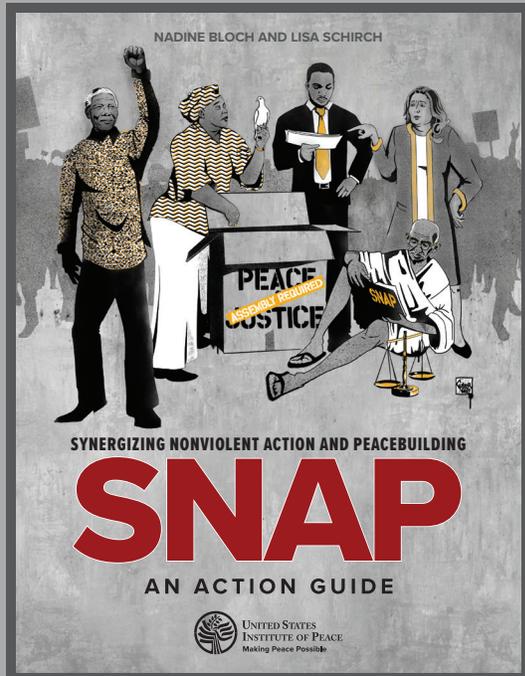




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EXCERPT FROM

# SNAP: Synergizing Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding

BY NADINE BLOCH AND LISA SCHIRCH

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**UNIT 8**

**Sequencing Nonviolent Action and  
Negotiation Tactics for  
Sustainable Solutions**

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**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

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UNIT

# 8



## 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 compromises 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.*

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# 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



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
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Soft on the people and the problem</li> <li>• Seeks “I lose, you win” solutions</li> <li>• Makes offers and yields to pressure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hard on the people and the problem</li> <li>• Seeks “I win, you lose” solutions</li> <li>• Makes threats and pressures others</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Soft on the people and hard on the problem</li> <li>• Seeks win-win solutions</li> <li>• Explores interests and focuses on principles</li> </ul>

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.<sup>1</sup> 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 protesters 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<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.

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# 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.

- Mohamed Bouazizi sets himself on fire to protest harassment by government officials.
- Public protests about high unemployment, food inflation, corruption, a lack of political freedoms like freedom of speech, and poor living conditions intensify.
- Police and security forces use repressive violence against demonstrators.
- 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.
- Strong civil society leadership helped quell public violence and strengthen the political process.
- Civil society formed a "quartet" made up of four leaders from human rights, lawyers, employers, and union federation groups.
- Negotiations help find the interests and common ground among the range of groups involved in the conflict.
- The Quartet develops a road map to establish an independent election commission, compromises on the constitution, and a technocratic caretaker government.
- The Quartet's careful negotiations led to free and democratic elections.
- 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.

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## Resources

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## 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>.



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