

Distinct Social Change Modes

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Note that this is a draft. I very much appreciate your comments, suggestions, and criticism of this paper. Is something inaccurate? Should something be added? Are there whole modes that are missing? Please send me an email with your comments and ideas to: Randy Schutt <rschutt@vernalproject.org>. Thanks.

On the following pages are eleven distinct modes of social change activity that activists use to bring about change. Though some of these modes resemble tactics (vigils, civil disobedience, direct action, lobbying), they are often considered by their practitioners to be complete social change strategies with a distinctive philosophy of change, a set of desired goals, and a set of methods for achieving those goals. Some of these modes resemble each other, but because they are practiced by distinct groups of activists who hold distinct social change philosophies, they are listed separately.

For each mode, this paper lists the typical users of the mode, the goals they hope to accomplish by using that mode, their underlying philosophy and assumptions, their strategy for bringing about change, and the particular methods they typically use. Also listed are the advantages and disadvantages of using that mode. I have tried to present each mode fairly — in a way that the promoters and practitioners of that mode would find accurate. However, this paper undoubtedly reflects my own views and biases and should therefore be viewed skeptically.

- The **educational outreach** mode is used primarily by mainstream liberal organizations at the local and national level. Users of this mode attempt to bring about change by educating the public and then persuading or pressuring decision-makers to enact different policies.

- Users of the **public witness** mode (primarily religious activists) have a similar strategy of educating the public and then persuading or pressuring decision-makers but focus more on acting directly and attempting to touch people deeply by taking a high moral stance.

- Practitioners of **consciousness raising** mode (primarily new-age spiritualists) focus on changing the underlying culture by touching people deeply through various spiritual practices.

- Users of the **culture jamming** mode (primarily artists and actors) have a similar strategy of changing the culture but use creative and oddball tactics that spur people to think in new ways.

- Practitioners of the **dramatic direct action** mode (mostly “Black Bloc” anarchists) engage in dramatic street actions in an attempt to pressure or bypass decision-makers or to physically dismantle parts of the oppressive infrastructure.

- Users of the **labor organizing** mode (usually workers at a particular workplace) attempt to form a labor union and negotiate with management for better wages, benefits, and working conditions.

- Users of the **community organizing** mode (primarily church, neighborhood, community, and minority groups) attempt to achieve specific goals and build a local community organization.

- Practitioners of **electoral campaign** mode seek to elect progressive candidates to office.

- Users of the **lobbying campaign** mode target specific legislators and attempt to persuade or pressure them by focusing on their specific wants, needs, or ideas.

- The **corporate campaign** mode is similar but users (primarily labor unions) focus on pressuring supporters of the decision-makers.

- Practitioners of the **strategic nonviolent campaign** mode attempt to build large, widely popular movements that can pressure or undermine decision-makers.

For the first five modes, activists often do not explicitly describe their strategy for change — they believe their actions lead to substantive change, but do not specify the actual process. I have tried to fill in the gaps as best I can.

Additional Notes:

Many of these modes also involve raising funds from supporters and the general public in order to pay for materials and to support activists. This typically includes a variety of methods such as personal requests, direct mail, raffles, and so on. I have chosen not to describe this activity for each mode.

Most of these modes involve volunteer activists working in small organizations, but sometimes the organizations have paid staff. In general, organizations without paid staff are dependent on volunteers who often burn out and quit. Organizations with paid staff have a relatively large amount of resources and are vulnerable to corruption and in-fighting over control of the resources.

I appreciate your comments and criticism on this paper. Send email to Randy Schutt <rschutt@vernalproject.org>, <<http://www.vernalproject.org>>.

Educational Outreach

Typical Users	Mainstream peace, justice, and environmental organizations at local level (and sometimes at the national level)
Example Group	Peace Action
Typical Goals	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To inform and rouse the public. To persuade and inspire people to engage in some kind of activity that will change a destructive situation or policy. 2. To have the public pressure decision-makers to enact new policy.
Typical Underlying Philosophy	Representative democracy: The essence of democracy is an informed public and elected representatives who enact policies that reflect the views of the public.
Typical Underlying Assumptions	Intellectual discourse and fact-based, rational persuasion is the proper way for society to discuss issues. Government officeholders are responsive to these discussions and enact policies that reflect public opinion (or at least will respond if pressured enough).
Typical Strategy for Bringing About Social Change	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Activists reach out to large numbers of people with a message that describes a bad situation or policy and that encourages them to work for change. 2. Then, large numbers of people, who have been persuaded and inspired, take a stand for change, tell their friends, write letters to the editor, call radio talk shows, and lobby decision-makers. Or particularly prominent or powerful people (celebrities, authorities, insiders, or a strategic group like dockworkers or the police) call for change. Or the news media focuses on the issue and calls for change. 3. Finally, decision-makers, responding to these calls for change, enact new policies.
Typical Methods	<p>A few activists research a social issue (oppression, exploitation, destruction, etc.). They investigate the cause of the bad situation or policy and explore possible alternatives.</p> <p>Activists organize an event (seminar, public lecture, meeting, rally) and publicize it to attract a large number of people.</p> <p>At the event, one or more speakers present information describing the bad situation and positive alternatives to it. They attempt to persuade attendees to a new perspective and/or inspire them to action.</p> <p>Organizers of the event also distribute leaflets to attendees. The leaflets typically have background information on the social issue, encouragement to write to a legislator, and encouragement to join the presenting group, and information about future events.</p> <p>Organizers inform the news media about the event (by mailing news releases). They encourage the news media to write articles or broadcast interviews.</p> <p>They inform other activists about the event and encourage them to attend future events by making announcements at meetings, handing out flyers, and sending email.</p> <p>Some organizations operate completely through voluntary efforts. Others collect money from supporters and hire staffmembers to carry out the work.</p>

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Educational Outreach *(continued)*

