

BUILDING POWER

**A GUIDE FOR ABORIGINAL AND
TORRES STRAIT ISLANDERS WHO
WANT TO CHANGE THE WORLD**



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BUILDING THE POWER OF ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER COMMUNITIES



The project

The Building Power project has evolved from working with and collecting stories, lessons and case studies from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and communities across Australia. The insights come from campaigns to stop a nuclear waste dump, resistance to the imposition of fracking, and lessons from the many communities challenging the existence and expansion of mines.

The project highlights that not only could we be working better together across different community struggles but that there are similarities in the things communities need to be better equipped and organised. It is important to acknowledge the diversity among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and nations, our lived experiences, access to resources, remoteness and much more. So, there is no one lesson or approach that would apply to all. However, its helpful to articulate some of the key ingredients common across many struggles that can assist communities to better engage with projects or be equipped to say no. These capacities, capabilities, skills and knowledge are outlined as ingredients in the guide.

Talking and working with different communities also showed up the need for more research, campaigning and organising that focuses on the impacts of mining. These impacts can be seen in the damage to country and culture as well as the immense pressure and stress put on communities and families to negotiate with mining companies. The equation is presented as mining equals jobs and money, saying no means no economic development and people live in poverty. What other communities in Australia are asked to choose between economic development in the form of mining to have their basic needs met, over their rights to protect country?

The development of this guide, the processes and tools came about as one way for communities to share their learnings and grow their power as they respond to and challenge the mining industry. Building knowledge between communities will ultimately support communities to have greater capacity to be able to self-determine their futures and make informed decisions that take into account long-term community needs as well as considerations of country and culture.

Context

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples face unparalleled challenges in living strong, proud and healthy lives. We are living in times where our people are incarcerated at higher rates than any other peoples in the world. Our young people are experiencing extreme mental health issues, the gap between non-Indigenous and Indigenous life expectancy remains unacceptably high and many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people continue to live in deep poverty. In fact after ten years successive governments have failed to meet most Closing the Gap targets.

The current period of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander affairs is dominated by ever-changing government policy and reduced funding for community programs and services. The landscape is further complicated by divisive Native Title and land use arrangements. After decades of struggle around land rights these issues are still unresolved.

These issues are compounded by dangerous global warming, the continued irresponsible use and expansion of fossil fuels, the mining and fracking of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander lands. Indigenous peoples the world over who have for millennia shown stewardship, cared for country, protected waters and seas, know we are at a tipping point. The way Multi-national corporations supported by states, and our economic systems have treated resources, as things to be extracted, with seemingly little regard for their finite nature, cannot be sustained.

Devastating changes to our climate are being felt all over the globe. We are already experiencing significant species loss and the changing of seasons is impacting our hunting and gathering practices, and therefore our ceremonies and medicines. Increases in severe weather events such as droughts, cyclones, floods and bush fires are not future possibilities they are with us now. Many Pacific Island nations are experiencing rising sea levels which is affecting the availability of food and leading to the forced relocation of communities. It is increasingly understood that First Nations people are on the frontlines of these impacts.

Yet the extraction continues and pressure to negotiate with companies in the face of limited economic alternatives has left many communities feeling they have been forced to compromise lands that have been cared for and nurtured over thousands of years, by many generations.

However, we are also a people who won't be defined by problems. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have resisted, innovated, led and been the stewards of this country; seas, lands and waters. Many continue to make the difficult decisions and sacrifice monetary gains so their children can access sacred sites and hunt and fish for basic livelihoods for generations to come. We will continue to challenge the injustice of resource extraction without consent and join together where we can to support each other's' struggles.

How to use this guide

This is written for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples who are taking on and challenging mining or mining-related projects in their community. It's also relevant to campaigners working for climate justice. It is geared towards those who may be taking on a facilitator role and are interested in bringing groups together to move a struggle forward. It's for people who see the value in working collectively and offering solidarity to others.

The guide is divided into sections to help you think about where your group or community members may be at and the different tools that might help. There are several processes you could use separately or in combination. Some of these are more advanced and you may want to consider how you build a shared understanding and language before you get into those processes.

You may want to think about how each process relates to different communities and their context. You will need to consider your relationship with the community, issues like language, access to translation, family groupings and all of the other important cultural protocols that would guide you when working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

Who is it for

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, activists, educators, change makers and community members wanting to make a difference for their people.

This guide can support information sharing and greater solidarity between communities. It is primarily focussed on members of communities who have been part of a campaign, decision-making or engagement process to undertake exploration or mining on their country. The idea is that some guidance and lessons should be offered to individuals and communities facing similar situations. Such guidance is intended to be useful for community members themselves as well as outside parties supporting or working with community.

It is important to note this is a working draft and will be tested and refined along the way. We will add things from communities as we go and no doubt extra lessons and stories will be shared.

Acknowledgments

This guide was written and collated by Original Power's director Karrina Nolan with Pasifika's Jason Macleod.

Firstly, I would like to thank all of our people who stand up to protect country everyday. Thank you to the families and communities who shared their victories and lessons from fights won and fights ongoing. I can't show enough gratitude for the elders who gracefully guide and offer strength to all of us. And of course a huge shout out to all the deadly young mob who inspire and show us change is happening.

I would like to acknowledge and thank The Change Agency and Training for Change for their support, wisdom and resources which have informed this guide.

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Using this guide

It's time we were more committed to working together, more organised and more deliberate in our efforts to build the power of our people. This project and guide is one contribution to that. To building each other up to make the changes we want to make, to be more powerful in ourselves and have more powerful communities.

If you want to use this guide please get in touch first. This is a complex and challenging area and communities are all different so let me know how you might want to use these resources. And then of course how they go!

Please contact
info@originalpower.org.au

KEY INGREDIENTS FOR BUILDING THE POWER OF OUR MOB



The following key ingredients are what people and communities have learnt and what you need to consider as you take on mining and resource proponents and projects. Some communities may still decide to choose mining. If you do, these ingredients still matter because they are the essence of self-determination and effective negotiation for outcomes that match your goals.

These ingredients have come from interviews, discussions, meetings and campaigning with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and communities impacted by the mining industry. It is important to recognise that mining occurs in the context of existing disadvantage and struggles for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. It is clear that there are factors which impact a community's ability to challenge a mining company. These factors can be distilled into key ingredients which include things like: having access to expertise, understanding underlying motivations, solid leadership, decision-making, resourcing and agency. These ingredients influence the way people are able to make decisions about, saying no to, or organise around how a mining company sets up, expands operations or shuts down and exits.

This is not to suggest that all of these six ingredients are important in every case, but they are worth considering when thinking about how best to build the power of communities in what is essentially an unequal and complex space. These ingredients have been tested in relation to resource extraction; however, they would certainly be relevant for building and strengthening community responses to other issues.

1. Knowledge

Different Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people hold different knowledge and responsibilities when it comes to lore and custom, caring for country and sacred sites and passing on this wisdom. Ensuring that the right people with the right knowledge are part of decision-making is important.

One of the things that can happen within Native Title, the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (ALRA), Indigenous Land Use Agreements (ILUAs) and other agreement making processes is that traditional forms of knowledge, understanding and connection to country may not be adequately considered.

Both the Native Title Act (NTA) and the ALRA are premised on recognising the rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to make choices over how lands are used and to withhold or give consent to development projects including mining. These rights are not automatically recognised, and whether communities are actively able to enjoy these rights is complicated to say the least. There has been considerable analysis and criticism of the Native Title process itself including the false geographical boundaries divisions between communities, Traditional Owner groups and families that are created and the limited benefits native title has brought to our peoples.

There are also key articles in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) that refer to free, prior and informed consent. Even if there are no consent provisions in the law (there is not under the NTA, but there is under the ALRA) information is power for either resistance or negotiation.

In addition to having the right people in the process, having access to external expertise can significantly change the way a community sees a potential mining project. Most communities found that information provided by scientists, geologists, environmentalists and others provided evidence critical to informed decision making. Community members also talked about external experts providing the Western form of evidence they needed to support their existing knowledge of the country. For example: Knowing that nuclear waste is poison and there's no safe way to contain it, knowing exactly how much water would be damaged by chemicals in the fracturing process, understanding the geology of a mine site and the impacts of floods on tailings containment and so on. Similarly, scientific knowledge complements extensive existing understanding of climate change and its impacts on country, hunting, sacred sites and so on. As well as the impact of extreme weather events on current mines, waste dams through floods, cyclones etc on current and future mine sites and projects.

The other kinds of knowledge that have proven to be useful are skills for campaigning, organising, lobbying or launching a legal challenge. Many communities noted the value of knowing legal avenues to withdraw consent, mechanisms to challenge a company's practices, or explore putting restrictions on a proposed operation, or advocating for a better deal in the negotiation.

Of course, there is also extensive documentation and analysis about the issues related to the role of land councils and other prescribed bodies, companies and the negotiation process itself. Councils are federally funded to represent communities – 'clients' and increasingly use third party developers to fast track outcomes, increasing the potential for conflicts of interest. Who controls the negotiation process can also impact on who controls the knowledge and external expertise brought in.

Logistical arrangements must be considered, how people are able to get to meetings, whether or not translation is provided, who pays for such arrangements and so on. All of these things impact the independence of a meeting and who attends. Having as much knowledge as possible about this part of the process is key in the early stages of a mining project. How a meeting is framed is also important; framing sets parameters for negotiation.

The final piece to consider in regards to knowledge is whether the community has access to knowledge and potential resources to pursue alternatives to mining.

2. Motivation

Understanding what might motivate a whole community or individual community members to withhold consent or give support to mining seems obvious yet is a critical part of working out how to respond.

This is all about interests, understanding what you want and why. It is also about honestly looking at what are people's underlying needs. What is behind people's position on mining? Who and what influences people's position? How are you and your community assessing that?

Mining is often presented as the only economic option or 'choice' for many remote and regional communities experiencing limited resourcing and government services. There

may be limited employment options or overcrowded housing. In this context the potential economic opportunities presented by mining in the form of agreements payments (often called royalties), a number of new jobs, or a bus for the school, appears as the only viable economic option. This can be one of the most compelling reasons why people might agree to mining.

However, there is a lot of evidence to suggest that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples living with mines are extremely disadvantaged. The number of jobs is often vastly overestimated and not always taken up by local people. And often, the mining royalty equivalents or agreement payments which are paid to Aboriginal interests may end up funding services that should be provided by the Government.

“We have in the past signed IULAs and 20 years on we have nothing and this is the legacy that mining has left on our country. It has torn our families apart. And where are the benefits we are supposed to have received? We have nothing. All the promises mean nothing, we still have high rates of homelessness and the dynamics in our communities are still disrupted by colonialism. That’s why I’m one of the objectors.” Murrawah Johnson - Wangan and Jagalingou

A mining company may present all kinds of cash or non-cash incentives to try and ‘motivate’ people towards a particular outcome. Knowing people’s interests, needs and concerns is helpful in assessing whether there is genuine consent for a project.

On the flip side of this, many people are motivated by protecting country and ensuring its sustainability for generations to come. Communities want to be able to access hunting and fishing grounds, sacred sites and places of ceremony. Ensuring these motivations are given weight and properly heard is incredibly important.

“Be confident in saying no. What’s more important? Country and our culture are more important than money that’s only going to benefit a few people.” Clayton Simpson - Yuwaalaraay/Gamilaraay

“Don’t worry about the money, it’s not your culture, money is nothing to us. So don’t think about money. The land is more important, the land got the story it is strong for me and you to walk around.” Aunty Nancy McDinny - Garawa/Yanyuwa

“You gotta campaign. You gotta be really strong and get to know your weakness and use that towards your strengths to go out there. The land has been poisoned - enough is enough for us. Leave it for the next generation. The money is no good, you preserve your language and your country. You got no country you got no language. Our dreaming goes through there. The three things you need - language, land and your dreaming.” Aunty PP – Warumungu (talking about stopping the nuclear waste dump in Muckaty)

3. Leadership

It is critical that there is transparency around what the consultation and decision-making processes are and who is participating in them in relation to exploration and mining. It is not uncommon for mining companies to separate family or community members and

run private meetings. Knowing who participates in what and who can make decisions is crucially important, keeping in mind who is authorised to negotiate can be prescribed by Native Title processes. The role of land councils or other bodies in leading the negotiations similarly needs to be understood.

There is no uniform way in which mining companies engage with communities. So, it follows there is no guarantee the whole community would be aware that negotiations for exploration or mining are being undertaken. Sometimes it takes one or two people to point to an issue in the process or raise a concern about a proposed project to interrupt the flow.

From conversations with communities dealing with resource extraction, the early raising of concerns is very important. Often the people who do this ultimately lead an intervention in the process of a project going ahead.

“We had a strong leader in my Uncle Adrian who stood up and said no one is going to allow anyone to destroy our water and culture . . . if we are who we say we are, we wouldn’t allow for the destruction of it.” Murrawah Johnson - Wangan and Jagalingou

If a group or entire community want to challenge a mine or project having a strong leader or number of significant leaders or elders who are taking a clear position is critical. Those leaders need to be respected and people that others will work with. The leadership also needs to acknowledge that there may be a need for representatives from different clans or families and be prepared to work across those groups. It’s also important to consider how leaders making decisions can be held to account for those decisions by their people.

“Those leaders who do make mining agreements have to live with those decisions knowing the impact it will have on generations to come. It could take hundreds of years for land to be back to what it was before it was contaminated. Spills are irreversible, these are things these people gotta live with.” Boe Spearim Gamilaraay/Kooma

Of course, some negotiations processes and even having to make decisions around mining can lead to or deepen existing tensions in the community. The pressure of people’s daily lives and the desire to bring money into a place that has limited resources is bound to raise all kinds of issues. The divisive nature of these projects needs to be considered and dealt with by the community. And it is often up to strong people and leaders, of all kinds, to bring people through this as united and unharmed as possible.

Leaders can inspire, influence and mobilise a group and they can certainly affect the outcome of negotiations. Anecdotal evidence from most communities spoken to suggest that. How a community gets behind their leaders can also impact on how a community may unite or not and subsequently the power of that community to say no to mining.

4. Community processes (decision making)

Decision making in each community looks vastly different depending on context, history, relationships, connection to country and governance arrangements. Decision making specifically around mining is also impacted by Native Title or Land Rights legal arrangements. Not all communities have access to traditional decision-making process, many have a

mix of contemporary arrangements and traditional structures. It's useful to know what kinds of structures bring community together to enable them to share information and make decisions and what decisions they are empowered to make. People need access to information and knowledge in order to have a say on decisions that impact on their lives.

There has been much thinking done around self-determination and its relationship to 'good' governance in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander affairs. Four attributes to consider include; legitimacy, power and decision-making authority, resources and accountability. It is therefore important to have Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander institutions and organisations which encompass these attributes and manage community affairs. (see also Facilitator Resource on Building Nations). Understanding the kinds of mechanisms and decision making processes that need to be in place to support communities to make decisions that are in line with achieving and practicing self-determination is important.

This ingredient has many elements but essentially we are talking about peoples capacity to engage in decision making, to be informed about their options, but also to have real choices—choices that are not constrained by scarcity of resources, threats of withdrawal of funds either by government or mining companies or the daily circumstances already mentioned.

The other element to this that must be considered is the role of land councils and other bodies that are part of the Native Title processes and given the role of bringing people together to negotiate decisions. Land councils are largely relied upon to organise meetings to talk about a specific proposal. How does this really enable people to independently make up their minds? What mechanisms outside of this process exist? Who runs them? Who pays for them? How are decisions made?

Some communities have initiated their own community meetings, some have established family organisations or councils, in part as a response to concerns with the way land councils and other bodies were conducting meetings and negotiations.

Are the community unified on their response or opinion to the proposed project? Or is there a majority view and if so, how is the minority feeling, are their viewpoints being considered?

Many experts in the area of negotiation and agreement making suggest that unity also is a critical issue. Whether people agree or disagree with mining the fact is when a community is united they have more power to get what they want. United communities have more power than divided communities. Therefore, having decision making processes that enable groups to come together are really critical.

5. Resourcing

Resourcing can take many forms. It can include the skills, experience and knowledge a community has from dealing with resource extraction and mining projects in the past. Or learned from the experiences of others. It could be about looking at alternatives like renewables, eco-tourism, art projects and having access to the right people and capital to pursue those options. It's also useful to consider that resources and capacity a community has also influence people's motivations. Limited resources may mean the promise of employment through mining is more persuasive.

Although many interviewed understood that even though the promise of short terms resourcing through ‘royalty’ payments and so on is tempting they felt it wouldn’t provide the long term structural solutions their communities needed.

“The life of a mine really isn’t that long, the mining industry is not sustainable. We need to think about long term strategies to build our communities.” Boe Spearim Gamilaraay/Kooma

“We know even if we agreed to this mine, mining won’t last forever.” Gadrian Hoosan Garrawa/Yanyuwa

In some communities where the Government has reduced or withdrawn services, there may be reliance on mining companies to fund services. This can mean communities are beholden to companies and may be unable to effectively raise any issues associated with the mine. People also noted their concerns about what happens when a mining company withdraws from community and that they may be leaving behind services without funding, assets that can’t be maintained. This is usually on top of the enormous environmental cleanup and rehabilitation costs that are rarely properly funded by polluters.

