

Before You Enlist And After You Say No



AFSC'S COUNTER-RECRUITMENT
TRAINING MANUAL

written by
Hannah Strange
The Ruckus Society
and
Daniel Hunter
Training for Change



American Friends Service Committee
Youth and Militarism Program

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE'S
Counter-Recruitment Training Manual

© 2006 American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry St • Philadelphia, PA USA 19102
phone: 215-241-7176
www.afsc.org/youthmil

Please respect any other organization's credits/rights
for materials we used in this manual.
Cover image from www.clipart.com



Special Thanks

Thanks for all of those who have brought more peace and justice into this world.

A particular thanks to all of those who played a role in bringing this training manual into fruition. Those people who made a huge difference include Matthew Smucker from smartMeme and Beyond the Choir for writing the media workshop for this manual, our editors Betsy Raasch-Gilman from Training for Change and Nick Raymond, a Ruckus Society volunteer, and Matt Guynn from Training for Change for helping do a first draft design for some of the tools.

“What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans and the homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or in the holy name of liberty and democracy?”

— *Mohandas Gandhi*

We would like to acknowledge the people who inspired us and guided us along the way. Those include those who we interviewed during the writing of this manual: Rick Jahnkow, Erin Durban, Sarah Bardwell, Nina Laboy. Thanks to Celia Alario, Nadine Bloch, and Susan Quinlan. Thanks to the folks at School of Unity and Liberation from whom we borrowed ideas, inspiration, and occasionally materials (with full citing).

For us it has been a pleasure getting to work with AFSC Youth & Militarism staff: Oskar Castro, Janine Schwab, and Bal Pinguel. You all pour so much heart and energy into your work. Thanks to Janine for all the very careful editing and work to improve the quality of this manual.

And we couldn't finish a list of thanks without a shout-out to our families and all those brave mothers and fathers who teach their children to resist destruction and war. Daniel: huge props to Karen, Gordie, Daniel and Ben – thanks for inspiring me! Hannah: thanks to my family, to Win, and to Ruckus staff, for supporting and encouraging me.

And if you plan on using this manual to help yourself or others resist militarism, we would like to thank you, too. You give this manual meaning.



Daniel Hunter



Hannah Strange



Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION.....	5
• WHAT IS THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE?	5
• WHAT IS AFSC'S YOUTH AND MILITARISM PROGRAM?	7
• WHAT IS THIS MANUAL? HOW DO I USE IT?	8
• WHAT ARE THE CONTENTS OF EACH WORKSHOP?	10
• WHAT IS THE TRAINING METHODOLOGY?	13
• WHO WROTE THE MANUAL?	16
WORKSHOPS	18
• ELEMENTS OF EACH WORKSHOP	18
• BEFORE YOU ENLIST: THE TRUTH OF MILITARY RECRUITMENT	19
• THE POVERTY DRAFT	39
• HOW A RECRUITER GETS YOUR NUMBER	66
• CORE ORGANIZING SKILLS	93
• CREATING AND EXPANDING YOUR GROUP	119
• HOW TO BUILD A CAMPAIGN	143
• THE BIG PICTURE OF COUNTER-RECRUITMENT	170
• MEDIA AND MESSAGING	196
SUPPORT DOCUMENTS.....	222
• BEYOND <i>JUST</i> EDUCATION: WHY OUR APPROACH TO TEACHING MAKES ALL THE DIFFERENCE IN SOCIAL CHANGE	222
• TIPS FOR FACILITATORS	226
• TAILORING WORKSHOPS	227
• HOW TO DESIGN A WORKSHOP	228
• INDEX OF TOOLS AND HANDOUTS	229



Introduction

What is the American Friends Service Committee?

The American Friends Service Committee carries out service, development, social justice, and peace programs throughout the world. Founded by Quakers in 1917 to provide conscientious objectors with an opportunity to aid civilian war victims, AFSC's work attracts the support and partnership of people of many races, religions, and cultures.

AFSC's work is based on the Quaker belief in the worth of every person and faith in the power of love to overcome violence and injustice. The organization's mission and achievements won worldwide recognition in 1947 when it accepted the Nobel Peace Prize with the British Friends Service Council on behalf of all Quakers.



**American Friends
Service Committee**

Quaker values in action

The American Friends Service Committee is a practical expression of the faith of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). Committed to the principles of nonviolence and justice, it seeks in its work and witness to draw on the transforming power of love, human and divine.

This AFSC community works to transform conditions and relationships, both in the world and in ourselves, that threaten to overwhelm what is precious in human beings. We nurture the faith that conflicts can be resolved nonviolently, that enmity can be transformed into friendship, strife into cooperation, poverty into well-being, and injustice into dignity and participation. We believe that, ultimately, goodness can prevail over evil, and oppression in all its many forms can give way.



AFSC VALUES

We cherish the belief that there is that of God in each person, leading us to respect the worth and dignity of all. We are guided and empowered by the Spirit in following the radical thrust of the early Christian witness. From these beliefs flow the core understandings that form the spiritual framework of our organization and guide its work.

We regard no person as our enemy. While we often oppose specific actions and abuses of power, we seek to address the goodness and truth in each individual.

We assert the transforming power of love and nonviolence as a challenge to injustice and violence and as a force for reconciliation.

We seek and trust the power of the Spirit to guide the individual and collective search for truth and practical action.

We accept our understandings of truth as incomplete and have faith that new perceptions of truth will continue to be revealed both to us and to others.

AFSC WORK

We seek to understand and address the root causes of poverty, injustice, and war. We hope to act with courage and vision in taking initiatives that may not be popular.

We are called to confront, nonviolently, powerful institutions of violence, evil, oppression, and injustice. Such actions may engage us in creative tumult and tension in the process of basic change. We seek opportunities to help reconcile enemies and to facilitate a peaceful and just resolution of conflict.

We work to relieve and prevent suffering through both immediate aid and long-term development and seek to serve the needs of people on all sides of violent strife.

We ground our work at the community level both at home and abroad in partnership with those who suffer the conditions we seek to change and informed by their strength and vision.

We work with all people, the poor and the materially comfortable, the disenfranchised and the powerful, in pursuit of justice. We encourage collaboration in social transformation toward a society that recognizes the dignity of each person. We believe that the Spirit can move among all these groups, making great change possible.

Seeking to transform the institutions of society, we are ourselves transformed in the process. As we work in the world around us, our awareness grows that the AFSC's own organizational life must change to reflect the same goals we urge others to achieve.



What is AFSC's Youth and Militarism Program?

