHEN	When does the conflict/issue happen? Are historical patterns or cycles of the conflict/issue evident?	When are the holidays, anniversaries, or seasons when we can have the best chance of success?
WHERE	Where is the conflict/issue taking place—in what cultural, social, economic, justice, and political context or system?	Where will we put our focus geographically given all the problems that exist?

FIGURE 16.

SWOT Analysis and Planning

	EXTERNAL Factors	
	Opportunities 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. etc.	**Threats** 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. etc.
INTERNAL Factors — **Strengths** 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. etc.	**BEST CASE**: You can do this with minimal effort and expense, or change to existing capacity	**MOBILIZATION OPPORTUNITY:** Work from your strengths
Weaknesses 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. etc.	**MISSED OPPORTUNITY:** Limited by internal shortcomings	**WORST CASE**: Avoid or minimize impact as much as possible

(3) your best "mobilization scenarios," and (4) your "worst-case" options and where these all intersect.

Say you are running an anticorruption campaign. If a SWOT analysis reveals that an internal strength (you have a large core of committed volunteers) overlaps with an external opportunity (a huge corruption scandal has just broken), you would potentially have the best-case scenario of being able to field a large team to deliver information or materials to newly aware constituents. This could lead you to identify a need to develop materials and raise funds for printing. If, however, you have a minimal staff and no trained volunteers (weakness) when a major corruption scandal has just broken

(opportunity), this could be a missed-opportunity scenario, meaning you may need to develop alternative ways to meet your goals or focus on places where your strengths and opportunities intersect.

You may notice that, depending on the situation, an organization or movement's strengths could be similar to its weaknesses. For example, having a strong cadre of dialogue facilitators can be a strength if you need to facilitate a series of dialogues on a particular issue, and a weakness if you do not have the dialogue design and organizing capacity to bring them to fruition. In the same way, an interest from a new party to participate in negotiations can be both an opportunity (as a chance to build a more inclusive peace process) and a threat (if the new party is only joining as a spoiler to derail talks).

The SWOT Matrix's superpower is to help you determine or clarify your strategic goals, identify challenges you may encounter, develop an effective strategy, and articulate a theory of change based on assessment.

Notice that what shows up in the SWOT boxes (in figure 16) will be influenced by your assessments using the previous tools: Spectrum of Allies and Opponents, the Onion, the Tree, and so on. Your scenarios, and therefore your goals, will be different depending on where you are in your campaign or movement. If you are in the latent conflict phase, for example, your assessment would likely point out the need to do recruitment and consciousness raising (internal weakness); it would be unlikely that you would have an opportunity to negotiate for your demand (external opportunity) before you built power.

WHAT ARE SMARTT GOALS, AND HOW DO WE DEVELOP THEM?

Take a look at the potential scenarios you identified in the SWOT Matrix. Start with either a best-case or mobilization opportunity and turn that scenario into a statement that describes how to achieve that situation (or overcome it if it is negative). That statement becomes a goal.

The trick with writing goals that will lead you closer to achieving your mission is to make them SMARTT:

- **S**pecific: Choose a goal that is simple to identify—who you will work with, what you will do, and where and when you will do it. Find a *pivot point*, a specific issue, not just general objectives like peace, freedom, or democracy. The issue must be definite and easily understood.

- **M**easurable: Choose a goal that is meaningful—identify how you will know when you achieve your goals. What are you measuring?

- **A**ttainable: Choose a goal that is possible to achieve.

- **R**elevant: Choose a goal that directly relates to your vision of what you want to achieve.

- **T**ime-bound: Choose a goal that is time-limited and timely to public concerns.

- **T**heory of change supporting: Choose a goal that is supported by an evidence-based hypothesis of how change could happen.

The Beyond the Page #1 exercise has examples of SMARTT goals to help you design your own. But before we practice, let us talk more about goal setting in general using the strategic planning pyramid (shown in figure 17).

FIGURE 17.

Strategic Planning Pyramid

Beyond the Page #1

Strategic Planning Pyramid

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- Develop a strategic planning pyramid and walk through the essential elements

- Practice developing SMARTT goals

SETUP:

- You will need large sheets of paper and markers

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. Select a current campaign you are working on, or use any of the Front Line stories in this guide for inspiration.

2. Gather your previous assessment pieces (if this is a practice run, and you have limited time, select and complete either the Spectrum of Allies, the Stakeholder Map, and/or the Pillars of Support from the previous unit).

3. Fill out the Strategic Planning Pyramid from the top down:

   What is your vision? A big-picture hope or intention for your world or community.

   Example: Our vision is . . .

   no civil war in our country

   an end to corruption that is stealing from our citizens

What is your mission? A description of your purpose and a general idea of who and how you will work toward your vision.

Example: Our mission is . . .

to build a movement for a ceasefire to create space for negotiations between factions

to build transparency into the budget process through a community-led social audit

SWOT ASSESSMENT TO SMARTT GOALS

1. If this is an actual strategy session, it is important to assemble the right team for the job: those with the knowledge of both the internal strengths and weaknesses, and the external threats and opportunities. You can also gather information with assessment tools from the previous unit at a prior time.

2. Fill in the SWOT Matrix outline, first listing your internal "strengths" and "weaknesses," then the external "threats" and "opportunities." (Remember, some items can end up in more than one category.) If you are working with a large group, consider sketching the matrix on a large sheet of paper, writing the SWOT items on sticky notes, and then placing them in the appropriate boxes.

3. Take some time to figure out how your strengths and opportunities intersect, and write down those ideas in the appropriate scenario box. Do this for the remaining scenario boxes (strengths and threats, weaknesses and opportunities, weaknesses and threats). Note that the ideas that come from the intersection of strengths and opportunities fall in the "best case" box and could be considered low-hanging fruit—actions that can be done fairly

easily, with minimal effort or expenditure of resources. Where weaknesses and opportunities intersect, you will find your potential "missed opportunities"—opportunities that are hard to act on unless you can overcome your shortcomings. Where strengths and threats overlap is a possible "mobilization scenario," where you have the potential to proactively meet the threat. Finally, where weaknesses and threats intersect you will find your "worst case" scenarios (where you end up in the "W.C."), which you should try to avoid if possible.

4. Select one of the best case or mobilization opportunities and create a SMARTT goal. You can come up with a general goal first, and then make sure to answer the SMARTT questions by adding specifics—including dates, numbers for action items, and clarifying adjectives, as seen in the examples below. These specifics will be helpful in setting up your implementation plans and analyzing whether your ideas and theory of change allowed you to meet your goals or whether they need adjusting for the future.

Example: Our goal is . . .

- **An internal goal:**

  - Not SMARTT: Start a new education and training team in our organization.

  - SMARTT: Hire two people as new staff for an education and training team by March 2020.

- **A network/outreach goal:**

  - Not SMARTT: Recruit everyone into the peace movement.

- SMARTT: Recruit key leadership from each of the five warring factions to agree to negotiate preliminary ceasefire talks by January 2025.

- **An external goal:**

  - Not SMARTT: Get the government to stop taking bribes.

- SMARTT: Organize a community audit of top-level government employees by January 2021.

Keep these SMARTT goals handy for the next section on tactic development.

Resources

- Strategy tools/methodologies online at BeautifulRising.org:

    - SMARTObjectives: https://beautifulrising.org/tool/smart-objectives

    - Spectrum of Allies: https://beautifulrising.org/tool/spectrum-of-allies

    - Strategy game: https://beautifulrising.org/platforms/game

    - SWOT analysis: https://beautifulrising.org/tool/swot-matrix

    - Other methodologies: https://beautifulrising.org/type/methodology

- Bobo, Kim, et al. *Organizing for Social Change: Midwest Academy Manual for Activists*. 4th ed. Santa Ana, CA: Forum Press, 2010.

- "Campaign Accelerator: Innovative Campaign Planning." *Mobilisation Lab* (blog). Accessed December 19, 2017. https://mobilisationlab.org/campaign-accelerator/.

- "English Language Resources." International Center on Nonviolent Conflict. Accessed July 2, 2018. https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/resource-library/?fwp_language=english.

- International Center on Nonviolent Conflict. Accessed July 2, 2018. https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/.

- "Strategy Chart." Midwest Academy. Accessed November 28, 2017. http://www.tcsg.org/sfelp/toolkit /MidwestAcademy_01.pdf.

Innovate and Sequence Nonviolent Action Tactics to Build Power

CONTENTS

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

*At the end of the lesson, participants will be able to do
the following:*

Describe the spectrum of nonviolent action tactics used to build
and shift power

Choose appropriate methods and sequence them to leverage
power and build maximum participation

Explain considerations for choosing nonviolent action tactics to
achieve group objectives

Use one or more of the tactical sequencing tools to aid in
tactical planning

Innovate and Sequence Nonviolent Action Tactics to Build Power

Unit 7 explores how to choose nonviolent action tactics to build and shift power to achieve the SMARTT goals set out in unit 6. Too often, nonviolent movements choose tactics on the basis of which tactics are familiar to them rather than making strategic choices based on particular criteria. Eager groups may rush to call a street protest, or even a boycott or a national strike without actually thinking through the rationale for choosing a tactic. Choosing the right nonviolent action tactics for each phase of a campaign is critical for meeting objectives. The choice of tactics can also set the stage for negotiations and peace processes to be effective. This unit provides a range of tools and considerations to help you select nonviolent tactics and sequence them to move the helix upward in the Curle Diagram.

Otpor!

Within two short years, the civil protest group Otpor developed from a handful of students to an eighty-thousand-person movement that was instrumental in removing Slobodan Miloševic from power after he attempted to steal the presidential election and transitioning Serbia to a democracy.[1]

Rather than focusing on large-scale demonstrations or organizing a political party, Otpor began with creative street theater and public protests that mocked Miloševic. They worked to overcome fear and focused on shifting the political culture of the nation toward opposition to his corrupt and repressive regime. Activists also deliberately targeted people within the regime and its supporters, such as security force members, insisting they were not the enemy and trying to win their support.

The students of Otpor proclaimed themselves a national movement by blanketing the nation with posters and T-shirts bearing the image of Otpor's iconic clenched fist (a parody of Miloševic's symbol of a bloody clenched fist) and slogans such as "Gotov Je!" (He is finished!) and "It's Time" to focus public attention on the need for the dictator to leave. By May 2000, Otpor had organized in more than one hundred towns nationwide and recruited large numbers of members outside its original student base.

Otpor intentionally used a "do-gooder multilevel marketing" approach to grow its network. Supported by action, recruitment, and training phases, this approach allowed it to grow exponentially from the grassroots to nationwide.

The movement creatively managed efforts to repress it, and the regime's crackdown backfired in favor of the resistance. Otpor created "rapid reaction teams" to respond to police actions with lawyers and NGO members, showing up at police stations where protesters were incarcerated in order to maximize publicity of the repression and provide legal defense. Otpor also used creative nonviolent actions to encourage the bickering political opposition to unite, thereby allowing them to run a single political candidate in the presidential elections.

