

# Nonviolence Training Project



## Trainers' Resource Manual



**1st Edition  
May 2005**



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# Acknowledgements

In thinking about what we might want a manual for Australia-Pacific nonviolence trainers to look like, it has been hard to escape the long, green shadow of the “Monster Manual”, that collection of extraordinarily practical advice on working for social change that covered everything from running Macro-Analysis seminars to learning how to cook nutritious food for large groups of people. In the mid-90s, as a young environmental activist trying to find out what this nonviolence thing was all about, it was the Monster Manual — or the *Resource Manual for a Living Revolution*, as it was more properly known before it went, sadly, out of print many years ago — that tumbled into my hands at my University library and gave me first clue. While I’ve never owned a copy, I catch glimpses of it every now and again, most often in the hands of people who’ve earned the deep respect of other activists for their long-term commitment to working for social change.

I’d heard that the Monster Manual was written collaboratively. What the process was for that, I’m not sure, but the production of this document, the Nonviolence Training Project *Trainers’ Resource Manual*, would not have been possible without the practical support and encouragement of many people.

Thanks must go to David Johnson and the other members of the Donald Groom Peace Committee, which, six months ago, provided Pt’chang with a grant that has enabled us to support the development of nonviolence training in our region through producing this manual, facilitating a skillshare for trainers, launching the nonviolence.org.au website and the nonviolence-trainers e-list, and supporting and promoting the various workshops and trainings for nonviolence that are starting to happen around the country.

The Nonviolence Training Project Working Group, the core of which comprised Anthony Kelly, Melissa Noonan, Hodan Abi, Rama Cronin, Andrew Shortridge, James Tonson and Rohan Martyres, deserve much credit for running what must be simultaneously the most relaxed and the most efficient meetings ever to have graced an old church hall.

Amongst those who collaborated on the production of this edition of the manual, special thanks must go to Anthony again, to Cathy Gibson and Erin Farley for their last minute rescue editing sessions, and to Garry Hills and Sitiveni Tabualai for saving the first known WikiParty from complete social oblivion.

James Whelan and Sam La Rocca deserve praise for their their ongoing efforts to support the work of social change activists through a small not for profit recently re-christened The Change Agency (<http://www.thechangeagency.org>); James’ PhD thesis on activist education and Sam’s Honours thesis on factors influencing participation in the environment movement are essential reading for anyone interested in figuring out how we can all get better at social change.

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We would also like to thank the activists, educators and agitators of Groundswell and the Australian Nonviolence Network for laying such an impressive foundation for nonviolent activism in Australia during the 80s and 90s., and the former editorial collective(s) of *Nonviolence Today* (nee Groundswell) for the crucial role they played in supporting and documenting nonviolent resistance in Australia over the same period.

Finally, thank you to all of the people working so hard, unpaid, unrecognised and largely uncelebrated, to make our community and our world fairer, more sustainable and more just.

Iain Murray

Project Worker - Nonviolence Training Project

# Introduction

*Nonviolence is a very powerful weapon. Most people don't understand the power of nonviolence and tend to be amazed by the whole idea. Those who have been involved in bringing about change and see the difference between violence and nonviolence are firmly committed to a lifetime of nonviolence, not because it is easy or because it is cowardly, but because it is an effective and very powerful way.*

*- Cesar Chavez*

Welcome to the Nonviolence Training Project's *Trainers' Resource Manual!*

In different times and places, people struggling against injustice have referred to their particular method as “people power” (Phillipines), “*satyagraha*” (India), “positive action” (Ghana) and “political defiance” (Burma). Throughout history, movements such as these have challenged and deposed dictators, stopped armies, undermined corporations, established basic human rights and halted entire industries, all without the use of violence. The overall strategy and the hundreds of practical techniques that these people's movements have used to win against seemingly overwhelming odds are sometimes referred to as *nonviolence*.

In the Australia-Pacific region, nonviolence has a long association with the movements for environmental protection, nuclear disarmament and international solidarity. Nonviolent tactics including strikes, boycotts, marches, sit-ins and blockades have played a central role in movements for the rights of women, workers and indigenous people.

As the history of popular struggle against injustice shows us, there here is nothing passive about nonviolence. Its use frequently involves bravery, courage and personal strength, yet its global history and widespread application indicates that it is within the reach of even the most marginalised people as a tool for change. In the words of Australia nonviolence scholar Robert Burrowes, nonviolence is “the politics of ordinary people.”<sup>1</sup>

One of the advantages of nonviolence is that, because it they doesn't depend on physical strength or weapons, it can be used by almost anyone: women and men, old people and young people. Its power doesn't come from access to external resources, but from human qualities available to all people: courage, creativity, self-discipline, co-operation, conviction, compassion. When these qualities are combined with a common understanding of the political dynamics that enable nonviolence to succeed, dramatic social change occur with surprising speed.

While it is a method for change accessible to all, to succeed, nonviolence requires organisation, discipline, persistence in the face of repression and strategic application. Whether oriented towards reform or radical change, these skills can be learned and systematically applied. Since at least the middle of last century, nonviolent movements in different parts of the world have used a variety of methods to share knowledge about nonviolence. In many countries, various forms of nonviolence training have played an increasingly critical role in equipping social movements with the skills and knowledge to wage effective nonviolent struggle.

This manual aims to contribute to the body of practical on nonviolence training, and support the work of people working to increase the power and effectiveness of grassroots social movements.

## Why train for nonviolence?

Nonviolence training has a role to play in all cultures because so few human institutions teach us how to deal constructively with conflict. Most often, we are taught to avoid it or leave it to the authorities. Otherwise, we are trained to use violence to meet violence. Neither of these paths are appropriate to people who wish to actively confront injustice without the use of violence.

Training for nonviolence can be an important first step in helping people to confront fear and support each other when facing police, community and institutional opposition to their activism. Research on factors influencing participation in the Australian environment movement, for instance, suggests that nonviolent direct actions are a significant entry point for people becoming involved in environmental activism. Conversely, perceived lack of skills appears to play a role in inhibiting involvement of significant proportion of new activists.<sup>2</sup>

Nonviolence training also offers practical benefits to grassroots movements and activists on a number of levels, helping them to:

- Increase the commitment level of activists by developing their understanding of and confidence in nonviolent methods
- Gain consensus on effective and ineffective behaviours during nonviolent actions
- Ensure activists are aware of the personal risks associated with participation, and allow discussion of fears
- Give activists the opportunity to experience the physical and psychological challenges of nonviolent action through games, exercises and role-plays
- Teach practical skills, such as body language, voice control and nonviolent communication

Providing nonviolence training for both new and experienced activists should be seen as an important and integral aspect of any overall campaign strategy that employs protests, rallies or direct action, or that seeks to utilise the dynamics of nonviolence.

## The Nonviolence Training Project

The manual is one outcome of a six-month partnership between Pt'chang Nonviolent Community Safety Group and the Donald Groom Peace Committee. The aim of that partnership has been to substantially develop the capacity of trainers around Australia to provide nonviolence training to the wider community.

We started the Nonviolence Training Project because we believed that opportunities to learn about nonviolence are too few and far between, and that professional development opportunities for nonviolence trainers in the Australia-Pacific region are practically non-existent. At the same time, we have noted an increase in requests for nonviolence training, particularly after the events of September 11, 2001 and the subsequent declaration of “The War on Terror”.

Over the last six months, the response to Nonviolence Training Project events indicates that there is

a significant unmet demand for information about and practical training in nonviolence amongst people working for social change.

In February, the Nonviolence Skillshare for Trainers brought 36 people from Australia and Fiji to learn and share skills for nonviolence training. Workshops held since the skillshare have been well attended; a recent film and discussion night in Brisbane attracted 30 people, while a one-day training in Melbourne was attended by 20 - many of whom wanted to know when the next workshop was! Since the start of the project, requests for nonviolence training have come from trade and student unions, indigenous organisations, grassroots environmental campaigns as well as numerous individuals. The National Nonviolence Gathering scheduled for April-May 2005 is expected to attract more than 70 people, which will make it not only the first such gathering in five years, but one of the largest ever.

Thanks to the support of the Donald Groom Peace Committee over the last six months, the Nonviolence Training Project has helped to 'kickstart' an increased interest and awareness around nonviolent social change. We hope that the *Trainers' Resource Manual* will play at least some small role in helping to transform that interest and awareness into nonviolent action for positive, practical social change.

#### *Notes*

- 1 <http://nonviolenceinternational.net/seasia/library/NIF%20A%20Strategy%20for%20Total%20Revolution.pdf>
- 2 [http://www.environmentaladvocacy.org/resources/articles\\_papers/LaRocca\\_honours\\_final.pdf](http://www.environmentaladvocacy.org/resources/articles_papers/LaRocca_honours_final.pdf)

### **Pt'chang**

Pt'chang is a Nonviolent Community Safety and Peacekeeping Group that assists community groups and grassroots organisations to create safety in a wide range of areas and situations. Pt'chang has been providing training, community education and fielding nonviolent community safety teams at events and festivals for over eight years.

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### **Donald Groom Peace Committee**

The Donald Groom Peace Committee works for a nonviolent world through promotion of and training in nonviolence, organising the Australian Campaign Against Arms Trade (ACAAT) and administering the Donald Groom Peace Fellowship, a grant which enables individuals to work on projects for nonviolent social change. The Donald Groom Peace Fellowship has supported 24 people and projects since 1975.

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# How to use this manual

The *Trainers' Resource Manual* is a collection of training tools that can be used to assemble workshops to match the needs, experience and availability of groups working for social change.

Chapter 1 begins with an historical overview of nonviolence training. We then explore some of the ideas about learning that have influenced the methodology of nonviolence trainers and provide an introduction to some of tools and procedures that can be used to deliver inspiring and empowering workshops. We have also included sample agendas for workshops of varying lengths, which can be used “as is” or adapted as needed.

The organisation of the rest of the manual comes from a framework for nonviolence training that was developed by members of the Nonviolence Training Project Working Group prior to the Nonviolence Skillshare for Trainers. The content areas within this framework are: *Defining nonviolence*, *Power and conflict*, *Learning from other movements*, *Strategic Frameworks*, *Nonviolence and communication*, *Working in groups* and *Preparing for nonviolent action*.

More than 50 training tools have been collected and categorised according to the framework; these can be used to construct training agendas of varying length and focus. Each of the following chapters features a brief introduction to the relevant content area and outlines potential uses of the tools in each category. While some of these tools are old favourites that have been used in various forms for decades, others are so new that they should be considered works in progress!

In the exercises themselves, you will find objectives, an overview of the content, recommendations for time, materials and number of trainers, notes on preparation and delivery of the exercise, and occasionally some notes on suggested alternative ways of conducting the exercise. An explanation of the format for the exercises — which is also the recommended format for exercises that others may wish to contribute to the manual — can be found at the start of the manual.

Finally, in the appendices to the manual, you will find a collection of games that can be used in training to build trust, break the ice, focus the group (or just help people get comfortable feeling a bit silly with each other!), plus a collection of campaign case studies.

## What isn't in the manual?

There are plenty of tools, games and agendas with excellent practical value for nonviolence trainers that you won't find in the current edition of the manual. The field of nonviolence training is one which is dynamic and constantly evolving, so we can only hope to present a sample of what we know to be out there!

One thing that you won't find in this manual is a comprehensive curriculum for nonviolence training. While training manuals sometimes provide an hour by hour, day by day “script” for training, we have deliberately avoided this approach. One reason for this is that we want the manual to be a flexible resource that trainers can draw from to meet the needs of particular groups. In other words, we don't believe there is a single “right way” to deliver a nonviolence training.

Two important aspects of nonviolence training that we haven't included in this manual are “Legal support and solidarity” and “Looking after ourselves”. The first category refers to the vital step of providing adequate information and support that can be provided to activists facing risk arrest, court, and even imprisonment as a consequence of engaging nonviolent action. While we have not included any guidance to nonviolence trainers on this area, we recommend the Activist Rights website developed by the Fitzroy Legal Service in Victoria to all Australian trainers and activists. The Activist Rights website can be found at <http://www.activistrights.org.au>.

“Looking after ourselves” refers to a range of tools and techniques that trainers can use to help individuals and groups minimise the negative physical and psychological consequences of engaging in nonviolent action, particularly where political repression is expected or likely. These range from forming affinity groups and street-medec teams to providing peer support and critical incident debriefing. The Healing Trauma website at <http://healingtrauma.pscap.org/> is starting point for trainers and activists who want to learn more about the issues relevant to this aspect of activism.

## How to update the manual

The contributors to the current edition of the manual would also like to acknowledge that readers may find the manual incomplete or not entirely relevant to their needs. Given the time and resource constraints under which the manual has been developed, we also expect that readers will find numerous spelling errors, inconsistencies of style or voice and the occasional historical inaccuracy. However, the possibility that the manual is neither comprehensive or perfect is something that we are perfectly relaxed about, for reasons we shall explain.

The manual which you are holding in your hands — or, as the case may be, reading on a computer monitor — is only one part of the project. Unlike other training manuals, the *Trainers' Resource Manual* has been developed with the intention of ensuring maximum accessibility and continuing relevance to people working for social change.

As we have said elsewhere, we believe that sharing knowledge about nonviolence is, fundamentally, a way of delivering power to people struggling to defeat injustice in its various forms. As such, anything which inhibits the free availability and use of such information can only inhibit the spread of nonviolent action as a method for social change.

For this reason, the *Trainers' Resource Manual* is licensed for use under the GNU Free Documentation License (FDL) rather than a traditional copyright agreement. The GNU-FDL, originally developed to encourage free distribution of documentation for open source software, gives permission to anyone to copy, distribute or adapt the content of the manual as they see fit. The full license can be found in Appendix 4 of this manual.

As well as this print edition, an editable, online version of the manual can be found at the website of

the Nonviolence Training Project at <http://www.nonviolence.org.au>. The on-line version of the manual is hosted using a piece of open-source software called MediaWiki, which allows many people to collaborate on writing and editing large documents.

This means that not only can the manual be expanded and edited by anyone who has access to the world wide web, but that the results may be freely distributed, subject to the conditions of the license. This places the information in the public domain in a way which will encourage the widest possible distribution of the content and, we hope, ensure that the manual will remain accessible and relevant to those who need it most. It also means that if you discover a spelling mistake or something else about the manual that you feel could be improved, if you have access to the internet you can go online and fix the problem yourself!

In assembling the current edition of the manual, we have only scratched the surface a long and rich tradition of training for social change. Our aim is for the Resource Manual to be a living document as dynamic as nonviolent action itself. We invite all those with an interest in nonviolent social change to view this manual as something more than a static resource: as you develop and practice new tools for nonviolence training, please add them to the online version so that they can be shared by others around the world!

## **A guide to the exercise format**

The basic format for this Nonviolence Training Manual is the same for all of the training exercises included here. A guide to this format is presented below. It explains the purpose of each section and what trainers can expect to find in it.

**Exercise title:** A simple and clear title for the session. It should make sense to both trainers and participants.

**Exercise objectives:** This section briefly states what you are trying to accomplish by doing this session.

**Time needed:** This section indicates approximately how many minutes / hours you will need to do this session.

**Materials needed:** This explains what you will need in the room to deliver the Exercise. Trainees should bring their Manual and journal to most sessions.

**Trainers needed:** This note will reflect recommendations on who should present the section. At least one trainer should be present in every session, even if led by a guest lecturer, to take notes and for evaluation. If it is important or essential to have the entire trainer team present, a resource person, guest speaker, that will be noted in this space.

**Preparation:** If the trainer must prepare anything in advance of the exercise, such as a flipchart or a handout, that will be noted here. (Of course, trainers should read the session notes in advance and think about how they are going to do the session, but that is not what is meant by preparation.)

**Delivery:** This usually states “see below” and refers to the outline of how this section was developed in each of the Pt'chang trainings to date. This would most likely be the preferred method.

Evaluative comments from trainers and participants are included in italics to help inform your selection of which methodology to employ.

**Alternative delivery:** In cases where there is a preferred method, an alternative way of covering the content of the exercise may be offered.

*Adopted from the Trainer's Guide to the US Peace Corps Culture Matters, with additions by Anthony Kelly.*

# Nonviolence training: a brief history

There have been countless instances of popular nonviolent struggle throughout history, with known examples dating back at least to the Plebeian withdrawal from Rome in 494 BC. However, only recently has serious attention been paid to the task of documenting and classifying the methods used by ordinary people, without access to weapons or military might, to successfully challenge authority. As nonviolence scholar Gene Sharp has pointed out, this historical neglect should come as no surprise: the transmission of knowledge concerning the efficacy of nonviolence is tantamount to placing power into the hands of the oppressed.

Despite considerable efforts over the last 30 years to institutionalise the study of nonviolence and related fields through the establishment of Peace Studies as an academic discipline, most learning about nonviolence takes place outside formal channels, in draughty church halls or at blockade camp sites, in short workshops ranging from a few hours to a couple of days in length. Trainers are often volunteers with little, if any, financial or organisational backing.

Given the logical reluctance of elite-controlled institutions to disseminate knowledge concerning what a group of Thai peace activists once dubbed the “secrets of nonviolence”, it should be no surprise that people have turned to other sources to learn how to challenge the unchallengeable. The story of nonviolence training, then, is essentially the story of how ordinary people have learned for themselves and from each other; experimenting, copying and adapting.

Tolstoy's correspondence with Gandhi in the 1900s and visits to India by African American church ministers in the 1930s are two examples of how the basic strategic insights of nonviolent action have been shared and adapted by kindred thinkers and movements around the world. In Latin America, a successful nonviolent uprising in El Salvador in 1944 almost certainly played a role in the adoption of a similar strategy in Guatemala the same year, and more recently, post-communist Europe has witnessed an astonishing flowering of popular struggle, with citizens in Georgia, the Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan drawing heavily on the strategies and symbolism of the Serbian Otpor! movement to oust leaders accused of corruption and electoral fraud.

While some nonviolent struggles appear to erupt spontaneously, or have grown organically from the experience of populations who have rejected violence as unethical or impractical, the transmission of knowledge concerning principles, strategies and techniques for waging nonviolent struggle has proved critical to the success of many other grassroots social movements from all over the world.

The instigators of early nonviolent struggles against colonialism — Maori resistance to land acquisition in the village of Parihaka in New Zealand/Aotearoa in the 1880s, for instance — demonstrated considerable persistence, organisation and discipline. Charismatic leadership, appeals to a mixture of indigenous and introduced spirituality and the maintenance and strengthening of traditional political

structures appear to have been key to the movement's effective mobilisation against armed opponents.

In Afghanistan between 1929 and 1948, members of the 100,000 strong Khudai Khidmitgar (Soldiers of God) participated in training camps with up to 800 participants. The week long trainings included "drills, physical fitness training, village cleaning, political education, spinning, grinding wheat, political-cultural performances, and speeches from senior members including [resistance leader, Khan Abdul Gaffar] Khan."<sup>1</sup> Formed by Khan to resist British colonial rule, the Khudai Khidmitgar used marches, picketing, boycotts and other methods, maintaining strict nonviolent discipline in the face of brutal repression, despite the widespread acceptance of violence within Pakhtun culture.

Nonviolence training was also practiced by the Indian Shanti Sena (Peace Army), whose membership peaked at 6,000 during the 1960s. They used nonviolent techniques to de-escalate communal riots and disarm bandits and provided humanitarian assistance to refugees and victims of natural disaster. Inspired by and based on Gandhian principles, trainings ranging from a weekend to ten days in length included "prayer and meditation, collective study, lectures and discussions, cultural programs, sanitation, games, manual labor and constructive work, and theoretical aspects".<sup>2</sup>

The US Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 60s borrowed heavily from Gandhian and Christian conceptions of nonviolence, along with the folk school and community organising traditions promoted by organisations such as Tennessee's Highlander Center. Rosa Parks, whose refusal to surrender her seat on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama is widely credited to have sparked the surge of sit-ins, boycotts, marches and civil disobedience across the south. Prior to this planned act of civil disobedience, Parks had attended a 10-day training session at the Highlander Center; training during the subsequent campaign to desegregate the buses included role-played confrontations between civil rights activists and pro-segregationists. This fusion of nonviolent philosophy with training techniques that might be described, in today's educational parlance, as "experiential", would prove highly influential for subsequent generations of trainers around the world.

James Lawson, a conscientious objector and theology student who had travelled in India in the early 1950s, further honed these techniques. Lawson, who began training with Nashville civil rights groups in 1959 at the behest of Martin Luther King, ran evening workshops exploring Christian perspectives on nonviolence and sharing stories of contemporary and historic campaigns, including the freedom rides of the 1840s and the Montgomery boycott. During role-plays in preparation for store boycotts and sit-ins, students endured verbal abuse, pushing and punching and had water and food thrown at them to simulate the expected response of antagonistic crowds. Lawson also used the workshops to show the connections between local racism and broader, international issues, demonstrating "it wasn't a one-stroke thing".<sup>3</sup>

The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) also contributed significantly to nonviolent activism and training during the 20th century. Emerging from the political and religious upheaval of the English revolution, Quaker spiritual practice rejected hierarchical forms of worship; founder, George Fox, rejected violence in all its forms.

Following World War II, Quakers formed the nucleus of early opposition to nuclear weapons, establishing groups such as the Committee for Nonviolent Action to resist weapons tests by the United States and French governments. In the late 1950s, CNVA members walked into nuclear test

sites in Nevada and sailed yachts into the test zone at Bikini Atoll. In the late 1960s, A Quaker Action Group (AQAG) shipped medical supplies to North Vietnam and organised a nonviolent blockade of freighters shipping arms to Pakistan. In 1971, AQAG members established the Movement for A New Society (MNS), a self-styled “transformational network” that would influence social movements around the world, but most notably, the US anti-nuclear movement.

The early members of MNS consciously sought to develop tools and strategies that could be employed to bring about revolutionary change through nonviolent means. MNS members also experimented with co-operative living to reduce living expense and provide “political, material, and psychological support” to members engaged in unpaid political work.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike other radical organizations of the time, the MNS did not focus its energies exclusively on one issue or injustice. Its members were involved in working for social change on many fronts, most notably in the movement to end US involvement in the Vietnam war, and during the citizen-led opposition to the expansion of the US nuclear industry in the mid to late '70s. The blockade of the Seabrook nuclear power plant in 1977 was a high point, with more than 1,000 citizens arrested at the peak of a people's movement which effectively halted the commissioning of new nuclear reactors in the United States after the 1970s.

Through their company New Society Publishers, MNS members published numerous pamphlets and books providing practical advice on working for social change. New Society publications, most notably the co-operatively authored *Resource Manual for a Living Revolution* (known affectionately within movement circles as the “Monster Manual”) were a primary source of inspiration and guidance for nonviolent activist around the world, influencing movements as far afield as the Tasmanian Wilderness Society's campaign to protect the Franklin River.

After MNS was laid down by its members in 1988, founding member George Lakey started an organisation called Training for Change, which has continued to develop the basic training methodology used by MNS and provide training support to activists in the US, Thailand, Russia and other countries.

## The Pacific tradition

Nonviolence and nonviolence training has an equally rich history in the Australia-Pacific region. While relatively few movements have consciously adopted the term “nonviolence” to describe their methods, it can be observed as an underlying methodology throughout the histories of anti-colonial, women's', labour, environmental, peace and indigenous rights movements.

Resistance to British land acquisition in the village of Parihaka, in New Zealand/Aotearoa's Taranaki region, provides one of the earliest documented examples of explicitly nonviolent resistance, not just in the Australia-Pacific region, but in the world. Parihaka leader Te Whito O Rongamai was a splendid orator, exhorting his followers to maintain both their resistance and their commitment to nonviolence as they continued to plough their land in defiance of British surveyors:

*Go, put your hands to the plough. Look not back. If any come with guns and swords, be not afraid. If they smite you, smite not in return. If they rend you, be not discouraged. Another will take up the good work.*<sup>5</sup>

In 1911, Indian-Fijians, suffering under the British exploitative system of indentured labour, sought help from Mohandas Gandhi. In India, labour ships departing Calcutta and Bombay were picketed, Indian women marched on the British Viceroy's office and public meetings were held to protest the indenture system. In Fiji, a local campaign led by Gandhi's associate, D.M. Manilal, culminated with a month long strike by Indian-Fijian labourers following the official end to indentured labour in 1920.

In Samoa, the Mau movement for independence from New Zealand military rule peaked in the 1920s, when it is estimated that 85 per cent of the population were engaged in acts of civil resistance ranging from non-payment of taxes, to refusal to control pests which threatened the lucrative copra trade.

## **Aboriginal resistance**

The first documented example of organised resistance to British invasion of Aboriginal country was led by the Bidjigal warrior Pemulwuy, of the Eora nation, between 1790 - 1802. Windradyne, of the Wiradjuri, New South Wales, Yagan of the Nyungar (Western Australia and Jundamurra of the Bunuba (West Australia) were other celebrated warriors who fought to repel the invaders using traditional methods of battle.

Koori historian and political activist Gary Foley traces the history of “significant [political] resistance, both passive and active” to the occupation of Aboriginal land in south-eastern Australia to the 1860s. It was in the 1920s and 30s, however, that Aboriginal political organisations, including the Australia Aboriginal Progress Association (APA) and the Australian Aborigines League (AAL) began to move the struggle for land rights and human rights beyond localised struggle. The following chronology is derived largely from Foley's research.<sup>6</sup>

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, Aboriginals in NSW formed alliances with unemployed white workers, with strikes and stop-works organised in support of extending work relief to unemployed aboriginal workers. On 26 January 1936, in a ceremony contrasting with contemporary “Survival Day “festivals, the APA marked the 150th anniversary of “the white man's seizure of our country” with a “Day of Mourning and Protest” in Sydney, which was attended by 100 delegates.

In 1939, 200 residents of the Aboriginal reserve at Cummerangunja, NSW, walked off the reserve after two-year dispute with the NSW Protection Board. Two thirds of the reserve community crossed the Murray River and established a camp at Barmah, Victoria, and “thus withdrew their labour” from the Board. 1946 and 1950-51 were also marked by strikes by Aboriginal workers, this time in the Pilbara region in Western Australia and Darwin.

In 1963, the Yolngu people of Yirrkala in the Northern Territory sent two “bark petitions” typed in English and Gumatj and framed by traditional designs, to the Commonwealth Parliament. The petitions, which became the first traditional documents to be recognised by Parliament, called for recognition of the Yolngu people's rights to their traditional land. The failure of the Commonwealth to recognise the Yolngu's claim to their land led to the 1968-1971 Gove Land Rights Case in the Northern Territory Supreme court which, while unsuccessful, set the scene for the Commonwealth's response to growing political pressure generated by indigenous activists in the late 60s and early 70s.

In 1965, Charles Perkins, inspired by the US civil rights movement, organised a highly publicised

“Freedom Ride”, when a bus-load of Sydney University students travelled to outback NSW to expose racism and discrimination in towns including Walgett and Moree. In 1966, Gurindji workers walked off Wave Hill pastoral station in the Northern Territory, in a protracted strike that added significant political pressure to the call for a referendum on Aboriginal citizenship and, ultimately, led to the first legislation for Aboriginal Land Rights in 1976.

Following the recognition of Aboriginal citizenry in the 1967 referendum, pressure was mounting on new Prime Minister, Harold Holt, to introduce land rights legislation. Following the failure of the Gove Land Rights case in 1971, Holt proposed to introduce a system of “general purpose leases”, ignoring Aboriginal demands for freehold title. In response, four young activists from Sydney's Redfern travelled to Canberra to erect what was soon dubbed the “Aboriginal Tent Embassy” outside Parliament House. It was at the Tent Embassy, which stands today despite repeated eviction attempts, that the Aboriginal flag was first flown.

Following the sacked Whitlam Government's failure to pass land rights legislation through the upper house, in March 1976, 1000 Aboriginal people marched in Alice Springs in support of land rights; in June, the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976, introduced by the Fraser Government, was passed by Parliament.

The occupation of Oyster Cove, in Tasmania, between 1983 and 1985 led to the ownership of this and several other culturally important sites being returned to the Tasmanian Aboriginal community in 1995. 1985 also saw more than 1,000 Aboriginal people march on Parliament to demand a stronger model for land rights legislation, and in 1988, approximately 20,000 Aboriginal people marched in Sydney to mark 200 years of survival. An occupation and picket at the old Swan Brewery in Perth between 1989 and 1992 successfully prevented re-development of a culturally significant site.

In 1996, the Mirrar people of Kakadu initiated a campaign to stop the development of the Jabiluka uranium mine within their traditional lands. National speaking tours, public meetings and banner drops were organised, and in 1998, around 5000 people travelled to Kakadu to join a blockade to halt construction of the mine. 530 people were arrested at the blockade, including Senior Traditional Owner Yvonne Margarula. Plans for the mine have since been abandoned.

In 2000, an estimated one million non-indigenous and indigenous people marched across the Sydney Harbour bridge in support of reconciliation. In November 2004, indigenous activist and ex-footballer Michael Long walked 400 kilometres to gain an appointment with Prime Minister John Howard, and in December, Redfern activists promised to “adopt the tactics of Gandhi and Martin Luther King” to prevent forceable acquisition of Aboriginal land in Redfern.<sup>7</sup>

## **Environmental struggles**

Australians had participated in nonviolent campaigns to disrupt French nuclear testing in the Pacific throughout the 1970s, and the establishment of the first local Greenpeace 1977 brought the Quaker-inspired techniques of “bearing witness” in high-speed inflatable boats to a successful campaign to end what remained of Australia's whaling industry.

But it was the 1979 blockade of logging operations at Terania Creek in Northern New South Wales

that set the scene for the rise of nonviolent direct action in the environment movement over the next decade. The blockade lasted more than a month and triggered the government enquiry that led to the rainforest's protection. According to Terania Creek veteran John Seed, it was “the earliest direct action in defence of rainforests in the world.”<sup>8</sup>

The Terania Creek blockade was followed, in 1980, by six months of protest action against sandmining at Middle Head, and in 1981, by protest action to protect the Nightcap range from logging.

While, at the earlier protests, nonviolence training “was not even thought of,”<sup>9</sup> it would be fundamental to the strategy for mass civil disobedience employed by during the Franklin Dam blockade in 1982.

According to Ian Cohen, the Tasmanian Wilderness Society (TWS)'s approach to nonviolence training was influenced by members' observations at the Nightcap blockade:

*Judgements were not made by observing actions in the forest but by witnessing the dynamics of the base camp, which was dominated by the loony fringe who did not participate in campaigning, were often drunk and violent and disrupted the camp.*<sup>10</sup>

Cohen believes that this led TWS to make nonviolence training compulsory for all who participated in the Franklin blockade. Nonetheless, TWS sought practical help from veterans of this first wave of environmental direct action, and a small group of activists, including John Seed, travelled from Northern New South Wales to Tasmania to help organise the blockade.

The Philadelphia-based Movement for a New Society was almost certainly a key influence upon the Franklin blockade trainers. In 1975, the Quaker-funded Donald Groom Peace Committee began supporting Australian nonviolent activists through a fellowship program. One of the first fellowships was awarded to Jann Bennett, who “travelled to Philadelphia to spend 9 months with Movement for a New Society, and who shared her experiences widely in Australia.” The 1980 fellow, Rachel Bloomfield, established a trainers network in New Zealand after having learned nonviolence training with MNS, and in 1981, Diana Pittock and the Melbourne Non-Violence Training Collective “worked to build a nonviolence training network around Australia, which was used as preparation for actions at Franklin River, Pine Gap & Roxby Downs”.<sup>11</sup>

The Franklin Blockaders handbook also drew heavily on the MNS-authored *Resource Manual for a Living Revolution*, quoting extensively from sections on working in groups and decision-making.

One notable characteristic of the Franklin blockade that influenced the role of training was that TWS, as organising body, was able to control access to protest site. This put blockade organisers in the unique position of being able to impose compulsory training on all who attended the blockade. Quite simply, if you didn't do the training, you couldn't join the blockade.

Despite the striking success of the blockade — 1272 people were arrested, the action had been wholly nonviolent, “people felt involved in a history making event”<sup>12</sup> and the Franklin was saved — some organisers and blockaders were ambivalent about the role that training had played.

Writing, some years later, in the pages of the magazine *Nonviolence Today*, and later still in his book *Green Fire*, Ian Cohen is scathing in his criticism of the Franklin blockade's “orthodox NVA” trainers:

*The practice of orthodox NVA training fails in that it refuses to cater for the unexpected and aims for the safe option of stereotyped behaviour. It teaches passivity and acceptance of rules, producing compliant, productive adherents to the doctrine.*

Cohen nonetheless acknowledges that the training at the Franklin “was of great assistance to those needing skills, confidence and a key to deal with potentially violent “situations.

*For many, gaol was a new and daunting experience; the bonding that occurred during training helped create the support needed to deal with confronting situations.<sup>13</sup>*

Even blockade organisers like Cathie Plowman were in two minds about the role of training:

*A non-violent blockade was essential and it was an excellent blockade. We got what we wanted: worldwide attention and support ... I didn't agree with the way NVA was used but it did provide a means of control.<sup>14</sup>*

At the same time, some of those involved with nonviolence training for the blockade were frustrated with a pragmatism in the campaign that seemed inconsistent with the big picture, long-term approach of principled nonviolence. Trainers wondered what sort of change they could have achieved in an organisation based on non-hierarchical principles with a long-term campaign perspective, based soundly on nonviolent principles.<sup>15</sup>

## Networking for nonviolence

Whatever tensions may have existed concerning the role of nonviolence training, the Franklin blockade and the earlier wave of direct action for the environment was one factor in the groundswell of enthusiasm for nonviolence. One of the spin-offs of the Franklin blockade and the increased interest in nonviolence it generated, was the formation of a national nonviolence network that named itself “Groundswell”. The first national gathering was held in 1981, and a magazine with the same name began publication in 1982.

From 1983, nonviolent activists in Australia turned their attention to three related issues: US-bases, US-warships and uranium. A nonviolent action workshop in Western Australia sparked a series of water-based actions against warships visiting Fremantle, and women's peace camps sprung up at US-bases. Those with a commitment to nonviolence found themselves in conflict with other activists:

*One such movement, known originally as the Nomadic Action Group, travelled around different actions in Australia, charging into ongoing campaigns with little if any respect for those already involved, and usually causing havoc, before moving on as the self-appointed saviours of the Earth.<sup>16</sup>*

One such confrontation at Roxby Downs in 1983-4 “served to discredit the idea of nonviolent action for several years”, according to some of the nonviolent activists involved.<sup>17</sup>

1988 marked another turning point for nonviolent activists in Australia. *Groundswell* changed its name to *Nonviolence Today* to give new readers a clearer picture of the magazine's content and several individuals within the network began to work on campaigns in small, intentional affinity groups with an explicit principled, nonviolent approach.

Nuremberg Action Brisbane, a warship action group, and the Melbourne Rainforest Action Group (MRAG), characterised the new approach. The new affinity groups would work on campaigns with a limited duration, follow a code of ethics and have clear agreements about roles. Nonviolence training was an important part of the new groups' approach.

MRAG, which was established as a group with a clear commitment to action based on nonviolent principles, carried out more than 25 direct actions against imports of tropical rainforest timber in 1989 and 1990. The actions were planned openly and intentions communicated to media, police and the public in advance of each action. MRAG was successful as a training group for new activists; more than 100 people participated in nonviolence training over the course of the campaign, and weekly meetings were regularly attended by around 65 people.

In 1990, the Gulf Peace Team Project brought nonviolent activists from around the country together to support a team that placed itself between Iraq and Saudi Arabia in the lead-up to the US bombing of Iraq. This spurred on the re-establishment of a network, which went by the name Australian Nonviolence Network (ANN). The re-vitalised national network held its first National Nonviolence Gathering in 1992, with subsequent gatherings each year until 1997.

In 1994, the National Nonviolence Gathering attempted to formulate a set of principles for ANN, similar in form and content to the nonviolence guidelines used to guide behaviour during nonviolent action. This and subsequent gatherings proved unable to agree on an appropriate set of principles; conflict around questions of gender and patriarchy was a recurring stumbling block.

While *Nonviolence Today* continued to be published during this period, the annual gatherings ceased. ANN members participated in the 1998 Jabiluka blockade, but energy to sustain the Network was low. By 2000, when the final Gathering took place in Brisbane, global justice mobilisations were spreading around the world, sparked by the 1999 WTO demonstrations in Seattle. The final edition of *Nonviolence Today* was published in August 2000, when the editorial collective decided it was time to retire after 15 years of service.

## **Nonviolence since 2000**

In the intervening period, nonviolence training and activism has continued in different forms. In the mid-1990s, the Pt'chang Nonviolent Community Safety Group was formed in Melbourne, applying the principles of third-party nonviolence intervention (TPNI) at a community level. For more than eight years, Pt'chang has fielded community safety and peacekeeping teams — and occasionally legal observers — at dance parties, community festivals and rallies, and has developed specialised training modules for its peacekeeping trainings.

Around the same time Pt'chang was founded, Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) groups were being established in Australia. AVP volunteers facilitate experiential workshops in prisons, schools, and the wider community; AVP workshops focus on the development of skills for interpersonal conflict resolution.

In 1999, Peace Brigades International (PBI) opened an office in Australia. PBI is an independent NGO which specialises in providing nonviolent, protective accompaniment to human rights activists, clergy, union leaders and others threatened by political violence. All PBI volunteers participate in an

orientation and selection process culminating in a training program which includes safety procedures, nonviolence, consensus decision-making, dealing with stress and fear, conflict resolution, cultural sensitivity, country-specific information and political analysis.

In recent years, the From Violence To Wholeness (FVTW) training program, developed by Pace a Bene, has been offered in Australia. FVTW training focuses on nonviolence as personally and socially transformative force.

While the nonviolent methods have been used by a diversity of groups in the Australia-Pacific region since (at least) the 1880s, organised nonviolence training appears to have only played a significant role in developing since the Franklin Dam blockade in the early eighties. From this brief overview of the relationship between training, nonviolence and social change, it would appear that organised nonviolence training has usually been delivered in Australia through one of the following channels.

1. An organising body has made participation in nonviolent action conditional upon activists participating in training. The Wilderness Society, Greenpeace provide are examples of groups that have adopted this policy, either permanently or intermittently.
2. NGOs involved in an ongoing campaigning have requested training from activists with experience in nonviolent action, at times supported by a more or less informal network (such as the ANN).
3. Collectives have been established specifically to provide nonviolence training to the activist community, usually by activists who have developed a strong commitment to nonviolence as a philosophy of social change.
4. On occasions, activists with a commitment to nonviolence have attempted to influence the approach of groups of activists with divergent philosophies at events such as blockades or camps.
5. Affinity groups campaigning on a particular injustice have made a conscious choice to employ nonviolent methods and work only with people who agree on this approach. Trainings have usually been open to people interested in becoming involved with the group.