In addition, people need to factor in time away from their daily lives to take on campaigning. As well as the potential costs of legal challenges organising community meetings and so on. Thinking about and mapping what kinds of skills and capacities the community has to organise and respond is really important. From here you can see the gaps and work out how and what kind of additional support you might need.

6. Agency and power

One of the key lessons from communities fighting mining projects is about needing to have political power. And for the most part that power is collective power. But it’s also about being organised and effective. There is an enormous power imbalance in the way the system of Native title and mining negotiations work. If communities are not organised and working together their ability to take a stand and win is compromised. Building that power and cohesion can take time.

In order to make change you need to believe your actions will make a difference. Taking action is therefore linked to both your capacity to act and a belief in your power, or that you can create power. Rebuilding a sense of agency in peoples who have had considerable power taken from them can be a slow and complex process. This is not to assume all people are powerless or passive. One of the key factors in people being able to change their own circumstances or engage in broader community affairs is having the internal drive and capacity to act. Of course this capacity is also impacted by your circumstances, living conditions or it may be about having the right tools and skills to make that difference.

One of the things this guide hopes to do is develop a common language among those sharing similar struggles. For some people, how they fight to protect country is thought of as a campaign; others consider it fulfilling cultural responsibility and people may not think of themselves as campaigners or activists. There is use in linking what may be thought of as individual struggles to other campaigns and national organisations and social movements. How are other mobs organising and fighting? What has their collective power looked like?

How have they won, what can we learn from them?

When it comes to rebuilding our sense of power and our real power there are words of wisdom from mob to mob about this. “A few years ago when the Muckaty mob won it shows you can beat these massive multinational companies ... It wasn’t just a win for one community it was a win for all of us.” Boe Spearim Gamilaraay/Kooma

It’s also important that alongside planning and building the collective power within a community that there are also processes that include visioning alternatives to mining. This is a critical element of communities genuinely having other economic and long-term development options.

Words of advice from one mob to another:

“Ask as many questions as you can. Make sure you know what you are signing off on”.

Jordan Wimbis - Wakka Wakka

“Reach out. There’s other communities that are fighting against mining and all that. There’s a lot of people who want to help to protect country.”

Scott McDinny - Garrawa/Yanyuwa

“We’ve always been fighters our people. The only way for us now is up. A big shout out to all mobs fighting against the destruction of country, stay strong. Know that what you’re doing is right. You’re never alone we’re always with you. Keep the fire burning.”

Boe Spearim Gamilaraay/Kooma

“To give up now would be a disrespect to people who have fought before us and generations to come.”

Boe Spearim Gamilaraay/Kooma

CHANGE MAKING



Naming the issues

OBJECTIVE

Provide people with space to start focussing in on one of the issues that may be among many they are dealing with in their community or context. This process is also about starting to think problems and solutions.

TIME REQUIRED

30 mins depending on the group size. Allow an extra 25 mins for the addition of spectrums

RESOURCES NEEDED

Photo cards

HOW IT'S DONE

- 1. Spread out the photo cards so people can walk around and collect two each.** Explain that this is an opportunity to think about and name some of the problems we face in our communities and how we are working to change them. Ask people to think about the following and then select photos:
 - If there was one thing (an issue or problem) you could change what would it be?
 - Pick one activity or action (an example, big or small) that you think is making a difference and solving a problem in your community – it could be the same or different to the problem you chose.
 - Go around in a circle asking everyone to share with the group, not in full detail. [20]
- 2. Summarise** – there are a lot of problems and issues we face, and some great work we're doing to make things better. We'll be looking at different ways we can bring about change in our communities. Part of us becoming more effective in making change is about us understanding all the options that can help us get from the problem we're experiencing today to the solution we want to have in place tomorrow, and then choosing the best path for getting there – from A to B. [5]
- 3. Optional addition. Spectrums**
 - Who in this room feels like we've got lots of tools in our toolbox for changing the things we want to? (yes we have them / no we need more) Ask people to talk to the person near them. Ask a few to share. What are those tools? How are you using them? [10]
 - Who is feeling like they have the power to make the change they want? (Yes I have the power / no I don't). What does that feel like? What are some of the things that hold us back? [10]
 - Note that the workshop is about addressing these things – sharing tools and empowering us as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to make change in our communities. [5]
- 4. Facilitator note:** This is an introductory activity that could be run very early on in a multiple day workshop. It can be a way of allowing people not to go too deeply into an issue they are concerned about but still voice it. It can also be a way of starting to shift people into the mindset of making change. Activities which could follow could include the cyclone warning, campaigning to solve issues, or cutting the issue. The activity making a positive change could fit well before this process.

Source: Karrina Nolan, Original Power

Making a positive change to my community

OBJECTIVE

To identify local stories, people, experiences, values, skills and knowledge that have made a contribution to positive change in the local community.

TIME REQUIRED

40mins to 2 hours depending on the facilitator and the group.

A NOTE TO FACILITATORS

Here's an alternative to lecturing about a topic when you want important information to be transmitted: have people find their own successful experience! This tool uses individual work, small groups and then large group to help the group access its own wisdom about a particular topic (you decide the topic based on the eliciting questions you use: fundraising, carrying out a successful protest, leading a group, overcoming a challenge).

It is validating and empowering to learn from our own experience. Most people can remember a positive experience from their own lives and use it. The learning becomes reinforced by sharing it with others (reflection) and by being anchored in a larger framework (generalisation).

The timing of this exercise important. Because it involves closing eyes and relaxing doing it after a big lunch or at night may not be the best time. Morning is good.

When speaking slow down. Speak with a clear and even tone of voice, not too soft nor too loud. During the relaxation and recall section use repetition and silence to give people time to recall an experience.

Visualisations can be used either at the beginning, middle or the end of the experiential learning circle. They are very effective for recalling a previous experience, for imagining a new experience, or as part of a process of anchoring learning – connecting new theory to their own reality. Visualisations can also be used powerfully as a way for supporting people to imagine how they might practice a new behaviour.

HOW IT'S DONE

1. Explain that the focus of the closed eye exercise will be about identifying the local stories people, experiences, values, skills and knowledge that have enabled or contributed to positive change in the local community.
2. Ask “how many of you can remember a local person, they might still be alive or they may have passed on, who acted powerfully and something changed as a result? You might have known that person or you might have been told stories about them. They might be well known or their story might be an example of hidden resistance. It might be one person or it could have been a small group of people. The most important thing is that they acted powerfully and something changed as a result. It could be a big thing that changed or it might have been a small thing.”).

3. Don't announce you will do a visualisation or closed eye exercise. Announcing the intention to do a closed eye or visualisation exercise beforehand may alienate those who have not come across the technique before. Instead simply do it without naming it as a visualisation exercise.
4. Form sharing groups (3-4 in a group, maybe 5). But don't start sharing yet. First we will recall a story we will share with our group. Ask groups to decide who will share first, second, third
5. Before we tell our stories ask people to get comfortable, we are going to do a small relaxation exercise (deep breathing, letting go of tension in body). Make sure there are no distractions and ensure there is sufficient time. "Find a position that is comfortable, sitting or lying down. "If you feel comfortable doing so..." (depends on participants and context – see below) "you may wish to close your eyes. Now draw your attention to your breathing. Focus on breathing in and out. Listen to the sound of your breath. Notice the sounds around you but one by one let it go. If you find yourself distracted return your attention to your breathing. In ... and out.... In ... and out.... In ... and out.... No need to control your breathing, just observe it. In ... and out.... In ... and out...."
6. Body sensations. "I am now going to ask you to be aware of certain sensations in your body that you are feeling at this present moment, but of which you are not explicitly aware.... Be aware of the touch of your clothes on your shoulders Now become aware of the touch of your clothes on your back, or of your back touching the back of your chair you are sitting on.... Now be aware of the feel of your hands as they touch each other or rest on your lap.... Now become conscious of your thighs or your buttocks pressing against your chair.... Now the feel of your feet touching your shoes.... Now become explicitly aware of your sitting posture....

"Once again: your shoulders... your back... your right hand... your left hand... your thighs... your feet... your sitting posture.

"Again: shoulders... back... right hand... left hand... thighs... feet... sitting posture.

"Continue to go round by yourself now, moving from one part of your body to the other. Do not dwell for more than a couple of seconds on each part, shoulders, back, thighs etc.... Keep moving from one to the other, noticing any tension and seeking to relax by tightening the muscles and then letting go...

(Option: count down 1 to 10). "As you bring your attention to different parts of your body I am going to count down 10 to one. 10, 9 – becoming slowly relaxed. 8,7,6 – becoming more and more relaxed. 5,4,3 – relaxing more and more. 2,1 – now you are very relaxed. ***(Remember to count back up to ten when you bring people back. Always bring people back out the same way you take them in).***

7. Recalling. "I invite you to remember a time when a local person, or group of people, acted powerfully and something changed as a result" (Give people some space to recall an event or to imagine something). "If you find yourself remembering more than one time like that, choose one for this exercise". Bring this image / event it as vividly to mind as possible" Use all the senses: What did you see? What did you hear? What sensations of touch do you remember? What did you feel? What did you taste or smell?"

Repeat a few times to give people time to recall or remember something. Allow silence and space between each repetition.

Now for the punch line: “What qualities or characteristics of that person, or group of people, enabled them to do that?” “What lessons did you draw from that experience for your own learning?”

Invite people to reflect on this silently by themselves for a few moments. Repeat the instruction again.

8. Bring people back the reverse way you took them in. Conclude with “Now when you are ready open your eyes and re-form the circle.” Wait till everyone is back before commencing to the next process. If someone is taking a long time, gently ask them to come back and to be present by opening their eyes.
9. Allow a few minutes of quiet time – writing, drawing or sitting silently – in order to accept and integrate what they have experienced.
10. Small group sharing. Walk them through this, announcing amount of time per person. The larger the workshop, the more important to be formal and insistent on this. (It may not be culturally appropriate to walk them through individual time limits; in that case, tell them how much total group time they have and announce “You’ve used one-third of your time,” “You’ve used two-thirds of your time.”)
11. Whole group sharing. Use newsprint to “harvest” from individuals. Identify the story as well as the skills and knowledge implicit in the story. It may be necessary to say that we don’t need agreement at this point; the main thing is that there’s a chance for individuals to put forward their perspective. This is a good chance for the facilitator to frame (or add context) to what people have shared, in order to anchor it more securely for learning. It might be worth lifting up the fact that people have made change, or resisted, and that people’s lives have changed for the better as a result. That change might not have been sufficient to turn the situation around but it is always significant. They are seeds of fire. Whenever possible, connect people’s comments to general principles, or to emerging themes in the workshop. A brief story or anecdote may work well here. Often it’s possible to describe briefly a resource, like a book or an article or a hand-out. In conclusion, be sure to invite people to study the list of skills and knowledge, including values or principles that the group has identified. Perhaps read the list out loud... For the musically and artistically inclined you may want to write a song or paint a picture based on this list.
12. From here there are a number of options – to look more at tactics/activities/what people do to bring about change and then explore strategy. Another option is to move into an exploration and analysis of the problem in order to devise a powerful strategy. It all depends on where the group is at really.

Cyclone Warning

OBJECTIVE

- Give participants an experience of responding to different scenarios to explore different approaches to solving different problems
- Investigate how different problems require different approaches to change to solve them
- Clarify the differences between community organising, community development, advocacy and service delivery.

NOTE: This process guide uses three scenarios to clarify the differences between community organising, community development, advocacy and service delivery. If the group grasps the difference quickly you may wish to use only one scenario. You might also like to create your own scenarios that resonate with the experience of the group.

TIME REQUIRED

1 – 1.5 hours

RESOURCES NEEDED

- You might like to create your own scenarios and possible actions that describe community crises and problems that are likely to be encountered in workshop participants' own communities.
- Write up the actions for each scenario on a piece of butcher's paper
- Scenarios
- Handout | Four Different Approaches to Making Change
- Masking tape or rope (optional).

SET UP

- Mark out the room into four quadrants with rope or masking tape (optional).
- Scribe the four different actions for each scenario written up on butcher's paper and place one in each of the quadrants.

HOW IT'S DONE

1. Assign each of the four possible actions to a corner in the room.
2. Explain that you are going to read a scenario. While people listen to the scenario, invite them to consider which action they are immediately drawn to. Listen to all four actions before prompting people to choose where to stand (or sit).
3. Ask people move to a quadrant based on their immediate response to this situation. This may not necessarily be an exact match with their preferred or instinctive response, but people need to pick the response that best describes their instinct. If one or more quadrants are not occupied, ask if there is anyone who considered standing in the empty quadrants and invite them to move there.

4. Ask people in each quadrant to discuss:
 - Why did you choose or consider that action?
 - How does that action contribute to positive social change?
 - What are some of the strengths and limitations of the action?
 - What is the timeframe needed to undertake this action?
5. After participants have discussed the questions in small groups, bring everyone back together to share their thoughts on the questions in the large group.
6. If you chose to do this exercise with more than one scenario, read the next scenario and possible actions, then repeat steps 3 and 4.
7. Write up the framework to categorise the different approaches on a piece of butcher's paper:
 - Providing a service
 - Advocating for people in need
 - Community organising: working with affected people to find solutions to root causes
 - Community development: inclusive, non-conflictual processes designed to support people to meet their needs themselves.
8. Revisit the actions for each scenario and ask if people recognise which element in the framework each action corresponds to.
9. If you read out more than one scenario, ask if people changed their choice of action between scenarios? Why?
10. Distribute copies of the handout. Clarify the four different approaches to social change in each scenario. Discuss how different problems require different approaches in order to make change happen. Value all the approaches. Ask: 'When might it be useful to try community organising?'

SCENARIO 1: A NATURAL DISASTER

In one of the islands, a cyclone has torn through the town. Four hundred houses have been destroyed as well as a number of shops and organisations. The youth centre has also been damaged. Many more homes are cut off from power and water. Around three hundred people are still unaccounted for and the hospital has been unable to treat people as they have limited medical supplies.

The national government's response has been terrible both in terms of preparation for a disaster like this and also for its emergency response. The government have the resources to respond but are taking their time to organise teams of people and services to reach the community.

Possible actions (Note: Don't categorise the actions until step 7)

1. People may be trapped under the rubble and need help. We should go to that area immediately and try to help the rescue efforts. Even if we can't help them, there are probably children or elders who need care and could use our help. Maybe we could set up some shelters or support people to get food. (Service provision.)

2. We need to contact the provincial and national government to ask what's keeping them from doing their job and demand that the disaster relief funds are released immediately. (Advocacy.)
3. We need to get the people to come together. We need to hold the national government to account and ensure better planning, preparation and emergency response next time there's a cyclone. (Community organising.)
4. We should run some activities for those who are staying at the temporary shelter. Maybe something at night time to try and make sure those young people have a safe space to go to now the centre has been destroyed. (Community development.)

SCENARIO 2: YOUTH JUSTICE

A young man has just been arrested by the local police. It is the third time over the last month he has been picked up off the street when he hasn't broken any law. One of the other times he was badly beaten by police.

This kind of thing is happening more often in town, and more young men are being targeted and assaulted by police.

Possible responses (Note: Don't categorise the actions until step 7)

1. We should set up a legal service to provide legal advice for young people. (Service provision.)
2. There is something wrong with the system that police can get away with this. We need to meet with the local chief to get them to take up the issue with an MP or the Police commissioner. (Advocacy.)
3. We must hold a public meeting and invite the family of the young person and the families of other young people who have been harassed by police to discuss why this is happening to our young men. We need a plan to hold elected representatives accountable in order to change the policies that allow police harassment. (Community organising.)
4. We need to run some evening activities keep the young people safe and off the streets and give them something to do at night. Maybe some workshops to help them build their confidence and give them a better direction. It is also possible to engage parents and grandparents to share parenting skills more broadly amongst the community. (Community development.)

Source: This process guide was adapted by Karrina Nolan, Sam La Rocca and Jason MacLeod from the 'Tornado Warning' process developed by Daniel Hunter with Betsy Raasch-Gilman from Training for Change <http://www.trainingforchange.org>. See also 'The People Power Manual: Community Organising Guide', 2016, edited by James Whelan and Jason MacLeod, pp 38-42.

Cyclone Warning

Confronting power

	Advocate	Community Organiser
How change happens	Speaks out on behalf of others using official channels to create change	Develops grassroots power and capacity so people can solve their own problems with their own resources. Focused on structural and political change and often involving confrontation.
Time frame	Can span all	Long-term
Who leads?	Staff / organisation led	Community led
Objectives	Change laws and policies	Organise for political change
Tactics	Lobbying, submissions, inquiries.	Community meetings, phone calls, house meetings, doorknocking/ face to face conversations in the market and other places, rallies, protests and a range of other disruptive nonviolent tactics.
	Service Provider	Community Development worker
How change happens	Provides directly for the needs of people often in crisis	Personal development of individuals and bringing community together through social, economic and cultural activities that will create change
Time frame	Short-term	Medium-term
Who leads?	Staff / organisation led	Staff /organisation led (although there are good examples of the community leading)
Objectives	Feed, house, clothes and protect people. Provide service to meet people's needs	Develop pride, skills, connections, socio-cultural and economic change
Tactics	Shelters, breakfast programs, health services, soup kitchens, legal services	Festivals, workshops, community spaces, training and education

Working within / accepting the system as it is.