The AFSC's National Youth and Militarism Program work concentrates on the impact of war and military institutions on young people's lives. The program conducts public education campaigns, trainings & workshops, media outreach & communications work, and supports grassroots educational and organizing efforts with the aim of:

Youth & Militarism

- Addressing the negative effects of U.S. militarism and U.S. foreign policy on the lives of youth around the world;
- Reducing the influence of the military in schools and other youth-serving institutions;
- Supporting nonmilitary, school-based programs that develop leadership skills and a positive involvement in education;
- Strengthening youth involvement in peacebuilding work;
- Supporting the movement for quality education for all youth in the United States; and
- Supporting the right of all people to refuse to participate in wars, or mandatory conscription as conscientious objectors, or resisters.

THE YOUTH AND MILITARISM PROGRAM HAS THREE PRINCIPAL CONSTITUENCIES

- a) young people – particularly oppressed and disenfranchised youth, including young people who are self-defined activists, young people who are not self-defined activists but who are questioning, and young people targeted by military recruiters;
- b) public education advocates;
- c) and grassroots peace & justice organizations and activists seeking to build peace through a struggle to demilitarize public schools and other youth serving institutions.



What is this manual? How do I use it?

This manual was written to support people who want to lead workshops that expose the truth about the military and that build skills and capacity in their own communities to resist military recruitment.

WHO IS THE AUDIENCE FOR THIS MANUAL?

This manual is for groups that are interested in or currently doing counter-recruitment work. In it are eight workshops to help groups become more effective in counter-recruitment work. The groups may be made up of mostly young people, older people, or a mix of ages and experience. The one exception is the mini-workshop, "Before You Enlist," which is written specifically for use with students/young people in classes or youth groups who may not (yet) have any interest in counter-recruitment.

Each workshop contains a description of the content and lists goals, agenda, and supplies needed. Following the agenda is a complete description of how to lead each tool in the workshop from start to finish along with related handouts.

HOW LONG IS EACH WORKSHOP?

Each workshop (with the exception of the mini-workshop) is three hours long. Some groups may want to do less than three hours, but we find that when trainings are under three hours the group is unable to really challenge itself to learn something new. Instead, the group rehearses what it already knows.

WHICH WORKSHOP DO I WANT FOR MY GROUP?

Rather than one long three-day session, this manual is broken down into eight workshops. You can "mix and match" the different workshops, choosing those that are most appropriate for the group. It's worth the time to carefully read the descriptions of each workshop carefully.

For example, some groups may want to get together for a full-day session. Several workshops can be added together to create a longer session for that group. Or groups may want to use them separately; or groups may choose to do a workshop once each month. The "mix and match" approach helps each workshop respond to the needs of the groups.

For a description of each workshop, see "What are the contents of each workshop?" (page 10).

Although the workshops are designed to be flexible and responsive to the needs of each group, every group is different and we anticipate that some trainers may want to tailor the workshops to their audience. To assist with that, we make our



pedagogical choices apparent in the section on training methodology (page 13). Plus, we have included information on how to tailor workshops in the Support Documents section of this manual.

WHAT'S THE TRAINING APPROACH OF THESE WORKSHOPS? IT'S NOT JUST LECTURE, IS IT?

Leading workshops can be a helpful tool to start up or strengthen counter-recruitment campaigns and organizations. The training methodology used to design each workshop can directly influence the kind of action that is sparked by a workshop. That's why we chose to use a truly empowering training style in this manual—the direct education approach, which has its roots in Brazilian educator Paulo Friere's popular education.

In direct education methodology, the trainer draws from the direct source of wisdom – the group's own experiences. This training style is more empowering for participants than a lecture style workshop, and we believe that it results in more inclusive campaigns and actions that build community leadership.

More on the direct education approach in "What is the training methodology?" (page 13).

ANYTHING ELSE I SHOULD KNOW?

We recommend that trainers planning to lead these workshops or borrow tools from the manual take time to understand the underlying training methodology and how the tools are used to create a learning experience. Please review the training methodology section in the introduction and the article "Beyond *Just Education*: Why our approach to teaching makes all the difference in social change" (page 222).

Many of these tools are already out there in the world as stand-alone tools or can be used in other contexts. Feel free to adapt these tools to your context. Many of them serve as good group development or strategy tools, so feel free to share them in your own groups or with those you train.

If you do reprint these tools elsewhere, please do give credit. Though training tools and handouts are often shared without credit, we tried our best to note the sources of the tools we're using or adapting and ask you to credit the source of the exercises and handouts as you use them, including crediting this manual.

What are the contents of each workshop?

Eight workshops are included in this manual. Below are descriptions of each of them, divided into four sections:

- Youth and Militarism
- Organizing
- Campaign Strategy and
- Media

YOUTH AND MILITARISM

BEFORE YOU ENLIST: THE TRUTH OF MILITARY RECRUITMENT (MINI-WORKSHOP)

Geared for presentations in high school settings, this is a brief introduction to the issues of enlistment and military myths, designed to give students the full picture. Because it is in a classroom and not a peace club, the anticipated audience is a mix of students ranging from anti-war to pro-military.

This training can help trainers "get their foot in the door" by connecting with sympathetic teachers in the school, and may lead to invitations to come back for longer trainings.

THE POVERTY DRAFT

This session is like a counter-recruitment 101. It explores how the military is reaching out to youth and how larger societal forces like poverty, racism, and classism impact who is targeted most by recruiters. The connections between education funding cuts and increased militarism in schools are made, and the lies that recruiters tell are examined. Alternatives to the military are presented.

HOW A RECRUITER GETS YOUR NUMBER

This is an informational session on how military recruiters operate. Specific attention is given to tools that help recruiters get access to youth including school access, ASVAB, No Child Left Behind, JAMRS, and JROTC. We look at each of these recruitment tools as an opportunity for activists to campaign against military recruitment. We also look at what appeals to people about going into the military, and look at the truths behind the values recruiters promote and the promises they make.



ORGANIZING

CORE ORGANIZING SKILLS

What is organizing and how do we do it? This workshop explains how organizing differs from other forms of social change (like service providing / advocacy). It then moves into specific skills for being persuasive, in settings such as school board meetings, and other skills for building relationships and becoming an effective organizer.

CREATING AND EXPANDING YOUR GROUP

This workshop offers leadership skills training to help groups become more effective. It is especially for counter-recruitment groups looking to strengthen their own internal leadership and ability to organize. It includes theory and skills about leadership development, decision-making and team-building.

A major section is devoted to expanding the group, especially how to reach out across lines of diversity, such as race and class.

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

HOW TO BUILD A CAMPAIGN: SETTING GOALS, MAKING ALLIES, AND EVALUATING OUTCOMES

Campaigns wage struggles for specific outcomes that further larger social change goals. Like a story, they have a beginning, middle and end – setting goals, waging the struggle, and eventually winning.

This workshop focuses on defining a campaign and building skills to create a counter-recruitment campaign. The skills include setting specific goals that lead to larger outcomes, reaching out to new allies to win that campaign, and evaluating a campaign.

