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Appendix, Bibliography & Index

Appendix:

Summary of Factors Determining the Outcome of Nonviolent Struggles

The factors which determine the outcome of nonviolent struggles may be grouped in four classes: the factors associated with the social system, the opponent group, third parties and the nonviolent group. Those associated with the social situation are the most stable ones, within the limitations of which nonviolent action must usually operate. Long-run changes in these are possible, but within the time span of a nonviolent action struggle they cannot be relied upon, except in certain circumstances (item A.4, below). The remaining factors in the other three groups are mostly highly variable during the course of the struggle. The very nature of the dynamics of nonviolent action not only depends upon such changes but produces them, probably to a much greater degree than in comparable violent struggles. Almost all of these will constantly vary during the struggle; the only question is whether the changes will strengthen relatively the nonviolent actionists or their opponent.

A. *Factors in the social situation.*

1. The degree of conflict of interest between the two groups.
2. The social distance between the groups.

3. The degree to which beliefs and norms are shared by the two groups.
4. The degree to which the grievance group (and in some cases the opponent group) consists of atomized individuals with most social and political power concentrated in a center, or of social groups and institutions (*loci* of power) capable of wielding and withholding power.

B. *Factors associated with the opponent group.*

1. The degree to which the opponent is dependent for his sources of power upon those withdrawing their cooperation and obedience.
2. The degree of noncompliance which the opponent can tolerate without his position being seriously endangered; the less nonconformity and dissent normally allowed, the greater challenge it will be when it does occur.
3. The degree to which the opponent and the opponent's usual supporters are convinced of the rightness of their views and policies and/or their necessity in the situation.
4. The degree of conviction among the opponent and his usual supporters in the rightness of and justification for the means of repression used against the nonviolent actionists.
5. The means of control, including repression, which the opponent may use in an effort to defeat the nonviolent challenge.
6. How long the opponent can continue to maintain his position and power in face of the nonviolent action.
7. The degree to which the opponent's agents of repression, administrators and other aides serve him efficiently or refrain from doing so, whether by deliberate inefficiency or by mutiny.
8. The degree and type of support or opposition within the opponent group for the opponent's policy and repression of the nonviolent group; this refers to the general population as distinguished from special agents, aides, etc.
9. The opponent's estimate of the future course of the movement, the chances of victory or defeat, and the consequences of either.

C. *Factors associated with third parties.*

1. The degree to which third parties become sympathetic to either the opponent or the nonviolent group.
2. The degree to which the opinions and good will of third parties are important to the opponent and to the nonviolent group respectively.
3. The degree to which third parties move from a noninvolved position to active support for, or to noncooperation with, or obstruction of, either of the contending groups.
4. The degree to which either of the contending groups will be assisted by such support or hindered by such noncooperation or obstruction.

D. *Factors associated with the nonviolent group.*

1. The opportunity and ability to organize nonviolent action *or* to act spontaneously on a group level in accordance with the requirements of nonviolent action.
2. The degree to which the nonviolent actionists and the general grievance group are convinced of the rightness of their cause.
3. The degree of confidence in nonviolent action among the nonviolent

actionists and the general grievance group.

4. The choice of the methods of nonviolent action, especially whether these are symbolic or involve noncooperation and intervention, and whether they are within the capacity of the nonviolent actionists.
5. The degree of soundness of the strategy and tactics chosen or accepted for the struggle.
6. Whether the demands of the nonviolent group are within their capacity to achieve them.
7. The relative ability of the nonviolent actionists to practise the technique as influenced, for example, by their past experience or their understanding of it.
8. The degree of voluntarily accepted discipline within the nonviolent group, so that the plans are carried out effectively, with a maximum of clarity and unity of action.
9. The numbers of nonviolent actionists, seen within the context of the quality of the movement and the mechanism by which change is sought.
10. The degree to which the nonviolent actionists are aided or hindered by the general grievance group, on whose behalf they may be acting.
11. The balance between the degree of terror the opponent is able and willing to use and the degree of determination to act (regardless of sanctions), due to fearlessness, courage or willingness to accept suffering as the price of change.
12. The length of time that the nonviolent actionists are able and willing to continue their course of action.
13. The ability of the nonviolent actionists to keep the struggle nonviolent.
14. The capacity of the nonviolent actionists to maintain openness and nonsecretiveness in their actions in normal circumstances.
15. The presence and quality of some type of effective leadership, formal or informal, or the ability of the actionists to act with unity, and discipline, and wisely chosen strategy, tactics and methods without a significant distinguishable leadership group.
16. The degree to which the nonviolent actionists can demonstrate the attitudes and actions which may help convert the opponent.
17. The degree to which the nonviolent actionists and the general grievance group control their own sources of power or to which these are subject to control by the opponent.

Most of these factors, especially in the last three groups, it is emphasized once again, are potentially subject to considerable and constant variation during the course of the nonviolent action struggle. The outcome is then determined by the direction and extent of these changes. The degree to which these factors, directly or indirectly, are subject to the control of the members of the grievance group is disproportionately high in nonviolent action as compared with the factors influencing the outcome of struggles using violent techniques.

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