Doing things for people

Doing things with people

Community resistance timeline

OBJECTIVE

- To introduce ourselves to each other
- To build the container
- For participants to connect their own history to a larger history of social change
- To identify local tactics
- To rethink what success looks like

TIME REQUIRED

60mins plus (It all depends on the facilitator). You might choose to have a strict timeline where participants only have 2 minutes to present their story to the larger group. Alternatively you might make it a bit looser with longer storytelling and breaks in between, in which case this process could go for a several hours or longer.

RESOURCES NEEDED

- A series of large newsprint stuck together.
- Cards in a particular colour for people to write the title of their story on.
- Something to stick the story cards onto the timeline.
- A map and pins for people to identify where their story took place (or a large hand drawn map)
- Cards in a different colour for identifying the broader historical timeline.
- Sticky notes.

SET UP

Place pieces of flip chart next to each other on the wall so that a timeline can be drawn on them. (Depending on the size of the group the flip chart can cover the entire room). Mark today's date at the end of the timeline.

Draw a second time line at least a foot or two (60cm) under the first. This timeline is for mapping key events that make up the wider historical context relating to both injustice and survival/resistance.

The facilitator then draws a map of the world (or country depending on the group) on another separate piece of flip chart.

A NOTE TO FACILITATORS

You might choose to do this exercise in two parts. The first part is helpful to do in the early parts of a workshop, perhaps as part of the introduction or just after. The second part is done later in the workshop after people have a sense of what tactics and strategy are and the role of tactics in escalation and building power.

HOW IT IS DONE

PART ONE

1. The facilitator asks people to think about the time when you first knew you wanted to take action to change the world. These times are like “seeds of fire” that have the potential to spark enormous change. Give people space to think. (If you think it will help you may choose to do a creative visualization to spark people’s imagination.)
2. Handout cards and give people time to write notes about their story. Ask them to give their story a title, as if it was a hit song, title of a blockbuster movie or headline of a tabloid newspaper. Ask them to write the name of their story as well as the place and date of the story on the card. (Give people at least 5 minutes to make notes about their story.)
3. After giving people time to think, the facilitator asks the group when the earliest date is and marks that on one end of the timeline.
4. Invite participants to share a story of the time when they first knew they wanted to take action to change the world. (It is important that participants share enough of the story for it make sense but not more than a couple of minutes otherwise the exercise will take too long and sap peoples energy – especially for a large group. See also the section above: notes to the facilitator).
5. One by one people tell the story, write the date on the timeline and name a theme for that story, before marking on the map where that story took place. Then the next person tells their story. The process continues with each person telling their story one by one until everyone has shared.
6. As people identify the wider historical context – acts of resistance, particular injustices, or other events that have shaped the community (like the coming of the mission, for example) – write these on cards (one for each event) and place them on the second timeline. Make sure these historical cards name the event, the date (if known) and also the place. The facilitator also names the event, ideally using the group’s own words.
7. When the narrative timeline is finished review it by naming all the events.
8. Debrief by asking what people notice and how they feel. It is often worth asking if anyone learnt anything new; about history they didn’t know or stories of resistance. Ask how they feel about that?

PART TWO

1. In Part One as people tell their story – and identify the larger historical context – the facilitator takes notes of the different kinds of tactics that are being used in each story. The facilitator then lists each tactic on a separate sticky note.
2. Once people have a sense of of what tactics and strategy are and the role of tactics in escalation and building power, the facilitator brings the group back to the two narrative timelines, the one generated by the participants own stories as well the timeline of the wider history.
3. The facilitator then places the relevant sticky note with the tactic beside the story card.

4. Once all the sticky notes with the tactics have been placed beside the corresponding story the facilitator invites people to think about their response to the following three questions (write the questions on newsprint):
 - a. What was the purpose of this tactic or activity?
 - b. What was the impact on the individual, family or group involved?
 - c. What was the impact on the issue?
5. In pairs or threes people have a conversation about those three questions. (If people choose to write they can do so.)
6. Bring people back together to the larger group. Go round and invite people to share purposes and internal (group) and external (issue) impacts of the tactic.
7. Ask as you look at these tactics and think about the stories connected to them, what does 'success' mean? Discuss. Talk about success in three ways: winning on the issue; building the power of the group/clan/nation; changing the conversation (either internally about how people think about themselves or externally about the issue).
8. Draw people's attention to the reality that the more we are conscious about choosing tactics for how they address those three ways of achieving success, the more powerful we become.

Note: The tactics list generated by the group can also be used as tactics cards in the 'tactics relay process guide'.

VARIATION

Here is a kinesthetic version of Part One the same exercise.

People form a single person line based on when you first got involved in "the movement" – or the struggle for peace and justice (frame appropriately for the group). Those who got involved a long time ago at one end and those who got involved more recently at the other end.

Ask people to share their stories with those close by.

In a small group, while people are still standing in line, interview everyone about their story.

For a larger group selected interview people at different points in the line.

At the end you might ask people at the more recent end if they have been influenced at all by any of the people involved for much longer down the other end of the line.

Another variation in the written form of this exercise is to place today's date half-way or two-thirds along and use the timeline in a closing ceremony for participants to write down concrete future commitments.

Other timelines can also be drawn. For instance a timeline showing the history of the struggle to connect peoples own personal history with a social history.

Source: This process is adapted from work by Miles Horton and others at the Highlander Centre, The Dulwich Centre, Pasifika (Jason MacLeod and Rosa Moiwend) and Original Power (Karrina Nolan). This version was written by Jason MacLeod, Pasifika and Karrina Nolan, Original Power.

Village Game

OBJECTIVE

- To give participants' an experience of nonviolent action, specifically social defence.
- To “build the container” through shared experiences.
- To provide a group challenge.

TIME REQUIRED

60 minutes

RESOURCES NEEDED

- Lots of crayons, markers, and felt pens.
- Flip chart.
- Props like a tie, suit or company/hard hat may be useful.

NOTE TO FACILITATORS

Consider doing this exercise early on in the workshop, it can be quite a bonding experience. After this exercise you may want to explore power or tactics, depending on where the group's energy is.

HOW IT'S DONE

1. Tell the group that they are going to experience an exercise called a ‘simulation’ which is kind of like a role play but where people ‘play’ themselves. As part of this exercise you will have a chance to create their ideal community. What would your community look like if you had control over your land and resources and people were living well together?
2. But before doing that ask people to divide into small groups (4 to 6 in size). (Note to facilitators: in the Village Game breaking into smaller groups reflects the ‘divide and rule’ that often precedes more overt attempts to control people and their resources.) Give each group large piece of blank paper on the floor and a few pens.
3. People's first task is to choose a ‘deadly’ name for their group. Give people a minute or two to decide on their name then go around and ask each group to announce their name.
4. Next ask the group, “What would you like to see in your ideal community?” “What would your community look like if you had control over your land and resources and people were living well together?” 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. (Note to facilitators: You may want to spread the resources, in this case pens, unevenly between groups. Do this if you want to people to experience and reflect on inequality between groups and use that as a “teachable moment” during the debrief.)
5. Announce that they have ten minutes to draw. Give updates on the time. Ask people to draw pictures; not words and encourage everyone to draw, it is not an art competition.

6. After 10 minutes, stop the exercise and 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 give them an opportunity to add more things to their community. For this exercise to work well, it is important for each group to feel attached to their created community.
7. Then, slide smoothly into a change of role. Inform participants that their communities are so rich and beautiful that they have attracted the interest of powerful outsiders. Explain that you are the CEO of a multinational mining corporation (other trainers can take the roles of a police officer or representative of the local, state or national government, whatever best fits the local situation.) As you are telling them information about how wonderful your corporation is and all the benefits that will accrue to each group, circle the papers, until finally you step in and snatch some of the paper – for your factory, mine, transmigration project or whatever. (You might even have a marker to mark up their community – e.g., to add a mine, relocate a river, or add a toxic waste dump or tailings dam.) Continue taking away paper in small amounts, or drawing on their paper, and continuing to talk about the advantages of development, control by the central government etc. **IT IS IMPERATIVE TO TIME YOUR PAPER SNATCHING SO THAT IT IS SLOW ENOUGH THAT GROUPS ARE NOT DEVASTATED AND HAVE MOTIVATION TO ORGANISE.**
8. Groups who are more experienced with resisting 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 necessarily 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 / resistance. 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.
9. Finally debrief.
 - Ask how are you feeling now? How did your feelings change during the campaign? Give people time to share. You may want to give people space in pairs to share first.
 - Ask what happened? It can be helpful to list the steps in the exercise, noting both how the injustice was introduced and escalated, as well as how group’s stepped up the resistance.
 - Ask what did the facilitator do to limit the possibility of resistance?
 - If people worked together ask what made that unity possible? If they didn’t work together ask why not?
 - What did individuals and groups 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 reflect on how they strategised, organised and mobilised.) Make a list of what people did to reinforce during later parts of the workshop.
 - Finally, the application section. Ask, is this exercise similar to what you have experienced? Give people a chance to draw parallels, noting both instances of injustice as well as the way people have resisted.

Source: Originally called the Village Exercise and invented by Karen Ridd in Thailand, 1995 who adapted it from a game led by Pom, a Thai student and grassroots environmental activist in 1994. This version has been adapted by Jason MacLeod, Pasifika.

STRATEGY



PROCESS GUIDE

Vision Gallery

OBJECTIVE

- To stretch people's imaginations in envisioning the kind of society they would like to create, going beyond vague values to specific features.
- To facilitate a group's development of a common vision and clarify the values its members share.
- To help people discover their own ideas and how much vision they have in common with others.

TIME REQUIRED

60 minutes

RESOURCES NEEDED

- Large sheets of newsprint or construction paper
- Lots of markers or crayons
- Masking tape
- Smooth floor or table space.

HOW IT'S DONE

This tool has been tested cross culturally and worked well with many groups, including Thai lesbians, Russian environmentalists, U.S. high school students, English anarchists.

1. Select a topic, specific or general. People may want to work on many features of their vision simultaneously, such as government, defense, economic system, family structure and recreation; or they can focus on a specific question like "What might this community look like ten years from now if really good changes kept happening? What would my life look like? What would schools be like?" or "How will people defend themselves and/or their values?" Encourage each other to think creatively. Assume no constraints on money or power.
2. Questions could be brainstormed at the beginning to trigger visionary thinking. What would genuine self-determination look like? What kinds of visions did our ancestors have for us? What would it look like if we were living well together and taking care of country in the ways we long for? What might economic justice look like? What about schools? How would learning take place? What kinds of social relationships would exist? What roles would students, faculty, administrators play? How would the physical plant be used?
3. For 15-20 minutes, individuals spend time alone, sketching their personal visions by writing, outlining, diagramming or drawing.
4. The next 30-45 minutes are spent in small clusters of 3-6 people, pooling their visions and expressing a common one on a large sheet of paper.
5. Each small group posts its composite utopia on the wall in the main meeting room, creating a "vision gallery". Participants look, compare, discuss and question, informally. (15-20 minutes)

6. The total group gathers to discuss what they noticed. Questions to consider about process are: What are the areas of agreement revealed in the visions? What areas need the most work in developing a viable alternative to the status quo? What concepts do individuals agree or disagree with?
7. If the group is an organization which might propose a vision as part of its campaign for change, the facilitator can encourage those most motivated to find each other and create a task force to pull the common ideas together, back them up with research, and present them to a constituency or as demands to power holders.
8. Discuss why vision is so critical to securing self-determination?

Source: Adapted by George Lakey from Resource Manual for a Living Revolution, by Virginia Coover, Ellen Deacon, Charles Esser, and Christopher Moore, published by New Society Publishers and now out of print. This version was adapted by Jason MacLeod, Pasifika.

PROCESS GUIDE

Campaigning to solve our issues

OBJECTIVE

Develop a shared understanding of campaigning and look to local examples of where campaigning has made a difference.

TIME REQUIRED

1-1.5 hours

TIME REQUIRED

- Case study material – PowerPoint
- video or USB
- whiteboard or butchers paper
- markers

HOW IT'S DONE

1. Introduction. Campaigning involves activating, mobilising, and organising people to make change and influence others to make change. Campaigns are a series of sequenced tactical manoeuvres applied over time, designed to achieve a specific objective. Social movements around the world have used campaigning to achieve change on many issues from ending slavery in the US, getting women the vote, giving birth to civil rights, removing British rule in India, liberating East Timor and many other examples.

Campaigning and resistance by Indigenous communities has taken many forms and for many peoples began with defying the act of colonisation itself. From everyday acts of resistance like speaking original languages and practicing culture to collectively organised walk offs, strikes and marches, our people have been effectively agitating.

This resistance is also evident in the way communities are organising around fossil fuel projects. Communities are saying no to their country being fracked, mined, becoming the dumping ground for toxic waste, or thoroughfares for resources dug up on another tribe's land. Indigenous led resistance is visible in many places. Sharing our campaigning wins and struggles is incredibly powerful. It encourages people to resist and strengthens the belief that victory is possible.

Indigenous peoples in other parts of the world have long campaigned to stop exploitative resource extraction including oil companies drilling on their land. The Ogoni in Nigeria eventually stopped Shell extracting oil from the Niger Delta in the late 1990's [although large areas of land still need to be cleaned up and campaigning around this continues]. More recently the Sioux Tribe set up camp at Standing Rock and invited others to stand with them to prevent the construction of a crude oil pipeline and to protect sacred sites and country.

The increased efforts put into working in solidarity across tribes and linking issues has increased communities' power and influence. Alliances like the Treaty Alliance Against

Tar Sands Expansion in Canada have been influential in connecting communities, sharing resources and insights and organising people power on projects that cross tribal borders.

Individual campaigns link up to create a movement. For example, the Civil Rights struggle in the U.S included the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the lunch counter sit-ins, the Freedom Rides and the struggle for voting rights. All these localized struggles combined to make the larger Civil Rights movement.

Over the last decade movement building and efforts to connect different local campaigns into a wider movement, have strengthened our collective power. The impact of Idle No More and Black Lives Matter can be seen in the way communities are working more closely together with shared purpose. This show of unity and movement wide resistance was visible in the 300 different tribal nations plus many allies coming together at Standing Rock.

We have a strong history of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander led campaigns in Australia. The 1967 Referendum, land rights, black power and the era which established Aboriginal community-controlled organisations have all contributed to significant changes in the lives of our people.

From what we've already heard you've have been campaigning here on things like [footpaths for kids to get safely to school, repairs to the community pool, new housing, a moratorium on fracking etc.] [5-10]

2. What is a campaign? What do we mean by campaigning? What kinds of changes might we be trying to seek through campaigning? Write these questions up on butchers paper and discuss in pairs. [10]
3. Share back with the larger group. Ask what do we mean by campaigning? Then ask what changes people want to make? [10]
4. Ask where have you seen changes happen as a result of campaigning? These could be outside of this community or they could be a local example. List examples on white-board or butchers paper. Depending on where the group is at you could leave room to add the extra columns and unpack a couple of examples in a little more detail. Don't add the effective/ineffective column yet [15]

What was the change?	How long did it take?	Who was involved?	Was the campaign effective or ineffective, did it win? Why or why not?

5. At this point you could look at case studies, slides or short video or Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander timeline of resistance [10]. This is an optional extra step.
6. In large group: What do you notice in this/these examples? What did they achieve? [5]. Add final column and then break into groups of 3 discuss: Was the campaign effective

or ineffective, did it win? Why or why not? [10]

7. In the large group harvest the results of the pair's discussion. Add this into the effective/ineffective column [5]. This is a good time to ask 'what do we mean by success?' Acknowledge that yes, one definition is whether the group achieves its desired stated goal, or not. But what else? Success can also be about building the power of the group, who then might go on to win another day. Success can also be about changing the conversation, shifting the ways people think, their openness to new ideas, or ways of doing things.
8. Wrap up. Ask the group – what have you been thinking about some of the ways you've been responding to issues as campaigning? What are some of the key things you think could make your campaigns more effective? [5-10]

Note for facilitators: This activity could be run after the approaches to change, and lead into the blanket game if you want to focus on strategy and planning or into an activity on tactics.

The Blanket Game

OBJECTIVE

Illustrate the difference between objectives, tactics and strategy in an experiential and fun way.

TIME REQUIRED

45 minutes or more (depending on the size of the group)

RESOURCES NEEDED

A blanket, sheet, banner, or tarpaulin

HOW IT'S DONE

Want a quick tool to help your group get the difference between goals, tactics and strategy? Here's a vivid example to help with some definitions!

