



Handbook for Training
in Nonviolence and Social
Transformation

**NOV
ACT**

Work done by



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Introduction

This handbook is part of the training material on mobilization for change put together by the International Institute for Nonviolent Action NOVACT. It has been conceived as support for carrying out workshops directed to people actively engaged in the design, organization, and putting forward of campaigns or nonviolent social movements for social justice. More precisely, this edition is designed for a series of 14 and 18-hour workshops that will be carried out with social movements and campaigns on both shores of the Mediterranean, especially for Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, and Spain.

The material we hereby present combines practical exercises, applicable to the organization of our movements, with theoretical reflections on different aspects that we have highlighted as most relevant for this transformation process. This handbook is just a starting point for reflection and action inside our organizations, and around issues that normally appear at the core of our movements: how can we be more effective? How do we organize with others? How do we move from reactionary to purposeful movements? Are they coherent with our actions and principles? Where are our propositions leading us?

The sequence of contents in this handbook intends to cover different moments we face when we put forward our campaigns and our movements, when we look back on them:

- Theoretical framework: our perception of reality, where we stand and what principles move us
- Internal organization: reflection on internal dynamics and the way in which to organize more effectively
- Shared understanding: the need of shared imagery and of experiencing change from the present
- Strategy: designing our strategy
- Action: actions that derive from our strategy and that, at the same time, define us

The use of this material is completely free and can be modified and adapted to the context, reality, and needs of users. It is an evolving material that complements what has been generated, and keeps developing in the framework of nonviolent resistance. Therefore, any contribution will always be welcomed.

Introduction to content

This handbook is divided into three main content blocks:

Theoretical Framework

Where we stand and where we are going to: from our personal story to our shared dream. Collective action is only possible when organizing and concentrating grievances and hopes of a specific social group that has been able to generate collective narratives, transforming them into shared dreams, and finally defining common objectives and actions that enable their mobilization. Collective stories are a result of a patchwork of personal stories that help us describe who we are and what we want transcending our individual particularities. Explaining, transmitting, and communicating our story will help us to legitimize, gather support and recognition towards our demands. Our story is daily built, we can live in it, making our everyday lives resemble, as much as possible, the dream we aspire to. We need our theoretical framework on social change, power, democracy, nonviolence... in order to conceptualize and make connections between aims and values, between local transformations and global change.

Internal Organization/Intelligent Groups:

Group dynamics can be conceived in many different ways. We have chosen a systemic approximation in which we link individual intelligence to the idea of collective intelligence. Understanding our group's dynamics, motivations, roles, interactions, ways of communicating, leadership, ideologies... will enable us to develop tools that make our collectives intelligent groups. This systemic approximation will enable us to increase our group's potential and the collective intelligence, as well as to work in a more effective way and to achieve personal fulfilment in the participatory processes.

Strategy:

Social transformation dynamics are not a result of socio-economic determination or objective conditions. Neither are they a result of fate or spontaneous arbitrary efforts. How can we make use of what we have to achieve what we want? Do we understand the context that we want to change? Where is the power that we need for social change? Are we alone? What level of social consensus do our demands have? How can we mobilize others? We need tools to analyze our context, power resources, diversity of actors, available resources... in order to be able to plan a realistic and effective strategy through participation. Change is something we build, not something we wait for

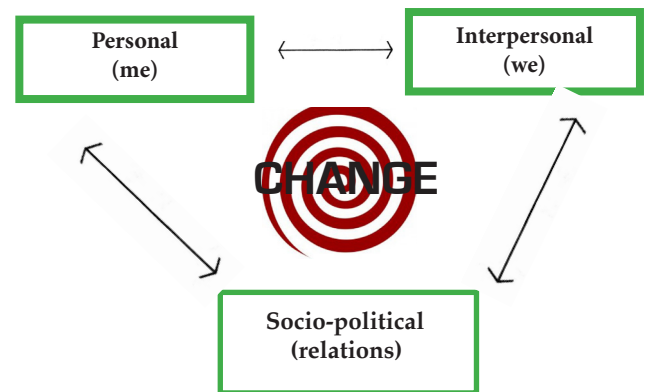
Theoretical Framework: Where we stand and where we are going to; from our personal story to our shared dream *

* Sidney Tarrow. (2011): *Power in Movement: Collective Action, Social Movements and Politics*, Cambridge University Press. James C. Scott (1997): *Domination and the arts of resistance*. Yale University Press. Holloway, J. (2002): *Change the World Without Taking Power: The Meaning of Revolution Today*. Palgrave editors. Marshal Ganz (Notes 2011): *Learning Organizing; and People, power and change*. Harvard course Organizing and leading for change. Jon Elster (1998): *Deliberative Democracy*, Cambridge University Press.

Reality results from social interaction, a consciously or unconsciously collective constructed phenomenon. Cultural and life-style diversity, relations between global dynamics and their local impact, perceptions on the correct or desirable, the superposition of social, economic, environmental, or religious conflicts, situate us in highly complex scenarios, where definitions of reality are frequently disputed. How do we value slavery, racism, women's oppression, wealth concentration, the exclusion of minorities, environmental destruction...?

The world is not something given; it can be modified through collective action. Our definition of reality enables us to intervene on it, increasing our capacity of influence in relation to the number of people that share it. We define power as our capability to do things, and increases when organized collectively.

Our definition of reality enables us to intervene on it, increasing our capacity of influence in relation to the number of people that share it. We define power as our capability to do things, and increases when organized collectively. Our definition of reality and our actions must be directed towards managing power as democratically as possible. Nonviolence is the most coherent way of making our definitions and practices coherent, of making the legitimacy of our demands shares, and of making us become central actors of our transformations, foreseeing in the present the changes we want to see in the future.



Any theory of social change that seeks to be minimally rigorous and assume the complexities of transforming reality should distinguish at least three levels of intervention that permanently interact in what we define as personal and collective spiral of change. The levels, building on Jean Marie Muller's distinction, would range from the personal to the socio-political. It is normally asserted that transformation is sequential, starting with personal transformations (me and my actions) and from there first the collective ones (interpersonal relations with those around us), then to the socio-political level (the way we organize and we politically relate transcending the local community).

In this chapter we follow this conventional structure to organize the contents, which enables us to order the training. However, we understand change as spiral, not linear, understanding it as a process that inter-relates transformations at the three levels: changes at any level hinder, condition, encourage, or promote effects that influence the other.

The mutual influence between these spheres is constant, and this highlights the reality's dynamism and the unforeseeable character of transformation dynamics. When these processes of collective action are activated, we are unable to anticipate their results. We do not know what the final outcome will be but, if we are aware of the need of articulating transformations at different levels, the impact will be greater: individual transformations, through valuing our personal stories; collective changes, through shared dreams in resisting communities and their translation into organizational dynamics, cultural or institutional action.

All of us who engage with dynamics of collective action have our theoretical framework on change, in relation to how personal, collective, and organizational spheres interact with the principles that move us, the aims that drive us, our political priorities, and effectiveness. And this is founded in the practice, in theoretical references, in other models and experiences. We always have a vision of where we want to walk towards

Frequently, this theoretical framework, through which we frame and interpret reality, is embedded in a nebulous of uncertainty, loose ideas, interesting texts, papers with notes, successful and failed experiences...

Questioning our theoretical framework on social change consciously, through rationalization, organization, and coherence, identifying, increasing, and discussing the sources, will open a reflexive process that is going to help us to systematize our thoughts and emotions in order to face a greater probability of success in our campaigns and nonviolent struggles.



In conclusión, we could assert that our theoretical framework will be the combination of principles that guide our practices in order to achieve the vital aims we have established. It is a map in which the aims are related to each other providing an ordered, complete, and complex visión of our approach on society, change, and our contribution to the processes.

The main questions that we should answer in order to articulate our definition of theoretical framework would be:

- What do we dislike of the current social model? Why do we currently get involved in processes of social transformation?

-What is our notion of democracy? How do we perceive the processes of social change?

-How are the collective action dynamics that we put forward? What diversity of logics, imaginery, and practices does the social change we seek incorporate? What is the coherence between aims and principles in the campaigns and movements in which we participate?

-How is our work important for society?

-What are the limits and potential of what we do?

Power, and nonviolence

One of the most elusive and complicated concepts for the future of nonviolent movements would be that of power, for since its conceptualization, it is used in an ambivalent way, referring to our ability of doing things, as well as to the asymmetric influence relationship that exists between different actors, the ability to do what others do. Both conceptions coexist as the two sides of the same coin, one that urges for social stability and the other for change.

The notion of power over is top-down, while the one of power with is bottom-up. We understand power as the power to do with others and not for others. In the chapter on strategy we will further expand on the analysis of pillars of support. For now, we just assert that power is not something given from outside by a superior or transcendent self unrelated to us. Power lies in the collective, in the people and their capacity to interact. Power is not something that should be measured from a comparative perspective; your power in relation to my power, I am more powerful than... but we have to understand it as something that mounts up if it stems from the base, your power and my power = the power for change.

The way in which we understand reality, how changes occur, or power mechanisms (concepts that we have been mentioning and that we will mention later in this handbook), condition the forms of resistance that we choose. In this sense, and in order to define our individual and collective theoretical framework, we consider it is important to refer to the way in which we understand nonviolent resistance. From there, we should look at the way in which democratization contributes to our movements and in seeking internal coherence. We engage with terms such as pacifism, nonviolence, no violence, no-violence, civil resistance, popular resistance, etc... that represent different perspectives and approaches. We can even find the same term referring to different trends according to the author or school that uses it, or different terms referring to the same ideas. We do not present it here from a closed and unchangeable classification, but as a tool to help us move on in the discussion on nonviolence. At the end what is important is that one knows where to position oneself and that the group can discuss and recognize from where it engages with this form of resistance, factor that we consider important when improving the strategic design.

Nonviolent resistance is not a new phenomenon of the 20th century. However, it is in the last 100 years, and especially in the last 50 years, that it has been theorized, looking for its fundamentals, forms of expression, application as strategy, as vital principle, etc.

Following the outline of this chapter, we analyze nonviolence from two perspectives, on one hand, the perspec-



Luther King describes power as the ability to reach the aim. The capacity that can be created from our mutual interests in our corresponding resources can be combined to reach a shared objective (power with). If there is an unequal interest in our resources, a relationship of unequal influence is established by the unequal interest (power over).

tive linked to the principle-efficiency relationship (means and aims), and on the other, from the perspective of levels of application presented by Jean Marie Muller: personal (me and my actions), interpersonal (our relationship with those that are around us), and socio-political (linked to the way in which we organize and relate, transcending the local community).

Non-violence: The more holistic current, the one that stems from the negation of all form of violence of principles, ethical or religious. In the means-aims relationship, no-violence would be an aim in itself, and its strength is based on its moral legitimacy against the use of violence. These strong convictions, these solid principles, are applied at all levels, with major emphasis on the personal and interpersonal, where negating any type of violence can reach levels of coherence that determine from the choice of eating habits (vegetarian to avoid violence on animals), to the guidelines that drive all my relations. At the more socio-political level, this would imply not accepting the legitimacy of peaceful intervention through humanitarian war. We would say that this extreme highlights the form, with greater focus on the personal and interpersonal levels, and less in the socio-political level (which would derive from applying the former). From this perspective, violence is never justified.

Pragmatic Nonviolence: Following the same means-aims structure, this more pragmatic approach highlights aims, being nonviolence the most effective way of achieving them. In situations where the power we confront monopolizes violence, it would not be effective to try to confront it with its same strategy. Nonviolence is seen as a better way of delegitimizing this power we are confronting, without this meaning that we

could not adopt other forms of resistance under different circumstances. This approach does not necessarily imply the negation of violence by principle, but focuses more on the socio-political level of application, without the indispensability of the personal or interpersonal levels (the end would justify the means). Nonviolence as a tactic could be used to overthrow a repressive power and replace it with another one, without this meaning a change in the system. Nonviolence would be a mean, the most effective one, to reach desired aims.



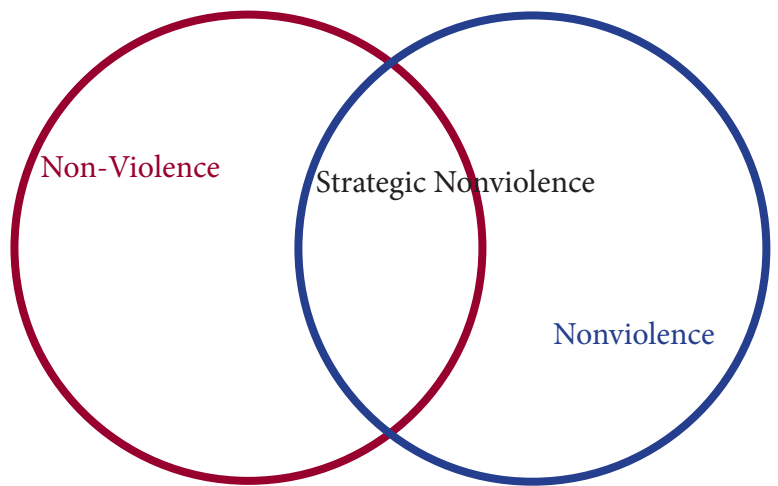
“[Pragmatic Nonviolence] is a technique of sociopolitical action to apply power in a conflict. Nonviolent action consists on the use of many specific methods of psychological, social, economic and political action, without the use of physical violence”

Gene Sharp

Strategic Nonviolence: The aforementioned categories are obviously not fixed, nor do they have to be contradictory. They simply highlight different aspects that are important when we define our movements and the type of society we seek. From the approach we present in this handbook, where change is something that is influenced at the same time as it determines our principles, where personal actions (personal) change groups (interpersonal) and the power of the collective (interpersonal) at the same time changes the contexts (socio-political) but where changes in contexts also cause personal and collective changes, nonviolence is a process of transformation in the three levels, personal, interpersonal, and socio-political.

