The Independence Intifada

A study of inspiration and learning.

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Master's thesis

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II

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Abstract

The Arab spring led to increased interest in studying nonviolent action and transnational factors that affect nonviolent mobilization. Several recent studies on nonviolence mention learning, but they do not study it. I therefore want to contribute to a better understanding of learning in nonviolent campaigns. I study the case of the Independence Intifada in Lebanon in 2005 and how the actors in this campaign learned from previous campaigns in Serbia (in 2000) and Ukraine (in 2004). I use Dolowitz and Marsh' Policy Transfer Framework to structure the discussion of what was transferred and how the learning happened.

The main focus of this thesis is cross-national learning from previous nonviolent campaigns. I ask the question of whether the actors in the Lebanese Independence Intifada learned from previous nonviolent campaigns? If they did, how did this learning happen?

I find information that indicates that the actors in the Independence Intifada were aware of the campaign in Ukraine, and were inspired by it. I define inspiration as a type of learning, and can therefore conclude that some learning happened. It is difficult to document which actors were involved in the learning process, however, as the empirical material does not yield a unified picture.

When it comes to the question of what is actually transferred it is difficult to give a clear answer. I have compared the methods used in Serbia, Ukraine and Lebanon, and I find similarities between the campaigns. For example, they all had a strong focus on branding. Both the campaign in Ukraine and the one in Lebanon had a tent camp in the main square of the capital with a strong youth presence. Similarities like this can give an indication that there has been learning, but without clear evidence of direct transfer I cannot conclude this with certainty.

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1 Introduction

Does learning have an effect on nonviolent campaigns? This is the question that started out the work on this thesis. In the existing literature on nonviolent campaigns there seems to be agreement that inspiration and learning from previous campaigns has a positive effect on the chance of the campaign succeeding, but few have looked at how this happens. In this thesis I will therefore study the case of the Independence Intifada[1] in Lebanon in 2005 and how the actors in this campaign learned from previous campaigns in Serbia and Ukraine. I will use Dolowitz and Marsh' (2000) Policy Transfer Framework to structure the discussion of what was transferred and how the learning happened. The aim of the study is to contribute to a better understanding of learning in nonviolent campaigns.

One of the most important texts on nonviolence is Gene Sharp's book "The Politics of Nonviolent Action" from 1973. In it he describes how nonviolent action works and looks at examples of campaigns. He writes that he is surprised that any of the campaigns have been successful, given that they seem to have occurred ad-hoc and not based on knowledge of and learning from other campaigns (Sharp 1973, 101). He argues that lack of knowledge is one of the reasons why people do not rise up against authoritarian leaders (Sharp 1973, 47).

Sharp wrote his book in the 1970s and many things have changed since then. According to Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, 6) new technologies that make it easier to communicate appear to have led to an increase in policy transfer. Chenoweth and Stephan (2011, 224) mention that information sharing online has been useful for many groups that are challenging their government, for example in Tunisia and Egypt during the "Arab spring". Vast improvements in the infrastructure for communication between individuals and groups in different countries make it easier to exchange experiences and for people wanting to protest to find information on how to do so. Training materials and information about methods used in different nonviolent campaigns are now widely available, making the chance of a campaign having learned from a previous campaign much higher.

The Arab spring led to increased interest in studying nonviolent action and transnational factors that affect nonviolent mobilization (Gleditsch and Rivera 2015). Several recent studies

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[1] This campaign is also know as the Cedar Revolution.

on nonviolence mention learning (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011; Gleditsch and Rivera 2015), but they do not study it.

In the study of public policy there is a large literature on learning. In this thesis I will merge this with the literature on nonviolence to create new insights. Within this literature the argument is that problems are often similar in different places and it is therefore smart to draw lessons from others (Rose 1991). Dolowitz and Marsh (1996; 2000) have made a framework for studying this transfer of policies where they present different questions for mapping the process of learning.

The main focus of this thesis is cross-national learning from previous nonviolent campaigns. I will study this by looking at the case of the Lebanese Independence Intifada. My research question is:

Did the actors in the Lebanese Independence Intifada learn from previous nonviolent campaigns? If yes, how did this learning happen?

In order to answer these questions I will describe what happened in this intense month in the history of Lebanon. I will write about the timeline, actors and what led to the campaign and the outcome. I will analyse the campaign by applying Dolowitz and Marsh's policy transfer framework and through comparing methods of nonviolent action in the Lebanese case and two reference-cases.

Towards the end of the analysis I will also discuss how the learning (or lack of learning) influenced the outcome of the campaign. I will base this discussion on theory of what leads to success in nonviolent campaigns. This is not something I have empirical coverage on however.

In order to find learning I will compare the Independence Intifada to two other campaigns, in Serbia in 2000 and in Ukraine in 2004. The reason for selecting these two campaigns to compare with is because Serbia was the first in a series of colour revolution that took place in the years before the campaign in Lebanon. Ukraine, on the other hand, was the last campaign before the campaign in Lebanon. I will not go into detail on these two campaigns, but will present information to the extent needed for the comparison.

I find information that indicates that the actors in the Independence Intifada were aware of the campaign in Ukraine, and were inspired by it. I define inspiration as a type of learning, and can therefore conclude that some learning happened. It is difficult to document which actors were involved in the learning process however, as the empirical material does not yield a unified picture.

When it comes to the question of what is actually transferred it is difficult to give a clear answer. I have compared the methods used in Serbia, Ukraine and Lebanon, and I find similarities between the campaigns. For example, they all had a strong focus on branding. Both the campaign in Ukraine and the one in Lebanon had a tent camp in the main square of the capital with a strong youth presence. These similarities can give an indication that there has been learning, but without clear evidence of direct transfer I cannot conclude this with certainty.

1.1   Research Methodology

I will do a case study of the Lebanese Independence Intifada[2], using Dolowitz and Marsh's Policy Transfer Framework as an organising principle for my analysis. Through studying this one case I wish to gain information about how nonviolent campaigns and learning works. My empirical sources are mainly newspaper articles, books and other texts written about the Independence Intifada, but also one interview. Finding detailed information that gives information on learning is a challenge.

I defined a population of cases of nonviolent campaigns since 2001 based on the NAVCO dataset (Chenoweth and Lewis 2013), combining it with information from the Global Nonviolent Action Database (Lakey 2011). I then made some criteria for selecting a case, for example I excluded cases that had several campaigns after one another, making it difficult to separate between them and analyse one.

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[2] The time period is the month between 14 February 2005, when the first claims were put forward, and 14 March 2005, the peak of the campaign.

1.2   Outline of thesis

In Chapter 2 I will explain some key concepts, give a brief review of previous research on nonviolence and learning and present the theoretical foundation of the thesis. In Chapter 3 I discuss the research methodology. In Chapter 4 I present the Lebanese Independence Intifada, as well as the reference cases. This chapter is the empirical material that I base the analysis in chapter 5 on. Chapter 6 concludes and answers the research questions.

2 Theory

This chapter presents the theoretical framework I will use for my analysis; the mechanisms and methods of nonviolent action and how learning can influence the outcome of a nonviolent campaign. I start by defining key concepts and presenting some important literature on the field of nonviolence, before discussing on the role of actors and structural factors. I then go to the argument for why learning matters for nonviolent campaigns, before presenting nonviolent methods, what leads to mobilization and mechanisms that can lead to the success of a nonviolent campaign. I conclude the theory chapter by presenting the policy transfer framework that I will use to structure my study.

2.1 Key concepts

Nonviolent action is one of the ways people can respond when they are not satisfied with their government. It is defined as "nonroutine behavior, outside normal political channels, in opposition to the state, and not using violent methods" (Gleditsch and Rivera 2015).

In the literature several different terms are used for the phenomenon of nonviolence. Some talk about nonviolent resistance or nonviolent direct action, others about civil resistance or unarmed insurrections. The different terms emphasise different elements of the phenomenon. Schock (2015, 2) uses the term civil resistance, and writes that it is *resistance* because it challenges something and *civil* because it involves civil society and using civil methods (in contrast to violence). He also argues that the term nonviolence is often linked to moral and religious ideas and that it could be problematic to use it in cases of pragmatic nonviolence and where there is destruction of property. I have decided to mainly use the terms nonviolent campaign and nonviolent action. I use this term as defined in the paragraph above, not implying any moral or religious ideas. If such ideas are present and relevant, I will specify this.

When defining nonviolence I also have to define what is violence and what is not. This can often be a challenge, both in identifying individual acts as violent or nonviolent, and particularly when defining a whole campaign as either nonviolent or violent. Many campaigns contain elements of both nonviolence and violence, and this makes it difficult to clearly define

the campaign. Both nonviolent and violent campaigns want to gain power by force, the difference lies in the method. One way of defining it is saying that violence involves physical harm to people or property (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011, 13). Chenoweth and Stephan (2011, 12,16) define a campaign as nonviolent based on the methods and the participants. If the actors involved are civilians, not armed militants, the campaign is considered nonviolent. Nonviolent campaigns are very often met with repression, in Chenoweth and Stephan's dataset 88 % of campaigns are met with violent resistance from their adversaries (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011, 51). This does not mean that the campaign should be defined as violent, if it is only the government using violence.

My main units of analysis are non-violent campaigns. A campaign is defined as a series of observable, continual tactics in pursuit of a political objective (Ackerman and Kruegler 1994, 10–11). Chenoweth and Stephan use this definition in their NAVCO-dataset, that I base much of my population on. Chenoweth and Stephan (2011, 14) also write that "[c]ampaigns have discernible leadership and often have names, distinguishing them from random riots or spontaneous mass acts". A campaign will also normally have a clear beginning and end. A campaign can have several organisations involved, that might be more or less coordinated.

Defining whether a campaign is a **success** is a challenge. In the NAVCO-dataset the coding of a campaign as a success is based on two conditions: "the full achievement of its stated goals (regime change, antioccupation or secession) within a year of the peak of activities and a discernible effect on the outcome, such that the outcome was a direct result of the campaigns' activities" (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011,14). It is important to pay attention to the second point in this definition. Sometimes other things happen that lead to the desired outcome that has nothing to do with the campaign. If this happens the campaign will still not be considered a success, because it was not the campaign that led to the outcome. This is often difficult both to gather information about and to measure, due to the complexity of contentious politics (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011,17).

The complexity of nonviolent campaigns and politics in general makes it necessary to look more in detail on results than the narrow definition of success from Chenoweth and Stephan (2011). Even if a campaign does not qualify as a success according to their definition, it can still have significant achievements, for example a government can offer some concessions in

order to end the campaign (Gleditsch and Rivera 2015). On the other hand, a campaign that is defined as a success, can still have limited impact. Even if the goals were achieved, and the campaign therefore had a successful outcome, the long term effects could be small.

Nonviolent action, in one form or another, has been used in all countries in the world (Chenoweth 2016). It is more common than violent challenges, and often pose a more severe threat to authoritarian rulers (Cunningham et al. 2016).There is a large variation in the goals of nonviolent action, it can be used to fight for specific rights (such as in the civil rights movement) or to bring down a dictator (such as in the fight against Milosevic in Serbia) or even to defend the government (Sharp 1973, 6). In this thesis I will limit myself to campaigns with maximalist goals, such as changing the government. These types of campaigns have become increasingly common (Chenoweth 2016).The main reason for my choice of limitation is that maximalist campaigns are the focus of much of the literature I base my thesis on, and in order to remain within the same frame, I apply the same limitation. This limitation in much of the literature has been criticised for being too Eurocentric and too focused on the fight for liberal democracy (Chabot and Vinthagen 2015). However, it is not within the scope of this thesis to change that.

One way of explaining how something spreads from one geographic location to another is **diffusion**. Diffusion can happen through learning or for other reasons (Gleditsch and Rivera 2015). Studies of diffusion most often deal with onset, that is, what makes a campaign start or not start. Learning on the other hand can both be studied as something that leads to a campaign to start and something that contributes to the outcome of a campaign. According to Dolowitz and Marsh (1996, 344–45) the difference between studies of policy transfer and policy diffusion is that in studies of policy diffusion the focus is not on the content of the policies, but a narrower focus on "timing, geographic propinquity and resource similarities". As I will go into details on the content of what is transferred, and my focus is not on onset, my study is not a diffusion study.

Rose (1991) argues that problems rarely are unique to one country. And when problems are shared it is smart to draw lessons from others. Lesson-drawing is almost like a reflex. "We" always compare ourselves to others and see if they do things better. When people want to change their situation they often face the same problems. Policymakers in one country can

learn from how others have dealt with the problem and then make better choices. Rose (1991, 7) defines **lesson-drawing** as " (…) an action- oriented conclusion about a programme or programmes in operation elsewhere; the setting can be another city, another state, another nation or an organization's own past". When drawing a lesson you evaluate a programme and judge if you can use it in your setting. This also includes the option of deciding against using a programme, and in this way learning from the mistakes other countries have made. A change in behaviour is therefore not necessary in lesson drawing, as the policymakers can decide to do nothing. These negative lessons are included in Dolowitz and Marsh's (2000) policy transfer framework, but not emphasized as they focus on occurrences of actual transfer.

In order for lesson-drawing to happen there has to be dissatisfaction – doing nothing is always easiest, but when the dissatisfaction grows the policymakers are looking for something to dispel that dissatisfaction (Rose 1991, 10). In a campaign setting we can assume that there is dissatisfaction, and that someone wants to do something about it. The actors will not be looking for the ideal, but what is satisfying. Here experience from others is central, as policymakers do not want to risk failure.

Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) define **policy transfer** as a "(…) process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political setting (past or present) is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political setting". If I define political setting in a way that includes activities outside the formal political processes, such as nonviolent campaigns, this definition also fits for what I want to study.

There are several degrees of transfer or learning; copying, emulation (taking the idea behind the policy), mixtures and inspiration (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000). Based on this I see **inspiration** as a type of learning. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, 13) define inspiration as a situation where a policy inspires, but the resulting policy is not actually based on the original. I will use **learning** as a broad term that encompasses policy transfer (including copying and inspiration), but also learning what not to do or learning that it is best to do nothing.

2.2 Previous research on nonviolence and learning

In this section I will present some of the research that has been done on nonviolent campaigns. It is not meant as a complete overview of the field, but presents some key texts and some of the works I base my theory on. I will focus particularly on texts that mention learning. Research and media attention has often been more focused on violent events than nonviolence (Cunningham et al. 2016), but the interest in studying nonviolence has increased in recent years, perhaps as a result of the attention given to the "Arab Spring" (Cunningham, Dahl, and Frugé 2016). Several journals, such as Journal of Peace Research and Mobilization, have recently had special issues on nonviolence, and several books published, for example, Schock's (2015) "Civil resistance today", giving a broad introduction to nonviolence.

Before the recent upsurge in research on nonviolence many studies focused on documenting examples of nonviolent campaigns. One such text is "A force more powerful: a century of nonviolent conflict" by Ackerman and Duvall (2000), which was also linked to a documentary film detailing some cases. According to Gleditsch and Rivera (2015) others focused more on the normative aspects of nonviolence.

In 1973 Gene Sharp wrote the book "The Politics of Nonviolent Action" and it is still one of the main theoretical foundations for studies of nonviolent campaigns (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011, 21). Drawing on historical examples of nonviolence and on the work of Richard Gregg he develops a theory of power and nonviolent action, and maps nonviolent methods (Sharp 1973; Schock 2015, 43). Sharp has been criticized by some, for example for presenting a too simplistic view of power and politics (Martin 1989), but his work is still very influential.

Sharps main argument is that the power of the leaders is based on the consent of the people and that this obedience is unstable. Gandhi (in Sharp 1973, 31) said that people have to get courage and confidence and that they have to understand that they are supporting the regime by consenting to being governed. People also have to be willing to disobey the leaders. This will is something that has to be built and people have to have knowledge about the fact that

they have the power and the skills to resist. As mentioned in the introduction Sharp (1973, 101) did not find cases of learning in his material.

The increase in studies in recent years included more statistical studies. One important work to mention is Chenoweth and Stephan's (2011) book "Why Civil Resistance Works". They have put together the NAVCO dataset detailing violent and nonviolent campaigns from 1900-2006. Based on this dataset they do a statistical analysis and find that nonviolent campaigns are nearly twice more likely to be successful than violent campaigns (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011, 7). They limit their analysis to campaigns with maximalist goals: regime change, ending of occupation or secession campaigns. When it comes to learning Chenoweth and Stephan (2011, 225) write about educational materials and lessons learned from other campaigns as a contributor to nonviolent mobilization. One example that they mention is the documentary film "Bringing down a dictator", about the campaign against Milosevic in Serbia. This film was shown on TV in Ukraine and Georgia before nonviolent campaigns started there.

Other studies have used datasets such as NAVCO to study the onset of nonviolent campaigns. One example of this is Gleditsch and Rivera (2015) who find statistical evidence for diffusion of nonviolent campaigns. This effect seems to largely be limited to neighbouring countries however, and they find little evidence of global diffusion. Gleditsch and Rivera (2015) also argue that most studies so far has focused on internal factors in the country, and there is a need for increased study of cross-country factors, such as learning. They do not study what was learned or how the learning happened however.

When it comes to how nonviolent campaigns spread some studies have focused on the waves of campaigns. Beissinger (2007) looks at the modular nature of nonviolent campaigns in the post-communist countries, such as Serbia, Ukraine and Georgia between 2000 and 2006. Some people have argued that the structures where not favourable for the campaigns to have success in those countries. Beissinger concludes that it is the power of the example that still make success possible.

The literature on nonviolence partly overlaps with the literature on revolutions. One example of this is Kuran (1989), who sets up a mechanism of mobilization based on the revolution in Iran in 1979.

One last category of literature I would like to mention are texts directed at activists, presenting how to do nonviolent action. Two examples of this are "Blueprint for revolution" (Popovic 2015) and Sharp's (2010) "From Dictatorship to Democracy".

2.3 Actors and structural factors

An actor is a unit that makes some kind of decision. This can be an individual, an organisation or even a state. Defining an organisation or a state as an actor is a simplification, because their decisions are aggregations of individuals' decisions. However for practical purposes it is often impossible to model each individual, and therefore it is common and allowable to simplify by treating organisations "as if" they were individuals (Hovi 2007). I will use a pragmatic approach, where I will refer to organisations and to individuals as actors.

There is a large variation of actors and how they are mobilized in nonviolent campaigns. There is also variation as to what extent more than one organisation is involved in the campaign (Cunningham, Dahl, and Frugé 2016). This could make mapping of actors complicated. The actors could also influence each other in different ways. Having more than one organisation in a movement could lead to a diffusion of methods, meaning that if one organisations uses a method others will follow. It could however also lead to a diversification of methods, where organisations choose different methods (Cunningham, Dahl, and Frugé 2016).

In addition to the participants in a campaign, there are other relevant actors. This includes the actors who choose to do nothing. There will often be many people or organisations who have had the chance to do something, but choose to do nothing. These could be interesting to study, but they are often difficult to trace empirically.

Other important actors are the groups that oppose the campaign. This is often the government, but could also be other individuals and groups. It is important to note that the government is not necessarily a unitary actor. Even within the security forces there are individuals with different views and power to make their own decisions (Gates, Dahl, and Nygård 2016).

An important question to address is whether it is structural factors, such as economic development, that causes something to happen or if it is it the action of individuals. Studies of nonviolent campaigns tend to focus on individual action, arguing that it can overcome structural factors. Studies of social movement and revolution on the other hand tend to focus on structural factors. Schock (2015, 19) argues that studies need to recognise both structures and actors, and the interplay between them.

Chenoweth and Stephan (2011, 18) focus on actors and their skills and argue that they are "better predictors of success" than structural factors. They contrast this with the political opportunity approach, that focuses on structures and uses arguments like "the time was right for a change" and argue that this approach "fails to explain why some movements succeed in the direst of political circumstances where chances of success seem grim, whereas other campaigns fail in political circumstances that might seem more favorable" (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011, 19). This observation leads them to argue that actions and actors are probably more important.