1. Place a blanket on the floor. Have the group stand on the blanket (they should be only slightly packed on the blanket).

Then, give them the challenge: turn the blanket over (flip it over) without anyone stepping off the blanket. (So no leaving the blanket, leaning on walls, etc.) Some groups may take longer than others, allow the group to take as long as it takes. If the group steps off the blanket, or someone steps on the ground, start over again. It's a very doable task!

2. After the group completes the task successfully, help the group self-reflect. It may be a short exercise so the debrief may be short, too. But make sure to give some space for any immediate reactions or feelings. Then focus the group on looking at the questions of: What was the goal? Tactic? Strategy?

In this case, the goal was given by the facilitator (flip the blanket over). The strategy was the method devised to achieve the goal and the tactics were the particular ways the group implemented the strategy.

3. If there have other dynamics you noticed as facilitator that came up during the activity you may want to debrief around this. For example: How did the group work together? Was there any planning that took place? How did you make decisions as group? What sort of leadership could you see playing out in the group? What role did you play? And how did that contribute to getting the job done or the group dynamics?

Do you see any of these things in real life? Do you think you take the time to plan before beginning a campaigning or taking action?

4. Regroup and share the following slide or dot points written on butcher's paper.

In small groups of 3 or 4 go through and identify these elements from a local example [10-15]

Parts or elements of a campaign

- What do we want? Long term, shorter term (Vision/goals/objectives)
- Who can give it to us? (audiences/stakeholders)
- What do they need to hear? (messages)
- Who do they need to hear it from? (messengers)
- How do we get them to hear it? (activities/tactics)
- What have we got? (resources; strengths)
- What do we need to develop? (challenges; gaps)
- How do we begin? (first steps)
- How will we know it's working, or not working? (evaluation)

Adapted from The Democracy Centre

5. Go around the groups and hear one part from each. Depending on the group size you may need to do this process twice.

Source: Adapted by Karrina Nolan, Original Power from Training for Change. T4C learned this tool from trainer Nadine Bloch, Washington, DC USA. <http://www.trainingforchange.org>

Cutting the issue: breaking it down

OBJECTIVE

- Help break bigger problems into smaller issues or partial solutions to a problem in order to focus efforts on where change can really be achieved.
- Consider the possible consequences of working on one part of a problem rather than others.

TIME REQUIRED

1.5 hours

RESOURCES NEEDED

White board and markers, slide or butchers paper with criteria

HOW IT'S DONE

1. **Set up.** Draw on a local problem, ideally one that you have been looking at or has come up in other sessions. Gather from the group and decide on two or three examples to model. Let people know they will get a chance to do other problems in their small group. Also remind people this process is not about mapping out all of the solutions to the problem today. You won't be going into all the detail of the problem. [5]

Facilitator note: if this is the first time as a group you have discussed some of these problems you may want to add additional time for people in pairs or small groups to air some of the detail about the problems or its impacts. People can sometimes get stuck on the problem itself rather than focussing on why it's useful to break it down. It's also useful to note that sometimes this process is seen as counter intuitive to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander thinking, where things are viewed holistically rather than 'reducing' them to parts. However sometimes to be effective and to deal with range of problems we have a tool that supports us to methodically work on one thing at a time can be very helpful!


Optional pairs [5-10]

It's a good idea to have a few examples ready before you model one for the group.

2. **Model example for the group.** With your first example ask the group – Is this problem big picture or specific? Why might it be useful to break it down?

On the whiteboard draw a loaf of bread, or a rectangle see diagram below. You will then be 'slicing' the problem into the separate issues or ways you could be more specific about the problem. After you people are getting it you can then add another column which moves to partial solutions to the problem.

For example, the problem may be overcrowded housing, youth incarceration, climate change, mining [15]

PROBLEM	SPECIFIC PARTS OF THE PROBLEMS (Issues)	SOLUTIONS
		

Check people understand. Support people not to get too caught up in the detail, you can show that for some problems you could keep on doing more slices. It might be useful to do a second example, ideally an issue that quite different or may require different kinds of breaking down. For example, mining or fracking. [5-10]

3. **Share slides.** Show slides 1. Criteria and 2. Checklist
4. **Small groups.** Have a go in small groups of four at breaking down one of the issues you're interested in or working on. Keeping in mind the criteria and checklist. Ask people if they can see that dealing with a problem like ... seems much more complicated and potentially unachievable than say tackling... Ask them to think about what are the issues more likely to mobilise your community? [20]
5. **Small group swap.** Send two of the group members (leave the example behind) to another group and hear from them. [10]. Swap one more time this time those who stayed behind go to a new group and the first two come back and share theirs. [10]
6. **Large group discussion and wrap up.** Discussion in large group: How was it to try and break problems down like that? What came up? How can you apply it to your work or problems in your community? Can you see value in people working on separate pieces or focussing on specific issues? [10-15]

SLIDES:

Criteria for cutting the issue:

- **Immediate:** has a short time frame
- **Specific:** not big picture, but focussed
- **Realisable (winnable):** Can it be achieved? Is it out of reach?

An issue is a problem the community can be organised around.

CHECKLIST FOR CHOOSING A PROBLEM AND ISSUE

Will resolving the issue...

- Result in a real improvement in people's lives?
- Give people a sense of their own power?
- Build strong lasting organisations?
- Be winnable?
- Be widely felt?
- Be deeply felt?
- Be easy to communicate and understand?
- Provide opportunities for people to learn about and be involved in policies?
- Have clear advocacy targets?
- Have a clear time frame?
- Build accountable leadership?
- Be consistent with your values and vision?
- Provide potential for raising funds?

Source: Adapted by Karrina Nolan, Original Power from Sam La Rocca and James Whelan The Change Agency, <http://www.thechangeagency.org> and Organizing for Social Change: A Manual for Activists in the 1990s, K. Bobo, J. Kendall, S. Max, Midwest Academy, Seven Locks Press, California, 1991.

Cutting the Issue: Learning from Nashville

OBJECTIVE

To understand the importance of cutting the issues and how to do it in relation to a specific task

TIME REQUIRED

45 minutes with the video. Or 15 minutes if the participants have already watched the video.

RESOURCES NEEDED

- Video: A Force More Powerful | Nashville: We were warriors
- Handout | Cutting the Issue in Nashville
- Handout | Smart Objective

HOW IT'S DONE

1. Watch the video: A Force More Powerful | Nashville: We were warriors. But first some context. Explain that we are going to watch a 30minute video of how people de-segregated lunch counters in Nashville, Tennessee, in the United States of the America. This campaign was one small part of a much bigger civil rights movement to win equal rights for Black people in the United States. Other campaigns included the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the voter rights campaign.
2. Give some content. Explain that big political goals like land rights can be realised through a series of shorter-term campaigns. This is the way to build movement power. This does not mean giving up on big goals like land rights; it is about recognising that there are steps to achieving any goal. Each campaign will need to have its own objectives. Seasoned campaigners recommend designing objectives that are SMART – Specific and strategic, Measurable, Achievable (theoretically winnable), Realisable (within the capacity of the campaigning organisation) and Time bound). By campaigns I mean a series of sequenced tactical manoeuvres applied over time designed to achieve a specific objective. Campaigns should also bring the movement closer to political goals and a shared vision of self-determination. Powerful campaigns are proactive. In other words, movements that organise campaigns don't just protest an injustice; they seize the initiative and redefine the agenda for change. Campaigns bring in new energy and help form new allies which are essential to winning many campaigns. Campaigns can be developed by finding issues that resonate with the resisting population. The most potent issues, says community organizers Beckwith and Lopez, are ones that are immediate, specific and winnable. By immediate Beckwith and Lopez mean some kind of grievance that is experienced daily by the people, that they are passionate about changing. By specific I mean something that is concrete, something you can touch, smell and feel. Powerful campaigns also need issues that are winnable. Useful issues to build campaigns around are ones whose victory becomes a partial solution to a bigger problem. In other words

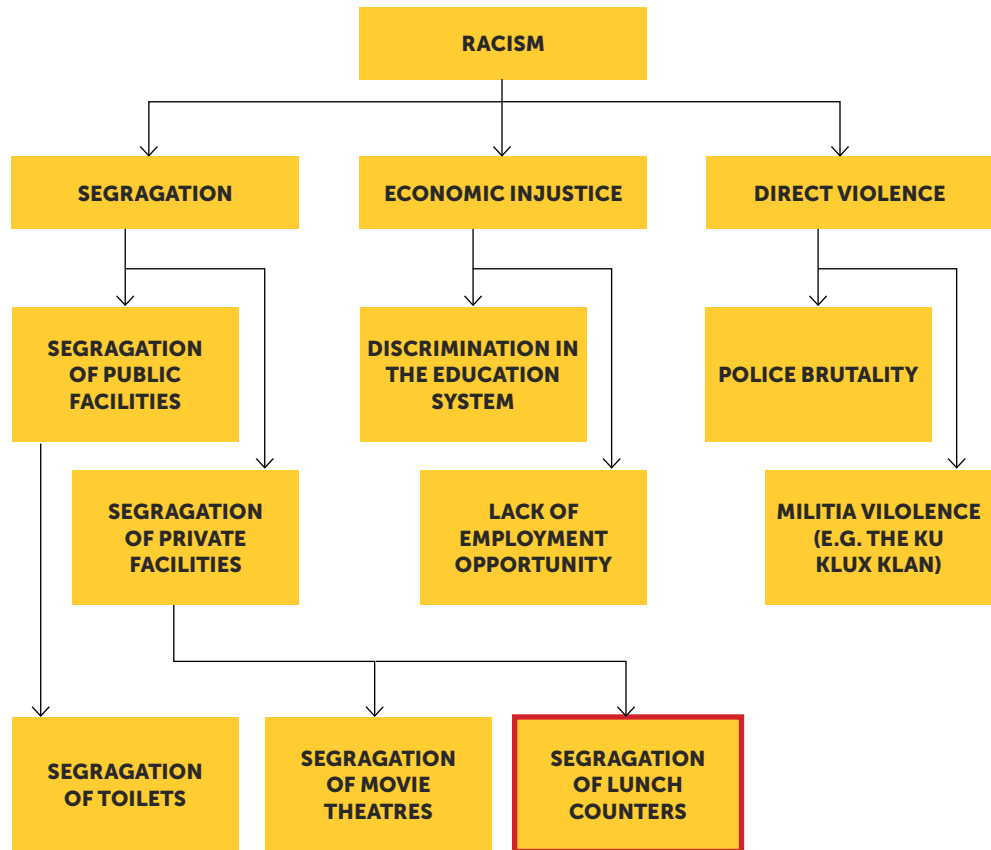
campaign victory takes you closer to your ultimate vision. Issues are smaller parts of a bigger problem. Cut the problem down into an issue that is ISW, or with criterion that is useful to you and your community. It will then be possible to develop an objective by re-framing the issue as a partial solution.

3. Illustrate how cutting the issues was applied in the Nashville case. As you explain how Reverend James Lawson and the students but the issues. Draw the diagram up. Ask what was the big problem they were addressing? When people answer racism or inequality write that up. Then ask how did racism or inequality manifest itself? For example, there was segregation, economic injustice and direct violence. Write these up then break down each component of the problem by asking people how that problem manifested. When you cut the issue down to segregation help people understand that there are many different aspects of daily life that were segregated – restaurants, lunch counters, movie theatres, and public facilities like restrooms and water fountains. In Nashville, the activists decided to focus on one issue, the segregation of lunch counters. The issue of segregated lunch counters did not encompass all the problems associated with racism, it was a smaller representation of a much bigger problem. The partial solution to this smaller problem was desegregated lunch counters in Nashville. This became their campaign objective. When Lawson and the activists won this campaign, they moved on to other campaigns.
4. Give people the Handout | Cutting the Issues in Nashville.

From here it is useful to support people to cut the issue in relation to their own problems. Remind people that winning on small issues is a way to build collective action muscle. This helps communities build power and win bigger issues later on.

Source: Jason MacLeod, Pasifika

Cutting the Issues in Nashville



Cutting the issue of racism in Nashville

Student activists selected an issue around which to develop a campaign.

Source: *A Force More Powerful | Nashville: We were warriors*, Jason MacLeod, Pasifika

PROCESS GUIDE

Critical Path Analysis: Learning from Nashville and the Civil Rights struggle

OBJECTIVE

To understand what a critical path is and how it works by seeing it applied in another context.

TIME REQUIRED

90mins

RESOURCES NEEDED

- Video: A Force More Powerful | Nashville: We were warriors
- Blank sheets of paper or sticky notes in two different colours, one for outcomes and the other for tactics
- Facilitator Resource | Nashville outcome cards
- Facilitator Resource | Nashville tactics cards
- Handout | Nashville Critical Path

HOW IT'S DONE

1. Introduce the video. Explain that we are going to look at how another group of people dealt with a difficult problem and won. We will identify what their plan was, the smaller changes that happened along the way and the different kind of tactics or activities that the group used to build power in order to get what they wanted.
2. But first some context. Explain that we are going to watch a 30minute video of how people de-segregated lunch counters in Nashville, Tennessee, in the United States of the America. This campaign was one small part of a much bigger civil rights movement to win equal rights for Black people in the United States. Other campaigns included the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the voter rights campaign.
3. Give people a task. Say we are now going to watch the movie 'A Force More Powerful | Nashville: We were warriors'. While we are doing that invite people to look for two things. First, identify the changes that happened along the way. Campaigners also call these outcomes. For example, early on in the film you will see them forming a group. That is one of the smaller changes that happened early on in the campaign. This change then led to other changes like a chain reaction of dominos or stepping stones across a river, one thing leading to the other. All these changes built power that enabled the group and community to win. Second, look for what tactics people used to achieve those changes. For example, the key tactic or activity that people used to build a group was one-on-one recruiting conversations and workshops where people were trained. Check that people understand their two tasks.

4. Watch the video.
5. Debrief. Ask people to share what feelings came up? Stick with feelings for a while before harvesting insights. At some point ask people what the objective was? Write it down on a large piece of flipchart: 'To desegregate lunch counters in Nashville, Tennessee by the end of Spring.' As people call out lessons related to strategy, tactics and building start to list these but don't go into too much detail. Instead ask people to break into small groups to explore these in more detail. We will return to the strategy lessons in more detail later on but for now let's unpack how people developed the plan and built power.
6. Small group work. Hand out blank sheets of paper or large sticky notes. Ask people to list all the changes the group made. One change per sticky note. Once they have listed all the changes ask people to put them in order.
7. Still in small groups invite people to think about what tactics were used to change each change. Hand out different coloured sticky notes and ask people to list those tactics in order that were used to create each change.
8. Once all the groups have mapped out the changes and the tactics used to create them, ask all the groups to combine their individual sequences to form one large sequence, or critical path. Explain that in this case the critical path identifies one pathways to achieve discreet campaign objectives. The more concrete and achievable the objectives are, the easier it is to develop a critical path that can then serve to guide your group's efforts.
9. Once the large group has developed a single critical path that shows both outcomes and tactics give them the outcome and tactics cards and ask them to see if anything is missing. At the same time value what the group has done and emphasise that there are different ways of framing and sequencing. The most important thing is that people understand how the group worked to create small changes and how these built on one another to achieve the objective. This is what a critical path is.
10. Debrief in the large group. Go through the critical path to make sure nothing is missing. Ask people what they learnt. Add to the strategy lessons list developed earlier. Ask if anyone has ever used a critical path before to win a campaign? What was that like? Ask if they could imagine using this tool? Finally hand out the Nashville critical path.

From here people could then work on their own critical paths.

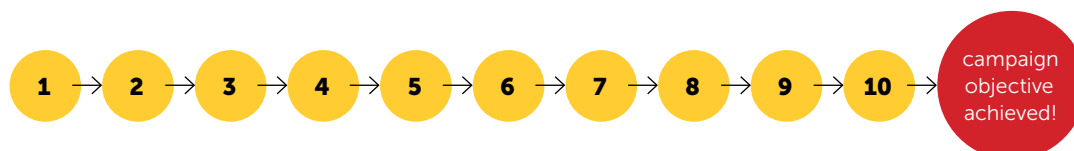
Source: Jason MacLeod, Pasifika

Nashville Critical Path: Outcome Cards

A group is formed	An 'issue' to campaign around is selected	An 'issue' to campaign around is selected	An 'issue' to campaign around is selected
The participants of the action group take public action	Nonviolent action is escalated	Support for the campaign increases	Support for the campaign increases
The political and economic costs increase for the supporters of segregation and participation in the movement grows	External event not planned for: Repression (Lawyer Alexander Lubi's home is bombed)	The Mayor and political leaders of Nashville are held accountable	The Mayor and political leaders of Nashville are held accountable
Lunch counters in Nashville are desegregated	Invitation: Martin Luther King Jnr asks Rev James Lawson to go to Nashville. Lawson accepts.	Lawson recruits some key student leaders.	Students recruit other students.
Civil resistance workshops	Group discussions	Group analysis of the problem	Action research to choose an issue

Civil resistance workshops to plan strategy and tactics	Training workshops in nonviolent action.	In small groups people discuss how they can work through their fears and support one another to take action.	March
Observers and support people are trained	Journalists are contacted to document the action	More sit-ins in more locations in Nashville. Six stores targeted.	Boycott of segregated stores
Pickets of White-owned shops	Media conferences and articles	Church sermons	Leaflets handed out
New allies join the movement which now has national exposure	Key allies are contacted and urged to join the struggle	Sit-ins continue and are used to increase publicity and increase the political tension. More arrests.	Students fill the jails
Boycott, pickets and leafleting continues. Ninety percent of the black community in Nashville joins the boycott.	The issue of segregation is nationalised (and internationalised)	Meeting to discuss a response to the bombing	A long march to city hall
An accountability session organised on the steps of City Hall	The media is used to publicise the Mayor's support for desegregation and to hold him accountable.	Campaigners work with the Mayor and city politicians to implement the Mayor's policy of desegregation of lunch-counters	Student activists prepare their next campaign. They begin by 'cutting the issues again.

Nashville Critical Path



1. Step/outcome: A group is formed

- Tactic: Martin Luther King Jnr asks Rev James Lawson to go to Nashville. Lawson accepts.
- Tactic: Lawson meets with key student activists in Nashville and invites them to come to a series of trainings.
- Tactic: Students recruit other students.

2. Step/outcome: An 'issue' to campaign around is selected

- Tactic: workshops
- Tactic: group discussion
- Tactic: group analysis of problems
- Tactic: Action research to choose an issue
- Tactic: Civil resistance workshops to plan strategy and tactics

3. Step/outcome: A group is prepared and trained

- Tactic: training workshops in nonviolent action.

4. Step/outcome: The participants of the action group take public action

This occurs in the process casting off fear and building support for their campaign.

- Tactic: In small groups people discuss how they can work through their fears and support one another to take action.
- Tactic: small march
- Tactic: sit-ins
- Tactic: observers and support people are trained
- Tactic: journalists are contacted to document the action

5. Step/outcome: Nonviolent action is escalated

- Tactic: more sit-ins in more locations in Nashville. Six stores targeted.
- Tactic: boycott of segregated stores
- Tactic: pickets of White-owned shops
- Tactic: media conferences and articles
- Tactic: church sermons
- Tactic: leaflets handed out

6. Step/outcome: Support for the campaign increases

- Tactic: New allies join the movement which now has national exposure
- Tactic: key allies are contacted and urged to join the struggle
- Tactic: sit-ins continue and are used to increase publicity and increase the political tension. More arrests.
- Tactic: students fill the jails

7. Step/outcome: The political and economic costs increase for the supporters of segregation and participation in the movement grows

- Tactic: boycott, pickets and leafleting continues. Ninety percent of the black community in Nashville joins the boycott
- Tactic: The issue of segregation is nationalised (and internationalised)

8. Step/outcome: Repression (Lawyer Alexander Lubi's home is bombed)

An external event not planned for. As a result of this the leaders of the Nashville re-strategise and decide to shift their primary target from White owned shopkeepers to the Mayor of Nashville, Ben West.)

- Tactic: meeting to discuss a response
- Tactic: a long march to city hall

9. Step/outcome: The Mayor and political leaders of Nashville are held accountable

- Tactic: an accountability session organised on the steps of City Hall
- Tactic: the media is used to publicise the Mayor's support for desegregation and to hold him accountable.

10. Step/outcome: Lunch counters in Nashville are desegregated

- Tactic: campaigners work with the Mayor and city politicians to implement the Mayor's policy of desegregation of lunch-counters
- Tactic: student activists prepare their next campaign. They begin by 'cutting the issues again

11. Step/outcome: Campaign objective achieved: lunch counters are desegregated

Critical Path Analysis

OBJECTIVE

- Inspire positive future thinking
- Shift to outcomes rather than tactics focus
- Outline some threads in the campaign's stages
- Develop capacities to 'cut issues'
- Provide experience and skill in defining clear objectives
- Allow further understanding of one's own notions about how change happens.

TIME REQUIRED

At least 120 minutes. The amount of time you allocate for this depends on your purpose. If you are teaching people a tool you might only need 90 minutes but if you want to actually develop a strategy for a specific campaign/s then consider spending at least half a day or even a whole day.

RESOURCES NEEDED

- Paper plates (5 or 6 times as many as there people in the group)
- Marker pens

HOW IT'S DONE

1. Set up. Explain the process and the purpose of critical path analysis. Campaigns and movements don't win all at once – they win through taking successful steps. Being able to break down the steps towards winning is a key skill for successful strategising. This tool gives participants challenge and practice in setting stepping stones of achievements along the way and sequencing those towards an eventual win.

The basic concept is to have each person write down the outcomes they think need to happen for their campaign to be successful – not so much the steps or activities they need to do, but the changes that need to happen for their hoped-for changes to be made real. Since it is such a big challenge -- so easy to be broad and unrealistic, not specific and realisable -- this tool utilises (a) a physical set-up and structure (paper plates) to support clearer thinking; (b) support from other participants in small groups; and c) debriefing midway to support clarity of outcomes.

A successful critical path:

1. Serves as a simple and powerful aid to communicate your group's analysis, vision and hoped-for social changes.
2. Helps focus your energies. Before deciding on possible actions or tactics, your group members can ask, 'How will this move us along our critical path?'
3. A critical path identifies where your impact will be apparent, 'If you're sensationally successful, what will change?'
4. Encourage a discipline so campaigners think first about the impact you hope for then how you'll create that impact or change.

2. **Quiet Writing Time.** First provide people with about 10 minutes of quiet writing time. While everyone is in the circle together, ask people to close their eyes, if comfortable, and think of an issue or problem they feel really passionate about. Now encourage them to take themselves to the time when the issue or problem is resolved somehow, the social or environmental changes they've hoped for have been realised or the campaign they've been working on has won. Let them get a feel for it. What does that change look like? Feel like? Now what happened? Tell a story of how that vision came to be. What changes happened along the way that led to the positive social or environmental change. Ask people to record the five or six changes that needed to happen before their vision was made real.
3. **Create groups and explain the set up.** Now put participants into small groups – groups between three and five work well. Have the groups spread out around the room. Ask people to share their stories with each other.

Then in the middle of the room put an object, like a bowl of fruit, and explain that this symbolises the 'vision'. It's what folks are working towards – their specific (as opposed to broad) campaign goals.

Each participant will be given five or six paper plates (extras are available if needed). The task for each participant is to place paper plates in a sequence starting from where they are now to their vision (or working backwards from the vision to now). Each plate will be labelled to identify specific outcomes that are important: 'stepping stones' to that vision on the plates. The pathway does not have to be linear.

For example, someone working on a campaign to end the use of plastic bags in their state, might have as some of the stepping stones: (1) 'broad-based coalition of 5 action groups established and working successfully together to abolish the use of plastic bags', (2) 'regular state-wide media publications present positive news stories in newspapers and magazines', (3) 'people working in grocery stores and jobs that use bags, inform shoppers about the problems with plastic bags and urge them to say "No to Plastic Bags"', (4) 'shoppers refuse plastic bags on mass; ...and (5) 'state government passes legislation to ban plastic bags; and so on, until eventually they win their campaign. It's always good to demonstrate the process with a campaign the facilitators are familiar with.

Each paper plate is one outcome that needs to happen for the ultimate campaign goal or social change vision to be realised. While most of those outcomes can be objectives that the organisation can work towards, a few of them might be external factors, like an oil crisis, that can help progress the movement's goals. The reason for having people in groups is that folks can bounce ideas off each other, get challenged about the clarity of each outcome, and get some feedback about the order of the steps. Acknowledge up-front that it's intended to be challenging.

Invite questions and clarify as needed.

NOTE: If you're using this tool in a group that's all working on the same campaign/issue, you may want to adapt it so participants are creating the outcomes/plates together. Also, it may be a challenge to get the group to think in terms of bite-sized campaigns. While 'economic justice for all' is a great vision, this tool is most effective when identifying outcomes with a clear scope, like 'getting five affordable housing complexes built in five years' time'. One way to support the group to get more specific is to allow time

for the larger scope in an earlier exercise, by using process guides such as the Vision Gallery or Scenario Writing.

4. Group work. Allow groups to work, giving support as needed to get specific. Between 30 to 60 minutes may be needed for this part.

Disagreement and discussion among participants is great here for learning. Facilitators should be readily available for support, coaching, and as a resource. In particular, you need to watch out for people writing tactics or activities on their plates – we can't help ourselves, we often focus on the things we are going to do, rather than what needs to change or happen. This tool is about outcomes – 'What are we trying to achieve?', or 'What needs to change?' rather than, 'What are we going to do?'. If you find people writing tactics on their plates, ask folks to ask themselves, 'What outcome are we working towards with this activity or tactic?'

5. Debrief on what makes for good outcomes. Interrupt before most groups look finished for a quick check-in with how people are doing. Make a quick list of what qualities good outcomes have, what people notice about the visions and outcomes they are constructing. In terms of framing visions, you might introduce the concept of 'cutting issues'. Cutting an issue is about taking a big picture social or environmental problem and making it a specific, immediate and realisable issue that you can mobilise community around. Where a problem is a broad area of concern, (e.g. pollution, racism and unaffordable healthcare), an issue is a solution or partial solution to a problem, such as green energy, affirmative action or national healthcare.

In terms of outcomes, you could introduce 'SMART' objectives: specific/strategic, measurable, achievable, realistic and time-specific. People can use SMART as a way of analysing their outcomes and reframing them as objectives that they can then develop strategy and tactics for. Do their objectives match those qualities? This step may take 10-20 minutes.

6. Give folks some more time to finish up. As people are finishing, you might move in to a break so that people can informally share with each other, spend part of the break finishing if they so wish, or just read people's stepping stones that they created. STEP 7: DEBRIEF After the break, spend just a few minutes debriefing how that was for people. Invite people to consider the usefulness of what they've just done. You might have a couple of people demonstrate how they see their campaign winning through modelling the steps. (One option is to act out the critical path analysis as a football game with people commentating like sports commentators at a football game and people playing. Every time an outcome or step is achieved ask all the other participants to cheer wildly.)

Source: The People Power Manual: Campaign Strategy, Edited by Jason MacLeod, Pasifika and James Whelan, the Change Agency, 2016, Second Edition.

SMART Objectives

Smart objectives are objectives that are:

S	STRATEGIC helps you achieve your goal
M	MEASURABLE specific
A	ACHIEVABLE in the world, attainable
R	REALISTIC within the capacity of your group, relevant
T	TIME BOUND

Tactics Relay

OBJECTIVE

- Helps participants understand the spectrum of nonviolent tactics
- Exposes participants to how to apply that theory to their own context

TIME REQUIRED

60 minutes

RESOURCES NEEDED

- Facilitator Resource | Nonviolent Tactics Cards (one set per group)
- Handout | Different Types of Tactics
- Handout | 198 tactics
- Seven pieces of newsprint each with one of the seven headings written up
- Enough envelopes for each set of tactics cards
- Something to stick the tactics cards onto the newsprint

SET UP

Print out a set of tactics cards, one set for each of groups participating in the relay. For example, if you have five relay teams you will need five sets of tactics cards.

Mark each set of tactics cards with a different colour then place each set in an envelope.

Write up the seven headings and place them on the wall, or floor, at the end of a long corridor. (You can also play the relay outside.)

HOW IT'S DONE

1. This exercise is based on the idea of “relay races,” although here there is less emphasis on “winning” and more on learning. Running the relay race: First, break groups into at least two teams (teams should be made up of 5 to 6 players each). To “warm up” their team, give them a minute to come up with a team name.
2. While participants are coming up with a team name, put up headings at one end of the room: (1) the tactics of everyday resistance (2) lobbying and using electoral / conventional political processes (3) protest and persuasion (4) mass noncooperation (5) building new structures and processes (creative nonviolent intervention) (6) disrupting the oppressive activities of the power-holders (disruptive nonviolent intervention) and, (7) unclear.
3. Invite each team to present their team name. (Place teams to make sure they are about equal distant from the headings.) Explain briefly (five-eight minutes) the six major classes of tactics for tackling working for change listed above: everyday acts of resistance; conventional politics; protest and persuasion; mass noncooperation; creative nonviolent intervention, and disruptive nonviolent intervention. Use the Handout | 198 Tactics to explain each type of tactic. Make sure people understand the difference between the different kinds of tactics.

4. Explain that people are about to do a “relay race.” The rules of the relay race are as follows:
 - Each team will get a set of cards. Participants will pick up one card at a time (a set of suggested tactics are included with this exercise).
 - Each card will contain a situation which the team as a whole should reach consensus on whether the tactic is an example of an: act of everyday resistance, lobbying and using electoral processes, protest and persuasion, mass noncooperation, building new structures and processes, and disrupting the activities of the power-holders, or is unclear.
 - As soon as your team decides, someone will grab the card and, using masking tape, put it under that heading.
 - The role of the runner needs to keep rotating throughout the group to each person (so it is not only one person running), keeping in mind differences in physical ability.
 - IF YOU WISH, you can add: The first team to finish putting up all of their cards, “Wins.” (You may or may not also wish to have a prize.)
5. Ask for any clarification questions. Make sure the teams are clear about the rules of the relay race. Handout sets of cards face-down, telling groups not to start until you say “Go.” Finally: say “Go” and let them begin!
6. After the game is “over” – when a team runs out of cards or when every team runs out of cards, your choice based on your sense of the group – give the group a moment to catch their breath. Invite them to go to the far end of the relay course to inspect where the various cards were placed.
7. Wherever they put various cards, congratulate them on doing some tough thinking and making some tough calls. Begin debriefing by giving space for people’s immediate reactions. It can be a challenge to be making so many decisions rapidly. After people have expressed any feelings along those lines, help the group to look at why they put what where (and how that action might affect people in the area). Some of the following questions could be raised as time permits:
 - What considerations did people make in deciding where to place cards?
 - What made some of the situations Unclear?
 - What different costs to different tactics have?
 - What different impacts do different tactics have – on the movement, on the opponent and on third parties?
 - What makes a tactic powerful? What make the tactics of everyday resistance even more powerful?

Debrief with clarification about the different classes of tactics and the point that different tactics have different effects at different times. Explain that in big campaigns mass non-cooperation is the most powerful tactic. Beyond that three things will increase the power of a nonviolent tactic:

- Doing things together (in other words, actions that are collective)
- Preparation and planning
- Making sure that each tactic is designed is to undermine the opponent’s sources of power and build the movement.

Source: Adapted by Jason MacLeod from a guide developed by George Lakey of Training for Change <http://www.TrainingForChange.org>

Tactics Relay: Tactics Cards

Make a video	Organise a public protest at the company's Annual General Meeting	Write a report	Civil resistance workshops
Lobby workers to support the campaign	Sacred site walk on	Action research to choose an issue	Only eating bush tucker
School boycott	Using art to illustrate and communicate the problem (and/or solution)	A long march	Going door to door to talk about the issue
Sit-ins	Creating a shared vision of what self-determination means for ordinary people	Boycott	Pickets
Media conferences	Church sermons	Leaflets handed out	Making t-shirts to fund raise
Growing and wearing dreadlocks	An accountability session on the steps of City Hall	Intentionally filling the jails in order to overload the system	Bird dogging
Planting food gardens on all roads so timber and mining companies cannot enter the region	Lobbying and engaging in electoral politics	Handing out "how to vote" cards at a polling station on election day	Visiting your local politician with members of your group

Strike by workers at a local mine	Creating community run and owned renewable energy companies	Request a meeting with the company by sending a letter to the CEO and Board	Refusing to pay tax to the local government because of their oppressive policies
Writing a letter to a politician	Writing a submission for a senate enquiry on corruption	A silent vigil outside a politician's office	Refusing to accept bribes
Holding a seminar on human rights	Speaking to a local community group about a particular campaign for peace and justice	Holding a vigil with placards and banners	Creating an indigenous owned farmers' cooperative
Creating a community-based media outlet that trains locals to be journalists and writes and distributes news about peace and justice	Organising a federation of community-based organisations and NGOs to run local schools based on indigenous knowledge and culture	Re-creating a local democratic decision-making structure and process that is independent and not controlled by the government	Blockading a road
A mass campaign to wear a banned symbol / dress	A general strike (total strike by the entire population)	Occupying the offices of a politician who is refusing to take action over specific human rights violations	Blockading the roads leading to a forest concession operated by a corrupt and unpopular timber company
Only speaking one's own language	Wearing a shirt emblazoned with a symbol of the movement	Refusing to buy goods from stores owned by the power-holders	A mass refusal to stay at home instead of attending celebrations held by the military
A mass campaign to wear a banned symbol / dress	A general strike (total strike by the entire population)	Occupying the offices of a politician who is refusing to take action over specific human rights violations	Setting up an organic food buying cooperative

198 Different Kinds of Nonviolent Action

Methods of protest and persuasion: actions to send a message.

