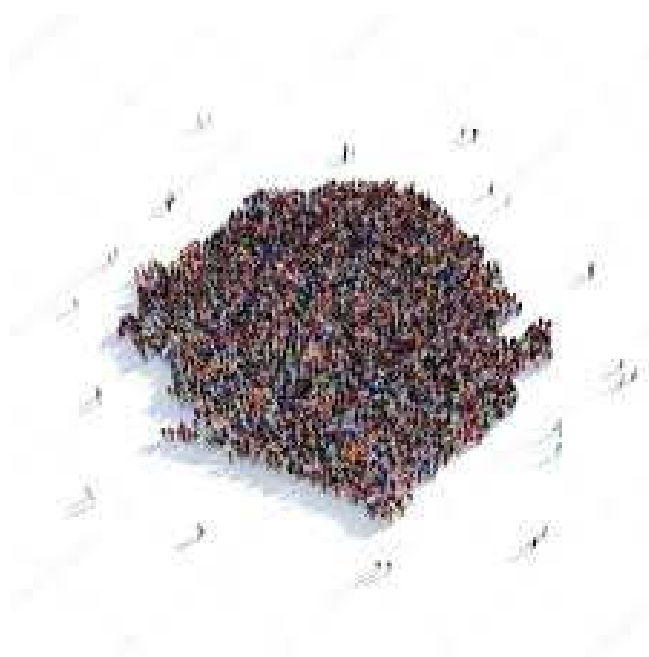# Training Manual on
People Power Approaches
To Fighting Corruption and Promoting Governance and Human Rights

Making Government Work

Developed by People Power Movement – Sierra Leone

May, 2019

Table of Contents

1 Introduction

Purpose of the manual

The International Centre for Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC), FORUT (Campaign for Development and Solidarity, Norway), and Foundation for Rural and Urban Transformation (FoRUT), co-hosted a training on People Power Approaches to Good Governance and Fighting Corruption in Sierra Leone in May 2016. Representatives of some of the organizations at the training formed People Power Movement –Sierra Leone (PPM-SL) as a key follow up action.

The absence of a training guide on People Power Approaches (PPA) limited the roll out of the training at other levels. The manual that ICNC and FORUT used relied mostly on PowerPoint Presentations that cannot be readily used in communities and with low literates. This training manual was developed as part of the project, "Popularizing People Power Approaches (PPA) to Good Governance and Fighting Corruption in Sierra Leone" that ICNC funded in 2018. It has been developed to make trainings in PPA more effective and standard, and increase the confidence of those who participate in the trainings to conduct lower level trainings for their membership and   the communities they serve. It will make training in communities for low-literates and non-illiterates easier.It is a guide to mobilize and engage citizens in planning and carrying out PPA campaigns to demand good governance and accountability.

Knowledge and skills in PPA and their use is limited to a few people and organizations. Citizens and organizations have not fully taken advantage of previous successes in the use of people power methods. CSOs mostly represent the voice of the people and would rarely involve the people themselves to exercise their power to address governance, corruption, and human rights challenges. The manual presents possibilities to consider low-risk participatory approaches that do not only empower citizens, but also engage them to influence how government works at all levels. Its use is also an important step toward building a critical mass of citizens at all levels, including the youth, who would use the methods more often to demand good governance and accountability influence social change.

Peace education and nonviolent conflict resolution trainings were part of the numerous strategies used to end the civil war in Sierra Leone. However, nearly 20 years since the end of the civil war, the use of violence to address grievances unfortunately persists. Healing after a violent conflict is more expensive compared to nonviolent actions because of the severe consequences of violence. This training manual will also provide additional guide to building a culture of peace in Sierra Leone.

Development of the Manual

A team of PPM members who had attended a training on PPA in Sierra Leone developed this resource manual. They brought diverse skills and experiences in the writing process. This manual draws most of its materials from the training manual and power point presentations that ICNC and FORUT developed for the training of civil society organizations in Sierra Leone, Nepal and Sri Lanka titled (Botnen, 2017).[i]It has also used a number of nonviolent people power materials that are referenced as endnotes.

Who Uses the Manual

The training guide is a tool for facilitating learning, reflection and action on people power nonviolent resistance.

✓ Participants from previous trainings can also use it to refresh their skills and knowledge, and to effectively plan and mobilize against corruption and bad governance.

✓ PPM-SL members and other CSOs and local civil society actors promoting good governance, human rights, justice and eliminating corruption will find it useful for their staff and the target groups in the communities they serve.

✓ Community and national interest groups can use the strategies and tactics not only to influence government's response to the needs of citizens, but also hold their own leaders to account.

✓ The training guide is reader friendly, so any literate citizen can read and gain understanding of people power approaches and how to use them. The new knowledge and skills can ignite a desire to start or join an ongoing struggle against social justice.

How to use the manual to Facilitate a Learning Session

The manual provides that trainers lead a participatory training /learning session with a group of persons. The trainers are free to lead groups with similar or diverse characteristics, but with the objective of building a common purpose. It is the role of the trainers to keep the discussions focused on the needs and roles of the people (rights holders) in building the Sierra Leone they dream, and the responsibilities of government at all level (the duty bearers).

Ideally, it is recommended that a team of two trainers lead sessions when and where possible to support group exercise and sharing of examples that make the session more practical. The trainers should go through the training materials in order to be able to lead training sessions well. Before each training, the trainers are strongly encouraged to read relevant reference materials for each of the sessions in order to be able to freely and confidently lead the sessions, particularly the case stories that make the application of PPA real.

Each session provides notes on content and suggested questions for group and individual exercises. It also provides a list of materials needed that the trainers will have to read and also have ready for use during the session, which are referenced in the endnotes. Additional campaign materials for training and exercises can also be read from the Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns.[ii]A training schedule has neither been provided nor durations for the sessions specified. This is because the trainers have the flexibility to complete the training in two or three consecutive days as has been normally held, or conducted in several sessions apart.

Since the manual will be used mostly at community level, the facilitators are free to hold sessions either in indoor settings such as in school classrooms and community centres, or outdoors such as under a tree, a shed, and even around a fire place.

2   Session 1: Situation Analysis and Examples of People Power Nonviolent Movementsaround the World

Session Objectives: At the end of the session participants will:

1. Become inspired by examples of people power approaches to combat corruption around the world;
2. Begin to understand the force of people power to address issues that affect them and their society, including poor governance and corruption.

Materials Needed:

The trainer(s)are strongly encouraged to read the following materials before leading the sessions the book in order to be able to freely and confidently talk around the case stories:

- Relevant chapters of the case stories taken from Shaazka Beyerle's book, "Curtailing Corruption People Power for Accountability and Justice."[iii]Visit the resource centre of Foundation for Rural and Urban Transformation (FoRUT), which is also the PPM-SL Secretariat, to access hard copies of the book. Specific chapters of the book can also be downloaded on ICNC Website.
- The Training Manual on "People Power to Make Government Work," for Civil Society Organizations, developed by Trond K Botnen, FORUT (Campaign for Development and Solidarity) for the International Center for Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC).
- PowerPoint presentation (PPP) on "People Power to Make Government Work," developed by Trond K Botnen
- PPP on "Quick Tour of the World," materials developed for the training on "People Power to Make Government Work," if venue has a projector and power supply, and some of the participants are literate. Contact FoRUT, PPM-SL Secretariat for a copy PPP.

Handouts printed on case stories that will be used during the session.

Introductory Exercise on Situation Analysis

The facilitators should let participants carry out this introductory exercise

   i.   What are the main corruption-related problems in Sierra Leone today? In pairs
  ii.   How are poor people affected by corruption and what kinds of corruption are worst for them? - In groups of four
 iii.   In what ways can the worst forms of corruption in Sierra Leone be combated? - In groups of eight

The trainer should ask the groups of 8 participants to take turns to share one response from each of the three questions.

Presentation of Case Stories around the the World

The trainer(s) should present the three case stories highlighted in the next three pages or the PPP The presentation of the case stories is meant to let participants become aware of what others have achieved, and also to help them understand, in concrete terms, what "**people power**" and "**nonviolent action**" are in the next sessions. The trainer(s)should let the participants know that the session is only about presenting examples, and not seek for questions or open discussions afterwards the presentations.

CASE STORY 1

Korea: Blacklisting Corrupt Candidates

Revision of electoral law
Candidate defeats
New blood
Improved nomination process
CAGE 2004

2000

SOUTH KOREA

CAGE (Citizen's Alliance for the General Elections (470 org's)

A for Alliance
B for Blacklist
C for Citizen Engagement
D for Disobedience

250,000 pledged not to vote for blacklisted candidates

Defining Method: Blacklisting unfit candidates for Parliament (illegal)

«Politicians became afraid of the voters' collective power. We could see changes in political parties and political processes for nominations. They were taking voters into consideration.»

CASE STORY 2

Uganda: Curbing Police Corruption through Engagement and Disruption

National Foundation for Human Rights (NAFODU) in 2009

MOU with police in 5 districts
Baseline survey from community meetings
Engaged with police
Radio call-ins / SMS monitoring
Police ethics trainings
Police integrity pledge

600 grassroots volunteers
Civic education

- Shift in reports from police misconduct to honest behaviour
- Complaints of corruption were dealt with
- Improved community policing
- Police started to share their own grievances

«[The citizens] were part of the partnership and had power and the will to curb police corruption as they are the real victims with experience in their daily encounters with the police.»