Typical Variations	<p>One-on-one personal discussions with other people — friends, neighbors, work colleagues, etc.</p> <p>Tabling (handing out literature to the public from a table, often at the entrance to a store, a music event, or a theater)</p> <p>Street speaking (traditionally, on a tree stump, soap box, etc.)</p> <p>Door-to-door educational canvassing</p> <p>Publishing research papers, magazine articles, books, and newspaper op-ed pieces</p> <p>Posting email on discussion listserves or articles on websites</p> <p>Speaking on existing radio and TV shows (interviews, presentations, etc.)</p> <p>Producing progressive radio or TV shows</p> <p>Producing or performing political theater, music, literature, or art that educates and informs (and may also reach people at a non-intellectual level)</p>
Typical Means of Recruiting More Activists	<p>Organizers encourage interested members of the public to attend meetings to plan future educational outreach events.</p>
Typical Response by Opponents	<p>They ignore activists and their message (and focus attention elsewhere).</p> <p>They launch massive advertising and propaganda campaigns so the public will disbelieve activists, will actively support the status quo, will passively accept the status quo, or will simply withdraw their attention from civic affairs.</p> <p>They appoint or ensure election of decision-makers who are immune to persuasion or public pressure (because they are ideologically fixated on maintaining the status quo, they are beholden to vested interests, or they are intimidated by vested interests).</p>
Advantages	<p>This mode embodies the essential aspects of representative democracy: persuasion of other citizens and individual lobbying of decision-makers.</p> <p>Activities are safe and relatively easy — most of the necessary skills and knowledge can be taught to others without much effort.</p> <p>Activities are inclusive of people of all ages except young children.</p> <p>All activities are completely nonviolent and legal.</p> <p>This mode is generally resistant to opponents' criticism since it is democratic, nonviolent, and legal.</p>
Disadvantages	<p>This mode usually requires a fair bit of effort and money to research issues, arrange and publicize events, and to prepare and distribute materials.</p> <p>Speakers must have good speaking skills.</p> <p>Voluntary organizations are dependent on volunteers who often burn out and disappear.</p> <p>Organizations with hired staff have a relatively large amount of resources and are vulnerable to corruption and in-fighting over control of the resources.</p> <p>If the public is unresponsive, then nothing happens; and if decision-makers are unresponsive, then nothing changes. There is no way to force decision-makers to enact new policies.</p>

Public Witness

Typical Users	Religious activists
Example Group	Catholic Worker
Typical Goals	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> To inform and rouse the public by touching their hearts. Specifically: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> to visibly (and repeatedly) point at an oppressive, exploitive, or destructive situation so that other people will notice and realize the need for change. by publicly dissenting, to demonstrate to passersby (including young children) that there are responsible people who oppose current policies and are seeking change. to persuade and inspire passersby to engage in some kind of activity that will change the destructive situation. by acting directly and in keeping with a high moral code, inspire people to act righteously. To have the public pressure decision-makers to enact new policies. To act righteously as an individual (and not be complicit with a corrupt society) even if it has no effect on policy.
Typical Underlying Philosophy	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Conscience-driven personal responsibility. People should act according to their own consciences (or religious doctrine) — when they see an evil, they should speak out against it. Moral democracy: The essence of democracy is a morally engaged public who insist elected representatives adhere to high ethical standards.
Typical Underlying Assumptions	<p>Religious or spiritual calls to conscience, intellectual discussion, and fact-based, rational persuasion are the proper way for society to grapple with issues. Spiritual conversion is particularly useful and important in transforming individuals — authorities, activists, and members of the public.</p> <p>Government officeholders are somewhat responsive to these efforts and enact policies that reflect them.</p>
Typical Strategy for Bringing About Social Change	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Activists reach out to large numbers of people with an inspiring message that describes a bad situation or policy and encourages them to work for change. Then, large numbers of people, who have been persuaded and inspired, take a stand for change, tell their friends, write letters to the editor, call radio talk shows, and lobby decision-makers. Or particularly prominent or powerful people (celebrities, authorities, insiders, or a strategic group like dockworkers or the police) call for change. Or the news media focuses on the issue and calls for change. Finally, decision-makers, personally persuaded by these calls or feeling strong moral pressure, enact new policies.
Typical Methods	<p>One or more activists hold signs with change messages about a particular social issue while standing visibly in a public place where a lot of people pass by.</p> <p>They hand out leaflets to passersby. The leaflets typically have background information on the social issue, encouragement to write to a legislator, and encouragement to join the witness group.</p> <p>When approached by passersby, activists discuss the issue in a responsive way (using active listening and persuasion techniques) and call for moral righteousness.</p> <p>They inform the news media about the public witness demonstrations (by mailing news releases). They encourage the news media to write articles or broadcast interviews.</p> <p>They inform other activists about the public witness demonstrations and encourage them to attend future events by making announcements at meetings, handing out flyers, and sending email).</p>

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Public Witness *(continued)*

Typical Variations	<p>Public prayer</p> <p>Silent vigils</p> <p>Dignified marches, sometimes with props (such as large puppets, etc.)</p> <p>Public fasts</p> <p>Symbolic civil disobedience (engaging in a simple illegal act like trespassing — that has little or no legal consequence — to dramatize one’s opposition). [See the note below this section.]</p> <p>Public shaming such as picketing in front of a corporate executive’s house with a sign pointing out his complicity in polluting a river.</p>
Typical Means of Recruiting More Activists	<p>By example, they encourage the public to join the witness and then attend a planning meeting to plan future witness actions.</p> <p>They encourage others to participate by making announcements at meetings, mailing and handing out flyers, and sending email announcements.</p>
Typical Response by Opponents	<p>They ignore activists and their message (and focus attention elsewhere).</p> <p>They launch massive advertising and propaganda campaigns so the public will disbelieve activists, will actively support the status quo, will passively accept the status quo, or will simply withdraw their attention from civic affairs.</p> <p>They appoint or ensure election of decision-makers who are immune to persuasion or public pressure (because they are ideologically fixated on maintaining the status quo, they are beholden to vested interests, or they are intimidated by vested interests).</p>
Advantages	<p>This mode embodies the essential aspects of representative democracy: persuasion of other citizens and individual lobbying of decision-makers.</p> <p>Activities are usually simple, safe, and easy — they require no special skills or knowledge and can easily be taught to others.</p> <p>Activities are usually inclusive of people of all ages including those with physical disabilities, frail elders, children, and people who have never engaged in any kind of public change activity.</p> <p>The high moral stance inspires many people. It garners support and inspires some people to act well.</p> <p>Activities are usually nonviolent and legal.</p> <p>This mode is resistant to opponents’ criticism since it is democratic, nonviolent, and invokes high moral values.</p>
Disadvantages	<p>Activities are typically difficult to sustain over time because activists find them too boring and time-consuming.</p> <p>Some people view the high moral stance as moralistic and judgmental and are repelled by it.</p> <p>If the public is unresponsive, then nothing happens; and if decision-makers are unresponsive, then nothing changes. There is no way to force decision-makers to enact new policies.</p>

Note that some religious activists engage in direct actions (civil disobedience) such as trespassing, blockading gates, smashing missiles, or pouring blood on draft board files, and then turn themselves in to the police. Though still mostly in the public witness mode, these actions typically incur long prison sentences and so are typically restricted to small numbers of courageous people.