All of these avenues for providing nonviolence training offer significant challenges. Compulsory training during the Franklin blockade proved effective in delivering a successful nonviolent action involving thousands of people, but was in all likelihood only possible because the organising group had the means to determine who could or couldn't participate in the blockade. Greenpeace also requires all participants in actions to complete at least a one day training in nonviolence before taking part in direct actions. However, the high level of nonviolent discipline achieved comes at the cost of the limited scale of action; Greenpeace actions are not generally publicised beforehand, limiting opportunities for participation by large numbers of people.

While requests for training from existing groups provide a valuable opportunity to work with groups and individuals on the “coal-face” of social change, trainers may need to be aware that the experiences, perspectives and approach of the group may be different to their own. As the account of a trainer invited to assist TWS during the “Long Hot Summer” campaign of the early 90s demonstrates, campaigning organisations have their own culture and history which will influence their approach to nonviolence and nonviolence training. Robert Burrowes' Nonviolence Matrix is

one tool to assist trainers in appreciating divergent approaches to nonviolence.

The history of Groundswell and the Australian Nonviolence Network would suggest that attempts to “educate” divergent groups of activists engaged in protests, occupations or blockades have been problematic; nonviolent activists who have participated in convergence-style protests at US-bases, arms fairs or refugee detention centres would appear to have been most effective in sparking interest in nonviolence through action rather than words.

The “affinity groups” of the early 90s offer a valuable model for planning nonviolent action campaigns which incorporate training. The Nuremberg Action Group and Melbourne Rainforest Action Group proved effective in involving and training relatively large groups of activists within the context of a “live” campaign. However, efforts by nonviolent activists — many of whom were involved in NAB, MRAG and similar groups — to develop structures to support training and nonviolence in general appear to have stalled as the focus shifted from campaigning on specific issues to questions around group maintenance and fundamental principles.

*Notes*

1 <http://www.asianreflection.com/npsskk.shtml>

2 <http://www.asianreflection.com/npsskk.shtml>

3 <http://www.pbs.org/weta/forcemorepowerful/nashville/interview.html>

4 Lakey, George. “The Life and Death of the Movement for a New Society”. *Friends Journal*, September 1989 pp 22-25

5 <http://pukeariki.com/mi/stories/conflict/pacifistofparihaka.asp>

6 [http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/essays/essay\\_1.html](http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/essays/essay_1.html)

7 <http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/news/abc20dec04.html>

8 <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/science/earth/stories/s45829.htm>

9 <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/ian/atwwnav.htm>

10 *ibid*

11 <http://www.quakers.org.au/dgpeace.html>

12 Thompson, Peter. *Bob Brown of the Franklin River*. George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1984; p. 174.

13 <http://www.nsw.greens.org.au/ian/atwwnav.htm>

14 Green, Roger. *Battle for the Franklin*. Fontana/Australian Conservation Foundation, Melbourne, 1981; p. 249

15 <http://www.uq.net.au/~zzdkeena/NvT/28/28.3.txt>

16 <http://www.uq.net.au/~zzdkeena/NvT/43/9.txt>

17 *ibid*

# Empowered Learning

*Any genuine teaching will result, if successful, in someone's knowing how to bring about a better condition of things than existed earlier.*

- John Dewey

The way that we approach helping others to learn will reflect our beliefs and assumptions about how learning happens. These assumptions may have been shaped by our own preferences for learning, by role models such as teachers, lecturers or trainers, by educational theory or a combination of these.

Examining and testing beliefs and assumptions about learning (educationalists call these assumptions a “pedagogy”) can help you to systematise your work as trainers. One starting point for this is to reflect upon positive learning experiences that you have had in your own life, and in particular, those which relate to nonviolence or social change. Here are some questions to prompt such a reflection:

- What events or experiences have you learned from?
- Where and when did the learning take place?
- Were you learning by yourself, or with another person?
- What did the learning experience feel like?

You might also consider experiences that have been the opposite to these positive learning experiences. What were the characteristics of these experiences? How did they make you feel? What would have made it easier for you to learn?

Summarizing the characteristics of positive and negative learning experiences is a starting point. Inform your own philosophy of learning. Some other methods you can use to enrich your ideas about learning are:

- Observing other trainers or teachers at work
- Seeking feedback from other trainers
- Seeking feedback from workshop participants
- Studying other people's ideas about learning

The rest of this section looks at some of the beliefs and assumptions about learning that have influenced the practice of nonviolence training and outlines a proposed model for drawing these assumptions together in a form that we've called — following the example of RANT Trainers Collective — “Empowered Learning”.

## What's special about nonviolence training?

Learning to play a musical instrument involves learning through listening, learning to play a sport requires learning through physical action. Does the field of nonviolent action have its own special characteristics that might influence the models of learning we choose?

First, participants in nonviolence training — at least, training of a variety aimed at challenging the power of elites — are most often adults; as such their needs and expectations naturally differ to those of children. When adults engage in learning they usually do so voluntarily, they have greater expectations of autonomy and a greater need to have their experience and knowledge recognised.<sup>1</sup>

Second, nonviolence training differs in aim with much of the training and education offered through formal channels, in that it has an explicitly political purpose which is shaped by the strategic assumptions that underlie the choice of nonviolence as a method of change. Two characteristics with implications for the methods we use to teach nonviolence are:

- Nonviolence transforms and re-distributes social power
- Nonviolence is pre-figurative; in other words, it uses means which are consistent with the ends sought

If we choose to teach nonviolence in a way which is consistent with the ultimate purpose of nonviolent action, approaches to learning which challenge, rather than entrench, conventional conceptions of power and those which enact, in the present, the society we want in the future, are therefore the most compatible with nonviolence as a means of social change. So, what models for teaching and learning might we draw on has nonviolence trainers?

## Didactic education

Didactic education has been defined as “the transmission of information from one person (the educator or expert) to another (the learner).”<sup>2</sup> This is the kind of teaching and learning that progressive educators like to refer to as “chalk and talk”; most often, we associate it with the formal educational institutions in which it predominates.

Critics of formal education tend to view schooling — and the didactic methods of teaching it often favours — as a system of indoctrination which domesticates learners and perpetuates structural, social inequality. In this view, even the most socially progressive and inspiring teachers are constrained by the requirements of a state-defined curriculum, geared increasingly towards meeting the needs of the market rather than the needs of learners, or the community at large.

In the previous chapter, it was noted that, efforts to formalise and institutionalise the study of nonviolent action and related fields notwithstanding, the general absence of nonviolence from the curricula and textbooks of formal educational institutions is consistent with the dictum that elites do not generally equip the populace with the means to undermine state or corporate power.

A nonviolent critique of traditional schooling might also argue that institutionalised education tends to perpetuate the conventional view of power as something that is held by a privileged few, rather than distributed throughout society. The layout of the classroom, the orientation of the students'

desks to that of the teacher's, the dominance of the blackboard, the requirement that teachers be addressed by title while students are addressed by first name or surname, even the schoolbell which dictates when lessons begin and end: all of these re-inforce a monolithic conception of power conducive to maintaining control of the classroom and ultimately, the populace. (Nonviolence strategists such as Gene Sharp, it should be noted, nonetheless view schools and universities as “centres of democratic power” which, along with workplaces, churches and clubs, provide an all important basis for social organisation during periods of protracted nonviolent struggle.<sup>3</sup>)

Despite trends towards participatory and learner-centered forms in a variety of educational environments, the didactic model has nonetheless continued to influence nonviolence training and other forms of activist learning. As Whelan notes, the discrepancy between ideals of learner-centered, participatory education and the reality of educational practice is cause for some consternation amongst progressive educational theorists<sup>4</sup>; certainly, nonviolence trainers who revert to the “chalk and talk” techniques of their school days often do so apologetically!

The production and distribution of books, papers and manuals and film productions on nonviolence necessarily entails a degree of didactic instruction. The Albert Einstein Institution's (AEI) publication and distribution of a variety of strategic manuals has played a critical role in struggles in eastern Europe and Asia; at the very least, validating and re-inforcing the experience of the local movements, such as the students active in Serbian Otpor! movement. AEI publications, which outline practical methods for nonviolent struggle based on strategic theory, have been translated into more than 30 languages.<sup>5</sup>

Didactic methods may also be favoured where limited time and/or resources for training make participatory methods impractical. During the 1992 uprising in Thailand, for instance, the Peace Information Center in Bangkok, fearing “that violence was around the corner, “distributed 10,000 copies of a pamphlet entitled “19 Secrets of Nonviolence”, which summarised amongst a crowd of hundreds of thousands in an effort to help citizens maintain what had been a predominantly nonviolent stance.<sup>6</sup>

From the brief history of nonviolence training presented in the previous section, we can observe a trend away from the didactic, military-style methods of instruction which characterised the training camps of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan's *Khudai Khidmitgar*. Since US civil rights activists began using training to prepare for nonviolent action, didactic methods such as lecture-style presentations or distribution of nonviolence “guidelines”, have more often been combined participatory training drawing on a variety of progressive educational traditions. Popular education techniques inspired by Paulo Friere and various models for experiential learning have been of particular influence.

## Popular education

A tradition of teaching and learning which has had a significant influence on nonviolence training and other forms of activist education is that of *popular education*. The International Popular Education Network defines popular education in this way:

*Popular education is:*

- *rooted in the real interests and struggles of ordinary people*

- *overtly political and critical of the status quo*
- *committed to progressive social and political change in the interests of a fairer and more egalitarian society*

*Popular education has the following characteristics:*

- *its curriculum comes out of the concrete experience and material interests of people in communities of resistance and struggle*
- *its pedagogy is collective, focused primarily on group as distinct from individual learning and development*
- *it attempts to forge a direct connection between education and social change.*<sup>7</sup>

The mode of popular education referenced most often by nonviolence trainers is derived from the work of Brazilian educator, Paulo Friere. Friere, who developed his theory of learning while teaching literacy amongst peasant groups, taught people to read and write through considering and discussing the problems and challenges they faced in everyday life, and the social roots of these problems.

Friere used the term conscientization to describe the process by which learners, reflecting on their everyday experience, become aware of patterns of oppression and act to challenge this oppression. Characterising conventional educational practice as a “banking” model, where teachers “deposit” information into the empty account of the student's mind, Friere advocated the dissolution of the division between the roles of educator and student. For either to be fully “human” the educator must also learn, and the learner must also teach.<sup>8</sup>

Following the publication of Friere's *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in 1970, derivations of his educational theories filtered into social movements. The feminist consciousness raising groups of the 1970s, which explored the connections between personal experience and oppressive social structures, are one example.

The popularisation of Freire's ideas also had important impacts on the methodology of nonviolence training, particularly in the United States. The Philadelphia-based Movement for a New Society, which included amongst its membership the authors of the classic *Resource Manual for a Living Revolution*, drew direct inspiration from Friere's model. According to MNS founder, George Lakey, “Training at its best rejected the ‘empty vessel’ image of learning, choosing instead to validate the strength and skills trainees had already brought with them, and through the process of the workshop itself, brought out greater awareness of the wisdom already won through experience.”<sup>9</sup>

The US-based RANT Trainers Collective, a contemporary group which has worked mainly with global justice activists, use the term “empowered learning” to describe their training philosophy. RANT also acknowledges a debt to Freire: “We believe that people learn not from being told what to think or do, but from reflecting on their experiences ... Our trainings are active, involving little lecturing and many exercises, role plays, and much discussion.”<sup>10</sup>

Peacebuilding practitioner Paul Lederech also advocates a model for training in peacebuilding, conflict resolution and nonviolent action which emphasises participatory, experiential and elicitive methods that draw upon the experience and skills of participants and allows for the safe practice of

new skills, encouraging participants to overcome societal inhibitions to “protest” or “intervene”.<sup>11</sup>

*The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* has continued to influence activists, particularly in the Spanish-speaking world. The Brazilian Landless Workers Movement, an unarmed people's movement which has forced the Brazilian government to redistribute approximately 20 million acres of land to poor families, established schools in their settlement camps which follow Freire's method for *conscientization*.<sup>12</sup>

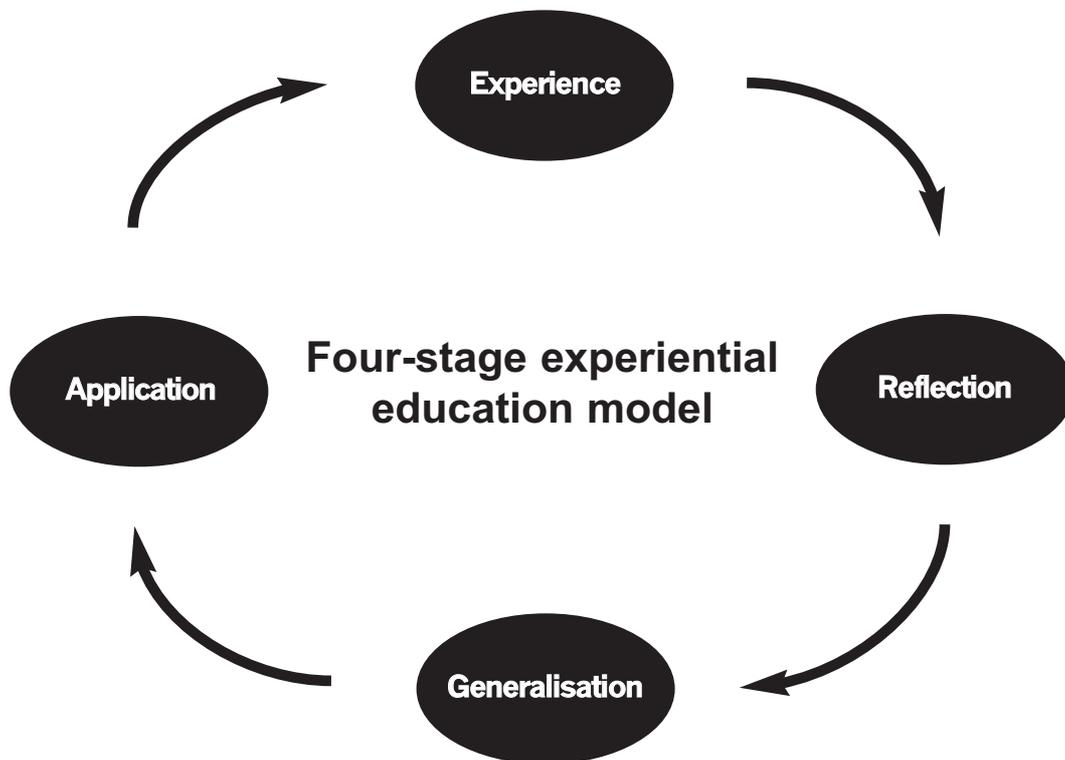
## Experiential learning

Models of learning based on the notion of learning as a cycle, where a spontaneous or planned experience provides the substance for reflection, analysis and application, have become increasingly popular in both mainstream and alternative education.

These models derive from a tradition that views learning as a dynamic relationship between learners and their environment; the notion of learning as a cycle implies that a continuous interaction between ideas and experience where one informs the other.

James Neill describes nine common experiential learning cycles with anywhere between one and five stages. Neill characterises experiential learning cycles as a form of “semi-structured” education that sits between the extremes of “free” and “structured” learning.<sup>13</sup>

Variations on David Kolb's four-stage model — such as the one depicted here — have also been used by activist educators. The following table and diagram illustrate a four-stage model that has informed Pt'chang's approach to training:



1. **Experience:** A facilitated activity which allows participants to undergo an experience conducive to learning; alternatively, this may refer to previous experiences that participants discuss with others.
2. **Reflection:** An opportunity to consider the feelings and thoughts that arose during the experience, either by oneself or with a group.
3. **Generalisation** The identification of patterns or formulation of concepts which enables learners to transfer the lessons from their own and others' experience to new experiences.
4. **Application:** The testing of the new conceptual framework through further experience.

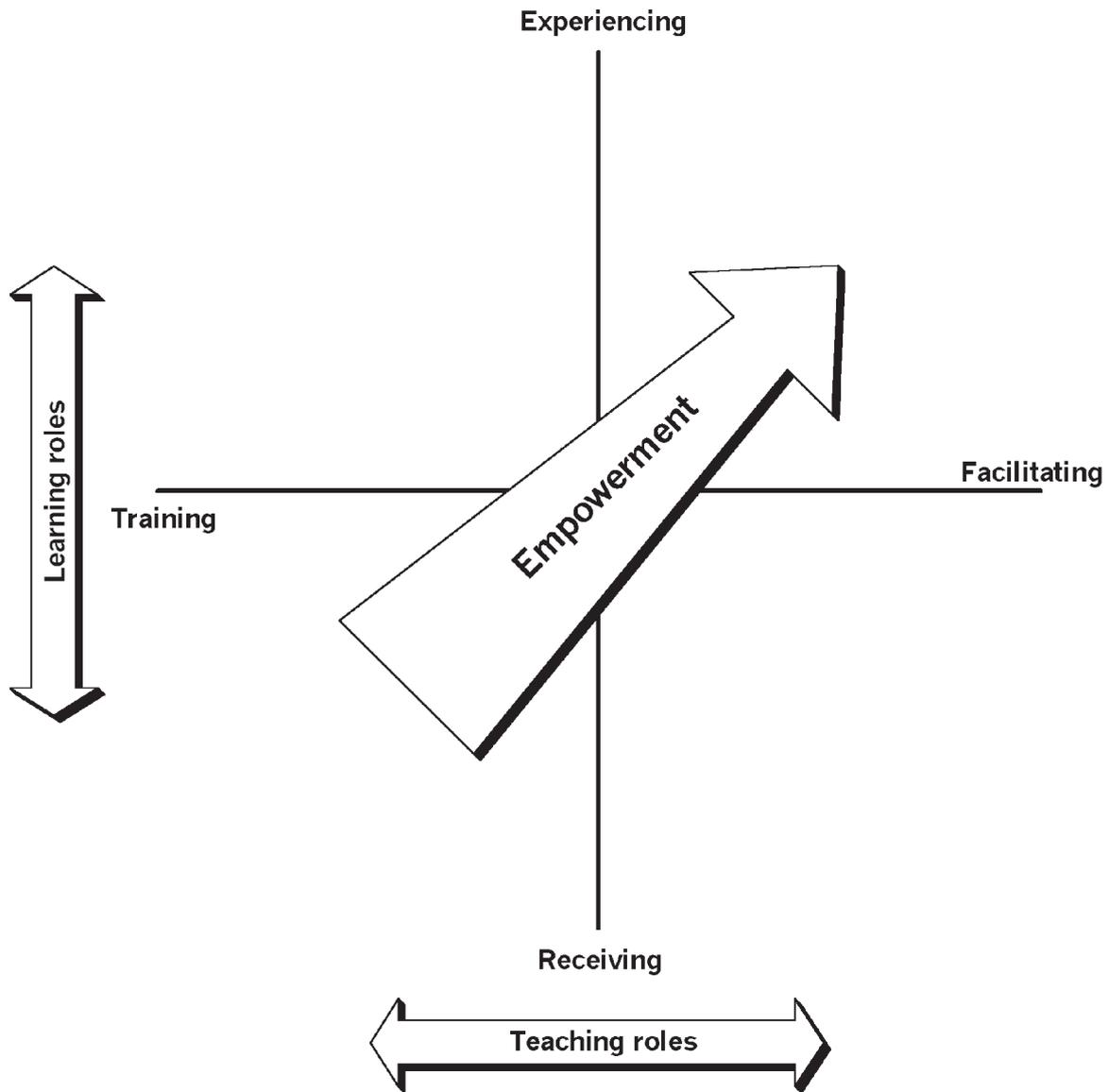
James Whelan notes the correspondence between the stages in learning cycles and the steps in the role-plays common to nonviolence training. Using the particular model described here, a role play could be divided into four steps.

First, the group undergoes a common experience which aims to simulate challenges that may be, or may have been faced in real life. Following this common experience, participants will engage in a de-brief which will deal, initially with the feelings that arose during the role play, or to note events which seemed particularly significant. The de-brief that moves to a more general discussion of the patterns that may be evident from the nature of the reflections, and proposed strategies based on these patterns. Application may take place when the group participants in nonviolent action, or through further role-playing.

Some of the “experiential:” methods that nonviolence trainers commonly use are:

1. **Opportunities for participants to reflect on their own experience.** Nonviolence training is a valuable opportunity for people to consider and learn from their own experience as activists. Sharing stories with others helps participants to recognise that others may have faced similar challenges, dilemmas or difficulties, and allows them all to tap into the knowledge bank of shared experience.
2. **Learning from the experience of others.** Trainers can use small or large group discussion to allow the sharing of participants’ experiences. Photographs, video and written case studies allow participants to reflect on the experience of social movements beyond the direct experience of the training group. This form of cross-cultural and cross-generational learning enables participants to discern patterns of cause and effect within the broader field of grassroots social change.
3. **Exercises, games and other activities that reproduce or simulate real-life experience.** For instance, the “hassle line”— perhaps one of the most often used exercises within nonviolence training — allows participants to *experience* interpersonal conflict through role playing, using scenarios which often escalate in intensity. A debrief follows, during which the trainer invites participants to *reflect* on the experience through open ended questions and to *generalise* by drawing attention to common themes emerging from the debrief. Participants may then be asked to *apply* this practical knowledge during an extended role play.

## A model for “empowered learning”



The above diagram is an attempt at synthesizing some of the traditions and approaches to learning described in this chapter. In this model, the training methodology is characterised by the role ascribed to learners (experiencing or receiving) and teachers (training or facilitating).

The first dimension imagines that the roles played by learners to exists on a continuum between *experiencing* and *receiving*. *Experiencing* entails learning that involves immersion in real events, simulation or constructed exercises and corresponds to the frameworks such as the Kolbs 4-stage learning cycle. *Experiencing* is characterised as a high-risk role for learners because it requires active participation in a real event, a simulation or a game and the sharing of thoughts and/or feelings regarding the experience.

*Receiving* implies a transfer of knowledge or information from one party another in the form of

stories, theories or abstractions, manuals, case studies or videos and corresponds to frameworks such as “didactic instruction” or Friere's “banking education”. Receiving is characterised as a “low-risk” role for participants; passivity and the lack of disclosure. At this end of the scale, participants are asked to take no responsibility for learning beyond their efforts to retain the information.

<b>Experiencing</b>	<b>Receiving</b>
<b>Experiential learning cycle</b>	<b>Didactic instruction</b>
<b>Relating/reflecting upon life experience, role plays, games</b>	<b>Presenting, story telling, audio/video, case studies, manuals</b>
<b>High-risk</b>	<b>Low-risk</b>

The second dimension describes the role played by trainers, on a continuum between *training* and *facilitating*. The term *training* is intended to suggest a strict division between trainers and participants, again corresponding the Friere's “banking” model. Training is a “low risk” role for the trainer because they are in control of a one-way flow of information. In contrast, *facilitating* implies an approach with relinquishes absolute power and aims to promote a more equal sharing of the knowledge and experience which exists within a given group. Rather than accepting full responsibility for the learning that takes place, the facilitator is responsible for creating a group environment which favours learning. Facilitating is a “high risk” activity because it allows all parties to play a more dynamic role, where the exchange of information and experience may produce unexpected learnings.

<b>Facilitating</b>	<b>Training</b>
<b>Popular education</b>	<b>Banking model</b>
<b>Participants contribute to direction of learning</b>	<b>Trainer determines direction of learning</b>
<b>High-risk</b>	<b>Low-risk</b>

In this model, “empowered learning” would refer to training methodologies where the roles of teacher and learner tend towards *facilitation* and *experiencing*. Empowered learning would satisfy some of the special requirements for a nonviolent learning methodology we identified earlier: as a methodology that favours experience, it would provide opportunities for adults to articulate and build upon their own store of life experience.

This model is not intended to entirely discount the value of the didactic model; participants in nonviolence workshops might reasonably expect the trainer to share some of his or her knowledge or experience; indeed, a trainer who continually reflects back to the group can appear to be

withholding information rather than helping participants learn for themselves.

Nonetheless, in shifting from a trainer-student relationship to one of facilitator-learner, we would be devolve power rather than concentrating it in the hands of the trainer. And by enacting a different conception of power within nonviolence training, we might bring our training methodology closer to desired ends.

*Notes*

1 Whelan, James. *Education and Training for Effective Environmental Advocacy*. PhD thesis, Griffith University, Brisbane, 2002. <http://www.environmentaladvocacy.org/resourcesarticles.html> This chapter of the *Trainers' Resource Manual* draws extensively on James' description and analysis of activist education in Australia.

2 *ibid*

3 Sharp, Gene. *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation*. The Albert Einstein Institution, Boston, 1993.

4 Whelan, *op. cit.*, p. 129

5 Many of AEI's publications on nonviolent action can be downloaded from their website at <http://www.aeinstein.org>

6 Satha-Anand, Chaiwat. "Nonviolent Practices, Professional Class and Democracy: The May 1992 Bangkok Uprising", PONSACS Seminar on Ethnicity, Culture & Change, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, March 1993. [<http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/ponsacs/seminars/Synopses/s93satha.htm>]

7 This definition is from the website of the Popular Education Network [<http://www.neskes.net/pen/plans.htm>]

8 Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1970, *passim*. The first two chapters of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* can be read online at <http://www.webster.edu/~corbetre/philosophy/education/freire/freire-1.html> and <http://www.webster.edu/~corbetre/philosophy/education/freire/freire-2.html>

9 Lakey, *op. cit.*, p. 24

10 <http://www.rantcollective.net/>

11 Paul Lederac, *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, 1995.

12 <http://www.sheffieldmayday.ukf.net/articles/mst.htm>; <http://www.foodfirst.org/pubs/backgrdrs/2003/sp03v9n2.html>

13 <http://www.wilderdom.com/experiential/elc/ExperientialLearningCycle.htm#earlyELCmodels>

14 Kolb, David. *Experiential Learning: Experience as the source of learning and development*. Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1984.

15 Whelan, *op. cit.*, p. 133

# Training skills overview

Facilitating a nonviolence workshop can be challenging, rewarding, frustrating and exhausting by turns! Trainers must balance task with maintenance and presentation with participation, all the while maintaining a high degree of self-awareness and sensitivity to group dynamics. As trainers, we may also encounter challenging scenarios such as unequal participation and emergence of strong emotions or conflict. And then there's keeping to time ...

This section offers tips and tricks for planning, facilitating and evaluating fun and empowering workshops.

## Principles and values

Nonviolence training provides us with an opportunity to model the sort of world that we are working for.

This emphasis on acting a more just world into existence, using means consistent with the ends we seek, is one of the defining characteristics of nonviolent social change.

Before your next training, take some time to think about values you hope to embody through your work as a trainer. What sort of world are you working for? What kind of experience would you like to offer those who join your workshops?

At Pt'chang, some of the principles we aim to reflect in our approach to training are: *social justice*, *voluntary participation*, *safety* and a commitment to *shared facilitation*. These principles help us to create a positive and safe learning environment which reflects our organisation's purpose.

### Social justice

The concepts and principles of social justice, gender equality, and participatory democracy are held strongly by Pt'chang. These principles are reflected within our trainings in a variety of ways.

Everyone's contribution is valued and encouraged. Trainers have a responsibility to highlight issues of sexism, racism or other forms of oppression that relate to the training content. Trainers also have the responsibility to challenge sexism, or racism or other oppressive attitudes and behaviours demonstrated that arise in the training group.

### Voluntary participation

All training processes and exercises should be voluntary and no participant should be or feel

compelled or coerced into participating or contributing. Free and voluntary participation is fundamental to the learning process and a principle that is vital for maintaining safety and trust within the group.

Trainers should always state clearly at the beginning of all trainings that exercises are entirely voluntary and participation in any or all of the discussions and exercises is a matter of personal choice. Trainers also need to be aware of practicing an open-invitational approach to group exercises, inviting participation rather than demanding or subtly coercing participants to take part.

## **Safety**

It is the responsibility of the trainer/facilitator to ensure safety. Safety is a vital aspect of empowered learning. This involves both physical health and safety and the emotional safety of everyone involved. Basic health and safety concerns need to be addressed at each training. Safety of venue, equipment, adequate shade, heating or cooling, provision of food and water, for example. People can get hurt during group exercises.

Safety needs to be a prime consideration during any games, exercises or role-plays. Any physical contact between participants should be carefully monitored and clear guidelines given. It is advisable to build trust and group experience by introducing simpler exercises initially before taking the group through an elaborate role-play of exercise with complex instructions. Clear instructions and 'stop-points' should be provided during role plays to ensure participants do not act unsafely with each other or themselves.

The trainer takes a great deal of responsibility during any exercises. Do not use games or physical group activities as time to consult notes or take a break. Constant monitoring and careful attention to the safety of the group is vital.

## **Shared facilitation**

Shared facilitation has two parts. The first kind is between members of the trainer team, and it is a common way to run sessions. One person can be the principle leader of the discussion/exercise and the other can watch the group, help make room for people to speak, give feedback for their co-trainer, offer interventions as appropriate/necessary/agreed.

Ideally a third person (or the second trainer if need be) can take notes, too, so there is a record of what went on in the session to use for the evaluations and final training report.

The second type of shared facilitation is with the participants. We like to use "resources in the room" as much as possible. This means that if there is a participant who has special knowledge on a subject (by profession, life experience, etc), we try and draw them out and let them share with the group as much as possible. This needs active facilitation so they don't take over and sidetrack the group! We may choose to prepare a section in advance of the training with someone who has special skills/knowledge.

As a routine, participants may also:

- Act as scribes for brainstorm (clarify each time with the scribe/s if they should call on people or the trainer will)

- Facilitate the gatherings (give them a checklist, and clarify that they only have 15 minutes, as this can get out of control by the end of the week as they try and out-do each other)
- Be timekeepers (to gather the group; this is a big help to trainers when it works!)
- Plan closing activities (give them plenty of notice!)

## **Planning an agenda**

A good training agenda will strike a balance between the task and maintenance related needs of the group; in other words, it will enable the objectives of the training to be satisfied while meeting the interpersonal needs of group members.

Here are some questions to ask when planning an agenda:

- Who is coming to the training? What are their needs, skill levels and expectations?
- What are the overall objectives for the training?
- Are the objectives realistic given the available time, number of facilitators and resources?
- Which activities, games or presentations will contribute to achieving these objectives?
- Which items will allow the group to build trust and comfort levels? Which items require a greater level of trust, comfort or group coherence?
- Do some items depend on concepts or skills developed in other parts of the agenda?
- Do agenda items need to be sequenced to allow progression of skill development?
- How is the energy and attention level of the group likely to ebb and flow over the course of the training?
- Which items are high energy and/or physical, and which are low energy and/or cerebral?
- Does the agenda cater to different learning styles (ie looking, listening and enacting)?
- Does my agenda allow for different levels of reading, writing or speaking ability?
- Does my agenda allow for different levels of physical ability?
- Have I allowed sufficient time for breaks and/or meals?

Both trainers and participants seem to have a natural tendency to over-estimate what can be learned within a given amount of time. Where training has been requested by a group or organisation, it pays to be realistic and honest about what you can be achieved in the available time-frame. You can't expect to give a group a solid grounding in nonviolent political theory, team-building, consensus decision making, effective communication and preparation for nonviolent action in a three hour workshop (although you can get close!).

When time is short, the temptation may be to cut back on those parts of the agenda which allow the group to learn through participatory methods, in favour of "just getting the information across". While, on the surface, this may allow you to pack more skills into a shorter space of time, be aware that you will be sacrificing valuable opportunities for contemplation, discussion and shared experience.

## **Facilitation**

Broadly, facilitation means accepting responsibility for helping a group to achieve a desired outcome. The role of a facilitator within a training session differs somewhat to that of a facilitator within a meeting, in that a facilitator of a training session will also generally accept some responsibility for creating and delivering opportunities for the group to learn specific skills as well as attending to the process needs of the group. For this reason, sharing facilitation with a co-trainer(s) or participants (see above) is recommended.

Within the context of training, a facilitator may carry responsibility for, or delegate, the following group maintenance items:

- Reminding the group of the amount of time remaining
- Helping the group decide what agreements it wants to follow and reminding them of these when they are not followed
- Reminding the group of the objectives of the meeting or session
- Setting up a safe environment where members feel comfortable contributing ideas
- Tentatively paraphrasing individual contributions to check understanding and ensure they are heard by the whole group
- Tentatively summarizing a recent part of the discussion
- Recording learnings in large script on the wall so all can see wording
- Recording the current issues within the group in large script on the wall using phrases agreed by the group
- Offering a possible wording for an unspoken question that may currently beset the group
- Ensuring the group doesn't settle for the first thing that they can agree on because they find it painful to go on disagreeing with each other
- Offering opportunities for less forceful members to come forward with contributions

## **Forming group agreements**

A group agreement is a statement of how members of how the training group would like to be treated and treat one another. Unlike to ground rules, which are usually set by the trainer in advance, all group members may contribute to the formation of the agreement.

As a trainer, you will observe many groups in action and form your own expectations for how group members can best support one another as learners. The formation of the group agreement allows trainers to offer this experience in a transparent and democratic way.

You might choose to start with a guideline that is important or fundamental to the kind of learning environment you would like to create - "participation is voluntary" for instance - and then open it to the group as a brainstorm.

Here are some other guidelines that you or other group members may suggest for inclusion in a group agreement:

- Respect for diversity of opinion
- Equal opportunity to contribute
- Shared responsibility for time-keeping
- Respect confidentiality if requested

Once the brainstorm is finished, review each of the items and test for agreement. Encourage people to suggest modifications or to speak up if they feel a guideline is not appropriate for them or the group.

Some things to remember:

- A group agreement can't replace trust; it simply makes hopes and expectations explicit
- A group agreement should express general principles, rather than setting out detailed 'rules'. If group members seem to be getting 'bogged down' in the detail, it may indicate low trust levels.
- It may be useful, particularly during longer trainings for group members to be able to revisit an agreement to check that it is still relevant.

## **Power, rank and diversity within groups**

Trainers need to be aware of the way that dynamics of difference influence learning and group function. The interplay of age, gender, culture, sexuality and class enrich and enliven our everyday lives; the diversity of styles, opinions and experiences that emerge from a diverse training group can provide myriad learning opportunities.

Being aware of difference and diversity means understanding what it is like to be out of one's comfort zone. For those of us who sit within the dominant culture in one or more aspects of our identities, such experiences can be all too rare.

Cultivating and drawing upon this awareness goes beyond merely watching for dominant white men. How will you ensure that older participants will have equal opportunities for learning during physical exercises? How can you make your training accessible to people on low incomes? People who use wheelchairs? Single parents?

Diversity training is a complex and rapidly growing field which would require its manual to fully explore. Exercises that explore power, rank or diversity within groups can be found at the website of Training for Change (<http://www.trainingforchange.org>). Training for Change recommends that diversity exercises be facilitated by someone who has at least experienced a well-facilitated diversity training.

## **Dealing with difficult scenarios**

Difficult situations can be minimised through good planning and process. Nonviolence trainers have run workshops which leave participants feeling disempowered, disappointed or even manipulated. Introverted people may feel pressure from trainers or from the group to step further outside their comfort zone than they are ready. The principle of voluntary participation, for instance, can defuse difficult scenarios, should they occur.

Should problematic behaviours emerge in the group, remember that the person acting out the behaviour may not be aware of how they may be affecting others. Or they may be aware of it, and may be doing their best to control it. Treat them with respect, as an adult and with the benefit of the doubt. If they are there voluntarily, they most likely want to get as much out of the workshop as other participants.

Good planning can minimise occurrence of unexpected problems, but it can't eliminate them. When a problem or difficult situation emerges during training, we should welcome it: it is only when we become aware of a problem that we can decide how best to respond!

Here are some of the more common challenges which may emerge during a nonviolence training:

### **Unequal participation**

Have the group define agreements at the outset of the training. Suggest including 'aim for equal participation' if it is not nominated by another group member.

Use facilitation techniques which encourage equal participation, such as go arounds, small group discussions or talking sticks.

Ask the group to allow silence between statements or questions to give those who prefer not to speak from the top of their mind the opportunity to formulate and express thoughts.

Rather than put less frequent contributors on the spot by naming them and asking a question like "What do you think?", ask to hear from people who haven't yet spoken.

If a member of the group occupies verbal space at the expense of others and does not respond to a facilitation style which favours less assertive participants, look for repeated themes in their contribution. It may help to reflect or re-state the theme, to make it clear to them they have been heard by the group. Ask for a response from others so that the person can receive feedback, but beware of allowing this pattern to repeat.

If the group is experiencing persistent interruption or dominating behaviour from an individual, it may be necessary to give clear, assertive feedback so the interrupter can be aware of how this is

affecting you. Use a form of feedback which describes the behaviour without evaluating or interpreting (I'm noticing ...) , communicates the effect of the behaviour on you (I'm feeling ...), your need (I need ...) and your request (I'd like to ask that ...). Be aware that offering this kind of feedback in a group situation is more challenging for the giver and receiver of the feedback; it may be best to wait for a break so you can give the feedback one-to-one.

### **Strong emotions**

Establishing a buddy and check-in system at the start of the training -- particularly longer trainings -- can reduce the risk of participants experiencing isolation during the training and provide a support structure should strong emotions emerge.

A group agreement emphasizing the voluntary nature of participation can help people feel comfortable taking time out if they are ill, tired or upset.

If someone experiences a strong emotion such as grief, anxiety or fear, a co-facilitator should see if they would like time out from the workshop alone, or with a friend, a buddy, another facilitator or fellow participant.

### **Equipment failure**

A workshop without some sort of technical failure is the exception more often than the rule. Annoying as it may be, remember that participants have seen plenty of VCRs that fail and project bulbs blow in other workshops. Unless you or a co-facilitator can fix it on the spot, a substitute exercise, game or discussion will keep things moving. If you are the only trainer present, you may need to wait until the next break to attend to your technology.

While video, audio, overhead and data projections and laptop computers can provide varied methods of delivery and appeal to different learning styles, it is unwise to build a workshop around these technologies. Not only are they subject to failure, workshops which depend on access to expensive, delicate or difficult to operate equipment make our trainings less flexible, and difficult to transfer to those who lack access to these resources. With participatory, experiential design, an engaging, stimulating workshop can be delivered with nothing more complicated than chairs in a circle, butcher's paper and coloured textas!

## **Evaluation**

Facilitating a workshop can be a wonderful learning opportunity for trainers as well as participants. Providing opportunities for the group to provide feedback on different aspects of the training will enrich your own learning and help you to develop workshops which are responsive to participants' needs.

For workshops of a day or less, evaluation at the end of the workshop will usually be sufficient. This might consist of a simple "go around" where, everyone has the opportunity to contribute some thoughts on the workshops — highlights and improvements, for instance. It is important that people feel safe in making a comment on any aspect of the training without the trainers engaging with the feedback there on the spot.

Alternatively, you might supply butchers paper and textas for people to record their feedback in writing. Marking each sheet with a category or facet of the training will generate more specific feedback.

For trainings longer than a day, evaluative feedback from participants should be ongoing, simply because, by the end of the training, people tend to forget what they happened at the start.

## **Things for nonviolence trainers to remember**

- Assume that most of the group you are training already know most of the training and some may know more about some things than you.
- It is more empowering to draw this out of the group in their own words than ‘telling’ them.
- Notice and join with strengths you see exhibited within the group.
- Be careful with the language you use. Define any terms or jargon used or use words that group members use themselves if appropriate.
- It is advisable not to swear. It can be jarring and might offend some participants.
- Remain aware of your power and authority as a facilitator/trainer. Everyone else will be.
- People in the group are all different people, with different levels of knowledge, skills, experience and different learning styles.
- People are ‘multi-storied’ and are capable of sitting with contradictions.
- If you don’t know something, ask the group.

## **Nonviolence trainers' checklist**

### **Equipment and materials**

- Copies of any relevant campaign handbooks or material;
- Folders for participants to store handouts in;
- Attendance list
- Evaluation sheets (blank)
- Sets of all Handouts
- Overheads
- Overhead projector

- Newsprint/butchers' paper (2-3 tablets, or a big roll)
- Charts: Handouts blown-up to A1 size.
- Scrap A4 paper
- Masking tape, scotch tape, push pins, paper clips, binder clips
- Blutac
- Textas/Markers (various colors, several of each)
- Whiteboard Markers
- Crayons, several boxes
- Rope or string
- Candles
- Three balls for name games and other exercises.
- Other games materials as required

### **Roleplay material**

- Clothes for roleplays
- Assortment of hats,ties, jackets
- Blue baseball caps for police
- Several different baseball caps
- Sheets of sticky labels for nametags
- Any blockading gear – lock-ons etc

### **Venue preparation**

- Arrive at venue one hour before start time
- Food – tea, coffee, milk and sugar and snacks for when people arrive
- Session agenda written out
- Chairs and cushions for all participants
- Whiteboard
- Overhead Projector – test before session

- Charts on wall
- Resource and info table
- Someone designated to meet and welcome people when they arrive
- Someone designated to collect training fees

# Defining nonviolence

People approach nonviolence from many points on a wide spectrum of ideological belief, spirituality and culture. Thai Buddhist activists may have a very different definition of nonviolence to that of Australian dock workers. Forest blockaders may emphasise different aspects of nonviolence to union organisers.

The methods of struggle that we commonly refer to as 'nonviolence' or 'nonviolent action' may be described in very different terms by people working in different political or cultural contexts. Indeed, to many movements and people around the world who use strikes, whistleblowing, boycotts, pickets, blockades and other nonviolent methods to defend their communities or win basic rights, the term “nonviolence” may be wholly unfamiliar, or rejected outright.

Distorted representations of nonviolence within mainstream media further complicate the picture. Corporate or state-owned television, press and radio may equate nonviolence with passivity or submission, or, on the other hand, portray those who use nonviolent methods to challenge power holders as a threat to public order.

Even outwardly cohesive groups, at work on a common issue, may contain an extraordinary divergence of opinion on what the term “nonviolence” actually means. Controversial issues such as self-defence, verbal abuse, property damage and secrecy can heighten emotions, producing strong reactions and conflict. Without opportunities to explore these issues in advance of taking action, activists invariably find themselves attempting to resolve complex philosophical and political differences on the picket line or at the blockade.

Furthermore, as Robert Burrowes points out, to maximise the benefits of choosing nonviolent methods, groups must make a “deliberate strategic choice regarding the conception of nonviolence that will underpin any strategy.”<sup>1</sup> Different definitions and conceptions of nonviolence suggest different strategies and tactics which may be more or less effective given the particular political or social circumstances that activists face.

Defining 'nonviolence' in a form that adequately addresses the diversity of opinion amongst a group of activists campaigning on a common issue, let alone popular struggles around the world, may seem an impossible task. As nonviolence trainers, we are bound to have our own ideas about, and perspectives on, nonviolence. Given the confusion that surrounds the term, it may be tempting to impose our own personal definition upon others.

Of course, we can also choose to help groups share and explore their own ideas on what nonviolence means to them, personally and politically.

The exercises in this section are designed to allow and encourage workshop participants to explore personal and group definitions of nonviolence. Some exercises are designed to help 'place' nonviolence in the bigger picture of political change, others help groups to explore a diversity of opinions and perspectives on common issues and invite participants to consider where they stand morally, ethically and politically.

*Nonviolence photos* and *quotes* can be used to prompt people to consider and share their own, personal definitions while becoming aware of the diversity within the group. *Nonviolence brainstorm*s, *spectrums* or *sociograms* give participants the opportunity to further explore their own and others' ideas about violence and nonviolence in a safe, non-judgmental setting, aiding the development of trust and cohesion.

As trainers, we can also offer cognitive frameworks that help others place nonviolence in relation to other forms of politics or distinguish between different varieties of nonviolence. Presentations or exercises based on Ralph Summy's *Three spheres of political action*<sup>1</sup> or Robert Burrowes' *Nonviolence matrix* can help round out the group's sense of what nonviolence is, or can be. Nonviolence can also be characterised — as in the *social values target* exercise — as a widely-held social value that helps activists highlight contradictions within the status quo and draw emerging social values into the mainstream.

Traditionally, many groups and movements who have chosen nonviolent methods have drawn up a 'code' or set of "nonviolence guidelines" to distribute to participants, asking for a pledge or other commitment to adhere to this formal definition of nonviolence.

The *two, four, eight exercise*, originally developed by Yeshua Moser of Peace Brigades International, offers a consensus-based technique for developing nonviolence guidelines that all participants can live with, therefore providing a basis for trust, solidarity and safety in nonviolent action.

#### Notes

1 Burrowes, Robert. *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense: A Gandhian Approach*. State University of New York Press, Albany, 1996, p. 98.

## Nonviolence Photos

### Exercise Objectives

The Nonviolence Photo Kit contains 24 large laminated colour photos of various nonviolent actions from around the world. It is designed to demonstrate a diversity of nonviolence, show a range of types of actions and cover actions from many countries.

### Time Needed

30 minutes

### Materials Needed

Nonviolence Photo Kit

### Trainers Needed

1

### Preparation

The photos should spread out facing up on the floor in the middle of the workshop space.

### Delivery

Participants are invited to walk around and choose a photo that particularly interests or inspires them. When everyone has chosen a photo and returned to the circle, each participant in turn shares what they see in the photo, telling the group what inspires them about the particular image.

Some questions to ask:

- What are your own first impressions when seeing the photo?
- How do you think person or people in the photo are feeling at the time it was taken?
- Do you think the people in the picture felt powerful/afraid at this time?
- What form of power was being used?
- What was the type of nonviolent action depicted? (Protest/persuasion, non-cooperation or nonviolent intervention)
- Can you see yourself in this picture? If so where would you be?

It may be useful to encourage participants to focus on the image itself as there may not be much information in the group about the details of the particular action or campaign depicted. Not all the images are positive or show "ideal" nonviolence. This can be utilised. (ie: photos of arrests can stimulate discussions on fear, power and arrest as a consequence/strategy of nonviolent actions.)

### Alternative Delivery

As an exercise it can be used in several ways. Like 'Photo Language', the photos can be used to stim-

ulate discussion, creativity and personal disclosure. It is useful for a sharing circle at the beginning of a session.

- To use in small groups to stimulate nonviolent stories.
- To teach the different categories of nonviolent action by asking the group to sort them into the categories.
- To stimulate ideas for roleplays
- As an action planning tool to stimulate ideas for actions and creativity.

Source: Anthony Kelly, Pt'chang Nonviolent Community Safety Group

## Nonviolence quotes

The collection of nonviolence quotes below can be used in a wide variety of ways by trainers. It is best if they are copied onto coloured paper or card and cut into individual quote cards.

Handed around in a group they can be used as an opening circle at the beginning or in a closing circle at the end of workshop. Particular quotes can be drawn out — read or passed around to stimulate discussion on a particular aspect of nonviolence. They can be spread out on the floor like the Nonviolence photos or passed around like cards. You can ask a participants to read a quote and then ask for responses to that quote or use them in small groups or pairs.

The sixty quotes in this manual are chosen deliberately to represent a diversity of opinion in regard to nonviolence. Perspectives from women and men, from Christian, Islamic, Jewish and Buddhist perspectives are included as well as activists from the global south. It is sometimes good to demonstrate that more people than Gandhi and King have talked about nonviolence! Feel free to add you own quotes that you find and particularly be on the lookout for quotes from Aboriginal, Australian or Asia-Pacific activists.

Not all of the quotes are favourable towards the idea of nonviolence. Some are deliberately provocative, again, in order to stimulate discussion in the training.

Source: Anthony Kelly, Pt'chang Nonviolent Community Safety Group. Adapted from a process used by Peter Le Blanc in Peace Brigades International trainings.

*"It is the acid test of nonviolence that in a nonviolent conflict there is no rancor left behind, and in the end the enemies are converted into friends."*

*- Gandhi (1869-1948)*

*"Nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral questions of our time; the need for mankind to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to oppression and violence."*

*- Martin Luther King Jr (1929-1968)*

*"The nonviolence I teach is active nonviolence of the strongest. But the weakest can partake in it without becoming weaker."*

*- Gandhi (1869-1948)*

*The point of nonviolence is to build a floor, a strong new floor, beneath which we can no longer sink. A platform which stands a few feet above napalm, torture, exploitation, poison gas, A and H bombs, the works. Give man a decent place to stand.*

- Joan Baez

*That's all nonviolence is - organized love.*

- Joan Baez

*The greatest challenge of the day is: How to bring about a revolution of the heart, a revolution which has to start with each one of us.*

- Dorothy Day

*Action is the antidote to despair.*

- Joan Baez

*Nonviolence is a flop. The only bigger flop is violence.*

- Joan Baez

*"They have as it were two hands upon him - the one calming him, making him ask questions, as the other makes him move."*

- Barbara Deming, "On Revolution and Equilibrium"

*"It is one thing to be able to state the price the antagonist paid, another to be able to count you own real gains."*

- Barbara Deming

*I think the only choice that will enable us to hold to our vision. . . is one that abandons the concept of naming enemies and adopts a concept familiar to the nonviolent tradition: naming behavior that is oppressive ...*

- Barbara Deming

*Gandhi once declared that it was his wife who unwittingly taught him the effectiveness of nonviolence. Who better than women should know that battles can be won without resort to physical strength? Who better than we should know all the power that resides in noncooperation?*

- Barbara Deming

*"Without a direct action expression of it, nonviolence, to my mind, is meaningless."*

-Mahatma Gandhi 1869-1948

*"Nonviolence is fine as long as it works."*

-Malcolm X 1925-1965

*"Nonviolence is a weapon of the strong"*

-Mahatma Gandhi 1869-1948

*"It is better to be violent, if there is violence in our hearts, than to put on the cloak of nonviolence to cover impotence."*

-Mahatma Gandhi 1869-1948

*"Nonviolence is not a garment to be put on and off at will. Its seat is in the heart, and it must be an inseparable part of our being."*

-Mahatma Gandhi 1869-1948

*"The real test of nonviolence lies in its being brought in contact with those who have contempt for it."*

-Mahatma Gandhi 1869-1948

*“No man could be actively nonviolent and not rise against social injustice, no matter where it occurred.”*

*-Mahatma Gandhi 1869-1948*

*“The first thing to be disturbed by our commitment to nonviolence will not be the system but our own lives.”*

*- James Douglass*

*“Nonviolence is a powerful and just weapon . . . which cuts without wounding and ennobles the man who wields it. It is a sword that heals.”*

*- Martin Luther King Jr (1929-1968)*

*“The key words of violent economics are urbanization, industrialization, centralization, efficiency, quantity, speed. . . . The problem of evolving a nonviolent way of economic life [in the West] and that of developing the underdeveloped countries may well turn out to be largely identical.”*

*- E.F. Schumacher (1911-1977)*

*Nonviolence is the constant awareness of the dignity and the humanity of oneself and others; it seeks truth and justice; it renounces violence both in method and in attitude; it is a courageous acceptance of active love and goodwill as the instrument with which to overcome evil and transform both oneself and to others. It is the willingness to undergo suffering rather than inflict it. It excludes retaliation and flight.”*

*- Wally Nelson conscientious objector, civil rights activist, and tax resister.*

*“Nonviolent action is a means of combat, as is war. It involves the matching of forces and the waging of 'battle,' requires wise strategy and tactics and demands of its 'soldiers' courage, discipline and sacrifice. This view of nonviolent action as a technique of active combat is diametrically opposed to the popular assumption that, at its strongest, nonviolent action relies on rational persuasion of the opponent, and more commonly it consists simply of passive submission.*

*-Gene Sharp*

*"The criminal 'justice' system functions to alienate and isolate the accused individual, to destroy one's power and purposefulness and to weave a web of confusion and mystification around any legal proceedings."*

*- The Blockade the Bombmakers Handbook, 1982*

*"The power of nonviolence is not circumstance-specific. It is as applicable to the problems that confront us now, as to problems that confronted generations in the past. It is not a medicine or a solution so much as a healing process. It is the active spiritual immune system of humanity."*

*- Marianne Williamson*

*"The major advances in nonviolence have not come from people who have approached nonviolence as an end in itself, but from persons who were passionately striving to free themselves from social injustice."*

*- Dave Dellinger*

*"Every relationship of domination, of exploitation, of oppression is by definition violent, whether or not the violence is expressed by drastic means. In such a relationship, dominator and dominated alike are reduced to things- the former dehumanized by an excess of power, the latter by a lack of it. And things cannot love."*

*-Paulo Freire*

*"No one has yet fully realized the wealth of sympathy, kindness and generosity bidden in the soul of a child. The effort of every true education should be to unlock that treasure."*

*- Emma Goldman*

*"If you are going to hold someone down you're going to have to hold onto the other end of the chain. You are confined by your own repression."*

*- Toni Morrison.*

*Nonviolence is not inaction. It is not discussion. It is not for the timid or weak...Nonviolence is hard work. It is the willingness to sacrifice. It is the patience to win.*

*- Cesar Chavez*

*Violence just hurts those who are already hurt... Instead of exposing the brutality of the oppressor, it justifies it.*

- Cesar Chavez

*In some cases nonviolence requires more militancy than violence.*

- Cesar Chavez

*Violence produces only something resembling justice, but it distances people from the possibility of living justly, without violence.*

- Leo Tolstoy

*The Art of Peace functions everywhere on earth, in realms ranging from the vastness of space down to the tiniest plants and animals. The life force is all-pervasive and its strength boundless. The Art of Peace allows us to perceive and tap into that tremendous reserve of universal energy.*

- Morihei Ueshiba, founder of Aikido

*You can no more win a war than you can win an earthquake.*

- Jeannette Rankin

*Whatever peace I know rests in the natural world, in feeling myself a part of it, even in a small way.*

- May Sarton

*Martin Luther King taught us all nonviolence. I was told to extend nonviolence to the mother and her calf.*

- Dick Gregory

*One is dearest to God who has no enemies among the living beings, who is nonviolent to all creatures.*

- Bhagavad Gita

*Education is a vaccine for violence.*

- Edward James Olmos

*"Gandhiji would always offer full details of his plans and movements to the police, thereby saving them a great deal of trouble. One police inspector who availed himself of Gandhi's courtesy in this matter is said to have been severely reprimanded by his chief. 'Don't you know,' he told the inspector, 'that everyone who comes into close contact with that man goes over to his side?'"*

- Reginald Reynolds, in *A Quest for Gandhi*, Doubleday, 1952

*"You think that good is hating what is bad. What is bad is the hating mind itself."*

- Bon Kai (Buddhist monk)

*"Should anyone confront you with violence, you should try and repel it with peacefulness, whereby he who is your enemy will become your friend"*

- Holy Qur'an (41:34)

*"Repel evil with that which is best"*

-Holy Qur'an (23:97)

*"the person who turns an enemy into a friend has accomplished the work of God"*

-Abot d'Rabbi Nathan 23

*"People try nonviolence for a week, and when it 'doesn't work,' they go back to violence, which hasn't worked for centuries."*

- Theodore Roszak

*"The defenders of the status quo often masquerade as the preservers of harmony."*

- Mark Shepard

*We must not allow ourselves to become like the system we oppose. We cannot afford to use methods of which we will be ashamed when we look back, when we say, '...we shouldn't have done that.' We must remember, my friends, that we have been given a wonderful cause. The cause of freedom! And you and I must be those who will walk with heads held high. We will say, 'We used methods that can stand the harsh scrutiny of history.'*

- Desmond Tutu

*Put up again thy sword into its place: for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.*

- Jesus of Nazareth

*If everybody demanded peace instead of another TV set, then there'd be peace.*

- John Lennon

*The people in power will not disappear voluntarily, giving flowers to the cops just isn't going to work. This thinking is fostered by the establishment; they like nothing better than love and nonviolence. The only way I like to see cops given flowers is in a flower pot from a high window.*

- Burroughs, William S. 1914-1997 American Writer

*Smiling is very important. If we are not able to smile, then the world will not have peace. It is not by going out for a demonstration against nuclear missiles that we can bring about peace. It is with our capacity of smiling, breathing, and being peace that we can make peace.*

- Thich Nhat Hanh

*"Peace is not the product of terror or fear. Peace is not the silence of cemeteries. Peace is not the silent result of violent repression. Peace is the generous, tranquil contribution of all to the good of all. Peace is dynamism. Peace is generosity. It is right and it is duty."*

- Oscar Romero

*"Peace comes from being able to contribute the best that we have, and all that we are, toward creating a world that supports everyone. But it is also securing the space for others to contribute the best that they have and all that they are."*

- Hafsat Abiola

*Why is it so easy for us to be willing to pick up arms and risk our lives, and so difficult to put down those same weapons and still risk our lives — in the cause of life?*

*- Ramzi Kysia, a young Muslim-American peace activist*

*The job of the peacemaker is to stop war, to purify the world, to get it saved from poverty and riches, to heal the sick, to comfort the sad, to wake up those who have not yet found God, to create joy and beauty wherever you go, to find God in everything and everyone.*

*- Muriel Lester*

*“One is called to live nonviolently, even if the change one works for seems impossible. It may or may not be possible to turn the US around through nonviolent revolution. But one thing favors such an attempt: the total inability of violence to change anything for the better”*

*- Daniel Berrigan*

*There have been periods of history in which episodes of terrible violence occurred but for which the word violence was never used...Violence is shrouded in justifying myths that lend it moral legitimacy, and these myths for the most part kept people from recognizing the violence for what it was. The people who burned witches at the stake never for one moment thought of their act as violence; rather they thought of it as an act of divinely mandated righteousness. The same can be said of most of the violence we humans have ever committed.*

*- Gil Bailie*

*The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed.*

*- Steve Biko*

*“There are many benefits to meeting violence with nonviolence, especially when the instrument of power facing you is the strongest army in the region, and is largely unaccountable. To meet violence with violence is to play to your opponent's strong point and your own weak point.”*

*- Hanan Ashrawi 2004*

*Until we have the courage to recognize cruelty for what it is--whether its victim is human or animal--we cannot expect things to be much better in this world ... We cannot have peace among men whose hearts delight in killing any living creature. By every act that glorifies or even tolerates such moronic delight in killing we set back the progress of humanity.*

- Rachel Carson

*"Always forgive your enemies. Nothing annoys them more."*

- Oscar Wilde

*"In 1989, thirteen nations comprising 1,695,000 people experienced nonviolent revolutions that succeeded beyond anyone's wildest expectations . . . If we add all the countries touched by major non-violent actions in our century (the Philippines, South Africa . . . the independence movement in India . . .) the figure reaches 3,337,400,000, a staggering 65% of humanity! All this in the teeth of the assertion, endlessly repeated, that nonviolence doesn't work in the 'real' world."*

- Walter Wink

*I will not carry a gun.... I'll carry your books, I'll carry a torch, I'll carry a tune, I'll carry on, carry over, carry forward, Cary Grant, cash and carry, carry me back to Old Virginia, I'll even hari-kari if you show me how, but I will not carry a gun!*

-Hawkeye, M\*A\*S\*H, "Officer of the Day"

*[Anti-war] Coalitions tend to endorse nonviolence in their tactics of protest, though not necessarily as a philosophical tenet of their mission statement. Given the philosophical ambiguity of "violence" and "nonviolence," serious political disagreements about the meaning of "direct action" and "civil disobedience," and their relation to nonviolence, movement organizers often stretch for the lowest denominator in order to hold a coalition together, creating an obvious, basic tension in the organizing of protests.*

- Howard Ehrlich

*"In Palestine, our historical experience as a people under occupation has been that the more we use nonviolent resistance, the more we concentrate on affirming our own rights, building institutions, and rejecting the imposed reality of the occupation, the more we have been able to expose the bankruptcy of the occupation itself, and the more support we gain."*

- Hanan Ashrawi 2004

*"We have to show what we really are -- a largely unarmed people under occupation. The most effective and most appropriate way to achieve this would be to demonstrate our human spirit, our refusal to succumb, to be broken, and adopt the principle of collective nonviolent resistance."*

- Hanan Asbrawi 2004

*"We kill at every step, not only in wars, riots, and executions. We kill when we close our eyes to poverty, suffering, and shame. In the same way all disrespect for life, all hard-heartedness, all indifference, all contempt is nothing else than killing. With just a little witty skepticism we can kill a good deal of the future in a young person. Life is waiting everywhere, the future is flowering everywhere, but we only see a small part of it and step on much of it with our feet."*

- Hermann Hesse,

German poet and novelist.

*"Intentions, of course, are always good. The worse the fight, the higher its justification. "Justified" violence is the worst. Unjustified violence bursts out of a bad character or bad feelings, but it doesn't go very far. But when people feel justified in the use of violence, it becomes systematic and leads to all the horrors of history."*

Lanza del Vasto (1901-1981), poet, Christian mystic, and nonviolent activist.

*O, that we who declare war against wars, and acknowledge our trust to be in God only, may walk in the light, and therein examine our foundation and motives in holding onto money! May we look upon our estates, our treasures, the furniture of our houses, and our garments, and try whether the seeds of war have nourishment in these, our possessions.*

John Woolman, Journal (1774)

*"...environment policy is the peace policy of the future. It is crucial that we create a culture of cooperation and mutual respect between north and south, rich and poor if we want to avoid ever growing tensions in a world where water and other vital resources can no longer be taken for granted."*

- Klaus Toepfer, Executive-Director of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)

*“War is in fact the true nurse of executive aggrandizement. ... The strongest passions, and the most dangerous weaknesses of the human breast; ambition, avarice, vanity, the honorable or venial love of fame, are all in conspiracy against the desire and duty of peace.”*

*James Madison*

*“Why of course the people don't want war. Why should some poor slob on a farm want to risk his life in a war when the best he can get out of it is to come back to his farm in one piece? Naturally the common people don't want war; neither in Russia, nor in England, nor in America, nor in Germany. That is understood. But after all, it is the leaders of the country who determine policy, and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along, whether it is a democracy, or a fascist dictatorship, or a parliament, or a communist dictatorship. Voice or no voice the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is to tell them they are being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same in any country.”*

*Hermann Goering, April 18, 1946*

*“Lest my way of life sounds puritanical or austere, I always emphasize that in the long run one can't satisfactorily say no to war, violence, and injustice unless one is simultaneously saying yes to life, love and laughter.”*

*- David Dellinger, peace activist and author.*

## Violence/nonviolence brainstorm

### Objectives

- to start a discussion and explore various opinions as to what defines violence and nonviolence

### Content overview

The purpose of this exercise is not to define any one set of “right” or “wrong” answers, but to facilitate a thoughtful and honest evaluation of the subject and to identify areas where the distinction between violence and nonviolence may not be so clear.

### Time needed

30 minutes or more

### Materials Needed

- Paper and pens/textas

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

No special preparation

### Delivery

Without discussing the objective of the exercise, create two adjacent columns on a piece of paper or board large enough for the entire group to see. Label one column “Violence” and the other “Nonviolence”. Now ask the group to call out one or two word phrases that help define “violence”, then repeat this step for “nonviolence”. All phrases should be written in the selected column. If someone offers a surprising phrase, the trainer may give them a moment to explain why he or she feels it fits, but do not allow group discussion on the phrase at this time, just write it down. If all phrases offered focus on physical violence (war, assault, pollution, etc.), the trainer may prompt the group by suggesting things like hunger, sexism, dictatorship, etc.

Similarly, if all phrases offered focus on active nonviolence (witnessing, protest, sit-ins, etc.), the trainer may prompt the group by suggesting things like compassion, honesty, health care, etc.

Next, ask the participants to point out and discuss any potential contradictions they see on the lists. For example: disorder and hierarchy may both be on the “violence” list; property destruction may be on both lists; militancy and passivity may be on the “nonviolence” list, etc. The trainer can then point out some contradictions that may not be so clear. For example, if compassion is on the “nonviolence” list and assault is on the “violence” list, which is it when one swats away the hand of a child who is about to reach into a flame? Or, if lying and pollution are both on the “violence” list, what do participants think of pretending to be janitors when we sneak in to a factory to hang a banner?

Finally, the trainer can raise these questions:

- How do we act, given the different definitions of violence and nonviolence?
- Is violence acceptable when it is used to prevent greater violence?

At this point the trainer or participants may offer personal anecdotes that illustrate the problem.

### **Alternative delivery**

This exercise can then lead into an unstructured discussion of violence and nonviolence, or a discussion of the specific nonviolence guidelines for an action, campaign, or organisation.

*Source: Greenpeace Nonviolent Direct Action Training Program*

## Nonviolence spectrum

### Exercise objectives

- to start a discussion and explore various tactics of nonviolent action

### Content overview

There are personal, political and philosophical values involved in the choice of tactics. The purpose of this exercise is not to define any one set of “right” or “wrong” answers, but to facilitate a thoughtful and honest evaluation of our campaigns and to help draw out the underlying principles that guide our decisions about what to do.

### Time needed

15 - 30 minutes

### Materials needed

No special materials

### Trainers needed

Two

### Preparation

No special preparation

### Delivery

Without discussing the objective of the exercise, identify two points in your training space.

One point is “violence”, the other “nonviolence”. The group is then asked to individually place themselves along the line between the two points in accordance with the statement, “Violence is acceptable/never acceptable in order to achieve our political goals.” Emphasise that this training is designed to explore what people believe at this moment, not what they would like to believe or feel they should believe.

Next, ask participants from different points in the line (spectrum) to explain why they placed themselves where they did. Encourage people to say, “I think that...” or “I feel that...” Everyone should speak for themselves. This is a discussion, not a definition. The trainer can point out that the group is working together, or plans to work together, and that finding a “right” answer is less important than agreeing on what is acceptable for a particular action or campaign, despite differences in opinion or philosophy.

### Alternative delivery

This exercise can then lead to the violence/nonviolence brainstorm exercise, an open discussion of violence and nonviolence, or a discussion of the specific nonviolence guidelines for an action, campaign or organisation.

The spectrum exercise may be used to explore a variety of issues including: hierarchy and egalitarianism, property destruction, lying, planning and spontaneity, etc.

*Source: Greenpeace Nonviolent Direct Action Training Program*

## Nonviolence Sociogram

### Exercise objectives

- to have participants identify their relationship to nonviolence theory
- to let participants engage in group conversation regarding issues of nonviolence

### Content overview

Here's a tool to help participants look at their relationship to issues of nonviolence and hear from fellow participants, too. It's about noticing different attitudes and, unlike the commonly used tool of spectrums (see note below), it emphasizes people's considerations of their choices over their position.

### Time needed

45 minutes

### Materials needed

No special materials

### Trainers needed

For large groups, two or three facilitators to move around the room can be very helpful.

### Preparation

No special preparation

### Delivery

Get participants standing on their feet and with a large cleared out space. Explain that the group is going to look at people's various beliefs regarding nonviolence - a chance for people to express themselves personally. It is about personal viewpoints. No rights or wrongs here.

Explain that you will be in the center of the room and then read a statement. Participants will orient themselves around the room based on their personal relationship to that statement. They stand in front of you, behind, or show in various ways their expression. Give an example. You might say, "Eating sweets." Someone who likes sweets might be really close to the person and almost hug them. Or another person who likes sweets might be far away and looking like they are running towards you. People can be high or low. They can be close or far. They must stay in the room. Again: no rights and wrongs and it's fine to be anywhere along the spectrum.

Read a phrase and tell participants to orient themselves around the room based on their personal belief. After participants have placed themselves in a location, walk around the room and "interview" various folks, seeing who wants to talk about why they placed themselves in the various decisions. Offer comments helping the group reflect on what's going on ("people have named a number of considerations like X and Y and Z.").

Example statements:

- \* Eating meat
- \* Self-immolation (e.g., Buddhist monks burning themselves as political protest)
- \* “One of Gandhi’s techniques to throw out the British empire was by boycotting British cloth. It threw a lot of textile workers out of work because the cloth wasn’t being sold and they were out of work and suffering. The boycott: violent or nonviolent?”
- \* Property destruction
- \* ... and others appropriate to the group.

### **Alternative delivery**

Debrief by noticing that some of the personal stances we have are not organizational stances. “How is that for you, given you’ve committed yourself to this organization/work?” Help participants to identify commonalities and notice and challenges, allowing people to look at those honestly.

In nonviolence trainings, it has become common to use nonviolence spectrums, which are a particular sociogram. In spectrums, one side represents one extreme (such as “It is violent to eat meat”) and the other side represents another extreme (“It is not violent to eat meat”). Participants place themselves along the continuum as where they identify (hence the name spectrums).

An advantage of spectrums is people can get a visual sense of the opinions of people in the room. A large contingent of people near the end of “violent to eat meat,” might suggest a group of vegetarians.

However, spectrums emphasize the positions people take over the considerations they use (in conflict resolution terminology nonviolence spectrums value positions over interests). Facilitators may ask follow-up questions like, “Why did you place yourself here?” But much of the time, even with good facilitation, participants’ orientation is still about the positions; after all, the dominant action in spectrums is the act of placing yourself on the spectrum. Oftentimes people, especially if they are on the minority end of numbers, feel the need to defend their position. This can lead to hardening of positions. In discussing nonviolence, it often increases the “moralizing” of nonviolence instead of the clarification of it.

This design, however, allows participants to express their positions, but emphasizes getting at the various considerations. When using this exercise, people look around the room with curiosity (“what does that person mean?”) instead of assuming they “know” that person’s arguments. That encourages a deeper understanding, more able to handle complexity and ready to be open with people - in all their many considerations!

*Source: Daniel Hunter, Training for Change*

## Social values target

### Exercise objectives

- to illustrate how widely-held social values - such as nonviolence - allow activists to strengthen acceptance and recognition of contested or emerging social values
- to develop a simple strategy for linking emerging and contested values to widely-held values through nonviolent action

### Content overview

This exercise introduces and explores the idea that widely-held social values form the foundation for the “mainstreaming” of emerging or contested values. In nonviolent struggle, activists demonstrate that their actions are consistent with these widely-held values while acting to introduce or protect contested or emerging social values.

### Time needed

60 minutes

### Materials needed

Butchers' paper, textas, cards or post-it notes featuring a variety of one or two word social values (equal rights, animal rights, freedom of speech, nonviolence, truthfulness, vegetarianism, environmental protection etc)

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation:

Draw a large diagram of a target on 4 squares of butchers paper - the target should have 3 sections - a centre, a middle ring and an outer ring. Delivery:

### Delivery:

Introduce the concept of “values systems” by asking the group to define what we mean by personal or social values, and provide some examples. It may be useful for introduce a format definition, such as the following (from Wikipedia):

*A value system is in essence the ordering and prioritization of the ethical and ideological values that an individual or society holds. While two individuals or groups may share a set of common values, they may differ in their determination of which values in that set have precedence over others. [...] In essence, a value system (if sufficiently well-defined) is a formalization of a moral code.*

- [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Value\\_system](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Value_system)

Ask the group to consider the personal and social functions of values:

- How do we prioritise values?
- Do some take precedence over others?
- When are we prepared to compromise personal values?

Using the examples of personal values that emerged from the discussion, ask the group whether they feel that particular values are shared by a majority of people in their community or culture, which are held by a minority, and which are somewhere in between.

During the discussion, look for and highlight the learning point that acceptance of values changes over time ie universal suffrage, cultural acceptance of homosexuality, tolerance of death penalty etc.

Break into small groups and distribute the cards evenly amongst the groups. Ask the groups to discuss how widespread or culturally accepted each value is within their community, and place it in the relevant section of the target.

Ask each group to pick an emerging value with which they agree. The group should then choose a value from the middle circle with which the emerging value can be linked, and a central value with which the contested value can be linked. The group should then discuss and describe how they would go about strengthening the association between the three values (emerging, contested and central) within a social change campaign.

Ask each group to present their findings back to the larger group and discuss the following:

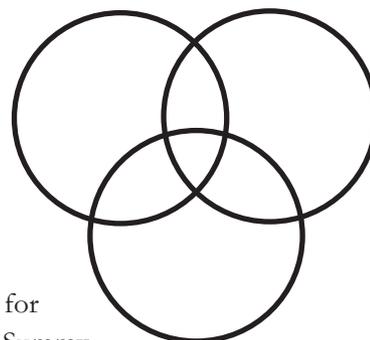
- What conditions or actions help emerging or contested values become central values?
- What sort of actions prevent emerging or contested values from becoming central values?
- What strategies do conventional power-holders use to keep emerging values underground, or on the fringe?
- What role does nonviolence play in moving contested and emerging values towards the centre?

*Source: Iain Murray, Pt'chang Nonviolent Community Safety Group.*

## Three spheres of political action

### Exercise objectives

- to illustrate the common characteristics of and differences between conventional, violent and nonviolent forms of politics



### Content overview

This is a short, “chalk and talk” session which presents a framework for categorising political action developed by nonviolence scholar Ralph Summy

Due to its grassroots and decentralised characteristics there is a strong tendency within nonviolent political action to involve many people. It could be argued that the Nonviolent sphere of politics actually involves more people, more of the time than do the politics of violence or even conventional politics. Vast numbers of people are impacted by violence forms of political action around the world but apart from soldiers, guerrillas or terrorists, who represent a small proportion of a population, very few are actually actors in violence. With conventional politics, very few people are party members, and voting only means a small action once every 3-4 years. It could be argued that the vast numbers of people around the world actively engaged in some form of nonviolent action - the numbers involved in strikes around the world - the millions marching in different struggles - the countless numbers supporting some boycott or another, others working in peoples organisations - often in long-term constructive ways — far outweigh the other spheres.

According to Ralph Summy, “Since the time of English political philosopher Thomas Hobbes in the seventeenth century, Western Politics has been explicitly articulated and acted upon according to a dichotomy of two political spheres.” Hobbes saw that the system of governmental order that civilisation had built to be the alternative to the “violent, brutish” sphere of political violence. Hobbes and his successors have largely failed to recognise how the conventional sphere of politics has developed systems and structures incapable of meeting the myriad crisis of the modern world nor satisfying basic human needs. Most have also ignored the possibility of a third sphere of nonviolent forms of political action.

### Materials needed

- Whiteboard, texta, overhead or powerpoint presentation

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation:

The trainer should familiarise themselves with the concepts outlined in Ralph Summy’s article, “From Crisis to Hope.”

### Time needed

20 minutes

## Delivery

The facilitator can draw on whiteboard and explain each sphere in turn or use a version on a chart, on overheads or on power point as appropriate. It can be used simply as a discussion starter to place and distinguish nonviolent politics in relation to violent and conventional forms of political action. It is worth noting that this is looking at forms of “political action”, not politics of the left or right which will exist in each sphere.

The “violent” sphere represents all political actions which involves violence to some degree. Wars, *coups d’etat*, terrorism, armed struggles, assassinations, rioting and could include ostensibly violent forms of sanctions, blockades etc. You could ask for examples from the participants.

The second “conventional” sphere represents those forms of political action normally associated with a nation state, (party politics, elections, lobbying, the courts and judicial system even and it may be worthwhile mentioning public relationship companies, back-room dealings, and more insidious areas of the parliamentary systems)

The third sphere, “nonviolent”, lies sandwiched between and is used to represent the entire range of nonviolent popular sanctions, actions, protests, strikes, boycotts, alternative institutions that constitute nonviolent political action. People have been acting within this nonviolent sphere since recorded history, but never, as far as we know, to the extent it has been used in the twentieth century and especially in the second half. In many times of struggle against injustice, people have looked to the conventional sphere of politics as an alternative to violence, only to find its rules and processes favour the privileged and the status quo. Many people believe that radical changes, some may even demand a shift in paradigmatic thinking, are doomed unless more open and participatory forms of conducting human politics are adopted. And the methods of nonviolent action have appeared ideally suited to millions over the last century.

Importantly, the three spheres are overlapped to represent a concrete situation. A nonviolent movement may shift to violence or vice versa, Often armed struggles have nonviolent components or at least parallel struggles. Parliamentary action may pass into the realm of nonviolence when marches or protests are used as a lobbying method by many groups and many nonviolent movements have parliamentary reform as a goal. Some actions or movement may even fall into all three spheres. The Palestinian struggle contains violent, conventional and nonviolent aspects for instance, occurring simultaneously.

*Source: Adapted by Anthony Kelly from Summy , Ralph. “From Crisis to Hope”, Social Alternatives Vol 8. No. 4, January 1990.*

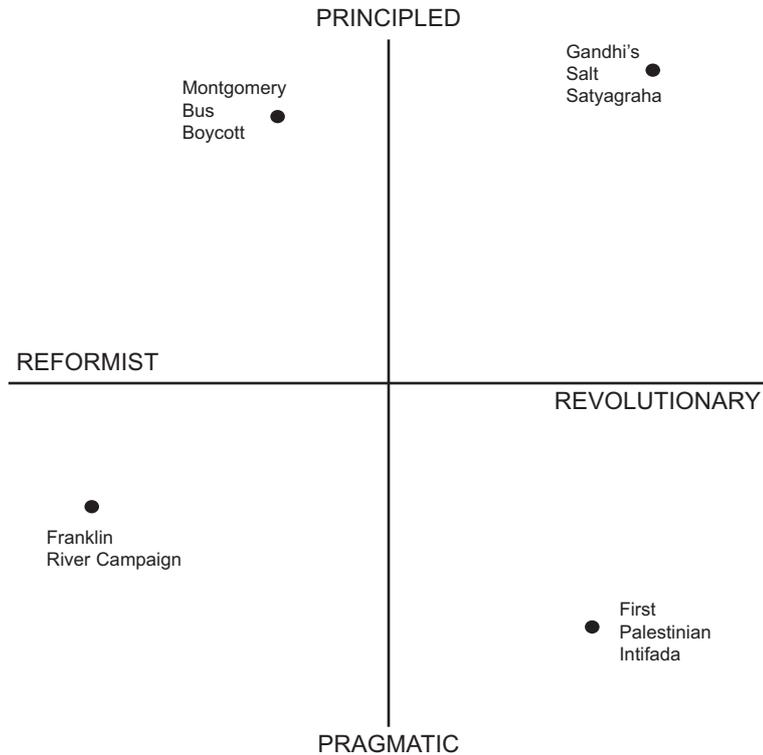
## Nonviolence matrix

### Exercise objectives

- to provide participants with a framework for describing different approaches to nonviolence
- to illustrate the differences between principled, pragmatic, revolutionary and reformist approaches to nonviolence

### Content Overview

This item presents a theoretical framework for describing different approaches to nonviolence. It can be used to help participants place their own approach to nonviolence in comparison to others in the group and show how consideration of how particular approaches lend themselves to the use of particular strategies.