CASE STORY 3

India: A Citizen Pillar Against Corruption

Zero Rupee Weapon: 100%
RTI petitions: 90%
Incremental victories
Global inspiration

2004

5th Pillar

Motivate regular people to
confront corruption
Strive for long-term change

Youth
engagement
Nonviolent
tactics
Outreach

INDIA

Defining methods:
RTI Empowerment
Zero-Rupee Note
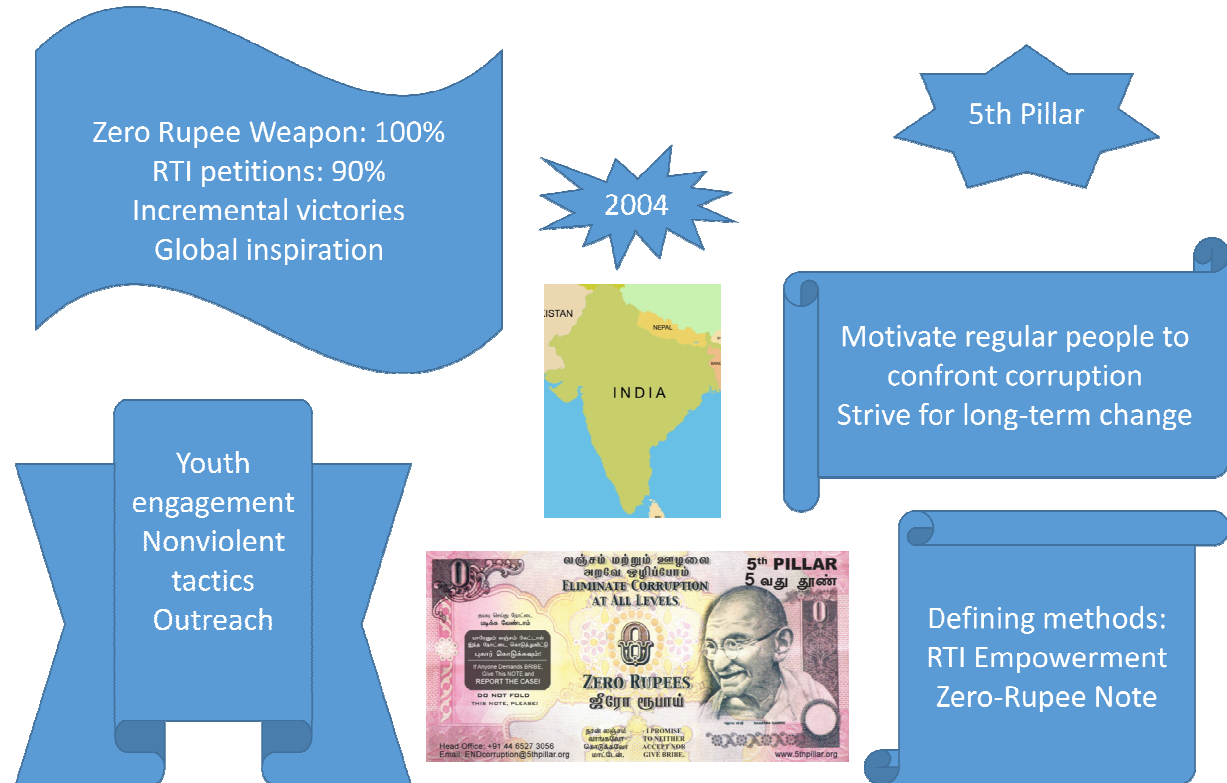
«Everyone can be freedom fighters in India through noncooperation, nonviolence, and self-defense against bribery.»
«Thousands of citizens have handed out the zero-rupee note under circumstances of demands of bribe and have found to their pleasant surprise that the erstwhile corrupt official/employee yields instantaneously to their request without the bribe»

3   Session 2: Understanding Power, Pillars of Support and Obedience

Session objectives: At the end of the session participants will:
- Understand the various expressions of power, that is, Top-bottom and Bottom-up expressions of power;
- Know the main sources of power in their community;
- Understand what Pillars of Support are and why it is important to analyse them;
- Understand how obedience supports power, and by implication, the disruptive potential of withdrawal of obedience and consent.

Materials Needed:

The trainer(s) are strongly encouraged to read the following materials before leading the sessions:

- The following chapters of "CANVAS Core Curriculum – A Guide to Effective Nonviolent Struggle,"[iv]:
  - Chapter on Power in Society: Models and Sources of Power Pages 20-29;
  - Chapter on Pillars of Support, pages 37-43;
  - Chapter on Obedience," pages 46- 55;
- PPPon "People Power to Make Government Work," slides #9-20

Introductory Exercise on Power

The trainer should begin this session with a short exercise that should enable participants to understand power, obedience and rights, and "connect" with each other and deepen their understanding of civil disobedience.

Question for Discussion in small groups: Who has the most power in this room, and why?

This discussion is likely to end up with many saying that the trainer is the most powerful person in the room. Occasionally, there will also be other suggestions coming up, such as "all the participants" together. We recommend that the trainer makes the following important points during the discussion:

- The trainer is only the most powerful person in the room as long as the participants agree to that. The moment the participants rebel against the trainer, for example through walk-outs or not following rules, because they are dissatisfied with the training, the trainer is powerless to continue the training.
- Power is always contextual. While the trainer (arguably) may have most power in this room at this moment, others present may be much more powerful under other circumstances.
- Power is always relational. Power is a meaningless concept outside of human relations, and it is within these relationships that one is more or less powerful.

The trainer should discuss the two models of power and their differences as in the table below:

Top-bottom Model of Power (Monolithic)	Bottom-up Model of Power (Pluralistic)
✓ This is the traditional way that power is viewed and expressed, which comes mostly from controlling others.	✓ Power comes from consent and obedience. Peoplecan change their minds and choose not to cooperate.
✓ Power is centred at the top, and whoever gets to the tops controls all power.	✓ Power resides among all people. Each individual is a source of power
✓ People and organizations (elites) with resources and social standing are inherently more powerful	✓ Power comes from multiple sources
✓ The power structure does not change. It is only the power that changes hands.	✓ Power is fragile
✓ Power basically comes from control of resources, control of information, and violence.	✓ Power structure can change

Power from the Top Down (Monolithic)

Nonviolent Power: Power from the Bottom Up (Pluralistic)
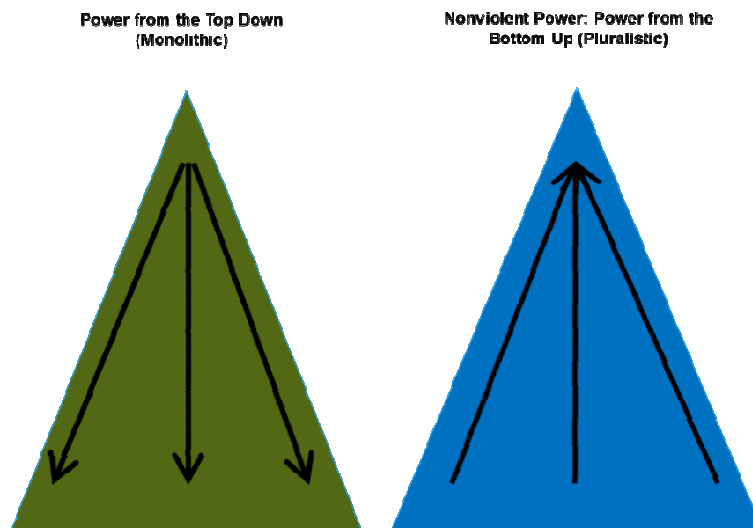
Key points from the trainer:

✓ The pyramid could not stand without thousands of individuals following orders.

✓ Therefore, individuals and the community as a whole have the power to withdraw their support, and not act in the way that the opponent wants them to.

Forms of Power[v]

The trainer leads the discussion on the forms of power as presented in the table below:

Form of Power	Comment
Power over	This is the kind of power that we often know. A form of power used by authorities. It is power imposed on the people. **Power over** is the traditional view of power, especially in highly repressive (oppressive) societies where the few makes decisions and the majority simply obeys.
Power-within	**Power-within** is related to an individual's sense of self-worth and self-knowledge; it is also the capacity to imagine and have hope. Power-within means, on one hand, to understand our own situation of dependency and oppression, and to want to free oneself from this; on the other hand it means to realise that every person has the possibility to influence the course of their own life and to change it. Developing power-within is crucial in any empowerment process.
Power-with	Power-with is power found in common ground among different people, and building collective strength. Awareness develops that you are not the only one affected by a situation, but that others have had similar experiences, too. This can lead to the realisation that people do not personally bear the guilt for their fate, but that often a structural or political pattern is at fault. This realisation and cooperation in the group can strengthen one's self-esteem. Not everybody has to find ways to deal with the situation — it is possible to struggle jointly for change. The group provides the opportunity to combine skills and knowledge, to support each other. Power-with is related to the power of numbers, to the collective power we build when joining together with others, forming organisations, networks, and coalitions.
Power-to	Power-(in relation) -to refers to our goals and to the dominant power relationships. It is the power to achieve certain ends and opens up the possibilities of joint action for change. The question is: What leverage do we have, working in groups and coalitions, against the entrenched corporate and political power? Any nonviolent movement needs to set into motion empowerment processes that develop these types of power, in order to challenge what is usually understood when we talk about power: power-over.
Adapted from: Speck, Andreas. (2009) Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns: War Resisters International. England. Also available at: http://andreasspeck.info/content/nonviolence-and-power	

Sources of Power

An understanding of the Here is a short summary around each of them:

Authority - The ability to issue a command and have people submit to it. It's built slowly and patiently, and is lost easily by engaging in hypocrisy, reneging on promises, and not delivering positive outcomes for society.

Human Resources - The strength of the organisation or ruler depends on the NUMBER of people who labour for that organisation or ruler.

Skills and Knowledge - The more trained and knowledgeable the people (human resources) in an organisation, the more efficient and capable they become.

Material Resources - This refers to money and other assets that can be used to increase other sources of power. These resources include things such as printing capacity, office space, hardware, access to logistics planning and communications technologies, and control of other scarce resources.

Intangible factors—The group of psychological, traditional, cultural, religious and sometimes ideological factors (i.e. habits, attitudes, sense of responsibility) that may induce people to obey and assist the rulers. Those factors usually owe their existence to some combination of religion and culture, or conventions, such as a tradition of obeying people in uniforms or representatives of the religious establishment.

Sanctions - It is actually the fear of sanctions that makes this an important pillar. If an organisation can predictably punish a detractor and cause fear, then it has power. If others in society perceive the punishment as legitimate, it has even more power. In terms of a nonviolent campaign, this aspect of power relates to the ability of the organisation to credibly, persistently, and publicly show how the regime abuses basic human and civil rights. This creates a punishment (sanction) that the nonviolent movement can use against a regime's use of illegitimate force.
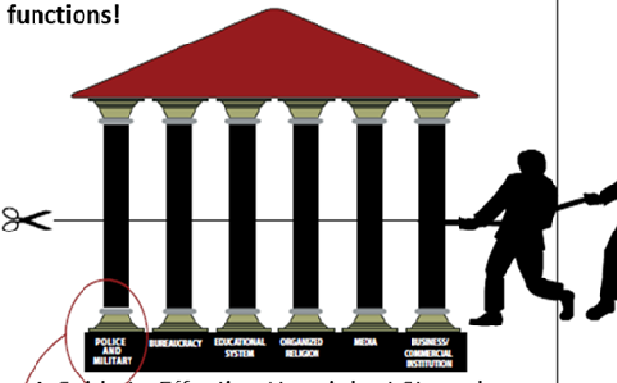
The Pillars of Support

Pillars of Support are always institutions, not social functions!