Consciousness Raising

Typical Users	New-age spiritualists
Example Group	Buddhists
Typical Goals	To change individuals and the entire culture by raising everyone's consciousness.
Typical Underlying Philosophy	Cultural transformation: Western culture promotes domination, patriarchy, militarism, individualism, racism, classism, sexism, violence, greed, and irresponsibility. These must be overcome through transformation of ourselves and our whole culture.
Typical Underlying Assumptions	Destructive aspects of our culture strongly affect us and our institutions. Once people overcome their destructive cultural norms, they will act in a positive way. The best way to help people break free of cultural norms is to encourage them to engage in spiritual practices that reinforce positive behavior and to build alternative cultural institutions.
Typical Strategy for Bringing About Social Change	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Activists reach out to people who are disturbed by violence, greed, and hatred and offer them gentle, nonviolent, loving spiritual practices that counter these tendencies. 2. Then, those who have been transformed by these spiritual practices tell their friends, speak out on radio talk shows, publish magazines, etc. They also build alternative institutions based on their new understanding. 3. Once large numbers of people have been transformed, then all of society is different and decision-makers naturally enact positive policies.
Typical Methods	<p>Activists individually engage in meditation, prayer, chanting, or silence to free themselves of destructive cultural norms.</p> <p>They remain awake for hours, fast, or take hallucinatory drugs to induce an altered state of consciousness so that new thoughts can come.</p> <p>They gather with other people and engage in activities or rituals that steer them towards positive behavior (guided meditation, meditative walks, dance, singing, chanting, manual work).</p> <p>They gaze at or carry symbols that invoke alternative cultural perspectives.</p> <p>They tell others about their activity and encourage them to participate.</p>
Typical Variations	Producing or performing political theater, music, literature, or art that reaches people on non-intellectual levels
Typical Means of Recruiting More Activists	<p>By example, they encourage the public to join them in their practice.</p> <p>They encourage others to participate by making announcements at meetings, mailing and handing out flyers, and sending email announcements.</p>
Typical Response by Opponents	<p>They ignore activists and their message (and focus attention elsewhere).</p> <p>They ridicule activists and call them cult fanatics.</p> <p>They appoint or ensure election of decision-makers who are immune to persuasion or public pressure (because they are ideologically fixated on maintaining the status quo, they are beholden to vested interests, or they are intimidated by vested interests).</p>

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Consciousness Raising *(continued)*

Advantages	<p>This mode appeals to people to aspire to their highest ideals.</p> <p>Activities are usually simple, safe, and easy — they require few special skills or knowledge and can easily be taught to others.</p> <p>Activities are usually inclusive of people of all ages including those with physical disabilities, frail elders, children, and people who have never engaged in any kind of public change activity.</p> <p>Activities are often eye-opening and enjoyable.</p> <p>Activities are usually nonviolent and legal.</p>
Disadvantages	<p>The public often views consciousness raising activities as strange.</p> <p>Some consciousness raising groups become cult-like — mind numbing, isolationist, or dominated by a single person who leads people astray.</p> <p>If the public is unresponsive, then nothing happens; and if decision-makers are unresponsive, then nothing changes. There is no way to force decision-makers to enact new policies.</p>

Culture Jamming

Typical Users	Artists, actors, and other creative people
Example Group	Adbusters
Typical Goals	To challenge and rouse the public by using creative and oddball tactics that spur people to think in new ways.
Typical Underlying Philosophy	Cultural transformation: Western culture promotes domination, patriarchy, militarism, individualism, racism, classism, sexism, violence, greed, and irresponsibility. These must be overcome through transformation of ourselves and our whole culture.
Typical Underlying Assumptions	Destructive aspects of our culture strongly affect us and our institutions. Once people overcome their destructive cultural norms, they will act in a positive way. The best way to help people break free of cultural norms is to confront them with things that are so odd that they have to think anew.
Typical Strategy for Bringing About Social Change	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Activists engage in various street actions that “tweak the noses” of establishment figures or twist culture norms. Because these actions are creative and challenge authority, they tend to get massive media coverage. 2. Large numbers of people see or hear about the actions. Because the actions challenge cultural norms or propriety, they force people to think about the validity of those cultural norms or authority figures. 3. Some of those who experience this shift in consciousness, who hold positions of authority, then make different decisions. Or non-decision-makers whose consciousness has shifted, pressure the decision-makers to enact new policies.
Typical Methods	<p>Strange and creative antics (putting flowers in the barrels of police rifles, using a feather to tickle the noses of police, singing ridiculous songs, etc., etc.)</p> <p>Confronting authorities at home or in their offices with direct questions about their policies while accompanied by a TV crew</p> <p>Banner hanging</p> <p>Guerrilla theatre</p> <p>Billboard altering</p> <p>Parodies of newspapers or websites substituted for the real thing</p> <p>Song parodies, art parodies</p> <p>Satirical theater, songs, or art</p>
Typical Variations	
Typical Means of Recruiting More Activists	<p>By example, they encourage the public to join the antics and then attend a planning meeting to plan future actions.</p> <p>They encourage others to participate by making announcements at meetings, mailing and handing out flyers, and sending email announcements.</p>
Typical Response by Opponents	<p>They ignore activists and their message (and focus attention elsewhere).</p> <p>They engage in similarly creative tactics or advertising campaigns to undercut the activist message or confuse the public.</p> <p>They appoint or ensure election of decision-makers who are immune to persuasion or public pressure (because they are ideologically fixated on maintaining the status quo, they are beholden to vested interests, or they are intimidated by vested interests).</p>

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Culture Jamming *(continued)*

Advantages	<p>Activities are fun for participants and often fun for observers, which makes it relatively easy for activists to sustain interest and to recruit new activists.</p> <p>Activities attract a great deal of attention and shine through the blizzard of media images.</p> <p>Activities reach people at a non-intellectual level, enabling new ideas to get through to some people much more easily.</p> <p>Some activities are simple, safe, and easy — they require no special skills or knowledge and can easily be taught to others.</p>
Disadvantages	<p>Many activities require physical stamina, special skills, or charisma. Some are difficult for anyone other than skilled actors to carry out.</p> <p>Some activities are illegal or physically dangerous.</p> <p>If the public is unresponsive, then nothing happens; and if decision-makers are unresponsive, then nothing changes. There is no way to force decision-makers to enact new policies.</p>