When Miloševic refused to concede power in the September 2000 elections after polls confirmed that he had lost, the opposition developed a strategy for escalating pressure over the next few days, beginning with strikes and public demonstrations, school boycotts, and blockades. The popular mayor of Cacak, Velimir Ilic, even called for a total blockade of his own city. Protest and persuasion gave way to economic, social, and political noncooperation and finally nonviolent intervention as disciplined crowds of nonviolent demonstrators from around the country swarmed into Belgrade, surrounded key buildings, and eventually occupied them, forcing the dictator to resign.

Adapted from "Otpor and the Struggle for Democracy in Serbia (1998–2000)," International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, accessed June 8, 2018, https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/otpor-and-the-struggle -for-democracy-in-serbia-1998-2000/.

NOTE: The Otpor movement is commonly cited as a successful nonviolent movement to defend the Serbian constitution and preserve the integrity of the electoral process. While Otpor did receive some financial backing from the U.S. and European governments (after the Serbian youth self-funded the early stages of the movement), some foreign governments, including those that have faced domestic challengers, have attempted to portray Otpor as a foreign puppet. Such a characterization is not borne out by the facts.

Key Concepts

WHAT ARE NONVIOLENT ACTION TACTICS?

Nonviolent action tactics span from acts of omission (things we do not do) to acts of commission (things we do) on a spectrum from confrontational to constructive. Unlike peacebuilding processes that focus on relationship building and problem solving, nonviolent action tactics primarily focus on shifting power and building awareness. Table 16 shows the wide variety of nonviolent action tactics that were used in the Otpor case.

It is worthwhile to highlight two additional methods of nonviolent action tactics not showcased in table 16. These two nonviolent methods in some ways embody the synergy of nonviolent action and peacebuilding in the arc of conflict transformation:

- **Prefigurative intervention:** Within the groupings of disruptive and creative interventions in table 16 are methods that create alternative structures to current unjust economic, social, or political structures. They can be confrontational, or constructive, or both. For example, a community may create a farmers' market that offers fresh local food to compete with the agribusiness monopoly on food. Or an organization can offer the public a direct source of information on water pollution if

government agencies are hiding facts. The field of nonviolent action refers to these as "prefigurative interventions." The peacebuilding field refers to these types of actions as fostering civil society, improving governance, community development, or institutional innovation.

- **Third-party nonviolent intervention:** Creative intervention also includes third-party nonviolent intervention, or the intentional use of outsiders to provide nonviolent protection, monitoring of checkpoints and border crossings, nonviolent actions such as protests, support for conflict assessment processes, or conciliation or mediation between sides of a conflict. These outsiders leverage their own forms of power to play these roles that support nonviolent action, peacebuilding processes, and the range of conflict transformation methods. Outsiders bring power sources such as international passports, cameras, and e-mail contacts with alert action networks. Simply with their presence they can both disrupt business as usual and provide alternative resolutions.

Synergizing Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding

TABLE 16.

Use of Nonviolent Action Tactics in the Otpor Case

NATURE OF METHODS	PENALTY/ CONFRONTATIONAL (NEGATIVE)	REWARD/CONSTRUCTIVE (POSITIVE)
Nonviolent methods category (general behavior)		
Expression (saying something)	**Protest** • Street theater and humorous skits mocking Miloševic performed throughout the country to lower fear and challenge his legitimacy • Large public rallies, marches, and demonstrations, including rallies to put pressure on the political opposition to unite • Widespread distribution of materials critical of Miloševic's policies • Use of the Internet, cell phones, fax machines, and alternative media to disseminate resistance messages and organize opposition	**Appeal** • Ubiquitous postering and displays of public symbols (such as Otpor's iconic clenched fist) and slogans on posters, leaflets, and T-shirts, and in television spots to recruit new members • Electoral politics—coalition building and campaigning • Holding music concerts and cultural celebrations • Public and private communication with security and church officials, media, union leaders, municipal politicians, and others to cultivate potential allies and defections • Petitions, press releases, public statements, and speeches • Workshops and training sessions for activists, distribution of training manuals
Acts of omission (not doing something)	**Noncooperation** • Strikes and boycotts by workers and students, artists, actors, and business owners • General strike • Defections by security, military, and police forces cultivated by careful communication with them and public calls for their noncooperation • Defections by members of the media	**Refraining** • Stopping or calling off physical occupation of space surrounding key public buildings (e.g., police stations) if demands were met
Acts of commission (doing or creating something)	**Disruptive intervention** • Blockades of highways and railroads with cars, trucks, buses, and large crowds of people to shut down economic and political activity and demonstrate parallel sources of power • Physical occupation of space surrounding key public buildings (e.g., parliament, jails, and media), then in some cases, storming and nonviolent invasions of the buildings • Bulldozers moving aside police barricades (a later symbol of the resistance)	**Creative intervention** • Extensive training and education programs • Formation of local action and civil monitoring groups • Parallel election monitors and an election results reporting system to detect and report election fraud • Some Otpor members formed a political party after the presidential transition

Nonviolent protection, also known as unarmed civilian protection, is one type of third-party nonviolent intervention. Nonviolent protection involves unarmed, specially trained civilians who live and work with local civil society in areas of violent conflict. They provide accompaniment to individuals and communities under threat. This accompaniment may deter attacks on key stakeholders involved in conflict transformation, including both nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes, by protecting human rights activists, nonviolent movement leaders, and key negotiators. Nonviolent protection is also known as civilian peacekeeping, as these activists may interposition themselves as human shields to protect a civilian population from attack. Unarmed civilian protection is practiced in areas of conflict such as Colombia, South Sudan, Palestine, the United States, Iraq, and the Mindanao region of the Philippines. Nonviolent protection draws on the principle of civilian immunity in war offered by international law. By monitoring and documenting human rights violations, nonviolent protection can also alert media and international audiences to abuses of power and mobilize international rapid response networks to save the lives of human rights activists or environmentalists targeted by armed groups.

WHAT CAN NONVIOLENT ACTION TACTICS ACHIEVE?

As illustrated in the Curle Diagram in figure 18, the primary functions of nonviolent action tactics are to build and shift power and heighten public awareness of the issues. In the Curle Diagram, tactics help move a group upward toward the right-hand corner, where a group achieves its goals. Unit 8 focuses on how the choice of nonviolent tactics can create support for negotiation and peace processes to develop political solutions. Strategic nonviolent action considers the whole spectrum of approaches to conflict transformation. Martin Luther King Jr. and Mohandas Gandhi viewed nonviolent action tactics as creating the leverage necessary for effective dialogue and negotiation with an opponent.

In a nonviolent movement, leaders carefully choose and sequence a series of tactics to build a successful campaign.

HOW DO WE CHOOSE THE MOST EFFECTIVE TACTICS FOR MEETING OUR IDENTIFIED SMARTT GOALS?

Strategic planning helps identify the tactics that will be most effective and how to sequence these tactics in a way that allows a group to achieve its change objectives.

Table 17 lists examples of objectives for a campaign or movement and provides corresponding questions to help with strategic planning.

FIGURE 18.

Curle Diagram: Overt Conflict

Conflict Transformation Process		
Violence and Injustice - Peace and Justice		

		Balanced Power
	Conflict Settlement: Tactics create pressure on group in power to convert, persuade, or accommodate interests of other groups through negotiations or mediation.	**Sustainable Peace and Justice:** Principled negotiation addresses main interests of all groups.
Latent Conflict: Community organizing, coalition building, capacity building, conscientization, conflict assessment, early warning and preventive diplomacy and dialogue to increase awareness of the need for change.	**Overt Conflict:** Nonviolent action to broaden public awareness and balance between groups.	

Unbalanced Power

Low Awareness of Issues - High Awareness

Widen Participation

A Deep Dive

HOW DO WE CHOOSE TACTICS THAT ARE INCLUSIVE, ARE ACCESSIBLE, AND BUILD MAXIMUM PARTICIPATION?

First of all, choose nonviolent action rather than violence—since the success of nonviolent campaigns is often a function of the bigger numbers that will turn out in comparison with those of violent campaigns. Fortunately, one of the advantages that nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes have over violent methods is that they are inherently more inclusive and accessible to a diverse set of people. Harnessing a

variety of creative nonviolent methods is another way to expand the potential for active participation of a wide array of people. Incorporating tactics that reflect a diversity of cultures, local traditions, and popular topical interests not only makes the campaign more approachable but can also be a critical part of achieving a durable and sustainable outcome.

At some points in the trajectory of change, it may be important to choose dispersed, low-risk tactics (like banging pots and pans or wearing particular symbols)

TABLE 17.

Setting Tactical Objectives

OBJECTIVE	QUESTIONS ASSESSING EFFICACY
INCREASE POWER	1. Will the tactic increase the power of the group to achieve its objectives? 2. Will the tactic enable the group to seize and maintain the initiative? Successful tactics should initiate a response from the opponent rather than respond to the actions of the opponent. 3. Does the tactic actively disrupt business as usual or open up space for alternatives? 4. Will the tactic impact the identified target(s)? Will the tactic shift them along the spectrum of allies toward your position?
INCREASE PUBLIC AWARENESS	1. Will the tactic increase awareness of the key issues? 2. Will the public be able to understand the main theme communicated in the tactic? Does the tactic have clear messaging and strong logic that will speak for itself? Will the image of the tactic tell the story? 3. Will the tactic expose the moral weak points in the position of the opponent, allowing the public to "see" the issue in a new way?
WIDEN PARTICIPATION	1. Does the tactic allow the maximum number of people to participate because it is fun or interesting and easy to join? 2. Is the tactic culturally appropriate, and will it capture the imagination of potential new supporters/participants? 3. Does the tactic open the door to loyalty shifts or defections from the opposition's supporters? 4. Is the tactic easily replicable elsewhere or at another time by other groups of people who are or may become your allies?
WIN OVER OR PUT PRESSURE ON A PRIMARY OR SECOND-ARY TARGET	1. Does the tactic create pressure on groups in power to change behavior (stop predatory policing, pass anticorruption legislation, halt practices that contaminate the environment, implement a peace agreement, etc.) through unilateral action, negotiation, or mediation? 2. Will the tactic encourage your target(s) to change their actions or behaviors through dialogue or through persuasion alone? 3. Is there another tactic you should employ to exert a more active form of pressure on particular groups to increase bargaining power?
MAXIMIZE USE OF RESOURCES	1. Do you have the resources, training, and numbers of participants needed to execute the tactic appropriately? What is your self-assessment? 2. Does the tactic play to your strengths?
ANTICIPATE POTENTIAL VIOLENCE AND OTHER RISKS	1. Does the tactic consider the possibility of repressive violent response? Is it better to concentrate or disperse the action? Dispersion tactics, such as boycotts or banging pots and pans at a certain time of day, can be effective because they let people participate in the action and minimize the opportunities for repressive violence. Concentration tactics occur where people are concentrated, such as at a protest demonstration or public vigil. They allow people to share commitment and build solidarity and can expose the opponent's willingness to use violence. 2. Will the degree of suffering or costs be proportionate to the expected outcome? Some tactics that require great physical or economic suffering may not be able to be sustained over long periods of time. 3. Does the tactic consider and prepare for the level of threat against nonviolent activists? Are participants prepared to not use violence and maintain maximum adherence to nonviolent action tactics even if they are met with repressive violence?
SET THE STAGE FOR FORMAL TRANSITION, NEGOTIATION, AND PEACE PROCESSES	1. Does the tactic trigger fear or trauma from the opponent that may unintentionally reinforce their resistance to negotiation and change? For example, name-calling and personal attacks can make it much more difficult to negotiate with the opponent at a later stage once power has shifted. 2. Does the tactic signal an "all or nothing" demand and a "win/lose" approach where the opponent may abandon any possibility of finding a mutually satisfying outcome? 3. Does the tactic or messaging communicate an explicit commitment to the needs of the opponent and your intent to find a solution that meets some of the opponent's basic needs or interests?