The end does not justify the means, and legitimacy and effectiveness become one, as a method that reproduces the same injustices against which it is fighting will never be effective. However, of course, there is the need for the condition of trying to fight against a situation of injustice, given that, as a tool, it could also be used with

other ends. This approach, although not part of a holistic conception (with a no violent practice “absolutely” coherent), is sustained through the ethical conviction that it has to be confronted in each moment and in each situation with the reality of the context. The truth, that Gandhi talked to us about, not as something unchanging, but something revisable and debatable. Understanding something in a certain way does not prevent us from understanding it in other ways. But be aware that, understanding a truth as revisable does not mean falling into absolute relativism. Not everything is valid, it has to reflect certain rules of evidence, consistency, and coherence.



NONVIOLENCE	PERSONAL	INTERPERSONAL	SOCIOPOLITICAL
HOLISTIC (No violence, no-violence)	[Red bar spanning all three columns]		
PRAGMATIC, TACTICAL (Nonviolence)			[Red bar in Sociopolitical column]
STRATEGIC NONVIOLENCE	[Red bar spanning all three columns]		

Unrest as a Motor of Democracy

Democracy as a governing formula has experienced an unstoppable expansion throughout the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. The majority of the countries on the Earth are self-proclaimed as such, although many of them do not even minimally meet the democratic canon. This dynamic has been coupled, in the majority of cases, of a procedural vision of democracy. This approach reduces it to a mere method of decision-making and governmental formation.

A more watchful look enables us to think of democracy as a permanently unfinished process of democratization, in which social unrest and the centrality of civil society would be the motor that would enable greater inclusion of actors and themes in the public sphere. Democracies, with all their limitations, facilitate a regulation of unrest (economic, ethnic, religious, cultural diversity, gender, environmental...) in more constrictive terms than other political regimes. One of the keys that have made this possible would be the role of nonviolence throughout history.

WORLD SOCIAL FORUM

In face of the mobilizations that broke-out at a global level against economic globalization, the suggestion of holding a World Social Forum (WSF) appeared in 2011, in the emblematic Brazilian city of Porto Alegre, where policies as innovative as the Participatory Budget had seen the light. This inaugurated a space to meet, debate, and exchange knowledge and experiences among the different social movements and NGO that are currently fighting against any kind of oppression derived or fostered by neoliberal globalization: a new internationalism which is more inclusive and less mechanic in its forms of solidarity.

The WSF is not an organization but it intends to help the organization of transnational networks, it does not have a program to apply but multiple specific proposals. The WSF has become the first realization of what could mean a sort of political utopia for the 21st century, the best sketch of how a "global civil society" or a "global citizenship" could be developed. It has resulted in the best mirror of the diversity of subjects and problems that challenge the current world, despite its limitations given that it is not exactly global geographically speaking, neither in terms of participants, nor themes, not political orientations. These lacks have tried to be corrected through moving the WSF celebration to different areas (Asia, Africa, Amazonia, Tunisia...), as well as through the development of thematic World Social Forums (Argentina 2002, Palestine 2003, Democracy, Human Rights, War and Drug Trafficking, in Colombia 2003, Food Sovereignty in Mali 2008, Migration 2005, 2006, 2008...

A new political phenomenon based in the meeting, convergence, inclusion, impact, and dialogue of people involved in nonviolent struggle throughout the globe.

EL PODER CON Y NO EL PODER PARA: LA NOVIOLENCIA

Y comparaba a los guerrilleros con los astronautas: “Estábamos a cien mil millas del hombre de la calle y sus preocupaciones. ¡No éramos sino un espectáculo más!”.
Gabeira.

Ese año publicó el más famoso de sus 13 libros, *O que é isso, companheiro?*. La obra —que en dos años agotó 26 ediciones— es una autobiografía de su pasado guerrillero. Allí cuenta que, mientras mantenían secuestrado al embajador de Estados Unidos, un chofer de ómnibus le dijo a otro integrante del MR-8 que las personas que más admiraba en el mundo eran los secuestradores del embajador y los astronautas.

Gabeira comprendió entonces que para el común de la gente un guerrillero era algo tan raro como un cosmonauta. Habían sido apenas unos excéntricos. Dejó de lado la lucha armada, aunque no sus ideales de justicia

Nonviolence as Democratizing Action

Democracy would be a dynamic process in which resistance and boosts for change interact and embark upon their conflicts, enabling us to perceive democracy as an unfinished process of democratization. The list of nonviolent protest is the major innovation that has happened in the last decades when dissolving social struggle.

A reflexion of the democratizing principle of nonviolence can be observed in the approach towards Palestine. The distinction in Palestine is not between violent or no violent struggle. The term nonviolence is not as extended given that it has its origin in the English translation of the work *ahimsa* and its spreading by Gandhi, while in Palestine, against armed struggle, we find what they call Popular Resistance (*Mukawa shabiee*), where the popular word reflects the idea of changing with, of the power of all people to participate in resistance, against armed resistance, where the monopoly of armed by some hinders this popular character (they believe that armed struggle would be less “participatory” than non armed struggle).

The ethnic dimension that seeks coherence between means and aims, the appeal to common people, inclusive forms of action that can be taken on by an ample variety of social profiles, the pedagogic and communicative character of many of their practices, the solidarity that they revive, the difficulty to be criminalized... have enabled the democratization of movements, have enabled democratizing democracies. Beyond their specific gains in relation to meeting objectives, these struggles have introduced invisibilized themes and others relegated to the private sphere into the public sphere. This has enabled regular access to institutions and citizens’ rights to socially marginalized groups. Moreover, they have extended and widened recognized rights, going more deeply and renovating channels of citizens’ participation, as well as transforming the political culture of societies in which they intervened.

BEYOND VICTORY AND DEFEAT

Social effect and impact of many social movements and the collective action promoted by them cannot be conceived only in terms of success or failure in face of the immediate aims that it incorporates in a specific campaign. Sustained efforts in time by movements such as the environmentalist and the feminist movements help us to perceive them as actors that have had effect on the democratization of democracies.

Feminist has demanded the recognition of equality of political rights for women, fighting for the access to public space (employment, politics, education...) under the same conditions as men. The struggle for inclusion, led by women, has been coupled with their ability to re-define the issues that can be talked about in political terms. Politicising spheres of life conceived as private (sexuality, abuse, reproductive rights, divorce, family, care...) means expanding the canon of issues over which we are entitled to decide. As well as the legislative and normative changes that have been achieved, what feminism has caused is a cultural earthquake where perceptions on what is what and what a woman can do with her life and her body have radically changed.

Environmentalism questions environmental lack of sustainability of the model of economic development, due to the unfeasibility of the unlimited growth in the consumption of energy and resources in a finite planet, the degradation of natural ecosystems needed for life, climate change, and energy crisis. This criticism expands topics of debate through introducing nature in politics, making problematic the legitimacy of those who have the right to decide over issues that affect future generations as well as nature.

Although it is possible to assert that we live in equal and sustainable societies in terms of environment, it is true that both movements have brought about substantial changes in the style of life, legislation, political systems, education systems, affected self-help groups, experts' knowledge, exemplary experiences... The story of these movements would draw a failure filled of victories



The concept of democracy is subject to constant debate. We understand it from the view most closely linked to participative and deliberative democracy, in line with what the majority of social movements to both sides of the Mediterranean are demanding.

Deliberative Democracy: The making of collective decisions with the participation of all persons affected by these decisions, through arguments offered for and against participants that engage with the values of rationality and impartiality. This form of democracy is associated to specific advantages in comparison with other systems:

- It reveals private information
- Diminishes or overcomes the effect of limited rationality
- Promotes or induces a specific way of justifying demands
- Favours a definitive election, legitimate for the eyes of the group, in order to contribute to group solidarity or to improve the probable implementation of the decision.
- Improves moral or intellectual qualities of participants
- Favours better decisions in relation to distributive justice
- Encourages more ample consensus

The future is today

Collective action develops the ability of human groups to do things, exponentially increasing potential for change. These transformative dynamics should be coupled with deep and lasting individual transformations in the frame of collective strategies. Social movements are not merely processes of protest, but in many cases they also incorporate the realization of alternative ways of living, put into practice desired transformations, recreating in a small scale the change they want to see in the world.

Social movements and protest campaigns go beyond the publicly defined objectives in their demands. They also activate new social relations that, through their proliferation and recognition, mean deep cultural and political transformations. The main contributions of these collective dynamics include: their ability to penetrate everyday life; reduce the feeling of cost or effort in engaging; create knowledge that connects local and global dynamics; reconstruct social networks with affected social groups; build capacities and abilities to face challenges; establish long-term community responsibility or reduce rejection towards covered issues.

Social movements should include a double agenda that brings into line the grand ends and the pursuit of objectives with building differentiated realities that anticipate the change they want to see in the world in relation to their capabilities. These alternative actions would be collective strategies that solve needs, enable access to goods and services, or develop alternative ways of life. These experiences, despite being partial, fragmented, and imperfect, become exemplary, seductive, and enable popular engagement from everyday life in processes of change. This is why they simultaneously sketch the way of life they seek and denounce dominant conventions.

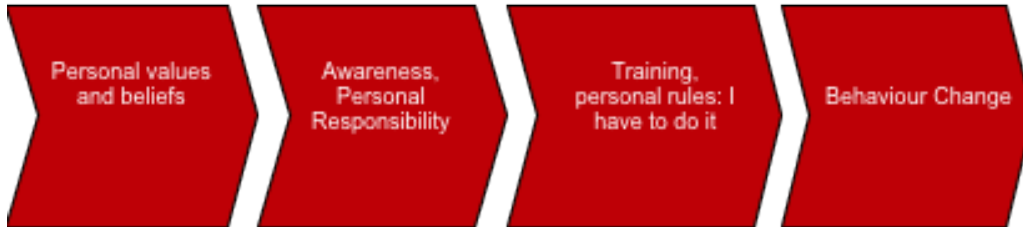


Protests and public action are the most visible part of social movements, although usually the bulk of their activities, resources, and time, are devoted to working in the internal organization and the relationship with their social base. This is a hidden dynamic that enables to put forward new social relations (solving problems, collective identities...) that, if extended, would end up having great impact on reality. The Titanic was sunk by the submerged parts of the iceberg.

How do imaginaries and alternative lifestyles socialize? Historically it was thought that it was normal to live in a process of raising public awareness, which enabled us to change our values and beliefs, to eventually modify our behaviour. This way of thinking is largely true, however it is too rational and should be complimented with some of the most recent discoveries on environmental psychology, which assert that we frequently alter our practices and then rationalize them. Many models of behaviour are not a result of conscious and intentional decisions, but respond to changes in habits and procedures that become consistent in our personality and in our way of understanding the world. Even if it seems counter-intuitive, alternative practices raise awareness for change as much as putting forward training processes or sensitizing campaigns.

**Raising awareness to change practices or changing
practices to raise awareness**

Conventional Sequence of Change



Alternative Sequence of Environmental Psychology



* Photo from: Attac-Madrid

Silence as a collective narrative

Explaining, transmitting, and communicating our story, helps us legitimize, gather support and recognition for our demands. As a reaction to control and oppression, there is always resistance, although in many cases this resistance becomes a hidden transcript where practices and demands are articulated, instead of doing so openly in fear of reprisals. These transcripts are constructed and socialize in autonomous spaces of power, are the pre-story of statements and public actions.

The value of public appeals and statements is very important as they break the spiral of silence. People and collectives that realize a support towards their ideas and opinions in their social environment, are reassured and lose the fear to make them public. On the other hand, people who perceive that their ideas lose social support, become apprehensive to openly expressing them and tend to opt for silence. Given that the latter are more comfortable in expressing their opinions, and minorities keep silent, influence is exerted on the way in which the public perceives the situation. Majority positions seem to garner greater support than what they actually have, while minorities seem to have less.

Preparing and sharing ones narration on the motivations, challenges, and expectations that have driven us to get involved in social movements and campaigns is an ability that we should develop. Generating our individual story is relevant because it simultaneously enables us to prepare our own theoretical framework and have a communicative tool at our disposal. This story includes relevant events, suffered grievances, desires, expectations, values, fears, principles... It enables us to connect with the stories of others to build the collective story, to motivate the passive and take him to action.