Examples of Pillars of Support
- ✔ Police
- ✔ Military
- ✔ Bureaucracy (civil servants)
- ✔ Educational System
- ✔ Organised Religion
- ✔ Media
- ✔ Business Community

Source: Popovic, Srdja et.al: Canvas Core Curriculum: A Guide to Effective Nonviolent Struggle. 2007: CANVAS, Belgrade.

Exercise to Analyse Pillar of Support

This exercise has a double function: (1) to allow participants to practice it as an analytical tool to connect to their own local context, situation, and governance, which makes the training more relevant; and (2) to link it to the issue of corruption and good governance to nonviolent action so as to remind participants that this is the context within which we look at these theories and tools.

In small groups, ask participantsto select one pillar of support in their community or country (make sure that each group selects a different pillar) to discuss the following:

1. To analyse the pillar with the goal of developing strategies and tactics to weaken it.
2. To identify the vulnerability of power structures
3. To analyse the sub-sections of the pillar of support

During the group work, you may need to remind participants that Pillars of Support are *always institutions* (not social functions, general population groups, or concepts). Let the groups present their responses to the plenary. Limit your own comments to pointing out similarities and differences between the groups since there may not be enough time for discussion beyond the presentations.

Obedience
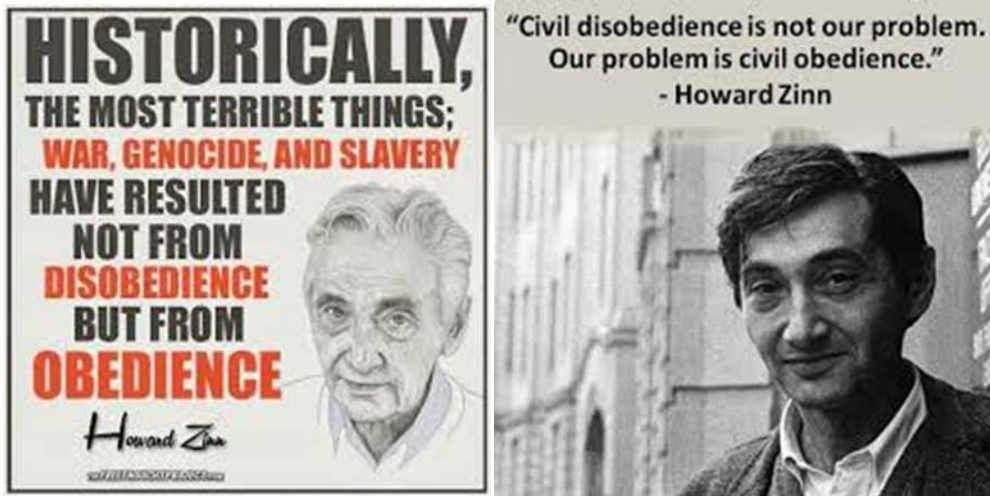
Encourage the participants to discuss the two quotes briefly on the challenges of obedience.

Why Do People Obey?

The trainer should lead a question and answer session on 'why do people obey?' The trainer should seek responses from participants and discuss answers, including the following:

1. Habit
2. Self-interest
3. Fear of sanctions - these are consequences for disobeying
4. Indifference
5. Absence of self-confidence
6. Moral Obligation
7. Psychological identification with the ruler
8. Superhuman factors
9. Helplessness and hopelessness
10. Majority doing it

When we obey, we pledge our loyalty to the insitutions (pillars of support) that support the power. Obedience of individuals and, more specifically, their willingness to follow orders, keeps each pillar functional.

Question and Answer Session on Examples of Power of Disobedience:

Ask participants the following questions and open discussion on the power of disobedience to remove support for current systems of power:

> *"If tomorrow, 50% of your community refused to drive a car, go to work and school, purchase items or deposit money in the bank, would your local leader or politician be able to ignore your demands?" When most members of the group answer "no," the trainer can explain that it is an important example of the power of disobedience and removing support for current systems of power.*

Conclusion

The trainer should link obedience to the exercise of power, concluding that withdrawing of support is a powerful nonviolent weapon.

UNDERSTANDING POWER

The traditional notion about power is that it is concentrated at the top of a society, government or institution and it flows down. The pioneering nonviolent struggle theorist and educator, Gene Sharp, calls this the monolithic model because power is believed to be rigid and structured, i.e. those at the top have it and the rest of us are dependent on their decisions, goodwill, support, and tolerance of civil society and citizen dissent.

The really good news is that that is not the reality! There are three general points to remember about power:

1. Power is dispersed throughout society. Not only people at the top level have power. Dr. Sharp calls this the pluralistic model of power.
2. Power is relational – it's not finite, it shifts and changes, it can ebb and flow, it's based on interactions.
3. There is also power-from-within. It's the "ability to influence and take action based on intention, clarity of vision, or charisma" (trainingforchange.org).

4 Session 3: Understanding People Power and Nonviolent Action

Session objectives: At the end of the session participants will:
- Understand the basics of People Power/nonviolent action;
- Identify and discuss examples of people power actions in Sierra Leone and the impact they created in the history of the people;
- Be able to distinguish nonviolent action from traditional forms of lobbying and advocacy and distinguish intra-institutional and extra-institutional approaches to change.

Materials Needed:

The trainer (s) are strongly encouraged to read the following materials before leading the session:

- Popovic, Srdja et.al.Canvas Core Curriculum. A Guide to Effective Nonviolent Struggle. 2007 CANVAS, Belgrade, pages 58-81;
- Chenoweth and Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Resistance*, (New York: Columbia University Press), 2011[vi]
- Gene Sharp's article on"Mechanisms and Methods of Nonviolent Struggle."[vii]
- Miller, Christopher, A. Only Young Once: An Introduction to Nonviolent Struggle for Youths, pages 15-26 and 51-59.[viii]
- PPP on "People Power to Make Government Work," slides #21-30.

The trainer should photocopy Gene Sharp's 198 Nonviolent Methods (Handout #1)[ix]

People Power in Sierra Leone

Group exercise: Get participants to form small groups of not more than four persons to answer the following questions, and ask them to note down their responses to the questions in their notebooks.

1. Based on the examples that you have heard about people power and nonviolent action in other countries, identify one nonviolent people power action that has been used to address a national or local issue in Sierra Leone since independence.
2. Identify the key players in the case you have chosen, and discuss the reasons behind their actions, and their success(es) or failure(s).
3. Identify and discuss any situations/conditions that exist now for similar nonviolent people power actions in the country.

Plenary:

- Each group should present their work. The trainer can save time if s/he records the main points on flipchart (s)/ board /notebook presented from the groups.
- The rest of the participants are asked to comment and validate the examples, filling in the gaps in each of the case stories.
- The trainer should now present the two case stories on the Sierra Leone for discussion.

CASE STORY 1: THE PEOPLE ACTION IN SIERRA LEONE

Women's Protest March on 8th May, 2000, Sierra Leone

It was the day that Sierra Leoneans of mixed class (Labor congress, students, civil society movements, ordinary citizens generally) chose a war path Non- Violence march against the erstwhile Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebel leader, Corporal Foday SaybanaSankoh in telling him enough was enough and that he should give peace a chance. On this day, desperate Sierra Leoneans of different shades of opinion came out in their numbers and marched to the residence of the recalcitrant Foday Sankoh at Spur Road, west of Freetown to demand peace, and for peace to reign supreme in the land.

What took place on that day is now history, but many lives were massacred, including those of women and journalists. Disappointingly, all the political pronouncements made during that historic burial ceremony that the memories of the dead would be kept alive, were kept but never actualized. As a result, more than a decade after that tragic event nothing is known about the victims of that bloody massacre. This portion of our history is deliberately obliterated, no doubt, by our politicians.

However, the fact that peace is here with us, it is incumbent on all Sierra Leoneans to maintain it now more than ever. I must say in that regards that I'm far from being impressed with the way things are happening in Sierra Leone. As far as I'm concerned I meant to say: as a people, we seem not to have taken a clue from the brisk experience the eleven year civil war taught us. Disappointingly, amongst us, some Sierra Leoneans continue to justify that all the untold suffering the people of this country went through were destined to befall us and it so happened that such idea is vibrantly alive even ten years after the war was declared over in 2002 by president Ahmad TejanKabbah, we continue doing things as if we want to provoke another civil war.
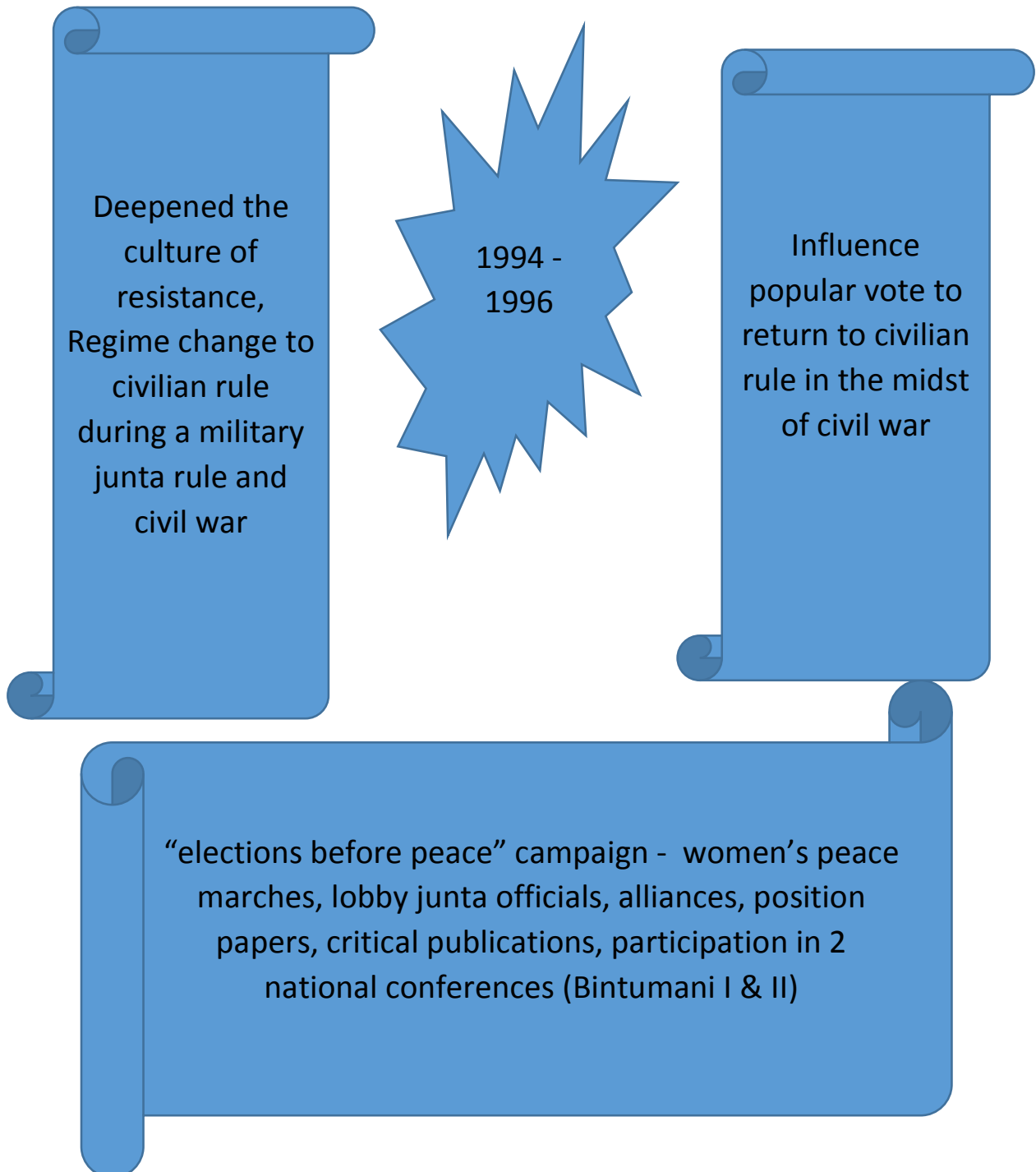
CASE STORY 2: PEOPLE POWER ACTION IN SIERRA LEONE