Dramatic Direct Action

Typical Users	“Black Bloc” Anarchists
Example Group	Black Bloc
Typical Goals	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To inform and rouse the public. Specifically: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to visibly (and repeatedly) point at an oppressive, exploitive, or destructive situation so that other people will notice and realize the need for change. • by publicly dissenting, to demonstrate to passersby (including young children) that there are responsible people who oppose current policies and are seeking change. • by acting directly and militantly, inspire other people to join in. 2. To persuade and inspire more people to engage in dramatic direct action. 3. To act ethically (and not be complicit with a corrupt society) even if it has no effect on policy.
Typical Underlying Philosophy	Direct democracy: The essence of democracy is an informed public and individuals who act directly according to their consciences.
Typical Underlying Assumptions	<p>Our institutions (business, government, religious) are dominated by corporate capitalism and destructive cultural norms like racism. They are completely unresponsive to the public. The only way to change society is to do it directly with our own hands and bodies.</p> <p>The police are hired by the government to protect the power elite and to advance the goals of the power elite in exploiting and oppressing everyone else.</p>
Typical Strategy for Bringing About Social Change	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Engage in vigorous, disciplined, militant action that directly challenges an injustice. 2. Then, more people who have been inspired by this activity join in, take a stand for change, and tell their friends. 3. As the size and intensity of actions increases, the cost of repressing them increases. The police become exhausted, taxing authorities become unable to raise enough money to pay for police repression, and/or vandalism causes oppressive institutions to become unprofitable. More people can then safely join in. 4. Finally, when the number of activists has grown large enough, activists overwhelm decision-makers or those that carry out the decisions with mass blockades or general strikes. The decision-makers are forced to enact new policies or are removed from their decision-making roles. Or those who carry out the decisions are forced to carry out different policies. Or the activists carry out alternative policies on their own while the authorities, workers, and police stand aside.

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Dramatic Direct Action *(continued)*

Typical Methods	<p>A few activists research a social issue (oppression, exploitation, destruction, etc.). They investigate the cause of the bad situation or policy and how it hurts people.</p> <p>They talk with friends, attend meetings of other political groups, and send email to encourage other people to get involved. They emphasize the severity and urgency of the bad situation and implore people to act immediately.</p> <p>Activists organize a public street event (rally or demonstration) (or they attend an event set up by some other organization). They publicize the action to attract a large number of people.</p> <p>At the event, one or more speakers present information describing the bad situation. They emphasize the severity and urgency of the bad situation and implore people to act immediately.</p> <p>Organizers of the action then lead people to engage in dramatic direct action — marching loudly and visibly, chanting, screaming, running, taunting authorities or police, smashing targeted property (such as police cars, oppressive stores, oppressive company buildings), and setting small fires in news racks or dumpsters.</p> <p>They inform other activists about the event and encourage them to attend future events by making announcements at meetings, handing out flyers, and sending email.</p>
Typical Variations	<p>Culture jamming tactics (see above) are sometimes used to help dramatize the action.</p>
Typical Means of Recruiting More Activists	<p>By example, they encourage the public to join actions and then attend a planning meeting to plan future actions.</p> <p>They typically focus on particular upcoming events, talk about how oppressive the opponents are, and urge people to throw themselves into opposition.</p> <p>They encourage others to participate by talking with friends, making announcements at meetings of other political groups, mailing and handing out flyers, and sending email announcements. They emphasize the severity and urgency of the bad situation and implore people to act immediately.</p>
Typical Response by Opponents	<p>They ignore activists and their message (and focus attention elsewhere).</p> <p>They launch massive advertising and propaganda campaigns so the public will disbelieve activists, will actively support the status quo, will passively accept the status quo, or will simply withdraw their attention from civic affairs.</p> <p>They appoint or ensure election of decision-makers who are immune to persuasion or public pressure (because they are ideologically fixated on maintaining the status quo, they are beholden to vested interests, or they are intimidated by vested interests).</p> <p>By using images of activists wearing masks, screaming, and engaging in property destruction, they brand activists as “crazies,” “subversive agitators,” “law-breakers,” and “terrorists” and implore the public to support the police in repressing them and authorities who will take a hard-line, repressive stance.</p> <p>They infiltrate the activist organization with provocateurs who try to engage in especially offensive activity — attacks against innocent bystanders, attacks against benign company property, offensive symbolic actions (burning flags, etc.) so that the police, bystanders, and the general public will turn against the activists.</p> <p>They infiltrate the activist organization with provocateurs who attack other progressives and encourage in-fighting.</p>

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Dramatic Direct Action *(continued)*

Advantages	<p>This mode involves mostly exciting and dramatic actions that arouse, energize, and empower activists.</p> <p>Actions generally require few planning meetings.</p> <p>Actions generally require few skills or knowledge and can easily be taught to others.</p> <p>This mode does not rely on anyone outside of the activist group for change to occur — when successful, neither authorities nor the public must approve changes — the activist group has complete power.</p>
Disadvantages	<p>Most actions require physical stamina and so exclude young children, older adults, and those with physical disabilities.</p> <p>Many actions are physically dangerous and hence require great courage.</p> <p>Many actions are illegal and hence participants risk arrest and prosecution.</p> <p>Usually, activist organizations in this mode are very loose, so activists are dependent on having a constant series of demonstrations to keep people involved, or to rely on demonstrations organized by other activist groups.</p> <p>This mode is very vulnerable to infiltrators and provocateurs who try to disrupt demonstrations, antagonize progressive organizations, and create an unfavorable image with the public.</p> <p>Without large numbers, actions typically have little impact on policy.</p> <p>The main result of actions is often that opponents use them (by claiming the activists are “violent anarchists” or “terrorists”) to bolster their own power and support.</p> <p>When successful, this mode is subversive of democracy since a relatively small, militant activist group gains complete power.</p>

Note: Most practitioners of this mode strive for a militant style and often use property destruction to emphasize their militancy. Others choose to have their actions be more nonviolent in tone and style.