When studying diffusion of nonviolent campaigns from neighbouring countries Gleditsch and Rivera (2015) find that diffusion is not enough in itself. There have to be some grievances, to motivate actors to even consider starting a nonviolent campaign. Without this motivation campaigns in neighbouring countries would have no diffusion effect. It is natural that there have to be some structural factors causing grievances to motivate people to act. Chenoweth and Ulfelder (2015) find there is likely a stronger emphasis on agency over structure in explaining the onset of mass nonviolent campaigns.

In accordance with my focus on learning, and the focus of most of the literature on nonviolence, I will mainly look at actors and their actions. But I will also draw on structural factors whenever they are relevant for the campaign in Lebanon.

2.4   When do nonviolent campaigns happen?

There are several reasons why people stay obedient even if they are dissatisfied with their leaders. They can obey by habit, because they fear the consequences of disobeying or because they feel it is their moral responsibility to support the government (Sharp 1973, 19–23). Other

reasons for obeying can be that it serves some personal interest, that you identify with the people in power or that the area in question is not important to you. Lack of confidence is also an important reason why people do not disobey.

It is difficult to predict when a revolution or a nonviolent campaign will take place (Chenoweth and Ulfelder 2015). Even if people are dissatisfied they might not protest or withdraw their consent. One reason for this is the collective action problem. When the benefit of doing something will benefit everyone, not only the people who participated and took the risk, there will be a temptation to free-ride. That is, just wait and hope that someone else fights for the award and that you can just enjoy the benefits. In a nonviolent campaign people could risk their lives by participating, therefore increasing the incentive to free-ride.

Kuran (1989) argues that people are not honest about how they really feel, and because of this it is difficult to predict when a change of government will take place. The sum of the public preferences of the inhabitants make up the collective sentiment, and this is what gives the leaders power. When the public preferences of many people suddenly change the power can shift to a different party. This is what Kuran (1989, 46) calls a revolution. He defines revolution as "fundamental change in the social order brought about in a short period of time through a massive shift in people's expressed political views" (Kuran 1989, 42). The goal of nonviolent campaigns is often to change the social order, and bring about a revolution. This model is therefore relevant for mobilization in nonviolent campaigns.

A person's public preference is based on two things. Any rewards or punishments you will get for your preference and the negative effect of not being true to what you really believe (Kuran 1989, 47). If the public preference varies from the private preference that is called preference falsification.

In order for the situation to change there must be a change in the personal preferences of people or the benefits associated with supporting one side. Changes in personal preferences could come because of changes in the economic situation that lead people to be more unhappy with the current situation (Kuran 1989, 51). External support for the opposition could lead to them being able to give larger benefits for supporting them, and this will again lead to a

higher chance of people changing their public preference to the opposition's side (Kuran 1989, 58).

When the process of change in public opinion has started, it will be pushed along by the mechanism of benefits. A strong party gives large positive benefits to the people supporting it, such as social support and feeling of importance. The individual's benefit from supporting a party is therefore larger when the party is strong. When the party looses support, the individual's benefit of supporting it is also reduced (Kuran 1989, 48). When the strength of the government side goes down, people will have less to gain by supporting them, and as more and more people support the opposition, even more people will feel that it is their interest to do so. As some people start changing their public preference, more and more people will follow. This will create the revolution, and as soon at it starts moving it could happen quickly (Kuran 1989, 55). In the end even people who privately support the government would change their opinion because the cost of staying on the government side would be to large. When there is a sudden change in the collective sentiment it is difficult for the leaders to respond and change their policies (Kuran 1989, 54).

Even if many people privately are dissatisfied with the government, they can remain supportive in public due to their personal gains from remaining loyal (or risk of loss if they change their public preference). Because of this it is difficult to get an accurate idea of the chance of a revolution, and the system might appear more stable than it is. A small event could trigger some people to protest in the streets and show a change in the public preference, and thereby start the mechanisms that in the end could lead to a change in the social order (Kuran 1989, 60).

If the government lessens their repression, people can feel safer to change their public preference or take to the street to protest. This could therefore make it more likely for a revolution to happen. Kuran (1989, 61–62) argues that this was central for the both the French and the Iranian revolutions. This also means that revolutions can actually be started by popular policy changes by the leaders, because the changes opens up a room for expressing your private preference with less cost.

Kuran distinguishes between leaders and non-activists. Leaders have more information and the ability to be more actively involved in planning and organizing (Kuran 1989, 63). He argues that a single person's influence is small, and the positive effect on the social order is not included when people assess what it will cost them to make a specific choice (Kuran 1989, 4). Their choice of who to publicly support is therefore only based on personal gains and losses. This differs from Sharp as he focuses on the goal of change, and that together people have power and can make change happen. Kuran on the other hand says that each individual has so little power that it does not even feature in the model. But it is important to note that Kuran distinguishes between leaders and ordinary people. Sharp does not make this same distinction, and seems to see everyone as a potential activist. I will get back to the discussion on leaders in the section on who is involved in the transfer in the theory chapter.

2.5   Why nonviolence works?

In addition to learning there are several other factors that contribute to the chance of success of a nonviolent campaign. In this section I will present four factors: size, diversity, loyalty shifts and repression. The four factors are not independent, they work together and influence each other. As size is the most important factor according to Chenoweth and Stephan's findings I will go in some detail on mobilization and what causes people to decide to act or not act.

Chenoweth and Stephan argue that nonviolent campaigns are more successful because they mobilize more people. Participation and success are linked, so when the number of participants increase, so does the chance of success (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011, 40). The reasons for this are that large participation could mean stronger resilience, tactical innovation and increased cost on regime because of larger disruptions and more loyalty shifts. The chance of these things happening is even larger when the participation is diverse in addition to large. In addition to this it is more difficult to repress a large and diverse campaign. The indiscriminate repression the regime will then have to use is more likely to backfire.

There are several reasons why nonviolent campaigns mobilize people more easily than violent campaigns. There are lower barriers for participating, in that you do not require specific skills to take part. To join a violent campaign you normally have to give up your normal life to join

the rebels, but for nonviolent campaigns you can join a demonstration one day and probably still go to work and continue your life the next day. The risk could also be different, because in a nonviolent campaign you can use different tactics that reduce the risk. The fact that there are more people participating can also contribute to the risk being lower. This does not mean that participating in a nonviolent campaign is risk free however. The moral barriers to participation is also lower. It will be against most people's moral code to kill someone, whereas nonviolent activities do not trigger that same barrier.

In terms of information it is normally easier for people to assess the size of a nonviolent campaign than a violent one. A major part of many nonviolent campaigns is public mass mobilizations that make it clear for all that the campaign has massive support. For a guerrilla movement on the other hand secrecy is important, including hiding the size of the group. As it is easier (and lower risk) to join a large campaign more people will join the campaign they know already is large. This mobilization advantage and the cost a large campaign can put on the government is one of the reasons why nonviolent campaigns have been more successful than violent ones (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011, 41).

A large and diverse campaign also has an increased chance of loyalty shifts from supporters of the regime, which in turn can contribute to the success (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011). This could be soldiers refusing to follow orders to shoot at demonstrators or central regime members joining the opposition. The threshold for changing sides will normally be lower when the opposition is nonviolent, rather than violent, because it will be seen as a lower risk. It will often be a part of the tactic of a nonviolent campaign to encourage these loyalty shifts. When a campaign has many participants that also increases the likelihood of there being social relations between the participants in the campaign and supporters of the regime. These relations often increases the chances of loyalty shifts, and could be important for the campaign. A general who has a daughter participating in a demonstration will probably have a harder time giving the order to brutally repress the demonstration.

Soldiers and policemen on the streets have some form of decision making power. Even though their job is to support the regime, they can decide to what extent they will follow orders to repress demonstrations. The security forces should therefore not be seen as a unitary actor. The campaigns ability to encourage these kinds of defections is based on whether the

campaign is seen as legitimate, its chance of having success and the potential benefits and punishments that the soldier face. The security forces can desert, but they can also "shirk", that is stand idly by and not follow orders to repress. This is less risky for the soldier (because it is more difficult to detect and punish), but will still increase the chance of success for the campaign if enough people do it (Gates, Dahl, and Nygård 2016). If the security forces are unified, they can normally crush a nonviolent campaign quickly. But the order to repress a nonviolent movement can lead to disunity within the army and police (Gates, Dahl, and Nygård 2016). According to Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) a campaign is 46 times more likely to succeed in the case of defection.

When someone uses nonviolence against violence that leads to an asymmetry. If the nonviolent campaign stays nonviolent it can unbalance its opponent politically. One of the reasons for this is that violence used against nonviolent activists can backfire on the people using the violence and harm their power position. Nonviolent discipline is important however, as some use of violence can damage the cause of the nonviolent campaign. "By maintaining the contrast between the violent and the nonviolent techniques, the nonviolent actionists can demonstrate that repression is incapable of cowing the populace, and they can undermine the opponent's existing support" (Sharp 1973, 113).

Factors that contribute to the success of a campaign are size and diversity of the campaign, loyalty shifts and the level of repression. Repression can have both negative and positive effects on the likelihood of a campaign succeeding. It can make people too scared to participate, but it can also backfire and lead to a stronger support of the campaign. Having a theoretical understanding of the role of repression will be important both in order to analyse the success of the campaign and in discussing generalisations and how typical the campaign in Lebanon is. Using methods that help achieve some of these factors is also something that can be learned, so they can not be completely separated from learning as a success factor. In order to study and discuss factors contributing to success I have to gather information about the size and diversity of the campaign, the role of the military and the level of repression.

2.6   The policy transfer framework

In order to explain the process of policy transfer Dolowitz and Marsh (1996; 2000) set up a framework with seven questions. I will use this framework to structure my study of the learning process and ask the right questions. In my study some of the questions in the framework are more relevant than others, and I will therefore focus on them. The most relevant questions are "who are the actors?", "what is transferred?" and "from where are lessons drawn?". The question in Dolowitz and Marsh's framework that deal with outcome, is also relevant. They call this "how transfer leads to policy failure", but as I am more interested in explaining success I choose to call it "how is transfer related to outcome?". The three remaining questions I will not go in detail on. They are "Why do actors engage in policy transfer?", "What are the different degrees of transfer?", "What restricts or facilitates the policy transfer process?" (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000, 8).

2.6.1   Who is involved in the transfer?

Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, 10) presents nine categories of actors involved in learning: "elected officials, political parties, bureaucrats/civil servants, pressure groups, policy entrepreneurs and experts, transnational corporations, think tanks, supra-national governmental and nongovernmental institutions and consultants". I will divide into two main categories, internal (to the campaign) and external. The external actors are both national actors and international actors.

Internal actors

The question of who is involved in the transfer leads to many sub-questions. Is there a difference between the campaigning participants being the only actors involved in the learning (e.g., they read books or find information by themselves in some other way) and external actors being involved (international /foreign organizations/ consultants or even foreign governments)? How is the campaign organized and does that affect learning? One or more main actors? Fragmented or unified leadership? Leaders of the campaign close to or distant from participants? Legitimate leadership or not? I cannot go too much into the

internal dynamics of the campaign (as this thesis does not have organizational structure as its focus), but I should still try to pick up on any internal organizational issues that are relevant for the learning process. This could for example be conflicts within the campaign about what tactics to use that affects the implementation of learning.

Rose (1991, 27) writes that disagreement about goals and means amongst politicians can lead to uncertainty and changes in the decision to adopt a programme. Experts can also disagree in their assessment of a program and if a transfer will be successful. This will also cause uncertainty. In a campaign there might be more agreement on the goals than in a normal political setting, but this might not be the case. There could be agreement on some goals, but not on others. When it comes to the means there are no reasons to assume agreement among campaign leaders and other participants.

One way to distinguish between actors is the binary distinction between "conservatives" and "agents of change" that Schedler (1999, 336) uses when studying institutional reform. This distinction might not be as relevant for campaigns, as I assume that all actors in the campaign are "agents of change". A campaign is not about reforming an institution, but finding the best way to influence the government. That is not to say that there might not be conflict within the campaign about what path to take, but I think other distinctions will be more relevant for me.

Learning is not only about being trained by outsiders. It is also about the internal process of the leaders of the campaign. Ganz's (2009) term strategic capacity incorporates this internal process. He writes that creativity is important in the strategic process and this creativity is linked to knowledge and skills. In order to have strategic capacity it is important to have a diverse leadership team, he argues. Then the team has access to knowledge and the fact that they have different background makes them more innovative. "(...) [T]he diverse but highly relevant backgrounds of team members facilitated recontextualization, bricolage, and an unusually unconstrained approach to learning—in part, because they were highly accustomed to learning from experience" (Ganz 2009, 14).

The ability of a leadership team to learn from experience and innovate can also increase over time as they work together (Ganz 2009, 19). Having a deliberative culture within the leadership team is central for this to happen. Chenoweth and Stephan (2011, 55–56) also

agree that tactical innovation is linked to a diverse and large campaign, but they do not link this specifically to the leadership team. Ganz also argues that this capacity to learn and innovate can be harmed by outside support. If you can fall back on outside support you do not have to change, and can make the same mistakes many times (Ganz 2009, 18). I believe that he mainly thinks of financial and other material support here, and not support in the form of training.

Kuran (1989, 63) also writes about the role of leaders. He says that ordinary people have limited information and that leaders normally play a central role in making people aware that the current situation is vulnerable. The leaders have three roles. First, they can change the impression that the status-quo is inevitable. This could be done by letting people know that most people do not support the regime (even if that is not true). The second role is changing peoples private preferences by showing people how bad the current regime is. The third role is giving people increased benefits for joining the opposition. This could be done by hosting social events for example. Marxist thinking does not agree with this view of leadership. They argue that another leader could always be found, and that leaders therefore do not play a central role. Revolutions are instead the result of "grand forces of history". However, most Marxist revolutions the leaders have been very clear on their central role.

External actors

This can be states, NGOs or individuals. Chenoweth and Stephan (2011, 28) mention that research on nonviolent campaigns can help states and other external actors to give support more effectively. I hope that my thesis can give a little insight into this. I will start by saying something about outside support in general, and then go into learning and transfer more specifically.

Outside support is not only positive, it could introduce challenges, such as loss of legitimacy. The free-rider problem could also increase if people feel that the external support makes it less important for them to participate in the campaign. Chenoweth and Stephan (2011, 27) argue that "there is no evidence that external actors can successfully initiate or sustain mass nonviolent mobilization". There have however been cases of external support succeeding in extending the battlefield in a way that contributed to success. One example of this is boycotts

against Apartheid South Africa. For me it will be interesting to look at how involved the external actors are in the start of the campaign and how that affects the outcome. My focus will not be on material support, but on support in the form of training and other forms of learning.

When it comes to policy transfer between governments, international governing organizations (IGOs), play an increasing role. Organizations like OECD and the UN influence policymakers both directly and indirectly and help ideas and programmes spread. They do this trough policies and conditions for loans and funding (directly) and through spreading of information (indirectly). According to Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, 11) international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) also play an increasing role. NGOs can influence campaigns through spreading ideas and information and also through funding for the campaign or organizations involved in the campaign.

There are several organisations dedicated to spreading information about nonviolence and how to organize a campaign. Written materials with lessons learned from other campaigns and the texts of people like Gene Sharp can contribute to new campaigns being started, and to learning. One example of this is Gene Sharp's books being used in the fight against Milosevic in Serbia and later on the film about the movement in Serbia "Bringing down a dictator" was shown on TV in Georgia and Ukraine when campaigns were started there (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011, 225).

Another way to spread information is through direct contact between participants in previous campaigns and new campaigns. This could happen online, through informal meetings or through formal training. Beissinger (2007) pointed out some examples of Serbians training others in how to do nonviolent campaigns. Chenoweth and Stephan (2011, 225) say that this kind of training and its outcomes could be tested in a future study. I will look for this in my study of the Independence Intifada.

International nongovernmental organisations (INGOs) involved in nonviolence are increasingly playing a role in campaigns (Gallo-Cruz 2012). They have ties to many parts of the world and help spread knowledge and nonviolent techniques. Many INGOs have published training materials and books on how to do nonviolent campaigns and are actively

spreading them. INGOs also do training on nonviolent practice. INGOs can also spread information about a specific campaign internationally, thus helping gain support and solidarity for the campaign (Gallo-Cruz 2012, 217).

Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) mentions that consultants often play an important role in policy transfer. They can offer advice to policymakers and they often base this advice on experiences from other places. This emphasizing of "best practice" could lead to limited attention to the context of the country that want to implement a new programme. Based on the argument that consultants do not pay attention to the local situation we can assume that transfers where consultants play a central role will be less successful. Within the framework of nonviolent campaigns, consultants can be people who have previously participated in a campaign.

In my empirical material I have to make a clear overview of actors involved, and their role in terms of the campaign itself, and the learning that happened. I should try to map the goals of the different actors. Some actors to look for are IGO and NGOs, foreign governments and national and international consultants. I should look for direct support and training as well as indirect support. When it comes to the actors in the campaign I should look for how diverse they are, what information they had and what they did with it. Ideally I should be a "fly on the wall" in the planning and execution of the campaign, but that is of course not possible, so I will have to piece together as much information as possible from different sources.

One challenge when studying learning is that the actors might sometimes have an interest in presenting something as their own idea, in order to be able to take credit for what happened. This could lead to competing narratives[3], where some actors say that they were involved in training a group whereas the group that was trained denies this. It is natural that people want to play up their role or frame something in a way that puts them (or their project) in a better light. This can make it difficult to verify which version is true. However, we cannot assume that actors will always deny that learning has taken place. Presenting learning from others might also make people believe more in an action. Especially if it is linked back to a previous (successful) application.

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[3] "A narrative is a nice scholarly term for a story in which things change over time. (…) Because these narratives are so important to us, any given historical narrative usually has competitors—an alternate story to explain the same events" ("Five Keys to Historical Thinking" 2016).

2.6.2 From Where Are Lessons Drawn?

Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, 9) divide the places where lessons can be drawn from into past, within-a-nation and cross-national. I am most interested in cross-national learning. Dolowitz and Marsh also specify different levels, from local authorities to international organizations that can be places to look for lessons. The places where campaigns can learn also fit within the same framework. Campaigns can learn from the same campaign at an earlier stage (past, internal), from other, previous campaigns in the same country (within-a-nation), from campaigns in different countries (cross-national) or from the organizations that work with nonviolence or academics such as Gene Sharp. Both the organizations and the academics draw their lessons from previous campaigns, but it will be useful to try to distinguish between direct learning and learning through organizations, as the mechanisms might be different in the two cases.

One useful distinction when talking about learning is the difference between learning from the outside and learning from within. Learning from the outside is when you draw lessons from others, or someone from the outside comes to teach you, whereas learning from within is the process of adapting and developing based on the knowledge you gather through the campaign.

When choosing where to look for lessons the policymakers will start by looking close at hand. Rose (1991) says that it is common for organizations to start within their own standard operating procedures and then look at the organization's own past. For nonviolent campaigns this might not be so easy, as they are less institutionalized and therefore normally do not have standard operating procedures. The institutional memory might also be weaker than in government institutions, or the history that the campaign has to draw on might be very short. Central individuals in the campaign might however be a link to learning from past experiences in the campaign, even if more formal structures are missing. When it comes to learning from previous campaigns in the same country this could also happen through individuals involved in both campaigns or through other documentation or knowledge about the campaign.

If nothing is found within your own country you can choose to look further. It is possible to look far away and cover any distance, but normally the search will start with counties that are

seen as close. The notion of who is close is subjective and it will be more a question of identification than of geography. It is also easiest to start with something you already know (Rose 1991).