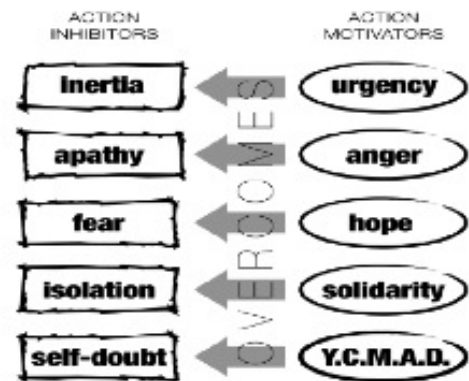
Disorganization (problems to organize movements)	Ways of confronting problems	Expected outcome
PASIVITY	SHARED STORY (From the theoretical framework to the personal story to build the collective story)	ACTION
DIVISION	MUTUAL COMMITMENT	UNITY
CONFUSION	CLEAR STRUCTURE: From the spontaneous group to the intelligent group	PURPOSE
REACTIVE	CREATIVE STRATEGY	PROACTIVE
INACTION	EFFECTIVE ACTION	CHANGE

The personal story as motivation for change

We all act for a reason, motivated by something. The challenge is to manage that the principles we have identified as basic in our conception of the world are reflected in our actions, or that our actions are consistent with our understanding of the world. Acting in a reflexive and conscious way will make us less vulnerable, will help us interact with personal stories and theoretical frameworks of others (having a theoretical framework does not mean that it is inflexible and unchangeable; it is precisely its permeability to the context what is essential to relate to others). We have identified these principles through past experiences, lived emotions, people that have been our examples, intellectual references or political, neighbouring, social trends... They are principles that stem from multiple sources and origins.

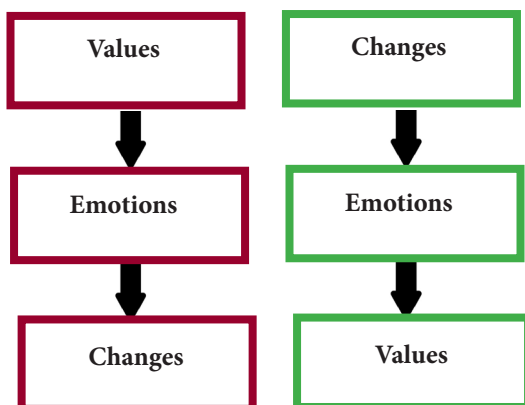
When describing our individual story, we become aware of the process that we have followed, making explicit the transition from passiveness to action. Narrating our personal story helps us to reflect on our theoretical framework from a different (more emotional) perspective, at the same time as it becomes a tool to communicate with others, to motivate others from our own process.

In the narrative structure we would start the process with a situation lived as a challenge, in face of which we made certain decisions guided by our personal principles, that resulted in specific changes. When we choose to get involved in a process of collective action, we have to confront elements that inhibit it (inertia, fear, isolation, doubt...) and discover the elements that boost it (urge, rage, hope, solidarity, the feeling of being able to contribute YOU CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE). Writing our personal story, linked to our principles, engages us in a narrative exercise:



• **Challenge/Crucial Moment:** Why did you feel it was a challenge? What made it become a challenge? Why was it your challenge?

• **Decision:** Why did you make that decision? From where did you get the courage to make it (or not)? From where the hope? Did the vital experiences of your parents or grandparents teach you how to act in that moment? How did you feel?



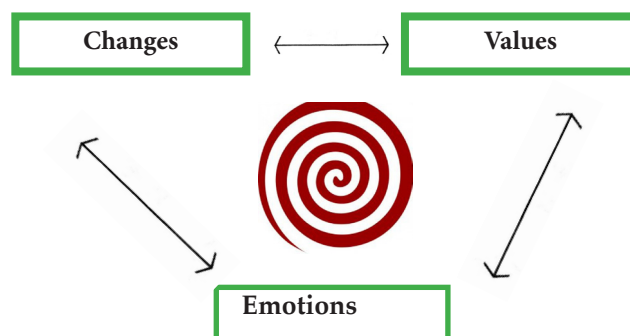
• **Result:** How did the result feel? Why did you feel like that? What do you want to show us? What do you want us to feel?

Narration as an element of motivation shows us another change sequence, related to the conventional and environmental seen before, where emotions now play a decisive role.

Understanding that emotions play a key role in mobilization and demobilization of people is part of starting to consciously think how to motivate for change. The personal story stems from our principles and, in a narrative form, highlights and emphasized

emotions involved in our change, resorting to emotions of others to motivate their change.

Although we follow this pattern when writing our personal story –which would follow a similar sequence to the one conventional theory of change–, when planning our strategies and actions (chapter three of this handbook), we should point out to the fact that there are people who first experience change (induced by their group, community, or another person, etc...), that produce them certain emotions that lead them to rethink their values. This would mean an inverse change sequence.



Furthermore, it is normal to see that certain emotion change us and that then we transform them into values

(my grandfather, because of the love he had towards me, stopped criticising those who wore earring or dyed their hair, and from that emotion and that change, he transformed the principles that guided his criticism towards others’ dress code). Therefore, we support again the theory of spiral change, however this time from the values-emotions-change triangle.

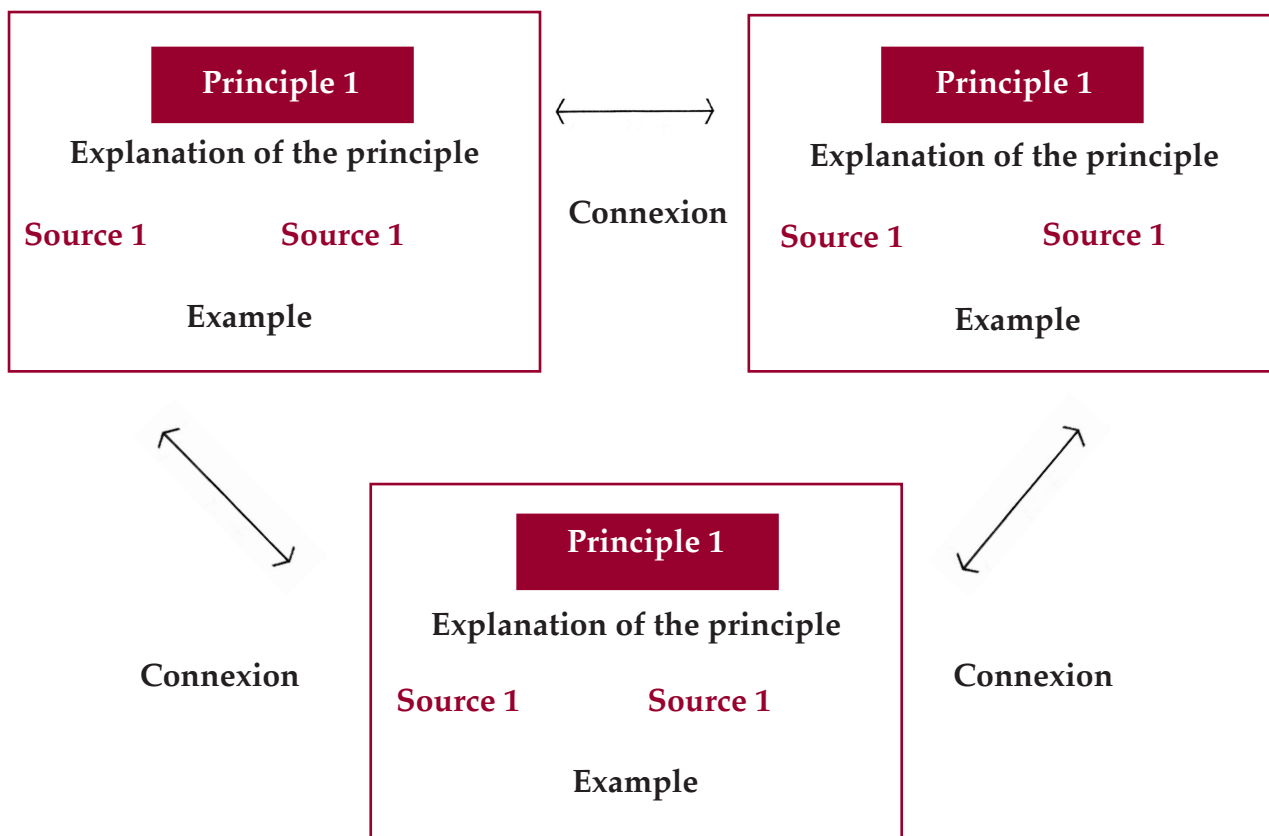


The permanent evolution of our personal story, of our principles, would make it difficult to develop it entirely in the time dedicated for this workshop. We can divide our story into several episodes, and select them in relation to who we are relating to, to whom they are directed, to what we intend to achieve and transmit with them. Thinking about the conventional sequence of change can help us choose the episode we are going to tell: what values do I want to transmit, what emotions generate them or are generated by these values, and what changes did it bring about.

It is useful, for the purpose of the exercise, to pick a story that we can tell in two minutes and that reflects at least two of our principles, linked to a moment that was a challenge for us, that drove us to make a decision and that derived in specific consequences.

Exercise/Practice: Preparing my Theoretical Framework*

- Write three principles linked to the way in which you understand that social change is produced and the type of society that you seek.
- Explain the principle:
- Think about and note the sources that fundament the principle (this will help you also when writing your personal story). The sources can be:
 - **Scientific:** Authors, theories of social change, of nonviolence, research...
 - **Ethical:** values, ethic or religious approaches
 - **Praxis:** Things that you have learnt through experience
 - **Emotional:** Feelings that drive you to think like that, ways in which we feel happier, moments of transformation
- Give two examples on how the principle connects to practice (they can be examples that refer to how change is going to be managed in your group, the aims of transformation that you propose, the strategy that you will adopt, the abilities and attitudes that you would have to put into practice, the type of action that you will have to undertake...).
- Briefly explain how the principles relate to each other.



*Lars Bonell. Cooperativa CSE



Building our personal story based on our principles.

Before deciding what part of your theoretical framework you are going to tell us about in an episode of your personal story, remember:

- Who am I talking to? What principles drove me to act and how can these principles motivate others?
- How can I talk, from my own life, about people or events that show how I have learnt or acted in relation to these values?

Where did the principles that have taken you where you are, wanting to transform society, come from? (Here we point out to some examples, but surely you have many more)

Scientific	Practical	Ethical	Emotional
Authors	Current groups	Political trends	Current experiences
Theories of change	Familiar situations	Religions	Moments of great happiness (at school, with the family, with friends...)
Ideas of no violence	Movements, groups in which you have participated	Childhood teachings	Moments of rage, sadness, indignation

Follow the outline challenge-decision-result, where the result could have been a teaching, a change in principles, a social change...

First select two principles that you want to transmit (thinking about the person that you will tell your personal story to), think about their relation and look for the challenge-decision-result.

Principles	Challenge	Decision	Result

Only those who are awake are able of dreaming together: The Shared Dream

We need to build a shared dream in which we can recognise the proposals and desires of our movements. This collective dreams becomes, on one hand, a resource for mobilization that helps outline and communicate the world that we seek, a near future that is coherent with the development of our collective story and that is desirable for other people.

Moreover, the participative construction of this possible future scenario, plausible and internally consistent, provides us with a framework for reflection and decision making given that it enables us to incorporate it as a useful resource in our strategic design. Once we have an alternative future that guides us, we can start planning actions and steps that we should take to make it a reality. This is an effective mechanism that enables us to check the strength of the lines of strategic work that we will develop later.

“

A community is defined for having a joint Enterprise (shared aims, common visión), a mutual commitment (our personal relations and our ways to organize), and a shared repertoire (constituted, among other things, of our collective story).

Wenger. *Community of practice*.1998.

“

“We call, with our dream, to all the dreams of the world”

Comunicado Zapatista

TODAY I HAVE A DREAM

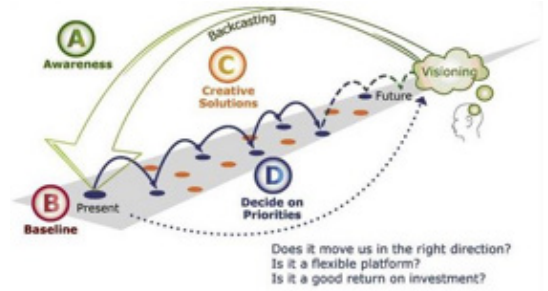
At the end of the March in Washing for Work and Freedom, that took place on the 28 August 1963, Marin Luther King gave his famous speech from which we select the following excerpt:

“Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair. I say to you today, my friends, so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: “We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal. I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today”.

Exercise/Practice: Common Vision

A technique to build dreams collectively that enables us to discover our future incorporating a series of variables that provide certain complexity and integrity. As well as filling in the card as a group, if we have enough time to carry out our future scenario, we can develop drawing, put photographs together, trying to represent that future through the front page of a newspaper...

We could do this in order to achieve more detailed and elaborated proposals. Is interesting if we try to add a column where we connect our vision of the future in a certain aspect, with the hope that this vision gives to the people (connect our vision with a positive emotion that motivates others to joint that vision)



Variables to incorporate in our dream	Description of the future (highlighting variables that most affect our campaign)	Highlight the hope opened with this vision, and the injustice that solves
Human Rights		
Social State		
Political Organization and Civil Society		
Corruption/Transparency		
Religion		
Economy		
Law Enforcement		

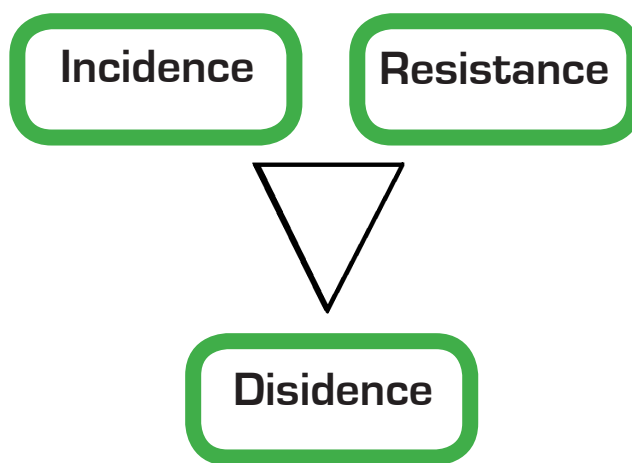


When thinking about our future scenarios, we have taken into account our conception of building reality and processes of social transformation, outlined in the spiral of change. Until now we have focused on personal and collective motivations, the construction of shared mobilizing narratives, and the exemplary value of everyday practice in social movements. However, there is another complementary point of view that relates our movements to power and perceived political opportunity structures. The triangle impact-resistance-dissidence enables us to identify how we organize and the relative importance we give to different understandings of change. The vertexes of the triangle would be ideal types, for all strategy sustained in time combines tactics and elements of each of them. In practice, vertexes are not stagnant divisions, but they help us to characterize our movements in relation to the extent to which we focus on each of these vertexes.