Labor Organizing

Typical Users	Labor activists
Example Group	Service Employees International Union (SEIU)
Typical Goals	To form a labor union that has the strength (through threat of a mass strike) to force management to establish reasonable working conditions, pay good wages, and provide good benefits.
Typical Underlying Philosophy	Class conflict: Managers of business seek to increase profits for their shareholders (the capitalist class) by squeezing as much work as possible out of workers. Workers must band together to ensure they are not injured, exploited, and oppressed.
Typical Underlying Assumptions	In a capitalist economic system, business managers are paid to care only about profits and protecting the capitalist class. Government generally sides with business and cannot be counted on to protect workers from injury, exploitation, or oppression.
Typical Strategy for Bringing About Social Change	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Labor organizers (usually working for a particular union) reach out to workers in a particular workplace, pointing out the ways they are exploited or oppressed by management and offering the strength of a labor union to challenge the company. 2. When enough workers are convinced, they call for a union and vote for a union. Or, if management is completely unresponsive, they strike and force the company to negotiate with them. 3. Once the union is established, they negotiate with management over working conditions, pay, and benefits. When necessary, they go out on strike to force management to make concessions. 4. The union also typically is part of an international union and works with others to lobby government and work to elect officials who are sympathetic to unions.
Typical Methods	<p>Organizers talk to workers at plant gates, at nearby bars, or at home. Organizers within the workplace talk to their fellow workers during work.</p> <p>At appropriate times, they encourage the workers to go on strike. They set up a picket line at company gates and harass strikebreakers (scabs). They call on other unions to honor their strike and often try to get consumers, vendors, and other crucial company partners to refuse to cross the picket line.</p> <p>They harass managers at work and sometimes at home.</p> <p>They inform the news media about the strike (by mailing news releases). They encourage the news media to write articles or broadcast interviews.</p> <p>Sometimes, they inform other activists about the strike and encourage them to publicly support it.</p> <p>They help political candidates by endorsing them, contributing money to their campaigns, canvassing workers or whole neighborhoods, and phone banking (calling large numbers of people and urging them to vote for their chosen candidates).</p> <p>They tax their members and use the money to support the union organization and for union organizers.</p>
Typical Variations	
Typical Means of Recruiting More Activists	Training organizers and sending them out to organize workers in new locations.

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Labor Organizing *(continued)*

<p>Typical Response by Opponents</p>	<p>They ignore activists and their message (and focus attention elsewhere).</p> <p>They launch massive advertising and propaganda campaigns to confuse and misinform the workers so the workers will disbelieve organizers, will actively support the status quo, or will passively accept the status quo.</p> <p>They attack the union, claiming it is corrupt and that the union and its managers are seeking to exploit the workers.</p> <p>They attack the union organizers, labeling them “communists” or “outside agitators.”</p> <p>They harass, bully, and fire workers with union sympathies. Sometimes they physically beat or kill union activists.</p> <p>They offer concessions to workers who choose not to support the union.</p> <p>They hire scabs to replace workers out on strike. Sometimes they deliberately hire workers of another ethnic group or nationality to foment bickering and hatred between workers.</p> <p>They move their company’s operations to another location, fire all the workers, and hire new workers in the new location.</p>
<p>Advantages</p>	<p>Workers have a vested interest in working for change — they benefit directly.</p> <p>Most activities are simple — they require no special skills or knowledge and can easily be taught to others.</p> <p>By taxing the workers, they can build a powerful organization.</p>
<p>Disadvantages</p>	<p>Businesses have a vested interest in maintaining their power and control over the workers — they benefit directly by suppressing the union.</p> <p>If workers are unresponsive, then nothing happens.</p> <p>Some actions are physically dangerous and hence require great courage.</p> <p>Some actions are illegal and hence participants risk arrest and prosecution.</p> <p>This mode is vulnerable to infiltrators and provocateurs who try to disrupt meetings, antagonize workers, and create an unfavorable image with the public.</p> <p>By focusing narrowly on workers’ interests, successful unions are often not interested in and are sometimes even hostile to other progressive issues.</p> <p>Because they control a relatively large amount of resources, unions are vulnerable to corruption and in-fighting over control of the resources.</p>

Community Organizing

Typical Users	Church, neighborhood, community, or minority activists working in a particular community
Example Group	ACORN
Typical Goals	To force local government, business, or church officials to address and solve a particular social problem. To form a community organization that has the strength to do this.
Typical Underlying Philosophy	Anti-corruption or class conflict: Government, business, and church officials seek to maintain their power and wealth. Everyone else must band together to ensure they are not injured, exploited, or oppressed.
Typical Underlying Assumptions	Officials are often misguided, power-hungry, or corrupt or they deliberately seek to protect the wealth and power of the power elite. If people band together, they can ensure they are not injured, exploited, or oppressed.
Typical Strategy for Bringing About Social Change	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Community organizers (often working for a church or community group) reach out to people in a particular neighborhood or community. They may point out ways people are injured, exploited, or oppressed or may ask people about ways in which they are injured, exploited, or oppressed. They ask people their ideas about overcoming these hurts. 2. The community organizers call a meeting of those in the community who are interested. At the meeting, the group discusses the ways they are injured, exploited, or oppressed. Then they choose a particular issue on which to focus. 3. They research the problem issue, how the problem could be solved, and who has the decision-making power to change the situation. 4. They then develop a strategy for persuading or forcing the decision-maker to change the situation. This usually involves first sending a large delegation of people to meet with the decision-maker and lobbying her/him for the change. 5. Then, if the decision-maker is not responsive, they publicize the issue in the community and ask people to write or call to lobby the decision-maker more. They also write letters to newspapers and try to get local media coverage. 6. If the decision-maker is still not responsive, they may hold a rally and march en masse to her/his office and demand change. 7. If the decision-maker is still not responsive, they may work to oust the decision-maker through an electoral campaign or some other means (depending on the role of the decision-maker).
Typical Methods	<p>Organizers talk with people by going door-to-door, standing in front of grocery stores and handing out leaflets, and holding house meetings.</p> <p>They hold rallies and use other methods described above under Educational Outreach, Public Witness, and Consciousness Raising.</p> <p>They harass decision-makers at work and sometimes at home.</p> <p>They inform the news media about the situation (by mailing news releases). They encourage the news media to write articles or broadcast interviews.</p> <p>Sometimes, they help political candidates by endorsing them, contributing money to their campaigns, canvassing workers or whole neighborhoods, and phone banking (calling large numbers of people and urging them to vote for their chosen candidates).</p>
Typical Variations	<p>Consumer boycotts</p> <p>Many of the methods employed in the Educational Outreach, Public Witness, Consciousness Raising, and Culture Jamming modes described above</p>