There is no inherent reason for inspiration to be limited to states close by. Technological developments make communication over long distances easier, but it still takes time to process a lot of information. People therefore tend to filter the information, and limit themselves to things that are relevant or familiar. Gleditsch and Rivera (2015, 9) argue that this is linked to geographical distance. They find in their statistical study that geographic proximity is an important explanatory variable for diffusion of nonviolent campaigns. They conclude that "[d]espite the frequent announcements of the death of distance (…), geography remains a key influence on human interaction, and both the extent of information and relevance are likely to be closely associated with distance" (Gleditsch and Rivera 2015, 8).

The outcome of a campaign will also influence whether it will be seen as a relevant source for learning. A campaign with a large impact is likely to have a larger effect on other actors. But a campaign does not have to be successful to be a source of learning. A campaign that looks promising at the start can inspire others. A campaign can also have some effect even if it does not achieve all its goals, and therefore be seen as something to be inspired by (Gleditsch and Rivera 2015). People can also learn from negative examples. That is, they can learn what not to do by looking at a campaign that did not achieve what it wanted.

There is also a "push" effect when it comes to lesson-drawing. This could happen when one country or group has disproportionate power (Majone in Rose 1991, 14). "The response to dissatisfaction is indeterminate and non-linear, but not random" (Rose 1991, 15). There are no rules for what will give success and changes can be made along the way. The process can be described as trial and error.

2.6.3   What is transferred?

> While almost anything can be transferred from one political system to another, depending upon the issue or situation involved, we identify eight different categories: policy goals, policy content, policy instruments, policy programs, institutions, ideologies, ideas and attitudes and negative lessons. (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000, 12)

Examples of things that can be transferred to nonviolent campaigns are concrete methods and strategies, but also less tangible things such as knowledge about power relations and inspiration to start a campaign at all (Gleditsch and Rivera 2015). Negative lesson-drawing could also happen, both in terms of learning how not to do a campaign and in learning that a doing a nonviolent campaign at all is too dangerous or not possible in your setting. But as I want to study learning in actual campaigns this last category is not that relevant for me.

Dolowitz and Marsh present four degrees of transfer: copying, emulation, combinations of policies and inspiration. Some adaption will always be necessary, but copying is more or less direct and complete transfer. With emulation, you transfer the ideas behind the policy, but not necessarily the exact contents. In some cases a change is inspired by a policy from somewhere else, but the policy itself is not copied (Gleditsch and Rivera 2015).

Sometimes transfer is a result of training materials produced specifically for teaching how to do nonviolent campaigns. Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) write that "[t]he provision of educational materials that highlight lessons learned from other historical movements in multiple languages is another possible contributor to nonviolent mobilization". They reference the example that the documentary film "Bringing down a dictator", about the mobilization against Milosevic, was shown on TV in Ukraine and Georgia before nonviolent campaigns started there.

A campaign in one country could also influence another country by lowering the barriers for collective action. It could change the perceived power balance or influence more directly for example through material support. This is not learning. But this direct effect is rare according to Gleditsch and Rivera (2015, 7). Learning and emulation is more likely.

I focus on campaigns with mass mobilization, but campaigns can also use more limited tactics. In their study of self-determination movements Cunningham, Dahl and Frugé (2016) find that protest and demonstrations are the most common methods and social noncooperation the least common.

We can separate between methods by looking at the kind of resources they require. Some methods require a large number of people, other methods could be done with few people, but might imply a larger risk to the participants (Cunningham, Dahl, and Frugé 2016).

In order to say something about methods that could be learned I will use Sharp's framework of 198 methods of nonviolent action. The Global Nonviolent Action Database (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016) uses Sharp's list of methods when coding the different campaigns. I will therefore use this framework to structure my empirical study of the methods used in the campaign in Lebanon. This will help me to answer my research questions and facilitate a discussion of similarities between the campaigns in Lebanon, Serbia and Ukraine. In the rest of this section I will therefore present the methods that I will get back to when presenting the case in Lebanon.

The first category is **communications with a wider audience**. The purpose of these techniques is to communicate with a wider audience. This could be ideas, viewpoints or other information that the campaign wants to reach more people than the participants in the campaign themselves. It can be both aimed at persuasion and at protest. This category includes common methods of nonviolent actions such as slogans. It can include both oral (e.g. chanting slogans) and written communication (e.g. banners and graffiti). Also included in this category is newspaper reports, both illegal newspapers and, when the political situation allows for it, communication in regular newspapers. Publications on TV and radio, or releasing music, can also be used as a way to get a message across (Sharp 1973, 125–30).

A **symbolic public act** is when a behaviour is mainly symbolic. This can be done for example by displaying flags, colours or symbols or showing portraits of heroes. Sharp writes that displays of flags are "often motivated by or arouse deep emotions" (Sharp 1973, 135). Other symbols can be things like flowers or a specific piece of clothing.

Pressures on individuals consists of methods used to put pressure on individuals who are opposing the campaign. This can be higher officials, but also ordinary people, such as soldiers. "These acts may be directed against specific persons or groups of persons, or may be intended to apply pressure on individuals who are part of a large body, such as an occupation army" (Sharp 1973, 145). One way to pressure people, such as soldiers or police, could be to do a social boycott of them, or to do the opposite, which is fraternization. This means being in contact with someone you want to influence and that way get the chance to expose them to your message.

Drama and music, such as political humour, singing and other performances can be important elements to a campaign. Singing can be a form of protest for example by singing national anthem or other symbolic songs or by including music in different events.

People walking or marching in **processions** is one of the most well known and visual way of nonviolent protest. Sharp divides this category into five types: marches, parades, religious processions, pilgrimages and motorcades. "The march as a form of nonviolent protest and persuasion is practiced when a group of people walk in an organized manner to a particular place which is regarded as intrinsically significant to the issue involved" (Sharp 1973, 152). The march can be as short as an hour or last for weeks such as Gandhi's famous Salt March. A parade is similar to a march, but it does not have a specific, significant, point that it is going to. A religious procession is also similar to a march or a parade, but includes some religious elements. This can be clergy participating or religious symbols.

One way of protesting is by **honouring the dead**. The action could honour an old hero or someone who died recently (for example in the course of participating in the campaign). "Under conditions of political unrest, memorial services and funerals – especially funeral processions for persons killed by political opponents or those who died of other causes in the course of the struggle – may express protest and moral condemnation" (Sharp 1973, 159–60). The dead person could be someone famous, like a political leader, but it could also be an ordinary person participating killed during a demonstration.

Public assemblies is also a common nonviolent action. People come together to meet and protest. Sometimes it takes the form of meetings, at other times large assemblies. The assemblies can take place at important locations, such as government offices, or more symbolic places, such as at the statue of a hero. If there is a ban on demonstrating, the assembly is combined with civil disobedience.

"**Economic noncooperation** consists of a suspension of or refusal to continue specific economic relationships" (Sharp 1973, 219). Sharp divides this into boycotts and strikes. Boycott is primarily related to refusing to buy or sell some goods or services, whereas strikes involves suspension of labour. The aim of a strike could be economic, but it could also be to done to create leverage in other fields (Sharp 1973, 257). Strikes come in many different

forms, for example protest strikes, prisoners' strikes or slowdown strike. The two types that are relevant for my study are **general strikes** and **hartals**.

Sharp (1973, 275) defines a general strike as "(…) widespread stoppage of labor by workers in an attempt to bring the economic life of a given area to a more or less complete standstill in order to achieve certain desired objectives". The goal can be political, economic or revolutionary. The hartal, on the other hand, is a method where "the economic life of an area is temporarily suspended on a voluntary basis in order to demonstrate extreme dissatisfaction with some event, policy, or condition. It is used not to wield economic influence, but to communicate sorrow, determination, revulsion, or moral or religious feelings about the matter in question" (Sharp 1973, 227). As seen from this quote this is a symbolic form of demonstration, it is normally also limited in time. A hartal is more voluntary in nature and often includes business leaders as participants.

One class of methods is **political noncooperation**. This is when people refuse to participate in some normal form of political exchange. A person can refuse to cooperate to pressure the government or to avoid doing something he or she finds morally or politically wrong (Sharp 1973, 285). Noncooperation can be done by ordinary citizens or by government personnel. As mentioned in the section on actors the government is not a unified actor. "Police, soldiers and other enforcement officials may at times deliberately carry out their orders with less than full efficiency, either out of political motivation, sympathy for the resisters, or distaste for the repressive measures" (Sharp 1973, 330). Other government personnel might also refuse to carry out some orders. These types of **action by government personnel** will limit the governments repressive capacity, and as mentioned in the "Why nonviolence works?"- section this can contribute to the success of a campaign. The next stage of this type of protest is mutiny, when soldiers or police fully refuse to follow orders, paralysing the regime's ability to carry out its plans.

Physical intervention are types of nonviolent intervention. That means that these methods somehow intervene in what is going on, they can disrupt or destroy patterns or policies or establish new ones. In this way they are a more direct challenge than the previously described methods (Sharp 1973, 357). One of these methods is the sit-in, where "interventionists occupy certain facilities by sitting on available chairs, stools and occasionally on the floor for a

limited or unlimited period, either in a single act or in a series of acts, with the objective of disrupting the normal pattern of activities" (Sharp 1973, 371).

2.6.4   How is transfer related to outcome?

In this section I will go present how learning is (or can be) linked to the outcome of nonviolent campaigns. Sharp's (1973, 4) basic argument is that the power of the leaders depends on the consent of the people to be governed. This also means that if they do not like what the leader is doing, they can withdraw their consent and the leader's power will crumble. Political power rests with the people and it is therefore vulnerable (Sharp 1973, 8). This view of power as fragile, is in contrast to an understanding of power where the people depend on their leaders good will and the power is stable. If you do not have a correct understanding of political power you are unlikely to be able to influence it, according to Sharp (Sharp 1973, 8). Sharp defines power as the ability to control others. "Social power may be briefly defined as the capacity to control the behaviour of others, directly or indirectly, through action by groups of people, which action impinges on other groups of people" (Sharp 1973, 7).

Most of the time people do not rebel against the state. Sharp argues that this is because people feel helpless and they do not have knowledge about power and that they are the basis for it. In order to change this people need knowledge so that they can understand that they can destroy the power of the leaders (Sharp 1973, 44).

If they want to change their situation people have to change how they think and what they want to achieve. Gandhi (in Sharp 1973, 31) said that people have to get courage and confidence and that they have to understand that they are supporting the regime by consenting to being governed. People also have to be willing to disobey the leaders. This will is something that has to be built, and this change was something Gandhi was working for through his speeches.

> What would happen if people realised this on a wide scale, knew that they could prevent the imposition
> on them of unwanted policies and regimes, and were skilfully able to refuse to assist, in open struggle?
> It has been suggested that such knowledge could lead to the abolition of tyranny and oppression.
> (Sharp 1973, 46)

The subjects' willingness to submit to a particular policy or to a whole regime may also be altered because of new beliefs (or new insights into old ones) and because of changes in perceptions of the established system. As a result of all these possible variations, the necessary consent of the subjects is unstable.
(Sharp 1973, 31)

In order to chance people's willingness to obey their beliefs have to be altered. This could happen through learning from the example of others.

Sharp lays out Gandhi's argument about what needs to happen for people to disobey the government. There needs to be a psychological change, a change in the understanding of power structures and increased determination. These points can all be influenced, and Gandhi deliberately tried to do just that (Sharp 1973, 31). Sharp (1973, 32) then writes: "The answer to the problem of uncontrolled power may therefore lie in learning how to carry out and maintain such withdrawal despite repression". From these arguments it is clear that Sharp gives learning a central place in his framework of nonviolent action, and he argues that it has a positive effect on the campaign.

In the same way that Sharp argues that the chance of nonviolent action would increase if people have knowledge about power and how to act, he argues that governments and unjust regimes have reasons to keep this knowledge from people. He claims that rulers fear the spread of this knowledge and about the power of nonviolence (Sharp 1973, 45). The regimes can also themselves be learning, and in that way developing new ways to deal with campaigns (Beissinger 2007; Spector 2006).

Sharp (1973, 101)looks at the campaigns that have happened so far (that is, up to 1973, when he was writing) and he is surprised that some of them have had success, given that they seem to have occurred ad-hoc and not based on knowledge of and learning from other campaigns. This is different now, and that gives opportunities for studying the mechanisms of learning.

In addition to the argument from Sharp I base my assumption that learning matters on other studies that have found support for this. One of them is Beissinger (2007). He studies nonviolent campaigns in post-communist countries, such as Serbia, Ukraine and Georgia between 2000 and 2006. Some people have argued that the structures where not favourable for the campaigns to have success in those countries. According to Beissinger (2007) it is the

power of the example that still make success possible. "Herzen called this history's 'chronological unfairness', for by taking advantage of the actions of one's predecessors, one does not have to pay the same price" (Beissinger 2007, 260). If there had not been an effect from one campaign to the other there would not have been that many successful campaigns in this area and period. This is one way that learning increases the chance of success.

Other studies have found support for campaigns one place having an effect on campaigns other places, without specifically studying whether it is learning or other mechanisms that are in play. One such study is Gleditsch and Rivera (2015). They argue that learning is probably more important for the diffusion of nonviolent campaigns than cross-border activities and direct support (that are more important for violent action).

3 Research methodology

In this thesis I have used a qualitative case study approach. My empirical sources were mainly newspaper articles, books and other texts written about the Independence Intifada, but I also did one interview. In this chapter I will describe my methods in more detail, starting with the method of case studies, then going into selection of case and then presenting and discussing the sources for my data.

3.1 Case studies

Gerring (2007, 19) defines a case as "a spatially delimited phenomenon (a unit) observed at a single point in time or over some period of time". A case study uses evidence from one case to attempt to illuminate a broader set of cases (Gerring 2007, 29) and a case can consist of many observations (Levy 2008, 3). My case is the Independence Intifada in Lebanon in 2005. I have limited the time period to the month between 14 February 2005, when the first claims were put forward, and 14 March 2005. 14 March was the peak of the campaign, and I consider the events after this as less relevant for studying learning.

A case is an example of a broader class of cases (George and Bennett 2005, 5). This means that a case should always be defined in relation to a larger population. In my case the Independence Intifada is an example of a nonviolent campaign. I will get back to the population of cases in the next section on selection of case.

The strengths of the case study method are conceptual validity and exploring mechanisms. A case study can also be used for deriving new hypotheses and assessing complex causal relationships (George and Bennett 2005, 19). Learning from previous campaigns is a challenging thing to study. Firstly the concept of learning is difficult to define and isolate. Secondly, it is challenging to find empirical data to track and measure learning. "It is one thing to say that historical learning often occurs but quite another to specify when certain actors learn what types of lessons from what events, and under what conditions this leads to policy change" (Levy 1994, 280). As learning is a complex phenomenon a case study is a suitable method for studying it. Another reason for doing a case study is that data on (actual) learning (not just diffusion) is not available, and I do not have resources to collect the

information of several cases at this point. A case study method can be used to answer the questions of whether and how, but not how much of an effect something has had, so this will have to be done in later statistical studies (George and Bennett 2005, 25).

Because I can go more in detail in a case study than in a statistical study I can look at complex events and take into account many variables (George and Bennett 2005, 43,45). I will do a qualitative case study and mainly present the data in the form of a narrative. As it if sometimes difficult to know what elements of a case will be relevant for other cases and possible to study in later research, I will present all relevant facts and hypotheses that come out of my study (Gerring 2007, 79).

Possible new variables and mechanisms from my study will be a contribution to the "ongoing dialogue between theory and evidence" within my field of study (Levy 2008, 5). It is important to be aware that a case can be interpreted in different ways, and try to look for these different interpretations in the analysis (George and Bennett 2005, 51).

As this is a single case study, I have a limited goal of generalization. I will however collect information that can be used by others. Other researchers can apply what I find on how learning worked in the case of The Lebanese Independence Intifada on other cases. Then they can see if it worked in the same way there. In this way I contribute to a cumulative research agenda (Gerring 2007, 85).

There are several reasons for choosing a case study rather than a large-N study. One reason is that when studying rare events, such as maximalist nonviolent campaigns, we want to know as much as possible about the cases that exist. This can be done through case studies. Another reason is the availability of data. Some data is also difficult to code and could be easier to analyse in a qualitative study (Gerring 2007, 56–58). After finding the mechanisms in one case it can be easier to know what to look for in other cases to make a data set that can be used for quantitative studies.

3.2   Selection of case

The first methodological challenge when working with case study is how to select the case (George and Bennett 2005, 51). I am interested in studying learning in nonviolent campaigns, and I therefore looked for a case where I could assume that learning had happened. As mentioned in the theory chapter I limited myself to studying campaigns with maximalist goals, as that is a limitation in much of the literature.

I started out making a list of cases from 2001 to 2015 based on the NAVCO 2.0 dataset (Chenoweth and Lewis 2013), the Global Nonviolent Action Database (Lakey 2011) and the webpage of the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict ("Movements & Campaigns" 2016). I have included this list of campaigns in the appendix.

I choose 2001 as a cut off point for the cases because I wanted to look at a reasonably new case to ensure that it would be comparable to today when it comes to the access to information technology. As it is difficult to pinpoint a cut-off point based on the gradual development of information technology, I choose 2001 because the 9/11 attack in the United States signifies a change in the world.

In some cases, such as Ukraine and Thailand, there have been successive campaigns. This makes it difficult to decide start and end points for the case, and complicates the search for learning behaviour. I therefore decided to remove these campaigns from my list. I also excluded all the campaigns that were part of the so-called Arab spring, as that was a special period that might not be comparable to other periods. I then ended up with a list of 9 successful cases to choose from. On three of them (Lebanon 2005, Senegal 2012, and Burkina Faso 2014) I had information from the Global Nonviolent Action database that learning (or inspiration) had happened. Out of these three cases I choose Lebanon based on the fact that this was the country I knew most about beforehand, making the collection of information easier.

I considered using a comparative approach and study two cases either with different outcome (one with success and one without success) or one with learning and one without. It was

however difficult to find two comparable cases with different outcome in the material. I tried to use statistical matching to find cases to compare, but I had too few cases to compare for this to be possible. Finding comparable cases is a common problem in case study research, particularly when it comes to complex effects (Levy 2008, 10). Looking for cases without learning was also a challenge, as I would have had to study the case in detail before knowing that learning had not happened. Due to the increase in sharing of knowledge across countries it might not be realistic to find any cases where there has not been any learning in the period after 2001.

In order to look for learning, I also had to choose some cases as background cases to compare the case in Lebanon to. These will not be presented in any detail, but will be used for reference. The two cases are the "Bulldozer revolution" in Serbia in 2000 and the Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004. I choose Serbia because the existing literature presents it as the first case of "colour revolutions" in post-communist countries. Participants in that campaign have trained others in how to do nonviolent campaigns later on. I choose Ukraine because it was the last campaign before the Independence Intifada.

3.3   Sources for data

I have gathered data on the Independence intifada from many different sources. I have read several books on Lebanon and the campaign. One book worth mentioning is Michael Young's (2010) book "The Ghosts of Martyrs Square: An Eyewitness Account of Lebanon's Life Struggle". Young is a Lebanese-American journalist and writer who experienced the events in 2005. Another source worth mentioning is the Global Nonviolent Action Database. This is a database of nonviolent campaigns that include some information on for example actors and methods as well as a narrative on the campaign. The information is mostly written by students and research assistants at Swarthmore College (Lakey 2011b).

Many books write about the Independence Intifada, but they mostly mention the same things. There is little information on the tactics used and the actors directly involved in the campaign. I therefore moved to news sources in order to find this information. The Daily Star is a daily newspaper in English published in Beirut. I have used searches in the online version of the

newspaper[4]. Articles from 2010 and later are only available for subscribers, but as I am interested in earlier events that is not a problem for me.