### Time needed

30 minutes

### Materials needed

- Whiteboard, overhead projector or powerpoint presentation
- a handout summarising the characteristics of the four approaches to nonviolence

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

The trainer should be familiar with the “Four Major Approaches to Nonviolence identified by Robert Burrowes in his book *The Strategy of Nonviolence Defense*.

### Delivery

Draw the above diagram on butchers' paper, starting with the horizontal (pragmatic/principles) axis. Ask the group how they might describe the following statements concerning nonviolence:

- “I use nonviolence because it works - and whatever works, I’ll use”
- “I use nonviolence because I believe in the humanity of all men and women”

Introduce the idea of principled and pragmatic conceptions of nonviolence. What examples can we think of where a pragmatic conception has been predominant? Which historical figures or campaigns do we associate the principled approach with?

Now draw the vertical axis and ask for the group to characterise the following statements:

- “I believe that change happens one step at a time.”
- “We have to get rid of this corrupt system and re-build from scratch.”

Introduce the idea of reformist and revolutionary using the definitions below. Again, ask the group to nominate historical figures or campaigns that correspond to each approach.

### The Pragmatic-Principled Dimension

Criterion	Reformist	Revolutionary
<i>Analysis of conflict</i>	Policy problem	Structural problem
<i>Aim</i>	Policy change	Structural change
<i>Constructive program?</i>	No	Yes
<i>Operational timeframe</i>	Short/medium-term	Long term

Practitioners of pragmatic nonviolence believe it to be the most effective method available in the circumstances. They view conflict as a relationship between antagonists with incompatible interests: their goal is to defeat the opponent and, if this entails any suffering (short of physical injury), to inflict that suffering on the opponent. Practitioners of principled nonviolence choose it for ethical reasons and believe in the unity of means and end. They view the opponent as a partner in the struggle to satisfy the needs of all; if anyone suffers, it is the practitioners of nonviolence. More fundamentally, this practitioner may view nonviolence as a way of life.

### The Reformist-Revolutionary Dimension

Criterion	Reformist	Revolutionary
<i>Analysis of conflict</i>	Policy problem	Structural problem
<i>Aim</i>	Policy change	Structural change
<i>Constructive program?</i>	No	Yes
<i>Operational timeframe</i>	Short/medium-term	Long term

Practitioners of reformist nonviolence are guided by an analysis that identifies particular elite policies as the cause of social problems. They use short to medium-term campaigns to change these policies within the existing social framework; their aim is reform.

Practitioners of revolutionary nonviolence are guided by a structural analysis of political and economic relationships and believe that there is a need for fundamental structural change; particular campaigns (which may have a short- to medium-term time-frame) are thus conducted within the context of a long-term revolutionary strategy.

*Source: Burrowes, Robert J., The Strategy of Nonviolence Defense: A Gandhian Approach. (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996)*

## Two, four, eight exercise

### Exercise objectives

- to allow deeper discussion on the personal and principled dimensions of nonviolence
- to help develop a higher level of consensus about underpinning principles that are important to that particular group of people

### Time needed

80-90 minutes. Can be done more rapidly with less discussion; however, it is worth allowing ample time for this exercise.

### Materials needed

Pens and paper for all participants.

### Trainers needed

2 - 3

### Preparation:

Provide pens and paper to all participants

### Delivery:

Begin with a brief outline of consensus. It is based upon trust and respect — it is important to allow “emergent” ideas and solutions; the aim is not to own your own ideas too strongly to find principles that best reflect where the group is at. (5 mins)

Ask everyone to write his or her own five core “principles of nonviolence” that seem important to them. (5 mins)

Ask the group to form pairs. Ask each pair to devise a common five principles that you are both happy with. (10 mins)

Then instruct each pair to find another to form a foursome. Again between all discuss and decide upon a five core principles that you are happy with. (15 mins)

If there is 16 people, each four forms a group of eight. If group more or less then form two equal groups to develop six core principles of nonviolence. Encourage creative merging of ideas. If consensus becomes difficult then allow for greater number of principles to be included. (20 mins)

Then as a whole group develop a list of 8 core principles of nonviolence. Write these on a wall or chart. If consensus becomes difficult you can again, allow for greater number of principles to be included. (10-20 mins)

Evaluate and debrief the process. (15 mins)

### **Alternative delivery**

Different groups will arrive at different principles. It is sometime worth showing a chart of list of Principles as developed by Martin Luther King or others as an example of what other activists have seen as important.

*Source: Yeshua Moser, Peace Brigades International; adapted by Anthony Kelly*

# Power and conflict

*Resolve to serve no more, and you are at once freed. I do not ask that you place hands upon the tyrant to topple him over, but simply that you support him no longer; then you will behold him, like a great Colossus whose pedestal has been pulled away, fall of his own weight and break into pieces.*

*- Etienne de la Boetie*

The idea of power is fundamental to the success of nonviolence as a method for change. Within the nonviolent world view, political power, like the new clothes of the proverbial emperor, only exists in any particular form for only as long we all continue to believe in it.

The idea of power which most of us consciously or unconsciously subscribe to is the monolithic view of power, which can be represented as a pyramid in which power is concentrated in the hands of a few individuals or institutions.

The conception of power which makes nonviolent resistance possible is different. It sees power as something which is diffused throughout society, in which the power of any group or individual is dependent on the consent of others. Power, in reality, is not monolithic, but inherently fragile.

Nonviolent action, whether through strikes, civil disobedience, boycotts or other means, undermines the power of the ruler. It can do this because even the most powerful ruler needs others to carry out his or her wishes. Without the obedience of citizens, the power of the ruler evaporates.

The simplicity of this conceptions of power belies its strength. Social movements that adopt and teach this alternative view of power (the radical Serbian youth organisation, Otpor! and the Ukrainian Pora! movement are but two examples) have achieved radical change against extraordinary odds.

Another way of classifying power often used by nonviolent activists is the distinction between power-over, power-with and power-from-within.

Power-over is the dominant form in our society. Often associated with violence or the threat of violence, power-over is the ability to force others to submit to your will, regardless of their wishes. Power-from-within refers to the inner strength associated with courage, conviction, creativity and self-discipline. Power-with is the result when we co-operate with others to achieve shared ends.

Just as conventional notions of power work to re-inforce particular social structures, our attitude to conflict influences our willingness to engage in struggle, as well as the methods we employ.

The dominant conceptions of conflict teach us that winning, losing or compromise are the only possible results. Whether in warfare or interpersonal conflict, we see those with which we are in conflict as our enemy, at worst, or at best, our rival. Within the dominant culture, conflict is also regarded as something to be avoided - even, it would seem, at the cost of justice.

In contrast, nonviolent activists tend to view conflict as desirable and necessary. Conflict is viewed less as an event that takes place between people, than as a facet of social structures, and of injustice. As Martin Luther King wrote in his famous Letter from a Birmingham Jail: "Nonviolent direct

action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue." Nonviolent action, then is a technique for bringing hidden, structural conflicts to the surface.

Other aspects of nonviolent — and in particular, Gandhian — approaches to conflict include regarding the other parties to a conflict as partners in a joint struggle an openness to the truth of the opponent's perspective. This preparedness to consider a truth beyond one's own does not imply a willingness to halt the struggle against injustice. Feminist Barbara Deming, put it this way: nonviolent activists "have as it were two hands upon [the opponent] - the one calming him, making him ask questions, as the other makes him move."

In this section, we present several exercises exploring power and conflict. *Chair power* encourages participants to experiment with conventional and alternative definitions of power by making their chair the "most" powerful, providing an useful starting point for a discussion on either Starhawk or Sharp's ideas about power. *Using power: brainstorm and tableaux* prompts the group to act out freeze-frame scenes representing power-over and power-with relationships.

The *consent theory of power* invites participants to examine Sharp's ideas about consent and disobedience in more depth, and introduces the antidote to unfettered state power in the form of democratic centres of power. The *mattress game* is a fun and physical way to develop a strategy for toppling a dictator, a government or an unjust policy by identifying and undermining "pillars of support".

Finally, *tug o' war* sets up a physical challenge that can be resolved according to either conventional or unconventional approaches to conflict and *Us and them* challenges participants to consider the values and interests that they may share with opponents.

## Chair power

### Exercise objectives

- give participants a theoretical tool to analyze power
- assist participants in using power-with-others and power-from-within

### Time needed

30-45 minutes

### Materials needed

Four moveable chairs

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

To extend this activity you will need to prepare a series of handouts on short non-violence stories, or be prepared to tell some stories.

### Delivery

Tell participants they are going to get a chance to think about different types of power. Set up a number of chairs in some configuration. Then just ask: “Which chair is the most powerful?”

Get rapid input from participants on which chair they think is the most powerful. Some ideas to keep in your mind while facilitating:

- There are no rights-or-wrongs
- Encourage diversity (“how about this chair? Why is this chair the most powerful?”)
- Encourage and note difference (“so you think this chair is powerful because of THIS? Disagreements?”).
- Use brief follow-up questions: “So why is this one powerful?”
- Gets lot of different input from different people
- Try to keep noting themes in the conversation, disagreements (use the 3 types of power [below] as a mental hook): e.g. “Oh, so there are a range of different types of power here.” “So one type of power seems to be what people are calling X and another is Y.”

The exercise can be reinforced to the group by examining some non violent stories and asking the group to explain the different types of power demonstrated.

## Alternative delivery

To help participants go deeper here are some ways to keep pushing: These can also be used as alternative starting points.

- Ask participants to move one chair in such a way as to make it the most powerful or exaggerate its power (you may reset chairs at various points);
- Ask participants to sit in a chair in such a way as to make it the most powerful chair (get four volunteers at a time). Ask them to freeze once they find their position and have the outside observers note what they see (“How did they try to make it powerful?” “What kinds of power do you see here?”)
- After getting a wide range of options and conversation, introduce the three types of power:

*Power-over* Often how we traditionally think about power — the ability to get someone to do something against their will; Using rewards, punishments, manipulation to force someone to do something they do not choose.

*Power-with-others* The ability to influence and take action based on uniting with others; The power that comes from community, solidarity, cooperation.

*Power-from-within:* The ability to influence and take action based on intention, clarity of vision, or charisma. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi explains: “If you have confidence in what you are doing and you are shored up by the belief that what you are doing is right, that in itself constitutes power, and this power is very important when you are trying to achieve something.”

Tell a series of stories of nonviolent action, or prepare handouts, and have people in small groups identify what types of power they saw in those stories. Clarify the theory of three types of power (generalize) and help folks examine ways that may clarify theory around nonviolent action and skills they can use that fall under power-with-others and power-from-within [the least appreciated forms of power] (application).

*Source: Daniel Hunter, Training for Change*

## Consent theory of power

### Exercise Objectives:

- Explore views of power and gain understanding of how nonviolent activists use and apply power in a campaign.



### Time needed

30-40 minutes

### Materials needed

- Diagrams on butcher's paper or whiteboard representing (a) the conventional or 'monolithic' conception of power, (b) the 'consent' theory of power and (c) the centres of democratic power

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation:

Trainers who teach a section on the consent theory of power should be familiar with the relevant sections of Sharp's work and other texts as referenced below, be conversant in the theory and able to relate it to a range of historical and contemporary examples.

### Delivery:

Explain to group that the session will explore the role that ideas about power play in nonviolent struggle.

Ask the group to brainstorm and scribe definitions of 'power'. Be prepared for the group to come up with both conventional and 'nonviolent' definitions of power; in particular, look for and highlight contrasting definitions.

Offer the group the following traditional sociological definition of power:

*By power is meant that opportunity existing within a social relationship which permits one to carry out one's own will even against resistance and regardless of the basis on which this opportunity rests.*

- Max Weber, Basic Concepts in Sociology

Ask the group how this definition contrasts with those which have emerged from the brainstorm.

Refer to the diagram representing the conventional or 'monolithic' conception of power and relate the following ideas to the group: Traditional definitions of political power present it as something that is wielded by leaders' over a population. Ask the group how this conception of power might influence the choices made by people struggling against injustice? (ie "cut off the head and the body will die"). How satisfied is the group with this conception of power?

Refer to the diagram representing the consent theory of power. Explain that this definition holds that the power of leaders depends on the consent and co-operation of the populace.

According to Sharp, the sources of political power which rulers depend on include: authority, human resources, skills and knowledge, intangible factors, material resources, sanctions, punishments. Sharp did little work explaining what "intangible factors" might be but many others have since. "Intangible factors" can include propaganda, media and public relations; the manufacture of consent through the manipulation of public information.

Present Sharp's list of reasons "why people obey": habit, fear of sanctions, moral obligation, self interest, psychological identification with the ruler, zones of indifference, absence of self-confidence

Refer to the diagram representing the "centres of democratic power". Clubs and societies, trade unions, churches, schools and universities often provide the institutional basis for nonviolent resistance.

Nonviolent action seeks to undermine rulers' power by identifying their sources of power and using various methods of nonviolent action to withdraw consent.

### **Alternative delivery**

This session may be preceded, followed or replaced by more experiential methods of delivery such as Chair Power: Three types of power or Mattress Game (Pillars of Oppression). Trainers may also make use of stories and fables that illustrate the consent theory of power, such as Liu-Ji's "Monkey Master" fable [<http://www.pbs.org/weta/dictator/otpor/sharp/chapter3.html>], or James Van Hise's "The King Who Ruled Nothing" [<http://www.fragmentsweb.org/stuff/theking.html>]

During this session, participants may identify some of the deficiencies within Sharp's model of power; the most common critique of the consent theory of power is that Sharp's list of reasons

“why people obey” does not take into account the structures (colonialism, capitalism or patriarchy, for example) which tend to re-inforce the “monolith” of state power. During an extended session on nonviolent conceptions of power, the trainer may choose to explore critiques of Sharp from scholars such as Brian Martin in “Gene Sharp’s Theory of Power”

[<http://www.uow.edu.au/arts/sts/bmartin/pubs/89jpr.html>] or Robert Burrowes in chapter six of *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense*.

Participants may also raise examples of political systems where the state does not depend on an oppressed population for human resources, skills and knowledge or other sources of political power. The modified consent theory of power highlights the necessity of the withdrawal of consent by third parties.

### Online readings:

- Summary ([http://www.fragmentsweb.org/TXT2/p\\_srevtx.html](http://www.fragmentsweb.org/TXT2/p_srevtx.html)) of Sharp, Gene. *The Politics of Nonviolent Action, Volume 1: Power and Struggle*.
- Sharp, Gene. *Bringing Down a Dictator*, Chapter 3: “Whence Comes the Power?” (<http://www.pbs.org/weta/dictator/otpor/sharp/chapter3.html>)

## The Mattress Game (Pillars of oppression)

### Exercise objectives

- to clarify the principle that government or ruling authority depends on the cooperation of the people, and noncooperation is therefore powerful and can even, under some circumstances, overthrow dictatorships.

### Content overview

People represent “pillars” that hold up the government (the mattress). In small groups people work out what nonviolent tactics could take the support of the pillars away. The government mattress is over thrown!!!

### Time needed

30-45 minutes

### Materials needed

- one mattress (bunk, twin, or regular);
- butcher's paper
- markers

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

Draw a blank version of the consent theory of power on butchers paper.

### Delivery

Explain that this game explores power dynamics by using the example of governmental rule. Connect to previous ideas in the workshop if appropriate. Ask: “What are the forms of support that a government needs to exist?” List on newsprint. If some are forgotten (especially the army, police, international finance, citizen obedience), add them.

Ask pairs (or threes or more if large group) to select a form of support. They will get to represent that form of support in the game. Ask participants to raise their hands to indicate which ones identify with which support, to clarify before the next step.

Explain that the pairs/threes will soon get together to discuss what nonviolent action(s) would effectively eliminate their support for the government. For example, what actions could the civil servants take to eliminate their carrying out government functioning? Each group will send one of their number to the center to represent them. Give them 3-5 minutes to work in small groups.

Bring the mattress to the center and explain that it symbolizes the government. Ask for the represen-

tatives from the twos/threes to raise the mattress together, each using one hand.

Ask the partners remaining on the sidelines to come to the center (one team at a time), announce loudly their actions, and take away their representative. Do not allow dialogue, challenging, etc.; a simple declaration and making off with their representative is sufficient. Gradually the mattress becomes shakier and shakier, until it finally falls to the ground.

Enjoy the moment. De-brief the activity by asking questions such as: How did it feel to see the government getting shakier? Do governments really depend on the cooperation/ compliance of these forces? Even dictatorships? Was the order in which groups non-cooperated a realistic order? Which groups might hang on until the end? Are there ways of intervening which reduce the level of support even of groups still loyal to the regime?

Encourage participants to give examples from past struggles, and supply examples yourself. An effective way to end the exercise is quickly to recite a list of dictatorships which have fallen to nonviolent noncooperation. A hand-out of this sort can be derived from Gene Sharp's work, especially *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*.

### **Alternative Delivery**

Instead of the mattress representing the government, it can represent a campaign issue. (EG Logging Old Growth Forests). The session is delivered in the same way, except the groups instead consider which sectors of the population are holding up the issue (Eg the Company, Government, consumers). Each group or pair then decides upon campaign tactics to that would remove one of these forms of support.

*Source: George Lakey, Training for Change*

## Using power: brainstorm and tableaus

### Exercise Objectives:

- To help the group recognise and define approaches to using power that are of particular importance to nonviolent action.

### Content overview

The concept of power is central to our understanding and application of politics in general and nonviolence in particular.

1. Brainstorming and defining the concept of power.
2. "Power Tableaus". Exploring the different concepts of power physically in group freeze frames.

### Time needed

15 - 30 minutes

### Materials needed

No special materials

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation:

No special preparation

### Delivery:

Part 1: Definitions and Brainstorms The trainer introduces the exercise by asking group what is the first thing that they think of when they hear the word power? Get a few quick responses from the group. It can be useful to get these first - quick impressions to illustrate some common or dominate conceptions around power.

The trainer can then explain that we all use power - every day and all the time - what is important is 'how' we use it. Most definitions or explanations of power tend to emphasis a particular approach to using it. Some have called this "Power - Over" - Power used to gain or maintain domination or control over others. Write that term on the board / paper and ask group to brainstorm examples of "Power- Over". Allow a few minutes and discussion.

Then ask group what an alternative way of using power may be? Some may have heard of "Power-With", power used collectively or co-operatively as a group of equals.

Write that term up as well and allow a few minutes for group to brainstorm examples of power-with being applied. Provide some examples of people have difficulties.

Part 2: Power Tableaus Small groups of 3-4: Choose one of these scenarios of power-over that was listed in the first brainstorm, and as a group create a 'snapshot' (a freeze-frame that represents that somehow). Ask the participants to notice how they feel in their 'role'.

Now, one group at a time come out of your snap shot and look around the room for a moment at the other groups - notice expressions, body language, etc. Repeat this exercise for Power-with and Power from within as time allows'

(\*Emphasise that aim is simply to experience with our bodies the effects of power use/misuse, not to analyse any scenario.) (15 min)

Share learning's and observations within the small group first . Then discuss and clarify the consequences of using Power-over or Power with in the large group.

Always check carefully if everybody in the group has understood the two terms and the difference between them. It is always good to allow time for the good questions, comments and discussion that will arise.

### **Alternative delivery**

If time allows: Write a third term up on the board, "Power from Within" and ask group to define it. Some have suggested that it is not possible to wield or use power without this. It could be defined as 'knowledge' or 'internal resources' or more spiritual but allow the group to see what they recognise in the term. It is sometimes better to do this rather than purpose a definition when it comes to matters of inner-strengths and spiritual resources as we all approach it personally. Conduct another short brainstorm to further illustrate and define the term.

Sources: Anthony Kelly, Pt'chang Nonviolent Community Safety Group; adapted from exercises developed at the 1992 National Nonviolence Gathering.

## Tug o' war

### Exercise objectives

- to demonstrate how critical creativity is to nonviolent problem solving
- to break up discussion with some fun physical activity

### Content overview

A short fun game and possible brief discussion.

### Time needed

5 - 10 minutes

### Materials needed

No special materials

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

No special preparation

### Delivery

Without discussing the name or objectives of the exercise, ask all the participants to pair up. Have the pairs face each other with both their left or right feet forward and touching toe to toe, and the opposite hands clasped as in a hand shake. Tell the group that there is a line between each pair of touching feet and that when the trainer says, "Go," everyone's goal is to get their partner across that line into your own space.

Say, "Go". Almost all pairs will forcefully attempt to pull their partner across the line. Watch for any pairs that do something different. The trainer can stop the pulling at any time by saying, "Stop", usually just a few seconds will do. Do not let it get so out of hand that someone might get hurt. Ask the group what happened. Generally the bigger or faster person won. This does not take much discussion.

If any pairs came up with a solution other than trying to pull each other across, have them describe and demonstrate for the group what they did. If not, take a random participant and get in the starting stance. Now, say to this participant, "Let's trade places," and with hands still clasped slowly rotate until the trainer and participant have switched locations.

At this point the trainer has several options:

1. Move on to the next exercise and let the lesson sink in on its own.

2. Make some brief points in lecture fashion:

- Nonviolence is about creative solutions without losers
- With nonviolent solutions even the bigger ‘winner’ wins without wasting as much energy, resources, money, etc.
- Do not limit yourself by following rules that do not exist
- If you are less powerful, your only option is to be smarter

3. Open up a discussion on violent versus nonviolent problem solving.

### **Alternative delivery**

There is a variation on this called the ‘Arm- Wrestle Game’ in which the trainer asks that participants pair up and get into an ‘arm wrestle’ pose, then gives them 10 seconds to pull the other persons hand on the surface three times. The creative solution, of course, is not to resist each other but co-operate.

*Source: Greenpeace Nonviolent Direct Action Training Program*

## Us and them

### Exercise Objectives:

- to promote understanding of our “opponents”
- to increase our awareness of how we may be perceived

### Content overview

Brainstorming and scribing attributes of ourselves and “opponents”, and then repeat considering our “opponents” perceptions. Discussion.

### Time needed

20 - 30 minutes

### Materials needed

White board and markers or butchers paper and textas.

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

No special preparation

### Delivery

Without discussing the exercise's objective, create two adjacent columns on a piece of paper or board large enough for the entire group to see.

At the top, label one column “Us” and the other “Them”. Now ask the group to call out phrases of one or two words that describe us as activists (e.g. nonviolent, committed, right, etc.). Write these down in the “Us” column.

Now ask the group to call out phrases of one or two words that describe the authorities, government officials, workers, or corporate heads, whoever our ‘opponents’ are (e.g. polluting, greedy, cynical, etc.). Write these down in the “Them” column.

Now ask the group to imagine themselves to be our ‘opponents’ and repeat the process as before on a separate piece of paper or adjacent part of the board. So, the “Us” column may now include entries such as “employed”, “family oriented”, “rational”, etc. and the “Them” column may now include entries such as “smelly”, “unrealistic”, “violent”, etc.

At this point, the trainer can lead the discussion in a variety of directions, including:

- Point out contradictions. For example, both groups may see each other as violent.

- Point out what we have in common. For example, both groups may see themselves as family oriented.
- Ask how we might appeal to the values “They” hold.
- Ask how we might change how we are perceived.
- Ask how we promote greater mutual tolerance.

*Source: Greenpeace Nonviolent Direct Action Training Program*

# Learning from other movements

*Where historians have been closely allied to established oppressive systems and ruling elites, and have allowed that alliance to influence their writings, their neglect of nonviolent forms of struggle may be traced to consideration of the best interest of the ruling majority.*

- Gene Sharp

While examples of popular nonviolent struggle appear to be widespread throughout history, with known examples dating back at least to the Plebeian withdrawal from Rome in 494 BC, only recently has serious attention been paid to the task of documenting and classifying the methods used by ordinary people, without access to weapons or military might, to successfully challenge authority.

Whereas history is littered with the dates of conquests and defeats on the battlefield and the exploits of the great military commanders, the methods of nonviolent action have been less well documented.

As nonviolence scholar Gene Sharp has pointed out, this historical neglect should come as no surprise: the transmission of knowledge concerning the efficacy of nonviolence is tantamount to placing power into the hands of the oppressed.

It could be argued that today, the mainstream media continue the pattern of ignoring or reframing the success of nonviolent struggles as the product of economic, political or military forces beyond the influence of ordinary people.

Given the logical reluctance of elite-controlled institutions to disseminate practical knowledge concerning what a group of Thai democracy activists once dubbed the “secrets of nonviolence”, it should be no surprise that people have turned to other sources to learn how to challenge powerful rulers. The primary source for this knowledge, throughout history, appears to have been the examples of set by successful nonviolent movements, past and contemporary.

In Latin America, a successful nonviolent uprising in El Salvador in 1944, for instance almost certainly played a role in the adoption of a similar strategy in Guatemala the same year. (Lakey, pp 37-45). The global publicity surrounding the Indian independence struggle prompted the adoption of nonviolent techniques by civil rights leaders in the US. In turn, indigenous activists in Australia inspired by the civil rights and Black Power movements borrowed symbols and strategy from overseas — during the 1965 Freedom Rides, for instance — as well as unique

Using tools including *case studies* and macro *analysis*, nonviolence trainers help groups explore and share knowledge on nonviolence from different cultures and historical periods. In sharing these stories, we counter the marginalisation of nonviolent means of struggle within mainstream history and media.

The exercises in this section draw upon the experience and local knowledge of participants to build the “knowledge bank” of stories concerning nonviolent action.

## Nonviolence Timeline

### Exercise objectives

- for the group to gain a perspective of the enormity and success of nonviolent movements

### Content overview

This is an empowering and eye-opening group exercise that draws the knowledge of nonviolence and popular struggles directly from those in the group to create a 'timeline' of nonviolence history. Starting from as far back as you or the group wishes and including actions and events in the participants own lifetimes.

### Time needed

Thirty minutes to one hour.

### Materials needed

Long roll of paper or post it notes and a suitable place for a time line. Coloured Texta Pens.

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

Prepare by setting up a roll or long strip of paper across the floor with the centuries and decades marked out in a 'timeline'.

### Delivery

It is simply done with a long row of paper on the floor. Participants are invited to add a particular event that they characterise as 'nonviolent' on the timeline. It can become a collaborative exercise with participants helping each other identify and place events.

This exercise is best done after a range of other exercises including: Nonviolence Photos, Case Study Analysis, Force More Powerful Video and Categories of Nonviolence.

It is always impressive just how much nonviolence history is identified within any group of people.

It is good to start or end with a discussion as to why the history of nonviolence is not as well known to us today as much as the history of wars and violence. The section below gives some clues

### The invisible history of nonviolence

Until recently, nonviolent action has not been recognized as a legitimate method of struggle. Sharp lists a number of reasons for this oversight:

- Rarely have nonviolent activists been romanticized as heroes. The vast majority are 'ordinary people', women, people of colour or working class people. Rather, warriors and terrorists and their dramatic acts of heroism are mythologized for future generations.
- Historians have accepted the dominant culture's view that violence is the only legitimate form of 'combat'.
- Historians conspire with the ruling class to keep the people ignorant of their own power.
- Western civilization is "biased toward violence."
- It requires a "new way of viewing the world." It is a paradigm whose time has not yet come.
- Nonviolence has never been seen as a coherent conceptual system. Consequently, historical examples of nonviolent action are viewed as isolated events rather than as different aspects of the same technique of struggle.
- Nonviolence is unfairly compared to violence. Nonviolence is often used when violence has no chance of success. When nonviolence fails, the method is condemned. But when violence fails, strategy or tactics are blamed-not violence as a method. Nonviolence successes are written off as flukes. Partial successes are seen as total failures.

- [http://www.fragmentsweb.org/TXT2/p\\_srevtx.html](http://www.fragmentsweb.org/TXT2/p_srevtx.html)

### **Alternative delivery**

A slightly alternative way of running this exercise is to give all participants multiple blank cards or Post-it notes and ask them to write one nonviolent action in history on each one and then to place them along the floor to form a timeline. If they cannot think of any ask them to remember actions that have been mentioned already in the workshop.

*Source: Anthony Kelly, Pt'chang Nonviolent Community Safety Group*

## Case study analysis

### Exercise objectives

- to illustrate the use of nonviolent methods in different cultural, political and historical settings
- to facilitate the application of lessons learned by other nonviolent movements to our own

### Content overview

The presentation and discussion of case studies is a long standing tradition within nonviolence training. Stories of ordinary people who have used nonviolence to challenge injustice help us to counter the marginalisation of nonviolent means of struggle within mainstream history and media.

Case studies of nonviolent social movements have been used by nonviolence trainers to reveal the hidden history of popular nonviolent movements, and to demonstrate that the methods of nonviolent action have been used across an extraordinary diversity of cultural and political settings.

They also offer a way for us preserve and communicate the practical experience of people who have used nonviolent struggle, and to consider the personal challenges that participating in nonviolent action may bring.

### Time needed

45 minutes

### Materials needed

Multiple copies of 4-5 case studies, depending on group size.

### Trainers needed

1 - 2

### Preparation

The trainers should be familiar with each of the case studies, and have some sense of the wider context that the stories occurred in.

### Delivery

Choose three to five appropriate nonviolence case studies of no more than three pages in length. Divide group into same number of case studies so that there is a small group for each individual case study. Each group should be even if possible.

Distribute case studies to each small group so that each small group has a different case but each participant has a copy.

Allow 10 - 15 minutes for everyone to read their own case study; allow time for slower readers.

Ask all those who read the same case study to discuss the case in their small group for 10-15

minutes. Ask them to help each other clarify the story told in the case study and draw out themes and learnings.

Next ask groups to split and re-form a new groups so that one case study is represented within each new group.

Then each person is to share the outline and the learning's from there case studies with the others (who have not read it). Allow at least five minutes each for this.

Distribute all copies of each case study to all participants.

### **Alternative Delivery**

This exercise requires literacy and reading skills. This exercises may be adapted to allow for different levels of literacy by using photographs, video and/or audio recordings as an alternative to written case studies.

See the appendices of this manual for some sample case studies.

## 198 methods of nonviolence exercise

### Content overview

This exercise can be used, as outlined below, as a method of exploring nonviolence history and categories or it can be used in other forms alongside exercises in the Defining Nonviolence section of this manual. It may also be useful to refer to the three major categories of Nonviolent action and the 198 methods in the Strategy section of this manual.

Gene Sharp, a senior scholar at the Albert Einstein Institution, Cambridge, MA, wrote *The Methods of Nonviolent Action*, which describes 198 methods of nonviolent action, ranging from public speaking to civil disobedience. It is now recognised that there are far more than 198 methods and many more types of nonviolent actions can be identified over the past 30 years since Gene Sharp's typology was published.

### Time needed

30 - 60 minutes

### Materials needed

- One copy of the Timeline of Peace and Justice History:  
(<http://www.salsa.net/peace/timeline/this day.html>) (16 pages) OR
- Print one copy of the same timeline in Excel spreadsheet format  
(<http://www.salsa.net/peace/timeline/thisdayinhistory.xls>) (32 pages)
- Enough copies of Gene Sharp's list of 198 nonviolent methods to furnish one to each small group. (Handout available in this Manual)

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

- Depending on the space available and the size of your group, you can either tape the entire timeline to the walls or divide it into packets consisting of several months for each small group of 3-5 students.

### Delivery

Break the class into smaller groups of 3-5 people. Each group should have their own copy of Gene Sharp's list of 198 methods of nonviolent action and access to all or part of the This Day in Peace and Justice History list, as described above.

Introduce Gene Sharp's list. You may want to note that some actions might fit under more than one category. Also, some of the categories may be obscure to those who have not read the entire book -

students can skip over those that aren't clear, work it out amongst themselves, or ask the teacher for advice. Lysistratic nonaction (#57), for example, is wives withholding affection from their husbands, a term derived from Aristophenes' play *Lysistrada*. Also note that not every item on the list is an example of nonviolent action.

Give the class about 15 minutes to comb through the list of events and match them up with a nonviolent methods from Sharp's list. In that amount of time it would be reasonable for each group to come up with 5-10 matches. A group's list might look something like this:

31-May: Tax protester Lady Godiva rides naked through Coventry, England (1678)

#22. Protest disrobings

10-Jan: Thomas Paine published his influential pamphlet, "Common Sense." (1773)

#9. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books

21-Aug: Cesar Chavez ends 36 day hunger strike to protest the use of pesticides on field workers (1988)

#159. The fast

9-Nov: 78 Native Americans take over Alcatraz Island, San Francisco, CA (1969)

#29. Symbolic reclamations

For the remainder of the session, have each group present their lists. Allow time for discussion.

*Source: <http://www.salsa.net/peace/teach/teach2.html>*

# Strategic frameworks

*There are strategic models and step-by-step, how-to-do-it models for performing almost every human task except that of understanding and waging social movements.*

*- Bill Moyer*

While social movements can and do achieve success through sheer passion and ‘gut instinct’, thinking about and developing strategy is a key factor in increasing the effectiveness of nonviolent action. As James Wheelan has noted, “[c]hange theories do not need to be complex or based on political theory. In fact, they are most likely to motivate and convince members and supporters if they are plain English and developed in an inclusive way.”

Nonviolent activists have a number of strategic frameworks available to them, including Lakey’s Five Stages of a Living Revolution, Moyer’s Movement Action Plan (MAP) and Burrowes’ Nonviolent Strategic Framework. Sharp’s Methods of Nonviolent Action (protest and persuasion, non-cooperation and nonviolence intervention) is another useful framework to help groups identify and choose tactics wisely.

This section will introduce some of these nonviolent strategic theories and presents practical exercises and tools for helping groups to explore and develop strategy.

## From tactics to strategy

### Exercise objectives

- To help participants move from thinking tactically to strategically;
- Introduction of a cognitive framework;
- Consideration of the values of different tactics as they fit within a larger strategy.

### Content overview

As activists, many of us love tactics! So here's a tool which uses that to help us think about overall strategy more effectively with tactics as the starting point.

### Time needed

90 minutes

### Materials needed

Paper and pens

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

*Optional:* you may want to prepare a handouts or a presentation of one or more of the strategic frame works below:

The 5-stage revolutionary framework developed by George Lakey

The 8-stage framework developed by Bill Moyer

The 6-stage campaign planning framework by Martin Luther King, Jr.

### Delivery

Hand out letter-sized pieces of blank paper and invite participants to write on it their favorite tactics. (Review the definition of a "tactic" and make sure it is inclusive, not only direct action but also kinds of alternative institutions, or culture work, etc.) Once they have done that, ask them to stand up and mingle, holding their paper in front of them. As they mingle, have them find others who in some way seem similar.

Once the clusters have appeared, ask them to sit down in the clusters and talk about what they find in common. Invite individuals to feel free to "try out" other clusters if they suspect there might be a better match.

When they've settled down, ask them to consider that there might be a sequence to the clusters, that

some clusters of tactics might better go before others in order to prepare the way or build capacity for later tactics. Ask the clusters to arrange themselves on the floor in sequence. This will be cheerfully chaotic and require some inter-cluster negotiation. A few individuals might shift again, also.

Then move to the debrief.

What participants have just done is begin to make a broad, general framework of why certain tactics make sense at certain moments (and less at others). Sometimes tactics are elevated to a status where they are always appropriate or appropriate regardless of strategy. Not so: tactics should be guided by strategy.

Invite participants to notice the decisions they already reached; i.e. why they decided certain tactics come before others and build on each other. Notice the tendency of increasing capacity over time (effective strategies build capacity over time).

At this point, you might begin to introduce a particular framework (such as the 5-stage revolutionary framework developed by George Lakey, the 8-stage framework developed by Bill Moyer or the 6-stage campaign planning framework by Martin Luther King, Jr.). Compare those frameworks with what the group created. Get clarity about the flow.

Not everyone will agree with any framework (nor needs to) — it's in a spirit of exploring strategy lessons we can use!

### **Alternative delivery**

*Brainstorm Tactics:* Invite participants to brainstorm a list of their favorite tactics. (Review the definition of a “tactic” and make sure it is inclusive, not only direct action but also kinds of alternative institutions, or culture work, etc.)

After a range of tactics are on the list (20 or so is generally fine), get participants in small groups (four or five). In their small groups, have them take a section of the list (you might break it apart) and identify if they would put the tactics in the beginning, middle, or end of a campaign. After working for a couple of minutes, have them share their results in the large group.

After sharing, have the group notice what are themes. “How might we characterize the beginning stage? The middle stage? The end stage?” Notice major themes. Then move to the Debrief.

*Source: George Lakey with Daniel Hunter, Training for Change.*

## The spectrum of allies

### Exercise objectives

- for group to understand that it is not necessary to completely change the opinions of “opponents” in order to succeed in a campaign

### Content overview

The exercise allows the group to

- examine the range of opinions that society may hold on campaign issues.
- consider the tactics that may be used for different groups of people as opinions begin to move nearer to supporting the campaign issue.

### Time needed

30 minutes or more

### Materials needed

Butchers paper and pens. Handout with the picture of the wedge.

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

No special preparation

### Delivery

Use butchers’ paper to describe the idea that in most social change situations there is a struggle between those who want the change and those who don’t. Those who do are represented by a point at one side of the paper (say, on the left) and the opponents by a point at the other side. Explain that societies (or towns, or states) usually include a range of groups that can be put on kind of spectrum from closest to the point of view of the advocates to farthest away, and draw a horizontal line to represent that.

Then draw a half-moon or half of a pie with wedges (as above). Ask for an example of an issue people in the group might be working on. Suggest a demand the advocates might have (say, free public transport) and ask who in society might be inclined to be most supportive, least supportive, and in the middle. Give examples: “unions?” “poor people’s groups?” “Chamber of Commerce?” etc. As the participants identify groups and location on the spectrum, write them into the “pie.” Do this only enough to make the idea clear.

Give the good news: in most social change campaigns it’s not necessary to win the opponent to your point of view, even if the opponent is the power-holders. It’s only necessary to move each of the pie wedges one step in your direction. Pause to make sure that’s clear. Then complicate the picture

slightly: sometimes polarization happens, and the wedges closest to the opponent move away from you and toward the opponent. You can still win, if enough of society takes a step in your direction. Let the group digest the good news for a bit; let it sink in that activists often have the mistaken idea that they need to win everyone (inviting despair), or that their whole attention needs to be on the power-holders (again inviting despair).

Pass out the handout and invite everyone to fill in the wedges for their particular campaign/issue/movement. Move among them to answer questions as they work.

Create small groups for discussion. If a variety of issues are present in the group, ask them to form issue groups to compare notes. Let them work for a while (keeping track of their work), then ask them to brainstorm tactics that might effectively communicate with the wedges that they want most to win as allies.

To conclude, harvest the learnings in the whole group using butchers' paper. Emphasize points like this: it's a huge win if you can get a group that was slightly hostile to move into neutrality. It's a huge win if you can get the group/wedge next to your end of the spectrum to move into activism with you. It's usually not necessary to move the opponents a step toward you in order to win, although it can hasten the win.