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Community Organizing *(continued)*

Typical Means of Recruiting More Activists	Training organizers and sending them out to organize people in new communities.
Typical Response by Opponents	<p>They ignore activists and their message (and focus attention elsewhere).</p> <p>They launch massive advertising and propaganda campaigns to confuse and misinform people so people will disbelieve organizers, will actively support the status quo, or will passively accept the status quo.</p> <p>They attack the community organization, labeling it “communist” or call organizers “outside agitators.”</p>
Advantages	<p>People have a vested interest in working for change in their community — they benefit directly.</p> <p>This mode embodies the essential aspects of representative democracy: persuasion of other citizens and individual lobbying of decision-makers.</p> <p>Activities are usually simple, safe, and easy — they require no special skills or knowledge and can easily be taught to others.</p> <p>Activities are usually inclusive of people of all ages including those with physical disabilities, frail elders, children, and people who have never engaged in any kind of public change activity.</p> <p>Because this mode relies on people who live in a community, it is less vulnerable to infiltration.</p>
Disadvantages	<p>This mode usually requires a fair bit of effort and money to research issues, organize materials, and so on.</p> <p>By focusing narrowly on the interests of community members, successful organizations are often not interested in and are sometimes even hostile to other progressive issues.</p>

Electoral Campaign

Typical Users	Electoral party member — either mainstream (Democratic) or alternative (Green)
Example Group	Green Party, Democratic Party
Typical Goals	To elect progressive candidates to government office
Typical Underlying Philosophy	Representative democracy: The essence of democracy is an informed public and elected representatives who enact policies that reflect the views of the public.
Typical Underlying Assumptions	The best way to get progressive policies implemented is to elect progressive legislators who will enact progressive legislation.
Typical Strategy for Bringing About Social Change	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Party members seek out appealing progressive candidates for office — people who have progressive perspectives on important issues and who speak well. They recruit them and then train them in the art of running for public office. 2. The candidates and the party members develop a campaign platform and specific ways to frame and discuss the issues. They often use polling to determine what voters want to hear and what messages they find acceptable. 3. The candidates and the party members get endorsements from the party and from prominent members of the community (elected officials, church leaders, community leaders, unions, progressive businesspeople, educators). 4. They then publicize the candidates widely through door-to-door canvassing, speaking at events (house meetings, service groups, civic events, festivals, political events, church functions), distributing campaign literature (door hangers, etc.) and run advertising (in newspapers, radio, and TV). They try to get as much positive media coverage as possible. They also discuss the issues and try to convince voters that their position is the most sound. 5. They also raise money to pay for literature and advertising by soliciting voters for contributions. 6. On election day, they try to get as many people who are supportive of the candidates to the election polls as possible. 7. If the candidates are elected, then they propose and vote for progressive legislation. They also speak out about the issues and try to frame debate in positive ways.
Typical Methods	<i>See strategy above.</i>
Typical Variations	Many of the methods employed in the Educational Outreach, Public Witness, and Consciousness Raising modes described above
Typical Means of Recruiting More Activists	<p>Asking people to volunteer for the campaigns.</p> <p>Hiring campaign staffers.</p> <p>If candidates are elected, hiring office staff.</p>
Typical Response by Opponents	<p>They ignore the candidates and their message (and focus attention elsewhere) — this works especially well if the candidates are from a third party that is not expected to win.</p> <p>They launch massive advertising and propaganda campaigns to confuse and misinform voters so the voters will disbelieve the progressive candidates and will support conservative candidates. They often ridicule and malign progressive candidates.</p>

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Electoral Campaign *(continued)*

Advantages	<p>This mode embodies the essential aspects of representative democracy: persuasion of citizens and election of candidates.</p> <p>Many activities (like literature drops and hosting house meetings) are relatively easy — the necessary skills and knowledge can be taught to others without much effort.</p> <p>Activities are safe and inclusive of people of all ages except young children.</p> <p>All activities are completely nonviolent and legal.</p> <p>This mode is generally resistant to opponents' criticism since it is democratic, nonviolent, and legal.</p> <p>In some states, contributions to political office are tax deductible.</p> <p>Some voters may have a vested interest in progressive candidates winning — they may benefit directly.</p> <p>If candidates are elected, they can exert great power and actually change policies.</p>
Disadvantages	<p>This mode usually requires a great deal of effort and money.</p> <p>Many wealthy voters usually have a vested interest in progressive candidates losing — they often benefit directly from electing candidates favorable to their interests. So they are willing to spend vast sums to ensure progressive candidates are defeated.</p> <p>In a winner-take-all election, progressive third party candidates have a difficult time getting elected. But candidates who try to work through a mainstream party are often thwarted by the power elite within that party.</p> <p>Most activists are relegated to low-level tasks (like dropping literature and phone banking to get out the vote). Important skills like developing issues and public speaking are restricted to a few people.</p> <p>Because successful candidates and parties control large amount of resources and can exert great power, they are very vulnerable to ego trips, power mongering, internal corruption, and infighting.</p> <p>Individual successful candidates are subjected to great forces (bribes and threats), which can lead them to vote for non-progressive policies.</p>

Lobbying Campaign

Typical Users	Mainstream organizations focused on legislation (typically based in Washington or state capitals)
Example Group	Peace Action National, 20/20 Vision, Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL)
Typical Goals	To persuade or coerce government officeholders to vote for progressive legislation or implement progressive policies regarding taxes, budgets, criminal laws, regulations, and trade rules.
Typical Underlying Philosophy	Pluralism: The essence of democracy is a variety of interest groups pushing to have their perspectives implemented by government officeholders.
Typical Underlying Assumptions	Government officeholders are responsive to fact-based information, rational persuasion, or massive pressure from their constituents.
Typical Strategy for Bringing About Social Change	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Progressive legislators, in conjunction with a mainstream lobbying organization, develop some progressive legislation. 2. The initiating legislators ask other progressive and liberal legislators to co-sponsor the legislation. 3. They also determine which legislators are likely to vote for the legislation, who might vote for it, and who is unlikely to vote for it. 4. The lobbying organization goes to each swing legislator, presents fact-based information and attempts to persuade the legislator using rational argument. The initiating legislators also lobby their colleagues. 5. The lobbying organization sends out information to activists about the legislation. It encourages grassroots activists to meet, write, and call their legislators and to write letters to the editor of newspapers. They especially encourage activists in swing districts. 6. Progressive legislators engage in “log-rolling” and “back-scratching” deals with other legislators to support each other’s legislation. 7. Depending on how many legislators are sympathetic, how many deals can be made with some legislators, and how much pressure can be brought to bear on other legislators, the legislation is revised. As much as possible the progressive initiators try to keep the legislation from being watered down too much. 8. With enough sympathy, deals, and pressure, reasonably progressive legislation is passed.
Typical Methods	<p>The lobbying organization uses similar fact-based information, rational persuasion, and pressure to influence the executive and judicial branches of government to affect rules, regulations, and enforcement.</p> <p>The lobbying organization puts paid advertisements in prominent national newspapers or in the local newspaper of swing legislators or buys TV or radio ads.</p> <p>It informs the news media about the legislation (by mailing news releases and setting up press conferences). It encourages the news media to write articles or broadcast interviews.</p> <p>It arranges for prominent people and celebrities to publicly endorse the legislation.</p>
Typical Variations	<p>Many of the methods employed in the Educational Outreach, Public Witness, and Consciousness Raising modes described above</p> <p>Lobbying corporate officials, managers of large non-profit organizations, church leaders, etc.</p>
Typical Means of Recruiting More Activists	Hiring staff.