I have a limit in the fact that I do not read Arabic or French. There are English language newspapers in Lebanon, and many books written about the period in English, but this might bias the information I gather in some way. The sources that write in English might be different from sources in Arabic and French in some systematic way. I have had help translating some short texts from Arabic and French, but this does not change the bias.

Some of the texts I have been reading clearly have a bias, for example in speaking of Rafiq Hariri in extremely positive terms. I have tried to balance this by using different sources.

Towards the end of the project I got the chance to interview Srdja Povovic, one of the leaders of Otpor and the organisation CANVAS. This respondent was selected because of his key position. In the analysis I will get back to discussing how much I can rely on the information from this interview, as I have only spoken to one person. The data collection was approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) and I emphasized to the respondent that his participation in the project was voluntary and that it was up to him to decide if I could identify him or not.

In the interview Srdja Popovic identified some of his colleagues from the nonviolent movement in Serbia who travelled to Lebanon during the Independence Intifada. Due to rules on sensitive personal data I was told by NSD that I am not allowed to identify these people in this thesis. I tried to contact these colleagues by e-mail to get their approval for using their names (and confirmation of the information), but I did not get a response before finalising the thesis.

It would have been useful to do interviews with the actors in Lebanon. There are however several reasons why this was not possible. Firstly, it was not feasible for me to do a field work in Lebanon. Secondly, several of the key actors were killed in the period after the campaign[5]. It is also important to note that interviews with actors will also contain biases. As mentioned

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[4] Search terms I used: independence intifada (116 results, but nothing between 14 February 2005 and 29 March 2005, some articles were useful for background information), cedar revolution, Hariri (2230 articles from 14 Ferbuary 2005 to the end of 2005, so I limited the search to end of March and then had 513 results).

[5] Samir Kassir and Gebran Tueni were both killed in 2005, after the Independence Intifada ended.

in the theory actors might have an interest in increasing their own importance. The political divisions that manifested in the Independence Intifada are still very relevant in Lebanon today, so these are still sensitive issues.

I would like to mention a source of information that I have been trying, unsuccessfully, to get hold of. Several authors refer to a master thesis by Majed Rayan[6], who seems to have interviewed some of the students who took part in the Independence Intifada. I tried to contact the university in Lebanon and one of the writers who have referred to this. I also tried to get help from students at the University of Saint Joseph through a Lebanese contact I have, but I did not get a response from any of these, and I had to conclude that it was not possible to get hold of the thesis.

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[6] Majed, Rayan. 2007. "L'engagement politique des étudiants dans l'Intifada de l'Indépendance: État d'âme ou formation d'un mouvement estudiantin autonome?" MA thesis, University of Saint Joseph.

4 The Lebanese Independence Intifada

In this section I will present the Lebanese Independence Intifada, key events, actors and outcome.

On 14th of February 2005, former Prime Minister, Rafiq Hariri was killed by a car bomb in Beirut along with 21 other people (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016). Many people in Lebanon quickly suspected that Syria was behind the assassination, and a major popular campaign was launched with the goal of getting Syria to withdraw its troops from Lebanon. At this point Syria's military presence in Lebanon had lasted since1976 (Kerr 2012, 35). The death of Hariri was the spark for what was to become the Independence Intifada that culminated in up to a quarter of the Lebanese population gathering at Martyrs Square in Beirut on the 14th of March 2005.
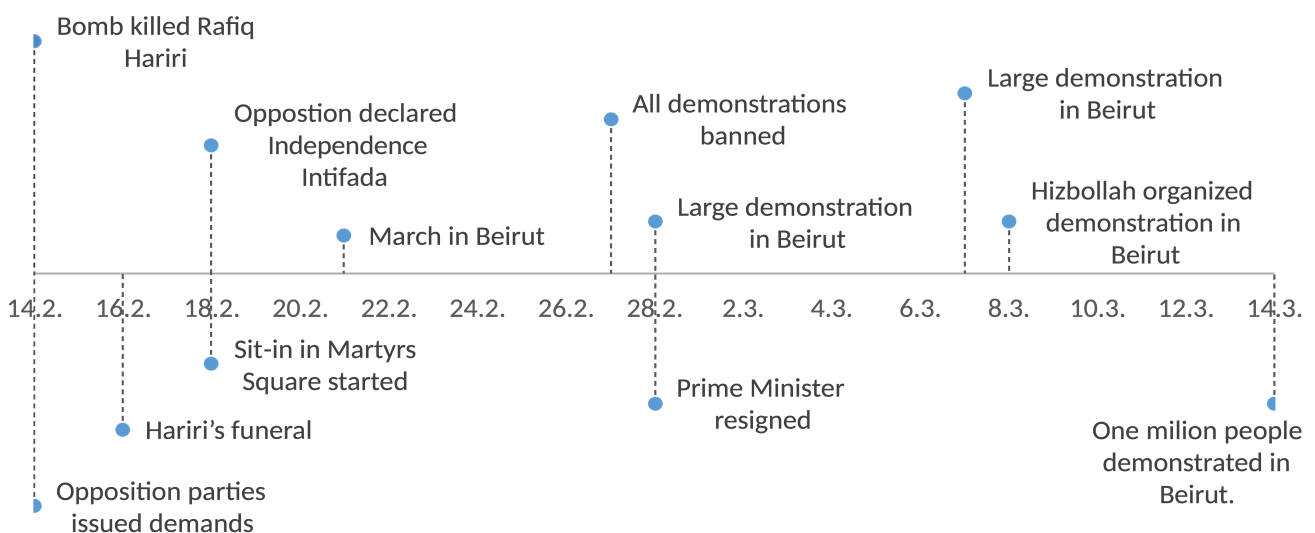
Figure 1: Timeline of key events Independence Intifada (February – March 2005)

The campaign has been called both the Independence Intifada and the Cedar Revolution. Independence intifada was what the organizers of the campaign themselves called it, whereas the name Cedar revolution came from the United States official Paula Dobrianski. She was inspired by Ukraine and Georgia and the catchy names there. Cedar refers to the cedar tree in the Lebanese flag (Young 2010, 3).

The term Independence Intifada was more meaningful to Arab audience, but did not fit the United States' government image of the campaign. The term Cedar Revolution caught on, and some Lebanese also started using it. There are some differences in the meaning of the two terms. Revolution is more sweeping than intifada – as intifada means uprising or revolt, but also "shaking off" or "convulsion" in Arabic (Young 2010, 4).

4.1   Lebanon and the lead-up to the Intifada

In order to present the Independence Intifada I need to start out by giving some facts about Lebanon and the events that led up to the campaign. This is outside of the case itself (as mentioned in the research methodology chapter the limit of the case is 14 February to 14 March 2005), but necessary in order to understand the case. Some of the information here will also influence the discussions in the analysis.

When presenting Lebanon Paul Salem (2014, 609 points out the many contradictions and puzzling facts describing Lebanon. Lebanon is an example of Christian-Muslim coexistence, but also rife with tension between the groups. In some ways it is a country with free speech and other freedoms, but at the same time these freedoms are often limited, and armed groups still operate without being controlled by the state. Salem (2014, 609) concludes: "In many ways Lebanon is a failed state – a state unable to control its borders or its territory; but if it is a failed state, it certainly appears to be one of the most successful failed states of modern times".

The contradictions that make up Lebanon also make analysing events in the country somewhat difficult. How should one, for example, categorize the political system between 1990 and 2005? Was it a democracy? Or was it in reality controlled by Syria? Kerr (2012, 33) defines it as "a form of corporate consociation that amounted to little more than direct rule by proxy from Damascus". Freedom House coded Lebanon as not free in 2005[7] ("Lebanon" 2005).

There is a long tradition of international interference in Lebanon, and the country has been a bargaining chip in many regional conflicts (Kerr 2012, 37). From 1975 to 1990 Lebanon experienced civil war, with the Maronite Christians fighting the Sunni Muslims. There was also involvement of The Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO), Syria and Israel. After the war ended Israeli forces remained in control in the south of Lebanon and Syrian forces remained in the rest of the country. The Israeli forces pulled out in 2000 (Picard 2012, 89). In addition to Syria and Israel, Iran, the United States and France have had interests in the

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[7] On the Freedom House scale (where 1 is best and 7 is worst), Lebanon in 2005 got a 5.5 on freedom, a 5 on civil liberties and a 6 on political rights ("Lebanon" 2005).

country. The international involvement has often happened through international push, but also because various national actors have used international actors to strengthen their own position vis a vis the other sectarian groups.

The population of Lebanon is divided into 18 (officially recognised) sectarian or religious groups[8] ("Lebanon - Religious Sects" 2016), and these groups form a central part of the political system of the country. Government positions and parliament seats are distributed based on sectarian affiliation, the president is always a Maronite Christian, the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim and the Speaker of Parliament a Shia Muslim (Hamdan 2012, 40). The system is based on compromise between the groups (Knudsen and Kerr 2012, 5). This distribution dates back to the National Pact from 1943, in which the main groups agreed on the political framework of the new state. At the end of the civil war in 1989 the groups signed the Taif agreement. It distributes the seats in Parliament equally between Christians and Muslims, though the Christians are less than 50% of the population (Hamdan 2012, 51). The last official census in Lebanon was done in 1932 and all population figures after that is based on estimates. Since the size of each group is linked to distribution of power, this is a very political issue (Knudsen and Kerr 2012, 5). The Palestinian refugees, who make up 10 % of the population, have no legal standing at all (Norton 2012, xvi).

In addition to redistributing the power between the religious groups the Taif agreement gave a legal basis for Syrian military presence in Lebanon. It stated that the Syrians should start withdrawing two years after the end of the conflict, but this did not happen. This was justified by referring to the continued threat from Israel (AFP 2005a).

The Lebanese system gives much power to the sectarian leaders (Norton 2012, xvi). There is for example no civil marriage in Lebanon. Many of the sectarian groups also have, or have had, armed groups. Hizbollah, a Shia military group, was the only group allowed to keep its weapons after 1990 when Syria took control of the country (Knudsen and Kerr 2012, 7). Political parties in Lebanon are usually linked to religious groups or family allegiance, and

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[8] They are four Muslim groups (Sunni, Shia, Alawites and Ismaili Shia), 12 Christian groups, the Druze, and Judaism. The largest Christian group is the Maronite church, the others are Greek Orthodox, "Greek Catholics, Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians), Armenian Catholics, Syriac Orthodox (Jacobites), Syriac Catholics, Assyrians (Nestorians), Chaldeans, Copts, evangelicals (including Protestant groups such as Baptists and Seventh-day Adventists), and Latins (Roman Catholic)" ("Lebanon - Religious Sects" 2016).

loose coalitions are often formed for election purposes ("Arab Political Systems: Baseline Information and Reforms – Lebanon," 2008).

Lebanon had more freedom of speech than many comparable places at the time of the Independence Intifada (Knudsen and Kerr 2012, 4). But there were many limits to these freedoms. In order to hold a public demonstration you had to get approval from the Interior ministry, and they were biased in their decisions. Demonstrators were routinely arrested ("Lebanon" 2016). And there was also a genuine fear of Syria and its security forces. During the years of Syrian control, many Lebanese where put in Syrian prisons, and many disappeared there (Young 2010, 74).

Based on a 1991 agreement between Syria and Lebanon all political and media activity that might harm Syria was banned. In addition there were laws banning criticism of leaders, and a special Publications Court to try these cases. Lebanon still had a diversity of (mostly privately owned) media, with dozens of newspapers and six major TV stations ("Arab Political Systems: Baseline Information and Reforms – Lebanon," 2008).

In 2004 the Syrians pushed through an extension of President Emile Lahoud's mandate[9] (Walker and Mitchell-Salem 2005). The president had been popular when he was elected, with expectations that he would fight corruption and clean up Lebanese politics. But according to Young (2010, 61–62) it soon became clear that the expectations would not be met. Lahoud had little legitimacy, especially at the time of his extension of office, but Syria kept relying on him to do their bidding in Lebanon. This went against the tradition of balance in Lebanese politics and Assad was warned by his allies that it might not be a good idea to keep the president in office. Young writes: "The president was unpopular because he had tried to be the sole conduit to Damascus and had often used the army to keep his adversaries in line" (Young 2010, 29). After the president's mandate had been extended, Rafiq Hariri soon withdrew from the position of Prime Minister and Omar Karami took over.

Rafiq Hariri was a successful businessman who first became prime minister in Lebanon in 1992. He was charismatic and able to communicate well with ordinary people and the media (Iskandar 2006, 56). He also had many personal contacts abroad, for example in Saudi Arabia

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[9] According to the Lebanese constitution, the president can only sit for one term.

and France. He had support from Syria in his earlier periods as prime minister, but in 2004 he begun to challenge them (Knudsen and Kerr 2012, 3). Following his resignation Hariri became a popular opposition politician (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016). The new government of Prime Minister Omar Karami on the other hand lacked legitimacy, because it was never elected, but formed "by default" when Hariri resigned (Anbar and Glackin 2005b). According to The Daily Star analysts Hanna Anbar and Michael Glackin (2005b) the government's performance was a disaster.

In December 2004 several opposition parties[10] came together in the so called "Bristol gathering" and made a declaration where they called for "political reform, national unity, and full sovereignty" (Haugbolle 2006, 66). This was a new development in Lebanese politics, where different political parties came together in opposition to the Syrian presence in Lebanon (Khouri 2005). Hariri and his party did not join the Bristol gathering officially, but he did increasingly show his support for the opposition in the period before his assassination (Young 2010, 26).

Young writes that "[t]he reason why once pro-Syrian politicians turned against Syria, or at least tried to rebalance their relationship with it, was that Damascus had transgressed the unwritten stipulations of their contract (...)" (Young 2010, 61). The Syrians had made it clear that they were what mattered in Lebanon, not the opinion of the Lebanese.

On the 2 September 2004 the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1559. It called for free and fair election, withdrawal of Syrian troops and disarmament of militias. The United States Congress had previously passed a similar resolution calling on less influence from Syria in Lebanon (Knudsen and Kerr 2012, 10). This was linked to a change in United States policy in the Middle East, where they put increasing pressure on Syria, partly due to Syrian support of Iraqi terrorist groups (El Khazen 2005).

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[10] Walid Jumblatt's mainly Druze Progressive Socialist Party,

4.2   Demands

The demands of the campaign varies from source to source, but the one thing they all agree on is that the campaign demanded that Syrian troops leave Lebanon. In addition to this, The Global Nonviolent Action Database (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016) writes that the resignation of the government and an investigation into the assassination of Hariri were also demanded. According to Knudsen and Kerr (2012, 4) the campaign had three main demands: "ending of Syrian hegemony in Lebanon, the withdrawal of all Syrian troops and the establishment of an international investigation into the murder of Hariri". These demands were in line with UN Resolution 1559.

During the campaign several other demands were added, such as the resignation of the heads of the Lebanese security apparatus. Some actors, such as opposition leader Walid Jumblatt, also called for the resignation of President Emile Lahoud, but this was not agreed on by all the opposition actors (Assaf 2005e).

4.3   Timeline

The timeline of the campaign starts on **14 February**, when Rafiq Hariri was assassinated in a car bomb in central Beirut. 21 other people were also killed in the blast. A group that called itself "Victory and Jihad in Greater Syria" said that they were responsible for the attack and Syrian President Bashar Assad quickly condemned the bombing. People in Lebanon were still quick to point the finger at Syria (*The Daily Star* 2005d).

The attack was shocking to the Lebanese and lead to strong reactions and people taking to the streets (Haugbolle 2006, 64). In Sidon, Hariri's hometown, people soon started protesting, asking who killed Hariri and whether the assassination would trigger war (Zaatari 2005a). The protestors also chanted slogans against Lebanese government officials, such as the president, and against the Syrian government (Zaatari 2005a). Hundreds of people also gathered in front of Hariri's residence in Beirut[11] and outside the hospital where the remains of Hariri were

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[11] The crowd shouted slogans such as "There is no God but God, and Syria is the enemy of God" (El-Ghoul 2005).

taken (Hatoum and Chahine 2005; Ghazal 2005a). The government declared a three day mourning period and many public and private institutions, such as shops and schools, were closed. The Lebanese army was also put on full alert (El-Ghoul 2005b). Around the Arab University people demonstrated against Syria and burned a picture of Syrian president Bashar al-Assad (El-Ghoul 2005a).

On the evening of 14 February the opposition parties[12] to the government issued a statement holding Syria and the pro-Syrian government responsible for the death of Hariri, demanded an international, independent investigation, government resignation and Syrian withdrawal of forces from Lebanon before the parliamentary election in May. They also declared a three day general strike (Young 2010, 25).

On **15 February** the UN Security Council called on the Lebanese government to bring justice to whoever killed Hariri and asked for a report on the killing. The United States recalled its ambassador to Syria (Stigset 2005). The Lebanese army was deployed in the streets as demonstrators gathered several places in the country, raising black flags in addition to the Lebanese flag. In Martyrs square in central Beirut the statue of the martyrs was covered with pictures of Hariri. In the evening of the 15th of February people gathered in silence with hundreds of candles at the site of the assassination (Short 2005; Zaatari 2005b).

O n **16 February** Hariri was buried at the Mohammed al-Amin Mosque close to Martyrs square in central Beirut. His family decided to call the funeral a popular funeral, not an official one, and it was attended by hundreds of thousands of people[13]. Many people joined the funeral procession and started holding up signs saying "It's obvious. No?", referring to who killed Hariri. This was the start of the mobilization of Sunnis, and they were accompanied by the other groups that were against Syria (Young 2010, 27; Haugbolle 2006, 64; Vloeberghs 2012, 165). The Maronite Patriarch Nasrallah Butros Sfeir had asked all churches to ring their bells at noon, to show solidarity during the funeral (Zaaroura 2005). According to Ziad Majed from the Democratic Left they were the ones starting to chant slogans that they had prepared in advance and eventually more and more people joined in

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[12] In attendance at the meeting were members of Hariri's parliamentary bloc, Qornet Shehwan Gathering and the Democratic Left. Noted individuals were Bassem Sabaa, an MP, who read the statement, Walid Jumblatt and Gebran Tueni (Hatoum 2005).
[13] Estimated quarter of a million (Assaf and El-Ghoul 2005).

(Young 2010, 28). The flags of the opposition political parties[14] were seen throughout the gathered people, and other participants criticized this saying that only the Lebanese flag should be used (Zaaroura 2005).

Asking the government leaders not to participate in the funeral was a clear (and insulting) message that the opposition had taken the fight to a new level (Khouri 2005). Government representatives tried to discredit the political element of the funeral by saying that "Any political slogan raised in the presence of a dead body has no meaning" (*The Daily Star* 2005b). A The Daily Star editorial, however, stated that the funeral was a "massive, popular vote of no-confidence in the government" (*The Daily Star* 2005b).

At the same time as people poured out into the streets to show their support for Hariri and their opposition to the government and the Syrian regime, Syrians working in Lebanon were attacked. These attacks continued throughout the period of the campaign (Bakri 2005).

On **17 February** demonstrators held a vigil to remember Hariri. Emails about the event were sent out to faculty members at the American University of Beirut, and many students and academics attended. Although it was a memorial vigil it was also a political demonstration, with people shouting "Syria out!" and "We want justice!" (Dempsey and Hatoum 2005). According to The Daily Star (*The Daily Star* 2005d) tens of thousands of people attended. There were also demonstrations and prayers in Sidon, gathering more than 5000 people, and led by both opposition political leaders and Muslim clerics (Zaatari 2005c).

On Friday **18 February** the opposition declared the Independence Intifada (Young 2010, 25). This was done after a meeting by around 44 opposition members of parliament[15]. The people who participated in the meeting wore red and white ribbons, to show that they supported the Lebanese independence. Hundreds of people also walked through Beirut from the place where Hariri was assassinated, shouting calls for "freedom, sovereignty and independence"(Raad

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[14] Flags of the Progressive Socialist Party, Kataib and Christian Lebanese Forces. Members of the Free Patriotic Movement used the Lebanese flags with the party name. The following parties were represented: Progressive Socialist Party, the Lebanese Forces, the Free Patriotic Movement, the Qornet Shehwan Christian opposition group and the Independent Leftist Movements (Assaf and El-Ghoul 2005).