*Source: Martin Oppenheimer and George Lakey, A Manual for Direct Action, Quadrangle Books, 1965+*

## Power mapping

### Exercise objectives

- to identify key actors in a campaign and their roles and relationships
- to practice prioritising and strategising campaign goals

### Content overview

Power mapping helps to identify campaign influencers, allies and other stakeholders and the relationships between them. The exercise itself is useful to practice conceptualising campaign strategy - When applied to real campaigns, the exercise can help to prioritise campaign targets and to identify useful ways of reaching them.

### Materials needed

Blank cards and pens

### Trainers needed

One

### Delivery

Ask participants to form groups of 2-3, think of a campaign they are involved with (or might become involved with) and follow these steps in their groups:

1. What is it you are trying to achieve with this campaign?
2. Briefly describe your campaigns to each other.
3. Select one campaign for this exercise. Consider: "What is the main outcome your campaign hopes to achieve?". Define this outcome in terms of a realistic and achievable objective (eg. recycling bins in every classroom or a doubling in council's budget for native tree planting).
4. With this outcome in mind, write on the cards provided the names of organisations and people with whom you might need to engage in order to achieve this outcome. Start with yourself and the main decision-maker/s. You might like to include:
  - your own group
  - other community groups - consumer, residents, environment, etc
  - local government - which officers?
  - state government - which departments or ministers?
  - churches
  - federal government - which departments or ministers?

- local, regional and national media
- property/real estate developers
- local businesses
- experts
- professionals (eg teachers, police)
- particular sectors of the community
- indigenous people
- youth, unemployed,
- men/women, the aged
- industry

Place the card with the name of your organisation on the floor

5. Identify the organisation or individual holding the most power in terms of delivering your desired outcome. Place this card on the floor, leaving some distance between the two cards.
6. Place each card in turn on the floor. As you place them down, say something about how they are related to your organisation, to the main power-holder and to each other. How much influence do they hold? Do they cooperate with each other or are they in conflict? Do you presently have a relationship with these people? Are they likely to agree with your position?
  - Position the cards according to the relationships that exist between them.
  - Consider the relative power of the stakeholders in your campaign. Who is closest to the key decision makers? Move them around. Spend at least five minutes until the map feels right.
  - Your partner/s in this exercise can help clarify power relationships by questioning you as you go along.
7. When your map is complete, identify the two or three locations within the map where you feel your campaign might effect the greatest influence. Are there people or organisations who hold power and who you might successfully influence?
8. Report back, discussion.

*Source: James Whelan, The Change Agency*

## Strategy in an hour!

### Exercise objectives

- to be practice construct campaign strategy in times of pressure
- to introduce strategising prior to participating in longer campaign planning

### Content overview

“Strategy — in the face of impending war, financial crises, time crunch, staff changes or despair — is impossible.” Well, I don’t think that’s true, but certainly lots of us do carry that belief! So here’s a one-hour tool that I’ve used when all of those factors were true! — maybe it can work for you and your group, too.

Underlying this notion is the idea that strategizing is about putting activists on the offensive! Step 1 clearly has us choosing the target. Step 2 is about designing actions to get our targets! In playing football, for example, to catch the ball you need to go to where the football is going to be — not where it currently is! Similarly, as activists, we need to design strategies which move to where the trends are — where the football is heading — not just responding to the current headline.

Of course, a one-hour strategizing tool is no substitute for the work of planning a campaign, or figuring out how short-term objectives relate to building a movement in the long run. All that does take more time. But doing strategizing in bite-sized amounts may whet the appetite of the group for the bigger strategic feast!

If you try the tool, tell us if it works or how it could work better for your group! Feel free to adapt and pass around.

### Time needed

60 minutes

### Materials needed

No special materials

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

No special preparation

### Delivery

*Step 1: Brainstorm the negative conditions in society [about 20 minutes]*

First, break the group into small groups (groups of four or five should be sufficient). Clearly give them the task of coming up with the conditions of society that block them from winning on their

issue (for example an anti-war group might ask: what conditions are part of the war machine in our society?). What we're looking for here are as-specific-as-possible conditions. So rather than saying "thoughtless patriotism" encourage the small groups to get specific: "US Patriot Act," "bad US history textbooks," or "US government acting unilaterally over and against the United Nations." In fact (and you don't need to let the participants in on this secret), these make targets for social change because they are root causes of violence and greed in society. These conditions may include comments about the culture of the group — "staying in reactive mode" is one I've seen. That's perfectly fine to be on this list — it's another root cause!

So, after explaining their task to the small groups have them write down (yes, tell them to get a note-taker!) the conditions they come up with in ten minutes.

After the small groups have about ten minutes with the task, bring them back together and put up their results. I do it by having each group read one condition at a time and I write it up on a big newsprint so everyone can see. The groups then rotate around adding to the list — in this way, each small group keeps contributing. You do not need to get everything on the big list — get enough so people have a number of conditions out there.

*Step 2: Brainstorm Actions we can do or are doing to fix those conditions [about 40 minutes]*

In the same small groups as they were in before, have the participants repeat the brainstorm and notetaking process. This time, since it's a bit of a harder task, give them at least fifteen minutes. The task this time is for the small groups to come up with specific programmatic changes or actions to address/change those conditions. For example, to challenge the US Patriot Act one might suggest getting City Council to pass a resolution against it and other actions to undermine that condition. Try to give a couple of examples of things the group could do and a few of things the group is doing.

After the small groups have worked for fifteen minutes, bring them back together and get together their ideas. Allow for some discussion when the group is having useful conversation/debate, but try to balance the energy of the list, too. Continue to go as long as you have time or groups have ideas. Once you finish you should have a great list of actions to take! It will be easier for you to sort through them not only for feasibility but also to compare which one is most likely to contribute toward your group's larger goal. That's what makes actions strategic — when it isn't only an expression of how we feel or a brilliantly designed action — but helps build a movement that achieves its goal. So congratulations!

*Source: Daniel Hunter, Training for Change*

## People-sized strategy board game

### Exercise objectives

- to learn a strategy framework
- to review issues
- to practice creative brainstorming and analysis on a particular topic

### Materials needed

A large room, masking or coloured tape

### Preparation

Arrange on the floor of a large room a giant board game format, using tape for the first set of squares and leaving the finish line indeterminate. The squares need to be big enough for a team of 4-8 persons to squat in. 2 to 4 teams can play this game, with each team having 4-8 participants. If you have 9 fairly sophisticated participants, make 3 teams of 3, but be prepared to coach them somewhat because a team of 3 may not have sufficient knowledge/creativity to solve problems effectively.

Develop a list of challenges/obstacles/problems which need to be solved in order to win a campaign or achieve a goal. Order them roughly in sequence. Print these on separate cards, with duplicates. You might also use challenging questions the group originally came up with (i.e. as a capstone exercise after skill-building).

For using this tool to teach a framework: use the different squares as one stage in the framework with appropriate questions/tasks.

### Delivery:

1. Explain that this game is won when at least one team overcomes enough obstacles to win or be well on the way to winning. Teams will leapfrog each other to race to victory. They only advance when the judge accepts their solution. If they make a major strategic error, they have to go back a square. The team must achieve consensus. It has periods of five minutes for discussion; if its proposed solution is not accepted by the trainer/referee, it must wait five minutes to propose the next solution. Because political/economic situations are fluid, a referee may announce to a team new developments at any time.
2. Teams take up the first spaces, each to a square. The referees hand each a copy of the same scenario. After 5 minutes (each team discusses), the referees begin hearing solutions and either sending teams forward or keeping them there to try a different solution.
3. When a team moves forward, a referee gives a new challenge to it. This may be duplicated with another team, or different from it to explore more possibilities.

4. Major strategic errors (e.g. accepting protection from gangsters to keep the campaign headquarters open) send a team back to previous available square.
5. Continue game until: a. Time runs out (not counting time for debrief). b. A team achieves goal. c. A team breaks into the clear. d. Attention in the group is starting to fade.

It may be helpful in the case of (d) to support at least a token victory so the group feels some sense of achievement.

6. De-brief questions include: which challenges were easier/more difficult? What major strategic errors were made? What are the principles underlying your successful moves? What were the group dynamics in achieving consensus in your teams?

*Source: Karen Ridd, Training for Change*

## Village exercise

### Exercise objectives:

- give participants' an experience of nonviolent action, specifically social defense
- provide a group challenge

### Content overview

A game for envisaging community and practicing nonviolent social defence

### Time needed

60 minutes

### Materials needed

Lots of crayons/markers Some clothing change may be great (e.g. suit or tie)

### Trainers needed

Needs at least two co-facilitators (depending on size of group)

### Preparation

No special preparation needed

### Delivery

Tell the group that this is their chance to create an ideal community. Divide into small groups (4 to 6 in size) and give each group large newsprint on the floor. Ask the group, "What would you like to see in an ideal community or village?" When people give examples, give them markers and encourage them to draw or represent their ideas on the paper at their feet. As ideas proliferate, give out markers to the various groups and encourage them to draw together. Announce they have ten minutes to draw. Give updates on the time.

After 10 minutes, ask groups to "take a tour": looking at the other communities and explaining their community to others. Then invite people to return to drawing for one more minute, to add anything more to the community. For this exercise to work well, it is important for each group to feel attached to their created community. At the end of one minute, take away markers.

Then, slide smoothly into a trainer role change, informing participants that you are the CEO of a multinational corporation. As you are telling them information about your corporation, circle the papers, until finally you step in and snatch some of the paper - for your factory, or plant, or mall or whatever. (You might even have a marker to mark up their community - e.g., to add a McDonald's.) Continue taking away paper in small amounts and continuing to talk about the advantages of development, etc. **IT IS IMPERATIVE TO TIME YOUR PAPER SNATCHING SO THAT IT IS SLOW ENOUGH THAT GROUPS ARE NOT DEVASTATED, AND HAVE MOTIVATION TO ORGANIZE.**

More activist groups will be able to tolerate faster snatching, “beginners” will need you to go very very slowly. You do NOT want to create despair. Nor do you want to “win.” Continue to take away paper until the group has organized sufficiently against you so that they have had an experience of nonviolent action. Of course, it is ideal if that is a successful experience, but if the group simply cannot mobilize itself, end the game, debrief on possible options, and try the game again.

Possible de-brief questions:

- How are you feeling? How did your feelings change during the campaign?
- What did you do that was effective in stopping the takeover of your communities?
- What stages did your community go through in preventing its demolition? (Support activists to get to strategy questions.)

Source: Karen Ridd, Training for Change and Ouyporn Khuankaew, Thai environmental activist

# Nonviolence and communication

Communication styles or models which can be broadly described as “nonviolent”, such as those developed by Fran Peavey and Marshall Rosenberg, have application in a variety of human settings, from counselling and de-briefing to mediation, conflict resolution and nonviolent direct action.

Nonviolence training teaches skills including assertive communication, active listening, strategic questioning and giving and receiving feedback to create empathy, demonstrate compassion and de-escalate unsafe or tense situations. Similarly, nonviolence trainers draw on these skills to provide a safe and productive learning space for participants within the workshop itself.

This section presents a number of models and tools for nonviolent communication and demonstrate some practical methods for teaching and practice.

## What you say and how you say it

### Exercise objectives

- A quick introductory exercise to get people thinking about communication issues.

### Content overview

For those of us who are accustomed to relying on verbal communications to get an idea across, the area of non-verbal communication is a difficult one. An understanding of non-verbal communication, however, can make a group much more sensitive to individual needs.

Experience has shown that groups need very little introduction or coaching to come up with the concepts of trust and respect. This is an important point for a facilitator/trainer. Most of the ideas and concepts in the field of group process are already known and felt by participants. The workshop exercise is really only a tool to help people become aware of what they already feel about others and to apply it to themselves.

### Delivery

#### *Part 1*

1. Turn to the person next to you.
2. Each of you has three minutes to tell your partner about a time when you agreed with what a person said to you but you felt bad, intimidated, resentful, or put down about how it was said to you.
3. After the exercise is completed, the facilitator should start the discussion around the reasons people felt the way they did.

#### *Part 2*

This part can be done as an exercise or it can be explained and then discussed.

1. This is done the same way as the previous task. Partners have three minutes each to discuss a situation in which they strongly disagreed with someone but came away from the interchange having enjoyed it, even though they didn't "win."
2. After the exercise, the facilitator should center the discussion on the possible reasons for this feeling. (It is hoped that the group would bring out the important overriding factors motivating these feelings—trust and respect.)

### Alternative delivery

Half of the pairs could be given the Part 1 question Part 1, and half the Part 2 question. In this way the discussion could bring in a good deal more data that much more quickly.

*Source: New England Regional Leadership Program*

## To feed back or not to feed back?

### Exercise objectives

- to demonstrate the need for feedback for accurate communication and listening

### Content overview

This exercise prompts people to think about the various layers of action and meaning present in verbal and non-verbal communication.

### Materials needed

Blank paper and pens

### Delivery

Explain to the group that this exercise will demonstrate the need for feedback for accurate communication and listening.

#### Part 1

1. First find a volunteer who will try to communicate with the others without the use of feedback or non-verbals.
2. Pass out blank sheets of paper to the group and present the following task:
  - The volunteer leader will give the group directions to copy a simple drawing
  - The volunteer has as much time as she/he needs to communicate the directions for making the drawing using only verbal directions
  - Give the volunteer a copy of Figure Number 1 and instruct the group that she/he may only use verbal communication. She/he will not face the group or use her/his hands for directions
  - The group is instructed that they are to ask no questions and that, in the spirit of the exercise, they are not to make any comments of any sort

As the volunteer directs the drawing of Figure Number 1, be aware of the reactions of the group members as well as those of the volunteer. Also be aware of the length of time it takes to complete the drawings. Have each person mark on their sheet whether they think they have made an accurate drawing. Then check with the volunteer to see if she/he feels she/he has communicated the information accurately.

#### Part 2

Get a second volunteer to direct the drawing of Figure Number 2. This time allow the volunteer to receive feedback and use nonverbal information (body language). Then pass out a second sheet of blank paper to each person in the group.

1. Give Figure Number 2 to the volunteer and explain the following directions to everyone:
  - The volunteer will direct the group in drawing Figure Number 2
  - He/she will face the group this time and have as much time as necessary to give thorough directions
  - He/she is also permitted to use any non-verbals needed, and anyone from the group can ask anything they wish to help them complete the drawing
2. Again observe the group and the volunteers and keep a check on how much time it takes to complete the drawing.
3. After the group finishes, show them the two figures and, on newsprint, keep score of how many people copied Figure Number 1 and Figure Number 2 accurately.
4. If the group doesn't spontaneously begin a discussion, it might be helpful to have them discuss the following:
  - how did the volunteers (1 and 2) feel during each exercise?
  - how much time did each part take to complete?
  - what was the difference in accuracy between communication number 1 and communication number 2?
  - how can this experience be related to actual cases or experiences in your group meetings?
  - what can be done about it?

*Source: New England Regional Leadership Program*

## Active listening role play

### Exercise objective:

- To practice active listening and assertive communication.

### Content overview

In this exercise trainers demonstrate good and bad listening techniques, and participants are able to experience and discuss the elements of successful communication.

### Time needed

1 hour

### Materials needed

Whiteboard/butchers paper; pens/chalk

### Trainers needed

Two

### Preparation

No special preparation

### Delivery

Introduce the exercise by telling participants that communication is vital to effective nonviolent activism in general. Inform group that focus will be on active listening and assertive behaviour and communication skills will be practiced and covered throughout the rest of the workshop. Ask group why communication may be important in nonviolent actions? (5 min)

Bad listening roleplay — trainers roleplay listening blocks and poor listening. Group discusses common listening blocks.

Facilitator asks group what trainer could have done to listen well. Write up suggestions on white board as 'active listening skills'. Trainers to add others active listening components not covered by group.

Trainers then use suggestions from group to roleplay active listening using the same scenario. This creates the learning tool of the group providing 'advice' to the trainer.

Brief discussion on what was different and the aims of active listening. (30 min)

Ask the group to form a concentric circle; this involves half of the group sitting in an inner circle facing outwards, and the other half sitting in an outer circle facing inwards. Each person should be sitting opposite a partner. Group is asked to practice active listening by allowing one person to speak while the other practices listening. Topics to speak on could include: "The way I feel about the terrorist attacks in September 11". "A time when I dealt with a difficult conflict well".

Give each person at least 4 minutes to speak and to listen. Encourage people to reflect back what they are hearing and to focus on listening skills. Facilitators to move around and observe participants' skills.

Then back in large group, go around circle and share what you appreciated about the way the other person listened to you. Name things that you noticed they did well. (25min)

*Source: Pt'chang Nonviolent Community Safety Group*

## Four exercises for active listening

### Content overview

Here are some exercises developed that will help practice active listening skills:

1. Minimal encouragers (verbal and non-verbal)
2. Questions, reflections, summarization
3. Skills of self-expression: "1-2-3 pattern"
4. Practice session on effective confrontation

### 1. *Minimal encouragers*

#### Exercise objectives

- to witness, listen to, and practice using verbal and non-verbal minimal encouragers

#### Time needed

25 minutes

#### Materials needed

No special materials

#### Trainers needed

1 - 2

#### Preparation

Prepare handout listing skills/methods/techniques for using verbal and non-verbal minimal encouragers.

#### Delivery

*Explanation* (5): We will be divided into groups of three, to play three roles: speaker, listener and observer. We will rotate the roles until we've all had a go at each role. The aim is for us all to see and practice verbal and non-verbal minimal encouragers, to become better listeners.

*First stage* (3-4)

The first speaker will talk with the listener for three or four minutes.

*Directions for the speaker:* Your task is to talk about something that is important to you: your job, your family, a decision, or a question. The practice will be more helpful if you talk about something you really care about, although role-playing is possible. You may find yourself in the midst of discussing

something important when the allotted time runs out. If this happens, you could make an agreement with the person listening to carry on later, after work or during a break.

*Directions for the listener:* Your task is to practice the skills of the session: eye contact, body language, silences, and verbal minimal encouragers. Don't panic! Just concentrate on following the speaker's train of thought. Try to limit your responses to the skills we have already discussed.

*Directions for the observer:* Your task is to observe the listener's verbal and non-verbal skills. Observe and count only as many behaviors (eye contact, body posture, verbal minimal encouragers, topic jumps) as you can manage and still be relatively accurate.

*Second stage: (3-4)*

Now we'll discuss the speaking and listening experience in our groups of three for 3 to 4 minutes.

*Directions for the listener:* What was comfortable? difficult? Did you stay with the speaker?

*Directions for the speaker:* Did you feel listened to? Was it helpful? Did the listener have any habits you found distracting?

*Directions for the observer:* What behaviours did the listener exhibit? Any other observations?

*Repeat stages one and two: (12-16)* Have the listener become the speaker, the speaker the observer, and the observer the listener. (12-16)

Go through the 3-4 minutes of speaking and listening, and the 3-4 minutes of exchanging remarks.

*Third stage: (5)*

Group debrief. Bring the group together, and ask for people to share their practice experiences: how are these skills relevant to your work? Where else would they be useful? Go around the group so that participants have a chance to share at least one thing they have learned about themselves in this practice session.

## *2. Questions, reflections, summarization*

### **Preparation**

Form subgroups of three and practice using question asking as a listening skills. each member of your subgroup should take turns being the speaker, the listener (who practices the skill of question- ing), and the observer.

*To the speaker:* In the speaker role, we ask you to share something that is a real concern to you. obviously, we are not asking that you share anything that is very private or that might be embarrassing, sharing a real part of your life, however, will make this practice both interesting and useful. (and you might find it helpful to have someone carefully listen to your concern). or, you can tell of situations that occur in work — we all have a storehouse of work problems that give us difficulty.

The qualifier on being “real” in the practice sessions, however, is that we are here to give the listener a chance to practice interactive skills. if you, as the speaker, take all of the practice time in a

monologue about yourself, the listener will not have a chance to practice listening skills. so, be sure to pause often to encourage the listener to respond, even though this may seem a bit unnatural. try to share information that allows the speaker to practice the skill of the session—the art of questioning; if you give the complete details of your concern, for example, it may be difficult for the listener to find anything to ask questions about. or, if your story is completely factual and does not include your personal feelings or opinions, the listener may have difficulty asking questions with a speaker focus. as the speaker in the practice session, part of your job is to help your listener practice listening skills.

*To the listener:* In this session try to concentrate on asking questions, reflecting, and, at the end, summarizing even though this may seem difficult. you may use minimal encouragers occasionally, as long as your primary responses are questions. vary your responses between open and closed questions and vary the focus of your questions (i.e., on speaker, topic, or others). by using both open and closed questions you will also see how your question and its focus can determine the course of the conversation.

*To the observer:* Keep track of the listener's responses. include the number of open and closed questions used by the listener and the focus of each question; note the use of feeling and factual reflection, and the effectiveness of the listener's summary.

### *Delivery*

The speaker and listener will have a conversation of three or four minutes duration. the observer can also time the conversation, gently announcing “stop” when the time is up.

After the conversation, take a few minutes: first, the listener will share thoughts about how they used questions; second; the speaker will comment on his/her experience during the conversation and the listener's use of the skill; finally, the observer will share observations and comment on the conversation.

Now trade roles and repeat the practice.

Each listener practice should take eight to ten minutes: three or four minutes for the initial conversation and three or four minutes to review it—to share the listener's and the speaker's impressions and the observer's reactions (1/2 hour).

When exchanging observations about a conversation, please give the listener accurate feedback about how he or she used the skills. if the listener is having difficulty asking open questions, reflecting, or summarizing, say so and help him/her learn how to do so better. remember that the purpose of practice is for the listener to learn the listening skill. feedback and suggestions from both speaker and observer are essential to the learning process.

### *3. Self-expression: “1-2-3” pattern*

#### **Delivery**

The group should be divided into sub groups of three, with three roles in each sub-group: speaker, listener, and observer.

The speaker should make a statement about something of personal concern or role play someone who is troubled and seeking information.

The listener uses active listening skills to understand what the speaker is saying and responds with factual or feeling content, and then checks to see that he/she was understood.

The observer concentrates on the person in the listener role, looking for as many self-expression skills as possible (using first person pronouns, factual vs. feeling expression, maintaining focus, use of tenses, etc.)

The first interchange should take three to four minutes, with a couple of minutes to share observation. if time permits the exercise can be repeated twice, after changing roles.

#### ***4. Effective confrontation***

##### **Delivery**

The group should break into sub-groups of four or five people. go around the group, with each person taking time speaking about some personal concern for a few minutes. the next person in line is the listener, who responds to the speaker with a confrontation. the group can then discuss the listener response— was it a confrontation? was it effective? what was the focus? What are some alternative confrontations which could be made? after discussing the response, the listener becomes the next speaker. move around the circle as time permits, hopefully allowing each person to practice responding with a confrontation.

If there is time, discuss the use of confrontation as a skill of self-expression. what are the possible risks in using this skill? where might you use this skill in your work or daily life? how could you improve your capacity for self-confrontation (not self- depreciation). what are the benefits of confronting yourself?

*Source: Interactive Skills Program: Helping Through Listening and Influencing, Hedlund and Freedman, Cornell University Cooperative Extension Service, 1981.*

## Passive - aggressive - assertive

### Exercise objectives

- to practice turning blaming or passive communication into assertive communication.

### Content overview

This is a simple exercise to help participants identify and practice assertive communication.

### Time needed

20 minutes

### Materials needed

Cards with blaming and passive statements written on them.

### Trainers needed

One

### Delivery

1. Distribute cards with blaming types or passive statements on them. The facilitator sits in centre of circle and each participant comes forward to read the statements and then reframes them into assertive statements.)
2. Discuss what was effective and what worked well. What was difficult about being assertive? As homework ask participants to explore their use of assertive behaviour with other people during the week.

### Alternative delivery

Could split into two groups

*Source: Pt'chang Nonviolent Community Safety Group*

# Working in groups

## Task and maintenance: what makes groups work?

### Exercise objectives

- developing awareness in participants around the two different types of leadership in groups (task and maintenance);
- help participants identify their tendencies and learning edges around their own leadership.

### Content overview

This is a quick, easy tool that is effective in helping groups to understand the different roles that make groups work and different leadership skills. It requires facilitators to have the theory of task/maintenance internalized fairly well (since they will have to rapidly identify which comments from people belong where).

### Time needed

45 minutes

### Materials needed

Butchers' paper and textas

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

No special preparation

### Delivery

*Step 1: Make a list* Have participants make a list of: "What do people do in groups that makes them work?" Don't tell participants what you are doing, but use two pieces of butchers' paper or two lists. As you write up what people say, put the task functions on one list and maintenance functions on the other list.

*Step 2: Title the lists* After participants have come up with a fairly comprehensive list (hopefully of both types), title the two lists: "Task Functions" and "Maintenance Functions" respectively. Introduce, using personal examples and examples the group raised, task and maintenance functions. Invite participants to come up with examples that clarify that difference, too. (Note: this is not about tricking participants in that no matter what lists are made, they are good lists. This is not about shaming participants if they had one list shorter than the other.)

*Step 3: Discuss* Give participants a chance to identify the type of leadership that they most offer (they'll probably, of course, do activities in both lists — help them identify their tendencies). What are the most recognized or valued in this group?

*Step 4: Buddies* Get people into buddies to reflect on what are their growing edges with regards to their leadership (task or maintenance? In what way?).

For more theory on this tool, see *Leadership for Change: toward a feminist model*, by Bruce Kokopeli and George Lakey. Available from Training for Change (1501 Cherry St. o Philadelphia, PA USA 19102): [www.TrainingForChange.org](http://www.TrainingForChange.org) / [peacelearn@igc.org](mailto:peacelearn@igc.org).

*Source: Training for Change*

## Ankle walk

### Exercise objectives

- to deepen skills in team work and communication.

### Content overview

Here's a challenging exercise for practicing making decisions and communication. Training for Change has used it successfully in a number of settings — US, Thailand, Sierra Leone, Canada — and with groups of six people to over seventy! It's best for a middle-sized group — around 15-25 people.

### Time needed

45 - 75 minutes

### Trainers needed

One

### Delivery

In this adventure-based learning activity the challenge is fairly simple: to walk as a group from one place to another. The twist: the group must walk all in one line together with their feet touching their neighbors' feet the whole time.

Explain the set-up for participants, where people need to start and where people need to end up. Also tell them that if their feet do not stay together the whole time, they need to return to the start - then have them go for it!

During the running of the exercise, you may choose to be very strict in implementing the rule about returning to the beginning or you may be very relaxed: it depends on the state of the group and how much challenge it can handle.

You can debrief this activity for problem-solving, communication and group decision-making. (For example, there is no rule that participants cannot get in a circle to discuss strategy, but participants may instead stay in a line. How did participants handle that challenge?)

As with all adventure-based learning activities (ABLS), it is great to connect their current experience with past experiences completing other ABLs. What patterns are developing? What lessons that were learned are working? What additional lessons does the group need to learn?

*Source: Daniel Hunter, Training for Change*

## Mingle: a flexible experiential activity

### Exercise objectives

- to debriefing and digesting information
- to practice conflict-resolution
- to practice taking risks
- a get-to-know-you tool

### Content overview

The mingle (also called milling) is a kind of simultaneous interaction of the participants.

### Time needed

It depends!

### Materials needed

No special materials

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

The facilitator creates a limiting boundary, for example, within the circle of chairs participants have been sitting in.

### Delivery

Participants are instructed to get up and move about within the boundary, to encounter each other, and to carry out a task.

The flexibility comes from the variety of tasks available. Here are a few examples. Note that they can be very different in relation to the comfort zone.

1. Get acquainted. The facilitator sets the task as “In these few minutes, see how many people you can meet!” There’s a noisy chaos as people move around trying to meet as many as possible. It’s a fairly comfortable exercise for most participants and warms up the room very quickly. In this version it is fine for both participants to share briefly.
2. Insight sharing. The facilitator sets the task as “In these few minutes, see how many people you can get around to, to share one of your insights from the day.” An alternative to closing circles, to journal-writing, and other means of capturing insights and assisting participants to “digest” their work. Obviously a very kinesthetic way — bodies in motion!

3. Feedback. The facilitator carefully explains that this is structured, one-way communication. In the encounter, whoever starts gets to finish and the other person does not reciprocate, although later in the exercise they may encounter each other again and the other gets to go first.

Acknowledge that this is ritualized, and for a particular reason. Write on the newsprint the formulation, including what the response is from the person who receives the feedback. Rehearse the whole group on both, Make a big deal out of how structured and formal this is, and that no conversations are permitted. Reducing the light in the room can be helpful, as well as music.

Examples of the communication (usually sentence-completion):

- “The inner beauty I see in you is. . . .”
  - “Thank you for noticing.”
  - “The way I see you hiding your power is . . . .”
  - “Thank you for caring enough to share that.”
4. Practicing conflict resolution tools in real time. After a fair amount of setup (“front-loading”) about conflict resolution and teaching a tool (for example, “I-statements,”), the facilitator invites people to practice with real issues they have with each other.

For example: “When you repeatedly come late to our staff meeting I feel irritated because it seems like you don’t value our meetings as much as I do.”

5. Taking risks. After discussion which yields consensus that risk-taking is a good idea (promotes growth, etc.), create a mingle in which people can take a risk. For example (w/ highly structured, one-way interactions as in Feedback):
- “Something I like about myself is. . . .”
  - “A fear I experience in this workshop is. . . .”
  - Self-assertion. You get the idea.

*Source: Training for Change*

## Fishbowls and other exercises for observing group dynamics

### Exercise objectives:

- to increase people's awareness of how their group is functioning and of their own participation in the group
- to examine an issue in group process through observation of a group at work.
- to allow people to learn through guided observation

### Content overview

We have most frequently used the fishbowl structure to examine task and maintenance roles. The observers learn most about group process, while the task group provides the raw material for them to examine.

### Delivery

Participants volunteer to be in one or two groups of about equal size: the task group (fish) or observer group (bowl). The exercise gets its name because it works best when the task group sits close together inside an outer circle of observers.

- b. The observers should decide or be told beforehand what and how to observe. Observation check sheets or written instructions are helpful to point out what behaviour or problems to look for. When studying task and maintenance roles, charts or cards similar to tables A and B can be used.
- c. It may be useful to give the task group special instructions depending on the goal of the exercise. For instance, some people might be assigned specific roles or given special information.
- d. The facilitator needs to make the task clearer to the group before the exercise starts. The 'bowl' should not be aware of the task given to the 'fish'.

When a group is examining maintenance roles it is helpful to choose a topic with which participants have some familiarity, e.g., "how has the RFA affected the environment movement and our own lives over the last few years?"

When a group is examining task roles, decision-making processes, leadership skills or conflict resolution issues, it is helpful to choose a topic which requires the group to reach a decision, e.g. "Come to consensus on the three most important ways the RFA has affected this group since we began meeting."

e. The facilitator needs to ask the task group before starting if there are any questions, and to tell both groups how much time they will have. It's usually not good to interrupt the group once time has started, even for informational questions. Interruptions will make evaluation more complicated and destroy the sense of 'reality' that the task group needs. Laughter or discussion among the observers will also be disruptive to the task group.

f. Issues and problems in decision making may surface more quickly if time pressure is added.

g. The facilitator calls time (giving the group a warning if desired) and asks for evaluative comments - first from observers and then from the task group. Once the important issues have been brought out, the evaluation is ended.

h. Often it's helpful to repeat the Fishbowl with a similar problem, reversing the roles of 'fish' and 'bowl'. Everyone then has a chance to observe, and some participants get an immediate opportunity to put their new insights to use.

*Source: Coover et al. Resource Manual for a Living Revolution. New Society Publishers, Philadelphia, 1978.*

## Quick decisions

### Exercise objectives:

- to challenge participants in making rapid, collective decisions
- to analyze the outcome of various decisions

### Content overview

This exercise enables groups to practice decision making and to examine the decision-making process and then the quality of the decision and its implications.

### Time needed

45 minutes

### Materials needed

No special materials

### Trainers needed

1 - 2

### Preparation

The trainers should review and plan the quick decision scenarios in advance of this exercise.

### Delivery

First, get participants into small groups (4 to 8 people, depending on the size of the overall group). Explain that participants are going to get a chance to make very quick decisions as a team. In a matter of minutes, in some cases less than a minute, they as a whole team need to reach a decision based on the scenario read. Ask for any questions.

Emphasize groups will need to make decisions quickly. After reading the first scenario, time participants as they reach a decision. After time is up, call time and gather the group's attention. From each group get their decision they reached (or did not reach). Debrief a little after each decisions. The debrief can happen at two levels: decision-making process and then the quality of the decision and its implications. In the first few scenarios, the quality of the actual decision. In the latter half of the scenarios emphasize their decision-making process (How is the group getting everyone's input? What helps speed up the decision-making process? What is working?)

Quick decisions is a great tool but can be repetitious for participants (even with unique scenarios). Keep the debrief moving and, after all the quick decision scenarios are over (or the group looks too tired to continue!) have a longer debrief discussing the implications of the lessons.

Example quick decisions from Peace Brigades International (create your own based on the upcoming action or the group):

*Non-partisanship Quick Decisions*

- Students/clients are on the doorstep of the PBI house and want to keep their files at the PBI house because they fear a raid
- A trusted client brings someone we don't know to the PBI house late at night requesting we let them stay because they need a safe house
- A mob begins beating on a government soldier
- A team member is sexually harassed at the office of a client (by members of the organization)
- A female client wants a man for more protection (what if it's an overnight with shared rooms?)

*Suggested debrief questions:*

- Does your option give you more time? (That can often be a great choice!)
- How does your decision impact your team's perception of being nonpartisan?
- Where is your team's security coming from at this moment? (By being completely open or by keeping what you know to yourselves?)
- How does your action increase or decrease your safety?
- What relationships need to be kept in mind? Summary points:
- Differentiate between: impartiality/neutrality/non-partisanship

*Source: Training for Change, adapted from Coover et al, Resource Manual for a Living Revolution, New Society Press, Philadelphia, 1978 p. 59-61*

## More quick decision scenarios

### Traps

- 1) Your affinity group is non-violently blockading. The police are behind you. Some people come up and throw objects over you at the police. What do you do? What do you think the other actors (object-throwers & police) will do?
- 2) You are in a moving group. You go between two lines of police. (The police can then close behind you, blocking your retreat).
- 3) You are in a group. You go down a street with no side exits through the buildings. There are police in front blocking your path. They can form behind you & you are now trapped.
- 4) You are in a moving group. You go besides a line of police. An undercover agent in your group points out someone, the police then jump in and capture that person(s). The undercover agent may even help in the capture.
- 5) You are in a moving group. You go up to a line of police. You possess a legal permit to march. The police block your path and tell you to immediately disperse, or face arrest. What do you do?
- 6) Your moving group is about to turn left at the corner. What information do you need? How will you get it?
- 7) You are part of a group that is in a space. The police arrive. As they start forming around you, what do you think they might do? What should you do?

### Safety

- 1) Your group unfortunately is about to get arrested. How should you act?
- 2) The police are in front of your group that is occupying valuable territory. They are putting on gas masks. What do you think they might do? What should you do?
- 3) The police are hitting people with their batons, pepper spraying people, launching tear gas, spraying water, firing plastic bullets, launching manure, charging people with their horses, &/or arresting selective people. What should you do?
- 4) You or others have been hurt by the police. What should you/your affinity group do?
- 5) After being hurt, people want to take photographs. What do you do? Why do they want to take photographs?
- 6) The police are clearing out a protest. They are: on foot; motorcycle; in vehicles; & or on horses. How do you exit safely? What are the positive and negative dynamics of escaping crowds?
- 7) The police attack a crowd. Some people get pumped up by the action and start throwing debris at the police. What do you do? How is this situation going to unfold?
- 8) How do you evaluate what you think you can get away with at a protest with police presence?

## Protest Dynamics

- 1) Your affinity group is conducting a certain type of action (rowdy, peaceful, dynamic, static, etc.) Another individual or group enters the space and acts in a way that negates the effects of your action. What do you do?
- 2) You go to an action with a plan. At the action, an opportunity unfolds, and some other protesters ask you to help them with an action that isn't in your affinity groups' plan. What do you do? What information do you need?
- 3) You go to an action without a firm plan, but a general sense of what you could do. At the action, an opportunity unfolds, and some other protesters ask you to help them with an action that has a higher level of risk. What do you do? What information do you need?
- 4) You support a diversity of tactics, but some people are using tactics in a very un-cool or incompetent way. It's a public demo and you don't own it. What do you do?
- 5) Your blockade needs more people involved. A labour march is passing several blocks away. The marshals are diverting the march away from the real action where you are. What can you do to increase union membership in your local blockade?
- 6) Two large groups with different agreed-upon action guidelines find themselves in the same area wanting to do their action. How do you proceed? What are your objectives? What are the positives and negatives towards splitting up, or compromising and staying together?
- 7) It's one day of action, and there are lots of police and lots variety of tactics. Some people are not able to assume the risk of certain tactics. They also may not be prepared to protect themselves from a violent police response. What attitudes and roles should the various affinity groups and protesters assume? What goals do you have?
- 8) Your groups support a variety of tactics, and also to respect the working class St. Jean Baptist neighbourhood. But some people want to trash private commercial property there. What should you do?
- 9) What would you do if in the above scenario, the would be trashers accuse you of being peace cops? or sell-outs?
- 10) The situation is intense and people in your milieu are starting to panic. What steps should you take?
- 11) How should you respond to people shouting about imminent police arrival?
- 12) The situation is dynamic. A charismatic person makes recommendations for collective action that you think unwise, but seems to be well supported. What steps can you take?
- 13) The situation is dynamic and quick decisions must be made by representatives from the various affinity groups at a spokes council meeting in the middle of the street. How is your affinity group prepared to participate in the spokes council in an efficient and democratic way?

Source: *Creative Action Trainers* [<http://www.pagancluster.org/safe.htm>]

# Preparing for nonviolent resistance

In this section we present a range of processes and practical tools for direct action training from organisations including the Ruckus Society, Training for Change, Greenpeace and Starhawk's Rant Collective. We'll introduce you to new tools and old favourites such as body language and voice control, hassle lines and technical and non-technical blockading and provide tips on how to run role plays that provide a rich and realistic simulation of direct action.

## Dealing with fear

### Exercise objectives:

- to allow participants to explore their own response to fear, and to allow thinking about how individually they may be able to respond to experiences of short-term and immediate fear
- to provide a series of simple fear management tools and techniques

### Content overview

A short physical exercise and then a discussion standing up in a circle, exploring the following ideas about fear:

1. Fear is a natural human reaction and an important survival response
2. Fear is part of our human “flight, fight, connect” response
3. Fear can be managed in the same we ‘manage’ stress
4. There is a series of useful and effective fear management techniques we can use at any time.

### Time needed

30 minutes (but can be done in 10 without initial exercise)

### Materials needed

‘Dealing with Fear’ Handout

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

This exercise should be done after the group has done body centered awareness exercise, but this is not crucial. The initial exercise requires a large indoor space or it can be done outside.