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Lobbying Campaign *(continued)*

Typical Response by Opponents	<p>They develop their own lobbying campaigns to press for non-progressive legislation.</p> <p>They launch massive advertising and propaganda campaigns.</p> <p>They hire “Astroturf” activists at the grassroots level to lobby for non-progressive legislation.</p> <p>They bribe decision-makers, offering money, gifts, vacations, parties, campaign funds, or sex in exchange for support of non-progressive legislation.</p> <p>They appoint or ensure election of decision-makers who are immune to persuasion or public pressure (because they are ideologically fixated on maintaining the status quo, they are beholden to vested interests, or they are intimidated by vested interests).</p>
Advantages	<p>This mode embodies an essential aspect of representative democracy: persuading and pressuring government officials.</p> <p>Some activities (like citizens calling their legislators) are relatively easy — the necessary skills and knowledge can be taught to others without much effort.</p> <p>All activities are completely nonviolent and legal.</p> <p>This mode is generally resistant to opponents’ criticism since it is democratic, nonviolent, and legal.</p> <p>With enough sympathy, deals, and pressure, reasonably progressive legislation can be passed.</p>
Disadvantages	<p>Wealthy interests have a vested interest in ensuring progressive legislation is defeated or watered down and are willing to spend vast sums to ensure their lobbyists have more influence than progressive lobbyists.</p> <p>Without enough sympathetic legislators, favorable deals they can craft, or people able to pressure recalcitrant legislators, not much will happen.</p> <p>Legislation is often watered down to the point that it is almost useless.</p> <p>Because lobby organizations often control a relatively large amount of resources, they are vulnerable to corruption and in-fighting over control of the resources.</p> <p>Individuals who work for lobbying organizations often have aspirations to work for a legislator, so they may kiss up to legislators instead of lobbying them.</p> <p>Most activists are relegated to low-level tasks (like calling legislators). Important skills like developing issues and public speaking are restricted to a few people.</p>

Corporate Campaign

Typical Users	Labor unions, consumer groups, environmental organizations, socially-responsible investment community
Example Group	Corporate Campaign
Typical Goals	To force a large corporation to change its ways by persuading or pressuring important customers or investors so they will pressure the corporation.
Typical Underlying Philosophy	Class conflict: Corporate managers seek to increase profits for their shareholders at the expense of workers, consumers, and the environment.
Typical Underlying Assumptions	<p>In a capitalist economic system, business managers are paid to care only about profits and protecting the capitalist class. Government generally sides with business and cannot be counted on to protect workers from exploitation or oppression.</p> <p>However, some customers and investors of the corporation and friends of the managers have different interests than the corporation. At times, on certain issues, they can be swayed or pressured to challenge the corporation.</p> <p>Since these other entities are relatively powerful, they have the strength to force a corporation to change.</p>
Typical Strategy for Bringing About Social Change	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Progressive strategists choose a particular way a corporation should change. Typically they would choose some aspect of the corporation's work that is particularly injurious, exploitive, or oppressive and that could be remedied relatively easily. 2. Through research, they determine who in the corporation could make the decision to act in a new way. 3. Through more research, they determine who has influence on that decision-maker, such as the decision-maker's colleagues or friends, the corporation's workers, customers, suppliers, or investors, and critical outside people like church leaders. 4. The progressive organization then works to persuade or pressure these influential people or groups to put pressure on the corporate decision-maker. For example, workers might threaten to strike at a company that supplies components to the corporation, the manager's minister might publicly condemn the corporation during a church service that the manager attended, or consumers might be persuaded to boycott the products of the corporation (or all three at once). 5. With enough pressure from these influential people and groups, the decision-maker makes the decision to change the corporation's behavior.
Typical Methods	<p>Activists do extensive research to determine the best target for the campaign — which corporation, which aspect of the corporation's behavior, and which decision-maker — and who has influence on that decision-maker.</p> <p>Activists use the methods of the Educational Outreach, Public Witness, Consciousness Raising, Labor Organizing, and Lobbying Campaign modes to persuade and pressure influential people or groups to put pressure on the decision-maker.</p> <p>Activists use shareholder resolutions to urge management to change its behavior.</p>
Typical Variations	The target might be a government office-holder, manager of a large non-profit organization, or religious leader
Typical Means of Recruiting More Activists	Hiring experienced strategists, researchers, and organizers.