Mass Noncooperation of Workers during the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) Regime of May 1997 to February 1998 in Sierra Leone

In Sierra Leone during the civil war, civilians responded to the AFRC regime while moving around with their slogan *"if you don't want us you will die". T*his slogan was seen as treat to the lives of vulnerable people which led to the nonresistance movement of people, to gain their freedom and access their fundamental human rights.

The Sierra Leone labor congress led the nonresistance campaign, calling on the general public to protest against the junta government: teachers, doctors, drivers, market woman (formal and in formal sector workers) did not go to work, they sat at home waiting for the junta government and this led to civil resistance and noncooperation with the government. The campaign lasted for few months which led to the failure of the junta government. Because of this people power nonviolent action, the international body didn't recognize their leadership.

CASE STORY 3: People Power Action in Sierra Leone: Women Help Restore Democracy during the Civil War

Deepened the culture of resistance, Regime change to civilian rule during a military junta rule and civil war

1994 - 1996

Influence popular vote to return to civilian rule in the midst of civil war

"elections before peace" campaign - women's peace marches, lobby junta officials, alliances, position papers, critical publications, participation in 2 national conferences (Bintumani I & II)

Characteristics of Civil Resistance

i. Extra-institutional: They operate outside institutions.
ii. Adaptable and creative: They evolve and change the way they operate based on the responses of power-holders and the effects of the tactics/methods they employ.
iii. Underlying premise is that the power of elites and institutions is based on the consent and cooperation of those who serve them – Citizens can withdraw their consent and cooperation when they choose to obstruct the way the power-holders exercise or abuse the power that is entrusted to them.

- **Some talking points on "Characteristics of Civil Resistance":** What distinguishes nonviolent action from advocacy and lobbing is the use of extra-institutional strategies and tactics to mobilise people power to pressure power-holders and institutions from the outside.

- Nonviolent action is not necessarily illegal, but it may be illegal, depending on the national legal framework. Sometimes it is explicitly illegal in order to challenge unjust laws, and sometimes it is illegal just because legal avenues of protest have been closed. The act of breaking unjust laws is often termed "civil disobedience". Usually, though, in democratic countries, the majority of nonviolent actions are legal. Note that in Sierra Leone, it is the Sierra Leone Police that currently determines the legality of protests, marches and demonstrations since police clearance is required for such nonviolent actions to be legal.

- The distinction between **without violence and against violence** comes from Stellan Vinthagen. **Without violence** means that the activists refrain from the use of violence in their struggle. **Against violence** means that violent acts and structures are also the targets of the actions, which seek to eliminate or reduce the use of violence (direct, structural and cultural) by power-holders.

- Conflict is often associated with violence, but this is an error. The majority of conflicts in the world are nonviolent, and without conflict, significant reforms and structural changes would be impossible. Nonviolent action is a way of pursuing conflict without arms and violence. It escalates conflict through nonviolent methods and seeks to manage the conflict so as to avoid or minimise violence. Hence, nonviolent action seeks to separate violence from conflict and to create instead of destroy.

- Lobbying and advocacy is asking for change through institutional means. Nonviolent action builds on the Gandhian principle of being the change, or even doing the change. That is to say that it dramatizes the future we want to see, in order to provoke a counter-reaction. E.g. instead of (or in addition to) demanding an end to segregation, the Civil Rights Movement in the USA dramatized the desegregated future by sitting together in lunch counters, buses, etc.

Why Does Nonviolence Work?

Nonviolence tactics and strategies are used by organisations, community groups and structures or at times individuals with an objective to influence the behaviour of duty bearers or authorities. For many years nonviolence strategies have been used in Africa, Europe, Asian and America to fight injustices and systems of oppression with great successes. Some examples have been covered in Chapter 1; Situation Analysis and a Glance of People Power Movements.

Why is Violence Wrong?

Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan (2008)in their article, "Why Civil Resistance Works," observed that between the years 1900 – 2006, nonviolent campaigns "have achieved 53% success compared to 26 % for violent resistance campaigns.[x]

We use nonviolence to:

i. To defeat violence and prevent further use of violence
ii. To push for social change and justice without being violent
iii. To prevent destruction of property and loss of lives
iv. To shame the opponents and brand them as corrupt, violent, lawless, brutal, or torturers, abusers, etc.
v. To prevent any hostile behaviour towards the opponents
vi. To increase local, national and international legitimacy.
vii. To encourage broad-based participation in the resistance
viii. Violence lowers cost of opponent's repression

Methods of Nonviolent Action

Gene Sharp[xi] documented about 198 tactics /people power methods that movements use in nonviolent resistance to confront social injustices within their communities. New ones are constantly generated by movements and campaigns, including those targeting corruption. The 198 tactics are listed on page 46-47.

Saffron Revolution in Burma

Two classes of Nonviolent Actions

✓ **Nonviolent Acts of Commission** – people perform acts that they do not usually perform, and are not expected by custom to perform, or are forbidden to perform.
✓ **Nonviolent Acts of Omission** – people refuse to perform acts that they usually perform, are expected by custom to perform, or required by law or regulation to perform.

Ackerman and Du Vall[xii]categorized these methods into three main forms, which are:

a) **Protest and Persuasion**:This approach involves physical occupation of space and it is conflictual in nature. Organisers act in a way that directly confronts the target opponent.
   a. Marches and protest meetings

  b. Signed public statements
  c. Declarations of indictment and intention
  d. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
  e. Banners, posters, and displayed communications
  f. Records, radio, and television
  g. Wearing of symbols
  h. Prayer and worship
  i. Delivering symbolic objects

b) **Non-cooperation:** This approachliterally means withdrawing social, economic or political support and avoiding acting in a way that aids the opponent. This approach usually takes away legitimacy and cooperation, patronage, assistance or backing that the opponent feeds on. By way of example, non-cooperation is similar to denying a tree some water or simply denying a parasite some food.

  a. Boycott of social affairs
  b. Collective disappearance
  c. Non-consumption of boycotted goods
  d. Elections boycott
  e. Refusal to accept appointed officials
  f. Civil disobedience of illegitimate laws
  g. Economic shutdown

c) **Intervention**: The practice of intervention is a disruptive approach. It disturbs the usual actions of the opponents, hence, upsetting the targeted decision makers and pressuring them to reconsider their actions.

  a. Defiance of blockades
  b. Seeking imprisonment
  c. Overloading of administrative systems
  d. Finding alternative institutions
  e. Nonviolent interjection
  f. Sit-in

The trainer should now distribute copies of the List of 198 Methods of Nonviolent Action on pages 43-45 to all participants, and use the most well-known examples from the list to illustrate the different categories. For illiterate participants, the trainer should explain some of the methods.

Group and Plenary Exercise

The trainer should ask the participants to carry out the exercise below:

- Browse through the List of 198 Methods of Nonviolent Action and tick the methods you have encountered or used in your job situation or in previous work or as a volunteer/activist.
- Choose one story to share with the rest of the group.
- Share the stories in groups of 4-5 participants.
- Choose a story in your group and present it in the plenary.

5   Session 4: Building and Sustaining People Power Movement

Session objectives: At the end of the session participants will:
- Understand what movements are;
- Understand and be able to explain the features of a movement; and
- Identify and apply the skills and techniques to build and sustain people power movement.

Materials Needed

The trainer (s) are strongly encouraged to read the following materials before leading the session:

- Popovic, Srdja et.al: Canvas Core Curriculum. A Guide to Effective Nonviolent Struggle. 2007: CANVAS, Belgrade, Chapter on "Strategies and Principles of Nonviolent Struggle," pages 88-95;
- Chenoweth and Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Resistance*, (New York: Columbia University Press), 2011[xiii]
- PPP on "People Power to Make Government Work," slides #31-41

Exercise on Building a Movement:

Participants split into groups and answer the questions below

1. What is a movement?
2. How do we know they matter?
3. How can you build a movement?

The trainer should post group presentations at strategic points and ask participants to take a transect walk round the presentations. The trainer should ask participants tonote the similarities and differences.

In plenary, the trainer should ask each group to give one response to each of the questions.

What is a Movement?

After the exercise, the trainer should make the presentation on what a "Movement" is and engage the participants in the questions and answer session and the group work as appropriate.

Movement means "**to generate action**," to go from one place to another

A group of people with shared purpose who **create change** together *(courtesy of global fund for women)*

A movement is an ongoing collective effort aimed at bringing about consequential change in a social, economic, or political order. Movements are civilian-based, involve widespread popular participation, and alert, educate, serve, and mobilize people in order to create change(Hardy Merriman).[xiv] This is based on definitions in:

- Bill Moyer, Doing Democracy, Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers, 2001
- Kurt Schock, Unarmed Insurrections, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005
- John McCarthy, "Social Movements" in Powers, Vogele, Kruegler, and McCarthy (eds.), Protest, Power, and Change, New York: Garland Publishing, 1997

Characteristics of Movements:

Movements are:[xv]

- Based on voluntary participation -
- Representative -
- Often diverse
- Not an organization
- Not a spontaneous outburst

What Does a People Power Movement Look Like?

- Has a strong pipeline of leaders
- Solid partnership with other entities
- Powerful grassroots support or strong constituencies
- Shared political goal and a plan to work with
- Use the 198 Methods of Nonviolent Actions

How Can We Build a Social Movement of People Power?

- By connecting different organizations and individuals in a collective struggle around a particular issue or agenda (sometimes within a particular timeframe) to operate on a larger scale, such as district, national or international level.
- By linking people's organizations, community-based organizations, trade unions, NGOs, activists and academics.
- By giving strong commitment to mass mobilization and political engagement – challenging policies and practices and demanding transformational change
- By having clear goals and clearly distinguishing it from political parties and indeed from trade unions (though unions may join a social movement).
- By ensuring in large part, the active participation of its members - relying onpeople's willingness to stand up and engage in collective mobilization and direct action.
- By seeking to influence public agendas, challenge dominant patterns/paradigms and promote alternatives.

What Makes Movements Succeed?

Group Work Exercise:
- Participants to write two essentials that makes a movement succeed.
- Participants read out their points while the trainer writes them on a flipchart.

Principles of Success:

There is no standard prescription for organizing movements. However, for a movement or nonviolent struggles to succeed, it should have the three principles of Unity, Planning and Nonviolent Discipline.

1. **Unity:** Success of each movement is dependent on how the leaders are able to keep the entire social force united.
   - **Unity of People:** It should be able to mobilize large numbers of citizens and bring together a coalition of groups and organizations. The participationof more people makes the movement more real and trustworthy, more legitimate, more powerful and influential. It should therefore have the capacity to mobilize say students, farmers, teachers, health workers, miners and the general people and manage to keep them united until the achievement of the desired end.
   - **Unity within the movement:** All elements of the movement should operate in harmony
   - **Unity of Purpose:** Most people are able to identify with the goal of a campaign and see it as meaningful to improving their everyday lives.

2. **Planning:** How movements strategically plan their actions to obtaining social, economic and political contexts determines the extent of their success.
   - **Tactical capacity building:**Movements make strategic decisions during planning, organising, and coordination and implementation. Success comes from processes that are well thought out - determining what to campaign for, how to organise the campaign (i.e. tactics to use), timing for the campaign, who to involve and which stakeholders to work with, and those to expose or leave out.
   - **Strategic sequencing of a variety of methods/tactics:** Tactics used to achieve short term goals should contribute to the overall campaign strategy. It is not a spontaneous action as some might think.

3. **Nonviolence Discipline: Is when a** movement has capacity to maintain its nonviolent approach that will determine the nature of suppression it may experience and advantages to **escalating backfire** and **defections** and attracting local and international attention for sympathy and support. This should be a strong quality.
   - **Widespread participation and staying power –** A nonviolent movement for change will normally attract most people compared to a violent movement. In a nonviolent movement, there is a place for everyone in society (from children to the elderly, from women to men) to contribute. The more widespread the participation in your movement, the less likely will your opponent be able to control your movement.

o **De-legitimising the oppressor - N**onviolent discipline destroys the oppressor's credibility and legitimacy and decrease its support (especially when the repression is widely publicized through the media or other information channels). At the same time, sympathy and support for the nonviolent struggle may increase.

o **Co-opting the opponent's defenders -** Nonviolent discipline takes away the excuse of an oppressor to crack down on opponents. Nonviolent discipline usually erodes the loyalties of those people who support and obey the oppressor's orders.

Mobilizing People: connecting Agents of Change
- Conference theme of the 15th International Anti-corruption Conference in 2012. Increased empowerment of people and partners around the world to take action against corruption:

The challenge is to engage with people more widely than even before – for ultimately only people can stop corruption.

Transparency International's Strategy Plan 2015
Source: Shaazka Beyerle, Curtailing Corruption: People Power for Accountability & Justice. (Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers

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Structural Conditions that Influence Social Movements

The trainer should engage in a question and answer session on the following tasks which the trainer can write down on a flip chart/ power point/blackboard or read depending on the environment in which the training is held.

Tasks:
A) Vision the time in your community when you have joined a group demanding for a just cause?
B) List the circumstances that influenced your decision**?**

The trainer writes responses on a flip chart. Trainer now moves from the known to the unknown and explains to participants through a presentation or orally the following:

✓ Social Movements do not operate in a vacuum but in a contested space where there are competing interests from both opponents and the social movement itself.
✓ This means that the social movement is influenced by structural conditions. These conditions include:
✓ The environmental socio-economic and political situation e.g. the nature of the political leaders in a certain country and the oppressor's control of material resources and the information environment.
✓ The conditions related to the opponent and conditions related to the population within which the SM and its target opponent exist and solicit support e.g. an oppressor's willingness to use violence – repression to maintain its rule
✓ International support for the movement

Why People Join Social Movements

People join movements for various factors, including:
- ✓ Compelling reasons or cause
- ✓ History attached to your Government
- ✓ Emotional feelings attached to the movement
- ✓ What people hope to benefit
- ✓ What the movement represents

6   Session 5: People Power, Corruption and Good Governance

Session objectives: At the end of the session participants will:
- Know the different definitions of corruption and their limitations.
- Know some of the factors that may make people rise up against corruption and demand better governance.
- Know how to identify and target specific corruption-related problems using people power and to create a vision related to good governance.
- Know how to formulate goals and demands in a campaign and know the difference between them.

Materials Needed

The trainer (s) are strongly encouraged to read the following materials before leading the session:

- Shaazka Beyerle, *Curtailing Corruption: People Power for Accountability & Justice.* (Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers), *2014*pages 7-36
- PPP on "People Power to Make Government Work," #42-55

Introduction to corruption

Definitions of Corruption

1. **Corruption as the***misuse of entrusted power for private gain"by* **Transparency International (TI)**

Limitations of TI definition

1. The abuse of power is not limited to private gain, but can also be for political gain or collective benefits for a third party, entity, group, or sector, for example, state security forces, political parties, businesses, financial services, and unions, etc.
2. **It's helpful to think about how corruption functions.** It's not just a collection of unconnected transactions. It functions as a system of power abuse involving a multitude of relationships, some visible but many others hidden, hence our struggle for transparency.
3. Within this system are long-standing interests that will try really hard to maintain the venal status quo and thwart change through many different ways, from non-compliance to intimidation to violence.

Source: Beyerle, Shaazka: Freedom from Corruption. A Curriculum for People Power Movements, Campaigns and Civic Initiatives. http://www.curtailingcorruption.org/

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2. "Where corruption is endemic, it is the poorest that pay the highest price" by Laurence Cockroft

For regular people, corruption is not an abstract evil. We can experience it. Thus, corruption is a form of oppression and a loss of freedom.

4. "The external manifestation of the denial of a right, an entitlement, a wage, a medicine..." by Aruna Roy

When we take Aruna Roy's people-centered view, the priorities shift to controlling those forms of graft and abuse that are most harmful or common to citizens, particularly among the poor and marginalized.

How to use People Power to ReduceCorruption?

In summary, across countries, societies, contexts, and types of corruption, citizens demonstrated that they have the capacity to exercise power against corruption and impunity and achieve visible outcomes.

People power was also found to create political will where it didn't exist, put pressure on governments and institutions to take action, and even support authorities, civil servants and politicians trying to fight the corrupt system who also faced intimidation and obstacles.

Discussion Session

Why do People Rise up Against Corruption?

The trainer should open discussion on this question **for discussion.** There is no simple, standard answer or a single root cause. A more helpful way to think about the **"why"** of people power is to consider that there may be a constellation of related grievances that a group of people, a community, or country share.

For those wanting to curb corruption - both non-state actors and state reformers - a more useful track is to ascertain the potential for citizens (organization/union) to mobilize.

Cicak, cicak di dinding! Mari serbu buaya!

Translation: Small CICAK's. Let's attack crocodile!
Image: CICAK (Love Indonesia Love Anti-Corruption Commission) Campaign sticker

When Do People Rise up Against Corruption?

The following are five (if not more) underlying societal factors, occurring together, suggest the potential for citizen empowerment and organized collective action:

Common grievances:	Civic groups and regular citizens begin to see that they have serious grievances and problems in common that are linked to corruption.
Beyond atomisation:	They start realising that they are not alone in feeling oppressed, offended and/or outraged by power-holders (state and non-state).
Shared awareness:	A shared awareness starts developing about the source(s) of the injustice or oppression.
Reduction of fear or apathy:	People begin losing their fear or apathy to raise their voices in an organised, collective manner.
Organising:	Cooperation and new alliances may begin to appear at the grass-roots.

Group Work

1. At your tables, consider the five societal currents.
2. Give a score from 1-4 for each of the five dimensions here in your community or the country.
3. What does this tell us about the potential for mobilizing people power against corruption?
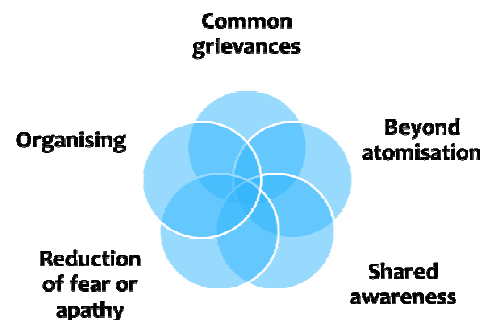
Problem identification and visioning

Identifying the problem:

Successful and smart grassroots movements and campaigns do not target corruption in the abstract. They focus on identifying a problem that is:

✓ About widely-held public grievances entailing corruption that provokes anger or outrage;
✓ About widely-experienced injustices and oppression stemming from corruption that impacts people in their everyday lives;
✓ About situations that cause public outrage over power holder impunity and/or contempt/disregard for citizens.

The Movement's Vision

- ✓ Creating a shared vision in a movement, campaign or group that is targeting corruption and impunity is important.
- ✓ A **movement's vision** is what the community, country or society is hoping to build and imagine at the end of the struggle.
- ✓ It is what a movement or campaign is moving towards; it is building or reimagining a system, rather than critiquing or destroying a system.
- ✓ It is used to unify and build on common values and dreams of members of a group, community or country.

Group Discussion Questions:

The trainer will lead the discussion on the following questions:

1. Choose a widely-held grievance about corruption and impunity that negatively impact citizens in thier everyday lives.
2. Identify the problem and deveop a vision of the future wher the problem has been solved.
3. The group briefly presents the problem and th vision

Anti-corruption Goals

Once the problems have been identified, the next step is to come up with the goal(s). The goals are what you want to accomplish in order to address the corruption-related problem.

Some important questions to ask are:

- Are the goals realistic/achievable and concrete?
- How will achieving these goals make a difference in curbing the larger problem of corruption and impunity?
- Do we need to try to achieve all these goals at once, or should we sequence them and have short-term goals that build incremental victories towards longer-term goals?
- Are these goals time-specific or are they ongoing?

Demands on Power-holders:

If a campaign or movement wants power-holders to take action or change behaviors and practices, then it's often helpful to translate goals into tangible demands (Actions) that produce

> *"Many civil society campaigns put too much emphasis on the problem and very little thought to its solution, what needs to be done. They may succeed in shaming the government into action, but often that action is a one-time small remedy that speaks more to the publicity around the problem than to a solution that can be monitored."* **FAO**

clear outcomes.

Discussion on Goals and Demands:

The trainer should either photocopy these statements or write them on a flip chart/ board if s/he is not using the PPP. S/he should lead discussion on the statements below:

Which of the following statements reflect goals and which are demands?

1. **Mexico:** We want legislators to pay taxes on their Christmas bonuses, just like every other citizen who gets the bonus.
2. **Italy:** We want to weaken the mafia in Palermo by encouraging businesses to refuse to pay pizzo (extortion money).
3. **Kenya:** We want the authorities to invalidate the sale of a public plot of land on which an HIV clinic stands, and for it to be repaired and reopened, according to the Constituency Development plan.
4. **Sierra Leone:** We want government to approve teachers who are already serving, but are not on government payroll.
5. **Sierra Leone:** We demand members of the house of parliament to pass strong bills that ban individual/public servants who have been found to be corrupt from holding public offices.
6. **Sierra Leone:** We want local council authorities to investigate and take serious actions on problems found by our CSO's /Media monitors in the local construction and development projects.
7. **Mexico:** We want to begin to challenge corruption and impunity in the political system.

Presentation on Governance and Corruption Issues at local or national level

Where possible, the trainer should plan to have a guest speaker make the presentation on a topic that is relevant to the participants.

Objectives of the presentation include:

(1) To have knowledge about the most important corruption and good governance related issues in their country, district or community, and

(2) To have knowledge of previous and current civil society efforts to combat corruption and promote good governance in their country, district or community.

The trainer should allow the participants to ask questions and make contribution after the presentation.

7 Session 6: Essentials of Planning: Strategy, Campaign, Tactics and Methods

A Philosopher, Sun Tuz once said **''Strategy without Tactics is the slowest route to victory and Tactics before strategy is the noise before defeat'.**

Session objectives: At the end of the session participants will:
- Know different ways of defining corruption
- Know some of the factors that may make people rise up against corruption and demand better governance.
- Know how to identify and target specific corruption-related problems using people power and to create a vision related to good governance.
- Know how to formulate goals and demands in a campaign.

Materials Needed

The trainer (s) are strongly encouraged to read the following materials before leading the session:

- The MUHURI case study, "It's our Money. Where's it gone?" – onYouTubehttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eYdO17zfcXs or PPP slide #67. Test showing the video on whichever medium you choose beforehand to see if it works well.
- CANVAS Core Curriculum – A Guide to Effective Nonviolent Struggle," page 84-85, 90;
- PPP on "People Power to Make Government Work," #68-87. Use the two-minute summary video with Hardy Merriman on slide #87.

Introduction:

This chapter introduces the basic principles that promotes non-violent action in curbing corruption within a system. It introduces the phases of planning for people's action through strategies, campaigns and tactics that is violence free and is successful at promoting good and accountable governance. It is important to note that one must start planning from the top (strategy) and move downwards to the bottom level, tactic and methods.

The MUHURI Video

The trainer should show the video of the MUHURI case study first so that the participants have a common example which can be used later in the session.

The six steps of the social audit method are presented as part of the video, but it is good to repeat it afterwards from PPP (slide #67) or the board or flip chart. The trainer should ask the participants if they have any experience with social audit or similar methods and/or if they think it would be applicable in their country and the contexts they work or live in.

The trainer should view the video beforehand and list many of the types of tactics/methods that are used, some of which have been discussed in previous sessions. This way, the trainer helps highlight practical examples of how nonviolent tactics look in action. These include:

- catchy messaging and using media to enhance a campaign
- humour and fun to increase numbers of people engaged
- shaming local leaders
- using culture, music and art
- local involvement
- diverse members of campaigns (men/women, young/old, rich/poor, urban/rural, abled/disabled)
- building unity
- building local capacity and other important aspects of nonviolent movement building

Summary of Strategic and Tactical Considerations

These considerations help with some of the dilemmas people power activists will have to face. Here are some talking points:

- Acts of commission and omission refer back to slide #29 on the first day, as a reminder of those two classes of actions. Commission is doing something you're not supposed to do based on culture, tradition, religion, norms or laws. Omission is not doing something you're supposed to do based on culture, tradition, religion, norms or laws.
- Concentration or decentralisation of forces is connected to risk management and how to deal with repression. How to best use your resources while avoiding repression? They are also important knowledge for strategists using diverse and innovative tactics/methods to keep their opponents guessing and off-balance, as well as to engage different populations.
- Windows of opportunity has to do with flexibility and the ability to act quickly when opportunity presents itself.
- Sequencing of tactics is about having a grand strategy which informs your decisions about what to do when, while at the same time having space for tactical innovation and creativity within that grand strategy.
- Finding roles for everyone has to do with getting the most out of your human resources and engaging diverse members of the community or society, while recognising that people are different and can/will contribute in different ways, including being willing and able to engage in more high risk or low risk activities. Mobilisation capacity is a main reason why people power is effective, but this requires that people can contribute in different ways.

The Four Levels of Planning:

1. **Grand strategy:** The overall framework to coordinate and direct the available resources (economic, human, moral, political, organizational, etc.) ofa movementso that it can attain its objectives in a conflict**.** Itfocuses on what to fight for, when, and how to fight. It aims to achieve maximum effectiveness in order to make specific changes.

2. **Campaign:**A campaign is a coordinated plan of actions that support the overall goals of the grand strategy. Each campaign consists of a series of tactics and methods to contribute to its success.

3. **Tactics:** These are mini plans of action designed to achieve specfic limited objectives that support the overall objectives of a campaign.

4. **Methods:**Methods are specific nonviolent actions which are mainly categorised into nonviolent protests and persuasions, noncooperation and nonviolent interventions. These may include information gathering, non-cooperation with corruption, civil disobedience, display of symbols, street theatre, music, engagement with power-holders, education and training, protests, media and publication messages, cultural activities, and nonviolent blockades.

Six Steps to Consider

Step 1: Information gathering:

- Identify issues in need of positive change
- To understand these issues/problems include research or listening to experiences from others

Step 2: Educate others:

- It is essential to inform others, including your opposition, about your issue
- To cause change, the people must understand the issue and its impact
- By educating others, you minimize misunderstanding and gain support and allies

Step 3: Personal commitment:

- Causing change requires dedication and long hours of work
- Meet with others regularly and stay focused on your goal
- Prepare yourself to accept sacrifices

Step 4: Negotiation:

- Using grace, humor and intelligence, confront individuals who need to participate in this change
- Discuss plans for addressing and resolving these issues
- Seek for all positive issues in statements made by the opposition
- Do not humiliate the opponent
- Persuade the opponent to become an ally

Step 5: Direct action:

- Direct action imposes a 'creative tension' into the conflict
- Direct action is most effective when it illustrates the justice it seeks to correct.
- There are hundreds of direct actions which include:
  - o Boycott
  - o Marches and rallies
  - o Letter writing and petition campaigns
  - o Political action and voting
  - o Public art and performance

Step 6: Reconciliation:

- Non-violence seeks friendship and understanding
- Non-violence does not seek to defeat the opponent
- Non-violence is directed against evil systems, oppressive policies and unjust act, not against persons.

VISIONING:

A movement's vision is what their community or country or society will be like at the end of the struggle. Social movements, including those targeting corruption and impunity, often have an overall vision that is linked to nonviolent action.

To understand the issue of visioning for a struggle, below are some important points to discuss:

- Campaigns are less likely to have a long-term vision. Why do you think this is so?
- Even if they don't have a long-term vision, can campaigns have a short-term vision?
- Are you involved in a movement that is either directly or indirectly targeting corruption?
- Does it have a vision? If not, can you articulate what your community or country or society will be like at the end of the struggle?
- Do any of these examples express a vision and what is it?

Why should visioning be an important aspect of a campaign?

- A movement's visionis what the community, country or society is hoping to build and imagine at the end of the struggle.
- It is what a movement or campaign is moving towards; it is building or reimagining a system, rather than critiquing or destroying a system.
- It is used to unify and build on common values and dreams of members of a group, community or country.

Goals (Objectives) Versus Demands:

- A simple word used in place of **goals** is **objective.**
- The goals are what you want to accomplish in order to address the corruption-related problem.
- To set your goals can be very difficult so much that the goals can become a problem for most people.
- Goals are set up only when you have identified the problem that you wish to solve is known.

Before setting your goals, consider the following questions;

- Are the goals realistic?
- Are the goals vague or more concrete?
- How will achieving these goals make a difference in curbing corruption and impunity?
- Do we need to try to achieve all these goals at once, or should we sequence them and have shorter goals that build incremental victories towards longer-term goals?
- How can we tell if we've achieved a goal?
- Are these goals time-specific or are they ongoing?