The "best" tactics help increase and expand participation and inclusion, leverage power effectively to create the intended change, and do so with the lowest expenditure of resources, time, and money as possible. Answering the following questions will help you assess the potential efficacy of specific actions.

in order to reduce fear, build confidence, and engage new groups, or to avoid significant harm or losses to an established movement experiencing severe repression. People will often join actions when they are less fearful, and when they see friends, peers, and relatives participating in the actions. Nonviolent action and peacebuilding are social activities, after all. In other cases, it will be important to work with potential allies, even if you disagree with their methods of effecting change. In the United States, for example, it can be helpful for openly organized nonviolent action groups to publicly distance themselves from property destruction (which can decrease public support for the cause) but to do so without condemning the work of groups that choose to use that tactic. Using facilitated dialogue within the movement, and with your potential allies, can help groups establish common objectives and develop a unified strategy and sequencing of agreed-on tactics.

Can We Reassess after Each Tactic?

Yes! In fact, ongoing assessment is essential. While strategy requires planning, those plans should not be inflexible. Do assessment after each tactic to update your analysis of the context, know where stakeholders are in the spectrum of allies, and see how opponents respond to your tactic.

Carrying out assessment research requires setting up a communication channel with opponents, allies, and everyone in between to check on their perceptions, interests, and readiness to negotiate.

HOW DO WE STRATEGICALLY SEQUENCE TACTICS?

A strategy is made up of a series of actions and phases that achieve objectives that contribute to the overall goal.

Think of tactics as stepping stones or rungs on a ladder that can take a small and disempowered group of people and move them upward to where they are large and empowered. Figure 19 illustrates how tactics can be sequenced according to the stage of the conflict transformation process.

Early tactics tend to focus on increasing participation and legitimacy and building the power of the movement for change. In the middle stage, tactics tend to focus on demonstrating the mass power of the movement and sustaining participation in the conflict transformation process. "Small victories" will help build momentum and sustain participation. It is important to evaluate methods throughout the early and middle stages of the process and to revise your strategy or theory of change if tactics are not achieving their intended outcomes. In the later stages of the conflict transformation process, groups may choose to use more risky tactics, such as those that force an opponent to the negotiating table or disrupt daily activity, making the status quo unfavorable.

Map out potential options for how to sequence tactics that build on or complement each other. Each tactic should contribute directly to one or more of the strategic objectives for the overall strategy. For example, one tactic might aim to get more people involved in the movement. Another might aim to convince one or more of the opponent's allies that change is necessary (and that they have a place in that change).

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF INNOVATION IN TACTICAL SELECTION FOR EFFECTIVE CAMPAIGNS?

Innovation, or tactical creativity, is a key ingredient of developing and sustaining nonviolent action that will deliver an impact. If campaigns get too comfortable with one method (for example, marching or sit-ins) and use it repeatedly, it may serve only to make the tactic less effective as opponents refine and improve their response. Using new methods or tactics helps catch the adversary or opponent off guard and improves effectiveness.

FIGURE 19.

Curle Diagram: Tactics Planning

Conflict Transformation Process

Violence and Injustice ------------------------------ Peace and Justice

Conflict Settlement: **Sustainable Peace and Justice:**

Later Tactics: Make status quo unfavorable to force opposition to negotiate.

Middle Tactics: Demonstrate the power of the mass movement.

Early Tactics: Build movement and increase participation.

Latent Conflict: **Overt Conflict:**

Balanced Power / Unbalanced Power

Low Awareness of Issues ------------------------------ High Awareness

TABLE 18.

Top-Level Implementation Chart

SMARTT GOAL: Get mainstream media coverage in three outlets by January 30, to build awareness of issue in community.

Tactic: Nighttime video projection of campaign memes and messages in a public space.

ACTION STEP	COMPLETION DATE	RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE	RESOURCES REQUIRED	POTENTIAL BARRIERS OR RISK	COLLABORATORS
Video projection	December 1	Kweku, Sara	$2,050 Projector rental, four staff	Weather, security guard—need solid police liaison	Members of the Arts and Action group

Innovation opens the door to escalation, involvement of those with a variety of skills and differing capacity levels, and creation of methods particular to the specific issue, players, and context. Innovation catches people's attention and can itself generate media coverage even on an issue that has been ignored previously by mainstream media. As well, just switching from predictable and simple violent responses (such as violent clashes with security forces) to nonviolent action broadens the response to a huge spectrum of diverse actions and activities, from teach-ins and banner drops to giant puppet blockades and worker cooperatives. The involvement of arts and culture speaks to people in a language they understand and relate to on a gut level.

WE HAVE A GREAT IDEA…NOW WHAT DO WE DO? HOW CAN WE PUT OUR TACTICAL IDEAS INTO ACTION?

The first step in going from a great idea to an actual tactic is to work up an action or implementation plan. In the strategic planning process, include enough time to establish a plan that contains clear objectives, specific due dates for key pieces, people assigned to each set of tasks, and benchmarks to measure progress. See table 18 for an example of how to create an implementation plan for a tactic, noting that each action

step may need a more detailed list of specific tasks and individual assignments in order to execute the tactic safely and effectively. We will discuss implementation planning in more detail in unit 9.

Here is where campaign planners and especially action and event developers can benefit from the work of "design thinking." Best practices from the field of human-centered design focus on using an approach that encourages brainstorming potential solutions and testing them out with the intended target group in a pilot or prototype fashion before investing in a complete product. Also called a "rapid iteration approach," this process is often skipped because activists and planners are eager to do something, anything, as fast as possible, at the cost of missing their mark. Rapid prototyping will give immediate and direct feedback on the proposed idea and help refine it into a more effective approach. It is critical to test out your prototype with people who closely resemble your intended audience to get results that make sense.

For example, if you are planning a campaign on corruption and you want to mobilize people, it will be helpful to know if they are more likely to join your campaign if

you appeal to their sense of economic justice, moral outrage, or love for trees. Create a simple test with some images and then ask folks on the street who you think are your target audience to see how they respond to your messaging. Much of this can be done quickly online as well.

WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE "MEANS" AND THE "ENDS"?

Nonviolent action tactics are a "means" to an "end." In nonviolent movements there is usually an understanding of the means being as important as the ends. One of the findings from *Why Civil Resistance Works* is that even when nonviolent campaigns failed to achieve their main goal, they nevertheless tended to pave the way to more open and democratic societies.[2] In other words, the more groups invest in and use more participatory peacebuilding skills and processes to build their internal organization and network, the more they model the future they are working toward. Nonviolent movements that invest in building democratic processes and coalitions are more likely to end up with more democratic institutions even if their movement was considered a failure in the short term.

However, it should also be underlined that some nonviolent action tactics can make it more difficult to find a sustainable solution. Tactics that punish or make personal attacks on the opponent can antagonize conflict and make it more difficult to achieve objectives.

HOW DO WE MAXIMIZE THE POTENTIAL TO SYNERGIZE NONVIOLENT ACTION TACTICS WITH PEACEBUILDING PROCESSES?

In the tradition of Kingian Nonviolence, dialogue and open communication with the opponent are important at all stages of the conflict, or in all quadrants of the Curle Diagram.[3] Remaining open to dialogue and other forms of communication with the opponent and their supporters at all times is important because

- it provides an opportunity to listen to the opponent to clarify their needs and interests, which may change,

- it allows you to communicate the commitment to satisfy the needs or interests of the opponent and possibly alter their will to conduct the aggression,

- it provides a space to begin cultivating personal relationships,

- it creates a place where you can communicate your commitment to nonviolent discipline and your determination to resist, and

- it keeps the focus on resisting policies or harms without dehumanizing the opponent to the point where future negotiation becomes impossible.

Beyond the Page #1

Beautiful Trouble—Best Action, Worst Action Reflection

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- Identify principles, theories, tactics, and lessons about successful and less successful nonviolent action and peacebuilding practices through storytelling

- Introduce the value of a culture of assessment and peer learning

- Identify and name keys to effective actions

- Spark participants' creativity, as they learn more about nonviolent action and peacebuilding practices in other contexts

SETUP:

- If possible, do this activity in a space big enough to move around. Have paper, markers, tape, and other creative supplies on hand. Remind people that we can learn a lot from our own experiences, both good and bad. Have copies of table 20 as a reference.

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. In small groups, have folks share a few stories of either a best or worst nonviolent action or peacebuilding approach—something they have participated in or know a bit about—in this form:

   a. First identify and share the campaign or movement you will speak about.

   b. Share the goal of the campaign.

   c. Describe what (one) tactic or method was used to try to reach the goal you mentioned.

   d. Share your analysis of whether it was effective or ineffective.

2. Pick one of the stories to share with the big group and develop a creative way to do this: with a short skit/reenactment, a tableau, a drawing, a song, and so on.

3. Back in the big group, have each small group share its example of either a best or worst action.

4. Harvest the tactics and the lessons and then summarize learnings, drawing out principles, theories, and guidance for future work.

5. Make time for debrief. What themes or lessons emerged about effective actions? Use table 20 to analyze some of the tactics shared. Did you learn more from the best or worst action examples?

Beyond the Page #2

Strategic Points of Intervention

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- Identify a spectrum of physical and conceptual places to take nonviolent action in support of your campaign goals

- Make visible the diverse spectrum of locations where interventions could make a significant impact on targets, clearly expose the essence of the issue, or disrupt business as usual

SETUP:

- You will need large sheets of paper and markers

ADDITIONAL PLANNING NOTES:

For an active exercise, prepare one sheet for each point of intervention. Write the name of the point across the top. Divide the sheet into two columns—"Point" and "Action Idea"—and post along a wall. Alternatively, use table 19. In the big group, discuss the points together. If possible, use an example campaign someone in your group is engaged in.

Points of intervention can be actual physical locations and/or cultural or political spaces. The points of destruction, consumption, decision making, and production are often easily identified as physical locations; the points of assumption or opportunity may be more conceptual or ideological. You may find that your ideas or locations belong in more than one category, so go ahead and include them wherever they support creative thinking.

The following are examples of points of intervention:

- The place where *destruction* is happening (pipeline route through farmland, foreclosure site, clear-cut forest site)

- The place where *production* is happening (factory where windows are made, farm, etc.)

- The place where *consumption* is happening (supermarket, gas station, order-by-phone line, school)

- The place where *decision making* is happening (Parliament or Congress, corporate boardroom, school board, UN)

- The place where *opinions and assumptions* are reinforced (a place to challenge underlying beliefs and social mythologies: segregated lunch counters, military recruitment offices)

- The place where an alternate solution or *opportunity* could happen (cultural or annual event, a special visit by a public official, empty lots that could be gardens)

If you can do a short slideshow, consider sharing images of creative actions at various points from diverse campaigns to lead into this exercise. Good resources are available in the book *Beautiful Trouble* (beautifultrouble.org) and on WagingNonviolence.org and Actipedia.com.

TABLE 19.

Points of Intervention Worksheet

WHAT ARE THE POINTS OF INTERVENTION?	WHAT ACTIONS COULD YOU TAKE AT THIS POINT?
Production	
Destruction	
Consumption	
Decision making	
Assumption	
What is the assumption being challenged?	
Opportunity (timing)	

Tool developed by the Center for Story-Based Strategy, modified by Beautiful Trouble, https://www .storybasedstrategy.org/points-of-intervention.html.

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. Break into teams, with at least two or three people per sheet. Instruct folks to brainstorm locations for the potential point of intervention listed on the paper, and write them in the point column (3–5 min.). If you have completed any of the previous assessment tools, use this knowledge to inform your brainstorming. Consider stakeholders, power relationships, connectors/dividers, and so on.

2. After a few minutes, have people move to another sheet and add on to what is written in the point column (2–4 min.).

3. Ask folks to move to one more sheet and continue to brainstorm points (2 min.).

4. Now instruct folks to put on their action planning caps and think of potential actions that could happen at the points listed. Write those actions in the action ideas column. Rotate to a couple other sheets, depending on time (5–10 min. total).

5. With sufficient time, ask participants to brainstorm who would be impacted by the proposed actions at various points (5–10 min.).

6. Do a gallery walk, and circle or star ideas that stand out.

7. Back in the big group, share aha moments, any ideas that folks can take and work with for their campaigns, and so on.

8. To close, summarize learnings or key points about the tool. It can help expand action potentials, encourage thinking outside the box, and add innovation to your tactics. If you have time, ask participants to write down the top three ideas they may want to move forward with developing.

9. Additional step: test your tactic ideas for strategic fit by backcasting—would they clearly support one of your SMARTT goals?

Beyond the Page #3

Choosing Tactics Planning Sheet and Comparison Matrix

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- Compare and contrast the choice of tactics using key considerations and questions for choosing innovative tactics based on their own context (as described above)

SETUP:

- You will need large sheets of paper and markers

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. Fill in table 20 with a minimum of three tactics from the Front Line story of OTPOR discussed earlier. Alternatively, if you have been performing the exercises in this action guide with a current case study example from the group's own work, use your analysis from the assessment process or the Points of Intervention tool to evaluate the potential nonviolent action tactics and develop them further.

2. Ask groups to use the questions identified earlier in this unit to discuss each of the categories in table 20.

3. Ask groups to rate the strength of each tactic on a scale of 0–10, with 10 being the strongest. The scores for each potential tactic should be added up to see which one scores the highest. A group may ultimately decide to carry out all three tactics, or even more. This exercise may also help them develop a strategic sequence for their tactics. In general, tactics that build public awareness and widen participation are needed near the beginning of a nonviolent movement.

TABLE 20.

Tactic Planning

CHOOSING TACTICS DOES THE TACTIC . . .	TACTIC 1	TACTIC 2	TACTIC 3
INCREASE POWER?			
Does it have a clear demand? What is it?			
Does it maintain initiative and provoke a response from the opponent?			
Does it actively disrupt business as usual or open space for alternatives?			
Does it reach the identified target?			
Will the tactic shift targets along the spectrum of allies?			
INCREASE PUBLIC AWARENESS?			
Will the image tell the story?			
Will it expose weak points of the opposition?			
Will it offer a new way of viewing the issue?			
Is the messaging clear?			
Is it an escalation or de-escalation?			
MAXIMIZE PARTICIPATION?			
Is there a low/high bar to participation?			
Is it open to mass involvement?			
Does it harness innovation, creativity?			
Is it culturally appropriate?			
Is it easily replicable?			
WIN OVER OR PUT PRESSURE ON A PRIMARY OR SECONDARY TARGET?			
Does the tactic create pressure on groups in power to change their behavior (stop predatory policing, pass anticorruption legislation, halt practices that contaminate the environment, implement a peace agreement, etc.) through unilateral action, negotiation, or mediation?			
Will the tactic encourage your target(s) to change their actions or behaviors through dialogue or through persuasion alone? Is there another tactic you should employ to exert a more active form of pressure on particular groups to increase bargaining power?			
MAXIMIZE USE OF RESOURCES?			
What is the resource cost (time, money)? Do you have existing capacity/skill or need extensive training or additional time for preparation?			
ANTICIPATE POTENTIAL VIOLENCE AND OTHER RISKS?			
Is there a less risky or less resource-intensive option?			
SET THE STAGE FOR OTHER TACTICS, NEGOTIATION, OR PEACE PROCESSES?			
OTHER CONSIDERATIONS?			
Does the tactic consider the needs and interests of the opponent? What impact will the tactic have on future negotiations?			

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Sequencing Nonviolent Action and Negotiation Tactics for Sustainable Solutions

CONTENTS

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of the lesson, participants will be able to:

Identify the range of ways a conflict ends, including negotiation, peace process, concession, or other paths

Recognize the considerations that assist in making decisions about sequencing typical nonviolent action and peacebuilding methods

Identify three approaches to negotiation, including principled negotiation, which seeks a win-win solution for all stakeholders

Identify the concepts of "BATNA" and "WATNA" and understand how they apply to the willingness to negotiate and sequencing

Sequencing Nonviolent Action and Negotiation Tactics for Sustainable Solutions

Unit 8 focuses on the final block of the Curle Diagram. When should groups use nonviolent tactics to build power, and when should groups negotiate?

Unit 8 describes how key negotiation skills can help prepare all sides of a conflict to find a sustainable outcome that addresses the interests of all groups. Once groups become empowered and there is wide public awareness of key issues, negotiation or an official peace process is more likely to succeed. Knowing when and how to negotiate is part of the strategic planning process.

This is the third unit that focuses on peacebuilding skills. In unit 3, we explored how to use dialogue skills to defuse tensions and build broader coalitions. In unit 4, we looked at how to use facilitation skills to run effective meetings and make decisions in groups. In unit 8, we explore how to use negotiation skills with external groups to achieve the key goals and interests of all groups.

Units 2–7 described the steps necessary to synergize nonviolent action and peacebuilding for successful conflict transformation. Units 1 and 8 bookend these steps with the big picture of what the synergy looks like in practice. In this unit, a case study from Tunisia provides another opportunity to examine the successful synergy of conflict transformation methods.

The Jasmine Revolution and the Tunisian Quartet Peace Process

The Tunisian Revolution, also known as the "Jasmine Revolution," was an uprising against corruption, poverty, and political oppression that led to President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali stepping down on January 14, 2011, after twenty-three years in power. Weeks before his resignation, Tunisian street vendor Mohamed Bouazizi, who was fed up with the harassment, humiliation, and confiscation of the goods he was selling by government officials, set himself on fire. The act of self-immolation served as a catalyst for the revolution and helped spur the wider Arab Spring. Public protests intensified around issues of high unemployment, food inflation, a lack of political freedoms, and poor living conditions. Police and security forces used violence against demonstrators, resulting in scores of deaths and injuries.

After Ben Ali's departure, members of the opposition movement expressed their concerns about the drafting of a new Tunisian constitution, and street clashes took place between secular protesters and religious conservatives. The assassinations of two key opposition politicians, Mohamed Al-Brahmi and Chokri Belaid, added to the growing unrest.

However, strong civil society leadership helped quell public violence and strengthen the political process. In 2013, leaders from the human rights, lawyer, employer, and union federation groups, along with others, called for negotiations. The four representatives became known as the Tunisian National Dialogue Quartet and facilitated the negotiations between the country's Islamist Ennahda party and secular and opposition movements. The Quartet exerted significant pressure on the government to agree to a road map it developed to solve the political crisis. The plan outlined steps to establish an independent election commission, compromises on the constitution, and a technocratic caretaker government.

The Quartet's ability to get both sides to make political comprises and engage in constructive dialogue led to a thorough democratization of the country and to free and democratic elections. The Tunisian Quartet gained international recognition for its efforts and was awarded the 2015 Nobel Peace Prize for helping prevent the Jasmine Revolution from descending into the chaos that ensued in other Arab Spring countries.

Adapted from "The Rocky Path From Elections to a New Constitution in Tunisia: Mechanisms for Consensus-Building and Inclusive Decision-Making," Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, accessed March 21, 2018, https://www.hdcentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/The-rocky-path-from-elections-to -a-new-constitution-in-Tunisia.pdf. Background paper was drafted specifically for the Oslo Forum 2014 and reflects events of the time.

Key Concepts

HOW DOES THE CONFLICT END?

What happens to bring a conflict between two or more parties to an end? Sometimes a conflict ends when a powerful group *converts* to join the other side or is *persuaded* to change. But that does not happen very often. Sometimes a conflict ends when an opponent *disintegrates* or *flees* the country, making it possible for other social groups to bring about change. That does not happen very often either.

More often, social change happens as the group in power *accommodates* the interests of other groups in society. For example, nonviolent tactics can *coerce* a group in power to change its policies or practices through political, economic, or social pressure. The group with power realizes the status quo cannot be sustained, whether because the economy is suffering or because defections are happening. They become ready to negotiate or change their position to accommodate the interests of other groups. This dynamic is frequently at play in peace processes to end civil wars, such as those in Liberia, Mozambique, and Colombia.

HOW DO NEGOTIATIONS HELP WIN ALLIES, GAIN LEVERAGE, AND ACHIEVE CONCRETE VICTORIES?

Negotiation contributes to conflict transformation in several ways:

- Shifting the loyalties of individuals who make up key pillars of support for a government or other power holder, including members of security forces, possibly prompting defections

- Finding common ground and achieving a mutually acceptable settlement to a conflict

- Consolidating "wins" via policy changes, legal victories, and/or changing the behaviors of power holders

The first point recognizes that in a conflict, the loyalties of individuals and groups are fluid. The behaviors of people in key pillars of support (described in unit 2) can be influenced by the behaviors and activities of members of a nonviolent campaign or movement. It is difficult to engage with those directly or indirectly responsible for repression or human rights abuses. It is tough to communicate effectively with "unsavory elements." But using communication, dialogue, and negotiation to establish shared interests with individuals and groups that do not already support your group is often necessary to achieve the power and loyalty shifts necessary to achieve social change.

The second point focuses on the necessity of negotiation to create a detailed agreement on how the conflict will end and how new policies, structures, and leadership that address the conflict's root causes will be put in place. This usually entails integrating the interests of key parties or stakeholders in a legal or political settlement. The third point recognizes that social change and conflict transformation require many small victories on the way to addressing larger, systemic issues. Achieving small successes, like blocking the passage of an unjust bill or changing a policing practice or winning a court victory, is key to maintaining a group or movement's morale and momentum. Negotiations are often necessary to consolidate those small victories.