Incidence: We organize and think about our movements with the intent of impacting the existent power structures, with the idea that, from that impact we will achieve the desired change. For example, alternative democratic parties, lobbying and advocacy campaigns, legal strategies in international courts, popular legislative initiatives...

Resistance: We organize and think about our movements from the logic of resistance. We do not consider that there is space to impact conventional power structures and, in face of injustice, we oppose, organizing resistance from the "NO". For example, movements of "no" towards the war in Iraq at a global level.

Dissidence: We organize and think about our movements from the logic of possible minimum impact. In face of lack of interest or low receptivity of power structures, alternative social structured are organized, regardless of those structures, which follow transformation logics in which we believe. In case of developing, these alternative structures give place to parallel processes of institutionalization. This logic is illustrated in processes such as the Zapatistas' Juntas de Buen Gobierno (Assemblies of Good Governance), parallel systems to education and health during the first Intifada, groups of ecologic consumption, the land occupation of the Landless Workers' Movement, occupied social centres...



* Source: Joan Subirats



Our collective story: emotions, narratives... from the personal to the collective, from the private to the public. From individual grievances to collective narrations that frame them. Building our story (group, movement, neighbourhood...) is selecting the most relevant fragments of what we have lived together. Is taking into account our personal stories not in order to write them one after another, but to recognize ourselves and ease the creating of our collective story.

It is important to learn and value our experience, taking into account the inclusion of emotions and personal experiences in the frame of shared stories: who we are, what we share.

In building collective change, the crisis that we suffer together, challenges which we face as a community, and answer that we give, determine our values as a group.

Generating and making explicit the collective story (from where and towards where), enables us to reinforce the work of my similar group and situate myself in relation to the work of other similar groups: it enables us to place ourselves in the constellation of groups and communities that somehow seek social change.

In this effort to connect between groups, people who simultaneously participate in several are especially relevant and, therefore, their stories will link groups. They become especially important in building shared visions that transcend our group or community, but can also work as funnels if they become the only link. They are important to build from them, not to exclusively depend on them.



INTELLIGENT GROUPS : Collectively Building Change *

* These notes are mainly a brief synthesis of the content in: Fernando Cembranos y José Ángel Medina (2003): "Grupos Inteligentes: teoría y práctica del trabajo en equipo", Editorial Popular. They also gather reflexions from: David Vercauteren, Olivier "Mouss" Carbbé y Thierry Müller (2010): "Micropolíticas de los grupos", Traficantes de Sueños. Moreover they feed from other sources thar will be mentioned as they appear. Finally it is also a theorization from our participation in groups during years.

IMPORTANCE OF THE GROUP IN OUR THEORY OF CHANGE: collective power, the power to change with and not change for

From an understanding of reality as something socially constructed, the value of the collective acquires greater importance. If reality is something constructed by all, then, changing the reality becomes a collective task in order to be effective. According to the power theory that considers its pillars to reside in the power of the people, understanding and improving forms of organization is key. The power of the people and the power of the collective drive us to focus on change from the paradigm “change with”, which is inclusive, horizontal, instead of “change for”, more hierarchical or paternalistic. “Change with” already leads us to specific types of organizations and groups, whose maximum efficiency and effectiveness would be reached when they manage to work as Intelligent Groups. We use the theory of Intelligent Groups, based in the idea of Collective Intelligence, to analyze how our group functions and identify keys for improvement.

Groups are not sustained or work well just through “good will”. There is a need for devices and roles. This is due to the fact that we come from a culture of individualism and hierarchy (both anti-collective), impossible to remove without craftwork. Moreover, “harmonizing” diversity is not simple task and requires technique to achieve it.

The idea would be that groups move under the same premise of “neither the tyranny of the lack of structures, nor their excess”. Structures are fundamental to make the group more democratic and efficient. However, they have to have the flexibility of a collective tool, not the corset.

What are intelligent groups among the different types of groups?

It could be thought that an intelligent group is the one formed by intelligent people, however there are groups constituted by intelligent people that can be quite silly.

When we discuss for all or for nothing, when it is difficult to agree on anything, when we are not comfortable in the group... before thinking about the lack of commitment of the people, their lack of work, or their bad intentions, we should think of the question, is my group silly?

The group is something different to the people, although it is constituted by them.

The intelligent group is the one that manages to be collectively more than the addition of parts. Sometimes there are groups that are a real subtraction of the abilities of those that constitute it.

We can consider that a group is intelligent when it:

- collectively realizes its objectives and it does so correctly
- integrates the wellbeing of individuals with the one of the group. People know about the pleasure of working collectively
- socializes the mind of each of its members and creates a collective intelligence. It uses the advantages of group thinking and overcomes individual limits
- takes advantage of the diversity of its components: abilities, brains, sensitivities, affections... in stead of considering it a problem. It does not make difference an opposition and conflicts are thought about to optimize propositions and structure
- makes the group's reason to exist the result of a real collective construction, not imposed, figurative or non-existent
- has a structure that is directed towards task and sense, decided upon and designed by the same group. It tends to build a horizontal structure in which individuals can participate, decide, work and learn
- puts forward tools, resources, and propositions that facilitate cooperative and multiplying interaction instead of work systems that overlap, contradict, or divide individual efforts
- No group is completely silly or intelligent

For a group to work in an intelligent way, we have considered it a complex system. This is, an evolving system, affected by a multiplicity of factors, with the ability to adapt and regenerate itself. Its care and maintenance depends on the same group that has to face all these factors. From the theory of intelligent groups especial focus is given to the following elements as key to understand how the group works and to develop mechanisms to make them intelligent:



In this handbook we introduce some of these elements: personal motivations in groups, interactions, leadership, and the affection-task tension. We moreover provide an annex on how to organize and manage meetings.

Motivations

The group and its participants' wellbeing depend on the way in which motivations to participate are resolved and on how these are made compatible or incompatible with the rest of the group and with its aims.

There are motivations that are perfectly visible and others that remain hidden or are even denied.

Knowledge on the way in which people's motivations work in groups enables their satisfaction individually and collectively. The collective's intelligence lies in knowing them and incorporating them in the group's life, not hiding them or denying their existence.

Group motivations can be grouped in several ways. The classification proposed by the authors of Intelligent Groups includes the following aspects.

	Position	Some ideas for its management
Social Significance	Humans are social beings and every human being wants to be significant, socially exist, although sometimes in a negative way at the expense of the group's aims, through interruptions, taking over conceited attitudes, etc.	It is not exclusive, it does not have to be at the expense of others. The intelligent group has to solve the tension between social significance and task. Sometimes this needs of rotation, silence, or discretion
Power	Stems from the need to control what surrounds us. Power as influence on others is a more complex degree of control of reality. This can be unidirectional and derived from the structure [hierarchical structures] or multi-directional with greater possibilities of power sharing (horizontal structures).	Individual power can be used to increase the power of other individuals. Power can be expanded (it is only not expanded when compared to the power of others). Collective power develops mutual or reciprocal power, not comparative power. Interaction empowers without removing it: when groups coordinate, synchronize and articulate efforts, horizontal power increases. Synergy is collective power. "Power over" is not the same as "power with".
Learning and knowledge	Humans naturally seek knowledge and this produces wellbeing and pleasure. It is a central process in intelligence. Learning is social.	Groups that include the idea of learning as a positive experience better confront new situations, codify difficulties as challenges and changes as opportunities for learning. Group learning fosters a less exclusive perception of social significance. We learn in the group and the group learns through the interaction, experiences and shared tasks.

	Position	Some ideas for its management
Security	Tries to diminish risks, avoid dangers, defend itself in order to not lose positions. It works in a logic opposed to social significance, innovation, or change. It entails the risk of routine and can make the group's existence unfeasible (no tasks or commitments are adopted, or defensive and aggressive positions are adopted)	Value that caution and calmness bring caution and soundness. Care about the form and the moments of evaluation Generate spaces of trust
Personal identity and feeling of belonging to the group	We have the need to recognize ourselves as individual and unique beings, and we do it more from the differences with others than through similarities (although seeing oneself as others is also motivational). This is a motivation that moves between the trend to project us as different and the one that tries to homogenize us.	Being in a group means trying to solve the debate between differences and similarities with others. Taking advantage of opportunities granted by the difference between each member of the group (e.g., different abilities) Provide spaces of agreement
Humour	It is a key emotional and intellectual experience in the life of groups. An activist that is sad is a sad activist	It is used to highlight situations, to form the group, to get out of difficult situations, to reduce defences or take on failures. If you laugh with others you are able to do more things with them. It is not a matter of developing humour, but of given space and legitimacy to occasions and situations that enable and even require it.
Utility	The need of doing something and doing it well.	Organize specific and clear tasks. Be careful so that each person can contribute with something useful and that this usefulness is acknowledged.
Creation and initiative	People enjoy creating, contributing with something	Collective creation is the perfect synthesis given that it satisfies the motivation of individual creation at the same time as it enriches the group as such.
Meaning and belief in the group	Groups that believe in their reason to exist have many more behaviours that are coherent with their aims.	Believing that the group is part of the meaning favourably predisposes its wellbeing. If the meaning affects the members of the group, many of the individual motivations melt into the collective.

Interactions

Interaction is the essence of a group. It constitutes the basic behavioural unit of the group. Through interaction a group can become more than an addition of the parts.

Getting to know a group is looking at its behaviour and at the dominants forms of interaction.

We can usually observe several kinds of interactions in a group. The difference between some groups and others is the relative frequency of each of these interactions, which are normally mixed and not in a pure state.

In the table of interactions we include a possible classification of interactions, its definition, how it happens, and how to work on it from the point of view of Intelligent Groups (these should tend to improve and favour summative and multiplicative interactions).

Logics of Interaction

The types of interaction on the table can moreover be structure in a logic series:

- **Domination.** Would be the void, warlike, and occasionally systematic interactions.
- **Negotiation.** Seeks reciprocity from justice. It can be win-lose, although it seeks the win-win, given that in many occasions it implies “giving in to what you do not want”. It can cause that in the future it “takes a toll”. It happens in addition, multiplication and sometimes even in systematic opposition.
- **Meeting.** We unite in base of what we want. An example of this is friendship. They are normally win-win interactions. No tolls are taken. We engage in this interaction with maximum interdependencies. It is normal in multiplication and addition. It does not have to be agreed upon.

A problem is to include what is in the meeting among the logics of negotiation. Normally there are few things on which we need to agree with everyone. These are the things that must be in the logics of negotiation and not in the meeting.

VOID OR MINIMIZED

When there are two persons that do not cause any reaction in others.

It derives from no participation due to fear (and reproaches, reprisals, signs of anger) or apathy. It also derives from systematically considering that contributions made are not taken into account and are useless.

- Create trust environments:
- Value all contributions
- Give space for all members of the group to contribute (in different moments)
- Make "snake" leadership explicit (see leaderships)

PSYCHOTIC OR WARLIKE

When the partner is positioned in the role of an enemy or aggressor. Everyone talks and no one listens.

People interpret that interests are conflicting, although it is not necessary that they exist. It is closely linked to power motivation. It is filled with errors such as overgeneralization, false isolation or negative selection.

- Change the topic, take a break, change the task
- This interaction has to be treated with a preventive communicative policy (communicate the problems but not always in a big group)

SYSTEMATIC OPPOSITION

A person says A, and immediately another says No A.

Closely linked to social significance. What is A? A proposal that requires effort and achieves social significance. What is No A? A negative opinion on A that requires much less effort and also obtains social significance. It is more "profitable".

- Make explicit and agree a person that assumes the role of pointing out the problems that appear and that are linked with interaction at moments when the discussion gets stuck

FALSE OPPOSITION

A person says A, and immediately another says No A'

A person says A, and another immediately slightly modifies the proposal and creates A'. Then this second person opposes A', therefore No A'. This is a false opposition. For example, A: It is important to talk to a specific (similar) Political Party. Answer: No A'; It is seriously harmful for us to talk to any political party, especially those that talk to the opposition.

- Make explicit and agree a person that assumes the role of pointing out the problems that appear and that are linked with interaction at moments when the discussion gets stuck
- Treat each problem independently.

ADDITIVE

When an idea or contribution is followed by another without opposition

Additive interaction enables the observation of parallel processing in the group. Several ideas circulate without them being in opposition.

- Help solve various types of problems, characteristic of a first phase of creative thinking.

MULTIPLICATIVE

When contributions cause other contributions that improve them

A person presents an idea that causes the appearance of another idea in another person that would have not appeared without the existence of the first. Multiplicative interaction causes the group to be more than the sum of individuals.

