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 real "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 Official 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 victim 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

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

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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 accommodation)
- 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, Seven)
3. To want, no longer fear, alternatives (Stages Six, 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, reenacting Stage Four for a short period

7. Success
- Large majority oppose current policies and no longer fear alternative
- 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

8. Continuing the Struggle
- Extend successes (e.g., even stronger civil rights laws)
- Oppose attempts at backlash
- Promote paradigm shift
- Focus on other sub-issues
- Recognize/celebrate successes so far

• Focus more on other sub-goals • Spin off new social movements

Moyer, B. (2001). *Doing democracy: The MAP model for organizing social movements*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers