

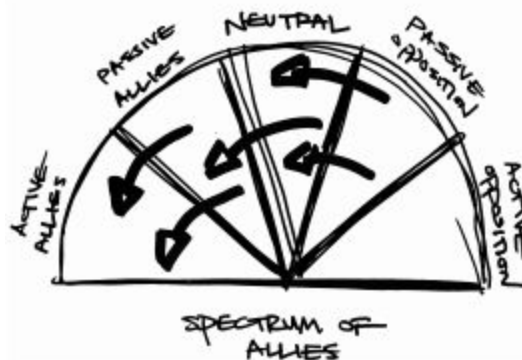


HANDOUT: SPECTRUM OF ALLIES

Activism is about using your power and voice to make change. Organizing is about that, too, but it's also about activating and empowering others. It helps to think in terms of groups. Successful movement-building hinges on being able to see a society in terms of specific blocs or networks, some of which are institutions (unions, churches, schools), others of which are less visible or cohesive, like youth subcultures or demographic groupings.

Analyzing your spectrum of allies can help you to identify and mobilize the networks around you. A spectrum-of-allies analysis can be used to map out a local campaign or to strategize for a whole social movement.

Here's how a spectrum-of-allies analysis works: in each wedge you can place different individuals (be specific: name them!), groups, or institutions. Moving from left to right, identify your active allies: people who agree with you and are fighting alongside you; your passive allies: folks who agree with you but aren't doing anything about it; neutrals: fence-sitters, the unengaged; passive opposition: people who disagree with you but aren't trying to stop you; and finally your active opposition.



Some activist groups only speak or work with those in the first wedge (active allies), building insular, self-referential, marginal subcultures that are incomprehensible to everyone else. Others behave as if everyone is in the last wedge (active opposition), playing out the “story of the righteous few,” acting as if the whole world is against them. Yet movements win not by overpowering their active opposition, but by shifting the support out from under them.

For example, in 1964, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a major driver of the civil rights movement in the U.S. South, conducted a “spectrum-of-allies style” analysis. They determined that they had a lot of passive allies who were students in the North: these students were sympathetic, but had no entry point into the movement. They didn't need to be “educated” or convinced, they needed an invitation to enter.

To shift these allies from “passive” to “active,” SNCC sent buses north to bring folks down to participate in the struggle under the banner “Freedom Summer.” Students came in droves, and many were deeply radicalized in the process, witnessing lynching, violent police abuse, and angry white mobs, all simply as a result of black people trying to vote.

Many wrote letters home to their parents, who suddenly had a personal connection to the struggle. This triggered

another shift: their families became passive allies, often bringing their workplaces and social networks with them. The students, meanwhile, went back to school in the fall and proceeded to organize their campuses. More shifts. The result: a profound transformation of the political landscape of the U.S. This cascading shift of support, it's important to emphasize, wasn't spontaneous; it was part of a deliberate movement strategy that, to this day, carries profound lessons for other movements.

Here is an account from SNCC organizer, Bernard Lafayette, who describes identifying allies in their efforts to register voters in Selma, Alabama, in 1965:

*We tried to get people around the city to come, but it was slow. So we went out in the rural [areas]. The people out there are close to the earth, they're very religious and warm and friendly. And mostly they're unafraid. They own most of their own property and their little stores. So we got these people to go and try to register to vote. Then we used this as a leverage to try to embarrass many of the people in the city. City folks are sometimes critical and skeptical about country people. So we pointed that these people were really getting ahead. When these city people began to go down it was really sort of a birth of a movement. (Story from Candie Carawan, ed., *Sing for Freedom: the story of the Civil Rights Movement through its songs*)*

In this case, going after a group that was easier to reach (rural folks) made it more possible to mobilize a harder group (city folks). At other times, one might choose to reach out to harder-to-mobilize groups first.

Remember: in most social change campaigns it's not necessary to win the active opponents over to your point of view, even if the opponent is the target. It's only necessary to move each of the pie wedges one step in your direction. If you can make your passive allies become active, and the neutrals become your passive allies, and the passive opponents act neutrally – **you can win.**

Written by Joshua Kahn Russell for Beautiful Trouble (<http://beautifultrouble.org/principle/shift-the-spectrum-of-allies/>). Tool adapted by Daniel Hunter, Training for Change (www.TrainingForChange.org).



HANDOUT: CAMPAIGN GOALS

Campaign goals are **specific, realistic and measurable**.

Specific means that there's an endpoint – a point where the group can declare victory and have a party!

Realistic means that the goals are possible to achieve by the group in some reasonable amount of time (six-months, a year, two years). Realistic does not mean that the group already has the resources to win that goal. Goals that require the group to stretch and grow can be better than those that can be achieved with its current capacity.

Measurable means you have something to work for, and you'll know when you've achieved your goal.

When picking campaign goals, you may decide to pick campaign goals that:

- Make the most difference in peoples' lives.
- Appeal to a diverse crowd of supporters and allies.
- Have been decided by or in coordination with the people who are most impacted by the problem.
- Increase people's decision-making power or ability to control decisions (e.g. give students greater power over their own schools).
- Naturally lead people to see how society could be different (e.g., winning suggests a logical next step which people will want to take).
- Raise people's consciousness (i.e., help people see through the veil of lies of the current society).
- Build people's confidence and capability so that they can make future wins (e.g. choosing an easy goal that is quickly winnable so our group/movement can increase its morale, its size, and its awareness of its own power).
- Take into account your financial and people resources. It's great to choose a campaign goal that will require raising money and finding more people – that's part of campaigning – but be realistic too!



HANDOUT: STEPS IN CAMPAIGNS

Every campaign is different. But based on experience, there are important steps that every campaign has to take. The group begins by framing their issue and then goes into the following stages, approximately in this order:

CAMPAIGN TERMINOLOGY

GOALS: What is it that we want to get?

TARGET: The person or entity that can give us what we want.

STRATEGY: The style in which, the plan, or way we'll get there.

TACTICS: The individual actions we take to implement the strategy to force the target to give us what we want (our goal).

AFFECTED COMMUNITIES: The people impacted by this issue.

ALLIES: The people who will be down to help.

(1) **Investigate/gather information:** Get the facts. Clear up any possible misunderstanding right at the start. If an injustice clearly has been done, be equally certain exactly who or what is to blame for it. The complexity of society today requires patient investigation to accurately determine responsibility for a particular injustice. The ability to explain facts rather than just relying on rhetoric will win support and prevent misunderstandings.

(2) **Educate/Outreach:** Keep campaign participants and supporters well-informed about the issues, and spread the word to the public. Education also requires facing issues of oppression and internalized oppression that may face the group. Tactics may include leaflets, street theater, training, informal street speaking, door-to-door personal visits, phone calls and press releases. Always stick to the facts, avoid exaggeration, be brief and show good will.

(3) **Increase motivation and personal commitment for the struggle ahead:** Prepare your group to commit itself to nonviolent action. This includes getting ready to face backlash or possible repression for some of the actions necessary to establish justice.

(4) **Negotiate with target:** Meet with opponents and put the case to them. A solution may be worked out at this point. It is possible that your opponents have a grievance which you didn't know about. Now is the time to find out. If no solution is possible, let your opponents know that you intend to stand firm to establish justice.

(5) **Direct action:** Engage in tactics to resist the unjust system. Some of these may be legal strategies while others may be outside of the law, such as the use of civil disobedience.

(6) **Create new relationship with opponent which reflects the new power reality:** King referred to this stage as "reconciliation" – not losing relationships because of nonviolent action but building stronger, more respectful relationships.