The Front Line example of the Tunisian Revolution underscored how negotiations served all three functions and, when combined with nonviolent direct action, helped consolidate the democratic transition.

WHERE DOES NEGOTIATION WITH OPPONENTS HAPPEN IN TERMS OF SEQUENCING?

> You may well ask, "Why direct action? Why sit ins, marches, and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?" Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to . . . foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue.
>
> Martin Luther King Jr.,
> Letter from Birmingham Jail, 1963

Conflict transformation often requires a complicated dance between tactics that leverage power and processes that bring people together to build relationships and explore potential solutions. Unit 3 explored using dialogue to build broader coalitions within a nonviolent movement or peace process. Dialogue can also be used with opponents, starting early to listen to them, explore their underlying interests and needs, and test their interest in finding a negotiated solution.

Both Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. argued that dialogue and negotiation with an opponent should be attempted at all stages of a nonviolent movement. They knew that negotiations would likely not be effective when their opponent had enough power to ignore the nonviolent movement. Gandhi and King saw the role of the nonviolent activist or civil resistor as challenging the opponent to change behavior. The Indian independence and civil rights movement leaders chose tactics that would demonstrate to their opponents that they collectively did have power. In India, the boycotts of British cloth and the salt march imposed economic costs on the colonial power. In the American South, the Selma march brought to the public's attention the lack of voting rights for African Americans. These tactics put pressure on governing officials to negotiate.

Negotiation is an essential part of conflict transformation and can be useful throughout the time line of a nonviolent movement or a peace process. But negotiation is especially important once power is balanced and awareness is high because the chances of reaching a just and peaceful settlement to a conflict increase. In cases where nonviolent movements end with accommodation or transition, negotiation is necessary to create a detailed agreement on how the conflict will end. The upper-right quadrant of the Curle Diagram illustrates this equation (see figure 20).

The process of moving back and forth between nonviolent action tactics and attempts at negotiation is greatly simplified in the Curle Diagram. In reality, many attempts to negotiate may end in failure because power is not yet balanced or there is not enough awareness of the issues.

WHAT ARE NEGOTIATING PRINCIPLES?

Getting to Yes, first published in 1981 by Roger Fisher and William Ury, identifies five fundamental principles of negotiation.

Five Principles of Negotiation

1. Separate the people from the problem

2. Focus on interests, not positions

3. Invent options for mutual gain (i.e., win-win solutions)

4. Insist on objective criteria

5. Know your BATNA (best alternative to a negotiated agreement)

Author Louis L'Amour wrote, "Victory is won not in miles but in inches. Win a little now, hold your ground, and later, win a little more." Sequencing nonviolent action tactics and peacebuilding processes to build coalitions and negotiate with opponents is a cycle that may never end. While there may be an avalanche of change now and then, most of the time change happens incrementally. Activists organize, decide priority goals, develop strategies, choose tactics, build coalitions, and negotiate with adversaries over and over again.

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO SEPARATE THE PEOPLE FROM THE PROBLEM?

Unit 3 introduced the peacebuilding principle of focusing on the problem and not on the people. In the midst of conflict, it is easy to think that the adversary is inherently and completely wrong. Staying focused on the problem makes it easier to recognize that all sides to a conflict have interests, and often all these underlying interests are legitimate.

When conflicts become personal and include name-calling or worse, it becomes much more difficult to find solutions to problems because those targeted may refuse to engage or may even fight back.

Some nonviolent activists have highlighted that "loving your enemies" is a nice idea but not necessary for achieving strategic goals. However, engaging adversaries does have strategic advantage. You may be interested in offering an alternative to authorities or regime supporters to defect and come over to your side. But that will happen only if you can separate the individual from the system and offer a better future with them in it.

In some nonviolent movements there is the saying "Polarize to organize, compromise to settle." But if the polarization or "othering" is extreme, it may preclude any future reconciliation. If you anticipate that the individuals involved will be those you continue to deal with in a negotiation setting, polarization is more appropriately done on issues or systems, not personalities.

This is why prominent nonviolent leaders like Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. thought "principled nonviolent action" was both moral and strategic. King and Gandhi's moral admonition to love your enemies, to differentiate between issues and people, can also make good strategic sense.

DOES THERE ALWAYS HAVE TO BE A LOSER? CAN WE MOVE FROM WIN-LOSE TO WIN-WIN SOLUTIONS?

Most people approach negotiations with a belief that for us to "win" or get what we want from the negotiation, the other side needs to "lose." This win-lose attitude makes people feel as though they are against the other person and their needs. The first and third principles of negotiation are that people need to work together to solve their shared problem and, if possible,

FIGURE 20.

Curle Diagram: Conflict Settlement and Sustainable Peace and Justice

Conflict Transformation Process		
Violence and Injustice - Peace and Justice		

	Conflict Settlement: Tactics create pressure on group in power to convert, persuade, or accommodate interests of other groups through negotiations or mediation.	**Sustainable Peace and Justice:** Principled negotiation addresses main interests of all groups.
Latent Conflict: Community organizing, coalition building, capacity building, conscientization, conflict assessment, early warning and preventive diplomacy and dialogue to increase awareness of the need for change.	**Overt Conflict:** Nonviolent action to broaden public awareness and balance between groups. Human rights monitoring to deepen understanding of the problem. Peacekeeping and protection of civilian programs to reduce level of violence.	

Balanced Power ← → *Unbalanced Power* (vertical axis)

Low Awareness of Issues - High Awareness

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create a win-win solution that satisfies everyone's basic needs (i.e., inventing options for mutual gain).

HOW DO WE SEPARATE PEOPLE'S POSITIONS FROM THEIR UNDERLYING INTERESTS AND NEEDS?

Negotiation helps people identify underlying needs and interests to develop creative solutions. People often engage in conflict when addressing their grievances. People may be willing to fight and die to protect their basic human needs for dignity, respect, identity, and economic and physical safety. As illustrated in the "onion" diagram from unit 5, needs and interests are often hidden underneath public positions.

Many people believe that the best negotiation style is to decide what you want, take a "position," and then push and coerce other people to give you what you want. However, a focus on interests, not positions, is helpful in recognizing the legitimate motivations of each stakeholder. Groups often take a firm position rather than express their underlying interests or needs. Corporations may take a position on a pipeline. Their underlying interest may be in making profit. A government may take a position on a territorial line. Its underlying interest may be in sovereignty. A win-lose outcome is more likely when there is negotiation on positions. A win-win or mutual gain outcome is more likely when negotiation is based on interests. A corporation demanding a pipeline and a community opposing a pipeline can, for example, identify a joint project in

solar energy that results in both profit for the corporation and safe drinking water for the community.

Thus, discussing basic needs and interests is a better negotiating strategy because those needs and interests can be satisfied in many ways. We should note that the goal of a negotiation should not be to get groups to compromise on their interests. The goal should be to develop creative options so that all stakeholders are satisfied with the outcome (even if they did not get exactly what they wanted). Mutual gain is the best way of ensuring a sustainable outcome.

WHICH STYLE OF NEGOTIATION?

Fisher and Ury identify three types of negotiation. Only interest-based or "principled" negotiation results in mutual gain.

Soft negotiation: Soft negotiation largely focuses on maintaining relationships at the expense of solving problems. Soft negotiation is "nice" and "soft" on people and relationships. But it does not solve the problem, because people are afraid of confronting the real issues. This approach avoids the real issues. People who are accommodating are often willing to give up their own interests and needs to satisfy other people.

Hard or positional negotiation: In hard or positional negotiation, people see each other as the enemy. They make no effort to understand or care about the interests and needs of other people. They may use coercive negotiating tactics such as threats, abusive language, or power plays to show that they will not accept anything other than their "position" in the negotiation.

Interest-based negotiation (a.k.a. principled negotiation): In interest- or need-based negotiation, people see each other as partners in an effort to solve a mutual problem. They share their own needs and interests while also listening to the needs and concerns of others. They recognize their needs and interests are interdependent and that it will be difficult for them to meet their own needs and interests without examining the needs and interests of others. People engage in creative problem solving to brainstorm how all human needs can be satisfied. People build relationships with each other and seek to cooperate rather than compete with each other. This type of negotiation searches for a win-win outcome.

Figure 21 illustrates the three negotiation styles.

FIGURE 21.

Approaches to Negotiation

Soft negotiation	Positional negotiation	Interest-based negotiation
• Soft on the people and the problem • Seeks "I lose, you win" solutions • Makes offers and yields to pressure	• Hard on the people and the problem • Seeks "I win, you lose" solutions • Makes threats and pressures others	• Soft on the people and hard on the problem • Seeks win-win solutions • Explores interests and focuses on principles

Adapted from Roger Fisher, William Ury, and Bruce Patton, Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement without Giving In *(New York: Penguin, 1991).*

FIGURE 22.

BATNA vs. WATNA

Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement (BATNA):
The best-case scenario that will happen if you do not reach an agreement.

If you do not reach an agreement, what will you do?

Worst Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement (WATNA):
The worst-case scenario that will happen if you do not reach an agreement.

What are the risks and consequences of you not reaching an agreement?

HOW CAN USING "OBJECTIVE CRITERIA" HELP LAY A FOUNDATION FOR NEGOTIATION?

Objective criteria are any precedent, report, or law that provides evidence of the way other people address a conflict. Some changemakers in both nonviolent action and peacebuilding emphasize the essential role of human rights law in setting standards or objective criteria. Laws are, ideally, based on a consensus of legal opinions.

When members of a community group can, for example, argue that a corporation or government is violating their human rights with legal frameworks, they may have a much easier time negotiating based on these objective criteria. This is not to suggest that all laws are inherently good. Nonviolent action uses civil disobedience, or intentionally breaking the law, when a law itself is seen as unjust or an obstacle to human rights.

WHAT IS YOUR BEST (OR WORST) ALTERNATIVE TO A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT AND WHY IS IT IMPORTANT?

Sequencing nonviolent action with negotiation requires an assessment of options. Before beginning a negotiation, it is important to know the alternatives to addressing a conflict. If the negotiation fails to address the problems, what will happen? What steps will each group take next? Understanding the **best alternative to a negotiated agreement**, or **BATNA**, allows people to make decisions about what they will accept during a negotiation. Without knowing the BATNA, negotiators will have a difficult time assessing their options in the midst of a negotiation, including knowing when it may be best to walk away and try again later.[1] In the same way, it is also important to know your **worst alternative to a negotiated agreement,** or **WATNA**—that is, when it is in the negotiators' best interest to remain at the negotiating table or else face unacceptable consequences. Both the BATNA and WATNA are outlined in figure 22.

