Notes

1 Founded in 2003 and headquartered in Belgrade, the Centre for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategies (CANVAS) is run by Slobodan Djinovic and Srdja Popovic. It operates a network of international trainers and consultants with experience in successful democratic movements. Visit the website at https://canvasopedia.org.


3 Our team of researchers included Madison Ambrose, Katrina Burka, Suzanna Maize, Julio Pardo, and Channalyn Tek.


7 Popovic, “Guide to Effective Nonviolent Struggle.”

8 The Yes Men is a group that has worked “with activist orgs and university groups. Before that, we were more like lone vigilantes.” Learn more about them on their website, http://theyesmen.org.


10 For a more detailed account of this, see my book: Srdja Popovic, Blueprint for Revolution (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2015), 37–40.


29 The question “Did it attract media attention?” could be construed as a sort of selection bias because if the dilemma action did not gain media attention, the case would not be known (therefore the success percentage for this question is understandably high).

30 Due to the categorical nature of binary statistics, the question “Did the dilemma action reduce the risk of severe punishment to
activists, or in cases of an oppressive response by authority, make the punishment backfire?” is particularly skewed to configure an exact answer, as the outcome varies in nature. Still, we measured this by determining the severity of the punishment. If that was still N/A, we looked at whether the oppressive answer to the activists backfired.

31 For these data, see Erica Chenoweth and Christopher Wiley Shay, “List of Campaigns in NAVCO 1.3” (Harvard Dataverse, 2020), https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/ON9XND.

32 If you want more examples of dilemma actions, you can also look at the Global Nonviolent Action Database (https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu), which offers free access to hundreds of completed examples of nonviolent action. All of this work by activists offers inspiration for your nonviolent actions for democracy. We may emphasize slightly different tactics, but all theories of dilemma actions have a common thread: force the government to be stuck in a dilemma where if they do nothing to stop the protesters, they look bad, and if they intervene, they look even worse.