Formal Statements

1. Public speeches
2. Letters of opposition or support
3. Declarations by organisations and institutions
4. Signed public statements
5. Declarations of indictment and intention
6. Group or mass petition

Communications with a wider audience

7. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols (written, painted, drawn, printed, gestures, spoken, or mimicked)
8. Banners, posters and displayed communications
9. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books
10. Newspapers and journals
11. Recordings, radio, television, and video
12. Skywriting and earth writing

Group presentations

13. Deputations
14. Mock awards
15. Group lobbying
16. Picketing
17. Mock elections

Symbolic public acts

18. Displays of flags and symbolic colours
19. Wearing of symbols (advocacy buttons, patches)
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobings
23. Destruction of own property (homes, documents, credentials, etc)
24. Symbolic lights (torches, lanterns, candles)

25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names and/or symbolic names
28. Symbolic sounds (“symbolic tunes” with whistles, bells, sirens, etc)
29. Symbolic reclamations (takeover of lands or buildings)
30. Rude gestures

Pressure on individuals

31. “Haunting” officials (may involve constantly following them, or reminding them, or may be silent and respectful)
32. Taunting officials (mocking or insulting them)
33. Fraternalization (subjecting persons to intense direct influence to convince them that the regime they service is unjust)
34. Vigils

Drama and music

35. Humorous skits and pranks
36. Performance of plays and music
37. Singing

Processions

38. Marches
39. Parades
40. Religious processions
41. Pilgrimages
42. Motorcades

Honouring the dead

43. Political mourning
44. Mock funerals
45. Demonstrative funerals
46. Homage at burial places

Public assemblies

- 47. 47. Assemblies of protest or support
- 48. 48. Protest meetings
- 49. 49. Camouflaged meetings of protest
- 50. 50. Teach-ins with several informed speakers

Withdrawal and renunciation

- 51. 51. Walk-outs
- 52. 52. Silence
- 53. 53. Renunciation of honours
- 54. 54. Turning one's back

All of the above are symbolic actions. Greater power is wielded by the methods of non-cooperation and nonviolent intervention.

Methods of Non-cooperation: actions to suspend cooperation and assistance

“Non-cooperation” means deliberately withdrawing some kind of cooperation with the opponent or refuse to undertake some new duty or action. There are three classes of non-cooperation: economic, social, and political.

Actions to suspend social relations

The methods of social non-cooperation

Social non-cooperation is the refusal to carry on normal social relations, either particular or general, with persons or groups regarded as having performed some wrong or injustice, or refusal to comply with certain behaviour patterns or practices.

Ostracism of persons

- 55. Social boycott
- 56. Selective social boycott
- 57. Lysistrata non-action (sexual boycott)
- 58. Excommunication (religious boycott)
- 59. Interdiction (suspension of religious services)

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 (of social customs or rules)
- 64. Withdrawal from social institutions

Withdrawal from the social system

- 65. Stay-at-home

- 66. Total personal non-cooperation
- 67. Flight of workers (fleeing elsewhere)
- 68. Sanctuary (withdrawal to a place where you cannot be touched without violation of religious, moral, social, or legal prohibitions)
- 69. Collective disappearance (the inhabitants of a small area abandon their homes and villages)
- 70. Protest emigration (hijrat: a deliberate permanent emigration)

Actions to suspend economic relations

The methods of economic non-cooperation

These methods involve the suspension or refusal to initiate specific types of economic relationships. This non-cooperation takes many forms that are grouped under the subclasses of economic boycotts and labour strikes.

Economic boycotts

An economic boycott is the refusal to buy, sell, handle, or distribute specific goods and services, and often also includes efforts to induce others to withdraw such cooperation.

Action by consumers

71. Consumers boycott of certain goods or firms or services
72. Non-consumption of boycotted goods (those already in one's possession)
73. Policy of austerity (reducing consumption to an absolute minimum)
74. Rent withholding (rent strike)
75. Refusal to rent
76. National consumers' boycott (refusal to buy products or services from another country)
77. International consumers' boycott (operating in several countries against the products of a particular country)

Action by workers and producers

78. Workmen's boycott (refusal to work with products or Process Guides provided by the opponents)
79. Producers' boycott (refusal by producers to sell or otherwise deliver their products)

Action by middlemen

80. Suppliers' or handlers' boycott (refusal by workers or middlemen to handle or supply certain goods)

Action by owners and management

81. Traders' boycott (refusal by retailers to buy or sell certain goods)
82. Refusal to let or sell property
83. Lockout (the employer initiates the work stoppage by temporary shutting down the operation)
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 (refusal to provide the government with revenue voluntarily)
91. Refusal of a government's money (demand alternative ways of payment)

Action by governments

92. Domestic embargo
93. Blacklisting of traders
94. International sellers' embargo
95. International buyers' embargo
96. International trade embargo

Labour strikes

The methods of the strike involve the refusal to continue economic cooperation through work. Strikes are collective, deliberate and normal temporary suspensions of labour designed to impose pressure on others. While a strike normally takes place in an industrial context like a factory, it may also be political, social, agricultural, or cultural depending on the nature of the grievance.

Symbolic strikes

97. Protest strike (for a pre-announced short period)
98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike: short, spontaneous protest strike)

Agricultural strikes

99. Peasant strike
100. Farm workers' strike

Strikes by special groups

101. Refusal of impressed labour
102. Prisoner's strike
103. Craft strike
104. Professional strike

Ordinary industrial strikes

105. Establishment strike (in one or more plants under one management)
106. Industry strike (suspension of work in all the establishments of an industry)
107. Sympathetic strike (solidarity strike to support the demands of fellow workers)

Restricted strikes

108. Detailed strike (worker by worker, or area by area; piecemeal stoppage)
109. Bumper strike (the union strikes only one firm in an industry at a time)

- 110. Slowdown strike
- 111. Working to rule strike (the literal carrying out of regulations in order to retard production)
- 112. Sick-in (reporting “sick)
- 113. Strike by resignation (a significant number of workers resign individually)
- 114. Limited strike (workers refuse to perform certain marginal work or refuse to work on certain days)
- 115. Selective strike (workers refuse to do certain types of work)

Multi-industrial strikes

- 116. Generalised strike (several industries are struck simultaneously)
- 117. General strike (all industries are struck simultaneously)

Combination of strikes and economic closures

- 118. Hartal (economic life temporarily suspended on a voluntary basis)
- 119. Economic shutdown (workers strike and employers simultaneously halt economic activities)

Actions to suspend political submission and assistance

The methods of political non-cooperation

This class consists of methods that withhold or withdraw cooperation in political matters. The aim may be to achieve a particular limited objective or to change the nature and composition of government, or even to produce its disintegration.

Rejection of authority

- 120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance
- 121. Refusal of public support (for the existing regime and its policies)
- 122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance

Citizens’ non-cooperation with government

- 123. Boycott of legislative bodies by its members
- 124. Boycott of elections
- 125. Boycott of government employment and positions
- 126. Boycott of government departments, agencies, and other bodies
- 127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions
- 128. Boycott of government-supported organisations
- 129. Refusal of assistance to government agents
- 130. Removal of own signs and place markers
- 131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
- 132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions

Citizens’ alternatives to obedience

- 133. Reluctant and slow compliance
- 134. Non-obedience in the absence of direct supervision
- 135. Popular non-obedience (not publicized, discreet)
- 136. Disguised disobedience (looks like compliance)
- 137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse
- 138. Sit-down
- 139. Non-cooperation 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 (as refusal to carry out particular instructions; informing superiors of the refusal)
- 143. Blocking lines of command and information
- 144. Stalling and obstruction
- 145. General administrative non-cooperation
- 146. Judicial non-cooperation (by Judges)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective non-cooperation by enforcement agents</p> <p>148. Mutiny</p> <p>Domestic governmental action</p> <p>149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays</p> <p>150. Non-cooperation by constituent governmental units</p> <p>International governmental action</p> <p>151. Changes in diplomatic and other representation</p> | <p>152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events</p> <p>153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition</p> <p>154. Severance of diplomatic relations</p> <p>155. Withdrawal from international organisations</p> <p>156. Refusal of membership in international bodies</p> <p>157. Expulsion from international bodies</p> |
|--|---|

The methods of nonviolent intervention: actions to intervene or disrupt

In contrast to the methods of protest and persuasion and of non-cooperation, these are methods that intervene directly to change a given situation. The disruptive class of interventions may disrupt, and even destroy, established behaviour patterns, policies, relationships, or institutions. The creative class of nonviolent interventions may establish new behaviour patterns, policies, relationships, or institutions.

Certain methods of nonviolent intervention can pose a more direct and immediate challenge to the opponents than the methods of protest and non-cooperation and may thereby produce more rapid changes. These methods may include sit-ins, nonviolent invasion, nonviolent interpositioning, nonviolent obstruction, nonviolent occupation, nonviolent land seizure, seeking imprisonment, and dual sovereignty and parallel government. The methods of nonviolent intervention are usually both harder for resisters to sustain and harder for the opponent to withstand. Use of these methods may bring speedier and more severe repression than the methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion and the forms of non-cooperation. The methods of intervention may be used defensively: to maintain behaviour patterns, institutions, independent initiatives, etc., or they may be used offensively to carry the struggle for the resisters' objectives into the opponents' own camp, even without any provocation.

Psychological intervention

- 158. Self-exposure to the elements
- 159. The fast
- 160. Reverse trial (defendants become the unofficial “prosecutors”)
- 161. Nonviolent harassment

Physical intervention

- 162. Sit-in
- 163. Stand-in
- 164. Ride-in
- 165. Wade-in
- 166. Mill-in (gather in some place of symbolic significance and remain mobile)
- 167. Pray-in
- 168. Nonviolent raids (march to designated key point and demand possession)
- 169. Nonviolent air-raids (perhaps bringing leaflets or food)
- 170. Nonviolent invasion
- 171. Nonviolent interjection (placing one’s body between a person and the objective of his or her activity)
- 172. Nonviolent obstruction (generally temporary)
- 173. Nonviolent occupations

Social intervention

- 174. Establishing new social patterns
- 175. Overloading of facilities

- 176. Stall-in
- 177. Speak-in
- 178. Guerrilla theatre (improvised dramatic interruptions)
- 179. Alternative social institutions
- 180. Alternative communication systems

Economic intervention

- 181. Reverse strike (working to excess)
- 182. Stay-in strike (occupation of work site)
- 183. Nonviolent land seizure
- 184. Defiance 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 systems

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

Source: Gene Sharp. 1973. *The Politics of Nonviolent Action (Part Two)*. Porter Sargent: Boston.

Gurindji Land Rights Struggle

OBJECTIVE

- To analyse the Gurindji Wave Hill Land Rights Struggle
- To think about how to frame community issues
- To develop a list of how to work with outsiders

TIME REQUIRED

60 minutes

RESOURCES NEEDED

- Case Study | Gurindji Land Rights Struggle
- A copy of the Kev Karmody and Paul Kelly song 'From Little Things Big Things Grow' (You'll find a good video of the song here: <https://youtu.be/tbHR-apIHLU>.)

HOW IT'S DONE

1. Introduce the exercise as about exploring a successful story of an early land rights struggle in Australia and through that, thinking about how you might talk about your own issues and work with outsiders. Read the case study: Gurindji Land Rights Struggle. (Before or after reading the story you might also choose to play the song by Kev Karmody and Paul Kelly song 'From Little Things Big Things Grow'.
2. Invite people to form groups of three. Ask: what were the issues and how did people talk about them? (Give people at least 15-20minutes to talk about this. Write the question up on a large piece of newsprint to assist the visual learners.)
3. Harvest people's responses and write them up on newsprint.
4. Invite people to go back into their group to discuss how the Gurindji worked with outsiders. Invite people to develop a list of protocols that you would like outsiders to respect when working with your community.
5. Harvest people's responses and write them up on newsprint. Where necessary clarify what people mean or why it is important? If necessary, ask people if they have a story to help us understand that?
6. Discuss and if necessary develop a draft protocol list.

Source: Jason MacLeod, Pasifika and Karrina Nolan, Original Power

Gurindji Struggle for Land Rights and Wave Hill Station Strike

In August 1966, Aboriginal pastoral workers walked off the job on the vast Vestey's cattle station at Wave Hill in the Northern Territory. At first they expressed their unhappiness with their poor working conditions and disrespectful treatment. Conversations between stockmen who had worked for Vestey's and Dexter Daniels, the North Australian Workers' Union Aboriginal organiser, led to the initial walk off.

The next year the group moved to Wattie Creek, a place of significance to the Gurindji people. They asked Frank Hardy, an Australian novelist and communist activist, to 'make a sign' which included the word 'Gurindji', their own name for themselves. Their disaffection was deeper than wages and working conditions.

Although these stockmen and their families could not read, they understood the power of the white man's signs. Now their name for themselves, written on a sign, asserted a claim to Gurindji lands.

Following the walk off by Aboriginal pastoral workers employed on Vestey's Wave Hill station, the Gurindji men had important conversations amongst themselves and with both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal supporters. Vincent Lingiari, Mick Rangiari (also known as Hoppy Mick), Lupna Giari (also known as Captain Major), Pincher Manguari (also known as Pincher Nyurriyari) and others voiced their discontent at working for Vestey's. They decided they would not return.

Among the supporters to speak with these stockmen were Dexter Daniels, the Aboriginal organiser for the North Australian Workers Union, Brian Manning, a founding member of the Northern Territory Council for Aboriginal Rights, the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders and some unions.

In addition, Frank Hardy went to the Northern Territory in June 1966. He spent time with the strikers camped at the welfare settlement and became involved in trying to understand their grievances. At this stage, most white supporters were unionists, members of the Communist Party of Australia or others engaged in addressing economic injustice. These Aboriginal workers were not eligible for the safeguards provided to other workers through the industrial relations system. However, the focus on economic injustice initially prevented many white supporters from understanding the deeper matters which concerned the Gurindji.

HANDOUT

Gurindji Struggle for Land Rights and Wave Hill Station Strike

At a meeting of the Northern Territory Council for Aboriginal Rights at Rapid Creek, Hardy helped members to set out their grievances in a document titled 'Program for improved living standards for Northern Territory Aborigines'. In that document wages and working conditions were only a part of a wider and deeper discontent.

In April 1967 the pastoral workers, along with their wives and children, picked up their cooking pots and clothes and other meagre belongings and moved camp, walking to Daguragu (Wattie Creek). 'This bin Gurindji country' is how Pincher Manguari described Wattie Creek to Frank Hardy.

In Australian law, however, these men and their families were illegally occupying a part of the 6158 square miles leased to Vestey's - a group of private companies controlled by the wealthy English Vestey family, the biggest leaseholders in the Northern Territory. The company paid rent to the government at a rate of between 10 and 55 cents per square mile per year.

Daguragu was chosen because it was near several important Gurindji sacred sites and had a permanent source of water.



Wattie Creek, 1968,

Source: National Archives of Australia, Darwin

This move demonstrated the gap between the white supporters, who believed the dispute to be about wages and conditions, and the Aboriginal pastoral workers, who had decided to stop working for Vestey's altogether. Frank Hardy, and then other supporters, gradually came to understand this. Unions began to play an essential support role ensuring that the new independent settlement had a food supply and other necessities such as the use of a truck. A new community began, with gardens, buildings and fences.

Frank Hardy cast about for a strategy to bring the plight of these pastoral workers to public attention. He learned that section 112 of the Crown Land Ordinance allowed for the Governor-General to grant a lease to Aboriginal people over land with which they were



traditionally associated. This seemed to imply some recognition of Aboriginal attachment to traditional lands. Given that the Gurindji were squatting on land which they regarded as theirs before the Vestey's arrived with their cattle and horses, Hardy was sufficiently encouraged to draft a petition to the Governor-General. Drawn up on behalf of Vincent Lingiari, Pincher Manguari, Gerry Ngalgardji and Long-John Kitgnaari, it began:

We, the leaders of the Gurindji people, write to you about our earnest desire to regain tenure of our tribal lands in the Wave Hill-Limbunya area of the Northern Territory, of which we were dispossessed in time past.

They requested a lease of 500 square miles to be run cooperatively as a mining lease and cattle station. The fact that the request concerned leased rather than Crown land, added another legal dimension to the land question.

In August 1967, the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (FCAATSI) wrote to the Prime Minister, Harold Holt, supporting the petition by the Gurindji for a return of their tribal lands. A press statement in September, couched not in the language of industrial dispute, but in the new language of land rights, pledged support for 'the possible legal action to establish their rights to their traditional lands and sacred places'. The argument had changed. It no longer lay within the boundaries laid out by the Arbitration and Conciliation Commission and designed to ensure justice in the Australian workplace. It had moved into territory without precedent in Australia. The Gurindji petition simply stated, 'we feel that morally the land is ours and should be returned to us'.

The Governor-General's reply was about laws, not morals. As a result of the Gurindji claim, the debate about Indigenous rights to land was no longer limited to Aboriginal reserves such as Yirrkala or Lake Tyers. Cabinet, however, rejected this interpretation and the Governor-General refused the request set out in the petition.

During these confusing times, letters and telegrams flew back and forth between the Northern Territory Administration and the ministers of the Interior, Social Services, and Territories, and the Northern Territory Cattle Producers Council, a powerful lobby group.

The Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (FCAATSI) sent food and blankets by air to the people on strike. Brian Manning of the Northern Territory Council for Aboriginal Rights drove supplies in with Dexter Daniels, a North Australian Workers Union organiser.

Actors Equity and the Building Workers Industrial Union sponsored Dexter Daniels, President of the Northern Territory Council for Aboriginal Rights, and Lupna Giari, also known as Captain Major, on a five-week speaking tour of southern states.



Dexter Daniels addressing Sydney unionists, October 1966

Unionists heard directly from Daniels of conditions faced by Aboriginal pastoral workers.

Source: Tribune/SEARCH Foundation, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales

People travelled from Wave Hill to Darwin to demonstrate against a Bill before the Northern Territory Parliament which, if passed, would lead to a loss of Aboriginal reserve land. The North Australian Workers Union and the Waterside Workers Federation collected money to support the Gurindji, and Abschol sent working parties to assist in the building of the community.

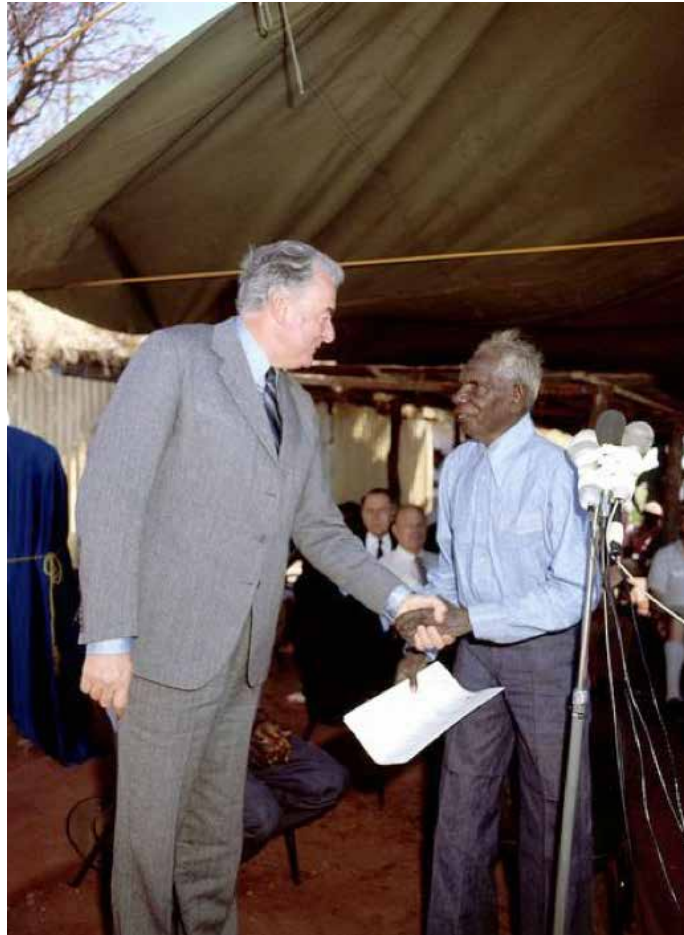
Just as the writing of their name on a sign gave the group credibility in the white man's world, white supporters acknowledging the group as 'Gurindji' gave the community the confidence to reject the demoralising attitude of the pastoralists, who had called them 'boys' and given them names such as Hoppy Mick (Mick Rangiarri).

On National Aborigines Day in July 1970, more than 500 people turned up at a meeting in the Teachers Federation Auditorium in Sydney to listen to Frank Hardy, recently returned from Wattie Creek. In an impassioned speech he outlined events at Wattie Creek over the previous four years, finishing with a plea for public support to assist them in maintaining their demands for a right to the land they were occupying. The meeting set up a 'Save the Gurindji' committee which aimed to 'confront Vestey's and the Federal Government in the North at Wattie Creek' and 'to demonstrate, boycott and agitate in major cities in the South'. The purpose of these activities was 'to achieve the aims of the Gurindji to ownership of 500 square miles of Wave Hill land occupying Wattie Creek'. This committee, supported by members of Sydney Abschol, began its campaign with a demonstration outside Vestey offices on 31 July and a boycott of Vestey products on 28 August.

Prime Minister Gough Whitlam and Vincent Lingiari, Wattie Creek, 1975

On 16 August 1975 land at Wattie Creek was formally handed to Vincent Lingiari, Gurindji spokesman.

Source: A8598, AK6/5/80/11, National Archives of Australia, Canberra



The Gurindji struggle for their land, and the legal case being prepared to assist the Yolngu people of Yirrkala in their efforts to gain title to the Arnhem Land Reserve, became two of the most potent symbols of the land rights movement.

The coming to power of the Whitlam government in 1972, on a platform which promised to legislate for land rights, brought new hope to the Gurindji. The original Wave Hill lease was surrendered and two new leases were issued: one to the Vestey's and one to the Murrumulla Gurindji Company. The Gurindji lease of approximately 3300 square kilometres included important sacred sites.

On 16 August 1975, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam came to Daguragu. As he poured a handful of Daguragu soil into Vincent Lingiari's hand, he said:

Vincent Lingiari, I solemnly hand to you these deeds as proof in Australian law that these lands belong to the Gurindji people, and I put into your hands part of the earth as a sign that this land will be the possession of you and your children forever.

Source: Adapted from the National Museum Australia Indigenous Rights webpage: http://indigenousrights.net.au/land_rights/wave_hill_walk_off,_1966-75, accessed 22 October 2015.

Power Mapping

OBJECTIVE

- Identify and map out who are your key actors; targets, opponents and supporters in relation to campaign
- Understand the roles different actors play and think about how you might influence them

TIME REQUIRED

1 hour

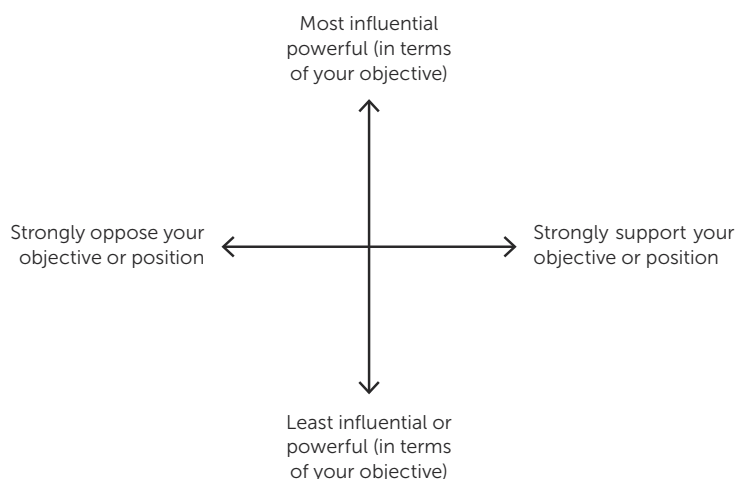
RESOURCES NEEDED

Masking tape, post it notes or pieces of paper, markers

HOW IT'S DONE

This is a great visual process for supporting people to understand the political landscape in which they are working and where power may sit in relation to the issue and ultimately objective they are working on. Mapping out all potential stakeholders can help you see if you are missing key allies, or better assess whether you have over or underestimated the power of your opponents or supporters. [5]

1. Introduce powermap matrix – who supports, who doesn't and what influence they have over the objective. Some actors may be powerful but not necessarily in relation to your campaign objective.



2. In the larger group choose an objective from one of the issues the community is already working on, this could be done by the cutting the issue. This could also be done by dividing the group into groups of five. [5]
3. Ask people to think of all of the actors, organisations, people who are or could be involved in this issue, including themselves. Everyone gets 3 post it notes or pieces of paper. Write down one actor per piece. Ask people to be specific, rather than say Government or local council, actually state the position or persons name. [10]

4. Have the room already prepared with the matrix down with masking tape on the floor. Put down pieces of paper on the matrix where you think they sit. You could do this with each person doing their 3 all at once and then moving onto the next person. Make sure they are specific actors and check the group is happy with where they sit. Move them around. There might be discussion along the way about what kind of influence they have. Or for example someone may put down the elders group or parent's association and others may say there's a diversity of onions in the group etc. [20]
5. Depending on the objective chosen it may be useful to do a second example with everyone doing just one actor each. This may bring out other actors or highlight that different people have different kinds of power and influence depending on your objective.

In this example you could ask: Do some of these actors cooperate with each other or are they in conflict? Do you have a relationship with these people? Are they likely to agree with you and what you want? Who is closest to the key decision makers?

Ask the group to look at where the most influence might be? Is this currently where the campaign or community is investing energy? [15]

6. In pairs have a quick buzz: What does it tell us – do we have lots of allies with not much power, or a lot of opponents? Are we clear about who our targets are, and who are the decision makers that can give us what we want? [5]
7. Any final observations or comments to wrap up [5]

Source: James Whelan, The Change Agency, <http://www.thechangeagency.org>, with adaptations of process by Karrina Nolan, Original Power

Story Swap

OBJECTIVE

- To build solidarity amongst different Nations and Indigenous groups struggling for self-determination
- To lift the skills and knowledge people have about campaigning
- To strengthen preferred storylines and identities

TIME REQUIRED

60 minutes

RESOURCES NEEDED

- Stories
- Pen and paper (to take notes) or a phone or camera to record people

A NOTE FOR FACILITATORS

Stories are powerful, especially our own stories, told by us and about the kinds of things that are important to us.

Activists, educators, trainers, facilitators and other trusted people who travel between communities have a potentially very significant role to play in building connections between different Indigenous struggles.

This process aims to strengthen the stories of Indigenous people's resistance to fossil fuels and efforts to secure self-determination. It is designed to share knowledge about what people are learning and to build solidarity amongst different struggles.

ASSUMPTIONS

- That there will be a diverse stock of 'tactics' and 'strategies' employed by participants in their respective struggles and in their efforts to maintain/sustain their campaigns.
- People's strategies and tactics will be shaped by values and by local culture as well as by participants' own experience and knowledge.
- Narrative ideas can be used to elicit and richly describe diverse strategies and tactics in ways that will make them more available for participants to draw upon in the future.
- Narrative ideas can also assist participants wanting to develop their strategy skills.
- Rich or juicy descriptions of strategy that emerge in the course of the exercise below can be documented (in diverse forms/media) and shared between people within and across campaigns and between movements (even in different countries) in ways that acknowledge and sustain social struggle.
- In this way 'story swap' is a kind of message stick that gets passed around.

HOW IT'S DONE

This process can be done in groups or with individuals.

1. Share a story from another community about a particular struggle against fossil fuels. This story could be communicated in different media. It might be via song, video, pho-

tos, paintings, dance or text. The most important thing is that the story communicates not just what people are fighting against but also the ways they are fighting to protect people and Country, as well as the values and dreams they are holding on to.

2. Once the story is shared ask the following questions, taking care to write people's words down. It helps to have someone tasked to do this. Rescuing people's words is really important and it helps to use people's own language. Pay attention to any metaphors or descriptions of events that evoke the five senses: sight, hearing, touch, smell and taste. The questions are:
 - What did you think of the story?
 - Were there any words or images struck you and why?
 - Were there any special skills and knowledge about campaigning or fighting for people and Country you noticed?
 - Did the story remind you of anything?
 - What's different for you after listening to the story? Does it make you look at the situation, your own community, or anything else, differently?
3. Write down what people say, checking if you they are happy with the way you have captured their words. Another option is to film people on your phone.
4. Ask if they would like to share a message or a few words of encouragement with people from that community? If so record them and let them know that you will share it with them.
5. Share this feedback with the original story tellers and if necessary repeat steps 2-4. In this way stories can be shared back and forth by people who are travelling between communities.

Source: Based on ideas developed by David Denborough, Dulwich Centre. See for instance David Denborough. 2008. Collective Narrative Practice: Responding to individuals, groups and communities who have experienced trauma. Dulwich Centre Publications: Adelaide, South Australia. Chapter Three, 'Enabling Contribution: Exchanging messages and convening definitional ceremonies', in particular, looks at story swaps with Aboriginal communities in Port Augusta, Hermansburg, Yirrkala and Gunyangara. This process guide was written by Jason MacLeod, Pasifika.

LEADERSHIP AND DECISION MAKING



PROCESS GUIDE

What makes a good leader for social change?

OBJECTIVE

Provide a space for people to think about the role and qualities of leaders in social change

TIME REQUIRED

1 hour

RESOURCES NEEDED

Butchers paper and markers

HOW IT'S DONE

This process can be done in groups or with individuals.

1. Creative visualisation: Ask people to close their eyes and picture someone you know who's a great leader. What about their leadership is great? What makes good or effective leaders might be different for all of us. Think about what that is for you is and what the qualities are that make up good leadership. It might be about what they achieve, how they behave, the skills they offer and so on. Go back to the person you have in mind - how can you see those qualities? Where or when did you experience this person and their leadership? What is it about they way they act or lead? [5]
2. In small groups of four or five draw the outline of a person on butchers paper (you could do this people sized). Share some of the qualities you came up with in your group and draw them on the person [5]
3. Stay in your small group you could use some of these as prompts for discussion
 - What does leadership mean to you?
 - What do you see as the relationship between leadership and social change?
 - What role should leaders be playing in social change? [15-20]
OR - If your focus is less on change making and more on people's own roles as leaders you could include prompts like
 - What are the barriers to you taking leadership?
 - How do you become a leader in your community or campaign?
 - How are leaders treated
 - How do or could leaders build confidence in others?
4. Re-group. Go around and share some of the highlights. Perhaps choosing one prompt per group to avoid repetition. [10]

5. You could share some of the insights from the leadership challenge (below) who offer five practices of great leadership. Could be done as a slide or read out loud [5]

Leaders for social change

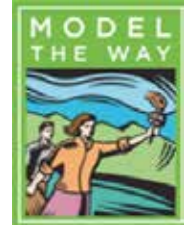
- Model the way
 - Inspire a shared vision
 - Challenge the process
 - Enable others to act
 - Encourage the heart
6. Wrap up. Any thoughts on this model? Ask people to share with the person next to you how you might look for or practice great leadership around you.

Source: Karrina Nolan Original Power and Jason McLeod Pasifika. Resources from <http://www.leadershipchallenge.com/about-section-our-approach.aspx>

What makes a good leader for social change?

Model the Way

Leaders establish principles concerning the way people (constituents, peers, colleagues, and customers alike) should be treated and the way goals should be pursued. They create standards of excellence and then set an example for others to follow. Because the prospect of complex change can overwhelm people and stifle action, they set interim goals so that people can achieve small wins as they work toward larger objectives. They unravel bureaucracy when it impedes action; they put up signposts when people are unsure of where to go or how to get there; and they create opportunities for victory.

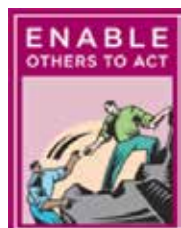
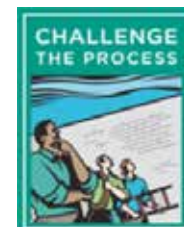


Inspire a Shared Vision

Leaders passionately believe that they can make a difference. They envision the future, creating an ideal and unique image of what the organization can become. Through their magnetism and quiet persuasion, leaders enlist others in their dreams. They breathe life into their visions and get people to see exciting possibilities for the future.

Challenge the Process

Leaders search for opportunities to change the status quo. They look for innovative ways to improve the organization. In doing so, they experiment and take risks. And because leaders know that risk taking involves mistakes and failures, they accept the inevitable disappointments as learning opportunities.



Enable Others to Act

Leaders foster collaboration and build spirited teams. They actively involve others. Leaders understand that mutual respect is what sustains extraordinary efforts; they strive to create an atmosphere of trust and human dignity. They strengthen others, making each person feel capable and powerful.

Encourage the Heart

Accomplishing extraordinary things in organizations is hard work. To keep hope and determination alive, leaders recognize contributions that individuals make. In every winning team, the members need to share in the rewards of their efforts, so leaders celebrate accomplishments. They make people feel like heroes.



Source: <http://www.leadershipchallenge.com/about-section-our-approach.aspx>

Stepping Stones

OBJECTIVE

- To provide a group challenge and help build team work
- To elicit knowledge about strategy

TIME REQUIRED

60 minutes

RESOURCES NEEDED

Pieces of cardboard (sea turtles)

HOW IT'S DONE

Scenario: Two people's movements across are growing rapidly in adjoining regions separated by an ocean. The movements need to learn from each other how to deal with the urgency and emerging issues related to climate change. They agree to exchange teams of experienced people for a month so this mutual education can take place. Actually making the exchange, however, is highly dangerous because it means crossing the ocean which has dangerous rips, reefs, tides and changeable weather. And the crossing must be made in the 20 minutes as there is a cyclone approaching. Can your entire team cross the ocean safely before the weather arrives?