Six Stages of Nonviolent Campaigns derived from Dr. Martin Luther King's essay "Letter from Birmingham Jail" in Why We Can't Wait, New York: Penguin Books, 1963. Term's definitions based on School of Unity & Liberation's Political Education Workshop Manual.

www.schoolofunityandliberation.org



HANDOUT: THREE TIPS FOR PLUGGING PEOPLE IN

Bringing in new members or volunteers is essential to any local group that wants to grow in size and capacity. However, attracting or recruiting new people to your group is only the first step. Getting them to stick around can be a much bigger challenge! The good news is that there are tried and true methods you can use to plug new members and volunteers into tasks and roles that will build their investment and leadership in the group, and will increase what your group is capable of achieving.

1. Schedule one-on-one intake interviews.

When someone says they're interested in finding out more or getting involved in your group, don't just invite them to come to your next meeting. Even the most welcoming and inclusive groups tend to develop their own meeting culture that can unintentionally make new folks feel like outsiders. To increase your new member retention rates, schedule one-on-one intake interviews with new folks before they come to a group meeting. Get to know the person. Find out about what attracted them to the group, what kinds of tasks they enjoy or are good at, and how much time they have. Then tell them more about the group and discuss with them what their involvement could look like. You can use and adapt the questions on side two of this sheet. While this level of orientation requires more time in the short-term, it saves time in the long-term; people tend to plug into the work faster and stick around longer. It may make sense for one or two members of your group to take on orienting new folks as an ongoing role.

2. Accommodate multiple levels of participation.

In short, some people can give a lot of time, and some can give a little. Organizers with more time on their hands should avoid projecting this as an expectation onto others. A foolproof way to drive new folks away from your group is to consistently ask them to give more time than they are able. Instead learn what kind of time commitment is realistic and sustainable for them. Help them plug into tasks and roles that suit their availability. Check in with them about how it's going. Are they feeling overextended, or would they like to take on more? Take responsibility for helping new folks avoid over-commitment and burnout.

3. Make people feel valued and appreciated.

If you want to inspire people to stick with your group for the long haul, you'll need to make them feel valued and appreciated. It's basic. People like to be around people who respect them, and who are nice! If social movement groups want to compete with the myriad of often more appealing options for people's free time, then we have to treat each other well and take care of each other. Notice and acknowledge new folks' contributions, however small. Make time to check in with them outside of meetings. Ask their opinions often: What did they think about the meeting? the event? the action? Bounce your ideas off of them and ask for their feedback.

Intake Interview Template

Below is a basic intake interview template to help you orient new members and volunteers to your group. Add questions or adapt these according to what information is most useful to your group. An intake interview is as much about relationship building as it is about information gathering. For this reason it's better for the "interviewer" in your group to fill out the form, rather than to just hand it to the new person.

Meet over coffee or lunch or whatever is most comfortable or convenient. Schedule an hour, and spend the first half asking the new member/volunteer about herself or himself. Start with the basic getting-to-know-you stuff (are they from the area? in school? working? involved in other causes or groups?) before moving into the more formal questions below. Spend the second half of the meeting telling them more about the group and discussing with them possible ways they may want to plug in.

Enter the information into your member database and keep it safe.

Name: _____ Email: _____

Phone: _____ Address: _____

1. How did you find out about this group?
2. What attracted you to the group?
3. Are you interested in volunteering time? If so, what is a realistic and sustainable amount of time you would like to commit (a number of hours per week or per month)?
4. Are there specific days or times when you could be regularly available?
5. Do you have skills that may be useful to the group (e.g. finance, bookkeeping, fundraising, design, photography, public speaking, writing, management, facilitation, mediation, DJing, performance, other)?
6. Are there areas of work that you are particularly interested in helping with?
7. Are you interested in skills and leadership development opportunities?
8. Is there anything else you would like to add?