Reasons why tangible goals are important:

- ➢ They help us to focus on the actions we must take in order to achieve these goals and eliminate those activities that are distracting and unrelated to our desired outcomes.
- ➢ 'Without measurable outcome goals, it is easy for a group to lose focus (to be unclear about its goals) and therefore, unclear about what actions it must take.' (Social Movement scholar Marshall Ganz).

The trainer should remind the participants about the exercise on the difference goals and demands in previous session.

Planning Tools for Analysis

1. Spectrum of Allies:

The Spectrum of Allies is especially useful for building a campaign and deciding on tactics/methods to address certain specific audiences. The trainer should underline the fact that "conversion" (Sharp, Gene, Mechanisms and Methods of Nonviolence) is rare and that it is much more realistic just to shift individuals, groups and institution one or two sectors to the left.
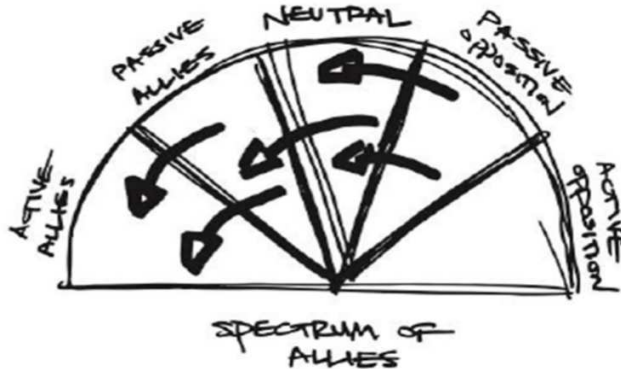
The figure illustrates the spectrum of allies, a tool to conceptualize shifts in allegiance and to develop strategies and tactics to produce them.

Source: www.beuatifultrouble.org

2. Pillars of Support:

The **Pillars of Support** tool is focused on building a broad strategy. An exercise, using this tool, should have been carried out in Chapter 3 Session 2. The trainer should briefly discuss the tool to ensure that participants understand how to use it for planning.

Summary Video

The trainer should play the two-minute summary video with Hardy Merriman. It can also be played from YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rX3ddAn9aqA or PP# 87. The trainer should allow a few minutes of Questions and Answers after the video.

8 Session 7: Discourse, Messaging and communicating effectively

Session objectives: At the end of the session participants will:
- Know the basics of discourse and messaging
- Be familiar with some examples of anti-corruption messaging and have considered what kind of messaging could be implied in their own context

Materials Needed

The trainer (s) are strongly encouraged to read the following materials before leading the session:

- Beyerle, Shaazka: Freedom from Corruption. A Curriculum for People Power Movements, Campaigns and Civic Initiatives. http://www.curtailingcorruption.org/;
- PPP on "People Power to Make Government Work" slides #89-99, including the videos.

Introduction and Definitions

- **Discourse:** It refers to "*the narratives, cognitive frames, meanings and language of people power campaigns, movements and civic initiatives*" by Hardy Merriman, President of International Center for Nonviolent conflict. Discourse encompasses **what we think** and **how we communicate** about the corruption problem we are directly or indirectly targeting: our vision, objectives, goals demands (asks), obstacles, threats, and triumphs.

Effective Anti-corruption Discourse

There are **three main elements** of an effective anti-corruption discourse.

1. **Defining the problem:**
   1) Reframing grievances to show how they are related to the particular system of corruption
   2) Basing the problem on the (social, economic, political, cultural) realities of regular people, rather than on abstract appeals against corruption or legalistic and technical jargon that doesn't relate to everyday life
   3) Linking personal experiences to the overall problem

For example, *"Korean political parties have remained unchanged and politicians do not represent the people's interests. "* - Taeho Lee, Korean civic leader and democracy movement veteran

2. **Defining the struggle:**

Articulating what the struggle is against and more importantly what the struggle is for.

For example, *"We are for an end to Israeli occupation and repression and for a unified, free, democratic Palestinian state."* Palestinian activists

3. Defining the movement's or campaign's values:

Linking existing cultural narratives, symbols and identities in the community or larger society to the anti-corruption struggle.

For example, *"You are the freedom fighters of India. We were slaves to the British for 190 years and are now slaves to corruption."* Vijay Anand, 5th Pillar.

Group Work and plenary

The trainer should divide the participants into three groups, and askseach of the groups to:

✓ Come up withthree statements that define the three elements of effective anti-corruption discourse based on the realities of their communities and the country, and
✓ Share their statements in plenary and encourage discussion on the appropriateness of the statement

Two Videos of Anti-corruption Messaging on Anticorruption Struggles (PPP slides #95-98)

The trainer should:

- Show the videos, which will take about 8 minutes to watch.
- Put the participants into groups and ask them to discuss and rank the messages in groups
- Ask participants to share their ranks and record them on the flipchart, with one line for each video and one column for each group vote, and a last column to summarise the rankings of the groups to arrive at a ranking for all the participants; and
- Comment on similarities and differences between the group rankings.

The videos are:

1. 5th Pillar Corruption Killer - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pPqYOjwOjWQ
2. Addiopizzo (Goodbye Mafia), Palermo, Italy - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tGRk0tqPTJ0

9   Session 8: Mobilizing Support

Session objectives: At the end of the session participants will:
- Know which categories of actors may support a nonviolent action and the different ways they can support it.
- Be aware of some of the dilemmas concerning receiving external support
- Know the guiding principles for seeking external support

Materials Needed

The trainer (s) are strongly encouraged to read the following materials before leading the session:

- Beyerle, Shaazka: Freedom from Corruption. A Curriculum for People Power Movements, Campaigns and Civic Initiatives, pages 79-84;http://www.curtailingcorruption.org/;
- PPP on "People Power to Make Government Work," #100-107

Guide to Soliciting/Gaining Support

The trainer lead discussion in this session with the following guide that:

- People power is a bottom-up, home-grown approach to fighting corruption and promoting good governance.
- Civil society should appreciate the essential role of ordinary citizens in furthering social change. **Any civic efforts without the active participation of ordinary citizens does not qualify as people power.**
- Civic actions therefore attract national and international actors because they have come to appreciate the essential role of citizens in furthering such social change.
- While external support can sometimes help grassroots civic initiatives, it can potentially have (unintended) negative consequences. Those initiatives might be interpreted as externally motivated.

Principles to Supporting Nonviolent Actions

- **Affirm**, through solidarity and engagement, rather than interfere.
- **Enable** empowerment and action.
- **Empower** citizens and CSOs through transfer of knowledge, peer-to-peer learning, access to information, networking, provision of flexible grants and access to IT tools/infrastructure
- **Recognise** that citizens have agency and power and are agents of change rather than recipients of external efforts
- **Respect** their wishes and judgements as to when external support is beneficial and when it is detrimental.

Reasons for Support

- To create an enabling environment
- To provide catalytic support to activists and movements

- To be part of a broader, strategic plan and integrated into broader strategy, campaigns and methods and tactics—a multi-pronged approach.

Types of Support

There are many different types of assistance needed for successful nonviolent action. They often act simultaneously and are seldom completely independent of each other. Non-actors can provide support to grassroots civic initiatives targeting corruption and impunity through:

1. Nonviolent actions and campaigns in support of a struggle
2. Mobilization actions
3. Technical, legal, investigative assistance
4. Nonviolent witness and accompaniment
5. Providing access to information, know-how and technical skills, peer-to-peer exchanges and networking
6. Funding and financial support

Dilemmas of External Support

- External financial aid is often crucial for a movement's survival, particularly in the early stages of its formation.
- However, it can be used by corruptors to crack down on CSOs and civic initiatives, and to try to publicly discredit them through false accusations such as being agents or for foreign governments or entities.
- Yet CSOs and civic initiatives often need some kind of financial support and have legitimate reasons to seek it.
- Grant-based action programmes often fail to generate new resources from the work they do – and keep themselves in a state of perpetual dependency.
- The accompaniment can be very effective in confronting common methods of repressive governments that attempt to inhibit dissent.

Discussion Questions

The trainer should ask participants to discuss the following questions.

- Have your organisations given any of these types of support to partners in the South? What was the outcome?
- Are there other types of support that non-state actors could provide or could potentially provide to nonviolent movements, campaigns and civic initiatives that could be beneficial?
- Are there other risks?
- Have your partners experienced any negative consequences from contact or support from you or other partners?
  - If so, how did you and they deal with them?

10 Session 9: From Learning to Doing

Session objectives: At the end of the session participants will:
- Have identified key learning from the training.
- Have practised designing a campaign on a relevant corruption-related topic in their context
- Have created a collaborative **Plan of Action** on how they would like to follow-up the training
- Divided responsibilities among themselves for implementing the Plan of Action

Materials Needed

The trainer (s) are strongly encouraged to read the following materials before leading the session:

- Beyerle, Shaazka: Freedom from Corruption. A Curriculum for People Power Movements, Campaigns and Civic Initiatives, pages 89-84; http://www.curtailingcorruption.org/;
- PPP on "People Power to Make Government Work," slides #111-116

What are Participants Taking Away from the Training?

The trainer should ask participants to share one thing they have learned during the entire training period. More than one round of sharing could be done depending on the number of participants. As mentioned in Chapter One, the training can be held in consecutive days or in several sessions spanning a period of time, not exceeding one month.

The quote below, which is also in the PPP slides, is from one of the organisers from the CICAK Campaign in Indonesia. In a very nice way, it summarises both why people power approaches are necessary and legitimate also in democracies, and why both top-down and bottom-up approaches are needed. The trainer should open a short discussion on it to confirm that participants have fully grasped PPA and how to apply them.

"When voters have limited choices beyond obstructive politicians backed by corrupt parties, representative democracy alone cannot deliver accountability and justice, and can even lose legitimacy in the eyes of the people. Consequently, both top-down and bottom-up strategies are needed. Political will means from the top. People power is from the bottom up. We need both if we want democracy," observed Dadang Trisasongko, one of the Indonesian civic leaders of the first Love Indonesia, Love Anti-Corruption Commission (CICAK) Campaign.[xvi]

The trainer should open the floor for any comments regarding the entire contents of the training at this point. This is the chance for participants to bring up any issue which has been "parked" earlier on or which is as yet unanswered, before turning to more practical issues.