For example, in a negotiation between police officers and community leaders over permission for civil society to hold a protest march against government policies, both sides need to know their BATNA and WATNA. Police need to analyze what might happen if they reject the protest without negotiating with the civilian leaders. If the media cover the decision, and it appears to be repressive, police leaders may face consequences for that decision. On the other hand, if community leaders decide to hold a protest without getting police permission through a negotiation, they too may face negative consequences such as arrest or violent repression. Engaging in nonviolent resistance

that lacks popularity and public sympathy because of its unwillingness to accept compromises might, in some cases, be worse than negotiating a less than desirable outcome.

When stakeholders begin to make these assessments and consider negotiating, scholars say that a conflict might be "ripe" for negotiation.

WHEN IS A CONFLICT "RIPE" FOR NEGOTIATION?

Negotiation is most likely to lead to a successful and sustainable outcome when all the key stakeholders recognize that not negotiating with each other inflicts more costs than negotiating. Many groups will first try to force or coerce their adversary to change. They believe their BATNA is more likely to help them achieve their goals than negotiating. For example, a government may think that violent repression of a movement will help it achieve its goals. When those unilateral methods do not fully bring the desired outcomes—for example, the use of violence against disciplined nonviolent protestors backfires and causes the government to lose support—negotiation with the adversary becomes more appealing. When both sides begin to arrive at this point, negotiation scholars[2] label the conflict as "ripe" for negotiation. However, just as a piece of fruit has a narrow window of ripeness, so too does negotiation. The timing of a negotiation between adversaries requires careful analysis.

Groups may decide to negotiate for the following reasons:

- They have experienced great losses during prior violent exchanges

- Using the legal system would be slow and expensive

- Using violence has not solved their problems

- They recognize the interdependence between groups and believe they can get what they want and need by negotiating with others

A group may also decide to negotiate if it is in a **"mutually hurting stalemate"** or "a situation in which neither party thinks it can win a conflict without excessive loss," and both parties are incurring significant costs as a result of continued fighting.[3] These costs can include a potential loss of an election, a dramatic economic change, an incident of public violence that is particularly outrageous, or some other past or potential future event.

When parties to a conflict are unwilling to meet face to face, third-party shuttle diplomacy or mediation (i.e., an intermediary both sides see as credible traveling back and forth to facilitate discussions), or even a facilitated radio program with stakeholders from different sides of a conflict, can provide the sense that talking to the other side and finding creative options for mutual gain might be possible.

Establishing the timing for negotiations relates to the larger challenge of sequencing the many different elements of nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes discussed in this action guide. There is no single linear sequence that will fit all situations and context. The next and final unit explores how to create maximum synergy between nonviolent action, negotiation, and other peacebuilding processes through detailed strategic planning.

Beyond the Page #1

Negotiation Simulation

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- Practice key negotiation skills in a scenario that involves both nonviolent action and peacebuilding processes

SETUP:

- You will need space for small groups to play out the simulation.

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. Give the group this scenario: A large global energy corporation has started to conduct exploratory oil and gas drilling in a large forest area close to the community. Tribal members believe this land belongs to them, and they use the forest for hunting. Local government leaders want to make it easy for the oil company to drill in their community, as this will increase tax revenues and create local jobs. Some local community members support the oil corporation for this same reason. Other community members are worried about environmental damage to their community and express concerns for the health of their families.

2. Explain the roles listed below and assign the participants into these small groups:

    - Oil executives

    - Local government and business leaders, including tour group operators

    - Local community members, including indigenous groups

- Optional: facilitators or mediators, one or two individuals to act as facilitators or informal mediators/go-betweens to help these three groups talk to each other

3. Let the groups know there will be a town meeting. Ask each group to prepare to discuss its negotiation strategy and identify its BATNA. Groups should come to the town meeting ready to present their proposals for what should happen between the oil corporation and the community, based on the initial description of the conflict identified in the scenario.

4. Call the town meeting to order. Either the lead trainer or a volunteer from the group can facilitate the meeting. Begin by asking each side to state its position. Each group should test its negotiation strategy and what it produces. Call a time-out to let each group meet on its own to rethink its strategy or approach to the negotiation.

5. Let the negotiation go until there is a win-win outcome, where each group has some or most of its interests met. Debrief with the groups to identify what was constructive or challenging in their negotiation.

6. If a win-win outcome is not possible, debrief with the group about what other steps might have been necessary or possible to improve the outcome of the negotiation.

Beyond the Page #2

Sequencing Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding Methods in Tunisia

The Tunisian popular uprising ended, and a democratic transition occurred thanks to a combination of nonviolent tactics and peacebuilding processes. This mapping exercise asks participants to reflect on the Tunisian experience as it relates to the Curle Diagram. (In unit 1, this exercise drew on the experiences in Liberia.)

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:
- Practice sequencing a case study of Tunisia into the Curle Diagram to identify and illustrate the synergy of nonviolent action and peacebuilding

SETUP:
- Copy the chart on the following page (use a larger font for groups of more than six). Cut apart the different stages of the Tunisia story.

- Use string or strips of tape on the floor, table, or wall to create the POWER and AWARENESS lines in the diagram.

HOW IT IS DONE:
1. Give one piece of the story to different people or subgroups in the training session.

   For the facilitator: Color code or note on each paper where you think each piece belongs in the diagram in a nonobvious way so you can rearrange later if needed.

2. Ask each person or subgroup to place their piece of the story on the diagram to sequence the story as they think it might have happened.

3. In the big group, discuss the following questions:

   a. How and why did each nonviolent tactic play a role in social change? How did the activists sequence their tactics? What did each tactic achieve for the group? What impact, if any, did each tactic have on the balance of power between groups?

   b. At what points did negotiation take place internal and external to the campaign?

   c. What else could have happened? Were there alternative sequences or activities that may have made sense or delivered alternative outcomes? What was the role of culture in the campaign?

   d. If not already addressed: Did the group's sequencing differ from what happened in Tunisia? What might have been the impact these differences had on the process or outcome?

President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali steps down on January 14, 2011, after twenty-three years in power.	Secular protesters' concerns for the constitution were met with assassinations and street clashes with religious conservatives.
The quartet develops a road map to establish an independent election commission, compromises on the constitution, and a technocratic caretaker government.	Mohamed Bouazizi sets himself on fire to protest harassment by government officials.
Strong civil society leadership helped quell public violence and strengthen the political process.	The quartet's careful negotiations led to free and democratic elections.
Police and security forces use repressive violence against demonstrators.	Civil society formed a "quartet" made up of four leaders from human rights, lawyers, employers, and union federation groups.
In 2015, the Tunisian quartet won the Nobel Peace Prize for helping to prevent the Jasmine revolution from descending into chaos like the uprisings in other Arab Spring countries.	Negotiations help find the interests and common ground between the range of groups involved in the conflict.
Public protests intensified around issues of high unemployment, food inflation, a lack of political freedoms, and poor living conditions.	

ANSWERS:

The answers can also be found by reading the case study on Tunisia at the beginning of this chapter.

1. Mohamed Bouazizi sets himself on fire to protest harassment by government officials.

2. Public protests about high unemployment, food inflation, corruption, a lack of political freedoms like freedom of speech, and poor living conditions intensify.

3. Police and security forces use repressive violence against demonstrators.

4. President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali steps down on January 14, 2011, after twenty-three years in power.

5. Secular protesters' concerns for the constitution were met with assassinations and street clashes with religious conservatives.

6. Strong civil society leadership helped quell public violence and strengthen the political process.

7. Civil society formed a "quartet" made up of four leaders from human rights, lawyers, employers, and union federation groups.

8. Negotiations help find the interests and common ground among the range of groups involved in the conflict.

9. The Quartet develops a road map to establish an independent election commission, compromises on the constitution, and a technocratic caretaker government.

10. The Quartet's careful negotiations led to free and democratic elections.

11. In 2015, the Tunisian Quartet won the Nobel Peace Prize for helping to prevent the Jasmine revolution from descending into chaos like the uprisings in other Arab Spring countries.

Resources

- Fisher, Roger, and William Ury. *Getting to Yes: How to Negotiate Agreement without Giving In*. New York: Penguin, 1991.

- Lederach, John. *Little Book of Conflict Transformation: Clear Articulation of the Guiding Principles by a Pioneer in the Field*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 2003.

- "Negotiation: Shaping the Conflict Landscape." USIP Global Campus. Accessed January 30, 2018. https://www.usipglobalcampus.org/training-overview/negotiation/.

- Wanis-St. John, Anthony, and Noah Rosen. "Negotiating Civil Resistance." *Peaceworks*, no. 129 (July 2017): 5–20.

Notes

1. Roger Fisher and William Ury, *Getting to Yes: How to Negotiate Agreement without Giving In* (New York: Penguin, 1991).

2. William Zartman, "The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments," *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 1, no. 1 (September 2001): 8–18.

3. "Mutually Hurting Stalemate," United States Institute of Peace, accessed February 13, 2018, https://www.usip .org/glossary/mutually-hurting-stalemate.

Bringing It All Together: Strategic Planning Time Lines

CONTENTS

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of the lesson, participants will be able to:

Bring together assessment and strategic planning tools to develop
time lines for integrated nonviolent action and peacebuilding

Recognize the considerations that inform decisions about
sequencing actions

Understand the components of an implementation or action plan

Bringing It All Together: Strategic Planning Time Lines

Throughout this guide we made the case for how activists and peacebuilders can employ nonviolent action tactics and peacebuilding approaches in tandem to effectively transform conflict and work toward sustainable peace. We reviewed the basics of nonviolent action and peacebuilding, as well as the dynamics of power within the two approaches. We also introduced the Curle Diagram as a helpful way to illustrate that conflict transformation can occur when nonviolent action and peacebuilding approaches are synergized. We addressed peacebuilding approaches like dialogue and facilitation early on in the guide, underlining their usefulness in organizing nonviolent action as well as their importance as stand-alone tools before nonviolent action starts. We also emphasized the importance of effective conflict analysis to strategic planning and creating SMARTT goals. And we discussed various nonviolent action tactics that can be employed to shift power through effective organizing and incentivize groups to engage in dialogue or negotiate when a negotiation or peace process is stuck.

This final unit seeks to put the skills, tactics, and approaches from units 2–8 into practice by creating clear time lines and plans to implement a group's strategy and SMARTT goals to seek social change. In this way, these time lines can be considered a visual manifestation of effective sequencing and bringing nonviolent action and peacebuilding together to shift power, address grievances, and make just, sustainable peace possible.

2006 Democracy Movement in Nepal

One of the most striking recent campaigns for democracy took place in Nepal, where both nonviolent action and a negotiated peace process played key roles. Because the country has more than one hundred ethnic groups and spoken languages, as well as severe isolating geographic features (eight of the top ten world's tallest mountains), it took many years to build a countrywide mass movement big enough to win.

From 1992 to 2004, there were fifteen changes in the ruling government. Many communist parties were involved, including a small faction of Maoists. Even though the Maoists denounced multiparty democracy, one group established a political front to contest the elections. It was well received, becoming the third-largest party in the parliament in 1991 and setting the stage for future involvement within the government.