HANDOUT: FACILITATOR NEVER EVERS

- Never ever forget that individuals at the workshop are unique, with needs, interests, and experiences particular to them. Adults have a strong sense of self and bring all life experiences – past and present, personal and professional – to bear on new learning (Brookfield, 1986). Each adult in the session has a different reason for attending and will be pleased and inspired by and learn from different activities and workshop experiences (Merriam, 1989). Accommodate various learning styles by using a variety of instructional strategies such as small group discussions, lectures, simulations, reading, writing, and using media.
- Never ever require individuals to participate in an activity. Many participants are eager to share and try new ideas in a workshop, but some are uncomfortable and feel foolish. When suggesting activities, make it clear that participation is optional; those who prefer to watch will learn from the activity in their own way.
- Never ever talk to participants as if they are children. Adults are not 2nd graders and should not be treated as such. Incorporate specific adult-oriented presentation, communication, and facilitation skills into the workshop and consider the particular needs of participants
- Never ever ridicule participants or their experiences. Acknowledge the expertise and experience of the participants. It is inappropriate to put people in the position of feeling uncomfortable about what they do not know or something they have or have not done.
- Never ever neglect the participants' personal needs. Participants have basic physical needs that must be met if learning is to occur. Give participants ample breaks and make it clear that you understand they may need to get up at times other than the break. Provide refreshments for breaks and tables and chairs appropriately sized for adults.
- Never ever say that you are going to rush through and compress material in order to complete what is usually a longer workshop in a shorter length of time. Develop a plan for the workshop. Cut it thoughtfully so the workshop stands on its own. Participants deserve to attend a session developed just for them. Give participants all you can in the time provided without referring to what they're missing.
- Never ever go past the scheduled time. Participants want a full workshop, but they want it to end on time. Going beyond the scheduled time creates anxiety, and participants will spend more time worrying about when the facilitator will close than considering what is being shared (Pike, 1989). Stop at or a few moments before the scheduled ending time even if you were unable to share all that you wanted. Those who are truly interested can talk with you privately after the session.
- Never ever forget that you have an audience. Workshop facilitation is collaborative in that the facilitator and participants work together during the workshop (Brookfield, 1986). Walk among and talk with the participants. Standing at the front for too long creates an artificial boundary between you and the participants and makes an atmosphere of collegial collaboration difficult to attain.
- Never ever take the workshop so seriously that everyone (including the facilitator) cannot have fun. While the content of the workshop is important, don't forget to "lighten up" and insert some humor and levity into the day. Use humor that fits naturally and logically into the workshop to make a point and help everyone feel at ease.

Adapted from: Peggy A. Sharp (2000) National Staff Development Council, http://www.unesco.org/education/tlsf/DTT/dtt_plan_01_1.htm



HANDOUT: HOW TO MAKE MEETINGS WORK IN A CULTURALLY DIVERSE GROUP

A meeting held in a culturally diverse environment is anything but business as usual. In fact, meetings can be the arena where differences in cultural programming show themselves most clearly...or confusingly, as the case may be.

- Have you ever felt frustrated when you throw a question out to the group and all you get are polite smiles, or people who won't look you in the eye?
- Are you irritated when you expect a lively discussion of the pros and cons of a plan you are considering, and you get no discussion at all?
- When voices get raised and it seems that the discussion is turning contentious and angry, do you wonder what went wrong?

Maybe it's cultural

While the behaviors you expect are second nature to you, they might not be to someone born in a different country or socialized in a different culture. Think about your group. What different nationalities, ethnicities, and cultures are represented in your meetings? Then take a look at the behaviors you value and expect of people at those meetings. These might include:

- speaking out
- making suggestions
- disagreeing with someone in an authority role
- stating an opinion
- taking "no" for an answer
- giving criticism
- asking questions
- speaking in a moderate, conversational tone
- seeing other points of view
- making presentations
- accepting praise

Which of these bother you when they're absent? Could it be they're not happening because they're discouraged in some cultures?

For example, in many cultures, people in authority roles (bosses, teachers, group leaders, elders) are seen as the ones with the answers. Making a suggestion to one of these people might be seen as disrespectful, causing him/her to lose face. Asking questions or requesting clarification might seem to imply that the person is unable to make him/herself clear or doesn't know what he/she is talking about.