THE BIG PICTURE OF COUNTER-RECRUITMENT: SEEING CR AS A MOVEMENT

For those already involved in counter-recruitment work, this workshop helps folks put counter-recruitment into a larger context of militarism. This workshop focuses on the dynamics of social movements and puts smaller campaigns into the bigger picture of social change.

Folks will build skills in the strategic choices they need to further their campaign, sustain themselves for the long run, and get familiar with the Movement Action Plan, a powerful framework for how movements develop over time.



MEDIA

MEDIA AND MESSAGING: PRESENTATION, MESSAGE DISCIPLINE, TELLING STORIES

In order to effect the kind of change that we long for we need to engage, and on some level mobilize, large numbers of people. To do this we need to tell a story that speaks to people's values; a story that reframes the conflicts we face; a story that tells a different future than the one projected by the power holders; a story that people can sympathize with and imagine themselves in. And it is not enough just to tell a story; we need to amplify it. This requires navigating through the filters of the corporate-owned media – the less-than-ideal channels through which many people get their information.



What is the training methodology?

The design for this training manual is based on the *direct education* approach. In the direct education approach the facilitator works for the group's empowerment by going to the direct source of wisdom – the group. The trainers set up learning experiences that encourage people to discover their own expertise and that of each other.

This is important in counter-recruitment work since the goal is to help young people gain self-confidence in making a fully informed decision. Rather than a top-down approach that just delivers youth lectures and facts, a more consistent approach is one that helps young people find their own wisdom. This training methodology models that approach.

A few of the ways it models that approach include:

For an important article on direct education's lessons for counter-recruitment, please see "Beyond Just Education: Why our approach to teaching makes all the difference in social change" (page 222).

USING THE EXPERIENTIAL CYCLE OF LEARNING

Empowerment does not come about by being fed information. It starts when people reflect on their own life experience. Passive learning, such as listening to a lecture, just is not as effective – nor as empowering – as participatory learning, where participants are involved and wrestle with the questions and come up with their own answers.

The experiential cycle of learning has four steps. The cycle starts by accessing people's experience, or, in some cases, by creating a shared group experience with an exercise. The second step invites people to reflect on their experience: What happened? How was it?

The third stage is that of generalization – stepping out of the immediate experience and looking at larger trends or patterns. Here theory and facts can help ground people in a bigger picture. Where have you seen this lesson show up? What does this show us? How does that look differently elsewhere?

The final step is application, where the group takes some of the lessons and immediately tries applying them. Without application in the workshop, the information is often not internalized, and there is little difference back home.

ELICITIVE QUESTIONS

Direct education leans heavily on "elicitive questions" as a teaching tool. In brief, elicitive questions are designed to take participants a layer deeper in their understanding. They probe to help people think more deeply about a topic or about



their experience. The elicitive questions are key in supporting people to reflect on the exercises in the workshops.

Some examples of elicitive questions include:

- How was that?
- In what ways do you act like this in real life?
- If you were going to try that out when organizing, how would you do it?
- So that's normally hard for you to do. What did *you* do that made it possible this time?

LEARNING AS RISK TAKING

Direct education operates on the principle that deep learning is change, and change requires risk, and the facilitator's job is to invite risk and make it safe to risk. This means inviting people out of their comfort zone – out of the patterns of what they do every day. If people are trying something new, a new way of being or a new way of seeing the group, then learning is happening.

Some kind of safety must be present in the group in order for people to take risks, which brings up another design principle.

CONTAINER-BUILDING

Like a stove pot that holds a boiling soup inside it, groups needs some kind of container to hold their different thoughts, perspectives, and emotions. This is the way we think about safety – as distinct from comfort.

Some ways to create safety include: use of pairs and small groups; mixing up groups (to get people acquainted with strangers); and allowing the group to name and experience their similarities *and* differences. We also hope the facilitator will model openness and acceptance. In addition to a warm-up activity, the first major tool in each session supports safety.

DIFFERENCE/DIVERSITY AS A THEME RUNNING THROUGH THE WORKSHOP

Safety is also created by acknowledging the margins as well as the mainstream of the group. The margins, those on the periphery of the group, have wisdom for the group that is often untapped. A group benefits from listening carefully to those on its own margins.

Facilitators should not be surprised if conflicts arise from inviting diversity to show up. Previously unacknowledged dynamics around sexism, racism, classism and ageism may come into the mainstream's awareness. Trainers can assist by welcoming



such conflicts, and standing ready to support the group to go deeper in addressing them.

The included exercises are chosen because of their ability to cross cultures.

DIFFERENT LEARNING STYLES

One specific example of respect for diversity is about teaching styles. Traditional education routinely marginalizes some learning styles by stressing reading, writing and lectures. In reality, people learn in all sorts of different ways: visual, auditory, through the body (kinesthetic), through heart connection, and more. Each curriculum contains tools that use different learning styles, including the kinesthetic and the heart. This is one of the ways the workshops attempts to highlight diversity and honor differences.

IN SUMMARY, THE OVERALL DESIGN AND EACH TOOL

- maximizes participation from participants using experiential activities;
- as much as possible, elicits the group's wisdom (elicitive rather than prescriptive in its approach);
- can be used in small to mid-size groups (four to thirty);
- uses easy and accessible materials (with little to no set-up);
- works with different groups, especially across age, race/ethnic, class, and geographical diversity in the U.S.
- has high impact for a short time and have been proven to work; and
- involves visual, kinesthetic, auditory, and heart learning.



Who wrote the manual?

American Friends Service Committee's Youth and Militarism Program commissioned this training manual to be written to assist other trainers, especially in their own network, to upgrade their skills in training and learn new tools to help groups develop counter-recruitment campaigns.

Hannah Strange and Daniel Hunter co-wrote the training manual, with input from individuals inside and outside of AFSC.

HANNAH STRANGE

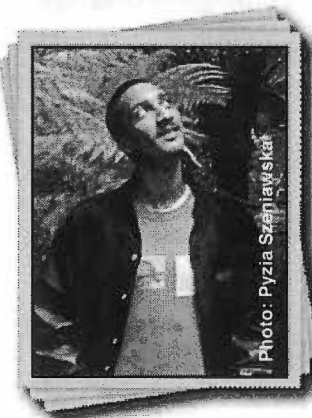
Ruckus Society's Training Director and coordinator of the Not Your Soldier Project



She has completed extensive trainings in experiential education theory, including Philadelphia-based Training For Change's Advanced Training of Trainers, and a Theatre of the Oppressed Training for Trainers at the Mandala Center in Port Townsend, Washington. Hannah has four years of experience training in topics ranging from Nonviolent Direct Action, Art in Action, Organizing, and Direct Action Climbing to Public Health and Socially Responsible Investing. She has led workshops for high school youth, college students, native activists, environmental organizations, labor activists, and women's groups. Hannah holds a Bachelors of Philosophy in Interdisciplinary Studies from Miami University.

DANIEL HUNTER

Training Associate of Training for Change



He has led trainings on five continents for different social justice movements, including training of trainer work with Nagas in Northeast India, Baptist ministers in Sierra Leone, and environmental activists in Australia. Daniel has worked as an organizer with the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Campaign for Labor Rights, and Turn Your Back on Bush, among others. He has written training manuals for grassroots affinity groups on nonviolent action and third-party nonviolent intervention, including a 615-page training manual called "Opening Space for Democracy," the leading manual in its field.



BACKGROUND ON THE RUCKUS SOCIETY

For the past ten years, The Ruckus Society has been in the business of helping activists and organizers from the environmental, human rights, and social justice movements build power and win.



The Ruckus Society

www.Ruckus.org

The Ruckus Society is a powerful capacity-building organization dedicated to nonviolence. With a volunteer base of over 200 individuals from many different communities, organizations and campaigns, we have a political impact far greater than the size of our staff. Our position in the social change movement is one of support but also one of vision. We work to empower people and organizations through intensive trainings, facilitated retreats, trainings for trainers, and grassroots skill sharing. We promote movement building, capacity building, leadership development, tech tools, arts in action and creative nonviolent action.

The Ruckus Society contributes to the counter-recruitment movement with the Not Your Soldier Project. This project was hatched in collaboration with the War Resisters League, the League of Pissed off Voters, Code Pink, the National Youth and Student Peace Coalition (NYSPC), and the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth (NNOMY). In its first year, the Not Your Soldier Project sponsored four regional training camps and a national day of action. Our work helped youth develop political organizing skills and create real-life strategies to fight military recruitment, the poverty draft, and the corporations that profit from war. Ruckus now has strong relationships with key national and regional counter-recruitment organizations.

BACKGROUND ON TRAINING FOR CHANGE

Training for Change was founded on Martin Luther King's birthday in 1992, a carefully chosen birthday for a group that spreads the skills of democratic, nonviolent social change. Since then we've led over 600 workshops for over 12,000 nonviolent activists around the world with our unique direct education approach.

www.TrainingForChange.org

Our trainings have included crowd control workshops for Mohawks, strategic planning retreats for Greenpeace, civil disobedience workshops for nursing-home workers, strike trainings for steelworkers and civil disobedience classes for ACT-UP. Activists come from all over the world to take our trainings - a recent month-long intensive had organizers from Zimbabwe, West Papua, Nigeria, India, Australia, U.S. and Canada learning side by side! But we go to them, too; our trainers have led workshops in Russia, Thailand, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Australia, Canada and a dozen other countries.

Experiential learning is the hallmark of our trainings. We believe that trainees are able to apply more of the information if they learn it in active rather than passive ways. We find that trainees can usually find the answers they need in their own experience; as we see it, the trainer's job is to create designs which empower the trainees to see for themselves what to do next.



Workshops

Elements of Each Workshop

Each workshop has all the resources you need to lead that session: tool descriptions, training notes, and handouts.

Each workshop is broken into three basic sections:

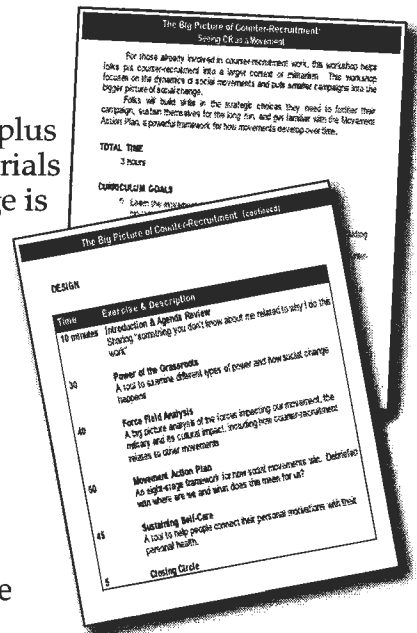
- **Overview Pages (first two pages)**

Description and goals of the workshop plus all that you need to do to prepare (materials to bring, set-up, etc). On the second page is an agenda overview of the session.

- **Training Exercises**




Complete step-by-step guide to how to lead all of the exercises in the session.

- **Handouts**



SYMBOLS

Every training exercise is written with symbols for the trainer on how to lead the exercise. They are:

	- Watch out for this
	- Do this
	- Say this



Before You Enlist: The Truth of Military Recruitment

Geared for presentations in high school settings, this is a brief introduction to the issues of enlistment and military myths, designed to give students the full picture. Because it is in a classroom and not a peace club, the anticipated audience is a mix of students ranging from anti-war to pro-military.

This training can help trainers "get their foot in the door" by connecting with sympathetic teachers in the school, and may lead to invitations to come back for longer trainings.

TOTAL TIME

Approximately 50 minutes, with two optional extension activities

Note: Times for classroom presentations will vary greatly depending on the group and situation. Trainers will probably need to choose from the list of activities below to make an appropriate training based on time available.

WORKSHOP GOALS

- Understand how military recruiters work.
- Learn the truth about the realities of military enlistment and life in the military.
- Look at our own values and how compatible they are with life in the military.
- Consider alternatives to going into the military.

HOW TO PREPARE

- Set up the room and arrange the chairs in a circle
- Make enough copies of the handouts (they are at the end of this section, page 31).
- Bring lots of markers, masking tape, extra newsprint, and scrap paper
- Prep with your co-facilitator: review the agenda, divide up sections, and get to know each other's training style and strengths
- Check in with the organizer of the training to find out more about the group's experience level and the makeup of the group, and to confirm logistical arrangements.
- For extension activity:* Find a veteran willing to speak on their experience
- For extension activity:* Bring a DVD of soldiers' stories or a counter-recruitment video and make sure you'll have access to a TV and DVD player.



Before You Enlist: The Truth of Military Recruitment (continued)

WORKSHOP DESIGN

Time	Exercise & Description
3 minutes	<p>Introductions To introduce yourself as a trainer, and let the group know who you are and what to expect from the training.</p>
7	<p>Stand Up, Sit Down To open up the training by looking at how ever present the issues of military and war are in our lives, and look a little at forms of resistance to war and military.</p>
20	<p>Recruitment Role Play To expose myths that recruiters tell youth, and gain some understanding of how recruiters work.</p>
12	<p>Values Clarification To help students focus in on the key values that they want to live by, and determine whether life in the military would be compatible with those values.</p>
20	<p><i>Extension Activity: Veteran Speaker</i> To expose the reality of life in the military by sharing stories about life in the service.</p>
20	<p><i>Extension Activity: Counter-Recruitment Video</i> To expose the reality of life in the military by sharing stories about life in the service. To expose myths that recruiters tell youth, and gain some understanding of how recruiters work.</p>
8	<p>Alternatives to the Military To uncover alternatives to military service that could help students go to college or work in a field that meets their values.</p>




Introductions


TIME 3 MINUTES

GOAL

To introduce yourself as a trainer, and let the group know who you are and what to expect from the training.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE

-  Introduce yourself to the group, giving information about the group you're with, your history with counter-recruitment work, and any other personal information you want to share. Explain that this workshop is designed to give youth "the other side of the story," by sharing information about the realities of life during and after military service.

-  If there is time, or if the group is relatively small, ask everyone to give their name and a short introduction.




Stand Up, Sit Down

TIME 7 MINUTES

GOALS














To open up the training by looking at how ever-present the issues of military and war are in our lives, and look a little at forms of resistance to war and military.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE

 I am going to read out some statements. If a statement is true for you, please stand up. If it is not true for you, remain seated. You can sit down again between each statement.


 Give an easy example statement for practice, like "I was born in the 1990's." Make sure everyone understands how the exercise works.


 Read out the following statements. Encourage people to notice who is standing with them as each statement is read.


-  I have a family member or close friend who is currently or was once in the military.
-  I grew up in a military family.
-  I have seen a TV commercial or print ad for the Army, Navy, Marines, or Air Force in the past week.
-  I have watched a war movie in the past six months.
-  I have worn camouflage.
-  I have played the video game "America's Army," or another war or military video game.
-  I've seen a Hummer driving in my community in the past few days.
-  I have seen news about the war in Iraq in the past week.
-  I'm not sure what I think about the war in Iraq.
-  I (or my parents) have been approached by a military recruiter in the past year, in person or over the phone.
-  I have seen a military recruiter in my school in the past year.
-  I have been, or still am, part of a JROTC program.
-  I have considered joining the armed forces.





- ✦ I will never join the armed forces.
- ✦ I have been to an anti-war protest.
- ✦ I believe that war is morally wrong.
- ✦ I would prefer if my school didn't allow military recruiters on campus.
- ✦ If there is a draft, I will resist and not go to war.

 Pay attention to what statements the group is standing up for. This exercise can give you a good read on the group's experience with recruiters and some insight into their beliefs about war and the military. This can help you frame the rest of the training and debrief questions.

 After you have finished the list above, invite a few participants to make up their own statements about the military or war resistance, and pose them to the group.

 Thanks for participating. What did you notice during that exercise? (Take a few responses.)

 Was anybody surprised by anything they stood up for? Were any of the statements harder to stand up for?

 Encourage a brief discussion about the exercise, drawing out reflections on how prevalent militarism and the military is in our day to day lives, what it's like to resist war, and encouraging students to share reactions about any of the statements.

Where This Tool Comes From

Written by Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society.
www.ruckus.org











Recruitment Role Play

TIME 20 MINUTES









GOAL

To expose myths that recruiters tell youth, and gain some understanding of how recruiters work.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE

-  Have everyone find a partner and line up in two parallel lines facing their partner, about an arm's length apart. Assign one line to be "group A," and the other line to be "group B."
-  We're going to do a role-play of a military recruiter approaching a student and trying to get her/him to enlist. Group A will play the role of the student, and group B will play the role of the recruiter.
-  Let's take a minute to get into character. Group A, the students: think about how you feel about the military. Is enlisting an option for you? Were you expecting to see this recruiter today? What do you think the recruiter might tell you? How will you respond?
-  Group B, the recruiters: think about the job you are trying to do. You have a quota of new recruits you have to meet for the month. How do you feel about your day-to-day work? What is your opinion of the student you are about to approach? How will you convince her/him to enlist? What do you think her/his response might be?
-  Start the role-play. Let it go for about five minutes, or until the group energy slows down.
-  Watch the group, making sure nobody is getting rough or too physical. Listen to what the recruiters are saying to the students, and keep track of a few phrases you may want to draw on later.
-  Thanks for doing that role-play. How did it feel? (Take a few responses.) Did any students consider enlisting? Recruiters, was that a difficult role to play?
-  Ask a few students to share what their most successful line to the recruiter was.



-  What kinds of things did the recruiters say to try to convince the students to enlist?
-  Make a list of the things recruiters said on the chalkboard or on a large piece of paper. Add things you overheard, or prompt for statements on specific topics if the list is short.
-  Do you think a real recruiter might say these things? Do you think they are all true? Which statements do you have questions or doubts about?
-  Put stars next to the statements the group has questions about. Choose relevant fact cards that address the statements the group had doubts about. Ask for a few volunteers to read the fact cards out loud. When all the fact cards have been read, pass out the handout, "Before You Enlist," and let the group read it over and ask clarifying questions. (The fact cards and handout are found at the back of this workshop.)
-  Is anybody surprised by how many things recruiters were not truthful about? Why do you think they would not tell the truth?
-  Recruiters have a difficult job. There's a lot of pressure on them to get new recruits, and they often resort to being dishonest or bending the rules in order to sign more people up. Let's take a look at another handout, "Recruiter Reality." Is there anything on this handout that you would like to read out or talk about?
-  Give everyone a copy of the handout, "Recruiter Reality." Ask one or two people to read statements from the handout that stand out to them.
-  After reading these two handouts, has anybody changed their opinion about the armed forces or military recruiters?

Where This Tool Comes From

Written by Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society.
www.ruckus.org

Values Clarification

TIME 12 MINUTES

GOAL


To help students focus in on the key values that they want to live by, and determine whether life in the military would be compatible with those values.


SPECIAL MATERIALS


Blank scrap paper


Pens or pencils for everyone


RUNNING THE EXERCISE

-  Give everyone a blank piece of paper. Ask them to write down five core values that they try to live their life by (for example: compassion, integrity, honesty, etc.). Allow enough time to think and write.


-  Now, as a group, let's list the values the military promotes.


-  Create a list of military values on the chalkboard or a large piece of paper (for example: patriotism, honor, duty, unity, etc.).


-  Does anybody see some of their own core values reflected on the list of values the military promotes? Which ones? (If nobody says yes, then ask the group, "Even if they are not your core values, do any of the values the military promotes appeal to you?")

-  Go through a few of the values that students share with the ones the military promotes, asking the student to talk about how they feel that particular value would be upheld by life in the military. Then pose the question, "Can anybody think of ways that this value would be difficult to uphold during life in the military?" (for example: if a student says she values "democracy," she might say she thinks being part of the military could help bring democracy to other parts of the world. On the other hand, the value of democracy is not upheld in day-to-day life on the service, when you are compelled to take orders from your superiors.)



-  Lead a discussion about how life in the military might force a person to go against values they believe in. You can also talk about the importance of looking critically at the military before joining it, and examining all the promises and values the military promotes to see how true they really are.

-  Who here has heard of Muhammad Ali, the boxer? He identified six core values that he lived his life by: respect, confidence, conviction, dedication, giving and spirituality. Did anybody know that Muhammad Ali was a conscientious objector to war? He refused to fight in the Vietnam War because he felt that war went against his values, especially the value of spirituality.

-  Ali had to fight to get conscientious objector status. He took his case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which finally ruled in his favor 8 to 0, and excused him from the draft. It's not always easy to live by your values, but it can be rewarding when you stand up for them.

Where This Tool Comes From

Written by Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society.
www.ruckus.org



Veteran Speaker

extension activity

TIME 20 MINUTES

GOAL

To expose the reality of life in the military by sharing stories about life in the service.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Invite a local veteran to come and speak in the class with you. Ask her/him to share stories about why they joined, what their life was really like in the military, and what their life has been like since they got out.



If a veteran is not available to speak, you could download testimonials from the Iraq Veterans Against War website (www.ivaw.net) and ask the group to read them aloud, or in small groups, and then reflect on what they read.



Counter-Recruitment Video extension activity



TIME 20 MINUTES**GOALS**

- To expose the reality of life in the military by sharing stories about life in the service.
- To expose myths that recruiters tell youth, and gain some understanding of how recruiters work.

SPECIAL MATERIALS

Video appropriate to show young people on issues of recruitment or soldiers' stories of resistance. Contact AFSC Youth & Militarism Staff for recommendations at youthmil@afsc.org or (215) 241-7176.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE

-  Show the video. The goal of the video should be to provide a rational voice to help counter the seductive and often deceptive practices of the military in our nation's high schools. The message should not be "don't enlist" but rather to provide students and their families a more complete picture of the life-altering consequences of joining the military – especially in wartime.
-  After the video, ask for people's reactions to the film, focusing on what struck them the most about what they saw. You can also have folks talk about the film with a partner.









Alternatives to the Military

TIME 8 MINUTES

GOAL

To uncover alternatives to military service that could help students go to college or work in a field that meets their values.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE

-  Let's take a minute to think about the values and opportunities that the military promises, that genuinely appeal to you.
-  Make a list of values and opportunities on a large sheet of newsprint or the chalkboard, leaving room to fill in alternative jobs next to each one later on in the exercise.
-  Now let's think of other jobs or careers that would uphold the values that the military promotes.
-  List alternative jobs on the large newsprint next to each opportunity or value, asking students if they know what the requirements are to get those jobs, and how to meet those requirements. (If the students seem resistant to framing this exercise based on military values, or if overall the group does not seem attracted to the armed forces, have them do this exercise based on the core values they identified in the "Values Clarification" exercise.)
-  Some of these jobs require that you go to college. Recruiters often promise that you'll get money for college by joining. I want to remind you of the fact card we read earlier: "Even if one only considers grants, what the Pentagon spends on college assistance each year is less than 2.9% of civilian federal grant aid for college."
-  Share the name and room number of the school guidance counselor who can help students apply for funding for college. Thank them for having you in the class!

Where This Tool Comes From

Written by Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society.
www.ruckus.org



Before You Enlist Fact Cards

HANDOUT

<p style="text-align: center;">COLLEGE FUNDING</p> <p>Over 2 million veterans have paid into the GI Bill program since 1985. Over 700,000 of these veterans are not eligible at all due to their discharge. Only 43% of those who signed up for the military and began paying in to the program have received anything. 57% have received nothing at all.</p> <p>Sam Diener and Jamie Munro, "Military Money for College: A Reality Check" in July-August 2005 issue of Peacework Magazine. http://www.afsc.org/pwork</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">COLLEGE FUNDING</p> <p>Recruiters don't always explain that a soldier has to make a \$1,200 nonrefundable deposit within the first year of his/her service to be eligible for GI Bill money. There is no refund of the \$1,200. Virtually nobody opts out, but many never receive benefits.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">COLLEGE FUNDING</p> <p>No Benefits and Out \$1,200: One woman we know became pregnant after serving overseas for one year. She was discharged and denied all GI Bill benefits. Not only did she not receive a refund of her \$1200 paid into the GI Bill, she is now paying back her entire enlistment bonus - with interest! She was placed in the reserves, so technically she can still be called up for war with no hope of ever receiving college money.</p> <p>Veteran's Testimony provided to AFSC National Youth and Militarism Staff</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">COLLEGE FUNDING</p> <p>Even if one only considers grants, what the Pentagon spends on college assistance each year is less than 2.9% of civilian federal grant aid for college.</p> <p>Sam Diener and Jamie Munro, "Military Money for College: A Reality Check" in July-August 2005 issue of Peacework Magazine. http://www.afsc.org/pwork</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">COLLEGE FUNDING</p> <p>(figures for 2004 for comparison) Average cost of public college: \$11,354 / year. Average cost of private college: \$27,516 / year. Average GI Bill benefit: \$5,540 / year. Maximum GI Bill benefit: \$9,306 / year</p> <p>Sam Diener and Jamie Munro, "Military Money for College: A Reality Check" in July-August 2005 issue of Peacework Magazine. http://www.afsc.org/pwork for GI Bill figures.</p> <p>College Board's Trends in Higher Education Series. "Trends in College Pricing:2004" www.collegeboard.com for college cost figures.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">COLLEGE FUNDING</p> <p>GI Bill money is counted as a resource when applying for financial aid. School grants (i.e., "free" money) are reduced dollar for dollar, leaving veterans with the same amount to pay out of pocket even with GI Bill money available except in the case that tuition is so low GI Bill money covers all or most of tuition.</p>