In 1996, the Maoist Communist Party of Nepal began guerrilla warfare in the countryside to challenge an inefficient and corrupt parliamentary government. This parliament had been put in place in large part because of an active people's power campaign in 1990 that had succeeded in limiting the powers of the monarchy but was unable to sustain effective governance.

By 2005, the general population was fed up with ineffective and corrupt party politics and silently consented to King Gyanendra's takeover. However, the king's autocratic power grab served to unite and mobilize the entire political spectrum against him. This included the Maoists, who were losing ground against stronger government forces and had been internationally labeled as terrorists owing to waging guerrilla warfare in the countryside since 1996.

Recognizing the moment was right to work in solidarity against the monarch, a successful peace process involving both the Maoists and representatives from the democratic nonviolent movement led to an agreement called the 12-Point Understanding. Through a negotiation process, the Maoists pledged to stop their armed struggle and join the democratic nonviolent movement. This negotiated unilateral truce allowed the broader resistance to stage joint street rallies and a joint general strike in 2006 with broad participation from across the population.

The mass strikes and demonstrations of the spring of 2006 forced the king to reinstate parliament (which he had dissolved in 2002). As a result, the 2008 elections produced a parliament (one-third of which were women) that was the most representative yet of Nepal's diversity. The parliament then promptly and almost unanimously abolished the monarchy.

The unusual feature of the April 2006 movement was that the Maoists decided to join with the mainstream democratic parties and ordinary members of the public in an unarmed struggle for democratic reform. After ending their People's War and entering into constitutional politics, the Maoists emerged as the largest parliamentary party and the ruling coalition appointed a Maoist prime minister. Although major problems persist, people power movements continue to be key in holding the government accountable to democratic practices and civil society today.

Adapted from Manish Thapa, "Nepal's Maoists: From Violent Revolution to Nonviolent Political Activism," in Civil Resistance and Conflict Transformation: Transitions from Armed to Nonviolent Struggle, ed. Veronique Dudouet (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 190; Howard Clark, "Unarmed Resistance, 'People Power' and Nonviolent Struggle," openDemocracy, October 15, 2014, http://www .opendemocracy.net/civilresistance/howard-clark/unarmed-resistance-%E2%80%98people -power%E2%80%99-and-nonviolent-struggle.

Key Concepts

HOW DO WE DEVELOP TIME LINES TO ACHIEVE SMARTT GOALS?

In unit 6 we discussed how to develop SMARTT goals that provide focus, clarity, and specificity to our conflict transformation work. In this next section, we will take three example SMARTT goals, focused on **strengthening internal group dynamics**, **expanding coalitions**, and **engaging with powerholders (including opponents)**, and propose sample time lines for achieving those goals using nonviolent action and peacebuilding tools.

TIME LINE FOR SMARTT GOAL #1: STRENGTHENING INTERNAL GROUP DYNAMICS

As we discussed in unit 3, building a strong and effective movement requires addressing interpersonal conflicts and getting everyone on the same page. Such internal work requires a spectrum of conflict transformation tools, a combination of nonviolent action and peacebuilding skill sets that include building relationships and negotiating with members of your own group, and learning how to carry out joint assessments and plan for actions together. The key question is this: How will you identify and sequence your internal work to build a stronger movement?

An example of a time line for planning work to achieve SMARTT goal #1 might read as follows: To develop the organizational capacity to carry out a nonviolent action with at least twenty affinity groups that have done the internal work of examining power dynamics, assessing the context, and building a trusting team culture by November 2022.

Members of a community group might begin by carrying out a visioning exercise to imagine their hopes and ideals for what their community might look like (see figure 23). The group might then realize they need to address internal power dynamics and enable participation by all. Next, the group might organize a day when they can begin using the assessment tools to help address their own understanding of the situation, determine gaps in their knowledge, and develop a research agenda. Recognizing the need for strong teamwork and trust, they may decide to spend more time doing team-building exercises and begin to form affinity groups.

FIGURE 23.

Example Time Line for Strengthening Internal Dynamics

Visioning exercise → Internal power dynamics → Assessment → Teambuilding → Affinity group formation → Affinity group planning → Affinity group nonviolent action
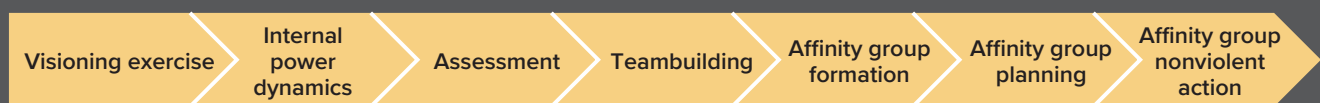
TIME LINE FOR SMARTT GOAL #2: EXPANDING COALITIONS

Widening and increasing participation in a peace process or nonviolent movement is essential to successful conflict transformation. This goal is about identifying and prioritizing potential allies, expanding the community that is engaged with you in your struggle, and building your shared analysis.

What will you do to build your coalition or grow your outreach?

A SMARTT goal #2 might read something like this: To develop a coalition of groups with total membership of 5,000 people to participate in joint nonviolent actions and be represented in negotiations with key decision makers, within six months.

A time line to achieve this network building might begin with a group using the assessment tools to map the spectrum of allies and opponents to prioritize potential allies (see figure 24). Step 2 might draw on a task force or affinity group to reach out to these potential allies and set up a meeting in person to build relationships and trust. A next step might be to begin a dialogue between the original planning group and the potential allies. Next, the new allies can be included in the next round of assessment and planning, so the group begins to build shared analysis and frameworks for understanding the situation. The time line illustrates the synergy of combining the analysis of the spectrum of allies from nonviolent action tool kits along with peacebuilding processes to build a stronger and wider coalition.

FIGURE 24.

Example Time Line for Coalition/Outreach Planning

Example time line, by SMARTT Goal Category for Sticky Note steps

Synergizing Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding
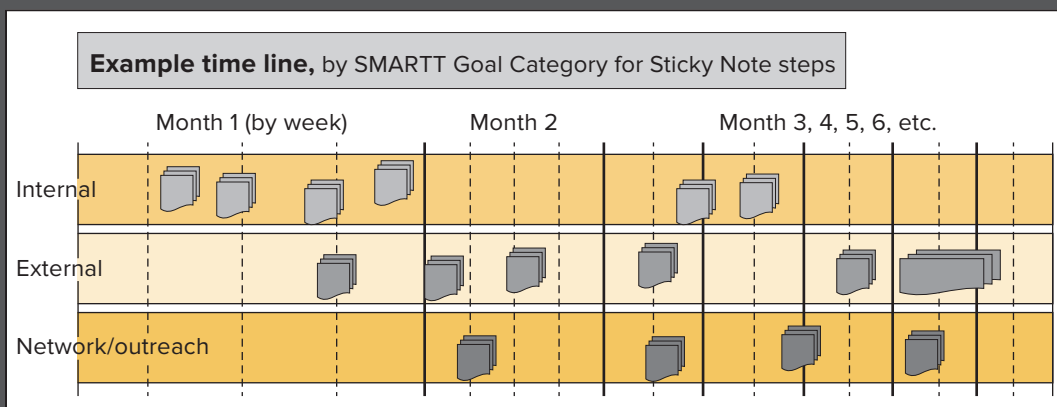
TIME LINE FOR SMARTT GOAL #3: ENGAGING WITH POWERHOLDERS

Conflict transformation almost always requires some form of communication with powerholders, including those who oppose your aims. This could entail programs that encourage communication with powerholders to interventions or creative projects. What specific goals will help achieve your mission? How will your group reach out to your allies to build opportunities to take action together, or to reach adversaries on the way to negotiation?

The following is an example of how this goal could be broken down into steps that clearly illustrate the synergy of nonviolent action and peacebuilding to achieve a policy change.

A SMARTT goal #3 might read something like this: To achieve a town council resolution banning hate speech on public billboards by January 2025.

Step 1 might be to hold a public vigil with the original group of people as a way of garnering media attention to advertise the issue and call for the public to join step 2, a town hall protest (see figure 25). After these two nonviolent tactics, the group attempts to meet with the mayor using informal dialogue skills. Next, the group asks the public to join in a letter-writing campaign and puts up a billboard in town advocating for passage of a resolution. Once public awareness is increased and power shifts to citizens taking the lead on banning hate speech, the group may ask for a meeting with the town council, and finally may have a negotiation to work out the exact language in a resolution.

FIGURE 25.

Example Time Line for Engaging Powerholders

Public vigil → Town hall protest → Meeting with mayor → Letter writing campaign → Billboard art → Meeting with town council → Final negotiation
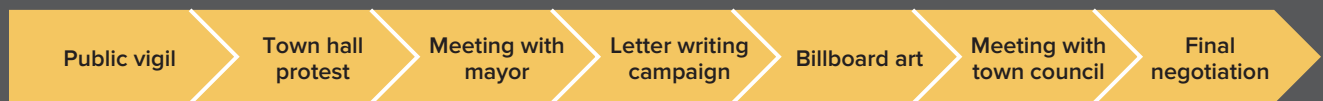
BRINGING YOUR SMARTT GOALS TOGETHER

Once you have your separate goal time lines, the next step is to bring them together. The Beyond the Page #2 exercise shows one way you can create a comprehensive planning time line that aligns with your overall strategy and SMARTT goals.

HOW DO WE IDENTIFY AND PRIORITIZE TARGETS OR KEY STAKEHOLDERS?

Another key aspect of goal setting is identifying who will be critical to accomplish these goals.

In the previous section on assessment, we introduced the Spectrum of Allies and Opponents tool, where we identified specific stakeholders related to an identified goal. Deeper work with this tool will help you dig into the strategic usefulness of each stakeholder (ally or opponent) given the scenario.

In the Spectrum of Allies diagram (figure 10), notice that the outer ring contains actions that would help a group reach or mobilize each sector and move it along the spectrum toward "active allies." The red arrows represent the tactics focused on moving their targets. The targets listed should be ones that can directly impact achieving the group's goals or delivering its demands. The diagram also makes clear the need to avoid mobilizing opponents to increase their influence on targets.

There are two types of targets that groups should focus on as they consider moving individuals along the Spectrum of Allies and Opponents. **"Primary targets"** are those people who can address a group's interests and needs. A primary target could also be someone with whom you want to build a relationship or negotiate in order to understand their point of view and develop potential solutions. While groups may not have direct access to primary targets for all their demands, they can always identify either **"secondary targets"** that have direct relationships with primary targets or secondary targets whose actions can impact a primary target's decisions. A primary target might be the CEO of a corporation, the head of the town council, or a symbolic public figure. A secondary target could be consumers of a corporate product or an influential spiritual leader, for example.

Table 21 contains four guiding questions to assess reaching and mobilizing any group in the Spectrum of Allies diagram. Notice the fourth question about their relationships to the primary and secondary targets. Place a higher-priority focus on those with a more direct relationship with power holders and lower costs to reach them. The context in Nepal provides an example of what kinds of answers might fill out the chart.

Movements and peacebuilding processes gain supporters by focusing on people's interests and moving them one step closer to being active participants or allies. Since resources are always limited, careful analysis and prioritization of target groups and activities are key.