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Corporate Campaign *(continued)*

<p>Typical Response by Opponents</p>	<p>They ignore the influential people and groups.</p> <p>They launch massive advertising and propaganda campaigns to confuse and misinform the influential people or groups.</p> <p>They appoint or ensure election of decision-makers who are immune to persuasion or pressure from the influential people or groups (because they are ideologically fixated on maintaining the status quo, they are beholden to vested interests, or they are intimidated by vested interests).</p> <p>They replace the decision-makers with new ones before they can make a decision.</p> <p>They attack the progressive activists, saying they are “troublemakers” who are personally intimidating the decision-makers.</p>
<p>Advantages</p>	<p>This mode embodies an essential aspect of democracy: persuading and pressuring powerful people.</p> <p>This mode is generally resistant to opponents’ criticism since it is mostly democratic, nonviolent, and legal.</p> <p>With enough effort persuading and pressuring influential people and groups, the decision-makers can be forced to change their behavior.</p>
<p>Disadvantages</p>	<p>Doing sufficient research to find a good target is difficult.</p> <p>Persuading and pressuring the influential people and groups typically requires a massive campaign with many activists and organizations involved.</p>

Strategic Nonviolent Campaign

Typical Users	Progressive activists
Example Group	Abalone Alliance
Typical Goals	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To inform and rouse the public. To persuade and inspire people to engage in some kind of activity that will change a destructive situation or policy. 2. To have the public pressure decision-makers to enact new policy. 3. To build a social change movement that will go on to challenge other social ills.
Typical Underlying Philosophy	Participatory democracy: The essence of democracy is an informed public and individuals who act directly according to their consciences. Whatever government structures we create should serve our needs and should be responsive to the public.
Typical Underlying Assumptions	<p>Intellectual discourse and fact-based, rational persuasion is the proper way for society to discuss issues. Our current institutions (business, government, cultural, religious) are dominated by corporate capitalism and destructive cultural norms like militarism, racism, and sexism embodied in our social institutions. They are not very unresponsive to the public. Still, we have leverage over these institutions because they rely on the consent of the public. That consent is sometimes gained by coercion and sometimes through tricky propaganda but can be overcome by education and powerful social change movements.</p> <p>As currently constructed, many people (including police officers) have, as one aspect of their jobs, to protect the power elite and to advance the goals of the power elite in exploiting and oppressing us all. But they are also human beings who are subject to consciousness raising and coercion.</p>
Typical Strategy for Bringing About Social Change	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Activists choose a target issue that can be alleviated by the actions of specific decision-makers and that can attract massive support (because the social ill is so egregious, because the issue is local, because the positive alternative stands in stark contrast, or because there is a particular constituency that can be mobilized). 2. Activists reach out to large numbers of people (or the targeted constituency) with an inspiring message that describes the bad situation or policy and positive alternatives. They encourage people to join the campaign and work for change. They try especially to recruit respected community leaders. 3. Activists try to negotiate with decision-makers in an honest, open, and principled way. They call for change that would actually solve the bad situation, but that are as moderate as possible so that the public will perceive them as completely reasonable. 4. If decision-makers are unresponsive, then activists further publicize the situation and the unresponsiveness of decision-makers. They do massive educational outreach (leafleting, tabling, canvassing, letters to the editor, teach-ins, rallies, radio interviews, etc.). They point out how unreasonable and unprincipled the decision-makers are and how, in contrast, how reasonable and principled are the activists.

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Strategic Nonviolent Campaign *(continued)*

<p>Typical Strategy for Bringing About Social Change <i>(continued)</i></p>	<p>5. To further garner public support, they also dramatize the situation using a variety of captivating tactics including symbolic civil disobedience and nonviolent direct action. In their actions, they try to dispel all the myths that obscure the social ill and try (at least symbolically) to enact a positive alternative. They also try to make the actions very dramatic — often by risking their lives to perform a positive deed.</p> <p>Before engaging in such actions, they try to win widespread public sympathy by engaging in positive actions (like planting a community garden). They also attempt to inform and persuade members of the news media so that coverage will be as positive as possible. Throughout these dramatic actions, they act as reasonable and responsible as possible — in an open, honest, and forthright way consistent with a good society — and contrast their positive behavior with that of their opponents.</p> <p>6. If these actions are performed well, then large numbers of people, who have been persuaded and inspired by the campaign, take a stand for change, tell their friends, write letters to the editor, call radio talk shows, and lobby decision-makers. Or particularly prominent or powerful people (celebrities, authorities, insiders, or a strategic group like dockworkers or the police) call for change. Or the news media focuses on the issue and calls for change.</p> <p>7. Finally, decision-makers, feeling strong pressure from the public and from particularly important groups, enact new policies.</p> <p>8. If decision-makers are not responsive, then activists engage in even more outreach, publicity, and dramatic actions to gain support.</p>
<p>Typical Methods</p>	<p>Most of the methods described above for educational outreach, public witness, and community organizing.</p> <p>Nonviolent direct actions are typically “picture-dilemma” dramatizations that portray the social ill as well as the positive alternative simply in a way that can be captured in a single picture and that pose a dilemma for the opponents so that no matter how they respond they look bad.</p>
<p>Typical Variations</p>	<p>Many of the methods employed in the Educational Outreach, Public Witness, Consciousness Raising, Culture Jamming modes described above</p>
<p>Typical Means of Recruiting More Activists</p>	<p>By example, they encourage the public to join the campaign.</p> <p>They encourage others to participate by making announcements at meetings, mailing and handing out flyers, and sending email announcements.</p>
<p>Typical Response by Opponents</p>	<p>They ignore activists and their message (and focus attention elsewhere).</p> <p>They launch massive advertising and propaganda campaigns so the public will disbelieve activists, will actively support the status quo, will passively accept the status quo, or will simply withdraw their attention from civic affairs.</p> <p>They appoint or ensure election of decision-makers who are immune to persuasion or public pressure (because they are ideologically fixated on maintaining the status quo, they are beholden to vested interests, or they are intimidated by vested interests).</p> <p>They infiltrate the activist organization with provocateurs who attempt to disrupt or stain the reputation of the activist organization.</p>

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Strategic Nonviolent Campaign *(continued)*

Advantages	<p>This mode embodies the essential aspects of a good society: acting according to high ideals, persuading the public and decision-makers, challenging injustice.</p> <p>The high moral stance inspires many people. It garners support and inspires people to act well. A good campaign often convinces large numbers of people to become activists.</p> <p>Nonviolent direct actions are relatively safe, though not usually safe enough for frail elders or children. All other activities are almost completely safe.</p> <p>Because there are a variety of activities, almost everyone can find a way to participate.</p> <p>Because of the adherence to nonviolence, honesty, and openness, provocateurs are usually thwarted.</p> <p>This mode is resistant to opponents' criticism since it is democratic, nonviolent, and invokes high moral values.</p>
Disadvantages	<p>Campaigns typically require a great deal of planning and a great deal of work to carry out all the steps.</p> <p>To design a good campaign typically requires at least one person who has a fair bit of knowledge and expertise in campaign design.</p> <p>To carry the campaign out well usually requires participants to have a strong understanding of the principles underlying strategic nonviolent social change.</p> <p>To engage in some of the direct actions requires participants to be quite courageous and willing to take on great suffering.</p>