- Better in horizontal groups. It requires intelligent listening, hypothetical thinking, and temporal sacrifice of leadership.

Structure and Leadership

Leader and Power

It is usual to relate leadership jobs with power, especially when the leadership role is not specified but works “in the shadow”, when there is not an agreed structure, and we move inside the logic of “tyranny of lack of structures” .

However, when people recognize the value and capacity of others in particular moments, on concrete issues, in specific tasks, in talents and abilities, in emotional skills (in anything that the other knows), and considers the other as someone from whom to learn and who can teach us how to grow, then we have a relationship of authority recognition.

Authority, unlike power, works between people given that someone recognizes it in you, or that you recognize it in another. Someone of recognized authority that does not have power can help grow, make people more able of choosing and freer. It does not, on the contrary, impose its criteria, manipulate, or subject those who recognize it.

We return to the repeated idea that power (“power over” other people, imposing, subjecting, manipulating, exerting any type of violence...) is not the same as “power with”, which refers to the ability of making a collective, of grouping abilities and knowledge for something.

In order to make people in a group and the former feel comfortable, seen, recognized, and cared for, it is important that authority moves, that roles are not monopolized and stereotyped, that we put forward horizontal leadership, that we create an environment of trust and non-forced acceptance, and that each person can express him/herself from their singularity and looking after the relationship with others.

Leader or Leadership?

These terms have worked as synonyms for a long time and generated confusion. This indicates a deep-rooted vertical culture. If we consider leader and leadership as the same thing, we place power in a fixed place and in a single person. Practicing horizontality forces us to distinguish between both terms.

The role of leadership is inseparable from groups, in other words, all groups need action instructions, simply because it is impossible for everyone to act simultaneously. Once the role of leadership is solved through the leader, he/she will decide on the majority of instructions for action. However, the leadership role can be solved in other ways such as through rotation, factions, members’ bodies, the assembly, habits, or collective building.

Leadership behaviours are those that regulate the groups’ action and, therefore, can be extremely varied. Following are some of the most relevant:

- Convene meetings
- Forming the group
- Successfully putting forward actions and projects
- Make take decisions
- Assess others' proposals
- Reinforce and punish others' behaviour
- Veto decisions
- Design the meeting's minutes
- Solve problems
- Modify the group's structure
- Set tasks
- Motivate people with the group's aims
- Create the group's culture
- Represent the group

Therefore, leadership requires numerous abilities that are rarely (or never) found in a single person. Given that a leader can be anyone who contributes to the group and has the ability and commitment to carry them out with others' support, everyone can be leader in a certain context.

In this line, Starhawk puts forward different types of leadership:

- **Crows:** they see the long-term. They suggest new directions, elaborate plans, develop strategies, foresee problems and needs. They are usually highly influential in the group, normally because the others have not even thought about these problems.
- **Graces:** are aware of the group's energy and are ready to strengthen it. They provide fire to the group: enthusiasm, energy. They want people to feel well, they greet and attract newcomers. They are highly appreciated but they have to reach port with Dragons.
- **Dragons:** keep the group grounded, providing realism and practicality to issues. They protect the group's resources. They provide group security through borders. They can be perceived as spoilsport.
- **Snakes:** pay attention to people's feelings. They notice muttering, gossiping, conflict... They transgress censorship laws. They can win the group's antipathy, but are the ones who undermine individual intents of taking over power. Moreover, the group cannot work avoiding conflicts.
- **Spiders:** are the ones that connect the group. They are the group's spiritual heart. Their role can be gratifying but also exhausting, as they are always in the trespassing of information.

Positive leadership manages obtaining benefits for the rest of the group, either as proposals, obtaining resources, or emotional wellbeing. It is a complex task given that the group confers part of the power to the people exercising it according to individual and collective benefits that they bring.

A last argument that shows the need for multiple leadership is that the group does not need the same type of leadership all the time. For example:

- **The group knows but does not want to.** In other words, there is a lack of motivation or confidence. Leadership would here have to provide the group with participation, support, collaboration, and reinforcement. We would need, above all, socio-emotional abilities.
- **The group wants but does not know.** The group lacks the ability and confidence in itself. Here, leadership would have to reinforce positive willingness to do, explain, clarify, and give specific instructions. These abilities are related with persuasion.
- **The group knows and wants.** Here, the collective is capable and has good willingness. The role of leadership would be to delegate, provide autonomy, trust, guide, suggest, and reinforce the achievements. All are

related with delegating.

• **The group does not know and does not want.** There is lack of security and motivation. The role of the leader would be to guide and direct giving clear and specific instructions, reinforcing small achievements. Guide is the key.

Factors that Increase Leadership

Group members have the tendency to be influenced by some more than by others. The ability to influence the group is a dynamic construction of the group members.

The factors that increase the capacity to influence in the group, far from building a profile, show numerous ways to participate in the leadership role. All these factors interact with each other:

- Specific abilities and knowledge in relation to the group's central aims.
- Capacity to generate initiatives.
- Communicative charisma and capabilities.
- Organizational position.
- Problem solving capacity.
- Conflict resolution position.
- Credibility.
- Wisdom.
- Work.
- Capacity to establish positive affective relations.
- Support from a higher structure.
- The group's time and experience.

A group can make everyone participate more in leadership, even those who do it more. It is easier to increase all members' leadership capacity than to equalize everyone's mutual influences.

A recurrent strategy in many groups, used to increase multiple leadership, has been to lower the activity of the person with greater leadership. This strategy is rarely successful as it usually leaves uncovered the tasks that this person used to carry out. Moreover, it does not substantially alter other's involvement. It is much wiser that the leader strengthens the others' leadership, opening space for them and helping create a multiplicative leadership, even if this also results his/her own increased leadership. Leadership is not zero-sum, everyone can increase their contribution.

Emotions in groups: Emotion-Task Tension

Every human group witnesses social interactions that are, in one way or another, measured through emotions and feelings. Whether pleasant or unpleasant, they play a key role in group interaction and, therefore, in the group's well functioning. Emotions:

- Move us. An example would be the irrational imperatives that we put ourselves in groups, such as "everyone has to like me" or "I have to do everything well".
- Influence interactions and productions. For example, they are at the heart of conflicts and their resolution. Moreover, unspoken emotions fill the group's environment.
- Group sustenance is directly linked to emotions it generates. A group that does not take care of the group's environment is bound to perish. A sad group becomes impotent.

However, reason and emotion are not separate, but closely related.

In any case, it is not as easy to control emotions than our thoughts. We generally have more tools for the latter. In this sense, we have to look for a “greater emotion-greater reason” relation, avoiding the dictatorship of feelings, in other words, avoiding emotions from being the only ones marking the group’s future. It is not logical to be driven only by feelings, which are more difficult to control.

HOW INTELLIGENT GROUPS INVENTED FREE SOFTWARE

The appearance of free software, an alternative operative system to the one offered by translational corporations, perfectly illustrates a social movement’s application of dynamics that characterize intelligent groups. In face of a conflict with the privatization of knowledge that make computers work, groups of programmers altruistically coordinated to generate and perfect an open and collaborative system known as Linux.

They based themselves on Internet’s potential to develop a decentralized working method, with multiple leaderships, sharing and redistributing information, inclusiveness, summative and multiplicative interactions that enabled the maximization and use of knowledge scattered throughout the globe. This cooperative and collectively intelligent exercise has progressively shaped a human community ethic and feeling that is recognized inside a social movement through free culture and universal access to digital goods.

Creations like LINUX challenge the dominant standing of MICROSOFT, social products such as WIKI-PEDIA play down the knowledge hierarchy of institutions such as the British Encyclopaedia. A more intelligent collective interaction and work logic, that has increased its potential since the appearance of Internet, is emerging, and out movements should appropriate it.

Group Phases. Emotion-Task Tension

According to several authors, emotional, relational, and productive group phases can be classified.

We have to take into account that phases are neither stagnant nor linear, that a group can move from one to another, return to the former, have their own rhythm and speeds, remain stagnant in one of them, have particular characteristics of different phases in a given moment, etc. What is important is to observe this group in order to identify useful characteristics to intervene in each phase of the process. Regardless of how we define them, we are interested in exploring keys, such as group participants, to detect the moment in which the group is in, acquire clues on what we know can happen to the group in a given moment, and take steps to assure the aims are met under such circumstances.

BIRTH, BEGINNING

It lacks a coordination system of the collective brain. Roles are progressively allocated. Contrast between initial expectations and what starts to be created.

- it needs to learn how to work together.
- We need to make it become a safe space for everyone. This favours openness, clarity, building trust, the flow of roles, it enables a movement of authority and the start of multiple intelligences. In this sense, it is important that the exchange of roles and multiple leaderships is promoted from the beginning.

IDENTIFICATION, GROWTH, DEVELOPMENT

Emotional explosion and group cohesion take place, at the same time as the task moves to the background. Communication is more open, a common language is created, and conflicts appear. Roles are fixed.

- We redirect the group towards the task (what they have in common).
- We favour interaction, cooperation, shared responsibilities, and collective solutions.
- In many cases, we tackle conflict among the people involved and not openly.
- We work on establishing fluid roles.

MATURING, GROUP COHESION, IDENTITY

This is the phase with greater group cohesion, where the emotion-task becomes effective. If everything worked correctly, emotion and task will be in equilibrium.

- We can start analysis, the most difficult tasks, and the most complex assessments, suggest ways forward, acknowledge errors...
- We seek creativity to advance as a group until the end, maintenance without exhaustion or regeneration
- We have to notice signs of tiredness or exhaustion.

CLOSE

If the group is created to carry out a specific task, it should be clear when it is reached or when it is rejected. It is important to internalize it.

- A festive and strongly emotional end will help to establish personal and collective changes.
- People have to be aware of the achieved goals.
- It is important to provide space for meaningful assessment and expression.

Meetings and Assemblies: Chairing Meetings

It is not easy to correctly moderate a meeting. Following is a short guide that can be useful to use directly:



Subjective Communication

Key ideas:

- “Objective communication” does not exist. Each person applies a filter built upon our knowledge, prior experiences, values, education, etc.
- Great part of what we communicate is NOT said, it is DONE. This is nonverbal and paraverbal communication.
- Not everyone can, wants, or has to participate in everything. This can result in saturation or ineffectiveness.
- When we discuss, we debate ideas, not people. We have to try to not be driven by personal disputes.

Types of Thinking. There are several types and it is important not to mix them.

Here are some of them:

- Creative Thinking. To launch ideas
- Critical Thinking. To critically assess ideas
- Operational Thinking. To put ideas into practice

It is necessary to know that we all enjoy being recognized for what we say. We are social beings that seek collective significance. This is not bad; it is good, as long as we do not overrun the significance of others. We frequently achieve significance through critical thinking, which is easier to generate. Therefore, without noticing, we tend to criticise. Criticism is not bad as long as: it is the moment for criticism, and we have also taken into account positive aspects and possibilities of the idea we are going to criticise.

Types of Issues in a Session. It is necessary to know this in order to avoid an informative moment, where there is nothing to say, become an eternal debate, for example. Some types of moments are:

- Informative: We only inform and there is time for Q&A.
- Consultative: We gather ideas on an issue, but there is no need to reach an agreement.
- Decisive: Here we have to make a decision. Moderation has to help find consensus.
- Formative: To form ourselves. Here is where we can find greater diversity of opinions. Agreement is normally not necessary.

How to Chair

First, the chair’s performance is not automatic; it will intervene when the group asks for it or when there are several people that want to talk.

Second, chairing will take place together with the person that is carrying out the training. They will be in constant communication to know when a debate is appropriate and when not.

Chairing is: ASKING, RECOLLECTING, SYNTHESYSING. So the chair:

- Has to be central in the meeting, not only in terms of organization. Therefore, from the start of

the session, everyone must know who he/she is.

- Has to manage that all issues we want to cover are covered in the correct timing. Therefore, he/she has to know, and let the group know, how much time there is for each debate.
- When approaching the issues, he/she has to order them in such a way that we tackle them one by one and we close a subject before moving on to the next one.
- Has to make efficiency, participation and cordial relations predominant.
- Has to help everyone to express themselves, for example, inviting participants that have not yet spoken to give their opinion. In this sense, he/she will manage and respect the floor (although it is not a problem if someone intervenes in a precise moment).
- Has to avoid repetitions.
- Has to try to make us listen to each other, for example, stopping discussions between two people and looking after forms.
- Has to limit the time of interventions.
- Has to try to make people assign responsibilities for themselves in the tasks that appear.
- Has to use warm tones and favour active listening.

When reaching consensus, when this is necessary (as well as the former which is still in force), the chair has to:

- Clearly define the procedure that is going to be carried out (it is generally preferred to have a time for proposals, a time for discussion, and a time for decisions).
- Point out proposals.
- Synthesise proposals in search for consensus. In sensitive issues, this consensus will be through unanimity. However, in many secondary issues, it would be enough if minority positions give in to wider accepted ones.
- Once consensus is reached, he/she will have to synthesize the agreement, confirming that everyone understands it and approves it.

The **GROUP'S SUPPORT IS ESSENTIAL**, for all this. The group has temporarily granted authority to the chair.

The group's support is also visible in the way it self-moderates and contains. This is basic for the group to listen to itself.

At the same time it is necessary that chairing rotates so everyone learns and acquires confidence, and so everyone understands the difficulties of chairing (thereby respecting the chair in other occasions).