In the Beyond the Page #2 exercise is a blank chart that you can fill out that will help identify where the most effective outreach for the largest number or most influential persons can take place.

Ready to get to work? Start with the Beyond the Page exercises below.

TABLE 21.

Mobilization Planning: Examples from Nepal

A SPECIFIC NAME FROM THE NEPAL STORY'S SPECTRUM OF ALLIES DIAGRAM	WHERE COULD YOU FIND THIS GROUP OR INDIVIDUAL?	WHAT KIND OF COMMUNICA-TION IS MOST EFFECTIVE FOR REACHING THEM?	WHAT IS THE COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS OF TARGETING THIS GROUP?	HOW CAN THIS GROUP PUT PRESSURE ON THE PRIMARY OR SECONDARY TARGETS?
Politically aware Nepalese University students	*University class, youth housing, teahouse, clubs*	*Word of mouth, leaflets, posters (texting, social media)*	*Easy to reach, low cost, potentially high numbers gathered in one place*	*Willingness to join street actions/strikes, will mobilize to canvass others to take action*
Poor rural Nepalese farmers	*On their farms, local teahouses, temples, community gathering spot*	*Word of mouth, at community events, religious events (many farmers are not literate so no printed media)*	*High cost—need 1:1 contact but could help us reach other farmers + religious groups; primary target family lives nearby*	*Power of strike—with-holding production, can mobilize to pressure local relatives, affect business as usual*
and so on . . .				

Beyond the Page #1

Prioritize Targets or Key Stakeholders

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

- Identify and prioritize primary and secondary targets or key stakeholders

- Practice using a simple table assessment matrix to identify where the most effective outreach for the largest number or most influential persons can take place

SETUP:

You will need large sheets of paper, markers, and a completed Spectrum of Allies and Opponents Diagram from unit 5, page 86

HOW IT IS DONE:

1. Select a current campaign or peace process you are working on or use any of the Front Line stories in this guide for inspiration. Note this on the top of table 22.

2. Gather your previous work with the Spectrum of Allies and Opponents tool, or start by following the directions for using the tool in unit 5, page 86.

3. Note any specific target or stakeholders you have identified in your Spectrum of Allies and write them in the far-left column in table 21.

TABLE 22.

Mobilization Planning

CAMPAIGN/MISSION:

SMARTT GOAL:

A specific group or individual from the Spectrum of Allies and Opponents	Where could you find this group or individual?	What kind of communication is most effective for reaching them?	What is the cost-benefit analysis of targeting this group?	How can this group put pressure on the primary or secondary targets?

4. Move across the table and fill in answers to the questions across the top in the appropriate boxes as modeled in the **How do we identify and prioritize targets or key stakeholders?** section above. If you cannot answer any of the questions, note that further research is needed—and do it before completing your assessment phase.

5. When you have added several groups or individuals to the table, take a moment to compare and contrast your notes. Since we all have limited resources, careful use of them is key to success. If the cost-benefit analysis of moving any particular group is too high, this comparison can help identify where the most effective outreach for the largest number or most influential persons can take place.

Beyond the Page #2

Synergizing Strategic Planning Time Line

This exercise creates a calendar that brings your goal time lines together. This is a key way to ensure that all the strategic planning completed becomes actionable and achievable. After prioritizing your SMARTT goals and determining whether they are internal, external, network/outreach, identify the main steps that would need to be taken to achieve these goals, and place them on a combined time line. Then do a reality check on the feasibility of the time

FIGURE 26.

Example Time Line

| Mapping of potential allies | Initial outreach | Meeting in person | Dialogue | Joint assessment | Joint planning | Joint nonviolent action tactics or peace process |

line, thinking about access to resources and staff, and insert assessment points.

An additional tool to help think through, when, how, and by whom a certain task or activity should be performed is an **action implementation plan**. You can find an example action implementation plan below. Not all goals need to be worked on at the same time; in fact, very few organizations or movements have the resources to do everything they would like to do at any given moment.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:
- Develop a strategic planning time line into a unified calendar to support effective conflict transformation

SETUP:
- You will need space for small group breakout sessions and a place to hang several (three to six) sheets of chart paper horizontally along a wall to make a giant chart that will be the time line.

- You will need markers and sticky notes (or small pieces of paper and tape), preferably in three colors to distinguish among the three goals.

- Prepare the basic blank time line ahead of time or while the small groups are working out their strategic steps from the SMARTT goals. Hang the paper at a height that is easily reachable by everyone.

- Divide the time line horizontally into three sections, for the three goals. Divide the time line into vertical segments that show weeks or months (and years), depending on your planning parameters. See the example diagram in figure 26 and scale it to fit your space on the wall.

HOW IT IS DONE:
1. In small groups, if possible, take the SMARTT goals from unit 6 and prioritize them to identify those that are most important to work on for the success of your mission. One fun suggestion is to use a visual voting system. Write the goals on flip charts and give everyone three sticky dots of different colors. Assign each color a value (e.g., green = first priority, blue = second, red = third). Instruct people to put their dots on their priorities in each category. This allows some movement and a quick visualization of the sense of the group.

2. Develop the top priorities into strategic steps. If there is time, do more in-depth implementation or action plans to flesh out the planning. See table 23 for guidance. Groups can be broken out by the individual goals.

3. Write the main steps on sticky notes, and place them on a giant time line that is hung on the wall—with a length of time that makes sense for the campaign being developed. Fill the largest

TABLE 23.

Action Implementation Plan

ACTION IMPLEMENTATION PLAN:

SMARTT GOAL:

SPECIFIC TACTIC:

STEP/ ACTIVITY	COMPLE- TION DATE	RESPON- SIBLE PEOPLE	RESOURCES REQUIRED	POTENTIAL BARRIERS OR RISK	COLLABORA- TORS

wall or vertical space you have with three to eight flip chart papers on their sides (horizontally). Block out the first month or six months vertically so that it is about a quarter of the time line, the next year gets about half of the time line, and the succeeding years get the remaining space. Divide the paper horizontally into three levels for the three SMARTT goals so that there are clear paths across the time line for these different areas of work.

4. Add holidays, opportunities, vacation days, elections, and other external events that were identified in the SWOT exercise or Past Time Line Assessment tool, as well as things that are important to the group (e.g., all-team retreats, anniversary events) to get a sense of overall time commitments.

5. Conduct a gallery walk, where everyone takes a good look at the entire time line as constructed. When everyone steps back, it is time for a reality check:

a. If there are too many sticky notes in one place, is that realistic?

b. What can shift, or needs to?

c. What is forgotten?

6. Add in assessment points—times to check strategy. Were SMARTT goals met? Why or why not? The reason they have dates, numbers, and other descriptors and are tied to a theory of change is to support healthy evaluation: Is our strategy working? Do we need to adjust? Add more time? Focus on another tactic?

7. Plan a full strategic planning session after a significant amount of time—a year or two (will vary with the campaign).

8. Finally, take a look at each action implementation plan and discuss the following:

a. Is a person identified as the point person or responsible party? Is there a budget or a way to secure the needed resources?

b. If no one is responsible for an action or specific step, and there is no budget or a way to secure the resources, the group must acknowledge that, unless these gaps are addressed, it will not happen.

Congratulations! Now that you have your time line and action plans, it is time to get to work. We hope that these exercises—and the entire SNAP guide—have helped deepen your understanding of why and how to strategically synergize nonviolent action and peace-building to advance more just and peaceful societies. As a reminder, if you have any questions or comments about SNAP, please contact us at snap@usip.org. Onward and upward!

Glossary

Conflict management consists of all efforts to prevent, mitigate, and resolve conflict.

Conflict prevention refers to efforts to prevent violent conflict. Conflict prevention efforts such as diplomacy and negotiation attempt to stop violence from breaking out, since it is more difficult to stop violence once it has started.

Conflict resolution is an approach that resolves or settles the underlying issues that cause conflict.

Conflict transformation is an umbrella term for the processes that change or transform violent conflict into nonviolent conflict, where individuals use various institutional and extra-institutional channels and methods to address root causes. Conflict transformation often includes nonviolent action, dialogue, negotiation, and mediation that aim to address societal problems and improve relationships between conflict stakeholders.

Dialogue is a structured process that encourages active listening and honest but respectful speaking, usually facilitated by a third party. The goal of dialogue is to improve understanding and relationships between people or groups that are in conflict. Dialogue is less formal and less structured than negotiation or mediation.

Negotiation is a process where two or more people or groups with competing interests on a particular issue communicate with one another to find a mutually acceptable result. There are many different types of

negotiation. "Principled" negotiation helps people identify underlying needs and interests to develop creative solutions that meet the basic needs of all groups.

Nonviolent action is a method of advancing social change that goes beyond institutionalized conflict procedures like law courts and voting. Nonviolent action includes tactics of protest and persuasion, noncooperation, and intervention that typically increase awareness of conflict between social groups. These methods are nonviolent in that they do not include the threat or use of injurious force to others. Nonviolent action is also referred to as "people power," "civil resistance," "nonviolent resistance," and "direct action."

Nonviolent campaign is the intentional planning and sequencing of nonviolent actions to achieve stated goal(s).

Nonviolent movements are sustained, organized collective efforts that focus on some aspect of social justice.

Organizing is a form of leadership that enables people to turn the resources they have into the power they need to make the change they seek.

A **peace agreement** is a negotiated cease-fire between parties to a violent conflict that ends or transforms hostilities and usually lays out a road map for participatory governance in a divided country. The UN describes five types of peace agreements: cease-fire, pre-

negotiation, interim or preliminary, comprehensive or framework, and implementation.

Peacebuilding is an umbrella term used to describe all efforts to transform conflict into nonviolent forms of political negotiation and dialogue that can address the root causes. Peacebuilding is a long-term effort, meant to prevent the resurgence of violent conflict; as such, it includes a wide range of efforts by diverse actors in government and civil society at the community, national, and international levels to address the immediate impacts and root causes of conflict.

Peace negotiations or "peace talks" refer to discussions aimed at reaching both reconciliation and a peace agreement.

A **peace process** is a multilevel, multiphased effort involving armed and unarmed stakeholders in a conflict to both bring an end to armed fighting and lay out (and implement) a sustainable political, economic, security, and territorial agreement. It involves top-level negotiation between the armed groups, plus diverse forums for public dialogue and engagement to foster a broad consensus on the future direction of the country.

Power is the ability to influence others to get a particular outcome. Governments and international institutions often support peacebuilding processes to address root causes and either prevent or respond to violent conflict. However, power imbalances can make negotiation and other peace processes ineffective. Nonviolent action mobilizes people to work together through tactics that shift power and empower communities. Once power is more balanced, peace processes are more likely to find sustainable outcomes.

Social change is a process that changes how groups in society relate to each other. It usually refers to positive social change toward increased perception of social justice.

Social justice is a term used by many nonviolent movements to identify a fair and equitable distribution of wealth, opportunities, and privileges within a society.

Sustainable peace is reached when the root causes of a conflict have been addressed and plans that promote sustainable development, the equitable distribution of wealth and opportunity, and human rights protections are implemented.

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