<p align="center">DISCRIMINATION AND SEXISM IN THE MILITARY</p> <p>75% of blacks & 67% of Latinos report experiencing racial discrimination in the military.</p> <p>US Department of Veterans Affairs, "National Survey of Veterans," 2001.</p>	<p align="center">DISCRIMINATION AND SEXISM IN THE MILITARY</p> <p>Military women, across the enlisted force and officer corps in both the Active and Reserve Components, are more likely to be members of a racial minority group than are military men. In fact, 39 percent of the women in the Active Components enlisted force are members of racial minority groups.</p> <p>Population Representation in the Military Services, 2004 http://www.dod.mil/prhome/poprep2004/summary/summary.html</p>
<p align="center">DISCRIMINATION AND SEXISM IN THE MILITARY</p> <p>African Americans comprised a much smaller proportion of officers (9 percent) than of enlisted members (21 percent)</p> <p>Population Representation in the Military Services, 2004 http://www.dod.mil/prhome/poprep2004/summary/summary.html</p>	<p align="center">DISCRIMINATION AND SEXISM IN THE MILITARY</p> <p>Latinos make up 11.47% of today's military - 9.49% of enlisted ranks; only 3.8% of officers - but 13.35% of the population of 18-44 year olds.</p> <p>Population Representation in the Military Services, 2003 http://www.dod.mil/prhome/poprep2003</p>
<p align="center">DISCRIMINATION AND SEXISM IN THE MILITARY</p> <p>According to the Veterans Health Administration's own Military Sexual Trauma National Report for the period between January 1 and March 31 of 2006, 1,586 women veterans and 1,379 male veterans receiving care at a VHA facility reported that they had either been sexually assaulted or sexually harassed at some time while on active duty service.</p> <p>Callie Wright, "Suzanne, Sara, and Military Sexual Trauma" From Draft Notices, July-September 2006 www.comdsd.org</p>	<p align="center">DISCRIMINATION AND SEXISM IN THE MILITARY</p> <p>Under "don't ask, don't tell" homosexual discharges rose every year but one since the policy was implemented in 1992 - until the U.S. went to war in Afghanistan and Iraq. In 2001, there were nearly twice as many homosexual discharges as in 1992, before "don't ask, don't tell" took effect.</p> <p>"Gays and Lesbians at War: Military Service in Iraq and Afghanistan Under "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" by Nathaniel Frank. Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military. 2004</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">LIFE AFTER MILITARY SERVICE</p> <p>The Pentagon estimates that as many as 100,000 combat veterans nationwide will suffer from mental issues ranging from depression and anxiety to the more debilitating post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Soldiers described the symptoms of PTSD as: "sudden, ferocious bouts of rage, utter detachment, anxiety attacks accompanied by shortness of breath, and increased perspiration and rapid eye movement. They complained of relentless insomnia, racing thoughts, self-loathing, blackouts, hallucinations and the constant reliving of war through flashbacks by day and nightmares at night."</p> <p>New York Times, 12/16/04 and "Behind the Walls of Ward 54", www.Salon.com</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">MILITARY CONTRACTS</p> <p>Section 9b of the military enlistment contract states that anything in the contract can change at any time: "Laws and regulations that govern military personnel may change without notice to me. Such changes may affect my status, pay, allowances, benefits, and responsibilities as a member of the Armed Forces REGARDLESS of the provisions of this enlistment/reenlistment document."</p> <p>Armed Forces of the United States, "Enlistment/Re-enlistment Document," January 2001.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">MILITARY CONTRACTS</p> <p>Section 8c of the military enlistment contract implicitly acknowledges that recruiters may make false promises: "The agreements in this section and attached annex(es) are all the promises made to me by the Government. ANYTHING ELSE ANYONE HAS PROMISED ME IS NOT VALID AND WILL NOT BE HONORED." [emphasis in original]</p> <p>Armed Forces of the United States, "Enlistment/Re-enlistment Document," January 2001.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">MILITARY CONTRACTS</p> <p>Sgt. Emiliano Santiago enlisted in the National Guard as a junior in high school at the age of 18. At age 27, three weeks before his eight-year enlistment ended, he was told his term of service was being prolonged under the stop-loss policy. He was sent to Afghanistan and told that his enlistment had been extended 27 years until 2031*. Santiago is not alone. At least 7,000 soldiers had been affected by the stop-loss policy and sent to either Afghanistan or Iraq.</p> <p>SF Chronicle, Friday, April 8, 2005 article by Bob Egelko</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">MILITARY CONTRACTS</p> <p>Section 9c of the military enlistment contract says that the length of service can change in the case of war: "In the event of war, my enlistment in the Armed Forces continues until six (6) months after the war ends, unless my enlistment is ended sooner by the President of the United States."</p> <p>Armed Forces of the United States, "Enlistment/Re-enlistment Document," January 2001.</p>	

Before You Enlist

HANDOUT

There are many facts to consider before enlisting in the armed forces. Recruiters do not always tell the whole truth about what life in the military – and afterwards – will be like. Here is some information to clarify the picture that military recruiters paint.

COLLEGE FUNDING

- Over 2 million veterans have paid into the GI Bill program since 1985. Over 700,000 of these veterans are not eligible at all due to their discharge. Only 43% of those who signed up for the military and began paying in to the program have received anything. 57% have received nothing at all. ¹
- Recruiters don't always explain that a soldier has to make a \$1,200 nonrefundable deposit within the first year of his/her service to be eligible for GI Bill money. There is no refund of the \$1,200. Virtually nobody opts out, but many never receive benefits.
- No Benefits and Out \$1,200: One woman we know became pregnant after serving overseas for one year. She was discharged and denied all GI Bill benefits. Not only did she not receive a refund of her \$1200 paid into the GI Bill, she is now paying back her entire enlistment bonus - with interest! She was placed in the reserves, so technically she can still be called up for war with no hope of ever receiving college money. ²

COLLEGE FUNDING

- Even if one only considers grants, what the Pentagon spends on college assistance each year is less than 2.9% of civilian federal grant aid for college. ³
- (figures for 2004 for comparison)
 - Average cost of public college: \$11,354 / year.
 - Average cost of private college: \$27,516 / year.
 - Average GI Bill benefit: \$5,540 / year.
 - Maximum GI Bill benefit: \$9,306 / year⁴
- GI Bill money is counted as a resource when applying for financial aid. School grants (i.e., "free" money) are reduced dollar for dollar, leaving veterans with the same amount to pay out of pocket even with GI Bill money available except in the case that tuition is so low GI Bill money covers all or most of tuition.

¹ Sam Diener and Jamie Munro, "Military Money for College: A Reality Check" in July-August 2005 issue of Peacework Magazine. <http://www.afsc.org/pwork>

² Veteran's Testimony provided to AFSC National Youth and Militarism Staff

³ Sam Diener and Jamie Munro, op. cit.

⁴ Sam Diener and Jamie Munro, op. cit., for GI Bill figures.

College Board's Trends in Higher Education Series. "Trends in College Pricing:2004" www.collegeboard.com for college cost figures.



DISCRIMINATION AND SEXISM IN THE MILITARY

- 75% of blacks & 67% of Latinos report experiencing racial discrimination in the military.¹
- Military women, across the enlisted force and officer corps in both the Active and Reserve Components, are more likely to be members of a racial minority group than are military men. In fact, 39 percent of the women in the Active Components enlisted force are members of racial minority groups.²
- African Americans comprised a much smaller proportion of officers (9 percent) than of enlisted members (21 percent)³
- Latinos make up 11.47% of today's military - 9.49% of enlisted ranks; only 3.8% of officers - but 13.35% of the population of 18-44 year olds.⁴
- According to the Veterans Health Administration's own Military Sexual Trauma National Report for the period between January 1 and March 31 of 2006, 1,586 women veterans and 1,379 male veterans receiving care at a VHA facility reported that they had either been sexually assaulted or sexually harassed at some time while on active duty service.⁵
- Under "don't ask, don't tell" homosexual discharges rose every year but one since the policy was implemented in 1992 - until the U.S. went to war in Afghanistan and Iraq. In 2001, there were nearly twice as many homosexual discharges as in 1992, before "don't ask, don't tell" took effect.⁶

LIFE AFTER MILITARY SERVICE

- The Pentagon estimates that as many as 100,000 combat veterans nationwide will suffer from mental issues ranging from depression and anxiety to the more debilitating post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Soldiers described the symptoms of PTSD as: "sudden, ferocious bouts of rage, utter detachment, anxiety attacks accompanied by shortness of breath, and increased perspiration and rapid eye movement. They complained of relentless insomnia, racing thoughts, self-loathing, blackouts, hallucinations and the constant reliving of war through flashbacks by day and nightmares at night."⁷

¹ US Department of Veterans Affairs, "National Survey of Veterans," 2001.