RULES

- The goal is to get your entire team across the ocean safely and together.
- The only resource you can use is the limited number of "sea turtles" which will float away if nobody is touching them. [That means no external props can be used.]
- The sea turtles/pieces of cardboard must AT ALL TIMES be in the physical touch of a team member. In other words, you can't toss the turtle into the ocean and then step on it; you must place your foot while still holding it lest it be swept away. [Facilitator will grab it and put it away.]
- As many team members can be on a turtle at one time as you choose.
- If anyone falls into the ocean, your team goes back to the shore you came from and then the team tries again.
- If it looks like the weather is getting worse, the team must hasten back to the shore and try again after it's passed.
- The approaching cyclone is coming faster than expected so people need to speed up the crossing, or potentially stop and wait for a while.

[Facilitator: you may declare that it's gotten too dark to try again and that the game is over. Failing to meet this challenge can be a big learning opportunity.]

For a group 7-14, you can modify the scenario so that one movement is sending its team across the river to go visit the other movement, which means that you're working with one team, not two.

In the whole group:

- One facilitator is writing on paper any reflections that in some way or other answers the question “What worked?” “How did you arrive at a strategy? Did you all agree before you started? What process did you use? Where did the leadership come from? Did you experiment before you started? Did you change your strategy? Why/why not? How did the initiative to change strategy emerge? How did you decide on a new strategy? Did you change the order in the line-up? Why/why not?”
- “As you were crossing the river, what worked to keep you on track? How did you communicate? Who had to pay attention to what? What was most stressful? What happened when you made a mistake? How did the group react? What did you do with your feelings? What was the role of support? Did the pattern of communication change? Where did your stamina come from? What was it like to have to touch each other so closely? How did you handle it to maintain appropriate personal boundaries?”

Size of ocean crossing approximately 20-25 minutes

DEBRIEF

1. In pairs or small buzz groups: What are some things that worked for this group that you think works in other groups facing a challenge?
2. Harvest learnings. Possible questions to ask: “Which of you have done one or more of these things in groups you are part of?” (Hands.) “Would the group you work with benefit from any of these practices? Which ones? Our group is facing a lot of challenge these days: which practices could strengthen the group?”
3. In pairs: “This group could sometimes feel like a stressful journey across the ocean. What are some practical lessons you can take from this exercise to apply PERSONALLY to your participation in this group? Think about your growth goals. Think about ways you do and don’t give leadership here in this group so far. Remember, leadership is any initiative you take that assists the group to move forward. Talk with your buddy about how this simulation challenges you personally to give more to the group.”

Source: This tool is used in many different ways with different scenarios. Adapted from Training for Change who learned it from Karl Rohnke & Steve Butter’s book Quicksilver: Adventure Games, Initiative Problems, Trust Activities and a Guide to Effective Leadership, (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1996).

POWER



Three Kinds of Power

OBJECTIVE

- Give participants a theoretical tool to analyse power;
- Assist participants in using power-with-others and power-from-within.

TIME REQUIRED

45-60 minutes

RESOURCES NEEDED

Four moveable chairs



HOW IT'S DONE

1. Here's a lively tool for examining a big subject of power!
2. 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 (such as the figure). 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."
3. To help participants go deeper here are some ways to keep pushing:
 - 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?")
 4. 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.”

5. Invite people to form groups of three and ask them to share examples of what people have done to undermine power-over, cultivate power-with and awaken power-from-within.
6. In the large group harvest and discuss. Ask people to name the type/s of power illustrated in people’s stories. Clarify the theory of three types of power (generalize).
7. To finish, consider telling stories of nonviolent action, ideally ones that involves the participants in the room, that illustrates all three kinds of power. Alternatively draw people’s attention to stories previously shared in the workshop.

Imagine if we were alive to these positive forms of power more often?

Source: Tools adapted and series designed by Daniel Hunter (Training for Change). This version slightly adapted by Jason MacLeod, Pasifika. Chair Exercise originally from Theatre of the Oppressed as used by Babu Ayindo and Daniel Hunter (see “Theatre of the Oppressed” or “The Rainbow of Desire” by August Boal, available in English). Three types of power as used by George Lakey adapted from activist/author/witch Starhawk (see “Dreaming in the Dark: Magic, Sex, and Politics”, by Starhawk).

PROCESS GUIDE

Introducing the CEO of Big Bagarap Business

OBJECTIVE

To understand the consent theory of power, the theory of power that underpins civil resistance.

TIME REQUIRED

20 minutes

RESOURCES NEEDED

- Flipchart and pens
- Army or police hat
- A stick or foam batons

HOW IT'S DONE

1. Don a hard hat and introduce yourself as the CEO of Big Bagarap Business (or something like it). Alternatively, you might want to be the head of the army, General 'x'. (For the sake of this exercise ask people to go along with the role.)
2. Ask where does 'x's' (the facilitator in role) power come from? Other ways to ask this question: How is 'x' able to maintain their position? What enables 'x' to keep doing what they are doing? Write the questions on butchers paper and list people's responses.
3. Make sure the list covers things like:
 - They are the boss. They were given that leadership position. They earned the position. They were elected etc. (Authority / legitimacy)
 - They have plenty of people who for a range of reasons, often financial, do what they say. (Human resources)
 - They and the people under them might have particular skills and knowledge, for instance the ability to operate equipment that no-one else can. (Skills and knowledge)
 - Transport and communication systems that support business as usual. Finances. (Material resources)
 - The belief that money is God, or that mining is necessary for the economy, or that the army keeps us safe. (Intangible factors) (This one is often harder for people to understand.)
 - Fear of being punished (Fear of sanctions)
4. If people don't come up with all six sources of power list the remaining ones and ask, one source of power at a time, when you think of the CEO or the company what are examples of this kind of power?
5. Discuss. Why might this be useful to think about? (Remember not all six sources of power are necessary present in every situation.)

Source: Jason MacLeod, Pasifika

When the teacher says...

OBJECTIVE

- To develop an understanding of why people obey or go along with or put up with unjust situations.
- To apply this theory to people's own experience.

TIME REQUIRED

20 minutes

RESOURCES NEEDED

Butchers paper and pens

HOW IT'S DONE

1. Explain the purpose of the activity.
2. Ask the group to recall their schooldays. Invite them to form pairs and to consider the following scenario: When a teacher tells a class to open their books at page 7 and do exercise 3, why do the pupils do it? Ask them to list all the reasons. Allow about 5 minutes for this.
3. List what they come up with, taking one suggestion from each pair in turn until everything is written up. Leave spaces between the items. Use the list to draw out the generalised sources of power (as in the brackets below), and draw out the basic point that the power of some depends on the obedience of others. People obey for three main reasons: it is in their interest to do so, habit and/or fear of punishment. The list might include things like:
 - Desire to do well in exams (interest)
 - Everyone else is doing it (habit)
 - Teacher has knowledge which I want (interest)
 - That's what you do in school (habit)
 - Fear of punishment (fear)
4. Discuss why people might go along with accepting injustice?
5. Invite people to return to pairs. Ask, in the past, or when you think of your own situation, how have people:
 - Changed their habits?
 - Started to see their interests differently as more about the community, or what their tradition and land is asking of them, and less about what the company, government or others say they 'should' do?
 - Overcome fear?
6. Discuss.

(Note: It is also important to acknowledge the structural and cultural dimensions to oppression. Schools for example, are social structures that reinforce certain types of knowledge and ways of knowing, that benefit some people over others. For this reason oppressed groups also need to think about creating new structures and cultures that reflect their own interests and needs. That is a much bigger discussion and doesn't take away from the painful and uncomfortable fact that we often collude with our own oppression.)

Source: Jason MacLeod, Pasifika. Adapted from Quaker Peace and Social Witness, Turning the Tide programme.

Mattress Game

OBJECTIVE

To clarify the principle that government, or another power-holder like a mining company, depends on the cooperation of the people, and noncooperation is therefore powerful and can bring about a positive change, even, under some circumstances, overthrow dictatorships.

TIME REQUIRED

60 minutes

RESOURCES NEEDED

- Butchers paper and pens
- A foam mattress (a single mattress will do)

HOW IT'S DONE

1. Explain that this game explores power dynamics by using the example of a mining company. Connect to previous ideas in the workshop if appropriate, especially if you have already elicited people's thinking around sources of power and why people obey. Ask: "Who, or what, are the key social groups or institutions that the mining company needs to keep functioning?" If necessary, write the question up on flipchart. List on the responses on flipchart. If some are forgotten (especially the army, police, investors, shareholders, Traditional Owners, the Land Council, local, state and federal government), add them. These are the pillars of support. (If need be clarify the difference between the pillars of support and the sources of power. The pillars of support supply the sources of power. Or, in other words, the sources of power flows through the pillars of support. For example, police are the ones who can punish ('fear of sanctions') and Traditional Owners help provide legitimacy, to the extent they support the company and the government. Miners and other skilled workers provide human resources and skills and knowledge while investors provide much needed material resources, in this case money.)
2. Ask pairs (or threes or more if large group) to select a 'pillar of support'. They will get to represent that pillar of support in the game. Ask participants to raise their hands to indicate which groups of 2s or 3s identify with which support, to clarify before the next step.
3. Explain that the pairs/threes will soon get together to discuss what nonviolent tactic(s) would effectively eliminate their support for the company. For example, what actions could encourage the local Land Council or Traditional Owners to withdraw their support? Or what kinds of tactics would it take to eliminate investment in the company? Each group will send one of their number to the centre to represent them. Give them 10 minutes to work in small groups.
4. Bring the mattress to the centre and explain that it symbolizes the company. Ask for the representatives from the twos/threes to raise the mattress together, each using one hand.

5. Ask the partners remaining on the sidelines to come to the centre (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.
6. Enjoy the moment. De-brief the activity by asking questions such as:
 - How did it feel to see the company getting shakier?
 - Do companies, and governments, even dictatorships, really depend on the cooperation/ compliance of these forces?
 - 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?
7. 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 campaigns that have been won by Indigenous people through civil resistance. You can also list the 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*. (See the Civil Resistance guide of the People Power Manual for a ready-made one.)

Source: George Lakey. This version slightly adapted by Jason MacLeod, Pasifika.

Building our nations

The ability for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities to come together to make plans and decisions about community matters is critical. This makes that the political organisation of the nation/clan/tribe/community really important. One concept that offers a set of ingredients that contribute to such political and community organisation is the idea of 'nation building'.

Nation building, while not termed as such until the late 1990's, came out of an era of self-determination. Economics researcher Stephen Cornell saw an opportunity for tribal communities to re-think, re-organise and restructure communities in a way as to define their own expectations as citizens of a particular tribe or nation. They labelled the process through which a Nation enhances its capacity for self-governance and determination as nation building. A number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities are also looking at their self-governance capacity and nationhood through this lens.

The things, which 'matter' for nation building:

- 1. Sovereignty matters** – When communities make their own decisions, particularly around economic and community development they are regularly more successful in their outcomes than those imposed or made by external decision makers. This can include decisions around resource management, provision of social services or health care and so on.
- 2. Institutions and culture matter** – It is important that nations assert self-governance through institutions that are capable and fair. Which often means the day-to-day business and politics of managing a community need to be separate or have clear boundaries. The governing mechanisms a nation decides to use must also culturally fit with the nation's contemporary culture.
- 3. Strategic thinking matters** – While the pressing needs of short-term crises are regularly on top for leaders and decision makers, they must be able to shift to orientate towards addressing longer-term problems. Looking to the seventh generation means that any decisions you make you must keep in mind how it will affect the seventh generation after you and considering the wisdom of the seventh generation before you.
- 4. Leadership matters** – “When Native nation leaders – whether elected, community or spiritual – introduce new knowledge, challenge assumptions, convince people that things can be done differently, propose change, and mobilize the community to take action, they make nation building possible.” (Jorgensen 2015:187)

For more on Nation Building

Cornell and Kalt (1998) Sovereignty and Nation-Building: The Development Challenge in Indian Country Today. American Indian Culture and Research Journal: 1998, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 187-214.

Jorgensen, M (2015) Four Contemporary Tensions in Indigenous Nation Building: Challenges for leadership in the United States. pp.186-214 Alberta: The Banff Centre Press

Jumbunna – Nation Building project <https://www.uts.edu.au/research-and-teaching/our-research/jumbunna/our-research/projects/nation-building-project>

CLIMATE JUSTICE



PROCESS GUIDE

Climate Change Hurts Activity

OBJECTIVE

Demonstrate that Indigenous communities are disproportionately impacted by climate change, its causes, and many of its proposed solutions

TIME REQUIRED

30 minutes

RESOURCES NEEDED

Statements below

FACILITATORS NOTE

The following activity will expose participants to examples of how climate change specifically impacts Indigenous communities. Be aware that the first part can be particularly intense for participants. For group members whose communities have been directly impacted by climate change or climate policy, it can evoke emotions such as pain, anger, and sadness. For group members who have not seen direct impacts, it can be an eye-opening experience. Remember to maintain a safe space where participants' experiences and emotions are acknowledged.

HOW IT'S DONE

I'll ask everyone to stand shoulder to shoulder in a line (or a circle). I'll then read a series of statements. If a statement applies to you, please take one step forward. I'll then say "Thank You,". You can choose to pass on a statement, but if you do, note your feelings. I'd also like everyone to remain silent during the exercise. After we've gone through each statement, we'll debrief as a group.

1. Please step forward if you or your family has ever been forced to relocate for any reason even though you did not want to.
2. Please step forward if you grew up near a coal-fired power plant, oil refinery, mining operation, toxic waste site, or any other hazardous energy facility.
3. Please step forward if you know someone who has, contracted or died of cancer or another disease, and it was likely due to unhealthy environmental surroundings.
4. Please step forward if you were unable to bathe in or drink the water in your area because it was contaminated.
5. Please step forward if drought has directly and negatively affected you or your family's farming or business.
6. Please step forward if your or your family's livelihood has been negatively affected by flooding or bushfires.
7. Please step forward if you've witnessed the disappearance of plant or animal species in your area.

8. Please step forward if your community's spiritual or religious ceremonies have ever been disrupted by an outside party such as an energy company or the government.
9. Please step forward if a sacred or cherished site in your community has been destroyed by fossil fuel development, toxic waste, or any other energy-related impositions.
10. Please step forward if your community has ever been promised something in exchange for use of your land or water, but it was not delivered as promised.
11. Please step forward if you or a loved one has suffered because of extreme weather conditions such as abnormal heat or a cyclone.
12. Please step forward if your community's traditional knowledge has been stolen or attacked.
13. Please step forward if you or your community has ever experienced a food or water shortage.
14. Please step forward if you or your community has been effected by changing sea levels or storm surges.
15. Please step forward if you've ever been told that your community or your people are a thing of the past or on their way to extinction.

Thank you, everyone.

Please form a circle with your chairs so we can debrief this exercise as a group.

DEBRIEF

You could do this in the large group or get people to turn to the person next to them for the first question.

1. **What were some feelings that came up for you during this activity?** Participants may respond to your first question in various ways: Participants may be inclined to launch into anecdotes. While the sharing of personal experiences is a valuable part of this dialogue, you must be aware of how much space each participant takes up (or does not take up). Some anecdotes are beneficial in that they illustrate the objective of the activity (climate change does and will have painful effects). Other anecdotes, however, will have a theoretical rather than an emotional connotation, taking time away from valuable sharing. You may need to remind participants of the question: What were some feelings that came up for you during this activity?
2. **What did it feel like to step forward?** Again, encourage participants to focus on emotions they felt (e.g. sad, angry, taken advantage of, frustrated, etc.).
3. **What did it feel like when a statement did not apply to you?** Participants that have not experienced these hardships may feel a sense of guilt. This guilt may immobilise them, and they may be less likely to participate in the discussion. If these participants are hesitant to respond, it may be helpful to remind the group that whether we have personally experienced these situations or not, climate change is everyone's problem. Everyone's experience (directly impacted or not) is part of the puzzle of climate injustice.
4. **Were there any statements that stood out to you?** If so, why? It may be helpful to re-read some statements from the list above to refresh their memories.

- 5. What does this activity have to do with climate change? Climate justice?** This activity does not imply that every scenario above was the direct result of climate change. Rather, it is designed to show that the effects of climate change (relocation, water shortages, disease, extreme weather, etc.) are and will be painful. Participants may note that the continued comfort of some is made possible only by the pain of others; that eventually everyone will be forced to feel the effects of climate change, and they should not fall disproportionately on certain communities now; that the negative impacts of climate change are already occurring and should be made visible to all communities (directly impacted or not).

Source: Adapted by Karrina Nolan, Original Power from the Indigenous Environmental Network Climate Justice and Indigenous Peoples Training Manual. <http://www.ienearth.org/>

Resources

Original Power

www.originalpower.org.au

Seed Indigenous Youth Climate Network

www.seedmob.org.au

First Nations Workers Alliance

www.fnwa.org.au

The Change Agency

www.thechangeagency.org

Plan to win

www.plantowin.net.au

Training for change

www.trainingforchange.org

Beautiful trouble

www.beautifultrouble.org

Indigenous Environmental Network

www.ienearth.org

Indigenous Climate Action

www.indigenousclimateaction.com

Honor the Earth

www.honorearth.org



ORIGINAL
POWER