Different cultures also have different ideas about what constitutes a normal, civil discussion. Raised voices and vehement tones may be interpreted very differently by different people. What one person would see as a normal, if spirited conversation, another might perceive as an angry argument. On the other hand, a person who expects more feeling and fervor in a discussion might mistake a restrained or soft-spoken delivery as a lack of enthusiasm.

Another source of misunderstandings is a difference in attitudes about "the rules." American majority culture values structure and holds that there are many unwavering rules and limits that apply to everyone. In some other cultures, the expectation is that just about *anything* is negotiable. An initial "no" is seen as just an opening argument, not a final pronouncement. This can leave one party irritated because his/her credibility is being questioned, and one baffled by the other's rigid refusal to engage in negotiations.

It's important to understand that none of these ways of behaving and looking at the world is right, or better than the others--**they're just different**. People with diverse backgrounds can work well together and come to appreciate each other's cultures, as long as they make the effort to understand and accommodate their differing values and points of view.

Here are some things that you as a leader can do to help:

1. Examine expectations

Get the group to talk about what they want from each other in meetings, and what each person feels able to give. Encourage them to give each other feedback and to confirm that they're really understanding what someone is saying, and why. If people have different styles or ways of seeing the same behavior, encourage them to talk it through and try to understand the other's point of view. See what accommodations and compromises people can make for each other. Just exploring unspoken assumptions and learning what's behind another person's attitudes and behavior can clear up many misunderstandings.

People may be willing to go against some of their cultural norms, but it should be their choice, and one they are reasonably comfortable with. Be realistic about what you can expect people to change. For example, someone raised in a culture where singling out and praising an individual in front of others is taboo may always respond to public compliments with a certain amount of discomfort. You may need to find other ways to let that person know that he/she is valued and appreciated.

2. Create a comfortable tone

No matter how good a relationship you have with your members, the communication dynamics change in a more formal setting. Meetings intimidate some people; no one wants to look foolish in front of their peers. Cultural programming just complicates the matter. Setting a nonthreatening, comfortable tone should be first on your agenda.

You can reduce anxiety and increase participation by starting with a warmup activity that breaks the ice and gets everyone participating right away. There are several techniques that may help.

- Ask open-ended questions like "So your biggest concern about this plan is..." or "The pros and cons of this system is..." or "If you could make just one change in this project, it would be..."
- Ask for a simple numerical evaluation such as "On a scale of 1 to 5, rate the effectiveness of this new procedure."

3. Use small groups to get participation without violating cultural norms.

One of the laws of group dynamics is that the smaller the group, the greater the safety; therefore, the more the participation. The use of small groups can be your ally in working around cultural norms that may discourage people from speaking up and standing out from the whole group.

Let's take a look at how this works. Say you're planning an event and trying to put together an action plan and a

timeline. You want to encourage people to look for potential problems and unrealistic expectations, so you can refine the plan now. One way to respect cultural "rules" and still get the input you need is to break people up into small groups where they can *collectively* list the possible glitches in your plan. Then no one individual has to be responsible for the criticism and not everyone has to speak before the whole group.

4. Write down the meeting content

In a multilingual arena, giving people two ways to absorb the information increases your effectiveness as a communicator. Many people for whom English is a second language have an easier time understanding written English than hearing it spoken.

Use handouts, flipcharts, chalkboards, whiteboards, even butcher paper taped to the wall to get your message across. Write down the agenda and the major points of the discussion. This allows people to integrate the information at their own pace.

This handout adapted from "How to Make Meetings Work in a Culturally Diverse Group" by Lee Gardenswartz, Ph.D. and Anita Rowe, Ph.D., originally published in Working World magazine.



HANDOUT: DEFINE YOUR AUDIENCE AND GOALS

AUDIENCE: When describing your audience please be as specific as possible. This is practice, but think about an audience that you might have the opportunity to speak to in real life. Your audience can be one person or 100 people, just remember that you are going to be encouraging them to take action on something.