[15] Representatives from Hariri's block, and from a dozen parties including the Free Patriotic Movement (Young 2010, 25).

2005b). Students attending the demonstration said that they would continue demonstrating every day to get the government to resign.

The same day a number of young people started a sit-in in Martyrs Square. This was in defiance of a ban on demonstrations. The protest grew steadily more political and anti-Syrian (Vloeberghs 2012, 165).

According to an article in The Daily Star (Ghazal 2005c) 12 students stared the "sit in against Syria". One of them was 19 year old law student Nour Merheb. " 'It was just an idea by a few frustrated citizens that just couldn't live anymore with Syrian occupation, especially after Hariri's killing. His death was the last blow,' said Merheb, who spent the night before in his tent and 'froze' due to a lack of blankets and heaters in the tents" (Ghazal 2005c). People from the opposition brought portable toilets and other equipment. The political parties also set up their own tents, with Lebanese flags and the flags of the parties. At the time of the article (Tuesday afternoon) Ghazal assesses that 30 demonstrators were staying in the tent camps, mostly young people, including a few girls.

> Each protestor came with his or her own tale of why Syria should leave, from Syria stealing local jobs to putting Lebanese in Syrian prisons to personal encounters with Syrian intelligence, but whatever their tale, the protestors say they will stand united in their tents "till Syria leaves Lebanon alone".
> (Ghazal 2005c)

On Sunday **20 February** the Lebanese government accepted to cooperate with a UN inquiry into the killing of Hariri. They also called for a national dialogue, but this was rejected by the opposition. Opposition leader Walid Jumblatt instead suggested a direct dialogue with the Syrian regime (*The Daily Star* 2005d).

On Monday **21 February**, one week after Hariri's assassination, the opposition organised a march between the place where Hariri had been killed and Martyrs square. The army presence at the demonstration was strong, including soldiers carrying assault rifles. The army also closed the roads, but more people than expected attended the demonstration[16], even if it took place during the working day (Young 2010, 35; Ghazal 2005b). In addition to the opposition

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[16] "(...) tens of thousands of protesters chanted 'Syria out' as they marched from the scene of Hariri's death to Martyrs Square in central Beirut" (Assaf 2005c). "More than 100,000 demonstrate in Beirut" (The Daily Star 2005d).

politicians, students and people of all ages attended the demonstration. There were Lebanese flags, but also flags of political parties. Many were wearing red and white, and there were handed out red and white scarves and posters (printed by the opposition parties) calling for "Independence '05". At 12.55 the demonstrators held a moment of silence (Assaf 2005c; Ghazal 2005b).

The demonstrators used different slogans, for example "No army in Lebanon except the Lebanese army". Young (2010, 36) argues that this was a good slogan and showed that somebody had experience with demonstrating. This slogan could be seen as a way of telling the Lebanese military that the demonstrators were not against them. Young also says that the demonstration showed that there was life in the campaign. "While the number of demonstrators that first Monday were inflated, there was more life in the Independence Intifada than anyone has suspected" (Young 2010, 36). He also argues that "there was some method to what was going on, suggesting that people were thinking through the protests, its colors, aims, and catchphrases" (Young 2010, 36). The demonstrators were mainly Christian, but there were also some Sunni, Druze and Shia. According to Young most of the Christians were middle class educated people.

In the evening of the 21st of February the United States President George W. Bush and the French President Jaques Chirac met in Brussels and issued a statement saying that Syria should withdraw its troops from Lebanon. They also supported a UN investigation of the death of Hariri (*The Daily Star* 2005c).

On **23 February** Prime Minister Karami made a statement saying he was ready to resign if a new government was agreed on (*The Daily Star* 2005d). The next day, **24 February** Syrian representatives say they would be willing to withdraw their troops in line with the Taif accord immediately. However nothing actually happened (*The Daily Star* 2005d).

On **25 February** the UN investigators began their investigation in Lebanon (*The Daily Star* 2005d).

On Saturday **26 February** thousands of youth got together and held hands, forming a chain from Hariri's grave to the place where he was murdered. The youth chanted "Syria out!" (El-Ghoul 2005d).

On Sunday **27 February** the government banned all demonstrations and the army was ordered to block roads and take measures so that people could not access Martyrs Square the next day for the demonstration to mark two weeks since Hariri's assassination. Hundreds of people entered the square anyway and spent the night there (According to Chahine and Ghazal (2005) tens of thousands of demonstrators arrived by Sunday night). The opposition stated that it would go ahead with a peaceful sit-in. Also a one day general strike[17] was called by business leaders.

When Monday morning, **28 February,** came it seemed that the army came to some kind of agreement with the demonstrators, allowing them to enter the square through certain streets. Young describes a type of "game", where the demonstrators pushed their way through the soldiers in groups, and the soldiers let them pass through. The army had conflicting interests between their orders to block the demonstrations and staying loyal to Syria and their unwillingness to fire at the crowds or create more tension (Young 2010, 50; El-Ghoul 2005d). Some people also gave roses to the soldiers (El-Ghoul 2005e).

People who could not reach Martyrs square in Beirut protested where they were. In the traffic jams at the highways people waved Lebanese flags and chanted slogans. In this way the government's attempt to limit the number of demonstrators might have backfired as people formed a line of protest along the highways (Dahdah and Battah 2005).

On the evening of Monday 28 February the Prime Minister resigned and the campaign had achieved its first concrete result (Glackin, Raad, and Assaf 2005). The Prime Minister was facing a non-confidence vote, but he controlled a majority in parliament, and would not lose the vote. However, he decided to resign anyway, before the vote happened (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016). After the prime minister resigned, the opposition demanded the resignation of several other government and security officials, such as the state prosecutor, the director general of the state security and the head of military intelligence (Glackin, Raad, and Assaf 2005). The protests continued in the days following the resignation (Chahine and Ghazal 2005).

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[17] This use of the term general strike does not match Sharp's definition that is used by the Global Nonviolent Action Database a general strike is when the workers in an area go on strike. When the business leaders are involved, such as here, and the purpose is largely symbolic, Sharp calls it "the hartal" (Sharp 1973, 275-278).

The next development came on Saturday **5 March** when Syrian president Assad announced that the Syrian troops would withdraw towards the border. He did not specify if they would actually cross into Syria and leave Lebanon. Assad also ridiculed the demonstrators in Beirut in his speech (Young 2010, 50).

On **7 March** close to 150 000 people demonstrated[18]. This marked three weeks since the death of Hariri (Assaf 2005f).

On **8 March** the largest demonstration after Hariri's funeral took place. But it was not organized by the opposition in the Independence Intifada. It was organized by Hizbollah to say thank you to Syria for its presence in Lebanon. The demonstrators gathered not far from Martyrs Square. Nasrallah, Hizbollah's leader, had three objectives in his speech: "to break momentum of the Independence Intifada by showing that the other side; the side ignored by the foreign media, could gather more people; to publicly 'thank' Syria for what it had done in Lebanon; and to take a step that (...) would spearhead a counterattack by Syria and its allies" (Young 2010, 51). I do not consider this demonstration a part of my case, but it happened parallel to it and influenced the campaign, so I am including it here.

On **Saturday 12 March** over 11 000 people gathered in Martyrs Square where they formed a Lebanese flag. They used cardboards of different colours that where handed out to them, and held them up forming the flag. In the days leading up to the demonstration on 14 March the opposition used leaflets and gatherings in different parts of the country to mobilize people to participate in the planned demonstration (Dahdah and Chahine 2005).

The peak of the Independence Intifada took place on **14 March** when around one million people[19] gathered in and around Martyrs Square. This was up to a quarter of the population of Lebanon and the biggest ever public event in Lebanon. People came from all over Lebanon, some even arriving by boat. There was an atmosphere of carnival and party. Local and international media covered the event extensively. This strong show of people power showed

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[18] "The protest was led by members of the opposition including MPs Butros Harb, Akram Shehayeb, Mohammed Hajjar and Ghattas Khoury" (Assaf 2005f).

[19] The estimated numbers varies. Young (2010, 40) writes hundreds of thousands, maybe near a million. The Daily Star reported more than 800 000 the day after the demonstration (Chahine 2005). They also write "up to one million" (El-Ghoul 2005e). The Global Nonviolent Action Database write "An estimated 1.2 million people attended the demonstration—more that a quarter of the population of the entire country!" (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016).

that many Lebanese people supported the campaign's demands. At least there was a merging of interest, where all the participants agreed that Syria must withdraw, but they might not agree on other things (Haugbolle 2006; Young 2010; Chahine 2005).

There were 20-30 people speaking at the demonstration, none of them were the youth from the tent camp. According to Young there were only two memorable speakers, Bahyya Hariri and Gebran Tueni (Young 2010, 54). The opposition leaders demanded "the sacking of Lebanon's top security chiefs, a total Syrian pullout, and an independent investigation into Hariri's murder"(El-Ghoul 2005g). The demonstration was attended by a varied group of people, with more Sunnis turning up than at the other demonstrations since Hariri's funeral. Many Sunni clerics also attended and also a group of Lebanese Shia (El-Ghoul 2005g).

The demonstrators used different slogans, such as "Truth, Freedom, National Unity," "We want only the Lebanese Army in Lebanon" and "Syria out, no half measures" (Chahine 2005). Some people also sang the national anthem and others carried banners that said "1000 percent Lebanese" (Chahine 2005).

I will get back to what happened after March 14 in the section on outcomes from the campaign.

4.4   Actors

In this section I will present some key actors involved in the Independence Intifada, both Lebanese and international. For a more thorough review of actors, see table of actors in appendix. In the theory chapter I set up two categories for actors in campaigns, namely internal and external. I will here first present the participants in the campaign (internal), and then go on to present the external actors These are the government, other actors in Lebanon and international actors. At the end of this section I will present the role of the media.

4.4.1 National actors

Participants in the campaign

The civilian participation was larger than ever before in Lebanon, with a variety of groups and individuals involved (Haugbolle 2006, 72–73). Among the participants in the campaign most were Maronite Christian and Druze, with some Sunni Muslims. Shia Muslims (the largest group by population) mainly stayed away (Chahine and Ghazal 2005).

The different groups involved in the Independence Intifada had a form of division of labour between them according to Young. The Sunnis mainly focused on Hariri's grave, the Christians demonstrated every Monday and also held daily smaller demonstrations and in the tent city the participants were more mixed (Young 2010, 37).

One main element of the campaign was the political opposition parties, who had come together against the extension of the term of the President in September 2004 and against Syrian influence in Lebanon (Raad 2005d). The opposition parties were the **Progressive Socialist Party** (mainly Druze and led by Walid Jumblatt), the **Qornet Shehwan Gathering** (Christian coalition of different parties, some key individuals are Gebran and Ghassan Tueni and Samir Franjieh[20]), the **Democratic Left Movement** (a secular group, important individuals include Elias Attalah, Ziad Majed and Samir Kassir) and **Hariri's Future movement** (mainly Sunni. **Bahia Hariri**, Rafiq's sister was the main spokesperson for this group during the campaign).

Several civil society groups were also involved, including women's groups, journalists and students and young people (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016). In the tent city many of the participants were students. I will get back to the tent city in the section on methods. In addition to the tent city, young people were also involved in the demonstrations, for example on 26 February when thousands of youth held hands from Hariri's grave to his murder site (El-Ghoul 2005d).

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[20] The Qornet Shehwan Gathering also had the support of Maronite Patriarch Sfeir. For more on religious actors, see appendix.

One notable young person was **Asma Andraos**. She was 34 at the time and an event organiser. She claims that she had not been politically active, but that she was awakened when Hariri was killed. She got angry and decided to do something, so she got together with some friends to plan for what to do at Hariri's funeral. The friends were all in their mid-thirties and "bourgeois", from different religions and not part of a political party. "We knew there was going to be a lot of media there, especially international, and so we focused on creating a few banners with a catchy message" Andraos explained to The Daily Star later (Ghazal 2005d). She had heard Saad Hariri answer a BBC-reporter "It's obvious. No?" when asked about who killed Rafiq Hariri, and this became their first slogan. According to The Daily Star article the group of Andaros' friends had no name and no plan at this point, but this quickly developed. They set up a petition in Martyrs Square and then set up the tent camp the same place (Ghazal 2005d).

The group formed around Asma Andraos eventually called themselves "Civil Society". They were not connected to any political party and their mission was to help sustain the tent camp with food and other things people there needed. "We were the link between the people's voices in the camp, and the outside world," Andraos explained (Ghazal 2005d). Andraos was lated selected as one of Time magazine heroes of 2005.

Business leaders contributed to the campaign by calling for strikes to demand the government to resign on the day that the vote of confidence was expected in parliament (when the prime minister stepped down). The call came from Lebanon's association of banks and industrialists and from the chambers of commerce and industry and stated "The economic authorities believe that restoration of the democratic regime is an essential condition to establish confidence in the Lebanese economy" (AFP 2005b). Some business leaders also provided direct support, such as the leader of the Virgin Megastore giving the tent city internet and electricity. "A prominent banker opened an account at his bank to collect donations to finance the protests" (Young 2010, 35).

Commercial interests also played a role in the "branding" of the campaign, providing posters stickers etc. (Haugbolle 2006, 72–73). One important individual here was **Eli Khoury**, the head of Quantum Communications in Beirut and experienced in advertising (Young 2010, 38).

Government actors

Some important government actors include **Prime Minister Omar Karami**, **Interior Minister Suleiman Franjieh (**described in The Daily Star as a "top Syrian ally" (Assaf 2005g)), **Defense Minister Abdul-Rahim Mrad (**described as a staunch Syrian ally by The Daily Star writer Nayla Assaf (2005g), **Speaker of Parliament Nabih Berry**[21] and **Jamil al-Sayyed,** head of the General Security directorate, who was part of the military intelligence network that was used by the Syrians to control Lebanon. Young (2010, 6) describes al-Sayyed as "a principal Lebanese enforcer" of Syrian control. Later on he was arrested in relation to Hariri's assassination.

Another interesting government actor is **army commander-in-chief, Michel Sleiman,** who was one of the people who refused to follow orders to repress the demonstrations. I will get back to this in the section on methods used in the campaign.

Other actors

Hizbollah is a Shia political party with a military wing. The party has said that they want an islamic state in Lebanon and it is regarded as a terrorist organisation by many in the United States and Europe. Hizbollah has been closely linked to Syria, but they did support withdrawal of Syrian troops. They did not support Resolution 1559 however (El Khazen 2005). During the campaign, on the 24th of February the party announced that it would not take sides (El-Ghoul 2005c), but later it organized its own demonstration outside of the Independence Intifada. This was the first time Hizbollah clearly had shown their political power of mobilization in an internal Lebanese issue, earlier their main focus had been the fight against Israel (El-Ghoul 2005f). At the time of the campaign in 2005 it had not had representatives in the cabinet of Lebanon, but it did join the cabinet after the 2005 election ("Arab Political Systems: Baseline Information and Reforms – Lebanon," 2008), where it won 14 seats in parliament.

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[21] Representing the Shia Amal Movement.

4.4.2 International actors

Internationally the campaign had some important allies. The Global Nonviolent Action Database (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016) lists the French and United States governments as external allies. In addition to this they list French President Jacques Chirac as a person who was involved. Syria of course also played a role, as well as Iran and Saudi Arabia (Iran as a supporter of Hizbollah and Saudi Arabia as a former strong ally of Rafiq Hariri). According to Young there was a combination of local and international pressure, where the international played a supporting role (Young 2010, 48).

The reason for United States involvement in the campaign was partly due to their changing relationship to Syria, and wanting to put a stronger pressure on them. But they also supported the idea of democratization in the Middle East, and therefore gave attention to the situation in Lebanon (Young 2010, 5). Earlier in 2005 Bush had, in his second inaugural address, promised to support people against oppression (Young 2010, 46).

Rafiq Hariri also had had personal relations to many international actors, for example the royal family in Saudi Arabia and President Chirac in France. This contributed to the pressure to hold people responsible for the assassination (Knudsen 2012, 221).

According to Srdja Popovic[22] (2016 [interview]) the Serbian nonviolence organisation CANVAS was contacted by participants of the Independence Intifada because they had seen the documentary film "Bringing down the dictator" about the campaign in Serbia[23]. Popovic was not directly involved himself, but according to him one of his colleagues travelled to Lebanon to train the campaign participants. The colleague was asked to leave after two weeks by the Lebanese authorities and another colleague then went to Lebanon to continue the training. CANVAS also lists Lebanon as one of their success-cases on their webpage ("About Us" 2016). According to Srdja Popovic (2016[interview]). CANVAS never tell people directly what to do in their training sessions, but rather give them the tools to plan their own campaign. One other source that mentions CANVAS' involvement in Lebanon is Tina Rosenberg. She writes: "Later Otpor helped bring about other revolutions: in Lebanon,

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[22] One of the founders of CANVAS.

[23] I do not know exactly when the initial contact happened.

CANVAS advised students carrying out what came to be known as the Cedar revolution (…)" (Rosenberg 2011a, 332). She does not reference any source for this information however. Rosenberg also mentions that CANVAS advised young people in Lebanon in a Foreign Policy article (Rosenberg 2011b).

4.4.3 Media

The Global Nonviolent Action Database (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016) lists Lebanese newspapers and media outlets as external allies of the campaign. The political parties involved in the campaign controlled some of the large national media, both newspapers and TV-stations. "Hariri's Future TV, the Christian-run channel LBC (Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation), and the newspaper al-Nahar became the principal mouthpieces of the [opposition] and crucial factors in its ability to challenge the regime" (Haugbolle 2006, 67–68).

Al-Nahar printed front pages from the war days, showing the relation between what was going on now, and the civil war. The campaign also placed advertisements in the paper, for example one where 1975 (the start of the civil war) was crossed out and 2005 written next to it in colourful graffiti. This symbolised the development from war into the youthful campaign of 2005 (Haugbolle 2006, 72–73).

It is important to note that the media had not been free from Syrian repression, as described in the background section. This makes their clear support of the campaign even more special.

The regional media also played a role in the campaign, primarily by contributing to the feel that the Arab world was watching what was happening in Lebanon. Pintak (2008, 15) argues that "[w]ithout al-Jazeera and the new constellation of Arab satellite broadcasters, it is unlikely there would ever have been a 'Cedar Revolution' (...)". He does not claim that the media was the actor that created the change, but that the actors used the media as a tool to produce the change they wanted. The role of the media should not be overstated, but together with the pressure from international actors it worked as a safety net for the demonstration (Pintak 2008, 16). The role of the media also worked closely together with the effort of branding the campaign that I will get back to in the section on methods.

4.5 Spontaneous or organized demonstrations?

One important question is how spontaneous the demonstrations were, and who was taking the lead or planning the campaign. Some sources talk about a more or less spontaneous reaction to Hariri's assassination (Haugbolle 2006, 64), others talk about how the campaign had been planned in advance. One member of Hariri's parliamentary bloc is for example quoted as saying: "The good thing about the slogans raised at Hariri's funeral is that they were spontaneous" (Raad 2005a).

