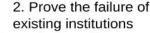# Eight stages of the process of social movement success

1. Normal Times

- A critical social problem exists that violates widely held values;
- Powerholders support problem: Their "Official Policies" tout widely held values, but the "Operating Policies" violate those values;
- Public is unaware of the problem and supports powerholders;
- Problem/policies not a public issue

2. Prove the failure of existing institutions

- Many new local opposition groups;
- Use official channels - courts, government offices, commissions, hearings, etc. - to prove they don't work;
- Become experts; do research

3. Ripening conditions

- Recognition of problem and victims grows;
- Public sees victim's faces;
- More active local groups;
- Need pre-existing institutions and networks available to new movement;
- 20 to 30 percent of public opposes powerholder policies

4. Take off!

- TRIGGER EVENT;
- Dramatic nonviolent actions/campaigns;
- Actions show public that conditions and policies violate widely held values;
- Nonviolent actions repeated around country; Problem put on the social agenda;
- New social movement rapidly takes off;
- 40 percent of public opposes current policies/conditions

PROTESTS

POWERHOLDERS

5. Perception of failure

- See goals unachieved;
- See powerholders unchanged;
- See numbers down at demonstrations;
-- Despair, hopelessness, burnout, dropout, seems movement ended;
- Emergence of negative rebel

Characteristics of movement process

- Social movements are composed of many sub-goals and sub-movements, each in their own MAP stage;
- Strategy and tactics are different for each sub-movement, according to the MAP stage each is in;
- Keep advancing sub-movements through the eight stages;
- Each sub-movement is focused on a specific goal (e.g.for civil rights movements: restaurants, voting, public accomodation);
- All of the sub-movements promote the same paradigm shift (e.g. shift from hard to soft energy policy)

Public must be convinced three times:

1. That there is a problem (stage four);
2. To oppose current conditions and policies (Stages four, six and seven);
3. To want - and not fear - alternatives (stages six and seven)

6. Majority public opinion

- Majority oppose present conditions and powerholder policies;
- Show how the problem and policies affect all sectors of society;
- Involve mainstream citizens and institutions in addressing the problem;
- Problem put on the political agenda;
- Promote alternatives;
- Counter each new powerholder strategy;
- Demonology: Powerholders promote public's fear of alternatives and activism;
- Promote a paradigm shift, not just reforms;
- Re-trigger events happen, re-enacting stage four for a short period

8. Continuing the struggle

- Extend successes (e.g. even stronger civil rights laws);
- Oppose attempts at backlash;
- Promote paradigm shift;
- Recognise/celebrate successes so far

7. Success!

- Large majority oppose policies and no longer fear alternatives;
- Many powerholders split off and change positions;
- End-game process: Powerholders change policies (it's more costly to continue old policies than to change), are voted out of office, or slow, invisible attrition;
- New laws and policies;
- Powerholders try to make minimal reforms while movement demands social change

Quelle: War Resisters International, http://www.wri-irg.org/node/23290