### Delivery

Introduce exercise briefly by stating that fear is an extremely useful survival tool and is necessary emotion to experience. It could be described as part of our physiological ‘flight / fight or connect’ response to threat. Under certain circumstances it is important for us to know ways of managing fear responses in the same way we need to manage stress responses. All our experiences of fear and the circumstances are very different so this exercise is to draw out some ideas that people have found useful in the past.

*Part one:* Ask all but one of the group to line up along one wall of space and face out. Ask one person to stand at other end of space facing the line- (5 -10 meters away ideal). Blindfold person then ask them to run, as fast as they can, toward people at other side of room. “The people lined up

will help to ensure that you are not hurt and will try to protect you as you run. You can stop running when you think you should.”

Give all participants a try at exercise. Ask people what they experienced when blindfolded and attempting to run at line of people. Ask people particularly what they felt in their bodies, ie body alerts.

*Part two:* After exercise above - ask participants to form a tight standing circle and ask people to contribute ways they have found useful to manage fears - a facilitated spoken ‘brainstorm’ of things that we can do to help us deal with sudden, immediate fear. Lists includes: focus on breathing, slowing down breathing, eye contact with others, talking about feelings with partner, clasping hands, clasping own hands, holding an object, crucifix, stone, precious object, grounding, wash face, shake, vigorous exercise, laughter, humour. Closing eyes and visualization, having image of ‘safe place’, singing a song softly, sharing the fact you’re scared with others, etc etc. Usually new ideas or variations come up each time.

Affirm participants that these are good, useful ideas and all can be utilised at any time we experience fear. Distribute ‘Dealing with Fear’ Handout.

Following the exercise, trainees should participate in discussions and brainstorm. The trainer should ensure all participants respond and answer questions.

*Potential Issues:* Part one is a difficult trust exercise and requires a level of group trust and respect. Do not attempt too early in training. Ensure that people are focused and able to protect others from harm. Ensure adequate debriefing afterwards.

### **Alternative delivery**

If more time is available then the brainstorm can be extended and written down. It would be valuable to combine with a further discussion of violence and fear and ‘unsafety’.

*Source: Anthony Kelly, P’chang Nonviolent Community Safety Group*

## Elephant game

### Exercise objectives

- to help groups examine how to function cooperatively, how group decisions are made, how functions are distributed, and how to operate under stress.

### Content overview

The elephant game introduces some basic elements of nonviolent action and builds teamwork in the group. This simulation works best with 8-25 participants. If there are more, divide the group into two separate groups and run the set-up, simulations, and debriefs separately, so four trainers are desirable. (If necessary one trainer can handle each one, but it's a stretch.) With two separate groups, you'll need four rooms. In a pinch, it may be possible to use a wide hallway for constructing one of the obstacle courses. Outdoors is often quite feasible.

### Time needed

### Materials needed

2 large rooms, one of which has lots of tables, boxes, chairs, etc. Enough bandanas/large kerchiefs for all the participants.

### Trainers needed

2 - 4

### Preparation

No special preparation required

### Delivery

1. Trainers begin by telling the group the aims of the simulation and a brief outline of its stages. The group will have two chances to go through an obstacle course. The first time will be short, to test out process and signals. After a short caucus time, to improve signals, they'll go through a second obstacle course that is longer and more challenging.
2. Inform participants that (a) they will have 10 minutes to develop a process for getting through the course; (b) while in the obstacle course only one person, "the eyes," may have his/her eyes open, and "the eyes" may not touch or speak to the other group members in any known language. "The eyes" will know the route of the course. (c) The rest of the group may touch or speak, but everyone except "the eyes" must keep his/her eyes closed. (bandanas over eyes recommended.) Note: Trainers should avoid calling the person with her/his eyes open "the leader." Everyone may speak and participate during the 10 min. decision-making period prior to going into the obstacle course.
3. Pause to answer questions.
4. Give the group its first 10 minute planning time. One of the trainers should observe the group process and periodically inform the group how much time it has left. The trainer should look for:

how “the eyes” was selected, how the people at the front and back of the line were selected, the group’s criteria for “leadership,” how signals were developed, how the group approached the task, participation levels of group members, participation and roles of women and men, how agreements were reached, etc.

5. One trainer should go to the unoccupied room and set up an obstacle course of tables, chairs, etc. The first course should be short, three or four obstacles, and might involve crawling under a table, going around several chairs, and then over another table. It should take 10-15 minutes for the group to go through the course.

6. At the end of the planning time the trainers show “the eyes” the maze; walk her or him through it.

7. The trainer and “eyes” return to the group. Participants are asked to line up, if that’s the tactic they’ve chosen, and close their eyes. Remind them that the game will be more effective if they keep their eyes closed and the goal is for the entire group safely to go through the obstacle course to the end.

8. The group should always be allowed to complete the first course or it may become demoralized. If the group failed to develop an adequate process and is in total chaos, encourage it to go back to the first room, correct its signals, choose new “eyes” or restructure the line. Move to step #5.

9. After the participants have successfully finished the first course, give them five minutes to polish their signals. Everyone can talk and see during this period. One trainer observes group dynamics while the other sets up the second obstacle course, about six or seven obstacles.

10. At the end of five minutes, “the eyes” should be shown the second course. Remind the group that it will encounter some unusual obstacles this time.

11. The group begins the course as before. The trainers, however, will hassle people, subtly at first and more aggressively later. The purposes of this harassment are to increase stress, simulate surprise and new information, and provide learning opportunities in the moment for the group to make decisions and increase its cohesion under greater challenge. Facilitators make the task increasingly more difficult but not impossible: completion should not take longer than 15 minutes or so.

12. Early harassment might include whispering to one of the people in the line, “Will you please come with me, it’s part of the game” and then leading a portion of the group away from the task at hand; blowing in people’s ears, mild tickling. Later harassment might include bodily breaking the line apart, kidnapping members of the line, sprinkling parts of the line with water. Toward the end of the course the trainers should decrease or end harassment so the task can be completed. And, of course, safety first! Participants can lash out suddenly at trainers, or accidentally hit each other. And don’t harass while someone is carefully negotiating a tough obstacle.

13. After completion participants need 5 minutes or so to blow off steam, share excitement, etc. Leave that unstructured. Participants usually want to see the course. Start the debrief with: “what happened?” and let people talk or move about.

14. After the initial excitement has been shared, facilitators guide the debrief in three areas: (a) how the group functioned going through the course (especially what worked), (b) how the group made

decisions during prep, and (c) what are connections they can make to what they might encounter in their work. Here are some specific debrief questions for each of the three topics:

(a) How did you feel in your role as a member of the line? How did the people with special roles, like “the eyes” and the persons at the head of the line and at the rear of the line, feel and perform? Where did you get your support? What communication system was developed and how did it work? Did you get the information you needed in a timely way to get through the course? How did you handle new experiences? Stress?

(b) How did you make decisions in your planning time? Who participated actively and who didn't? Was a participant facilitator chosen to help the group make decisions?

(c) Which experiences did you have that are something like real life for an activist? Is it the case that sometimes one or more individuals have more information than others (“the eyes”)? How do you handle that? What lessons can you learn from this simulation that might serve you well when you're operating in an affinity group under stress in Palestine?

It's not unusual for this exercise to lead to some participants feeling distrustful or even hostile toward the trainers, so encourage any venting people want to do. Don't be defensive; other participants will likely see that simulation of group behavior under stress can be excellent training for action. Certainly the attitude of the trainers throughout needs to be highly respectful of how difficult it can be to complete the obstacle course, and be sure to affirm the group's flexibility, resilience, internal support, or anything else specific that the group did well. (The game is called “the elephant game” because participants usually link in single file like circus elephants holding on to each other's trunks and tails.)

*Source: Training for Change, adapted from Coover et al, Resource Manual for a Living Revolution, New Society Publishers, Philadelphia, 1978.*

## Parallel lines (hassle line)

### Exercise objectives

- to build skills by trying new behaviors (such as asking people for money)
- give participants a new experience (such as doing nonviolent intervention)

### Content overview

Parallel lines is a quick and efficient way of leading a role-play.

### Time needed

15-60 minutes (depends on scenario and amount of debrief)

### Materials needed

No specific materials

### Trainers needed

1 - 2 trainers, depending on the size of the group. One trainer per ten participants is ideal.

### Preparation

No specific preparation

### Delivery

In this exercise, participants will have a partner. Each one of the pair will have a role to play, given to them by the facilitator. Participants will be given a few minutes to try out different behaviors within those roles, and then the facilitator will debrief. Here are the specifics:

First, get participants standing and into two parallel lines facing each other. Every participant should have a "partner" - one person standing in front of them. Make sure that's true (if there is an odd person out you can tell them to be an observer).

Second, explain that participants are going to get a chance to experiment with the current topic (nonviolent intervention OR fundraising OR explaining NP, check the scenario [below]). If the scenario is very physical (e.g., the intervention scenario), you may want to tell them they cannot hit each other.

Third, explain the roles for those people on one line (we can call it the "A" line), then explain the role for those on the "B" line (see role explanations below). Give participants (an A and B pair) a moment or two to get into character, then have them begin!

Immediately after telling the participants to "begin!" they may take an awkward moment while they get into role. Let them get into it. While the role-play is going watch to see the kinds of interventions/behaviors various participants try out. After a few minutes cut off the role-play and begin the debrief (for very physical role-plays cut it off more quickly; for less physical role-plays give it more

time). One sense of when to stop the parallel lines is when participants look like they have run out of ideas or when the several of the role-plays have reached a natural conclusion (e.g., they agree to give money or the intervention is successful!).

Debriefing takes three phases: feelings, behaviors in the role-play, and generalizing lessons.

Role-plays can be lots of things: stressful, exhilarating, engaging, scary, etc. Since people learn best when they are fully present, after stopping the role-play give the participants a chance to express their feelings. Ask the line of participants who have been doing the most amount of work (e.g., those trying to convince people to give money, those intervening with the dog beater, those explaining Nonviolent Peaceforce) for feelings: give them a chance to really express feelings (not analysis yet!).

After getting feelings from the one line, with people still standing, ask the other line: “What things that your partner did worked or helped the situation?” Help participants clarify what behavior it was that helped (enough so people could do it again!). Balance that with also getting a wide range of different answers. You can write various things people found “worked” on newsprint (or have a co-facilitator or observer do that). Move to the next phase when people begin looking antsy.

Next, have participants return to their seats. If you wrote a list on butcher’s paper, review that list. You can add to that list with personal stories of other examples (of fundraising, for example). You may also elicit other personal stories of other things that work from people’s personal experience. In essence, help the group move from the experience of the role-play to a more generalized sense of what the options are. Finally, hand out the relevant hand out. Help the group connect the handout with the discussion the group was having.

To do that, you can just do the first two phases of debriefing (while people are standing: feelings and listing what works, skip having people in their seats) and then set up the role-play again, explaining people will be switching roles this time. Then go through the complete debrief.

### **Alternative delivery**

If the group has the time (and if you think they have the energy), you can run the role-play again: this time switching roles (those in A line take B’s role and those in B line take A’s role). This is great for skill development, helps groups think of more options, and is useful for everyone’s learning.

*Source: Training for Change*

## "Trapped" and "chasies"

### Exercise objectives

- practice different roles that occur during confrontations
- practice open, friendly communication, verbal and non-verbal

### Content overview

These two exercises could be both used as part of a series but in a shorter time frame could best be thought of as alternatives (since both culminate with 'nonviolent' alternatives to violence). They can be used with any mobile group of people of any age (mobility in wheelchairs is fine) but older or more infirm people may find it impossible to participate; there is however the need for observers, and this is an important role as they will see things that others will not. As only those happy to participate should do so, there is a need to explain what the exercise involves (without saying what the stages of the exercise are in advance). Care is needed in both cases but particularly with the second exercise which is best done on grass outdoors, and the facilitator needs to keep a close eye out for obstacles or dangers; the facilitator would be wise to advise beforehand that calling 'halt!' or 'stop!' means everyone should freeze - this is then a speedy means of getting people to stop if a danger is seen.

### Time needed

At least an hour if doing 'Chasies', half an hour to three-quarters of an hour minimum for 'Trapped'

### Materials needed

A large space (preferably an outside grassy area) Newspaper 'batons'

### Trainers needed

2 - 3

### Preparation

No special preparation

### Delivery

*Exercise 1: 'Trapped'* (closed circle) This can easily be done indoors. You will need ten or twelve people for the circle, plus a couple of people for the middle; fewer than ten can make the circle too small. Others can be observers/note takers. Those in the circle stand as close as they can together, feet together, and arms around each other; two volunteers are placed in the centre and are 'trapped' there. The two in the centre are then told to get out; the people in the circle should move to try to prevent the 'trapped' getting out. It is a non-verbal exercise so there is no talking.

Once the first two have tried it, and either failed or succeeded in getting out, another two people may be allowed to try (these can be people from the circle or observers). The exercise is tried one final time, with another two volunteers to be 'trapped'. But this time the two for the centre are told,

out of earshot of the rest, to try to use imaginative, creative and nonviolent ways of getting out, again non-verbally.

Debrief when the exercise is finished by asking for reflections from the 'trapped', the circle, and observers, on each attempt.

*Exercise 2: 'Chasies' (attackers and victims):* This is best done outside, on grass, in a clearly defined area without too many obstacles but certainly no hazardous ones (some trees should be fine); an area 30 metres by 30 would be sufficient for up to fifteen or twenty people but use whatever is available - the larger the area the more energetic it is. It can be done inside in a large classroom or in a hall but runs a greater risk of someone being hurt so additional care is needed (and if indoors you will need to give guidance about staying on the floor if furniture is present). Be ready to call 'halt' or 'stop' at any point if needed. The exercise is non-verbal except at stage c) and e). It sounds complicated but gets quite clear once tried, and is good fun.

Those who want to participate are paired off; one person in each pair becomes the 'attacker' and the other the 'victim'. Again there is a need for observers and observers can, if desired, join in the exercise at c) below. You should explain that roles will be reversed and shared around! The attackers then make for themselves newspaper batons by rolling up perhaps a couple of newspapers (you need to bring sufficient papers for this).

Role play a) You get 'attackers' together and tell them that on 'go' they are to chase and hit their partner (no one else); you call 'victims' aside and tell them they are to run away as fast as they can from their attacker, both keeping within the defined area. Call 'go' and see what happens. You can call halt after a minute or so when it is clear how everyone is reacting, or immediately if there is a risk or someone is being hurt beyond what people are happy with as part of the exercise.

Role play b) You then get 'attacker' and 'victim' to change roles (and newspaper batons). Again you tell 'attackers' to chase and hit their 'victims'. But this time you tell 'victims', without others hearing, that instead of running away they are to stand their ground where they find themselves on 'go' and try to make open, non-verbal, friendly and non-physical contact with their attacker. Let it run long enough to see the pattern and for people to get the point.

Role play c) At this stage people need to form into groups of three; the facilitator can make up a number if needed and any observers who wish to join in can do so, likewise any participants who want to become observers. This time the roles are of 'attacker', 'victim', and 'intervener'. 'Victims' are called aside and told to run away and try to avoid the 'attacker' on the word 'go'. 'Attackers' are told to attack, as before. 'Interveners' are called aside and asked to intervene 'politely' but not physically, it can be verbal as in the kind of "Excuse me, that's not really a very nice thing to be doing attacking people, is it?" intervention. Again, let the role play run long enough for people to find out what happens.

Role play d) Switch roles. 'Victims' are again to run away, 'attackers' to attack. When you call 'interveners' aside, this time tell them they are to intervene physically, to try to physically prevent and restrain the attack (but also tell them it is only a game and take care!).

Role play e) Switch roles. 'Victim' and 'attacker' roles are the same. This time when you call 'interveners' aside, tell them they are to try to prevent the attack by imaginative, creative and nonvio-

lent methods (which could range from offering to buy them a pint, telling them their granny is mortally ill, that the victim has a bad heart and they're going to be done for murder or some imaginative non-verbal action). Don't start the exercise until interveners have had a minute to think what they're going to do and are happy to proceed. When this last role play is finished, call everyone back together and discuss the exercise, starting with role play a), and if necessary asking 'what did the observers think?', 'how did the attackers feel?', 'how did the victims feel?', and, with the later role plays, 'what did the interveners feel?'.

Any general points raised should be invited when you have worked through a) to e). This can include general reflections on violence and responses to it in our society and world.

*Source: Irish Network for Nonviolent Action Training and Education; adapted from training by De Expeditie, Amersfoort.*

## Identifying triggers

### Exercise objectives

- to reflect on situations that have resulted in participants experiencing significant anger
- to develop strategies for countering or de-escalating anger
- to share personal experience and history.

### Content overview

In an action, many events or situations may generate a violent response. One of the most important aspects of managing your own anger and behaviour is to know your “triggers”. Triggers are words or events that make you feel angry. They are often referred to as events that ‘get to you’ or ‘get under your skin’. What is important to note is that people have different triggers. The best way to deal with triggers is to know what they are and then develop a strategy on how you to control yourself when you are triggered.

### Time needed

40 minutes

### Materials needed

Flip chart, textas

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

This exercise will be most effective when the trainer has introduce the concept of the “anger arousal cycle”.

### Delivery

In a group discussion, let the participants name the triggering event, as well as the underlying reason for their anger/violent behaviour in a stressful situation. If the trainees have previously participated in actions, ask them to talk about these actions. Let them talk extensively about their experiences. It is a case of personal experience/history. Much can be learned from such discussions.

The trainer puts the results on a flip chart in the following manner:

#### *Triggering Event*

- 1.
- 2.

3.

*Why I experienced anger:*

1.

2.

3.

Then he/she and the group analyse the triggers extensively, trying to think of ways to avoid them or to reverse their effect.

The triggers can be of many types:

- emotions (anger and fear)
- physical (cold, hot, hunger, fatigue & )
- verbal (tone of voice, swearing) and non-verbal communication (body language) &
- a sense of injustice
- an attack on self esteem
- condescending behaviour

These triggers can be a driving force, a tool of change, if we know how to deal with them.

*Source: Greenpeace Nonviolent Direct Action Training Program*

## Confidence in the face of violence series

### Exercise objectives

- to help participants develop confidence even in the face of violent situations;
- to increase participants range of comfort with being physical, fear and nonviolent action.

### Content overview

This series of related, highly physical exercises will give participants the opportunity to experience, recognise and respond appropriate to some of the psychological and physiological responses generated during a “fight or flight” event.

### Time needed

2 - 2.5 hours

### Materials needed

- Extra socks (for sock wrestling)
- Blankets or mats for wrestling

### Trainers needed

2 - 3

### Preparation

In this series of exercises, fear and anxiety will likely show up at various points. When led thoughtfully, these exercises can allow the feelings to show up without any danger of being hurt. Because anxiety can show up, the introduction can set an important tone. In the introduction, explain that participants are now going to look at tools for dealing with physically dangerous situations. Remind participants that they can rely on their buddies and other people for intentional support.

On flipchart write up the three options to explore: Flight, Fight, and Nonviolence. Explain participants will go through some interaction of each in turn. (Gandhi used to say: “If people can’t nonviolently stand up for themselves, then at least violently stand up for themselves.” This process follows something of that attitude.)

### Delivery

*Flight (30 minutes, including de-brief)*

In this section, participants will go through a series of tools to “practice” flight. These will include several forms of “tag.” In tag, one (or a few) person is “it” and has to touch or tag another person. Everyone else runs away and tries not to be tagged. If they are tagged, they become “it” and the game continues. (Other forms of tag can be added.)

In the middle of playing tag, encourage participants to get in touch with their fear. Ask them to

identify for themselves, on a scale of 1 to 10 (10 being lots of fear and 1 being no fear at all) how much fear they can access. It may not be a very scary situation, but accessing some level of fear which may show up as excitement at being chased, for example, is perfectly normal (even though no real danger will show up in this tool).

Continue tag and then debrief around fear. The main purpose is for people to access fear, and to notice what it does to their body and their self. The goal is to practice running from fear. No major theory needs to be introduced, just increased self-awareness.

### *Fight (1 hour, including de-brief)*

In this section, participants get to practice fighting. In the face of danger, fighting is about running towards it.

#### *The Wall*

One tool for the practice of fighting is “The Wall”. In the wall, participants get in a line to prepare to receive a person. They stand close together and several yards out from any wall. One participant, several yards away from the line, faces the line and, as fast as they are willing, runs straight (no changing direction - that’s a safety issue) into the line of participants. The participants try, collectively, to absorb the runner without any injury.

When explaining this exercise, it’s important to try to decrease people’s immediate fear and allow people to not join the wall if they do not want to (there are many hidden and visible physical disabilities that will make this a particularly hard exercise to do). The goal of the exercise: physical contact. Keep a good eye for safety, since this is not about being hurt.

After running, the facilitator should check-in with each person about how that experience was for them (offer them a chance to do it again, if they want). Again, the main goal is not theory but to increase people’s self-awareness. What was it like running into the wall? If it was scary, what about it was scary for you? (Or easy, or hard, or challenging?)

#### *Sock Wrestling*

Begin by having participants get with one other person in the group who is approximately their physical size and height. Have them sit on the floor together spread around the room with lots of space between them (several feet around each). (Have mats available if at all possible.) Explain that participants are going to play a little game: called sock wrestling. Hand out socks to participants who do not have any socks on. Tell them to put on socks.

Have them check-in with their partner for this exercise regarding any physical disabilities, old injuries or other physical things they should be aware of (e.g., sensitive knees, bad back). And finally, the task: grab the other person’s socks off before they take yours off. And go! Debrief for feelings (how was the experience? What was easy/what was hard?). Keep participants in their pairs (for the next exercise).

#### *Wrestling*

After participants sock wrestle, they have another task: wrestling. In this case, the challenge is not to

steal their socks but to pin their partner's shoulders to the ground. Obviously, the goal is not really about winning but about learning: so remind participants to 1) stay on the ground for safety's sake and 2) negotiate any physical concerns they want to share beforehand.

This is a challenge, and the more participants can engage in the challenge the more learning will likely show up for them (outside their comfort zone!). As facilitator, be okay with participants choosing to opt out of the exercise, but have them come up with some way to be physically engaging. (We have had success with really physically-frightened participants when they leg wrestle, arm wrestle or even "cooperatively" wrestle where one pins the other then the other.) Let participants negotiate for themselves and provide options only if they get stuck.

During this series especially, there will be a number of people who will inevitably not participate. That's fine: it's okay for people to set their limits around physical interactions (it's important and a form of empowerment, in fact!). Do not let them ignore their own feelings and just become passive spectators (such as at a sports game). They can work on their fear while others are physically wrestling or running into human walls. Encourage participants to internally note their own feelings as they watch others interacting. (Remove chairs and instead have people who are able stand- chairs can be such a comfort zone.) Encourage laughter.

Nonviolence (1 hour and 30 minutes)

In this phase, participants practice responding to potentially violent situations in nonviolent ways: without either physically resorting to violence and without fleeing the scene. In this role-play, participants need to actually step into the conflict.

The scenario is 2 participants arguing loudly with each other and beginning to get physically violent with each other (pushing/shoving). The third participant has to step into the conflict and try to de-escalate. The 2 participants' reactions are to physically push the intervenor away and turn angry on her/him.

Rotate so each participant has a chance to share the experience of stepping into the conflict. Then debrief, allowing participants to step out of their roles (participants often need a chance to laugh, no need to rush the debrief). Help participants notice what works for them, especially with regards to their internal reactions (did fear show up? How did you relate to it or handle it? Did you get angry or want to hit one of the participants? How did you handle that?).

*Source: Daniel Hunter and George Lakey, Training for Change. "The Wall" exercise from Dirk Sprenger, CAREA-Cadena para un Retorno. Wrestling design written by Daniel Hunter and George Lakey with special thanks to Taylor Frome*

## Voice control

### Exercise objectives

- to show how the way we use our voices can communicate both intended and unintended emotions to those around us
- to practice controlling the pitch, tone and volume of the voice for assertive, nonviolent communication

### Content overview

The way that we use our voice during a conflict scenario can have a powerful effect on those around us. When we use our voice to scream, shout, laugh, whisper, chant or sing, we convey powerful messages to others, but the tone and tenor of our speaking voices have the potential to affect the outcome of tense or conflict-ridden situations. This exercise is designed to make participants more aware of the role our voices play during conflict scenarios, and to enable them to gain greater control over the messages their voices convey.

### Time needed

15 - 30 minutes

### Materials needed

Enough “emotion cards”, featuring an emotion or feeling word, for each member of the group.

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

Because this exercise involves simulating strong emotions, training groups will usually be more responsive after a game which helps people get comfortable looking silly in front of one another. This exercise can also be noisy — make sure you have a training venue where you can make a bit of noise, or at least warn your neighbours!

### Delivery

Hand out sheets of paper with some of the following voice directions on them: angry, scared, arrogant, nice, shy, determined, happy, frightened, aggressive, authoritative — you may need more or have other ideas — and tell the group not to show anyone else what is written on the paper.

Explain to the group that the exercise is all about the power of the human voice to communicate non-verbally. Ask people to think about an experience where they have been moved, saddened or scared by the sounds of another person's voice, as distinct from the words they used (or didn't use).

Ask one person at the time to say the phrase “Don't touch me” (or another phrase works better for you), and do their utmost to use their voice to convey the emotion written on the card.

After each person, ask the rest of the group what they think was on the card. Did they convey what was on the paper, if not, why not? You may find that people who are supposed to be “angry” sound frightened and that shy people can sound arrogant.

Explain that a controlled voice is low and slow. Fast or high-pitched speech often denotes panic or anger to the listener. Vocal directions should also be explicit. People should try to think before speaking when giving important commands or when trying to get their point across.

Divide the group into pairs and ask them to practice saying “Stop it, you are hurting me”, in a non-violent manner to each other. The pairs should also consider any other ways of saying this.

### **Alternative delivery**

As a supplement or alternative to this exercise — which focuses on the emotional effects of one person’s voice — you can focus on the effect that a group of people using their voices at once can have.

Start by asking the group what examples they can think of where people use their voices together. This list might include cheering, chanting, singing, laughing, weeping, booing - and even the complete absence of the voice.

Practice some of these as a group (see if you can get everyone singing Happy Birthday!) and compare the different atmosphere that these create.

Next, ask two volunteers to stand in the middle of the circle and role-play one person threatening or attacking another. Ask the group to try screaming and yelling in chaos, chanting in unison, then singing, then whispering a chant, and finally complete silence.

Start the de-brief by asking the volunteers in the middle to give feedback to the group about how each of the vocal strategies made them feel, and then ask others to reflect on the experience.

*Source: Greenpeace Nonviolent Direct Action Training Program; Iain Murray, Pt'chang Nonviolence Community Safety Group.*

# Body Language

## Exercise objectives

### Content overview

Body language is extremely important in actions. People not only notice your words, but also the way you speak, and the stance you take whilst doing so. Thus, by learning to stand in a comfortable way, you are less likely to panic yourself.

### Time needed

20 minutes

### Materials needed

Enough “emotion cards”, featuring an emotion or feeling word, for each member of the group

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

No special preparation

### Delivery

1. *Breathing*: Explain that if people cannot breathe properly they are more likely to panic. Get the group to stand up. Ask them to stand with their legs slightly apart and arms loosely along their sides. Now ask them to shift all their weight on to one hip, and try to breathe in. Next, put their arms behind their back. Next, put their arms out in front of them. (try as many positions as you like) Explain that if the lungs are constricted by bad posture it is harder for people to breathe properly. This also applies when people are sitting down.

2. *Body language*: Hand out sheets of paper with some of the following directions on them: angry, scared, arrogant, nice, shy, determined, happy, frightened, aggressive, authoritative — you may need more or have other ideas (refer to “voice control”), and ask people to stand in the style on their piece of paper.

Again, the other members of the group should be asked to guess what stance is taken. Encourage discussion on what this felt like, and what it looked like.

*Source: Greenpeace Nonviolent Direct Action Training Program*

## Tips for dealing with anger and violence

### Exercise objectives

- to summarise the skills and techniques that may be used to minimise or de-escalate anger or curb aggression in others

### Content overview:

This is a summary of skills and techniques which should be explored in other, more practical parts of nonviolence training. While they can be given to participants as handouts or summaries, they are not in any way a substitute for the actual training. It is advisable not to distribute them if the trainer does not intend to train on dealing with anger.

### Time needed

20 minutes

### Materials needed

Enough “emotion cards”, featuring an emotion or feeling word, for each member of the group

### Trainers needed

One

### Preparation

The trainer should provide opportunities for participants to practice facing anger or aggressive behaviours before or after presenting this information.

### Delivery:

The following information may be presented lecture or question and answer-style following or preceding a practical exercise such as a role-play.

When we take nonviolent action, our actions can act as an anger trigger for workers, police or others caught up in the conflict field. Sometimes, our very physical presence in a particular place is an unusual and worrying event. When a nonviolent direct action begins, affected workers or others can feel a sense of crisis, a loss of control which can escalate to anger, and potentially violence.

This crisis atmosphere can also affect activists; the spike in adrenaline levels and accompanying sense of crisis can make us more vulnerable to provocation from others, and we risk entering a vicious circle of escalating anger. It is our duty to move the atmosphere into the recovery phase, and to remain calm and nonviolent.

Display and discuss the following information by asking the group to give examples of the recommended behaviours:

### **List of skills that will help you deal constructively with anger**

- Self-awareness (refer to “identifying triggers”, “ways people deal with anger” and “Us/Them”)
- Constructive self-talk
- Before, during, and after the confrontation
- Building rapport (refer to “nonviolent non-physical blocking”)
- Non-verbal messages
- Defusing anger (refer to “Defusing anger”)
- Used in the trigger phase (refer to “arousal cycle”):
- Open-ended questions
- Validating
- Summarising
- Reframing
- Silence

### **Basic rules on how to behave when being confronted with direct violence**

This is a small list of basic rules on how to behave when confronted with direct violence. A “hassle line” or role-play exercise, or more elaboration on the issue may follow.

1. Prepare yourself Be prepared for all sorts of situations, physically as well as mentally. Think these situations over in advance and discuss them with others. Become conscious of your own personal capabilities, limitations, and priorities.
2. Do not threaten or insult Do not try to frighten or threaten the aggressor. Refraining from insulting a person does not mean that you agree with his/her behaviour, but it will solve the problem or appease the aggressor more quickly.
3. Avoid physical contact Even skills in combative sports may not be appropriate to many situations. A paternalistic hand on the aggressor’s shoulder with the intention of calming him/her down can be misinterpreted and it may have just the opposite effect.
4. Do not cooperate with the role of the victim Take the initiative to develop the situation according to your own needs and priorities. Do not cooperate with any scenario that the aggressor might want to put you in. But make sure that you remain authentic.

*Source: Greenpeace Nonviolent Direct Action Training Program; adapted from a Mennonite training module.*

## Sack of potatoes

### Exercise objectives

- to explore the reasons for choosing to go limp, or not,
- to learn how to do it in the safest way possible.

### Content overview

During some actions activists decide to “passively resist” or “go limp” rather than voluntarily walk away with the police during arrest. This exercise explores the pros and cons of this approach and gives participants a chance to practice going limp while minimising risk of injury.

### Time needed

### Materials needed

You will need a large space clear of objects that might cause injury to someone. Having some old, comfortable clothes or overalls for participants to wear may also help to make this exercise more practical for participants.

### Trainers needed

Two

### Preparation

This exercise may not be less practical or safe for those with limited physical mobility. For a physical exercise such as this, it is particularly important that the group is aware participation in exercises is voluntary, and that there are valuable learning opportunities for those who wish to observe rather than directly participate. Before starting the exercise, remind people that the point of the exercise is not to hurt each other, and that no-one should continue with the exercise if they are concerned about being hurt.

### Delivery

Brainstorm with the group some of the reasons for “going limp” or not “going limp”:

Reasons to “go limp”:

- It can extend the duration of a nonviolent action
- It can stretch police resources and potentially cause the police to reconsider arresting the activists
- As a matter of conscience, some people refuse to cooperate in any way with their arrest.

- It will convey a stronger image through the media

Reasons to not “go limp”:

- It will contribute nothing to the nonviolent action.
- In certain images or cultures it may be perceived as not “peaceful”
- It may escalate tensions and lead to violence.
- “Road rash”, shoulder and arm injuries are common, head and facial injuries are possible.
- An individual’s physical condition (eg. advanced age or frailty) or problems (eg. easily dislocated shoulder) may make being carried or dragged unsafe.
- Police officers may hurt their backs or get other injuries while carrying us.
- It will convey the wrong message through the media

#### *How to go limp safely*

When lifted by the police/opposition try to be in a position, or quickly twist into a position, so that you are facing the sky rather than the ground, with your heels dragging on the ground. This will prevent facial injuries should you be dropped. Tuck the chin slightly towards the chest and if you are dropped, attempt to have your shoulders rather than the back of your head absorb most of the impact.

At any time you can inform the officers that you are willing to walk. They will usually be happy to allow you to do so.

In some actions you may wish to tell the officers that you will not fake injury or “cry wolf”. They may then believe you if you later tell them that you are being hurt.

It is a bad idea to fake an injury or illness as a diversion or for any other reason during an action. First, it can frighten and distract members of your own team, other demonstrators or bystanders. More importantly, if a real medical problem occurs at this or subsequent actions, we don’t want authorities suspecting a ruse and delaying care.

In order to become aware of some of the techniques of passive resistance or going limp you can practice the following exercises. State again that these are techniques to reduce the possibility of violence while at the same time one is not resisting arrest. Also emphasize that these techniques won’t prevent the activist being dragged away, but it makes it much more difficult for the police. It also lessens chance of injury and conveys a less aggressive or violent physical message

Divide the group into pairs. Each member of the pair should try each role in turn, whilst the other person tries to move them. Do all exercises twice so that everyone gets a turn.

Warning: Mind backs! Wear old clothes! Take off watches/jewelry!

*Tree method*

Sometimes you can't sit down and have to be as firm as you can while standing.

- a) #1 imagines to be a deeply rooted tree (i.e. standing). Give time to focus. #2 tries to push #1 away. Swap and repeat.
- b) Focus and repeat exercise.

*Sack of potatoes method*

- a) #1 sits/lies down and holds themselves as stiff as possible. #2 tries to drag #1 at least 1 meter.
- b) #1 goes completely limp, like a sack of potatoes, relaxes and goes heavy. #2 tries to drag #1 away.

Can they feel the difference?

*Rock method*

- a) #1 imagines being a rock by sitting solid, heavy and firm but not stiff. Take time to focus on being immovable, with a low heavy center of gravity. #2 tries to move them. This shows the difficulty of moving a body that is calm, controlled, heavy yet limp.
- b) Repeat with #2 using police "persuasion" or abuse. #1 stays silent and focussed. c) Repeat , allowing #1 to respond verbally to #2. Is there a difference?

Let both sides explore the escalation of provocative speech. The mover tries to provoke a violent reaction, which, represents the rock's loss of control. The physical contact should be restricted to pushing or pulling only. The rock tries to maintain self-control, centeredness, focus. The "mover" should try to scale their speech up from gentle persuasion, through sarcasm, to attempts to weaken, belittle, provoke and annoy the rock.

Have the rock answer or speak to the mover. Notice the effect on concentration.

*Other implements*

Activists should be aware of the potential message implements they may be holding might convey. If confronted by authorities they should drop any sticks, shovels, placards, etc. In the midst of a tense situation these can be perceived as a potential dangerous weapon and the way encourage the police to react as such.

Talk to people after every exercise. Ask how it felt. Expect that these exercises don't work for everyone, for some people there may have been no difference, but the point about this exercise is that activists can control their body language and that they can be resistant without actually resisting arrest or giving the media images of fighting/struggling.

The focusing technique can help pass boring hours on some actions. In some actions people can be stuck for hours and knowing how to withdraw mentally from the discomfort, boredom or chaos can give a lot of inner calm and strength. Many people find focusing on treelike or rocklike qualities is very helpful, but it might not work for all. Encourage people to experiment and find out what does.

Talk about the bit of the exercise when people were invited to use abusive language. Many people will say it was hard to maintain that abuse. This is partly because most of them don't normally behave like this and they may know and like their "opponent". However the point of this exercise is, that it is hard to sustain being abusive if you get no response.

Some people respond to being abused by smiling or looking provocative. The reason for this can be nerves or fear. A cocky expression implies superiority and may incite further abuse. However it is very difficult to carry on being very rude to someone who has made eye contact with a calm expression on their face. How did it feel when the "activist" responded verbally?

The activist: how hard was it to focus on staying while you were having eye contact with the opponent? A useful method is not to look "the opposition" in the eyes, but to look at the third eye, an imaginary spot on his/her forehead.

*Source: Greenpeace Nonviolent Direct Action Training Program*

## Non-technical blockade techniques

### Exercise objectives

- to provide some physical activity during training and/or break the ice
- to demonstrate and practice physical blockading methods that can be implemented without equipment

### Content overview

Activists may use various technical devices (lockboxes, U-locks, chains, etc.) to establish and maintain blockades. This can help to create a dramatic image or to maintain control of a space for the longest possible period of time. At other times, these devices may not be available to us, our images may be enhanced without their use, or we may have sufficient numbers that they are unnecessary. The following techniques stress using only our bodies to blockade effectively.

### Time needed

35 minutes

### Materials needed

A large space which is clear of objects that might cause injury.

### Trainers needed

1 - 2

### Preparation

Trainers who have seen these non-technical blockading techniques in practice may find this exercise easier than those who haven't!

### Delivery

*Standing Line* (15 minutes)

Objective: To create a less hostile appearance and create a difficult to break standing blockade.

Begin by having the group form into pairs facing each other. One of each pair is a "blocker". Have the other partner try to push past the "blocker". Have everyone switch roles and repeat. Point out how easy it is to be knocked off balance when standing normally. Now demonstrate a more stable way to stand. Place one foot back and one foot forward with almost all your weight on the rear foot. Lift the front foot and gently place it back on the floor to show that your weight is on the rear foot. Have the group demonstrate this position, then repeat the exercise above with everyone getting a chance to be both a "blocker" and a person trying to get past.

Ask the group to stand as they normally would in a blockade. Typically, they will link arms and most

will clench their fists. Point out that the clenched fist is a particularly aggressive form of body language. Next, approach a point in the line and demonstrate how easy it is to pry arms apart and thus break up the blockade.

Now, have the group stand shoulder-to-shoulder, arms behind each other's backs, grasping the forearms of the people one person away from each other. Alternatively, the participants may link elbows and then grasp their own hand behind their own back. See which feels more comfortable and stable. Briefly discuss how this appears less aggressive, then demonstrate how it's more difficult to grasp arms and break the blockade. The group may also practice spinning 3 or 4 person segments of the line should authorities approach from behind.

Next, take half the group and place them behind the "standing line" blockade as "supporters". These "supporters" should assume a stable stance (one foot forward, one back) and lean forward and place their hands on the hips or lower back of the person in front of them in the "standing line". You now have a two-deep, stable line with everyone facing the same direction.

