



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>.

2 Srdja Popovic et al., “A Guide to Effective Nonviolent Struggle,” CANVAS Core Curriculum (2007), <https://canvasopedia.org/project/canvas-core-curriculum/>.

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

4 Ronald Reagan, “Inaugural Address” (California Gubernatorial Inauguration, January 5, 1967), <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/01051967a>.

5 Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

6 David Robson, “The ‘3.5% rule’: How a Small Minority Can Change the World,” *BBC News* (May 13, 2019), <https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20190513-it-only-takes-35-of-people-to-change-the-world>.

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>.

9 Stephen Holden, “All Suited Up for Mischief, to Rumble Stuffed Shirts,” *New York Times*, October 6, 2009, <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/07/movies/07yes.html>.

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

11 “Myanmar Parties in Dispute over Bamboo Hat,” *Reuter*, July 2, 2010, <https://www.reuters.com/article/oukoe-uk-myanmar-politics-hat-idUKTRE6611DC20100702>.

12 Véronique Dudouet, “Nonviolent Resistance in Power Asymmetries,” in *Advancing Conflict Transformation: The Berghof Handbook II*, ed. Beatrix Austin, Martina Fischer, and Hans J. Giessmann (Opladen: Barbara Budrich, 2011), https://www.berghof-foundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Handbook/Articles/dudouet_handbookII.pdf.

13 Tara John. “Evan Mawarire, Pastor behind Zimbabwe’s #ThisFlag Protest Movement, Denied Bail,” *Time*, February 4, 2017, <https://time.com/4659284/evan-mawarie-zimbabwe-this-flag-bail-denied>.

14 Cristina Rodriguez et al, “Holograms for Freedom,” *Docubase* (MIT, 2015), <https://docubase.mit.edu/project/holograms-for-freedom>.

- 15 Majken Jul Sørensen and Brian Martin, "Dilemma Actions" (June 17, 2014), 129. https://www.wri-irg.org/sites/default/files/public_files/12%20Dilemma%20actions.pdf.
- 16 Andrew Boyd and Joshua Kahn Russell, "Put Your Target in a Decision Dilemma," *Beautiful Trouble: A Toolbox for Revolution* (New York: OR Books, 2012), 166–67, <https://beautifultrouble.org/principle/put-your-target-in-a-decision-dilemma>.
- 17 The Global Nonviolent Action Database is available at <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu>.
- 18 Sophia A. McClennen and Remy M. Maisel, *Is Satire Saving Our Nation? Mockery and American Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). This source offers more evidence on the positive effects of satirical protest for democracy.
- 19 Majken Jul Sørensen, *Humour in Political Activism: Creative Nonviolent Resistance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). Also see her dissertation, "Humorous Political Stunts: Nonviolent Public Challenges to Power," PhD diss., School of Humanities and Social Inquiry, University of Wollongong, 2014, <https://ro.uow.edu.au/theses/4291>.
- 20 Sarah Freeman-Woolpert. "Why Nazis Are So Afraid of These Clowns," *Waging Nonviolence*, February 22, 2019, <https://wagingnonviolence.org/2017/08/nazis-afraid-clowns/?pf=true>.
- 21 "Finnish Clowns Mock Anti-Immigrant Patrols by Surrounding Them in Song," *CBC News*, January 21, 2016, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/trending/loldiers-of-odin-finland-1.3410837>.
- 22 Kevin O'Flynn, "Toys Cannot Hold Protest Because They Are Not Citizens of Russia, Officials Rule," *Guardian*, February 15, 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/feb/15/toys-protest-not-citizens-russia>.
- 23 Anne Wyman, "Burmese Women Campaign for Human Rights (Panties for Peace), 2007," *Global Nonviolent Action*

Database (Swarthmore College, February 27, 2012), <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/burmese-women-campaign-human-rights-panties-peace-2007>.

24 Sophia A. McClennen, “The Bitter Irony of Donald Trump,” *Salon*, December 22, 2017, <https://www.salon.com/2017/12/23/the-bitter-irony-of-donald-trump>.

25 Srdja Popovic and Mladen Joksic, “Why Dictators Don’t Like Jokes,” *Foreign Policy*, April 5, 2013, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/04/05/why-dictators-dont-like-jokes>. Also see McClennen and Maisel, *Is Satire Saving Our Nation?*

26 Jody C. Baumgartner, Amy B. Becker, and Sophia A. McClennen, “The Joke Is on You: Satire and Blowback,” *Political Humor in a Changing Media Landscape: A New Generation of Research*, ed. Jody C. Baumgartner and Amy B. Becker (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018), 137–56. This provides more on the blowback to satirical actions.

27 George Lakey, *Powerful Peacemaking: A Strategy for a Living Revolution* (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1987).

28 Philippe Duhamel, “The Dilemma Demonstration: Using Nonviolent Civil Disobedience to Put the Government between a Rock and a Hard Place,” *A Tactical Notebook*, ed. Nancy L. Pearson (St. Paul, Minn.: Center for Victims of Torture, 2004), https://www.academia.edu/7263696/Dilemma_Demonstration_P_Duhamel_v2.

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.

33 Christopher Brandt et al., “Freedom in the World 2019” (Freedom House, 2019), https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/Feb2019_FH_FITW_2019_Report_ForWeb-compressed.pdf.