Example audience #1: Ten people, 25-50 years old, who have come to a meeting about how taking care of the environment can help them save money.

Example audience #2: You are speaking with a group of peers about where you volunteer.

GOALS: When you get to goals ask yourself: Why am I speaking to these people or this person? What do you want them to do? Is there something I would want them to commit to doing before leaving the room?

Example goal #1: I want each person who is at the meeting to sign up to commit to do one of the following: buy energy efficient light bulbs, start composting, use an energy efficient stove.

Example goal #2: You are asking your peers to join you in volunteering.

AUDIENCE:

GOAL:



HANDOUT: CHECKLIST FOR STRATEGIC ACTION PLANNING

1. **CLARIFY THE STRATEGY:** What do you want to call attention to with this action? How does this support your campaign goals?
2. **KNOW THE HISTORY:** What has your group (or other groups) done before to address the issue? How can you build on the history to escalate your tactics?
3. **IDENTIFY THE OPPORTUNITY:** Why now? What is the Action Opportunity? Is there a new development on your issue or change in the political climate that you can take advantage of?
4. **FIND ALLIES:** Who are your existing allies in this work? Who should be involved? Who is also impacted by this issue?
5. **PICK A TARGET:** Who is the decision-maker? Who can help you pressure that decision-maker?
6. **DEVELOP ACTION DEMANDS:** What do you want from your target? What would a ³win² look like? Make sure these are realistic, measurable, strategic, and accountable to the impacted community.
7. **ASSESS YOUR RESOURCES:** What skills does your group have? How many people will participate? How much money and supplies do you have access to?
8. **CHOOSE A TACTIC:** Make sure it will move you towards achieving your campaign goal and action demands. What exactly will people do? Why will it put pressure on your target? Why is it perfect for this moment?
9. **DETERMINE YOUR AUDIENCE:** Who specifically do you want to mobilize with your action? Is it the public? Consumers? Shareholders? Government Officials?
10. **DECIDE THE TONE:** What will the action feel like? Will the action be jubilant, angry, solemn, or calm? How will the tone impact the target and audience? Do you want to invite or repel them? How will the tone impact your group?
11. **FOCUS YOUR MESSAGE & MEDIA STRATEGY:** How do you make complicated issues understandable? Keep it short and simple. The message should reflect the tone & clearly communicate your demands. Develop media strategy: how will the action be covered, and by who?
12. **CREATE VISUALS AND AUDIO:** What will your action look and sound like? What imagery do you need to create? How will you amplify your voices and sound? How will the visuals and audio support your tone and convey your demands?
13. **CHOOSE THE LOCATION:** Where will this action take place? What does that location look and feel like? Is it a community-based location or is it the decision-maker's territory? Are people familiar with the location?
14. **SCOUT THE LOCATION:** How will your action logistically take place at the location? How will people get there? What goes on there in the course of a day? Is there security on site?

15. **MAKE AN ACTION PLAN:** Think through the action from start to finish. Assign action roles, make a time schedule, list supplies and equipment needed, finalize logistics. Make backup plans just in case!

16. **PRACTICE THE ACTION:** Over and over. Then practice some more.

17. **PERFORM THE ACTION:** Be flexible, stay true to your action goals and demands, and be safe- eliminate unnecessary risk.

18. **CELEBRATE!** Acknowledge your successes, even if your action demands were not met. Recognize new leadership, and congratulate new members.

19. **DEBRIEF THE ACTION:** What were the action highlights? Where was there room for improvement?

20. **FOLLOW UP:** Reach out to participants & members- keep them updated. Make calls to media- get the story out. Provide jail support if necessary, and keep track of ongoing legal issues.

Compiled from lists by JC Callender and Sharon Lungo, The Ruckus Society (www.ruckus.org) and Kathy NiKeefe, Students for a Free Tibet.