Young writes that much of the branding for the campaign had been planned ahead, as a campaign to be launched at election time later in the spring. This was linked to UN Resolution 1559 and a hope that the time had now come to get Syria to leave. The central persons in this work were Samir Kassir and Eli Khoury of Quantum Communications (Young 2010, 38). Young also talks about a "machinery of emancipation". And he says that "it was the leaders who initially made possible [the] public reaction by turning against the Syrians and forming a core that a majority of Lebanese would later follow and surpass, but always somehow regard as legitimate" (Young 2010, 87). But despite this, he writes: "Without the public, without that brief moment when the Lebanese responded to Rafiq al-Hariri's assassination by declaring it an outrage to their liberal sensibilities, and taking to the streets, the fathers would have gone nowhere" (Young 2010, 87)

One reason why the narrative of the spontaneous revolution became important to the opposition was to separate their campaign from the demonstrations of Hizbollah. The Daily Star quotes an opposition supporter who describes the people demonstrating with Hizbollah on 8 March as "an organized professional and militarized crowd" and then states that "Our protest is spontaneous" (Ghazal and Bakri 2005). This distinction was set up give legitimacy to the Independence Intifada, and remove legitimacy from the large Hizbollah-demonstration.

Political parties were central to the organizing of the campaign, but civil society was also active (Abou Assi 2006). It is difficult to conclude exactly on the role played by the political parties and other groups and the role played by "the public". Young argues that "for in the month after February 14 it was the public that led the way, that turned the Bristol revolt into a national objection against Syria. The politicians later reasserted their grip on developments

before the summer elections, disappointing those who saw in the uprising the basis of a new Lebanon that could rise above the small despotisms of their leaders" (Young 2010, 29). Kerr writes that the Independence Intifada to a large extent was "organised and manipulated by political leaders" (Kerr 2012, 26). Haugbolle writes that the political groups eventually co-opted the demonstration and thereby alienated civil society (Haugbolle 2006, 74).

4.6   Methods of nonviolent action

In this section I will look into the methods that were used in the Independence Intifada and compare them to the methods used in the campaigns in Serbia in 2000 and Ukraine in 2004. Table 1 shows the methods used in the different campaigns based on the Global Nonviolent Action Database (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016; Rennebohm 2016b; Rennebohm 2016a). The database base their coding of methods on Sharp's (1973) list of techniques.

As early as 17 February the Lebanese media referred to Ukraine as a precedent for what was happening in Lebanon (*The Daily Star* 2005b). Ziad Majed was one of the actors referring to Ukraine and the fact that Lebanon could follow (Assaf 2005a). Other sources also mention that the campaign in Lebanon was inspired by Ukraine (Beissinger 2007; Young 2010, 37–38; Pintak 2008; Knio 2005; Ivanova 2013). According to an opinion poll from 2005 11% of opposition demonstrators said that their principal motivation was "Inspired by events in Ukraine" ("Poll Shows Bases For Unity in Lebanon" 2005). In the Global Nonviolent Action Database (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016) both Ukraine and Georgia are listed as inspirations for the campaign in Lebanon. Even Sheik Nasrallah, the leader of Hizbollah, referred to Ukraine in his speech at the 8 March rally: "Lebanon is not Ukraine. If anyone thinks you can bring down a state with a few demonstrations, a few scarves, a few shouts, a few media, he is suspect, he is wrong" (O'Loughlin 2005).

Beissinger points to some points of similarities between the campaign in Lebanon and the colour revolution Ukraine. He mentions the youth orientation of the protest, the tent city, giving flowers to the police and "the carnival atmosphere on Martyr's square" (Beissinger 2007, 262). He points to the main difference being that the Independence Intifada started with the assassination of Hariri and it was not a response to election fraud, as in Ukraine.

Reference cases: Colour Revolutions

In the period between 2000 and 2006 four successful nonviolent campaigns took place in the post-communist region, in Serbia, Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan. These four campaigns can be said to all belong to a model of colour revolutions. The later campaigns seem to have been inspired by the earlier and have borrowed from them, contributing to their success (Beissinger 2007, Carter, Clark, and Randle 2013, 106). The model did change some from country to country, but it had some basic features in common.

The Bulldozer revolution in Serbia that toppled Slobodan Milosevic in 2000 was the first of these colour revolutions. According to Beissinger and Rosenberg (2011, 332) it inspired and was a learning source for the later campaigns. The Serbian activists also later became active in spreading their model, travelling around the world to train groups (Beissinger 2007).

The campaign in Serbia was led by a group called Otpor!, made up of young people. They focused on building the "brand" of the campaign and through a cool logo (a clenched fist) and use of humour they made young people want to take part in the movement. Their way of thinking of nonviolence was inspired by Gene Sharp's books (Beissinger 2007).

Beissinger argues that the four colour revolutions had an "emulative character", and he bases this on the linkages between them. The movement in Ukraine (Pora) was based on the Georgian and Serbian movements. Pora leaders were trained in Serbia (at the Center for Non Violent Resistance) and Otpor! activists travelled to Ukraine to do trainings. "They taught us everything we know," said a leading member of Pora (Beissinger 2007, 262).

Ukraine has in the recent decades had several rounds of nonviolent campaigns. During the Orange revolution in 2004 thousands of people demonstrated against election fraud in the presidential election. The opposition candidate Victor Yushchenko ran against then Prime Minister Victor Yanukovych (who was supported by the sitting president, Kuchma). Yanukovych was declared the winner, but the opposition and OSCE observers claimed that there had been election fraud (Carter, Clark, and Randle 2013, 128). In the end the opposition was successful in forcing a new election, where the opposition candidate won.

It is worth noting the divided nature of Ukrainian politics. Yanukovych managed to win later elections showing that, "the 'Orange Revolution' was never the result of an overwhelming majority rebelling against authoritarianism" (Carter, Clark, and Randle 2013, 128). International support also played an important role in the campaign in Ukraine (Carter, Clark, and Randle 2013, 129).

According to Beissinger elite defection played an important role in all the four campaigns. Defections from the police and army made repression impossible and contributed to the campaigns being successful. In Ukraine even the outgoing President Kutchma (who had supported Yanukovych in the presidential election) choose to change sides (Beissinger 2007, 269–70).

The main thing to observe from Table 1 comparing the three campaigns is that they have many similarities in the "communications with a wider audience" section. One other similarity, that does not show in the table, it the location of the campaign. Both in Ukraine and Lebanon the campaign was focused around a central square.

Table 1: Comparing methods in Lebanon with Ukraine and Serbia[24]

		Method	**Lebanon**	**Serbia**	**Ukraine**
The Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion	Communications with a wider audience	007. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols	●	●	●
		008. Banners, posters, and displayed communications	●	●	●
		009. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books	●	●	●
		010. Newspapers and journals	●		
		011. Records, radio, and television	●	●	
	Symbolic public acts	018. Displays of flags and symbolic colors	●		●
		019. Wearing of symbols	●	●	●
		020. Prayer and worship	●[25]		●
		025. Displays of portraits	●		
	Pressures on individuals	033. Fraternization	●		●
		034. Vigils	●		
	[26]	037. Singing	●		●
	Processions	038. Marches	●	●	●
		039. Parades	●		
		040. Religious processions	●		
	Honouring the dead	045. Demonstrative funerals	●		
		046. Homage at burial places	●		
	[27]	047. Assemblies of protest or support	●	●	●
The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: (2) The Strike	[28]	117. General strike		●	●
	[29]	118. Hartal	●		
The Methods of Political Non-cooperation	Action by government personnel	147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents	●	●	●
The Methods of Nonviolent Intervention	Physical intervention	162. Sit-in›Threatened	●		●

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[24] From the Global Nonviolent Action Database (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016; Rennebohm 2016b; Rennebohm 2016a). This table only contains the methods used in Lebanon. For the full table see appendix.

[25] Not coded in the database, but I have found evidence of prayer, for example in Quilty (2005).

[26] Drama and music

[27] Public assemblies

[28] Multi-industry strikes

[29] Combination of strikes and economic closures

The first category in Table 1 is **communications with a wider audience**. The slogans in Lebanon started out spontaneously and mostly focused on Hariri's death, but eventually included the other demands of the campaign. One important slogan was "Truth" or "We want the truth", which meant the truth about Hariri's death, but was also linked to the bigger picture of change in Lebanon and independence from Syria. "Most significantly, the program included a concept of truth that went beyond finding the truth about Hariri's death to include an idea of "coming clean" about the state of affairs in Lebanon more generally" (Haugbolle 2006, 66). This was a revolutionary idea for people in Lebanon who was used to the regime lying to them to keep power. According to Ignatius the term also included a wish to hold the Arab regimes responsible for not delivering progress and prosperity (Ignatius 2005). Another simple slogan that was used was ""Enough!"

Many of the slogans, posters and other elements of the campaign were anti-Syrian. Mostly this remained a political criticism of Syria, but some people went further and used language and symbols that were against the Syrian people. This included slogans such as "Bashar, Bashar, the Syrian people are all donkeys" and "toot toot toot, Syria is dying" (Haugbolle 2006, 68). This was often linked to an idea of the 'enlightened' Lebanese and 'primitive' Syrians" (Haugbolle 2006, 68).

I have not found information about any kind of leaflets, pamphlets or books that the campaign published, but the Global Nonviolent Action Database (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016) lists it as one of the tactics used.

The role of traditional media, such as newspapers and TV, in the campaign was covered in the Media section of the chapter on actors, so I will not repeat that here. I will however mention the role of communication technologies and social media. This does not have its own point in Sharp's framework, quite natural, as he made his framework in the 60s and 70s. The campaign used email and cell phones actively to mobilize people, send out information and also to spread slogans and other messages (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016).

In order to "sell" the campaign to the media, branding was important. In the discussion on whether the campaign was spontaneous or not that I presented earlier I mentioned the role played by some central figures, in cooperation with advertising agencies, in designing the

campaign. Much of this was planned ahead for use during the election season, and then suddenly found a use in the Independence Intifada after Hariri's murder. The fact that the campaign early on had a unified visual expression with simple, clear slogans made it easy to get attention from the campaign on TV. Pintak (2008, 15) calls it "made-for-TV" and says that it was inspired by the Orange Revolution. The campaign got a lot of attention from Arab channels[30] because it was a good "telegenic" story. It also gave the TV-channels good ratings (Pintak 2008, 21). The idea of branding is something that the Serb had a strong focus on, both in their own campaign and in trainings later ("Branding in Serbia" 2016). Rosenberg (2011b) describes the movement in Serbia taking "cues from Coca-Cola, with its simple, powerful message and strong brand".

The idea of branding was also important in the next category, **symbolic public acts.** In Serbia the brand was focused around the Otpor fist-symbol. In Lebanon they also had a logo, the red and white Independence 05-logo. In Ukraine the clear branding was using the colour orange (Carter, Clark, and Randle 2013, 128). In the beginning of the demonstrations in Lebanon different party flags and other symbols were used, but the leaders of the opposition soon told people only to use the national flag and other uniting symbols (Haugbolle 2006, 65). According to Haugbolle this was a political decision, but it was also because people were unsure about their former political opponents who they were now campaigning together with. With the memory of the Civil War it was natural to want to tone down the political differences within the opposition, and the Lebanese flag was a "safe" national symbol (Haugbolle 2006, 66).

The national flag then played a central role in the campaign, both directly, as when people made a human flag, and indirectly as the basis for the colours used in the campaign and even the name Cedar Revolution. Most participants in the campaign used the colours of red and white, but Hariri's Future Movement also used blue, symbolizing truth (Young 2010, 39). When it comes to displays of portraits, the picture of Hariri played an important role and was to be seen all over Martyr's Square and in the demonstrations.

Another category in the framework is **pressures on individuals.** The Independence Intifada often included elements of fraternization. The demonstrators tried to show the soldiers that

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[30] And also some Western media.

they were not hostile to them, through for example slogans and handing out roses. The demonstrators also somehow persuaded the soldiers to not keep the demonstrators away, as seen in Young's description of the game of letting groups of people in to Martyrs Square. Fraternization was also present in Ukraine, for example through handing out of roses to soldiers.

A relevant category to mention is **action by government personnel**. At the start of the campaign the army and security forces were still controlled by Syria or people close to Syria (Young 2010, 35). But at some point this changed and the army decided not to repress the demonstrations, despite getting orders to prevent people from demonstrating. The army commander-in-chief, Michel Sleiman, explained why the army did not repress the demonstration on March 14 this way: "We execute the political will which emanates from a generalised national consensus... I approached this question from the point of view of the will of the nation, which is to say, the wish to live in peace. As a result I applied the popular political wish and not the official decision" (Al-Safir 4 February 2006 in (Picard 2012, 99)). This choice to not fully follow orders can also be seen in Young's description of the game between the soldiers and the demonstrators (see timeline 28 February).

The last category in Table 1 is **physical intervention**. The Global Nonviolent Action Database says that a sit-in was threatened in the Independence Intifada. Several of my sources call the tent city at Martyrs Square a sit-in, but this is not completely in accordance with this framework. Sharp's definition of sit-in is more concrete and involves actually sitting down, whereas in terms of the tent city it is used in a broader sense.

The tent city was started by young people. As described in the actors section Asma Andaros and her friends were some of the organisers. Other important people were Ziad Majed and lawyer Samir Abdelmalek (Young 2010, 27,54). When the camp had started the different political parties, such as the Progressive Socialist Party, also set up tents in Martyrs Square (Young 2010, 210). Each group had their own tent, leading to a separation between the groups. During the time the tent city was operative attempts were made to get them to mix, in order to show the unity of the protest (Fitz-Morris 2005b).

As time passed by the camp developed. "We have been here nearly a month, these are practically our homes now. And just like home, there are rules; you have to respect your neighbors" described one protestor (Fitz-Morris 2005a).The protestors also set up their own "police force" to look after the camp. There were some debates about what was going on when so many young people were gathered in one place, with accusations of improper behaviour coming from people opposing the campaign. Representatives from the camp denied this, saying that it was only the government trying to discredit the campaign. The camp had rules on boys and girls sleeping in different tents, and a ban on alcohol. One protestor said: "This isn't a camp for fun or partying; we are here for serious reasons, for our struggle, and people who aren't serious shouldn't be here" (Fitz-Morris 2005a).

One important supporter of the camp was Nora Jumblatt. She provided equipment such as a sound system and toilets. The internet and electricity was provided by the owner of the Virgin Megastore next door. At some of the restaurants around the square workers volunteered to prepare sandwiches to feed the people in the tent city (Young 2010, 35).

The Martyrs square was a central element of the tent city. Martyrs Square offered the demonstrators several symbolic and practical advantages, and was a good space for keeping up a presence in order to build momentum for the campaign. The symbolic elements were the grave of Hariri, a mosque, a church and a statue commemorating previous martyrs. The square also offered good access to the media, as there were newspaper offices close by. Young argues that part of the achievement of the protest was to use the symbolism of the square, but also allow people to put what they wanted into it, as different groups saw the square differently (Young 2010, 31–32).

In the campaign in Ukraine they also had a tent camp in the central square. The first protest camp in Ukraine was set up in 2001, when demonstrators demanded the resignation of president Leonid Kuchma (because he was accused of being complicit in the killing of a journalist). The camp was later torn down by the government and the protest suppressed (Carter, Clark, and Randle 2013, 128). A protest camp was set up again in November 2004 in protest of the claimed election fraud. Despite the fact that the temperature was below zero, 1500 tents was set up and protestors stayed there for several weeks (Ivanova 2013).

4.7   Repression of the campaign

As presented in the background section there were many limitations on freedoms in Lebanon in the time before the start of the campaign. And the fact that Hariri had just been assassinated, and most people blamed Syria, gave people extra reason to be scared. People did however choose to demonstrate despite this, and filled the streets in record numbers and with slogans that would have been unthinkable before.

A young Christian student who participated in the tent city described the situation like this: "We have nothing to lose anymore. We want freedom or death" (Ignatius 2005). A Druze student said something similar. "We're going to stay here, even if soldiers attack us. Freedom needs sacrifices, and we are ready to offer them" (Ignatius 2005).

During the campaign the government tried to stop the protestors. Firstly they warned people of the consequences that could come of the demonstrations. For example Interior Minister Franjieh warned people not to ignite tensions: "Should security be tampered with, the government will not stand unmoved, and the army will be given the order to act" (in Raad 2005b). The government did not however declare a state of emergency. Franjieh and Prime Minister Karami also said that they feared that someone (for example foreign security agencies) would infiltrate the protest and make chaos. The demonstrators did not apply to hold the demonstration (as was required by law, until the government banned all demonstrations). Karami criticised this saying "We are responsible for the safety of this nation and of its people. Any protest has to have a license. What if, God forbid, something happens?" in (Assaf 2005b). The army and security forces were ordered to stop the demonstrations.

Despite orders to prevent people from attending the demonstrations the army did not do so. As previously mentioned, they did set up checkpoints and slow people down, but ultimately did not stop the demonstrations going ahed.

In the aftermath of the campaign several of the actors involved were assassinated (Vloeberghs 2012, 167). As usual it is not clear who was behind these attacks, but it seems like someone started repressing the opposition more violently again.

4.8 Outcome

The Independence Intifada reached its peak on 14 March. The Global Nonviolent Action Database (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016) defines the end of the campaign as April 7 and Haugbolle (2006, 70) writes that the end of the intifada was marked by the Unity Week that was organized between the 6th and the 13th of April. The goal of the festival was to celebrate Lebanese unity, but also to allow shops and restaurants to make up some of the money they had lost during the campaign (Haugbolle 2006, 71).

As mentioned earlier, different writers specify different demands for the campaign. This also influences how they assess the outcomes. Knudsen and Kerr (2012, 4) define the goals as "ending of Syrian hegemony in Lebanon, the withdrawal of all Syrian troops and the establishment of an international investigation into the murder of Hariri". And they conclude that: "[t]he first and second goals were largely achieved when Syria withdrew its remaining 14,000 soldiers in late April 2005, but the Cedar Revolution lost momentum despite attempts to transform the outpouring of grief into a lasting political platform centred on Hariri's legacy".

The Global Nonviolent Action Database (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016) gives the campaign 6 points out of 6 on achievement of the goals. In addition to the withdrawal of Syrian troops the campaign did achieve the resignation of the prime minister (Baumann 2012, 138). In May Lebanon held elections, where the opposition won a majority. When it comes to investigation of Hariri's assassination, the UN ordered an investigation. On April 7 2005 a commission was set up to investigate the killing. This was a new thing that the UN was investigating a political killing (Young 2010, 44 and 135). Haugbolle (2006, 72) argues that the Independence Intifada also changed what could be expressed in public in Lebanon. Previously there had been an idea that the country was not strong enough to take conflicts, and that a new war could happen. But in the independence intifada people fought with words instead of weapons.

Even though the campaign achieved its goals, there seems to be consensus among most writers that the Independence Intifada did not change much in the long run (Knudsen and Kerr 2012; Haugbolle 2006; Kerr 2012; Young 2010; Kurtulus 2009).

5 Analysis

In this chapter I will discuss my empirical findings in light of the theory. I will start by looking at the questions from Dolowitz and Marsh's framework, as presented in the theory chapter. Drawing on the empirical findings in the previous chapter, I will discuss the actors involved, where the lessons were drawn from and what was transferred. In these sections I will also discuss the evidence for learning and inspiration taking place in this case, and I will sum up this in Chapter 5.4. I will then discuss some possible explanations for why the empirical material has so little information on learning. At the end of the chapter I will discuss the question of the outcome of the learning.

5.1   Who is involved in the transfer?

As stated in the theory chapter actors in my case can be individuals, organisations or states. The field of actors involved in a nonviolent campaign is often complicated, something that is evident from the actor presentation in Chapter 4.4. Key actors in the campaign included: the four main opposition parties (with certain individuals particularly engaged), young people (including Asma Andaros), business leaders and advertising people. Other actors involved in the transfer process were representatives from the Serbian organisation CANVAS, who according to the interview with Srdja Popovic traveled to Lebanon and held training sessions with the participants in the campaign.

Based on the empirical material I have a clear idea of the actors in the campaign, but it has been difficult to find information on actors who were involved in actual learning. The empirical material does not give a unified picture of the actors involved in learning. For example, I have found no reference to CANVAS or other Serbian actors in the Lebanese material. During the interview Srdja Popovic said that they were involved after having been contacted by the Lebanese, but I do not know who in Lebanon made the contact.