Finally, the chair can use techniques that favour participation such as:

- Silences: Leave space for silences of some minutes before opening the floor for debate. In this way, everyone can think about what they want to say and wider participation is easier.
- Whispering: Small group conversations between 2-3 people before the discussion favour the creation of previous ideas and avoid more shyness to speak.
- Rounds of opinion: So everyone can give their opinion on something.
- Creating discussion groups: In the case that, for example, there are several issues to discuss.
- Avoid a main discussion. In other words, the trainer should answer to each intervention.

Exercise/Practice

Think about your reference group.

- What types of interaction are present in the group? Which ones are more predominant?

Write three tools, techniques that you would apply to minimize systematic opposition and false opposition, and to favour multiplicative interaction.

Interactions	Tools

- What types of motivations do you identify in your reference group?

Write three tools or techniques so everyone has space for social significance and to avoid power struggles.

Motivations	Tools



•What types of leadership do you observe in your reference group?

Write three tools or techniques that create multiple and rotary leadership without losing efficiency.

Leaderships	Tools

STRATEGY: SMALL STEPS AND LONG-TERM PLANNING*

* Tomas Villasante (2006): Desbordes creativos. Estilos y estrategias para la transformación social. Ed. Catarata Madrid. Saul Alinsky (2012): Tratado para radicales. *Manual para revolucionarios pragmáticos*. Ed. Traficantes de Sueños y Ernesto Ganuza, Pablo Paño, Luz Buitrago, Lucrecia Olivari y Concha Lorenzana (2010): La democracia en acción. Una visión desde las metodologías participativas. Ed Antígoga.

This section intends to transmit a series of useful tools for the practical design of protest campaigns in a participative way, making the most out of limited spaces of time. These formulae are useful to plan our campaigns from the application of a series of work techniques, directed to facilitate reflection as well as decision-making. A strategy should always take into account an analysis of capabilities, of the main actors involved in the process, as well as a temporal plan of the main interventions and actions we are going to develop. Strategic thinking has to combine analytical and imaginative capabilities, the most rational with the creative thinking.

One of the features that this group of techniques share is that they combine collective reflection with joint visualization of information, which is registered in big papers in such a way that generated information is simultaneously visible. This visualization creates an attention focus for the group, decisively helping to follow contributions, discussions... It is a representation of the contributions that the group recognizes as its own, at the same time as it generates greater motivation and participation.

Planning must be used to design a roadmap that guides the totality of our interventions in the desired direction. Having a plan is a great advantage, as long as we enjoy sufficient flexibility to assume that reality will constantly exceed our forecasts. This is why we should plan leaving space for improvisation and fate as part of our strategy.

Power is a social relation

A superficial look on power relations would conclude that it is localized in specific spheres or institutions, or that it resides in social figures that possess it and can unilaterally exercise it. In contrast with this limited approach, recognizing the existence of actors that garner greater power, reality is that there is a wide plurality of actors that show how power is disseminated throughout society. The strength of power lies in its capacity to alienate and orient in a specific direction the plurality of actors that sustain it, in favour of a political project or social model.

- Financial and business system, global and local.
- International institutions (UN, OECD, UNESCO...).
- Political system
- Army and security forces
- Mass media
- Education system, scientific and cultural institutions.
- Civil service and professional associations.
- Religions

Conflicts of interest between different social groups are constant throughout history, therefore the most influential actors have generally been able to shape a legal and institutional network that enables them to protect their interests, naturalizing their authority. Nonviolent social struggles try to weaken those pillars of support removing the collaborative capacity of people therein. Pillars of support are made up by people that do not subscribe to the monolithic structure of power dictates. Disobedience and non-collaboration

try to drive the population to cease supporting and legitimizing unjust social structures. This localization, seduction, and organization of potential allies becomes one of the keys to success for any nonviolent campaign.

Pillars of Support

Each political regime is sustained on preferred pillars, and on other less stable ones. Questioning ourselves on the foundations of the structures that we intend to confront is essential for any campaign in order to deploy a strategy that will weaken their pillars and strengthen ours.

Pillars of Support REGIME	Pillars of Support CAMPAIGN
What are the regime's main pillars of support?	What are the essential pillars for our movement's survival?
What external support does it receive?	What support or similarity do we find among the regime's main pillars of support?
What is loyalty from those who work for these institutions and social organizations based on?	How can we approach these people? What are the main reasons why these individuals follow the government?

Stories of Disobedience

In order to engage in collective action, people have to overcome barriers that prevent them from doing so (fear, apathy, inertia, loneliness, risks, effort...), for which they need to perceive positive stimuli that leads them to join (urgency, relevance, having something to contribute to, solidarity, justice of demands...). Those who finally decide to get involved in collective action, seek a mix of individual incentives (those received when getting involved and benefits derived from achieving aims...) and collective incentives (sense of social justice, belonging, common identity, shared commitments...).

Thinking collectively on these issues can be useful to facilitate mutual help dynamics in our campaigns and movements, facilitating moreover the incorporation of new people and making our movements more welcoming. Resources such as our stories, short movies... can be useful to introduce these kinds of debates.

MONJEYS

A story that is being shared on Internet narrates an experiment in which several monkeys are put into a pit where they are not fed sufficiently. At the centre of the pit there are some stairs that monkeys use for playing. After some days and as hunger increases, a bunch of bananas is placed at the end of the stairs. Immediately, one of the monkeys starts climbing to reach them, and in that moment they are showered with ice-cold water.

Obviously, the monkey ceases to climb. They will never be tortured again. It will not be necessary. With empty stomachs, they longingly observe the bund of bananas that hang from the stairs, but none of them will dare to climb knowing what they have to expect in doing so. After some days, one of the monkeys is taken out from the pit and is substituted by another one who does not know the story. This one sees the bunch of bananas and runs towards them. Before reaching the stairs, the other monkeys jump on it and make it desist.

From that moment on, the new monkey adopts the same behaviour as the others in relation to the bananas, although for different reasons: the majority out of fear from the cold shower, the individual out of fear from the others' reaction.

After some days, another veteran monkey is substituted by a new one. This one immediately runs towards the bananas and the group jumps on it. It turns out that the most diligent one is the one that does not even know why he is attacking. In this way, progressively, monkeys are substituted by other monkeys, with a succession of puzzled arrivals, a succession of intents to reach the bananas by the newcomer, and a succession of beating. Eventually, none of the first monkeys that were showered with ice-cold water remain. None of them try to reach for the bananas. Hungry, they wander around the pit, occasionally looking at the bananas as something unreachable. Probably, after some time, they will not even see them.

Where are our bananas? What things are available to us but we renounce to them thinking that they are impossible without knowing the exact reason for this? What economic, social, environmental, or personal aims have become as impossible as a bunch of bananas?

Detecting Political Opportunities To Break Step

Social transformation dynamics are not a result of socioeconomic determinations or objective conditions. Nor are they a result of chance or spontaneous arbitrary efforts. Collective action activates processes of change in the framework of complex realities (systems of parties, laws, social control techniques, repression, shifts in political alliances, elite conflicts, execution of pending reforms...) that define a particular structure of political opportunity on which to intervene.

Once collective action starts developing, if sustained over time with significant support, it is foreseeable that it will produce changes in power structure alienations. It seems difficult to value the direct impact of mobilization, but it is possible to detect shifts in our opponents' positions and analyze the opening produced in the opportunity structure, the situational changes.



Symptoms, changes, alignments, power	Impact in our campaign's frame	Increase of opportunities
Openness to new actors' participation.		
Relevant actors that shift positions (politicians, judges, police syndicates, religions, professional associations...).		
Availability of potential influential allies.		
Shifts in powerful coalitions.		

SWOT, what do I have? What do I need?

We collectively carry out an analysis that enables us to balance our project and actions' intentions with the available capabilities to act. A form of systematizing available resources and relating them with our desired aims, in a way that they become almost achievable, can satisfy expectations and prevent the frustration that derived from fixing ambitious aims and not meeting them.

This exercise enables us to carry out a self-diagnosis on the abilities we possess (knowledge, contacts, experience...) and the resources that we are able to mobilize (material, economic...). Resources and capabilities of similar networks that we can mobilize are of great help, although it is convenient not to over-value or make extensive use of them, as they depend on established reciprocity relations.

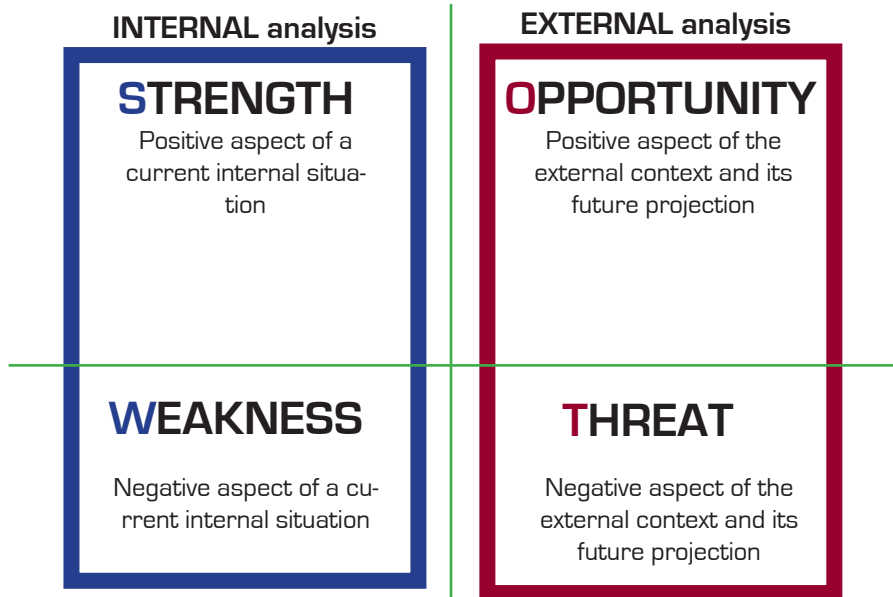
Thinking about applying these techniques to the design of campaigns, it is important to highlight the three main variables on which we should question ourselves: human resources (number of people engaged in the different tasks of the campaign or that support it, available knowledge, contact networks...), material resources (funds, locals, materials, infrastructure, properties...) and time (periods, dates, time we dedicate to the campaign...). It should be noted that these three variables are interdependent, in other words, the development of one of them positively affects the other two and vice versa, a crisis in one of them normally negatively affects the other two. An example of this would be how, when expanding the social base of a movement, possibilities on the time we can dedicate increase, as well as access to knowledge, contacts, and possibility of increasing our material resources.

SWOT:

This technique gets its name from the acronym of the main Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats which it analyses in relation to what our movement or campaign disposes. Weaknesses and strengths would refer to those internal issues that are currently present. However, threats and opportunities would refer to aspects related to the environment or context and that can condition the future development

of our initiatives depending on how they are managed.


Diagnosis of the current situation



Strength	Opportunity
What are our advantages? What are we doing well? What are our available resources? What are our strengths as perceived by others?	Where are the positive opportunities presented to us? What positive trends do we know? Do we have any potential allies in our environment?
Weakness	Threat
What can we improve? What do we do wrong? What should we avoid?	What obstacles do we face? What is our adversary doing? Could weaknesses threaten our movement?

WHAT DO I HAVE? WHAT DO I NEED?:

This exercise is similar but more limited to the variables that we want to analyze, resulting more functional for workshops in which we have less time to dedicate to the analysis of our resources and capabilities.



	Human Resources...	Material Resources...	Time
What do I have?			
What do I need?			

Analysis of Actors and Networks

As we already saw in the section on theory of power, this is found in an ample and diverse plurality of actors in constant interaction. Reducing reality to an outline of friends and enemies makes it difficult to identify this constellation of individual and collective subjects whose influence is partial and whose positions are not as defined. This constellation is over which our campaigns should act to foster realignments and position shifts to favour achieving our aims. Adopting this view implies conceiving any campaign's strategic planning as including a reflexion on the main actors that intervene in our conflict, as well as the way in which they relate to each other. Mapping actors will help us define how we will move, it enables us to define and direct our actions in the most appropriate way, taking into account the complex circumstances.

When thinking about involved or involvable actors in our strategy, we should manage our knowledge and relations from a multi-level perspective (local, regional, at the level of the state, global...). In doing so, we will always be aware of the constant interaction between these levels in order to define a complete map in which we do not forget possible allies or competitors.

Pyramid of Actors

Level 1: High Leadership. Highly visible military/political/religious/economic leaders

Level 2: Medium Leadership. Sector-base respected leaders: businessmen, leaders of NGO, religious/ethnic leaders, academics/intellectuals, humanitarian

Level 3: Base Leadership. Local leaders, local NGO leaders, development agents, local health authorities, refugee camp leaders

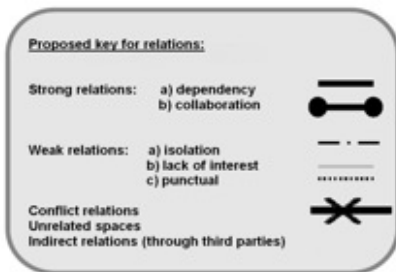
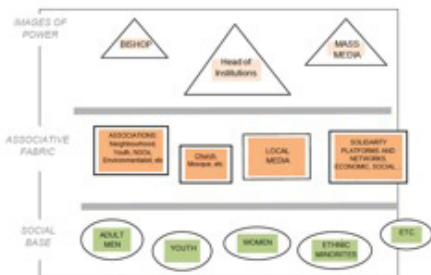


Notes to take into account when analyzing actors involved in a conflict:

- How do the parties perceive themselves
- How do parties perceive “the others”
- How do parties perceive the conflict
- How do parties perceive their aims
- [The result of the conflict]
- How do parties perceive their strategy
- [How to achieve the aims]
- How do parties perceive you

Sociograma

A tool that enables us to graphically represent social relations present in a given moment, between a group of actors, with the intent of transforming the situation. This resource enables us to observe the intensity of relations [weak, strong, directions of influence...], density [actors with greater number of relations, those that are articulated in different constellations of actors...], existent conflicts or isolated actors.

