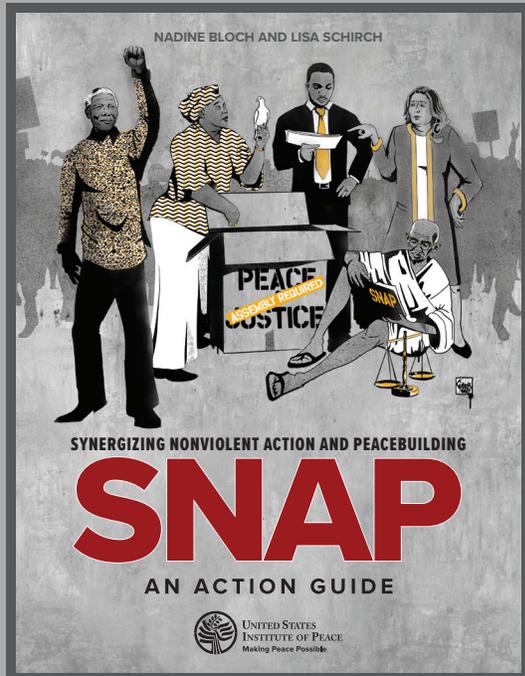




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SNAP: Synergizing Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding

BY NADINE BLOCH AND LISA SCHIRCH

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UNIT 7

**Innovate and Sequence Nonviolent
Action Tactics to Build Power**

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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

UNIT

7



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 Milošević 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 Milošević. 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 Milošević'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 Milošević 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.

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)	<p>Protest</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Street theater and humorous skits mocking Milošević 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 Milošević’s policies • Use of the Internet, cell phones, fax machines, and alternative media to disseminate resistance messages and organize opposition 	<p>Appeal</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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)	<p>Noncooperation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 	<p>Refraining</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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)	<p>Disruptive intervention</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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) 	<p>Creative intervention</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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.

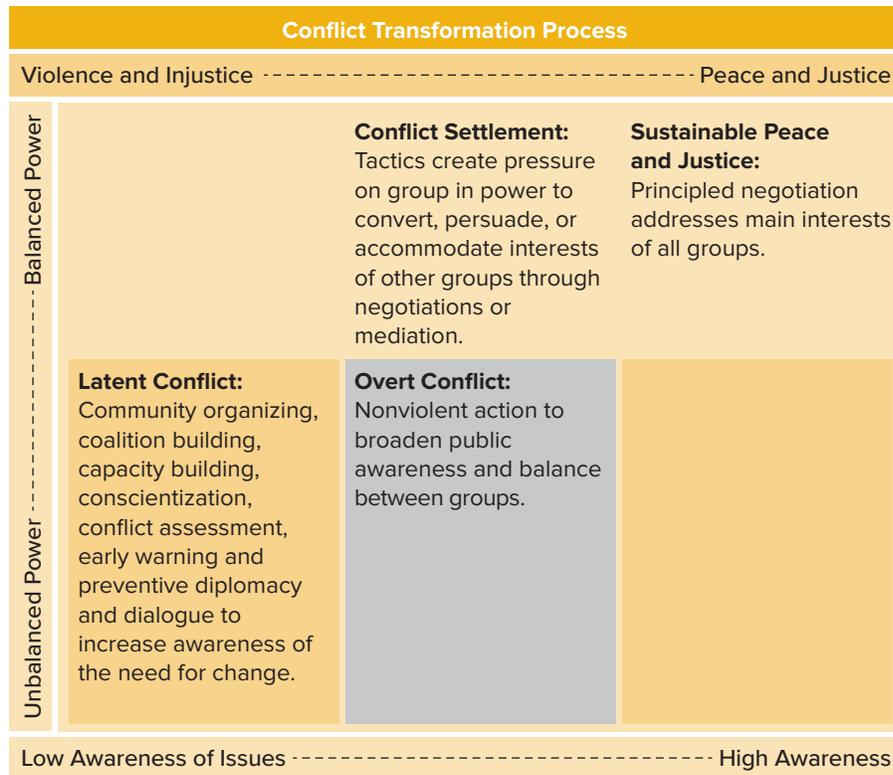
HOW DO WE CHOOSE THE MOST EFFECTIVE TACTICS FOR MEETING OUR IDENTIFIED SMARTT GOALS?

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



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
<p>INCREASE POWER</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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?
<p>INCREASE PUBLIC AWARENESS</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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?
<p>WIDEN PARTICIPATION</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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?
<p>WIN OVER OR PUT PRESSURE ON A PRIMARY OR SECONDARY TARGET</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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?
<p>MAXIMIZE USE OF RESOURCES</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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?
<p>ANTICIPATE POTENTIAL VIOLENCE AND OTHER RISKS</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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?
<p>SET THE STAGE FOR FORMAL TRANSITION, NEGOTIATION, AND PEACE PROCESSES</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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

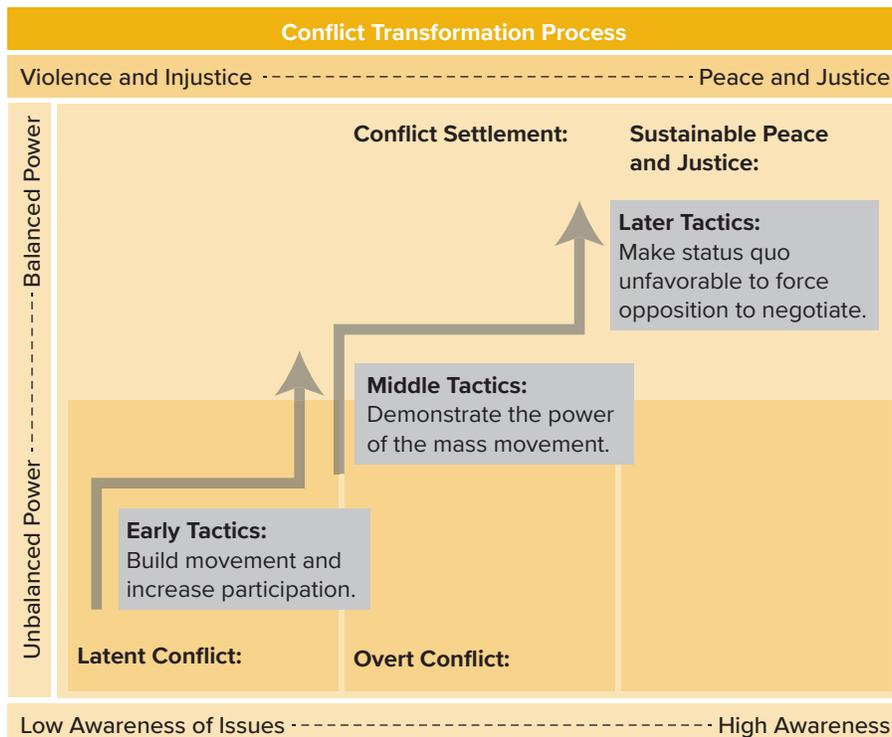


TABLE 18.

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

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