Other than the Serbians I have not found evidence of any international actors involved in learning (for example through training). I have also not found any evidence of material support from external actors. I have however found that several international actors gave clear political support to the campaign, for example the United States government and the UN

through investigating the assassination of Hariri (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016; Young 2010). This involvement is not directly linked to learning. I will get back to this general role of external support in chapter 5.6 where I discuss the outcome of the campaign.

There are several possible explanations for why the external actors are invisible in the documentation. As mentioned in the theory outside involvement could mean a loss of legitimacy (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011), and the actors in the campaign could therefore have an interest in downplaying the role of external actors. The campaign had vocal and well know support from international actors, but there could be a difference between that and saying that the campaign participants had been trained by external actors. External trainers would imply a more direct link between the campaign and external actors, and that could be perceived as something that would hurt the campaign.

Another possible explanation for the lack of information on the external actors in the Lebanese material is that CANVAS is overstating its own role. Perhaps the people they trained were not important participants in the campaign, and their presence therefore did not affect the campaign. CANVAS' involvement in Lebanon is mentioned by Rosenberg (2011a), but she does not specify what they did. Based on this limited information it is difficult to conclude on the role of CANVAS. In chapter 5.5 I will get back to this discussion, and present some more general explanations for lack of information.

The limited information I have on the transfer process makes it difficult to discuss some of the points from the theory. Ideally I should have been a "fly on the wall" in the planning and execution of the campaign, but that is of course not possible.

The Serbians were a type of consultants, who gave advice to the Lebanese based on previous experience. I do not know who took part in the trainings, neither why CANVAS was the organisation invited to Lebanon. Dolowitz and Marsh suggest that "best practise" focus and involvement of consultants could lead to less attention to the context in the country, and less successful transfer. Srdja Popovic argue that they never tell people directly what to do in their training sessions, but rather give them the tools to plan their own campaign. I would however need more information to say something about how this played out in the case of CANVAS' role in the Independence Intifada.

When it comes to Ganz' (2009) ideas of learning from within, presented in the theory, what I have information about is that there seem to have been diversity in the leadership team of the campaign with representatives from different religious groups (see Chapter 4.4.1). Some of the elements of the campaign seems to have been led by political parties and their members. The opposition parties were the ones who presented the demands of the campaign (Hatoum 2005; Young 2010) and declared the Independence Intifada (Young 2010, 25). Other parts of the campaign, such as the tent camp, seem to have been led by individuals not linked to political parties (Ghazal 2005d). Based on Ganz' theories this diversity could have contributed to innovation and learning in the campaign.

Ganz emphasize the importance of a deliberative environment in the leadership group. As I do not have information on how decisions on strategy was made, and if there was a leadership group that met and discussed, it is difficult for me to say something about this. It is clear that the people who ran the campaign had experience from different places. They were politicians, journalists, lawyers and event organisers (see Chapter 4.4.1 and the appendix). They also seem to have used the expertise of others, such as the people working for advertising agencies (Young 2010, 38). This can have contributed to innovation in the campaign. Diversity in actors is something that I have found evidence of (see Chapter 4.4.1), and based on Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) this should be linked to tactical innovation.

In the information on the Independence Intifada I specify some actors who were involved in creating the brand of the campaign. These were advertising people and political leaders. I will get back to the question of branding in the section on what is transferred, but here I will just mention that I have not found direct evidence that these actors learned. They probably built on their previous experience, but whether they also learned from previous campaigns is a question I cannot answer based on the information I have on the actors themselves.

5.2   From Where Are Lessons Drawn?

In Chapter 4.6 I presented two reference cases where lessons could have been drawn from, the Bulldozer Revolution in Serbia and the Orange Revolution in Ukraine. The reason for choosing these cases was discussed in Chapter 3.2. In the empirical material I have not found

evidence of learning, either inspiration or copying, from other places than these two reference cases.

The main focus of this thesis is cross-national learning from previous nonviolent campaigns. I have found many mentions of Ukraine in the empirical material (Pintak 2008; Beissinger 2007; Young 2010; *The Daily Star* 2005b; Assaf 2005a; Knio 2005; Ivanova 2013; "Poll Shows Bases For Unity in Lebanon" 2005; Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016), so it seems clear that the actors were aware of what had recently happened there. This does not prove that they learned however. Several of the mentions of Ukraine specify that the participants in the campaign in Lebanon were inspired by the events in Ukraine (Pintak 2008, 15; Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016; "Poll Shows Bases For Unity in Lebanon" 2005). I will get back to this inspiration in the next section.

Calling the campaign the Cedar Revolution was inspired by the other Colour Revolutions, but this was not done by the campaign itself, so it might not be defined as a lesson. Anyway it is a sign that somebody (in this case a United States official) saw (or wanted to see) the link and similarities between what was happening in Lebanon and the events in Ukraine (and Georgia) (Beissinger 2007, 262). The Lebanese media and the actors in the campaign also started using the term Cedar Revolution about what happened, so that could be an indication that they learned that it was a good idea to connect more to the other Colour Revolutions (Zeineddine 2009; Anbar and Glackin 2005b; Anbar and Glackin 2005a; Khalaf 2009).

In the theory chapter I presented studies that said that geographical proximity was the most important for where lessons were drawn from (Gleditsch and Rivera 2015). This seems to not be the case in Lebanon. This is perhaps natural, as there had not been campaigns in nearby countries. It is however interesting that the main reference seems to be Ukraine. Why is this the case? Based on the theory there should be a form of identification that led the campaign participants in Lebanon to look to Ukraine. I have not found evidence of this in the material, but that does not mean that it was not a case of identification. What does seem to be clear however is that the Orange Revolution in Ukraine was the campaign "everyone" was talking about at that time. The campaign in Ukraine was very visible. It seems to be "the case to reference" and also the most recent case. It could be interesting to look in more detail on why this was, but that is not within the scope of this thesis.

According to Srdja Popovic (2016 [interview]), some of the actors in Lebanon had seen the film "Bringing down the dictator", and they might be inspired or have learned from that. But that is to too little information to prove anything from. Popovic also said in the interview that several Serbians were in Lebanon and did trainings for participants in the Independence Intifada. If this is correct, it is an indication that lessons were drawn from Serbia, but it still does not prove that learning happened. Firstly, I do not know at what point in the campaign this training happened. It could therefore have taken place after all the plans for the campaign were decided on. Secondly, even if they received training I do not know if they used what they were trained in during the campaign. I will get back to possible concrete learning in the next section.

A possible source of learning could be previous campaigns in Lebanon. But according to the information presented in the background-section there has not been any significant campaign activity in Lebanon before the Independence Intifada. Some of the reason for this was the restrictive system and fear of the Syrian presence in Lebanon. Some participants in the campaign did however have experience from other areas that they brought into the campaign (such as advertising). The lack of previous campaigns in Lebanon makes within-country learning from previous campaigns unlikely.

5.3   What is transferred?

In the theory chapter I presented four degrees of transfer, copying, emulation, combinations and inspiration (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000). I will start out this section by discussing the evidence of inspiration before going into more concrete things that can have been transferred. It is important to note the difference between inspiration to act and inspiration to specific actions. Inspiration to act is what most of the diffusion studies look at. In the case of the Independence Intifada it seems to be clear that it was an internal event (the assassination of Hariri) that led to the choice to start the campaign. This does not mean that the campaign was not inspired by other campaigns in some ways however.

Inspiration is difficult to document empirically, but I argue that the campaign in Lebanon was inspired by at least the campaign in Ukraine based on the participants in the campaign answering that they were inspired by Ukraine in an opinion poll ("Poll Shows Bases For

Unity in Lebanon" 2005). There were also many references to Ukraine by the participants in the campaign and others in my material (see previous section).

The idea of nonviolent action and using nonviolent methods is something that can be transferred from one place to another. As it is broad ideas it is difficult to document empirically that learning happened, apart from stating the fact that the campaign in Lebanon did use nonviolent methods, and they could have learned them from somewhere. I have not been able to find clear references to Sharp and his understanding of power or other general theories of nonviolent action in the empirical material on the Independence Intifada. But if they had training from CANVAS, that would have been included in their training (Popovic 2016 [interview]).

Knowledge about what others have done could make it easier to coordinate a campaign without a lot of previous organisation. I have not found direct evidence of this in the Lebanese case. But if we believe the narrative of the spontaneity of the demonstrations and the fact that it was "the people" that started protesting, it is likely that they had the idea of demonstrating and how to do it from somewhere. And I have found documentation that many listed inspiration from Ukraine as a reason for the demonstration ("Poll Shows Bases For Unity in Lebanon" 2005). So it could be argued that the knowledge people had about the campaign in Ukraine made them take to the streets without much organisation. As I have discussed several places however it is not so sure that this was as spontaneous as some would like to present it, and then the story becomes something else.

If I start from the point of the campaign mostly being planned beforehand, to be used for the upcoming election, and then just set in motion a bit earlier because of the death of Hariri, the argument becomes a different one. I have not been able to find any direct evidence that the people who planned the demonstrations learned or were inspired by campaigns in other countries.

One way of looking for learning is to look for similarities in the methods used in the different campaigns. In Sharp's (Sharp 1973) framework the category "communications with a wider audience" has six methods; the only one not present in the Independence Intifada (or the other two campaigns) is skywriting and earthwriting. Out of the five methods present in Lebanon

four of them were present in Serbia and three in Ukraine (see Table 1). This is a large overlap of methods, but does not prove that the Lebanese learned. It could be argued that communications with a wider audience is a necessary component of any nonviolent campaign. When people want to change something they have to let others know what they want to change. The "Colour-revolution model" also has a strong focus on branding, and that would show itself in the use of this category of methods. Branding could also be visible in the next category of "symbolic public acts", so I will present that before getting back to the general discussion of branding.

In the category of symbolic public acts there are 13 methods in Sharp's framework. Of those three are present in the Independence Intifada according to the Global Nonviolent Action database (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016). I have however added one more based on my data (see Table 1). Out of those four three are present in Ukraine and only one in Serbia. For this category it therefore seems to be more similarities between the Independence Intifada and the campaign in Ukraine, than the campaign in Serbia. This fits with the references I have found to inspiration from Ukraine. It could also be because there has been a development of the "model" that started in Serbia and continued in Ukraine, and that Lebanon then learned from that. Another possible explanation is that the campaign in Serbia used few of the methods in this category because the Otpor-fist was such a strong symbol that they did not need colours or other images in addition to that. It is not within the scope of this thesis to go in detail on this however.

The method in the category of symbolic public acts that is present in all three campaigns is wearing of symbols. This has a clear link to the idea of branding. In Serbia it was the Otpor fist, in Ukraine orange ribbons and in Lebanon the logo "Independence 05" in addition to the Lebanese flag.

According to the database Lebanon was the first of these three campaigns to use displays of portraits. As the Independence Intifada was more clearly linked to an individual (Hariri and his death) is natural that this would be a method used here, whereas the campaigns in Ukraine and Serbia were linked to elections and did not have individuals with the same symbolic significance as Hariri.

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The fact that the campaign in Lebanon had a clear logo, colours and slogans made it easy to "sell" the campaign to the media. Pintak (2008, 15) argues that this branding was clearly inspired by Ukraine. This could also be linked to the idea of calling the campaign the Cedar Revolution that was discussed in the previous section. Including what happened in Lebanon in some kind of "wave" or "type" of nonviolent campaigns could make "selling" the campaign easier, especially to an international audience.

Another similarity between the campaign in Lebanon and Ukraine was the use of a tent camp. Both places a central square in the capital was filled with tents where activists stayed for weeks (Young 2010, 27,54; Ivanova 2013). And in both places young people were central actors in the camps. Both Martyrs Square in Beirut and the Maidan (Independence Square) in Kiev took on symbolic meaning for the campaigns, as well as the practical roles they played in being the main gathering place of the protestors (Young 2010, 31–32; York et al. 2010, 4).

In Chapter 2.5 I presented loyalty shifts from government supporters such as the police and army as one factor that could contribute to the success of nonviolent campaigns (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011). All the three campaigns are defined as involving "deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents" (see Table 1). This is a sign that they all had some success in encouraging loyalty shifts, or at least got government actors such as soldiers to shirk from their responsibilities. I cannot argue that they had learned the methods for encouraging loyalty shifts based on this information however. In order to do that I would have needed other data. I have not found evidence of negative learning, e.g. how not to do something.

5.4   Did learning happen?

Based on this analysis what I can say about the learning in the campaign in Lebanon is that I have found that there was clear inspiration from Ukraine. This has been documented through an opinion poll ("Poll Shows Bases For Unity in Lebanon" 2005) and several references to Ukraine in the material. There are also similarities between the methods used in the campaign in Lebanon and the previous campaigns in Ukraine and Serbia that makes it likely that there was concrete learning of methods. I also have indications of training done by Serbian actors in Lebanon, but I do not have verifiable "proof" of this. All in all, if I define learning as

inspiration I can answer a clear yes to the question of whether learning happened, but in order to prove that learning of methods happened more information is needed.

5.5   Why so little data on learning?

The main challenge in working with this thesis has been finding empirical information about learning. In this section I want to briefly discuss this lack of information in light of some of the theoretical information presented in Chapter 2 and empirical information presented in Chapter 4.

The first possible explanation for the lack of information on learning is that learning did not happen, or at least not much learning happened. As discussed in the previous section I have some information that indicate that there was learning, but not solid proof, so I cannot know for sure that this is not the explanation. There are however some other reasonable explanations as well.

In the theory chapter I presented the idea of competing narratives. The actors might have an interest in presenting something in a specific way. The actors in the Independence Intifada might for example be interested in toning down the role of training and learning from others in order to take credit for what happened. This could be a reason for why I do not find information on involvement of for example CANVAS in the Lebanese material. As the argument here is that the actors try to present their own contribution in a better light, it is natural that it is difficult to find empirical data to substantiate this.

The actors in the campaign could also have an interest in presenting that they were trained by others, in order to link themselves to previous successful campaigns. But I have not found evidence of this happening in Lebanon. The actors in Lebanon were connected to the previous colour revolutions through the use of branding and the name Cedar Revolution (as discussed previously), but not by presenting that they have been trained by Serbians (at least not in my empirical material).

One element that came out of the empirical review was the focus on the campaign being spontaneous (see Chapter 4.5). It seems to have been important for the actors in the

Independence Intifada to present their campaign as a spontaneous reaction by "the people". Training by participants from previous campaigns, such as CANVAS, does not fit within that narrative.

The nature of nonviolent campaigns also contribute to making learning difficult to document. Campaigns often consist of many, more or less clearly defined, actors and few of them are institutionalised. This is in contrast to studies of public policy, as governments are normally more institutionalised and document what they do to a much larger extent than actors in nonviolent campaigns.

At the end of this section I will ask the question if it could have been possible to find more data on learning if I had used different methods in collecting empirical data. If I had interviewed the participants in the campaign[31] I could have gotten more information on learning, or a clearer idea that learning did not happen. But based on the idea of competing narratives, and the actors wanting to present themselves in a certain way, it is not necessary that I would have gotten a clear answer from interviews either. Ideally I should have mapped what the actors knew about previous campaigns when their campaign started and been a "fly-on-the-wall" to see what kind of training and information they got throughout the campaign. But that is of course impossible to do after the fact.

5.6   How is transfer related to outcome

In closing the analysis I want to look at the question of the role the learning played in the Independence Intifada. This is linked to the last question in Dolowitz and Marsh' framework, that is asking how transfer is related to outcome. As presented in Chapter 4.8 the Independence Intifada was a success in terms of achieving its stated goals. I will therefore discuss how learning contributed to this success, and what other factors also contributed to success. As presented so far in this analysis the empirical data does not give clear answers as to what learning happened in the Independence Intifada. In this section I will look at the possible learning that I have found and discuss how this could have affected the result. I will start by discussing some general factors that could contribute to a campaign being successful, and then discuss learning more specifically.

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[31] See Chapter 3.3 for an explanation of why I did not do more interviews.

In Chenoweth and Stephan's (2011) analysis the size of the campaign is the key determinant of success. In my selection of cases[32] there was also a clear indication that larger campaigns were more successful. When I sorted the campaigns by size it almost perfectly divided the unsuccessful and successful cases. And size was definitely a factor in the Independence Intifada as possibly a quarter of the Lebanese population participated in the 14 March demonstration. In addition to size diverse participation also affects the chance of success of a campaign (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011). The empirical data in Chapter 4.4.1 showed that the Independence Intifada had a diverse participation, both in terms of the religious background of the participants and the different groups involved (such as political parties and business leaders).

In the empirical material it is clear that Hariri as a person and the fact that he was assassinated played an important role in starting the campaign and in mobilizing a large number of people, both in Lebanon and internationally (Assaf 2005a; Ghazal 2005d). Young (2010, 61) argues that "(…) had Hariri not been killed, the popular uprising against Syria would not have taken place, at least in the way it did".

In Chapter 4.7 I wrote that there was little repression during the Independence Intifada, despite the Lebanese government (and its Syrian allies) previously repressing protest. It is unusual that the campaign was not met with repression, according to Chenoweth and Stephan (2011, 51) 88 % of campaigns are met with violent resistance from their adversaries. One reason for this could be the size and diversity of the campaign, as Chenoweth and Stephan (2011, 40) argue that it is difficult and more costly to repress a large and diverse campaign.

As mentioned previously the participants in the campaign in Lebanon also encouraged loyalty shifts, and seem to have succeeded in getting the army to at least shirk their responsibilities (see Chapter 4.7). As there was no repression of the Independence Intifada, the backfiring of repression was not a success factor in this case.

The Syrian regime could not repress in the same way as they had done before according to Pintak. This was due to the role of the media, where "the eyes of the world" was on what was happening in Lebanon, thus limiting the repressive methods that could be used (Pintak 2008,

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[32] From 2001. See Appendix for full list.

15). This success factor is therefore linked to learning, as branding and presenting the campaign to the media is one of the things the campaign in Lebanon possibly learned from Ukraine and Serbia. Learning can also have contributed to success because the similarities to Ukraine made the campaign fit an international narrative of nonviolent campaigns and democratization. This might have made it easier for international actors to support the campaign.

Haugbolle (2006, 74) also mentions branding and media support as part of what led to the success of the campaign. Here it should also be mentioned that the campaign in Lebanon was in a special position compared to many other campaigns, as they had supportive media. As mentioned in Chapter 4.4.3 several of the media outlets in Lebanon was even owned by groups that took part in the campaign.

Several international actors, such as the French and United States governments, gave political support to the campaign (see Chapter 4.4.2), and this could have contributed to the success. The support could for example have made the Syrian authorities give in more easily. But as we have seen in the theory international support is not only positive. It can lead to lack of legitimacy of the campaign. I have not found evidence of this in the empirical material however.

The strong international support raises the question of whether the outcome of the campaign was actually the result of the campaign itself, or more the result of external forces (for example a shift in United States foreign policy that led to increased pressure on Syria). It is difficult to answer this clearly, but Assad was certainly aware of the many thousands protesting in Lebanon (Young 2010, 50). Assad had also made mistakes in his handling of Lebanon, according to The Daily Star (2005a). He forced his own will on the Lebanese, thereby uniting previous opponents and laying the basis for what became the Independence Intifada.

Several elements seems to have come together to create the successful Independence Intifada. There was the discontent with Syria both in Lebanon and internationally (partially due to Assad's errors), the shock of Hariri's murder and the coming together of the Lebanese political leaders. Together with this there was the branding of the campaign in a way that

appealed to the media and portrayed what happened in Lebanon as part of a bigger picture of colour revolutions (Young 2010, 87; Zisser 2005).

6 Conclusion

In this final chapter I will conclude on the discussions from the analysis and answer my research questions. I will then discuss some possible implications based on my analysis and some possibilities for further research.