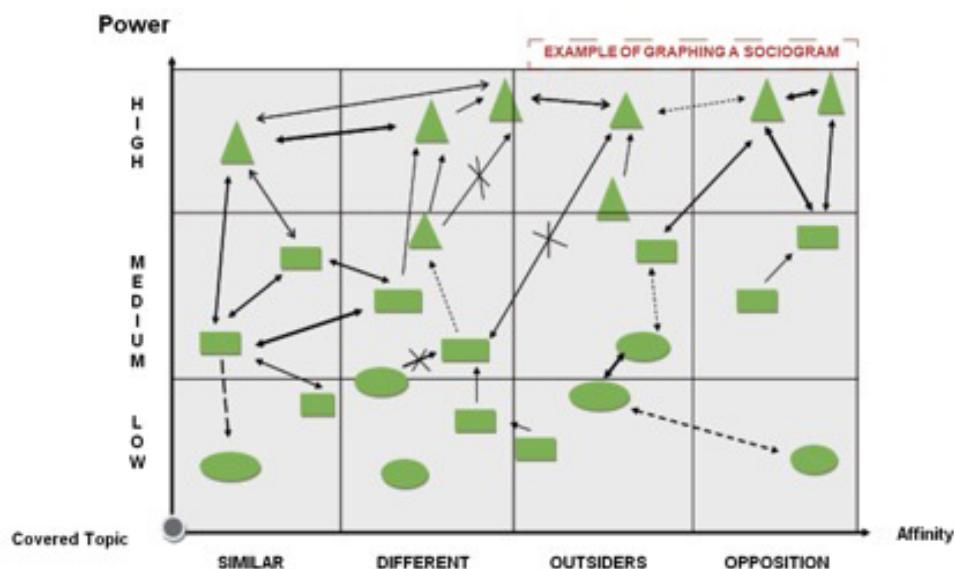


Designing a sociogram required that we collectively define a way of representing different actors, for which different typologies are proposed associated with geometric figures. Generally, triangles represent institutional or powerful actors, rectangles represent organized social actors, and circles represent non organized population sectors or informal networks that are relevant in the process. As well as reaching consensus on the figures that represent actors, we have to do the same to define the way in which existing relations between actors will be represented.

We will need a big sheet of paper that will enable us to visualize the graphic representation that we are going to draw. To begin, we will hand out papers with different geometric shapes where people start writing the name of the main actors, or we do so directing through a group brainstorming.

The idea is to reach an agreement on the list of main actors which are affected by our campaign, to then position them in the collective discussion inside a coordination axis whose vertical line would be power and influence, and whose horizontal line would be the degree of affinity with our position [similar, different, outsiders, and opposition].

It is convenient to map relevant actors in detail but controlling it is not in excess, as a representation of too big groups would make the comprehension and the utility of the map itself difficult.

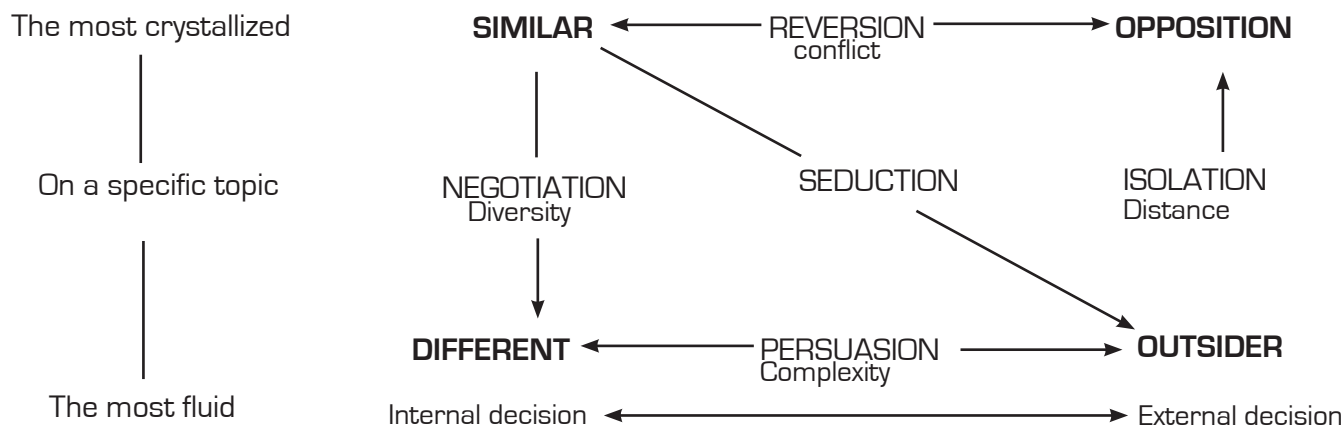


Once having positioned actors inside the axis, we move on to represent the way in which relations are established between them [intensity, direction, conflict,...]. Here, we take into account our campaign or the issues we are going to cover, more than generic relations. In this way, we obtain a map that enables us to identify spaces of alliance in which we find actors that support us, actors that we have to incorporate into the process, conflicts that we should unlock, the way in which opposites create groups, groups that bridge different networks, the importance of weak links...

The sociogram results in a fixed image of the problem, that will change as the process progresses, as dy-

namics of social change have to be translated into the rules of relation between different actors. Drawing up a sociogram every once in a while, enables us to visualize these transformations, which means that the base can module and update our strategy.

Analysing networks is essential to set our main strategic lines. When defining these master lines, it is convenient to take into account the teachings of a popular educator, Paulo Freire, who put forward that every strategy should aim at strengthening the relations with similar social groups in order to generate the widest possible coalitions around our position, negotiate with the different, seduce outsiders, and try to isolate opposition. This style of work has been adapted by Villasante in the following graph.



Villasante, 2008

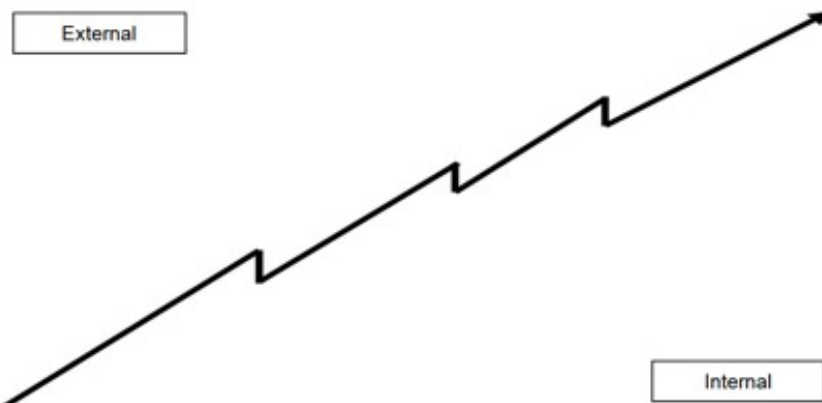
Being on time

The variable of time is one of the key factors to take into account, as we will plan our strategy and shape our agendas in relation to the time frame and key dates that we collectively agree on or that our opposition determine. A campaign is an effort sustained in time, therefore we have to plan how to distribute our efforts and actions throughout the calendar, managing relatively distant deadlines for which we have from six months to one year.

Time is the less renewable of our resources, therefore we have to be realistic and look for the most effective strategy possible, which maximises its benefits and does not waste them. It is essential to carry out a time plan that takes into account the first steps we will carry out, the main dates of action or mobilization, in order to establish a roadmap that enables us to fix deadlines for the tasks that have to be undertaken. Our strategy is essential to guide us, but it is important to remember that in reality our timetable will be in conflict with our opposition's timetable, and it will be subject to modifications deriving from this interaction. Defining a schedule for our campaign will be conditioned by the inclusion of key dates that will establish events throughout the way. Selecting dates is normally related to key moments (elections, passing of laws, eviction dates, an important meeting of our opponents...) or symbolic dates (our commemorations or our opponents' commemorations, world days, days that enable us to connect our proposals with other events...). When starting to plan our times, we can basically choose between two models:

- **From the ant's work to the masses:** a way of thinking about our strategy in an ascending way, starting with less intense actions and interventions that will increase gradually in intensity. This formula enables to increasingly accumulate support and legitimacy, slowly combining internal work and public action. Here we look for moments in which there is an increased tension in confrontation, peaks of higher intensity in this ascending line.

• **Punch on the table:** Starting with a very strong intervention or public action that is publicly projected and attracts attention on our proposals. A dynamic that is conditioned by intense previous organization, and that finds its major difficulties in looking for formulas to sustain the tension in time.



A DATE IS NOT ANY DATE

Power meetings: making the most of the World Trade Organization Summit of 1999 in Seattle, an ample coalition of social movements (syndicates, environmentalists, students, NGOs...) spent around one year organising and spreading the call for a counter-Summit. Tens of thousands of people took part in order to try to stop the summit, in a mobilization that had great media coverage globally, officially starting the beginning of a cycle of protests by the anti-globalization movement.

Commemorations: On the 17th April 1996, 19 farmers from the Landless' Workers Movement while demanding land reform in Brazil. This date is chosen by the international organization Vía Campesina to launch since a decade ago the International Day of Peasants' Struggle.

Anniversaries: In Palestine, on the 15th May, the day of Nakba is remembered, when in 1948 the UN resolution dividing the region between Israel and Palestine came into force, Israel declared its independence, and 70% of the Palestinian population was expelled from their land in one of the major exodus of history.

Symbolic dates: making the most of the End of the World day, according to the Maya calendar, on the 21st December 2012, the Zapatista movement (formed by indigenous people descendants of Mayas that have been two decades fighting for dignity and indigenous rights) organized a silent march of 40,000 people in the municipal centres of Chiapas. Later, they published a statement this simple: To whoever it may concern: Did you hear? It is the sound of your world falling apart. Ours is reviving. The day that was day was the night. And night will be the day that will be day.

Timeline and inverted planning

A very useful tool to temporarily plan our campaigns is to work inversely for a short period of time, starting from the end. The chosen date for a final or symbolically relevant action enables us to go back in time to fix other relevant dates, as well as the rest of activities and tasks that we have to carry out in order to be able to reach our goals on the fixed date.

We inversely manage the calendar, in such a way that we start marking significant dates that fix temporal limits that we mark for ourselves. Then, we fill in previous dates with the tasks that must be fulfilled. It is convenient to break down the intermediate steps and actions, settling tasks as much as possible, assigning persons or groups that commit to their fulfilment. An intelligent planning inversely designs tasks that can be carried out by people with different levels of commitment, taking advantages of time availability and the

intensity of commitment to module our campaign.

Once we have finished our temporal sequence, we will have a value resource to value if we are making the agreed steps in the agreed time frame. Our timeline enables us to contrast what is planned with what is done, giving us a time margin to put forward corrective measures or to redefine the strategy without having to wait till the days before the deadline.

Lights, Camera, Actions

Conflicts of interest between different social groups are constant throughout history. Collective action is the mechanism through which grievances of subordinated social groups are politicised and transferred into the public sphere. Forms adopted by collective action have varied in time due to factors such as technological changes, cultural transformations, or socio-institutional dynamics. Political culture in each place has been constructed through a historical process in which interaction between power and social movements has ended up constituting a repertoire of action. Forms of protest change slowly, in relation to the most effective dynamics for each situation, in order to achieve the planned goals, as avoiding repression and increasing solidarity towards our demands.

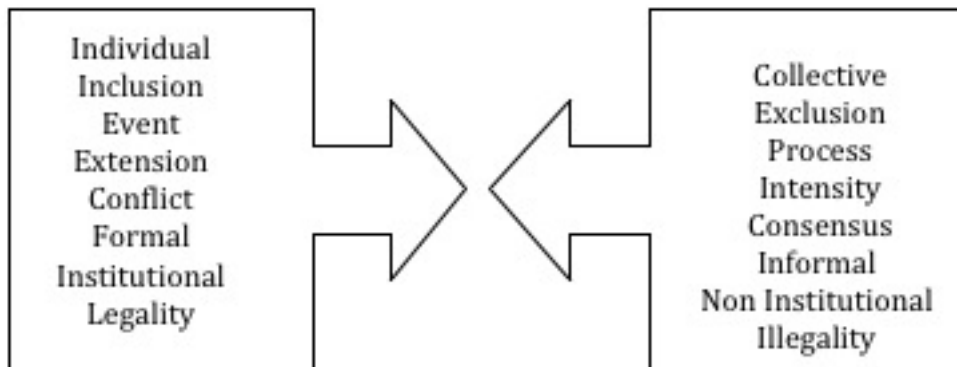
In sum, we can find three types of collective action:

- **Violent action:** Despite ethic issues, these protest formulae are especially persecuted (material and property damage, assassinations, kidnapping...). They normally lack social support and are easily criminalized. They are actions that should be promoted by small groups given the confrontational dynamic that isolates itself from society. It is a way of protest that ends up being exclusive and elitist.
- **Conventional action:** These protest dynamics are based in mobilization routine that seem familiar to the people, are legal or accepted by authorities, and thereby enable the participation of extensive social groups (demonstrations, rallies, strikes...). These actions are part of the cultural heritage of social movements, are known and seem very inclusive, but they lose the factors of surprise, impact, and innovation.
- **Altering established order:** Nonviolent direct action that intends to disrupt the normal functioning of power structures. It includes an ample repertoire of types of protest that break with routine, surprise observers, result attractive to communicate our stories or demands, and sometimes disconcert elites. This repertoire (civil disobedience, sit-ins, occupation of buildings, chaining...) grants tactical advantage to weak actors in face of the powerful, and results relatively inclusive. Altering the order needs of constant innovation as its capacity to surprise fades with time due to repetition or to the knowledge through tactic interaction with police.