Developing the Road Map

The trainer should lead the participants to decide on how to form working groups for the 3 - 5 topics that are to be chosen for which action plans should be developed. The trainer reminds participants of the group work on situation analysis the first day where participants have come up with the most important corruption and good governance related problems in their communities and the nation. Other issues that have come up during the training may be added to the list. The idea is to assess which topics most participants are interested in working on, and to form working groups around them.

Depending on the number of participants and the distribution of interest among topics, normally 3-5 groups should be formed. If many participants are interested in the same topic, it is possible to have two groups working on the same topics. It should be avoided having more than six participants in one group, as some of them may not be actively engaged. Three participants should be the absolute minimum for a group, but four is better. If necessary, participants may be nudged toward shifting to second priority topic in order to keep group sizes between 3-4 and 6.

The questions are:

- ✓ Look at the list of corruption problems you developed in the situation analysis the first day
- ✓ Think about which one interests you the most!
- ✓ Raise your hand to indicate which topic you would like to work with now
- ✓ Join a working groups of your choice.

Group Work for Plan of Action

The trainer should then ask each working group to:

Design a people power campaign to address the problem you have chosen to work with. Don't forget to consider:

- ✓ Mobilisation and alliance-building
- ✓ Goals/objectives and demands
- ✓ Strategy
- ✓ Tactics/methods
- ✓ Messaging
- ✓ How can you as a CSO/CBOs or other interest groups support the campaign?

Each group should present their campaign to the plenary/main group. After each presentation, the trainer should offer short remarks about their campaign plans, emphasising positive aspects as it is important that the participants enter the next session with a sense of empowerment and being able to do something. Instead of negative comments, the trainer may ask a question or two, which would enable the group to improve on weak points.

The exercise focusses on giving the participants some practice in campaign planning, and also to create ideas that may perhaps be used in practice later on.

Where do we go from here?

Individual Work for Roadmap

This focuses on creating specific action from the training that will enable the participants to follow-up the training within their own organisations and as a group. The idea with the individual roadmap exercise is to encourage everyone to think about how they can use what they have learnt in their own organisation, and to a certain extent commit themselves to keep working on this. The exercise is fairly straightforward; just introduce the question and the idea that they should draw it. The trainer could illustrate this on the flipchart, drawing a winding road form "now" to the "goal" (2-3 years ahead) and explain how key activities and milestones could be placed along the road. There is neither need nor time for everyone to present their roadmaps afterwards; they are for the participants to bring home and keep with them as a reminder of what they want to do.

Questions for individual work
1. Over the next 2-3 years, what do I plan to do in my job in order to use the skills and knowledge I have gained in this training, and what change do I want to achieve by that?
2. Draw a roadmap from where you are to where you want to go, with key activities and milestones along the way?

Group Follow-up

  1. Discuss how as a group you can support each other to carry out your plans?
  2. Can there be common actions?
  3. What external support will you need to carry out your plan and from whom?

Deciding on a Plan of Action

In plenary, the trainer leads discussion based on the three questions below (at the same time, not one by one) or on the slide (slide #116), and building on the individual roadmaps.

  ✓ Report from working groups
  ✓ Create a Plan of Action, including deadlines and division of responsibilities
  ✓ Adopt the Plan of Action

As ideas for common initiatives come up, note them down on the flipchart /board and check if there is consensus on any of them. If so, enter them into a simple Plan of Action format, for example lik, this:

#	Action	Deadline	Responsible

Finally, if there are important follow-up points that have not been suggested, the trainer may suggest them and see if there is agreement, and add (some of) them to the Plan of Action. Some such ideas may be, but are not limited to:

- Join a network of participants, perhaps supported by Facebook or Google group (or similar), WhatsApp, close user group, and/or an email list.
- Agree to have a follow-up meeting to discuss future actions
- Share contents of the training within their own organisations
- Organise a training for the staff of the organisations, or groups to attend together
- Research other groups or coalitions that are specialists in nonviolent action or movement building and make sure there is no duplication and that others are asked to join efforts.
- Organise a training where partners will be invited to

When the Plan of Action is finished, it may be a good idea to ask for it to be adopted by acclamation or similar method, in order to increase the commitment to implementing it.

PARTICIPANTS AT A CORRUPTION SYSTEM ANALYSIS TRAINING

11 ANNEX: 198 METHODS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION

The Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion
Formal Statements
1. Public speeches
2. Letters of opposition or support
3. Declarations by organizations and institutions
4. Signed public statements
5. Declarations of indictment and intention
6. Group or mass petitions
Communications with a Wider Audience
7. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
8. Banners, posters, and displayed communications
9. Lea?ets, pamphlets, and books
10. Newspapers and journals
11. Records, radio, and television
12. Skywriting and earthwriting
Group Representations
13. Deputations
14. Mock awards
15. Group lobbying
16. Picketing
17. Mock elections
Symbolic Public Acts
18. Displays of ?ags and symbolic colors
19. Wearing of symbols
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobings
23. Destruction of own property
24. Symbolic lights
25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names
28. Symbolic sounds
29. Symbolic reclamations
30. Rude gestures
Pressures on Individuals
31. "Haunting" officials
32. Taunting officials
33. Fraternization 3
34. Vigils
Drama and Music
35. Humorous skits and pranks
36. Performances of plays and music
37. Singing
Processions
38. Marches
39. Parades
40. Religious processions
41. Pilgrimages
42. Motorcades
Honoring the Dead
43. Political mourning
44. Mock funerals
45. Demonstrative funerals
46. Homage at burial places
Public Assemblies
47. Assemblies of protest or support
48. Protest meetings
49. Camou?aged meetings of protest
50. Teach-ins
Withdrawal and Renunciation
51. Walk-outs
52. Silence
53. Renouncing honors
54. Turning one's back

The Methods of Social Non cooperation
Ostracism of Persons
55. Social boycott
56. Selective social boycott
57. Lysistratic nonaction
58. Excommunication
59. Interdict
Non cooperation with Social Events, Customs, and Institutions
60. Suspension of social and sports activities
61. Boycott of social affairs
62. Student strike
63. Social disobedience
64. Withdrawal from social institutions
Withdrawal from the Social System
65. Stay-at-home
66. Total personal non cooperation
67. "Flight" of workers
68. Sanctuary
69. Collective disappearance
70. Protest emigration (hijrat)
The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: Economic Boycotts Actions by Consumers
71. Consumers' boycott
72. Nonconsumption of boycotted goods
73. Policy of austerity
74. Rent withholding
75. Refusal to rent
76. National consumers' boycott
77. International consumers' boycott
Action by Workers and Producers
78. Workmen's boycott
79. Producers' boycott
Action by Middlemen
80. Suppliers' and handlers' boycott
Action by Owners and Management
81. Traders' boycott
82. Refusal to let or sell property
83. Lockout
84. Refusal of industrial assistance
85. Merchants' "general strike"
Action by Holders of Financial Resources
86. Withdrawal of bank deposits
87. Refusal to pay fees, dues, and assessments
88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
89. Severance of funds and credit
90. Revenue refusal
91. Refusal of a government's money
Action by Governments
92. Domestic embargo
93. Blacklisting of traders
94. International sellers' embargo
95. International buyers' embargo
96. International trade embargo
The Methods of Economic Non cooperation: The Strike
Symbolic Strikes
97. Protest strike
98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike)
Agricultural Strikes
99. Peasant strike
100. Farm Workers' strike

Strikes by Special Groups
101. Refusal of impressed labor
102. Prisoners' strike
103. Craft strike
104. Professional strike

Ordinary Industrial Strikes
105. Establishment strike
106. Industry strike
107. Sympathetic strike

Restricted Strikes
108. Detailed Strike
109. Bumper strike
110. Slowdown strike
111. Working-to-rule strike
112. Reporting "sick" (sick-in)
113. Strike by resignation
114. Limited strike
115. Selective strike

Multi-Industry Strikes
116. Generalized strike
117. General strike Combination of Strikes and Economic Closures
118. Hartal
119. Economic shutdown

**The Methods of Political Noncooperation
Rejection of Authority**
120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance
121. Refusal of public support
122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance

Citizens' Noncooperation with Government
123. Boycott of legislative bodies
124. Boycott of elections
125. Boycott of government employment and positions
126. Boycott of government depts., agencies, and other bodies
127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions
128. Boycott of government-supported organizations
129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents 130. Removal of own signs and placemarks
131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions Citizens'

Alternatives to Obedience
133. Reluctant and slow compliance
134. Nonobedience in absence of direct supervision
135. Popular nonobedience
136. Disguised disobedience
137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse
138. Sit-down
139. Noncooperation with conscription and deportation
140. Hiding, escape, and false identities
141. Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws

Action by Government Personnel
142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
143. Blocking of lines of command and information
144. Stalling and obstruction
145. General administrative noncooperation
146. Judicial noncooperation
147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
148. Mutiny

Domestic Governmental Action
149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units

International Governmental Action
151. Changes in diplomatic and other representations
152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events 153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition
154. Severance of diplomatic relations
155. Withdrawal from international organizations 156. Refusal of membership in international bodies
157. Expulsion from international organizations

The Methods of Nonviolent Intervention Psychological Intervention
158. Self-exposure to the elements
159. The fast a. Fast of moral pressure b. Hunger strike c. Satyagrahic fast
160. Reverse trial
161. Nonviolent harassment

Physical Intervention
162. Sit-in
163. Stand-in
164. Ride-in
165. Wade-in
166. Mill-in
167. Pray-in
168. Nonviolent raids
169. Nonviolent air raids
170. Nonviolent invasion
171. Nonviolent interjection
172. Nonviolent obstruction
173. Nonviolent occupation

Social Intervention
174. Establishing new social patterns
175. Overloading of facilities
176. Stall-in
177. Speak-in
178. Guerrilla theater
179. Alternative social institutions
180. Alternative communication system

Economic Intervention
181. Reverse Strike
182. Stay-in Strike
183. Nonviolent land seizure
184. De? ance of Blockades
185. Politically Motivated Counterfeiting
186. Preclusive Purchasing
187. Seizure of assets
188. Dumping
189. Selective patronage
190. Alternative markets
191. Alternative transportation systems
192. Alternative economic institutions

Political Intervention
193. Overloading of administrative systems
194. Disclosing identities of secret agents
195. Seeking imprisonment
196. Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws
197. Work-on without collaboration
198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government

12 End Notes

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PEOPLE POWER APPROACHES TRAINING IN FREETOWN