The aim of this thesis was to contribute to a better understanding of learning in nonviolent campaigns. My research questions were:

Did the actors in the Lebanese Independence Intifada learn from previous nonviolent campaigns? If yes, how did this learning happen?

In order to answer these research questions I asked three questions from Dolowitz and Marsh' policy transfer framework: Who is involved in the transfer? From where are lessons drawn? What is transferred?

It was difficult to document which actors that *actually* were involved in learning, as the empirical material did not yield a unified picture. In the Lebanese empirical material (such as news sources and books on the campaign) I did not find mentions of actors being involved in direct learning. From other sources (interview with Srdja Popovic and Rosenberg's (2011a) book). I have indications that actors from Serbia did go to Lebanon to train participants in the campaign, but I have very little or no credible information documenting what actually happened.

I have not found evidence of inspiration and learning from other places than Serbia and Ukraine in the empirical material. It is interesting that Ukraine seems to be the main case to reference. In this case, geographical proximity seems to be less important than previous studies have indicated. The campaign in Ukraine was the most recent campaign however and it seems to have been very visible and "on people's mind".

I did find information that indicates that the actors in the Independence Intifada were aware of the campaign in Ukraine, and were inspired by it. For example, 11% of participants who answered a poll said that they were inspired by Ukraine. I also found that actors in the campaign mentioned Ukraine as a source of inspiration. I therefore conclude that there was

inspiration from previous campaigns. As I have defined inspiration as a type of learning I can therefore answer yes to the first research question.

When it comes to the question of what is actually transferred it is difficult to give a clear answer. I have compared the methods used in Serbia, Ukraine and Lebanon, and I find similarities between the campaigns. For example, they all had a strong focus on clear symbols and slogans linked to an idea of branding. Both the campaign in Ukraine and the one in Lebanon had a tent camp in the main square of the capital with a strong youth presence. These similarities can give an indication that there has been learning, but without clear evidence of direct transfer I cannot conclude this with certainty.

In Chapter 5.6 I discussed how inspiration and learning affected the outcome of the campaign in Lebanon. As many factors contributed to create the success of the campaign, and because of the limited information on learning, it is difficult to conclude on whether learning contributed to the successful outcome. It seems likely that the link to the previous Colour Revolutions and the clear branding of the campaign worked together with other factors to create a campaign that was easy to "sell" to the media and to foreign governments.

Through the work on this thesis I have found that studying learning in informal settings such as nonviolent campaigns is a challenge. It has been difficult to find empirical data on learning and actors involved in learning. There could be several reasons for this, for example actors might want to present something as their own idea.

There are several possibilities of further research based on this thesis. It would be interesting to interview some of the actors in the campaign to see how their stories match up with the empirical material I have found. It would also be interesting to look more in detail on the government actors during the campaign in Lebanon, for example the army commanders who did not follow orders to repress the campaign. Had they learned that they could do this from previous campaigns? How identification and visibility of a campaign affects where people draw lessons from is a third topic it would be relevant to look more closely at.

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Appendix 1: List of actors in the Independence Intifada

Group	Member groups	Individuals	Religous affiliation
Progressive Socialist Party (PSP)		Walid Jumblatt (leader) Nora Jumblatt (Walid's wife)	Druze
Qornet Shehwan Gathering	Lebanese Forces (but was not part of the gathering at the election in May 2005) Democratic Renewal Movement Kataeb (Phalangist) Party Independence Movement (Harakat Al-Istiklal) Maronite League National Liberal Party	Samir Franjieh Gebran Tueni Ghassan Tueni Dory Chamoun (National Liberal Party president) Amin Gemayel (former President)	Christian
	Free Patriotic Movement (has been member of the QS gathering at some point)	Michel Aoun	
Democratic left movement		Elias Attalah (leader) Ziad Majed (VP and political analyst) Samir Kassir	Non-secterian
Future movement (joined Bristol gathering later)		Rafiq Hariri Bahia Hariri (Rafiq's sister) Bahaeddine Hariri (Rafiq's son) Saad Hariri (Rafiq's son)	Sunni Muslim
		Maronite Patriarch Nasrallah Butros Sfeir (patron of the opposition)	
Students			
Economic elites			

Sources: (El-Ghoul 2005b; M. Hatoum 2005; Assaf and El-Ghoul 2005; Assaf 2005a; Assaf 2005b; "Arab Political Systems: Baseline Information and Reforms – Lebanon," 2008; "Qornet Shehwan Gathering" 2016; Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016.)

Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) was founded in 1949 and is led by **Walid Jumblatt.** Officially it is a secular party, but it is mostly supported by Druze Lebanese. In the 2005 election it won 16 seats ("Arab Political Systems: Baseline Information and Reforms – Lebanon," 2008). Jumblatt used to accept the Syrian presence, but after the extension of President Lahoud's term in office he could not support them any longer. He was part of setting up the Bristol gathering and became a leader of the Independence Intifada (Ignatius 2005). During the campaign he mostly did not participate in demonstrations, because he feared someone would try to kill him. His wife **Nora Jumblatt** played an important role in organising the demonstrations (such as the marches walks from the place of Hariri's assassination) and she supported the people in the tent camp (I will get back to this) (Assaf 2005c; Young 2010, 35).

The Qornet Shehwan Gathering is a Christian coalition established in 2001, in opposition to the government of Lebanon and the Syrian presence in Lebanon, that brought together different political parties and individuals (Khoury 2002). It was established with the blessing and support of the **Maronite Patriarch Sfeir** ("Arab Political Systems: Baseline Information and Reforms – Lebanon," 2008). It won 6 seats in the 2005 parliamentary elections. Important individuals in the gathering include **Gebran Tueni**, who had been an outspoken critic of Syria since 2000[33] (Haugbolle 2006, 76) and his father **Ghassan Tueni**.

Some sources list **The Lebanese Forces** as part of the Qornet Shehwan Gathering, others not. It seems that at least by the time of the election in 2005 they were a separate entity ("Arab Political Systems: Baseline Information and Reforms – Lebanon," 2008). As many of the other parties it is officialy secular, but its main support is from Christians, mainly Maronites. Its activities were restricted by the government until the Syrian withdrawal and its leader, **Samir Geagea**, was in prison from 1994 to July 2005 on charges of attempting to undermine the government. The party won 6 seats in the 2005 election ("Arab Political Systems: Baseline Information and Reforms – Lebanon," 2008)**.**

The Free Patriotic Movement also has an unclear relationship to the Qornet Shehwan Gathering and is mentioned separately from it some places (Raad 2005d). The leader of this

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[33]He was killed in a car bomb on 12 December 2005, and it is assumed that this was linked to his participation in the Independence Intifada (Haugbolle 2006:76).

party, **General Michel Aoun**, was in exile in Paris from 1990 until May 2005, when he returned to Lebanon ("Arab Political Systems: Baseline Information and Reforms – Lebanon," 2008). From Paris he commented on the campaign. The Free Patriotic movement mainly has Christian supporters, but it claims to not be based on religion and some Muslims also support it. In the election in 2005 it got 21 parliamentary seats ("Arab Political Systems: Baseline Information and Reforms – Lebanon," 2008).

The Democratic Left Movement was founded in 2004, partly by people who had left the Lebanese Communist party and by student groups. The party calls for a secular, non-confessional, state and a European style social democracy ("Arab Political Systems: Baseline Information and Reforms – Lebanon," 2008). One of the founders of the movement was **Samir Kassir**. Kassir was a Greek orthodox and Young calls him "(...) one of Lebanon's most daring political commentators and a scholar of the modern Middle East (...)" (Young 2010,17). Kassir taught at university and therefore had contact with many of the students who would take part in the demonstrations. Many of the students looked to Kassir and Gebran Tueni for inspiration (Young 2010,21-22). Kassir's wife worked as a journalist in the TV-station Al-Arabiya. Kassir was killed on June 2 2005 (Young 2010,17) and his wife and others argued that he was killed because of his role in the Independence Intifada (Young 2010, 20).

The vice president of the Democratic Left, **Ziad Majed**, also played an imprtant role in the campaign, for example as one of the organisers of the tent camp. Majed was a Shiite from South Lebanon (Young 2010,28).

The Future Movement was Rafiq Hariri's movement and mostly had Sunni Muslim supporters. The opposition coalition had began with the Bristol declaration, and Rafiq Hariri had not joined this coalition officially before his assassination, but after the assasination his movement was a central member. The Future Movement was involved in the campaign in many ways, for example by paying for a lot of the costs of the demonstrations, such as printing posters etc. After the campaign this coalition was named "14 March coalition" (Baumann 2012, 138; Young 2010, 35). In the election in 2005 it won 36 seats in parliament, as the main group of the Rafiq Hariri Martyr list, the 14 March coalition that that won the election ("Arab Political Systems: Baseline Information and Reforms – Lebanon," 2008). When Rafiq Hariri died it was not clear who would take on the leadership. On the day after

the assassination of Rafiq Hariri it was the Rafiq's eldest son **Bahaeddine Hariri** who spoke on behalf of the family (Short 2005). Later on, during the period of the campaign, it was member of parliament **Bahia Hariri**, Rafiq's sister, who spoke on behalf of the family and the Future movement. On March 17 the press reported that the Future Movement supported Bahia Hariri to take over from her brother and possibly become candidate for prime minister (Boustani 2005). Eventually it was **Saad Hariri**, Rafiq's younger son, who took up the leadership, and later became Prime Minister.

The Democratic Liberal Ramgavar Party, a mainly Armenian party, supported the Independence Intifada (*The Daily Star* 2005e).

The Lebanese Communist Party did not participate in the Independence Intifada or support the government. On March 13 they held their own demonstration in Beirut, calling for "the truth" and rejecting American interference and UNSCR 1559. The demonstration had thousands of participants and they used Lebanese and party flags (Sfeir 2005).

The Amal Movement is the second main Shia party (in addition to Hizbollah). It has been a strong supporter of the Syrian presence in Lebanon and has been represented in government since 1990. They did support the withdrawal of Syrian troops, but did not support Resolution 1559 (El Khazen 2005). The leader is **Nabih Berry** who has has been speaker of parliament since 1992. In the position of speaker he has considerable power, for example in delaying presenting laws to parliament. Berry attended Hariri's funeral, as one of the few government representatives. In the election in 2005 it won 15 seats ("Arab Political Systems: Baseline Information and Reforms – Lebanon," 2008; *The Daily Star* 2005d).

Religious actors

Lebanon has many religious group. Among the participants in the campaign most were Maronite Christian and Druze, with some Sunni Muslims. Shia Muslims (the largest group by population) mainly stayed away (Chahine and Ghazal 2005). I have tried to gather information about the roles the different religious communities and leaders played during the campaign, and I have found some information about many of them but not all.

Maronite Patriarch Nasrallah Butros Sfeir was a central supporter of the opposition. When the Independence Intifada was declared, however, there was some question regarding his support. Some observers said that he believed the opposition took their demands too far. Representatives from the Qornet Shehwan Gathering on the other hand said that he was still supportive, but would not go into detailed politics (Assaf 2005d). Later on Sfeir spoke on the possibility of a unity government saying "I cannot decide for them, as it is up to the politicians to decide their next moves"(El-Ghoul 2005h), supporting the idea that he would not go into the specific politics.

The Armenian patriarchate (The Armenian Catholic church) wed their support for Hariri by ringing of the church bells during the funeral (Assaf and El-Ghoul 2005). This does not necessarily mean that they supported the campaign, but as the situation after Hariri's death quickly became politicised I can assume that at least they did not oppose the campaign. **The Armenian Orthodox Catholics of the House of Cicilia Aram I Keshishian** (the Armenian Orthodox church) also called for a national unity government after meeting with Omar Karami (at that time Prime Minister-designate, after having resigned) and an Armenian member of the former cabinet on 25 March. Karami met with many religious leaders at this time to get their opinion on a new government. Keshishian told the government representatives that they should focus on the investigation of Hariri's murder and " concluded by asserting the Armenian community's attachment to Lebanon's sovereignty, unity and independence" (*The Daily Star* 2005g).

The Greek Catholic Higher Council stayed silent on the issue of Hariri's death and the campaign. This led one member of parliament from Hariri's bloc to quit the council (Ghazal 2005d).

Orthodox Bishop Elias Kfory participated in a meeting with other religious leaders on 16 March and said "in this critical phase of Lebanon's history, a calm and wise rhetoric is needed; one that is aware of the dangers threatening the Middle East" (Wehbe 2005). He also called for quick investigation into Hariri's murder and implementation of the Taif accord. **Melchite Patriarch Gregorius III Lahham** spoke on the political situation at Easter (on March 24) and called for a national unity government and general national unity (*The Daily Star* 2005f).

Appendix 2: List of nonviolent campaigns

Llist of campaigns from 2001 to 2015 based on the NAVCO 2.0 dataset (Chenoweth and Lewis 2013), the Global Nonviolent Action Database (Lakey 2011) and the webpage of the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict ("Movements & Campaigns" 2016).

	Location	Year	Size[34]	Success?	Inspiration
1	Algerie				
2	Bahrain	2011		No	Inspired by Tunisia and Egypt
3	Belarus	2006	2	No	Inspired by previous campaigns in same country, Ukraine, Georgia and Kyrgyzstan
4	Burkina Faso	2014		Yes	Inspired by previous campaigns in same country and Senegal
5	Burma	2007-2008			
6	Burma	2007		No	Inspired by previous campaigns in same country
7	Egypt	2001-2005	1-2	No	Inspired Jordan, Libya and Yemen
8	Egypt	2011		Yes	Inspired by Serbia and Tunisia. Inspired Yemen, Libya and Syria.
9	Georgia	2003	3	Yes	Inspired by Serbia
10	Guatemala	2015		Yes	Inspired Honduras
11	Guinea	2009			
12	Guinea	2007			Inspired by previous campaigns in same country
13	Honduras	2009-2011			
14	Iran	2009		No	
15	Iraq	2003-2005		No	
16	Jordan	2011			Inspired by Tunisia and Egypt
17	Kenya	2009			
18	Kuwait	2002-2005		No	
19	Kyrgyzstan	2005	2	Yes	Inspired by Ukraine and Georgia
20	Lebanon	2005	5	Yes	Inspired by Ukraine and Georgia
21	Liberia	2003		Yes	
22	Madagascar	2002-2003	4	Yes	
23	Maldives	2003-2006	1-2	No	
24	Maldives	2011-2012		Yes	
25	Mexico	2006		No	
26	Moldova	2009			
27	Morroco	2011-2012			Inspired by Tunisia and Egypt
28	Nepal	2006	2	No	

[34] Scale: 0=1-999 1=1000-9,999 2=10,000-99,999 3=100,000-499,999 4=500,000-1million 5=>1 million

29	Nepal	2006	3	Yes	
30	Niger	2009			
31	Northern Ireland	2001-2006		No	
32	Oman	2011			Inspired by "Arab Spring". Inspired "Arab Spring"
33	Philippines	2001	4	Yes	Inspired by previous campaigns in same country
34	Senegal	2012		Yes	Inspired by "Arab Spring". Inspired Burkina Faso
35	Swaziland	2000-2010		No	
36	Thailand	2005-2006	2-3	Yes	
37	Thailand	2010		No	Inspired by previous campaigns in same country
38	Togo	2013			Inspired by Liberia
39	Tunisia	2010-2011		Yes	Inspired Egypt and the "Arab Spring"
40	Ukraine	2001-2003	2	No	
41	Ukraine	2004	5	[35]	Inspired by previous campaigns in same country, Serbia and Georgia
42	Ukraine	2013-14		Yes	
43	Venezuela	2002			
44	West Papua	2001-2006	2	No	
45	West-Sahara	2005-2008		No	Inspired by previous campaigns in same country
46	Yemen	2007-2009		No	
47	Yemen	2011-2012		Yes	Inspired by Tunisia and Egypt
48	Zambia	2001	5	Yes	

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[35] The campaign is coded as a success in the NAVCO 1.0 dataset and in the Global Nonviolence Action Database. In NAVCO 2.0 it is coded as a partial success.

Appendix 3: Information letter

Request for participation in research project

"Learning in nonviolent campaings"

Background and Purpose
In my Master thesis I am studying how learning affects outcomes of nonviolent campaigns. To do this I will look at the case of the Intepependence Intifada / Cedar revolution in 2005 and see how that campaign learned from other campaigns, mainly the different Colour revolutions (Serbia, Ukraine, Georgia).

I would like to interview you as you are a central person in spreading information about nonviolent campaigns, and because I understand that your organisation CANVAS was involved in training the campaign in Lebanon.

What does participation in the project imply?
I would like to do an interview with you to suppliment the data I have collected from newspapers and from secondary sources such as books and academic articles. I will take notes from the interview to use for my thesis, and also possibly record the interview.

What will happen to the information about you?
All personal data will be treated confidentially. Me and my supervisor will be the only ones with access to the notes/recording from the interview. I will however ask that I can name you in the thesis, and link the information you gave me back to you, as that will strengthen the credibility of the information.

The project is scheduled for completion by the end of October 2016. At that point I will delete /destroy the notes/recording from the interview and only keep the text that ends up in the thesis.

Voluntary participation
It is voluntary to participate in the project, and you can at any time choose to withdraw your consent without stating any reason. If you decide to withdraw, all your personal data will be made anonymous.
If you would like to participate or if you have any questions concerning the project, please contact Margit Aas Onstein, +47 90865130 or Håvard Strand (supervisor) +47 22855198.

The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

Appendix 4: Interview Guide

- How was CANVAS involved in the campaign in Lebanon?

- Who did CANVAS meet with in Lebanon?

- What training materials did you use?

- What tactics did you teach?

- What is your assessment of CANVAS' contribution to the outcome in Lebanon?

- Do you have any general input on the role of learning in nonviolent campaigns?

- In your assessment, who were the key actors in Lebanon?

- Was there any actors who should have done something but did not?

Appendix 5: Comparing methods (full table)

		Method	Lebanon	Ukraine	Serbia
The Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion	Formal statements	001. Public speeches			●
		005. Declarations of indictment and intention		●	
		006. Group or mass petitions		●	
	Communications with a wider audience	007. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols	●	●	●
		008. Banners, posters, and displayed communications	●	●	●
		009. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books	●	●	●
		010. Newspapers and journals	●		
		011. Records, radio, and television	●		●
	Group representation	016. Picketing			●
	Symbolic public acts	018. Displays of flags and symbolic colours	●	●	
		019. Wearing of symbols	●	●	●
		020. Prayer and worship	x	●	
		025. Displays of portraits	●		
	Pressures on individuals	031. "Haunting" officials			●
		033. Fraternization	●	●	
		034. Vigils	●		
	Drama and music	035. Humorous skits and pranks			●
		036. Performances of plays and music		●	●
		037. Singing	●	●	
	Processions	038. Marches	●	●	●
		039. Parades	●		
		040. Religious processions	●		
	Honouring the dead	045. Demonstrative funerals	●		
		046. Homage at burial places	●		
	Public assemblies	047. Assemblies of protest or support	●	●	●
		048. Protest meetings		●	●
The Methods of Social Non-cooperation	Noncooperation with social events, customs and institutions	062. Student strike			●
The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: (2) The Strike	Ordinary industrial strikes	105. Establishment strike		●	●
	Restricted Strikes	115. Selective strike			●
	Multi-industry strikes	117. General strike		●	●
	Combination of strikes and economic closures	118. Hartal	●		
The Methods of Political Non-cooperation	Rejection of authority	121. Refusal of public support		●	
		122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance		●	●
	Action by government personnel	147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents	●	●	●
	Domestic government action	150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units		●	
The Methods of Nonviolent Intervention	Physical intervention	162. Sit-in›Threatened	●	●	
		173. Nonviolent occupation		●	
	Political intervention	196. Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws			●
		198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government		●	

Source: (Schlotterbeck and Rennebohm 2016; Rennebohm 2016b; Rennebohm 2016a)