Our campaigns should constantly fluctuate between conventional action (massive, known, ritualized...) and altering the established order (disobedience, subversive, disconcerting, innovative...) given that the challenging capacity of our movement will depend, to a great extent, on the number of persons that we have been able to involve, as well as on the social consensus articulated through our propositions and demands. When a conflict is activated, we start always from the situation and from the terms established by oppressors. Our strategy needs to transform that situation and those terms.

In the frame of any campaign, there are a series of recurring tensions that have to be managed through a chance of dynamic equilibrium given that we will never be able to choose one of the extremes.

Moreover, they are issues which we should constantly be aware of as they are never solved conclusively. Furthermore, depending on the situation, we will have to shift our positions in relation to them.



Individual/Collective: Commitment with collective action is individual, although it is framed inside collective strategies. We have to take care of people's participation, that they feel comfortable and that their singularity is identified with the process. Our strategy has to seek a meeting point for the needed individual transformations (values, attitudes, practices...) with the collective transformations (the ones our campaign seeks). Without forgetting the individual, we have to seek organizational and social networking effectiveness and efficiency, looking after group dynamics.

Inclusion/Exclusion: Our strategy has to be vocationally inclusive, recognizing the greatest number of people and social networks in our demands and getting them involved in our actions. We have to remain aware of those social groups that we cannot reach and try to seduce them, without this resulting in an obsession that drives us into practical fruitlessness.

Event/Process: Campaigns are efforts sustained in time, and their strategy should be thought of in the medium term. Our public actions, in which media focuses and which alter the public order, should be framed inside long term processes. Our way should include landmarks, moments in which support is made visible and crystallizes, that are added during the process.

Extension/Intensity: Campaigns should pursue extending participation to the widest and most diverse number of people. This is why they should facilitate varying levels of engagement, from collaboration in a given moment to the essential motor groups, with high levels of activity and responsibility. These activisms at different speeds are incorporated into a shared strategy, and given the nature of voluntary participation, it should be considered from an affirmative position, without reproaches nor requirements.

Conflict/Consensus: Starting a conflict expecting success requires a work to articulate a strong consensus around our demands. Types of protest must seek increased social support through preparing constructive strategies.

Formal/Informal: Our strategy has to dedicate time, effort, and resources to working with consolidated organizations and formal networks, as well as with informal networks that will expand our campaign and increase our social base.

Institutional/Non institutional: Using institutionally established channels to participate and put forward our demands, although we are aware of the inherent limitations that they have, should not close the door

to new forms of non-institutional and more disruptive participation. Although we stress non institutional participation, we should not forget the need to sustain dialogue bridges with institutions in order to solve or achieve recognition for our demands.

Legality/Illegality: Participating in collective action inside the legal framework, eases a wider social implication, although in many cases, in order to make our demands be heard, there is a need to work on the limits of legality. Many actions that today constitute part or a legal action repertoire were illegal in the past. Civil disobedience is a tool that enables legislation to adapt to new times, as it raises a conflict between legitimacy and legality that often ends up causing legislative transformations.

Our repertoire

We have to collectively define the action repertoire that our campaign will use. This reflection should consider debates on the principles and ethics of our organization, as well as more tactical issues such as how to reach our goals with minimum costs (resources, time, efforts...).

Our action repertoire will be a combination of types of action that we have put forward in the past, the ones we are familiar with and that we are able to carry out, as well as those that our opposition expects us to put forward.



Questions	Answers
What actions have we undertaken in the past? Why did we choose them?	
What can we do and what could we do in the future?	
What do others expect us to do?	

S. ALINSKY'S THIRTEEN RULES

- "Power is not only what you have, but what the enemy thinks you have"
- "Never go outside the experience of your people. When an action or a tactic is beyond your people's experience, the result is confusion, fear, and retreat, as well as the collapse of communication".
- "Whenever possible, go outside the expertise of the enemy". Look for ways to cause confusion, fear, and retreat.
- "Make the enemy live up to their own book of rules". You can kill them with this, for they can no more obey their own rules.
- "Ridicule is man's most potent weapon". It is almost impossible to counter attack. Moreover, it infuriates the opposition, which then reacts to your advantage.
- "A good tactic is one that your people enjoy".
- "A tactic that drags on too long becomes a drag". Militant interest can be sustained only for a limited period of time.
- "Keep the pressure on", with different tactics and actions, and utilize all events of the period [of attack] for your purpose.
- "The threat is usually more terrifying than the thing itself"
- "The major premise for tactics is the development of operations that will maintain a constant pressure upon the opposition. It is this unceasing pressure that results in the reactions from the opposition that are essential for the success of the campaign".
- "If you push a negative hard and deep enough it will break through into its counterside. Every positive has its negative".
- "The price of a successful attack is a constructive alternative"
- "Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it, and polarize it". In conflict tactics, there are certain universal rules (that should be taken into account). One of them is that opposition should be isolated and fixed. "Any objective can always say "why are you focusing on me if there are others to blame? When you "fix an objective" you have to dismiss these arguments (which are rational but distracting). Later, when you have isolated and frozen the objective, you carry out your attack. All the "others" appear soon. They are made visible through the way in which they rely on this objective. One acts decisively only under the conviction that all the angels are on one side and all the devils on the other.

Dilemma Actions

Among the different collective actions that can be started by a campaign, normally when you have gathered a lot of social legitimacy and you have encouraged solidarity towards our movement, we can proceed to carry out a public challenge in the form of a dilemma. Our action should be articulated around a theme on which there is a strong social consensus, where socially accepted beliefs and practices contradict prohibitions or government policies. Actions that through practice question the existing contradiction between power assertion and its practices, as well as the existing abysm between specific elite values and those observed by citizens.

In face of dilemma actions, power can be forced to choose between two options that do not benefit it. It is like grabbing a porcupine with your hand, it does not matter how you do it because you will be pricked anyway. Responding to a public challenge by aggravating contradictions and distancing itself from hegemonic social values, or by ignoring it, show weakness. When forcing to power to choose between repression and tolerance on sensitive issues, dilemma actions will be symbolic acts that test the whole system's resistance to reciprocal fear.

It is useful to highlight the way in which successful dilemma actions can lay the foundations for an alternative or parallel institutionalization, as well as trigger new processes of collective action that had not been planned. In general, when analysing campaigns and movements at a later stage, dilemma actions are normally seen as turning points in the story, as historical landmarks.

Designing dilemma actions is a good moment to reflect on the relation between our protest dynamics and the socially hegemonic social values, as well as it being a practical resource that all ambitious protest campaign should prepare in case it has to be carried out. A way of organizing the discussion would be to think, on one hand, on the social hegemonic values in issues related to our campaign. On the other, reflect on power positions towards the same issues. This will open space to think about dilemma actions for those issues for which we observe major divergences.



Social Hegemonic Values	Dilemma Action	Power Positions

Salt March: In Spring 1930, the disobedience campaign started by Gandhi demanding India's independence launched one of the most significant actions in the history of nonviolence. One of the most obvious examples of British colonial domination was the monopoly on salt production and imposed a tax on this basic product (especially for preserves). Until then, anyone was able to produce it taking seawater and leaving it to evaporate on a bowl.

Gandhi launched a 300 Km march that intended to reach the sea to boil water and produce salt. The British confronted the dilemma of imprisoning Gandhi, thereby making activists popular heroes, or not carrying out any action and losing authority and their monopoly over salt production. Finally, a crowd followed by many journalists arrived to the shored of the Indic Ocean and started boiling salt. This massive disobedience challenged colonialism through a symbolic act. The government responded filling jails with 60,000 salt thieves, including Gandhi. The march marked a turning point in India's struggle for independence.

Gdeim Izik Saharan Camp: Several political analysts mark the beginning of the Arab Spring with this camp that was built outside El Ayoun calling for Western Sahara's independence. This settlement started with five tents and reached 7000 in a few days. The Moroccan government had to choose between tolerating this massive protest or repressing it. After a month making demands reach the world and transporting censured Saharan lifestyles to the public space, the camp was dismantled by the Army. This attach resulted in burnt down tents, 150 missing, 10 dead, 700 injured, and 22 young detained.

Bab Al-Shams: In January 2013, Palestinian Nonviolent Popular Resistance Committees decided to put forward the same strategy that Israeli colonizers use when they start new settlements. After Israel's announcement of 4,000 homes for colonizers in an area that would divide the West Bank, the Committees built 20 tents in one night, with 250 people ready to "create" a new Palestinian town in Palestine, a Palestinian Outpost. Leaving the tents there would be unacceptable for Israel, removing them would damage its international image. The tents were removes, the action's implications are very important at a local level (it is seen as a success and pride of Palestinian resistance) and at an international level. The action was repeated two months later at the same time as US President Obama's visit.

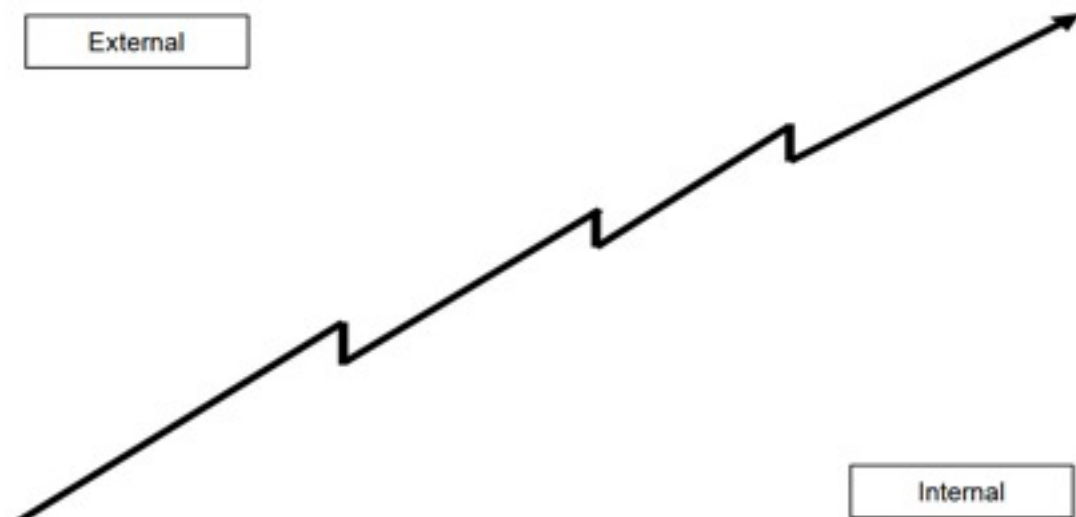
Exercise/Practice

IMPLEMENTATION: A SKELLETON TO MOVE

In biology, the bone structure is serves to enable movement, as well as serving as support for the soft tissue and muscles. Planning any campaign from a strategic point of view implies designing a skeleton that enables us to start moving, knowing that later it should be completed, giving it its body. This proposed activity enables us to design the skeleton of our campaign in a creative, fun, and participatory way.

Using a large piece of paper, we draw a line as the one below. The date would be a temporal axis that enables us to divide the sheet into two. On the top, we will include external interventions, and on the bottom, internal interventions towards the movement or campaign. These areas can be used to position the main actors that we have identified in our sociogram, and it would be moreover useful to have the SWOT of our campaign in order to be realistic and pragmatic.

Having incorporated the actors, we have to debate on different types of interventions (public, institutional, social, communicative, and reflexive actions). Each of them is represented with tokens in order to fix the proposals we would make in the frame of out campaign for these different tokens. Later we will incorporate the date in time of the different tokens, in such a way that we obtain a coherent sequence of the main interventions in the scope of our campaign. We have to take into account that the rising arrow symbolizes the increased intensity of actions. This technique enables us to carry out a general planning that should then be detailed in order to be executed in practice.





ACTIONS (2+1)

Collective action held in public spaces, protests... We have to conceive one of them as a dilemma action



COMMUNICATIVE INTERVENTION (4)

Actions carried out to communicate our discourses, demands, claims... and sustain our social bases' mobilization. An internal communication, inside the movement, and an external communication, intended to convince or seduce public opinion. Each communication needs of specific messages...



REFLEXIVE MOMENTS (2)

Spaces to think collectively, assess steps taken, value strategy in order to redefine it, try to foresee the consequences of our initiatives...



SOCIAL INTERVENTION (4)

Spaces intended to expand, consolidate and strengthen our social base: work with affected collectives, groups of mutual support, popular solidarity initiatives...



INSTITUTIONAL INTERVENTION (2)

Take advantage of existing formal participation channels in order to put forward normative amendments, legislative citizens' initiatives, popular consultation... Transfer some of our campaign elements to the institutional sphere.



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