Finally, split the group into three equal parts. One group form the "standing line", one group "support" the "standing line", and one group tries to push through the blockade. Repeat this part of the exercise three times so everyone can experience all three roles. Point out that this blockade can be broken by determined authorities or others. However, if your blockade looks stable they may not even try. Also, there are times when you only need the blockade to last a few seconds or a minute so that climbers or other activists can deploy behind you. These techniques will help gain you that time.

#### *Centipede* (5 minutes)

Objective: To create a difficult to break sitting blockade.

Ask the group to sit as they normally would in a blockade. Typically, they will sit shoulder-to-shoulder with linked arms. Next, approach a point in the line and demonstrate how easy it is to pry arms apart and thus break up the blockade. Note that it would be difficult to put arms behind each other's backs, as in the standing line, and still sit comfortably.

Now, have the group all spin 90 degrees in the same direction so that each participant, other than the first in line, is facing someone's back. Then, beginning with the rear of the line, have each participant wrap their legs around the waist of the person in front of them, crossing their ankles if possible, wrap their arms around the chest of the person in front of them, then lean forward, covering as much of the legs and arms in their lap as possible. Demonstrate how difficult it is to break apart this blockade. Note that this blockade requires more people to span a given distance than the traditional, elbows-linked sitting blockade.

#### *The Star* (5 minutes)

Objective: To stop a car or block an intersection with relatively few people.

Five people lay face down, heads towards a central point, link elbows, grasp their own forearms, and

bring their heads and chests forward over their arms thus preventing easy access to the arms and making the blockade more difficult to break. Note that this leaves the back of the head, legs and back unprotected and that consideration should be given to ending the 'star' should authorities become violent.

Point out that, while the 'star' can be broken, many 'stars' in an intersection may prove too daunting for the authorities to attempt to dismantle, and that a single 'star' can be quickly replaced by other activists, thus prolonging a blockade until we run out of people or the authorities run out of energy.

*The Turtle* (five minutes)

Objective: To create a moveable, standing blockade of 12-30 people that is difficult to break apart.

Approximately 4 people form a core and face outward with arms behind each other's backs. Then another group of people join the core facing inwards with arms intertwined with each other and the center. Finally, an outer layer of people, also facing inwards, joins the 'turtle' with arms linking inwards and one leg in and the other braced out. Now, pick a destination and move there.

Note that injured or frail participants can be absorbed into the center of the 'turtle'. Also, if a participant is grabbed by authorities the 'turtle' can spin around while other participants grab onto the person targeted, thus preventing him or her from being separated from the group.

This also a great ice-breaker at parties.

*The Spiral* (5 minutes)

Objective: To create a standing blockade with a large group of people.

One person places their arms around the chest of a person in front of them. Adding people in a tight spiral formation creates a situation where arms and, eventually, whole bodies become inaccessible.

*Source: Greenpeace Nonviolent Direct Action Training Program*

## How to lead roleplays

by Peter Woodrow

### The purpose of roleplays

Roleplays are used to help examine real problems on the level of philosophy, emotional response, and physical response. Participants get a chance to analyze situations and try out different theories and tactics in a relatively safe setting. Roleplays also enable trainees to understand different people and their roles and to develop insights into the thoughts and feelings of “opponents.” Through roleplays, participants can identify and anticipate possible problems and reveal fears and anxieties people have about an event or action. Roleplays develop group and individual confidence and competence.

### Steps in a roleplay

1. Select a situation. Either (a) use a scenario developed by the trainers, or (b) ask the participants to identify the problems they expect might occur or they fear will occur. If drawing scenarios from the group, one possible process is to ask participants to meet together in groups of three people for about five minutes to talk about the kinds of problem situations they think will come up.

“We are preparing for a rally next Sunday, so let’s identify the difficulties we think might arise. Please group yourself in threes and talk about what might happen.”

2. Call the participants back to the large group and ask someone from each group to call out situations “headline” style while you or a colleague write them up on newsprint. People might list (among other things):

- A drunk starts disturbing women
- A fight breaks out between two people
- The police tell us the rally has to break up
- Someone starts shouting/disrupting a speaker
- Once you have a list of situations, you as trainer pick a situation to start with, usually a fairly simple scenario to get people warmed up and engaged. Save more complex or difficult problems until later in the session. Be sure to leave time to cover situations that were mentioned by several small groups.

3. Explain the situation: what groups/individuals are involved, what their roles are, what is the physical setting. If the scenario was drawn from the group, ask for the help of a participant who raised the situation to set the scene and players. Explain enough of background to make the situation clear, so roles will not be played solely from stereotypes.

Since a roleplay is used to learn how to handle a particular situation, it is usually best to define carefully either the situation or the role to the players, but not both. Leave room for creative response by the participants.

4. Cast roles. Ask for volunteers among participants. If no one comes forward, ask specific people to play roles. If possible, cast people in roles with which they do not identify strongly. Ask roleplayers to take fictitious names, whether they will be used or not:

“Amy, you are going to play the role of Jack, a peacekeeper. Tom, what name do you want to use for the heckler? OK, Joe it is.”

5. Prepare the roleplayers. Allow a few minutes for people to get into their roles and to plan their strategy in the roleplay. Ask people to think about other aspects of the character they are playing (job, family, motivation...) to make the roles realistic. If the role is unfamiliar, the trainer can help. Limit the time for this, however, in order to keep things moving and make sure the roleplay is spontaneous. If the trainer wants to give special or secret instructions to a roleplayer, they can be given at this time:

(Quietly, to one person): “Malkia, you are supposedly an innocent bystander in this roleplay. However, when Jose starts yelling, I want you to go over and yell back at him and even begin to start a fight.”

If groups of people must act together in the roleplay, give them time to develop their approach. In some cases it may be helpful to put one group in a separate room briefly.

6. Prepare the observers. Observation is as important as playing a role. Prepare observers by suggesting specific things they should watch for, such as the effects of different physical actions, words, gestures, tone, etc. Ask them not to say or do anything which might distract the roleplayers. If the roleplay causes emotional reactions in participants, ask them to share their feelings early in the debriefing.

“For those of you who are observing, pay particular attention to what happens as a result of any physical contact. Are words effective? Which words and how they are said?”

7. Set the scene. You establish the scene, the physical layout and any other relevant details.

“OK, this is the street running this way. The speaker’s platform is over here. The crowd is on this side. The speaker is already addressing the crowd.”

8. Run the roleplay. Give a clear signal to begin the roleplay once the players are ready. Tell them from the start what signal you will use to stop the roleplay.

9. Cut the roleplay. Stop the roleplay when enough issues have been uncovered, or the action seems to come to an end, or when people want to stop. Keep the learning goals in mind when deciding. Stop the action if someone is about to get hurt, or the roleplay dissolves into laughter. If roleplayers didn’t get “into” their roles, start again. If someone over-identifies with a role (indicated by showing great tension), stop and assist the person to step out of role.

10. Debrief. Debriefing allows people to examine what took place; it is essential for learning. Set a tone of exploration rather than judgment; draw the learnings from the participants rather than provide answers yourself.

Some trainers divide the evaluation into three sections: a) feelings, reactions, tensions; b) tactics, approaches, motivations/goals; c) general lessons or theoretical connections. We recommend starting by asking the players how they felt in their roles. If practical, give each person a chance to speak.

“Malkia, how did it feel to be Barbara the heckler? What was going on in Barbara’s mind? . . . Now Jose, how did you feel as Miguel the demonstrator who lost his cool?”

Emphasize non-judgmental examination of specific actions, not deciding what is the “right way.” Always use the names of the characters, not the names of the participants during the debriefing. “Let’s look at what happened when Jack grabbed Joe’s arm. What did you notice? How did Joe react?”

Ask observers for their impressions after the players, then allow open discussion. Discourage negative evaluation of participants which tells them what they “should have done.” Frame such suggestions as additional options (which can be used in a re-run of the roleplay, to explore how they might work). Emphasize that “mistakes” provide an excellent source for learning. Compliment people for acting boldly in difficult situations.

“Jack gave us a wonderful chance to look at the effects of different ways to intervene. How did he try to get Joe under control? “Right, first he took his arm by the elbow. How did Joe react? ... Then what did Jack try? He asked Joe how to get to the train station? What effect did that have? . . . Now let’s think together what we might do in Jack’s position. What are some options?”

As the discussion continues, draw out the learnings and summarize them. Be as specific as possible about potential alternative actions. Don’t drag out the debriefing, but go on to a new roleplay or re-run the original scenario with different players trying some of the new options generated.

*Source: Training for Change*

## How to lead roleplays: part II

Roleplaying is a useful and important way to explore feelings, reactions and tactics about aspects of the Direct Action. Situations like being arrested, dealing with expected distress or violence from inside your affinity group, dealing with aggressive supporters of the logging industry and so on, can all be explored using roleplays.

It is important that all those intending to join the action have a clear idea of what to expect as well as some indication of how they might behave under different stressful circumstances.

Roleplaying should help reveal fears and anxieties and other feelings people might have about the action. It should also help morale to develop in affinity groups and help build individual and group competence and confidence.

This section of the Manual showcases situations where it is important to have a clear idea of possible actions and reactions prior to the Direct Action.

The scenarios or modifications of them, have been used successfully during a number of N-VA training workshops and can be changed or coloured in different ways to meet the needs of your affinity group.

### What you need

To be successful in a roleplay you will need plenty of time (up to two hours), and depending on the scenario, plenty of space. It is important to use costumes to help you get into the role you are trying to assume. Costumes will also help with 'de-roling'. Simple things like coats and hats are often good enough.

### How a roleplay works

#### *Select a situation*

Participants need to be conscious of the reasons for wanting to play out a particular situation, and should be clear about what exactly is being examined through the roleplay. One or two people should agree to develop the scenario, explain it to the group and act as facilitators. They may also wish to act as observers.

#### *Explain the situation*

To prevent confusion, the trainer explains carefully what groups are represented and the physical layout. In addition, the facilitator or participant explains enough of the background to make the situation clear so that roles will not be played solely from personal stereotypes. A roleplay is used to learn what to do in a situation or to study a particular role and reaction. Therefore, define carefully the situation or role to be examined, but not both, or spontaneity will suffer from over-programming.

### *Cast roles*

Either people volunteer or the trainer urges people to take particular roles. It is good to cast people in roles that they do not identify with strongly. It is helpful if participants take fictitious names, whether they are to be used or not.

### *Assigning roles*

Allow a few minutes for people to get into their roles, decide on their general perspective and plan their strategy. Ask people to think of other aspects of their role lives (job, family, motivations) to make the roles real. The trainer can assist people if the roles are unfamiliar to them. If there are any special or secret instructions to be given to a role player, they can be given at this time. They can be written out prior to the roleplay.

### *Prepare observers*

Observation is as important as playing a role. Observers may be used when groups are too large for all to be in the roleplay or may be persons too shy to participate (though with additional roleplays reluctant persons often become more willing). Prepare observers by suggesting specific developments in the conflict for which they should watch. Instruct observers to be careful of language, comments, etc. which may distract players from their roles. If observers get tense, trainers need to ask them to share their feelings early in the evaluation.

### *Set the scene*

The facilitator establishes the scene, the physical layout and any other relevant details. Participants should know beforehand what to watch for based on the goals of the roleplay and critical incidents that occur, such as development of tension/hostility/violence, nonviolent aspects, tone of voice or elements which decrease hostility.

### *The roleplay itself*

The facilitator indicates when to begin. She/he may ask for 30 seconds of silence so participants can get into their roles.

### *Cut*

The facilitator cuts (or stops) the roleplay when enough issues have been uncovered, the action comes to a logical end, or people want to stop. Keep the goals of the roleplay clearly in mind. The facilitator obviously should cut if someone is injured or the roleplay dissolves into laughter. If participants don't seem 'into' their roles, the trainer should cut and redefine the situation or begin again. If a person over-identifies with a role (indicated by showing great tension), the roleplay should also be cut and the person helped to step out of the role. In this case, the trainer should stay with the group if possible and ask a co-trainer or participant to spend time with the tense individual.

### *De-roling*

When the action is over it is essential that people break the mood of the roleplay and 'come back to themselves'. If the scenario involved playing out violent or aggressive roles or was tense, that mood

may be carried over into the evaluation of the roleplay and whatever else follows, so de-roling is very important. A good way to start de-roling under those circumstances is to 'hug opposites', i.e. those who played police or logging supporters hug those who played demonstrators. This should be followed by an energetic game such as Monkey/Palm tree/Elephant.

### *Evaluation*

This is an essential part of roleplaying; a time when people assimilate what took place. The tone of the evaluation is important; the facilitator is responsible for setting and maintaining it. If the trainer appears to have all the answers, people will tend to rely on the trainer rather than on themselves for learning. However, if the trainer is accepting of ideas, is able to say "I don't know" when that is so, is open to new ideas but has real contributions to make, then the learning process will be valuable and exciting.

It is probably a good idea to structure the evaluation, otherwise discussion may continue on and on without examining all the issues. It is usually good to start by giving everyone an opportunity to say how they felt in their roles. This can be done by simply going one-by-one around the group.

The tactics used during the roleplay need to be examined. It is a good idea to break into small groups of two or three for this. To examine tactics players need to have a clear idea about what the goals of the situation being played were. That is, for the roleplay of the arrest situation, people should be clear about what demonstrators would be trying to achieve through the Direct Action and being arrested. Thus during this part of the evaluation the effectiveness of using those tactics can be assessed. When people return to the larger group each group can report back on their discussion. A brainstorm of alternative tactics is a useful way of drawing this section to a close.

During the evaluation people should be encouraged to relate their comments about specific actions to their theory of social change. For example, how do they see the necessary changes coming about that will save the Tarkine?

Refer to characters by the name used in the roleplay so individuals do not begin to feel hostility, anger and criticism directed at them personally. Discourage negative evaluation of participants which indicates what they should have done. This makes roleplaying feel like performing and it will make it difficult for people to participate in future roleplays. Mistakes made during roleplays are excellent sources for learning. People should be complimented for acting boldly in difficult situations regardless of the outcome. Language that encourages roleplayers is: "Another option that you might try is . . .", "I learned . . . from your tactic and would like to try . . .", "From the response you got . . . tactic might be used in the future".

Evaluation should not go on too long. If new insights come up, the group may wish to try them out in a new roleplay rather than talk about what might happen. When participants begin to lose interest, they are ready to go on to a new roleplay.

### *Summing up*

When the series of roleplays and evaluations is finished, summing up helps people achieve a sense of accomplishment. It is the facilitator's role to assist this process. Ask participants to list new insights and new solutions which have occurred to them during the whole process. Pooling information often reveals very creative and useful insights.

## Suggested agenda for roleplay

<i>Total time needed:</i>	2 hours.
<i>Explanation and clarification of scenario:</i>	10 minutes
<i>Assign roles:</i>	5 minutes
<i>Rolling-up:</i>	10-15 minutes.
<i>Scenarios</i>	

### Reactions to pro-logging outsiders

You have maintained a successful road blockade for two weeks, little work has been possible during that time. Forestry workers have become very frustrated while those in management positions argue about federal intervention.

It is Saturday night, and you have heard from local people that two car-loads of angry, drunken logging supporters are on their way. They will be here in about 10 minutes.

There are only about 20 demonstrators on site; and no police.

What can you do to diffuse the potentially explosive situation? How will you minimize/avoid injury to yourselves and avoid injury to the pro-logging people?

Note: It may be a good idea to extend the rolling-up period (say over a meal) and have those playing demonstrators and those playing pro-logging outsiders separate for an extended period.

This scenario could be replayed assuming there are police on site, assuming there are larger or smaller numbers of demonstrators, and so on.

### Arrest

Work on the road has halted because you have successfully obstructed movement of heavy equipment.

Police with whom you have fairly good relations move in and arrest all demonstrators for trespassing. The senior police officer reads out the relevant laws and gives you five minutes to disperse before you are arrested.

### Police aggression

After a week of successfully obstructing work on the road which has been very slow and stopped on a number of occasions; the police with whom you have built up fairly good relations are removed from the site. They are replaced by a new force of younger officers who have been drilled by a very aggressive senior police officer.

The senior officer has been instructed that the demonstrators are to be removed in the quickest,

most efficient way.

In turn he has instructed the other police that they will not be held responsible for any unfortunate accidents that might occur in removing demonstrators quickly. The officer in charge reads the relevant laws and gives you two minutes to disperse before you will be arrested.

Note: i. It is a good idea for someone to develop the role of Senior Police Officer to drill the other police during rolling-up. It takes a while to do this seriously but it's worth it!

ii. Have the observers watch the situation from the point of view of the press.

### **Dealing with media**

Get hold of a tape recorder and get everybody to roleplay being approached by the press on-site. Think about what is necessary for good press coverage!

Some important tips

- If there are appointed media liaison's, direct the media to those people.
- Before beginning, ask the cameraman or journalist what type of audience will read, listen to or see the story and aim your message towards that audience.
- If there is a cameraman, be friendly, their filming or photograph can make or break your message. Approximately 60% of your media success is based on your image.
- Look into the camera when you talk, breathe slowly, do not use your hands and do not speak too fast. Be confident. Approximately 35% of your media success is based on the tone of your message delivery.
- Ensure your message is clear and that it will benefit the campaign. Keep your message to the point and short - the media want grab lines! Approximately 5% of your media success is based on the content of your message.
- If you are not comfortable answering the question - don't. Say what you want to say and nothing else. Even if this means repeating yourself. It is better to say that "the Tarkine is an amazing place that all Australians should be allowed to share" than to say something that will not benefit the campaign.
- Allow a couple of seconds of silence whilst looking at the film camera to allow for editing.
- REMEMBER: Find out who the audience will be and appeal to that audience. Use language that they will understand and want to hear.

### *Conclusion*

Roleplaying is a most valuable tool. Use it! If you are not used to these situations the best way to learn is to give it a go.

*Source: Tarkine Campaign Handbook (author unknown)*

# **Appendix 1: Games for groups**

## **Break games: light and lively**

These are games that can be used during a quick break in a training or meeting.

### **Emu Rumbles**

A pleasant massage. One person bends over at the hips, arms dangling forward: relaxing. Two others stand one on either side, and, starting at the shoulders, slap (gently!) the first person on the back, all the way down the back and down the legs and to the calves, and then back to the shoulders. Repeat three times, and then swap (groups of three). The person being massaged can rumble or make an 'Om', humming, noise whilst being massaged.

### **Catch the Clap**

A clap is passed around the circle of participants. Will the clap be served fast or slow, does it bounce? Does it go out of play? Also good as an initial trust-building game, since everyone has to let their guard down a bit and look undignified.

### **Elephant, palm tree, cloud**

Participants stand in a circle, with one namer in the middle. The namer takes it in turns to point to one person, who becomes the middle of an elephant, palm tree, or cloud. Persons either side become side parts of the elephant, &c. Gestures are as follows- Elephant: middle has one arm as a trunk; either side makes big ears with arms. Palm tree: middle stands up tall as tree; either side is waving fronds. Cloud: middle has arms above head in a circle; either side links to middle person's circle with their own arms.

Then, once everyone has the movements/postures down pat, the namer gets faster and faster at pointing to the chosen middle person. Hope these instructions are clear enough: this is a fun game, very frantic.

### **Mr. Wolf**

Mr. Wolf stands at the end of a longish stretch of ground. Participants approach Mr. Wolf, asking, 'Is it dinner time, Mr. Wolf?' Mr. Wolf answers, and each time, mimes the action described: 'No, I'm brushing my teeth... washing my hands... setting the table...' Eventually, when the dinner is within chasing distance, Mr. Wolf answers the question in the positive, and everyone runs back to the starting line: someone who is caught is the next Mr. Wolf.

I can never remember if Mr. Wolf faces towards or away from his dinner?

### **Big wind blows...**

Participants sit on chairs in a circle. One person stands in the middle, so there are 'participants-minus-one' chairs in the circle all together. The middle person says, 'Big wind blows for...' and then says something true of herself: 'Big wind blows for... everyone who had a coffee this morning... is wearing red undies... has ever eaten so much food they felt sick...' Anything, as long as its true of the speaker.

Everyone who has done the thing named jumps up, and everyone then tries to find a seat to sit down. You cannot sit down in a seat you just jumped out of, nor in a seat either side of one you just jumped out of.

'Hurricane!' means everyone jumps up!

## **Starting/greeting games**

These games are ways to introduce one another, and are also mostly quite energetic or silly, both good things to be at the start of a meeting when you are trying to establish some degree of trust and intimacy in a group.

### **Hello, how are you**

Participants stand in a circle, with one person walking around the outside of the circle. The outside person taps someone on the shoulder, who immediately leaps out of the circle and runs in the opposite direction to the person who tapped. When they meet one another at some point on their journeys in opposite direction around the circle, they must stop and give some pre-arranged greeting: 'Hello, how are you?' 'Fine, and you?' 'How's the weather?' &c.

Then they each continue on their way, as fast as possible, the aim being to get back to the gap in the circle and occupy it. The person who is left walking now continues around the circle, and taps someone, &c.

### **Bum writing**

Participants form equal teams. Each team lines up: team members run to some line, then (bums aiming towards their teams) they must write their name in the air with their bums. Then, race back to the line, and tag the next team member forward to do the same. First team with all names written in the air and back behind the starting line, wins. Undignified.

### **Farmyard animals**

Participants scatter around a room, and close their eyes. One person goes around the room and whispers to each person what animal they are: animals and appropriate noises having been determined at the start. Then, eyes remaining closed, all pigs, horses, cows, &c. must find one another using only the sound of one another's' squeals, neighs, moos, to guide them.

Once all animals are in the right groups, participants introduce themselves to one another. Play this several times, so that most everyone knows everyone else.

### **Introductory stretches**

Going around a circle, take it in turns to introduce yourself and to share a stretch that everyone does. Nice and limbering.

## Trust games

These games are a way to build trust, because participants have to trust one another: a good thing to do after introductions.

### Catching

One participant stands in the middle of a circle and the others (four minimum, probably) gently catch and pass the middle person as she sways first one way, then another. Make absolutely sure that the person in the middle is not dropped since this may be fairly traumatic. Hence, the exercise is very slow and gentle, although as participants build confidence in one another the swayer may be moved around a fair distance.

### Partner stretches

Stretches, with the aid of a partner: again, be very gentle!

*Source: Andrew Shortridge, Pt'chang Nonviolent Community Safety Group; adapted from a variety of sources*

## Training for Change “Dynamics”

### Lifeboats

In this exercise, participants get together with people based on various similarities. For example, if you said “Get together with people who share favorite fruits” everyone would call out their favorite fruit - finding other people who share the same similarity and getting into a group with them. Demonstrate and then have them do it. Have the various groups call out their favorite fruit group-by-group. Continue changing up groups by calling out a range of issues, from the silly to the serious: e.g., favorite animal, least favorite letter of the Roman alphabet, religious tradition and so on.

### When she went to Venus...

Have the group stand in a large circle. Explain this active warm-up activity. The first person says: “Did you hear?” The second person (the person to their right) says: “What?” First person: “Mrs. McGarity went to Venus.” Second: “Really how?” First person: “She went to Venus like this!” - and the first person proceeds to make some repetitive motion. Everyone in the circle repeats the motion (and continues repeating the motion). Then, the person to the left of the first person repeats that same series: “Did you hear?/What?/Mrs. McGarity went to Venus./Really, how?/She went to Venus like this” and makes his/her own motion (which the whole groups repeats). The process continues around the entire circle until ending when everyone has done it. (In large groups, this can be done in several separate groups simultaneously.)

### Put together the “coy”

(from Ouyporn Khuankaew, Thailand) In this game everyone is going to be Thai currency (can be adapted to be any currency). How it works: if you are older than 46, you will be 1 baht. If you are

39-46, you will be 25 sadang [1/4 of a baht]. If you are under 36, you will be 50 sadang [1/2 baht]. Then, trainer calls out some amount of baht. For example, "2-1/2 baht, 3.75 baht, and so on." After each calling, the participants try to get into physical groups that equal that amount of currency.

### **Shopping fruit basket**

Have everyone sitting down in a circle. Pick a category such as fruit, books, animals. Have someone walks around inside the circle and begins "shopping" for items in that category (naming them out loud). Everyone else picks an item in their head in that category (if the category is fruit: they might come up with oranges or durian or bananas). If someone's choice has been called then they stand up behind the person and follow them around. The person continues calling out items until they are done. Then they declare "check-out" and everyone tries to find a seat to sit in. The person left standing then walks around the circle... (from Ouyporn Khuankaew, Thailand)

### **Honey I love you but I just can't smile...**

Have the group stand in a large circle. As facilitator, stand in the center. In this exercise, whoever is in the center (currently the facilitator) is going to try to make someone in the circle smile. He or she can walk up and pick one person. Then, without touching the person, the person in the center tries to make the person smile by saying: "Honey, if you really love me, will you please smile for me?" The person in the outside circle has to reply: "Honey, I love you but I just can't smile." If he/she smiles when saying that they change places with the person in the center - becoming the next person in the center.

### **Something true about yourself**

Have each participant write down something true about themselves (anything), without their names, on a piece of paper. Then, have them wad it up. Then, throw snowballs at each other! After a few minutes of play, have the group read the snowballs if you wish. Great for tension release! (from Gerald Gomani, Zimbabwe)

### **Why... Because...**

Have people on one half of the group write down a Why question ("Why is the grass green? Why is there suffering?" etc). Have the other half write down a Because answer ("Because I said so. Because it can float." etc). Give no indication for the purpose or what types of why questions or because answers people should write. Then - and this can be a hilarious exercise - go around the room and have the Why's ask a question and get their answer from the Because's. (from Gerald Gomani, Zimbabwe) one owl and one mouse. Put the bandanas over the eyes of both and give each a rattle. They are to shake the rattle so they can find (or elude) each other. The other participants are to form a protective circle around them so that they don't hurt each other. When the owl catches the mouse, start again with two new volunteers, or make the mouse into the owl and get a new mouse.

*Source: Training for Change*

# Appendix 2: Case studies

## **Moved by love, never driven by intimidation**

The Mau movement was the name given to the popular nonviolent movement for Samoan independence from colonial rule. Mau means “opinion” or “testimony” in Samoan.

The Mau had its origins, in 1908, in a dispute between the German colonial administration and the Maloa o Samoa, or Samoan Council of Chiefs, over the establishment of a copra business owned and controlled by native Samoans.

The dispute led to the formation of a resistance movement on the island of Savai'i by Mamoe, one of the chiefs deposed by the German Governor of Samoa, Wilhelm Solf. As well as deposing members of the Maloa o Samoa, Solf called in two German warships as a show of strength. Faced with this demonstration of military force, and with the movement divided, Mamoe surrendered, and resistance faded.

The Samoan independence movement would not gain strength again until after New Zealand forces, unopposed by the German rulers, annexed Western Samoa in 1914, at the beginning of World War I. Military rule continued after the war ended, and in 1919, some 8,500 Samoans around 22 per cent of the population died during an influenza epidemic. Many Samoans blamed the New Zealand controlled administration, which had allowed a ship carrying the influenza virus to dock at Apia, for the epidemic.

This catastrophic event was to lay a new foundation for discontent with an administration already perceived as incompetent and dishonest by many Samoans. The clumsy handling of Samoa's governance, the slow and deliberate erosion of traditional Samoan social structures by successive administrators and a general failure to understand and respect Samoan culture also sowed the seeds for a revitalised resistance to colonial rule.

Samoans of mixed parentage, facing discrimination from both cultures but with the advantage of cross-cultural knowledge, would play a key role in the new movement.

Olaf Frederick Nelson, one of the leaders of the new Mau movement, was a successful merchant of mixed Swedish and Samoan heritage. Wealthy and well-travelled, Nelson was frustrated by the colonial administration's exclusion of native and part-Samoans from governance. Notably, he was one of many who had lost a child to the influenza epidemic of 1919.

In 1926, Nelson visited Wellington to lobby the New Zealand government on the issue of increased self-rule. During his visit, the Minister for External Affairs, William Nosworthy, promised to visit Samoa to investigate. When Nosworthy postponed his trip, Nelson organised two public meetings in Apia, which were attended by hundreds, and The Samoan League, or O le Mau, was formed.

O le Mau published a newspaper, the Samoa Guardian, as a mouthpiece for the movement. To demonstrate the extent of popular support for the Mau Nelson organised a sports meeting for movement members on the King's Birthday, in parallel with the official event, and held a well attended ball at his home on the same night. Movement members had also begun to engage in acts of noncooperation, neglecting the compulsory weekly search for the rhinoceros beetle, enemy of the coconut palm, thereby threatening the lucrative copra industry.

In 1927, alarmed at the growing strength of the Mau, George Richardson, the administrator of Samoa, changed the law to allow the deportation of Europeans or part-Europeans charged with fomenting unrest. This action was presumably taken on the assumption that the growing movement was merely a product of self-interested Europeans agitating the native Samoans.

In reality, however, the Mau was built upon the traditional forms of Samoan political organisation. In each village that joined the movement, a committee was formed, consisting of the chiefs and “talking men”. These committees formed the basic element of an alternative system of governance, and the tendency of Samoans to unite under traditional leadership meant that by the mid to late 1920s, around eight-five per cent of the Samoan population was involved in open resistance.

Following another visit to New Zealand to petition the Government, Nelson was exiled from Samoa along with two other part-European Mau leaders. The petition, which led to the formation of a joint select committee to investigate the situation in Samoa, quoted an ancient Samoan proverb: “We are moved by love, but never driven by intimidation.”

The Mau remained true to this sentiment, and despite the exile of Nelson, continued to use civil disobedience to oppose the New Zealand administration. They boycotted imported products, refused to pay taxes and formed their own “police force”, picketing stores in Apia to prevent the payment of customs to the authorities. Village committees established by the administration ceased to meet and government officials were ignored when they went on tour. Births and deaths went unregistered. Coconuts went unharvested, and the banana plantations were neglected.

As the select committee was forced to admit, “a very substantial proportion of Samoans had joined the Mau, a number quite sufficient, if they determined to resist and thwart the activities of the Administration, to paralyse the functions of government.”

Richardson sent a warship and a 70-strong force of marines to quell the largely nonviolent resistance. 400 Mau members were arrested, but others responded by giving themselves up in such numbers that there were insufficient jail cells to detain them all, and the prisoners came and went as they pleased. One group of prisoners found themselves in a three-sided “cell” which faced the ocean, and were able to swim away to tend to their gardens and visit their families.

With his attempt at repression turning to ridicule, Richardson offered pardons to all those arrested; however, arrestees demanded to be dealt with by the court, and then refused to enter pleas to demonstrate their rejection of the courts jurisdiction.

The new administrator, Stephen Allen, replaced the marines with a special force of New Zealand police, and began to target the leaders of the movement. Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III, who had led the movement following the exile of Nelson, was arrested for non-payment of taxes and imprisoned for six months. On 28 December, 1929 - which would be known thereafter as “Black Sunday” - Tamasese III and ten other Samoan Mau leaders were killed when the police force fired upon a peaceful demonstration which had assembled to welcome home A.G. Smyth, a European movement leader returning to Samoa after a two year exile.

As he lay dying, Tamasese III made this statement to his followers: “My blood has been spilt for Samoa. I am proud to give it. Do not dream of avenging it, as it was spilt in peace. If I die, peace must be maintained at any price.”

Following the massacre, male Mau members fled to the mountains, the traditional retreat of those defeated in war. The resistance continued by other means, with the emergence of a women's Mau to continue the councils, parades and symbolic protests that the men now could not. For the women's movement, even the game of cricket represented an act of defiance inviting official harassment.

A truce was declared in 1930, and the male Mau members returned to their homes, on the condition that they retain their right to engage in noncooperation. Meanwhile, Nelson and other exiled leaders continued to lobby the New Zealand Government and communicate their progress to the Mau. In 1931, news of the growing resistance to the British rule of India reached many Samoan villages.

The Mau movement had not gone unnoticed by the population of New Zealand, and the treatment of Samoans at the hands of the administration had become a contentious issue in some New Zealand electorates during the 1929 election. 1936 marked a turning point for Samoa, with the election of a Labour Government in New Zealand and the subsequent relaxation of repression by the Samoan administration. Under the new Government, there was slow movement towards greater involvement of Samoans in the administration of their own country.

When Western Samoa finally gained its independence in 1962, Tupua Tamasese Meaole, son of the Mau movement leader, became its first co-head of state with Malietoa Tanumafili II.

*Source: Iain Murray, Pt'chang Nonviolent Community Safety Group*

## **The Freedom Ride - Challenging The Colour Bar**

One warm February night in 1965, a group of Sydney University students boarded a bus headed for regional New South Wales. But the so-called Freedom Ride was no holiday vacation. Their aim was to challenge the ingrained discrimination and racism that was a largely unacknowledged feature of country towns.

Experiencing racism firsthand struck Pat Healy like a physical blow. "It's one thing to know intellectually that people are racist. It's quite another thing to go out and confront it in its raw power," she recalls.

"To stand in front of a group of people who can seriously tell you that black kids should not be allowed to go into a swimming pool because if they ejaculate they might impregnate white girls. How did you answer something like that? It's so mind-bogglingly ignorant and so mind-bogglingly racist."

On a warm February night in 1965, Healy was one of almost thirty students from Sydney University who boarded a bus headed for regional New South Wales (NSW). But the so-called Freedom Ride was no ordinary holiday vacation. Their aim was to challenge the ingrained discrimination and racism that was a largely unacknowledged feature of country towns.

Healy, like many of her fellow students, came from a radical background. Her family were Communist and she became involved in student politics through the Labour Club and Student Representative Council on campus.

This led to her involvement in the infamous Commemoration Day civil rights demonstration outside the United States Consulate in May 1964, in support of the Civil Rights Bill then before Congress. The American civil rights movement was well known in Australia at the time because of sympathetic media coverage.

But the students were heavily criticised for their focus on racism abroad rather than at home. Healy was "very stung by the comments and criticisms from the Aboriginal community that here we were demonstrating for black rights in the US. [They questioned], what about black rights in Australia?"

Coinciding with the increased politicisation of the student movement, Indigenous Australians were exploring ways to publicise their plight. At Sydney University, Charles Perkins and Gary Williams became the first two Aboriginal students to attend the university in 1963 and they quickly made contact with local Indigenous activists.

Taking the criticism seriously, students formed the Sydney University Organising Committee for Action for Aboriginal Rights, who organised a concert and rally for National Aborigines Day in July 1964. Over 500 students turned up to hear speeches by Perkins, Williams, and others who advocated equal rights for Indigenous people.

Despite the event's success, the impact was local in scale. A new organisation called Student Action For Aborigines (SAFA) was formed on campus but Perkins wanted to do something dramatic.

"The idea of The Freedom Ride was a bit like an osmosis process," Healy says. "It came out of a

whole lot of discussion with a whole lot of people talking about, well what do we do next? And there were some people who had actually been on The Freedom Ride in the United States - Bill Ford and a woman from The States.”

The US Freedom Rides had taken place in 1961 with the aim of de-segregating transport such as buses. SAFA adopted the idea but with a much broader meaning. Black and white students would travel together by bus to draw attention to all kinds of racial discrimination.

“We never called it The Freedom Ride,” says Healy. “We called it The SAFA Bus Trip because we didn’t want it Americanised. We didn’t want people to think that we were just copying the American example.”

Students were not as concerned about transportation because it was not segregated. So the focus turned to places of leisure in country towns, such as pools, pictures theatres and RSL clubs, which were divided along racial lines.

They were also keen to get a better understanding of the actual living conditions of Aboriginal people in regional NSW. It was agreed that as well as protest, the students would conduct a survey to elicit more detailed information about racial discrimination, living conditions, education and health.

“There was a very wide range of people involved,” Healy says. “From Communist Party members and atheists right through to very conservative members of Christian groups at university. And the debate really centered around what would we do when we were on this Freedom Ride or this bus ride, not whether we’d have it or not.”

SAFA raised money, recruited participants, and planned an itinerary. One of the key organisers was Jim Spigelman, later a Chief Justice of New South Wales, but then a 19-year old student in Arts Law. He was indefatigable in seeking out information about conditions in the country towns to be visited.

Their protests drew angry responses from some of the white people in country towns, leading one to force the students’ bus off the road outside Walgett. Students were also both verbally and physically abused.

Student Action for Aborigines only demonstrated when clear cases of racist behaviour were displayed but Healy believes those examples were easily discovered.

“In Walgett, for instance, the Returned Services League Club (RSL) simply banned Aboriginal people from being members. That was basically unacceptable. There was no reason for it. There was no logical reason why black people, Aboriginal people, shouldn’t have been members.”

A line of city students protested in response, standing outside the RSL club on a hot day carrying banners that said ‘Good Enough For Tobruk, Why Not Walgett RSL?’, ‘Bullets Do Not Discriminate’, and so on.

Healy also highlights “the picture theatre that literally had a fence across it. Black people had to sit on one side and whites on the other. So we had plenty of examples of out and out racism that had no logical reason for it.”

Perhaps the most well known protest of the trip, however, was Moree. The students undertook their

survey and found extensive evidence of racial discrimination but decided their focus should be the artesian baths and its adjacent swimming pool.

There was heated debate when the Moree Council passed resolutions in 1955 prohibiting Indigenous people from using the baths. They were a huge tourist attraction and the Council was determined they would remain so by excluding Aboriginals. The swimming pool was to be kept for whites only, except during school hours when Indigenous children were allowed in. Miraculously, at 3.30pm, they suddenly became too unhygienic to stay and had to leave.

The students decided to protest, first outside the council chambers, then by taking Aboriginal children to the pool and insisting they are allowed in. Finally, they held a public meeting in the evening to debate the issues.

As the students stood at the turnstile of Moree's swimming baths, demanding that black children be allowed in, they were spat at, assaulted and menaced by a crowd.

Eventually, the Council and pool management reversed the ban and a group of Aboriginal kids from the local reserve were allowed to swim in the pool. The manager said it was simply a matter of cleanliness. If he could inspect the eight children to confirm their cleanliness, they could enter.

A photographer then took the iconic image of Perkins, surrounded by beaming kids, which immortalised the Freedom Ride in public consciousness around Australia.

But the protesters' initial success was short-lived. After the students moved on to Lismore that night, they heard the Council had taken back the offer. "Everyone agreed that we would go back," says Healy. "There was unanimity on that. We felt that to keep faith with the Aboriginal people of Moree there was no question, we had to go back. We knew we would only be back for a short while, but we had to go back."

For more than three hours, students tried again to get Aboriginal children admitted to the swimming pool, but to no avail. Students would take a swimmer to the front entrance, only to have their arms pinned behind their backs and led away.

In the end, the students were forced to retreat. Covered with rotten fruit and eggs, the bus was escorted out of town by the police. The driver resigned, but the Freedom Ride continued with a new driver.

The urban media focused largely on such conflict as a sign that NSW was little different from the American South. But in the public debate that followed, city dwellers became aware of racial discrimination, some soul-searching took place in the country towns, racial segregation was challenged, and in some cases ended, and alternative ideas of inclusion, equality, and full citizenship rights were discussed at length.

The students' unwavering commitment was fuelled by the responses they received to the survey. "I think what we were surprised about was the awfulness of the circumstances of life for Aboriginal people in country towns," Healy says. "[The] conditions in which black people in country NSW were living at that stage."

She continues, "the other thing that was also surprising and came out of both the survey and

peaceful protest was the extraordinary level of racism amongst the white population. And the extraordinary ignorance on which that racism was based.”

The SAFA Bus Trip was not without criticism, however. Many argued that they had simply stirred up trouble and then left the people in the towns to cope as best they could. A further criticism was that students merely focused on superficial places of entertainment such as picture theatres, rather than attempt to improve basic issues of health and living conditions.

“I think the people who thought that we had stirred up trouble that wasn’t there previously, were all white,” Healy responds. “The blacks knew that there was trouble & It was there all the time for them.”

“We did go into towns and then walk away again but we never pretended we were going to do anything other than that. We went there to try and find out what was going on, and to publicise what was going on. We actually did that very successfully. We made white people in urban NSW confront the reality that black people in country towns lived with constantly.”

The so-called Freedom Ride put local civil rights on the front pages of newspapers as the Ride had done in the United States, according to Healy. “For that alone, it was a valuable thing for us to do because as long as something remains hidden, people are not going to deal with it. Once it comes out on the front pages of the newspaper and confronts them over their morning coffee and on their television screens, it’s much harder to ignore.”

On their return to Sydney, students followed through by taking their research to the state authorities, contributing to inquiries and the campaign for the 1967 referendum that would grant Aboriginal people equal rights as citizens.

“One of the most significant of the long term effects was, however, the emergence, for the first time in our history, of an Aborigine in a clear leadership role,” Spigelman, then Chief Justice of New South Wales, said at the State Funeral of Perkins in 2000. “There was no doubt at the time that Charlie Perkins was the leader of, and the spokesman for, the entire group of white students. In this, as in so much else, he was a pioneer for his people and a role model of considerable significance.”

Meanwhile, the philosophy of non-violent direct action inherited from Martin Luther King for the Freedom Ride was replaced with more confrontational politics, drawn from the Black Power and anti-war movements, as two examples.

“When you passionately believe in something, you do things,” Healy concludes. “You do them because you think that they might make a difference. You never quite know if they will or not. But you hope they will.”

“So you go ahead and do all sorts of things. You demonstrate, you do surveys, you write things [and] you give money. When, years later, you realise that what you did actually made a big difference, it’s a very humbling experience. Because you realise it is a just ordinary person being prepared to act on their beliefs that actually makes a difference.”

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## **The Vietnam War**

The emergence of popular protest in Australia during the 1960s presented a fundamental challenge to government decisions and the way those decisions are made. By taking to the streets, people from various parts of the political spectrum challenged the policy positions of government and, in some cases, the very legitimacy and authority of the state itself.

As a teenage high school student, Tony Dalton witnessed the first induction of Vietnam War conscripts at Melbourne's Swan Street Barracks in 1964. "It was a very small crowd down there demonstrating early in the morning as the first of those young men went in," he recalls.

In December that year, the Menzies Liberal Government introduced selective National Service for 20-year-old men, something which the Hughes Labour Government had also tried to introduce during World War One. The first time round, the public narrowly voted against conscription in two referenda held in 1916 and 1917.

By the time of the Vietnam War in the 1960s, many people supported the Government, conscription and the country's involvement in the war. This was largely because many people considered World War Two to be a fight for democracy and freedom.

Faced with the very real prospect of being drafted to fight, many young men began to question their attitude towards the war. For Dalton, that led to "thinking more broadly about issues of war and participation in war, relationships to government and the power of governments to wage war and conscript people."

The position he arrived at was personal and unrelated to religion. "First of all, that the Vietnam War was a completely unjust war," Dalton says. In hindsight, he took a much stronger, pacifist position than he would now. He thought "the answer to all war & was to simply not participate and encourage others not to participate and to think of ways that conflict could be resolved non-violently."

During the late 1950s, armed struggle had broken out in South Vietnam between the western-backed government and local communist insurgents. The United States (US) responded to the guerrilla war by sending 10 000 military 'advisors' to support South Vietnam, but progressively became more deeply involved. By the mid-1960s, over half a million American troops were stationed in Vietnam.

Locally, the persuasive and popular Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, who was elected in 1949 and held office for sixteen years, governed Australian. He wanted to achieve a better lifestyle for all Australians and was bitterly opposed to communism. So, in 1962, he promoted the 'domino theory' that if Vietnam fell to communism, then other countries in South East Asia would also fall, one by one, to communism.

Two years later, it became increasingly clear that the war would worsen and that Australia would need to send more troops to support the American and South Vietnamese armies.

Faced with a shortfall of willing participants, the government introduced a controversial form of conscription. A birthday ballot was conducted and dates were randomly selected. This method of

conscription was considered highly undemocratic and would later be a key factor in the growing opposition as the war progressed.

Only Indigenous Australians, serving members of the permanent Military Forces and, prior to 1967, non-British migrants were exempt. Opposition to the Vietnam War was not accepted as a reason for exemption.

With this in mind, Dalton and only a handful of other people around the country began to describe themselves as conscientious non-compliers, a term that had been coined in a series of articles by Quaker newspaper, *Peacemaker*.

Conscientious non-complier was a much more radical position than conscientious objector, which was described as a person who obeyed the law by signing up for military service but then made a claim through the courts for exemption on the grounds that their consciences did not allow them to fight in the war.

“We took it a step further and said & the act itself is illegitimate,” says Dalton. “The act itself is something we can’t tolerate. [That is] the conscription of young men into this war, and others and myself were saying all wars & “

For that reason, the only response was not only to excuse yourself but challenge the act and its very legitimacy, according to Dalton. He would not be part of the system, would not register, would not attend medicals and would not participate in future call-ups. “So it was & a stand in principle,” he says. “Declaring that principle and not seeking to hide or to in any way avoid the system. But, in fact, to challenge and confront the system.”

That position was considered quite radical at a time when most of the public were comfortable to back Menzies in his support of the United States. Even when Harold Holt replaced him in 1966, many approved of Holt’s declaration that Australia would go ‘all the way with LBJ’, the United States president, Lyndon Baines Johnson.

But as the 1960s progressed, Australian involvement in Vietnam became increasingly controversial and opposition to the war grew. By 1968, a strong anti-Vietnam movement had developed as it became increasingly obvious that the war was going to be very difficult, if not impossible, to win.

A Gallup Poll in August 1969 showed that 55 per cent of people favoured bringing Australian troops home and 40 per cent favoured them staying. This was the first poll to show less than 50 per cent approval for the government’s policy, and all polls after August 1969 were to reveal a majority in favour of bringing the troops home.

“The anti-War movement encouraged a general questioning of what was going on at the time because it struck at the heart of where Australia was in the world,” says Verity Burgmann, a Professor in the Department of Political Science at Melbourne University. “If the great ally of the United States could be shown to be at fault, as a lot of young people vehemently came to believe that it was, then that encouraged a general questioning of Australian priorities and encouraged young people to think critically about a whole range of issues.”

In opposition to the war in Indo-China, the Australian peace movement, active in opposing nuclear weapons in the late fifties and early sixties, revived.

“The anti-Vietnam War movement is really associated with the youth of the time,” Dr Burgmann explains. “In particular, the radical students. But it also needs to be acknowledged that there were also involved, people from a previous generation of protesters who had been active in the late 1940s, 1950s and 1960s in contesting the arms race [and], particularly, were campaigning for nuclear disarmament.”

Partly inspired by the Vietnam protests, other movements also gained strength through the radicalised environment of the time.

The peace movement, historically, was concerned with human survival and, therefore, shared a common purpose with the green movement, according to Dr Burgmann. In particular, the New South Wales branch of the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF), who was active in the anti-Vietnam War movement, started the Green Bans movement in Sydney. The women’s movement also re-emerged in this radicalised climate, although they had other influences, such as the need for female labour.

Dalton, who was a conscientious non-complier from the early stages of the Vietnam War, recalls a change in thinking among those protesters as a broader cross-section of the public began to oppose the war.

“As that mass movement developed, there was [better] organisation amongst the conscientious non-compliers, as we described ourselves,” he explains. “There were others who say we’re going to support you. And there are more young men turning 20, who are increasingly confronted with the same issues, now operating in an environment where opposition to the war is becoming much more popular.”

In this context, the concept of draft resistance emerged. Draft resisters simply refused to register at all, which was initially punishable by fines or a few weeks in prison. Failure to report after getting a call-up notice attracted a two-year gaol sentence.

There were a whole series of accompanying actions that took place alongside that shift to draft resistance. People would liberate large quantities of forms, which had to be signed by 20-year-old men, and fill them in with bogus names. Several resisters also burned their draft cards in symbolic events.

Students from high schools and universities began to join the anti-Vietnam War campaign and the media began a push for an end to Australian involvement in the war. There were teach-ins, pamphlets, newsletters, books and the like. And it was at this point that the public started showing hostility to returning soldiers.

“One of the things that was really important,” Dalton says of the marches, “was the huge presence of secondary school students. There’s all these debates then in schools and amongst parents about [whether] secondary school students be taking time off school to go and sit down in Bourke Street and help stop the city for an afternoon?”

Personally, Dalton made a number of sacrifices in his public opposition to the war. He spent a number of months in safe houses and spent several days in gaol after refusing to attend a medical examination.

Opposition to the Vietnam War was also developing on a global scale. In October 1969, an American Peace Moratorium was held, and is believed to be the largest demonstration in United States history with an estimated 20 to 30 million people involved. Impressed by their success, the Australian anti-war movement held a conference to discuss the development of a similar event here.

Between May 1970 and June 1971, around 350 000 protesters staged three events. Marching alongside each other were an odd collection of women who had opposed the conscription of their sons, unions and members of the environmental movement.

Following the moratorium marches, the government announced that all Australian troops would be withdrawn from Vietnam by the end of 1971, which virtually spelt the end of the anti-war movement. Protesters then turned their attention back to conscription, as the Gorton Liberal Government maintained their commitment to conscription as they announced the withdrawal of troops.

The Whitlam Labor Government finally ended conscription after they were elected in December 1972. Australia's military commitment in South Vietnam also ended, although controversy about the precise end date of the war continued.

There was a sense of achievement that all the actions they had undertaken over the eight-year period had contributed significantly to the debate, according to Dalton. "That, along with a lot of other people, we'd been able to shift opinion around this & very important issue." Burgmann says the success of the anti-war movement in bringing conscription to an end was an important morale booster for radical movements generally, and other movements, such as the Green Bans, now believed that success was possible.

"The way that public opinion polls shifted from a position that favoured intervention in Vietnam to a position that was opposed to intervention in Vietnam, during the course of the anti-Vietnam demonstrations, was testimony to the power of protest," she says.

"Not just to achieve direct goals but also to influence public opinion. So the old arguments about how, if you want people to agree with you, you've got to behave really nicely and moderately were shown to be completely false. That the more you put the issue on the public agenda by, to a large extent, making a nuisance of yourself, then it made people have to think. And it shifted the spectrum of public debate towards a more critical stance."

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## **A Nation Within a Nation**

The Aboriginal Tent Embassy was established in 1972 when the Coalition Government failed to recognise the land rights of Indigenous people. From its inception, the Embassy has been interwoven into Canberra's physical and political landscape, blending black politics, symbolism and theatre that opponents have found difficult to counter.

Charles 'Chicka' Dixon was a skinny young blackfella celebrating his 18th birthday when he first heard legendary Aboriginal activist Jack Patten speak in May 1946.

"I went there not because I was politically inclined," he says. "I went there because one of our leaders had two good looking daughters and I was pitching for one."

"This big man got up. He was over six foot. Frightened the hell out of me," the diminutive Dixon recalls.

Patten was already a well-regarded activist. He had established the New South Wales branch of the Aborigines Progressive Association in 1937 and the following year, alongside William Ferguson, planned a Day of Mourning Conference in Sydney, where the Committee for Aboriginal Citizenship Rights was formed.

Dixon spoke to Patten after the meeting. "I said I might get interested in this sort of thing. The fight. The struggle. He said, if you do, always remember two things. Never join a political party, [which] I never did. Never ever abuse a politician, use a politician. I'm still doing that."

The veteran Aboriginal activist believes Patten "carved my life out for me."

"Then he said we should be setting up an Aboriginal mission station in front of this white man's Parliament House. You've got to remember this was '46. It happened in '72. It was called the Tent Embassy."

Dixon has been politically active ever since. Before devoting all his time to Indigenous affairs, he spent over twenty years as a seasonal worker and then a further decade as stevedore and organiser for the Seaman's Union.

In the 1960s, he became involved in the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, where he formed an everlasting bond with Charles Perkins and joined the campaign for changes to the Constitution.

A decade long struggle ended with a referendum in May 1967, which changed the sections of the Constitution that mentioned Aboriginal people. They would no longer be included in the Flora and Fauna Act, they would have rights to vote and be included in the census. Over ninety percent of the population voted for the changes in the largest majority recorded for constitutional change.

But early optimism was soon replaced with frustration when successive federal governments failed to live up to the spirit of the changes.

Dixon says they "spent seven years lobbying to try and get the change in the Federal Constitution.

We started the campaign in '60 and got it through on [the] 27th of May 1967. That's a lot of frustration."

"We thought wonderful things would happen. But they didn't."

Land rights were a particular concern as several court cases had failed to clarify the government's stance.

The Gurindji tribe of the Northern Territory began a landmark struggle for Aboriginal justice when they staged a strike on the Wave Hill Cattle Station in 1966. Originally an industrial relations dispute, the focus soon shifted to land rights.

Five years later, the Yirrkala tribe took court action against the Commonwealth Government and bauxite miner Nabalco, seeking freedom from occupation of their lands, damages and prevention of further mining activities.

In their verdict, the Northern Territory Supreme Court upheld the doctrine of terra nullius, which is Latin for land of no one. In other words, the court agreed that Australia was uninhabited when the British arrived in 1778.

Aboriginal activists had been anxiously awaiting a government statement on land rights, which had been scheduled for the day before Australia Day in 1972. But Prime Minister William 'Billy' McMahon's announcement was a far stretch from what they had expected.

He proposed general purpose leases rather than land rights. This would be conditional upon the "intention and ability to make reasonable economic and social use of the land" and would "exclude all mineral and forest rights."

"His statement came out and what it really meant," says Dixon, "when you cut all the jargon, [is] that Aboriginals could lease their own land."

Local Kooris met in East Sydney to plan their response.

A generation after the admission of Aboriginals to the public education system, more and more young Aborigines were now educated and politically aware. Both the anti-Vietnam protests and the Freedom Rides had also show the value of direct action.

"That night, I moved that we take over Pinchgut Island in the middle of Sydney Harbour," says Dixon. "The reason why I wanted to take over Pinchgut Island [is that] the Indians in America had taken over Alcatraz. So I wanted to put it in the eyes of the world."

Dixon got outvoted in favour of a plan to set up a Tent Embassy on the lawns of Parliament House. "Four little Kooris headed for Canberra that night. Billy Craigie, Tony Coorey, Michael Anderson and Bertie Williams."

"Canberra awoke the next morning, they had a big blue beach umbrella. It was the coldest winter they'd had in 38 years. They were crouched under this bloody umbrella with plastic over them, shivering. It was very, very bitter."

Dixon caught a bus down on the following Friday and was surprised that the government had not

attempted to remove the Embassy. But on speaking to Keppel Enderby, a Labor MP, Dixon discovered why. "He said, you've found a gap in their law. They cannot move you unless they introduce legislation."

Camping on Crown land was illegal but, considering that most land in the Northern Territory belonged to the state, Aboriginals were exempt. Nobody ever thought they would camp in the nation's capital.

"So we put eight tents up then," Dixon continues. "Gave ourselves portfolios. I was the Minister for Defence. We painted the gutter, 'Aboriginal Tent Embassy staff only, No Parking.'" They also set up a mail box and received overseas mail within three months.

The simple act of hanging the name Embassy on the tent was only possible in the nation's capital and this symbolic act bothered the government. Peter Howson, Minister for the Environment, Aboriginals and the Arts in the McMahon Coalition Government, said the "& term implied a sovereign state and cut across the Government's expressed objection to separate development and was kindred to apartheid."

But many Aboriginals already thought that Australia was separated along the lines of race.

"Australia wouldn't recognise Aboriginal people," says Dixon. "We considered we were a nation within a nation. So we were going to be an embassy. And embassies had to have a flag."

The first flag to fly was black, green and red. Black to represent the people, green the land and red the blood shed by Aboriginals. In July, the more common black red and yellow flag designed by Aboriginal artist, Harold Thomas, took pride of place at the Embassy.

That same month, Canberra witnessed some of bloodiest battles ever seen in the nation's capital. Just under six months after the Tent Embassy was established, the Federal Government introduced the required legislation to prohibit camping on Commonwealth lands in Canberra. Police ripped the tents down and arrested people.

Three days later, on the 23rd of July, Aboriginal people replaced the tents. But they were removed once again. The third time, a week later, the government backed away.

"So we pulled the tent down and considered that a major victory for Aboriginal people," says Dixon. "We proved the point."

Subsequently re-established, the embassy remained until February 1975, when Charles Perkins and the Minister for the Australian Capital Territory negotiated its removal.

Physically and symbolically, the Aboriginal Tent Embassy remained a feature of political life for many years. Several other Embassies have been established around the country at various times to campaign for Indigenous rights.

In January 1992, another Tent Embassy was set up in Canberra to draw attention to Aboriginal claims for sovereignty. This embassy attracted widespread interest by briefly occupying the vacant, old Parliament House.

Governments of all persuasions have tried to remove the Embassy through police force, legislation, and negotiation. Others simply turned a blind eye hoping that the embassy would fizzle out.

That never happened and the Aboriginal Tent Embassy's place in history was officially recognised in 1995 through its listing on the National Estate by the Australian Heritage Commission. The Embassy was the only place recognised nationally for the political struggle of Aboriginal people.

But Dixon believes a new approach is needed. "Street struggle served a purpose. That's gone now. My lady used to get sick of me getting arrested. So you move on."

He laments the fact that Aboriginal people have never established a permanent lobby similar to mining companies or farmers. "That's what's needed. And a permanent lobby in Geneva. So you can fire all the concerns into the arena in Canberra and if that doesn't work, you fire them into the arena in the United Nations. That's the way to go."

"I can't do that, I'm an old street corner lobbyist. They might beat me with education but they won't beat me with lobbying. All I tried to do is nurture the coming politicians. And I'm still trying to doing that."

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## Green Bans

Business was booming in major cities across Australia during the 1960s and 1970s. Vast amounts of money was being poured into commercial property development but historic buildings and areas of affordable housing were often destroyed in the process. Somewhat ironically, had a union with a social conscience not halted development, the architectural heritage of Sydney would have been lost.

As the skyscrapers soared further skywards, historical sites covering the breadth of Sydney came under threat during the building boom of post-War Sydney.

In 1973, the birthplace of European Australia was the proposed site of a \$500 million development featuring executive apartments on the foreshore where the First Fleet landed almost 200 years earlier, Centennial Park was slated for a sports stadium and the Botanic Gardens almost became a car park to the Sydney Opera House.

“There was a building boom on and there were no planning controls at all,” says Dr Meredith Burgmann, co-author of *Green Bans, Red Union*. “Basically, in the late 60s, if you bought the most historic building in Sydney, you could demolish it the next day and there was nothing to stop you.”

“There was corruption. There was a lot of hot money coming in from America. The skyscrapers were just going up without much thought or planning. And really, Sydney would have been a very different place if you hadn't had the Builders Labourers there in that four or five year period, halting development and saying no.”

Ten years earlier, however, the corrupt leadership of the New South Wales (NSW) Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) had backed the building boom because they were in the pockets of developers. This added to the increasing frustration felt by the rank and file, who didn't share in the spoils of development.

Faced with worsening conditions on the building site, they undertook a ten-year campaign to overthrow the leadership. By the late 1960s, Jack Munday had become General Secretary, Bob Pringle the new President and Joe Owens a temporary organiser.

The new leadership moved quickly to civilise the industry and introduce a democratic organisational structure that included limited tenure of office to regularly reinvigorate the union.

In May 1970, the NSW BLF's new approach was first tested when builders' labourers went on strike over an increase in their wages as well as industrial recognition of their skills. Known as the Margins Strike, employers accepted the demands of the union after five weeks.

The success of the strike gave greater confidence to the rank and file, who then backed the BLF in their support of other social movements, according to Munday. “The great strength of the union historically is that we were open. We had carried out the basic tenants of the union, that is to lift wages, to [provide] safe working conditions and to give dignity to ordinary workers.”

Once that had been achieved, the NSW BLF believed they should use their strength to support other social movements.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the union supported both the women's and gay movements by placing industrial bans on sites where individuals were fighting for their rights. During the Vietnam War, they helped 'draft dodgers' and participated in the huge 'Moratorium' marches.

The NSW BLF also organised demonstrations in support of the Gurindji people, who struck for better working conditions on a cattle farm in the Northern Territory where they worked. In 1972, the black movement organised the 'Black Moratorium', using the model of the Vietnam Moratoriums, in which many BLF members marched.

A year earlier, the rugby union team of South Africa's apartheid state toured Australia, facing massive protests across the country. Before a Springboks match in Sydney, Bob Pringle and John Phillips, then senior BLF officials, broke into the Sydney Cricket Ground and began to saw down the goal posts before being arrested by the police.

Driving those actions was the leadership's firm belief that union muscle should be used to champion broader issues. "That the union movement, of course, while ever unions exist, wages and conditions are important, but increasingly other issues concerning the environment and the quality of life are equally as important," Munday says.

During the building boom, this meant that development priorities should be reversed and that the preservation of open community and heritage buildings, as well as the construction of more affordable flats and houses, was more important than piling up empty or under-used commercial office buildings.

"The leadership of the union were very clear that what they were about was the social consequences of their labour," says Dr Burgmann. "That the workers themselves had an obligation to think about the social consequences of what they were building."

In that context, she believes that environmental activism became an almost inevitable next step.

A group of middle-class women who were trying to save the last remaining bushland on Parramatta River certainly believed so. They had already taken an interest in the BLF, having read a comment by Munday where he said that quality of life issues should be of concern to the trade union movement.

The struggle to preserve the bushland had begun in 1968 when developer AV Jennings unsuccessfully attempted to re-zone the site. In 1969, the Council switched the area from open spacing to residential zoning. In September 1970, 'The Battlers for Kelly's Bush' were formed to oppose the re-zoning and to campaign for the State Government to purchase the land.

In June 1971, the Battlers phoned a number of unions. "[President] Bob Pringle had gone out there to talk to the women who, in desperation because they'd tried everything else, had rung the Builders Labourers," Dr Burgmann explains.

The idea that a left-wing union should support a group of middle-class women in an environmental campaign was fiercely debated. "I knew some of those women through my parents. They were CSIRO wives. And they were very middle class, Hunters Hill ladies," Dr Burgmann smiles. "They're the first to say what a strange combination they were."

Pringle, and later Jack Cambourne, who was Secretary of The Federation Engine Drivers and Firemen's Association of Australasia (FEDFA), a very small union that operated machines on building sites, visited the area and decided that Kelly's Bush should be kept as bushland.

"Bob reported it to the union and you actually see in the minutes [that] there was 'a discussion'. The minutes were never very helpful. They'd say, 'there was discussion'," she laughs. "But from the recollection of those I interviewed, they remember that the class issue did come up. You know, why should we be helping people in Hunters Hill to have a nicer environment?" The Battlers for Kelly's Bush called a meeting to demonstrate widespread community support, which over 500 people attended. In response, the union placed the world's first 'Green Ban' on the site.

Black ban had been used to describe when unions took action to improve wages and conditions. Green Ban was used to signal a broader concern about the environment and to garner widespread community support.

Following the success of the Kelly's Bush action, the BLF were inundated with similar requests from other resident action groups and environmentalists. But the union was always selective in applying a Green Ban. There always had to be an approach to the union from the community. There also had to be genuine, widespread concern and a public meeting held to request a ban, primarily to ensure the union rank and file supported the leadership.

By 1974, over 40 Green Bans had been put in place by the NSW BLF, holding up more than \$3000 million worth of development. Over 100 buildings, later considered by the National Trust to be worthy of preservation, were among those saved.

Even so, the Askin Liberal Government damned it as industrial anarchy and the Sydney Morning Herald editorialised that "Mr Munday and his men" should stick to demolishing and building what they were told.

Following Kelly's Bush, Green Bans were placed on Centennial Park, which the Askin Government had earmarked for a sports stadium in the faint hope they would get the 1988 Olympic Games. Inner-city suburbs such as Glebe were almost flattened when the Government announced a plan for three hundred and fifty miles of freeways heading in six directions.

Other bans included the Botanical Gardens, which was slated as the Sydney Opera House car park when the developers realised the missing item in their plans, and the Theatre Royal was almost demolished under a proposal to consolidate a collection of buildings into one skyscraper. And perhaps the most well known Green Ban was The Rocks, which was protected from becoming high-rise executive apartments.

Refusing millions of dollars from developers to lift the Green Bans, the NSW BLF were eventually smashed by a corrupt element of the union movement.

The federal leadership of the BLF, under Norm Gallagher and in concert with the government and employers, intervened to demolish the NSW BLF and set up a new loyalist branch. By April 1975, the Federal Council expelled Munday and 25 other branch members for life.

Despite his expulsion, Munday has no regrets. He believes the legacy of the Green Bans "is that people feel that they've got the right to speak up. Developers cannot get away without a lot of

scrutiny being applied.”

At a political level, the bans encouraged the Wran Labor Government to create a raft of new legislation, linking the environment to heritage and planning.

Munday says, “at the time, of course, from right-wing forces and conservative forces, we were vilified and condemned. With the passage of time, we’ve been well and truly vindicated. There’s hardly anyone now that would not agree that the Green Bans were one of the most positive happenings in the social movements of this country.”

Back where it all started, the struggle to preserve Kelly’s Bush lasted for 20 years but in 1994 the land, having been purchased in 1983, was entrusted to the care of the Hunters Hill Council by the NSW government.

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## **Appendix 3: Sample agendas**

Agenda for Pine Gap Nonviolence Training, September 28 2002		
10.05	<b>Welcome, Intro Trainers and workshop outline</b> Introductions: - name and "Why I'm going to Pine Gap". Quick agenda review.	20min
10.25	<b>Nonviolence photos.</b> Photos of wide range of nonviolent political actions from around the world spread out on the floor. Participants asked to select a photo that particularly strikes them, one that they can relate to. Then discussion round – participants discuss what strikes them about the photo – what they notice about the action. Discussion to draw out dynamics of nonviolence, risk, courage, creativity.	20min
10.45	<b>Approaches to nonviolence:</b> short talk and discussion about the many diverse approaches to using nonviolence – from pragmatic to highly principled – from reformist to revolutionary. Bit of historical context. Emphasis on breadth and diversity of creative approaches. When has nonviolence worked in your experience? What is violence, nonviolence? Bring out history of NV, philosophy in a peace movement context, definitions: NV, Civil Disobedience, Direct Action. Many ways to interpret nonviolence.	15min
11.00	<b>Why are we going to Pine Gap?</b> Exercise to draw out level of knowledge within the group. Form small groups for 10 minutes to answer three questions amongst themselves quickly. What is Pine Gap? What is NMD/ Star Wars?, What could we hope to achieve going to Pine Gap?  Back in large group. Resource people provide briefing on Pine Gap's strategic role in US war fighting and National Missile Defence. Brief historical overview – including Aust Peace movement history relating to Pine Gap. Highlight goals of Pine Gap action: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• initiate informed public debate on the role of the Pine Gap base</li> <li>• increase public consciousness about the role of the base and militarism in Australia</li> <li>• oppose Australia's role in the US National Missile Defence ('Star Wars') program</li> <li>• support the Mparntwe traditional owners land claims</li> <li>• attract more people to the campaign - through education and by our example.</li> </ul> Provide basic overview of campaign organisational structure. Agreements, Mparntwe traditional owners etc. Highlight importance of personal research and provide references, websites etc.	35min
11.35	<b>Choosing tactics wisely:</b> A brief outline and description of major categories of nonviolence. 1) Protest and persuasion, 2) non-cooperation and 3) nonviolent intervention with examples of each. Introduce and discuss concepts of levels of risk associated with different tactics, political effectiveness and the huge range of possible actions available. Autonomy / solidarity dynamic, promoting diversity, the need to keep overarching, long term goal in mind (e.g. end of Star Wars program) when choosing tactics.  Aim to encourage creative but strategic planning.	20min
11.55	<b>Break</b>	15min
12.10	<b>Video:</b> Video and news footage of a selection of types of actions. Some Nurrungar, Woomera and Roxby Downs footage available. Discussion on what people noticed – What worked about the action?, What didn't work?. Discuss impacts of action upon observers (television viewers), local people, workers, police, activists themselves.	20min
12.30	<b>Planning an action:</b> a group brainstorm and facilitated discussion to cover the 'elements of a great action'. Group develops a list of elements. Discuss, refer to videos, photo and experiences. Close with an emphasis on preparation, creativity and planning.	30min
1.00pm	<b>Lunch:</b>	40min

1.40	<p><b>Assertive behaviour:</b> Active exercise to explore differences between, passive, aggressive and assertive responses to other people. Explores impact of responding assertively to other activists, workers, security, police etc. (rather than passively or aggressively)</p> <p>Include 'Hassle line' exercises to practise assertive responses to range of common difficult situations at actions. After each, debrief on what worked, what didn't. Bring out useful tools of nonviolence: non-threatening body language, eye contact, staying grounded, staying human, humour, etc.</p>	30min
2.10	<p><b>Roleplays:</b> Large group roleplay of an arrestable civil disobedience action at Pine Gap. Roleplay involves police, activists and local workers. Could be scenario developed earlier in workshop or 'blockade of front gate' action.</p> <p>May involve people being brought in to play police roles. Allow opportunity to practise types of active resistance: Quick demonstrations and discussions of walking with police, going limp, self protection against clubs, horses, etc. (Use water spray to simulate pepper spray.) Puppy piling, U and O shaped protective circles. Pass around masking tape for participants to mark injuries or areas not to grab during roleplay.</p> <p>Police to arrest, interrogate some activists during roleplay.</p> <p>Debrief: to cover dynamics of police response and activist responses. Fear and level of risk. Support and looking after each other.</p>	50min
3.00	<p><b>Break:</b></p>	20min
3.20	<p><b>Civil Disobedience: What about getting arrested?</b></p> <p>Facilitated discussion on fears around getting arrested and legal implications. Discuss philosophy and political aims of civil disobedience. Highlight that arrest will be only one of a range of police sanctions present at Pine Gap. Aim of this session is to make a informed choice about how we respond to these police tactics. And to highlight how most police repressive tactics rely on fear to be effective.</p> <p>Some legal info available at this point but in the context of activist responses.</p> <p>Outline and discuss range of activist responses to legal sanctions – from police directions, detention without charge, arrest, charges, bail, court and imprisonment. Highlight methods of nonviolent resistance and challenge at every step.</p>	40min
4.00	<p><b>Looking after ourselves:</b> an exercise to discuss activist support structures at actions. Ways of looking after ourselves personally and collectively. Cover role of affinity groups, having fun, prior prep such as this training, personal stress management, basic hydration, exposure first aid and basic protective behaviours in case of horse and pepper sprays.</p> <p>Also discuss impact of 're-entry' – coming back home after Pine Gap.</p>	35min
4.35	<p><b>Evaluation and closure:</b> Upcoming meetings, bus info, Evaluation round, Thanks and finish</p>	25min

## Day One

10.0	<p><b>Welcome,</b></p> <p>Training philosophy          Introduce Facilitator          Introduce participants – sources of inspirations          Agenda Review          Housekeeping          Hopes and fears envelopes – write on small paper – enclose in envelopes to be opened during last session.</p>	40
10.40	<p><b>Agreements</b>          Important consensus exercise – creates safety and cooperative approach amongst participants</p>	20
11.0	<p><b>Nonviolence photos</b>          (Lay photos on floor, all choose one, talk about and blue tac to wall.)          Draws out participant's experience and knowledge of nonviolence.          Highlights diversity of nonviolence.</p>	30
11.30	<p><b>Nonviolence Barometers</b>          Explore individual standpoints and raise questions and tensions with nonviolence.</p>	30
12.00	<p><b>Game: big wind blows</b></p>	20
12.20	<p><b>Social Cosmology exercise:</b>          1) explore facets of single global crisis....          Describe as useful explanatory and exploratory tool (5)          Large paper drawing on floor          Participants complete tool for dominant western culture: (10)</p> <p>2) In small groups of four complete A3 tools for vision of a sustainable human society (10)</p> <p>Groups share back results to all and discuss (15)</p>	40
1.00	<p><b>LUNCH</b></p>	60
2.00	<p><b>Area Coverage and Observation: active skill exercise</b></p>	20
2.20	<p><b>Three spheres of political activity:</b>          Show/draw chart – explain and discuss          Explain and describe <i>many paths to nonviolence</i>          Handout - tbc</p>	10
2.30	<p><b>Matrix of Nonviolence</b>          Draw Matrix - Explain difference between principled and pragmatic with examples          Provide Handout.</p>	10
2.40	<p><b>Principles of Nonviolence – Consensus Exercise</b>          Provide brief outline of Consensus. Trust and respect - "Emergent ideas and solutions" (5)          Ask everyone to write their own 5 core principles of nonviolence that seem important. (5)          Break into pairs – devise a common 5 principles that you are both happy with. (10)</p>	60

	Each pair finds another to form a four. Again between all develop a five core principles that you are happy with. (10) If 16 people - each four forms a group of eight – if group more or less then form two equal groups – develop core of 6 core principles of Nonviolence (10) Then as whole group develop list of 7 core principles of nonviolence – write on wall chart. Evaluate and debrief process. (10)	
3.40	<b>BREAK</b>	20
4.00	<b>Game:</b> Wizard's Elves and Giants	20
4.30	<b>Video:</b> A Force More Powerful - Section Discussion	40
5.00	<b>Intro to Strategic Theory</b> Explain key concepts: Power and will Dimensions of strategy (Logistical / Operational / Technological / Social) Centre of Gravity	25
5.25	<b>Intro Nonviolent Strategy</b> <b>Political Purpose – and Strategic Aims</b> Show chart Discuss Provide handout for reading	20
5.45	<b>Evaluation of day –</b> Agenda for tomorrow Housekeeping Videos for tonight? (The Long Walk Home)	15

## Day two

10.00	Activity - Passing a stretch around Welcome and Agenda review Morning sharing/catch-up	30
10.30	<b>Power</b> Power over / power-with brainstorm Personal power-from-within Consent theory of power - whiteboard - discussion	30
11.00	<b>The Strategic Framework</b> A strategic plan can be developed using the twelve-point strategic framework outlined. Chart The strategic framework consists of four core components that define and direct the strategy and eight components that provide tactical guidance. <b>The Four Core Components of the Strategic Framework</b>	30
11.30	<b>Break</b>	20
11.50	<b>Game:</b> Love you baby but I Just can't smile... round	10
12.00	<b>Strategic planning</b> Choosing Tactics Strategically Categories of nonviolent actions (20)	60

	<p>Use Strategy Tools – blanks            Break into small groups – choose sample campaigns – real or envisioned. Encourage use of imagination/vision.</p> <p>Groups report back to all            Evaluate and discuss plans and process</p>	
1.00	<b>LUNCH</b>	60
2.00	<p><b>Assertive behaviour</b>            Skill exercise            Explore passive, aggressive and assertive behaviour            Hassle lines            Chart on white board</p>	40
2.40	<p><b>Key activist issues: (1)</b>            Relationship with police –state functionaries            Minimising the risk of police violence            Safety at actions            Planning actions when violence is anticipated</p>	30
3.10	<b>Break</b>	20
3.30	<p><b>Key activist issues: (2)</b>            Building Effective Activist groups            Consensus and facilitative and co-operative leadership            Supporting each other as activists            Sustainable activism</p> <p>Concentric Circles            Small group brainstorm            Handouts</p>	40
4.10	<p><b>Where to from here?</b>            Following on from the workshop            Networking            Follow up training etc</p>	25
4.35	<p><b>Evaluation and closure</b>            Hopes and fears envelopes opened            Something you are taking away on coloured circles – in hat</p>	25

<b>People Power 1: How grassroots movements succeed</b>		
<b>Introduction</b>		
9.00 am	<i>Introduction - Nonviolence photos</i>	30 m
9.30	<i>Review agenda</i>	5 m
9.40	<i>Agreements</i>	10 m
<b>Power &amp; conflict</b>		
9.45	<i>Chair Power: Three types of power</i>	20 m
10.05	<i>Presentation: Consent theory of power</i>	25 m
10.40	<i>Mattress game (Pillars of Oppression)</i>	30 m
11.00	<b>BREAK</b>	15 m
<b>Approaches to nonviolence</b>		
11.15	<i>Facilitated discussion: What is Nonviolence?</i>	15 m
11.30	<i>Presentation: Three spheres of political action</i>	15 m
11.45	<i>Presentation: Nonviolence matrix</i>	15 m
<b>Learning from other movements</b>		
12.00	<i>Case study analysis</i>	45 m
12.45 pm	<b>LUNCH</b>	60 m
1.45	<i>Video: Bringing Down a Dictator</i>	30 m
2.15	<i>Discussion</i>	15 m
<b>Methods and dynamics of nonviolence</b>		
2.30	<i>The methods of nonviolence</i>	30 m
3.00	<i>From tactics to strategy</i>	30 m
3.30	<b>BREAK</b>	
<b>Role play</b>		
3.45	<i>Village Exercise</i>	60 m

<b>People Power 2: Preparing for nonviolent resistance</b>		
<b>Introduction</b>		45 m
9.00 am	<i>Introductions</i>	30 m
9.30	<i>Hopes &amp; expectations</i>	10 m
9.40	<i>Review agenda</i>	5 m
<b>Defining nonviolence</b>		2 hr 15 m
9.45	<i>Game: Elves, Wizards &amp; Giants</i>	15 m
10.00	<i>Nonviolence sociogram</i>	30 m
10.30	<b>BREAK</b>	15 m
10.45	<i>2-4-8 exercise</i>	45 m
<b>Nonviolent Communication</b>		1 hr
11.30	<i>Passive - Assertive - Aggressive</i>	30 m
12.00 noon	<i>Active Listening Role Play</i>	30 m
12.30 pm	<b>LUNCH</b>	60 m
<b>Skills for Empowered Direct Action</b>		3 hr 45 m
1.30	<i>Body Centred Awareness</i>	15 m
1.45	<i>Dealing with Fear</i>	30 m
2.15	<i>The anger/arousal cycle</i>	15 m
2.30	<i>Voice Control</i>	15 m
2.45	<i>Body Language</i>	15 m
3.00	<b>BREAK</b>	15 m
3.15	<i>Parallel Lines (Hassle Lines)</i>	30 m
3.45	<i>Action role play</i>	60 m
4.45	<i>Evaluation</i>	15 m
5.00	<b>FINISH</b>	

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