² Population Representation in the Military Services, 2004

<http://www.dod.mil/prhome/poprep2004/summary/summary.html>

³ Ibid.

⁴ Population Representation in the Military Services, 2003 <http://www.dod.mil/prhome/poprep2003>

⁵ Callie Wright, "Suzanne, Sara, and Military Sexual Trauma" From Draft NOTices, July-September 2006 www.comdsd.org

⁶ "Gays and Lesbians at War: Military Service in Iraq and Afghanistan Under "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" by Nathaniel Frank. Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military. 2004

⁷ New York Times, 12/16/04 and "Behind the Walls of Ward 54", www.Salon.com



MILITARY CONTRACTS

- Section 9b of the military enlistment contract states that anything in the contract can change at any time: "Laws and regulations that govern military personnel may change without notice to me. Such changes may affect my status, pay, allowances, benefits, and responsibilities as a member of the Armed Forces REGARDLESS of the provisions of this enlistment/reenlistment document."¹
- Section 8c of the military enlistment contract implicitly acknowledges that recruiters may make false promises: "The agreements in this section and attached annex(es) are all the promises made to me by the Government. ANYTHING ELSE ANYONE HAS PROMISED ME IS NOT VALID AND WILL NOT BE HONORED." [emphasis in original]²
- Sgt. Emiliano Santiago enlisted in the National Guard as a junior in high school at the age of 18. At age 27, three weeks before his eight-year enlistment ended, he was told his term of service was being prolonged under the stop-loss policy. He was sent to Afghanistan and told that his enlistment had been extended 27 years until 2031*. Santiago is not alone. At least 7,000 soldiers had been affected by the stop-loss policy and sent to either Afghanistan or Iraq.³
- Section 9c of the military enlistment contract says that the length of service can change in the case of war: "In the event of war, my enlistment in the Armed Forces continues until six (6) months after the war ends, unless my enlistment is ended sooner by the President of the United States."⁴

¹ Armed Forces of the United States, "Enlistment/ Re-enlistment Document," January 2001.

² Ibid.

³ SF Chronicle, Friday, April 8, 2005 article by Bob Egelko.

⁴ Armed Forces of the United States, op. cit.



Recruiter Reality

HANDOUT

Military recruiters operate under a quota system, and have found their duties increasingly difficult in light of the ongoing tragedies in Iraq and Afghanistan. Individual quotas vary, but a typical recruiter is expected to enlist 10 to 12 high school juniors and seniors per school, per year.¹

Despite their persistence and pervasiveness, many are falling short of their goals. This has led to more aggressive recruiting in high schools, especially in those serving low-income and minority students.²

In 2005, 5 of 10 military components — the Army, Army Reserve, Army National Guard, Air National Guard, and Navy Reserve — missed their recruiting goals by a range of 8-20%. The entire military missed its target of 299,333 enlistees by 25,057 (8.4%).³

Overall, this has resulted in the lowering of recruitment standards and has led to a high level of misconduct on the part of recruiters:

- The Army's statistics show cases of wrongdoing by recruiters increased by more than 60% in 2004. Recruiters and former Army officials attribute the rise in abuse to the extraordinary pressure being put on recruiters, who must meet quotas of roughly two recruits a month. The strain is breeding not just abuses, they said, but stress-related illnesses, damaged marriages and even thoughts of suicide among some.⁴
- For the first time since 1998, the Army has lowered its standards, accepting more recruits without high school diplomas.⁵
- "Interviews with more than two dozen recruiters in 10 states hint at the extent of their concern, if not the exact scope of the transgressions. Several spoke of concealing mental-health histories and police records. They described falsified documents, wallet-size cheat sheets slipped to applicants before the military's aptitude test, and commanding officers who look the other way. And they voiced doubts about the quality of some troops destined for the front lines."⁶

¹ *PBS News Hour with Jim Lehrer*, aired 12 May 2005 www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/military/jan-june05/recruiting_5-12.html

² *Ibid.*

³ GAO-06-134: "Military Personnel: DOD Needs Action Plan to Address Enlisted Personnel Recruitment and Retention Challenges," November 2005. www.gao.gov/new.items/d06134.pdf

⁴ Cave, Damien, "Army to Spend Day Retraining Recruiters," *New York Times*, 12 May 2005

⁵ Cave, Damien, "For Recruiters, a Hard Toll From a Hard Sell" *New York Times*, 27 March 2005

⁶ Cave, Damien, "Army Recruiters Say They Feel Pressure to Bend Rules," *New York Times*, 3 May 2005



- "Recruiters in Ohio, New York, Washington, Texas and New England said that as long as an offending recruiter met his enlistment quota of roughly two recruits a month, punishment was unlikely. 'The saying here is, "Production is power.'" the recruiter in northern Ohio said. 'Produce, and all is good.'"¹
- By the Army's own count, there were 320 substantiated cases of "recruitment improprieties" in 2004. The offenses varied from threats and coercion to false promises that applicants would not be sent to Iraq. 1,118 recruiters (nearly 20% of active recruiters) were investigated for improprieties in 2004.²
- The Army's figures also show that it is not punishing offenses as it once did. In 2002, roughly half of recruiters who were found to have committed improprieties intentionally or through gross negligence were relieved of duty; in 2004, that number slipped to 3 in 10.³
- Former Marine Staff Sgt. Jimmey Massey recruited in the Appalachian Mountains of western North Carolina. During his years as a recruiter, he signed up 75 young men, mostly working class. Massey often used deceptive techniques he called "frauding" to get young men to sign up, which included coaching new recruits to lie about medical conditions and drug use on entrance forms. "When I got on recruiting duty, I was quickly taken underneath a senior recruiter's wing and explained the ropes of how real recruiting works," said Massey. Of the 75 young men Massey signed up, he says 70 of them were the result of frauding.⁴

This handout was researched and written by Nick Raymond
and Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society.

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *NOW*, 25 November 2005. www.pbs.org/now/transcript/transcriptNOW147_full.html



The Poverty Draft

This session is like a counter-recruitment 101. It explores how the military is reaching out to youth and how larger societal forces like poverty, racism, and classism impact who is targeted most by recruiters. The connections between education funding cuts and increased militarism in schools are made, and the lies that recruiters tell are examined. Alternatives to the military are presented.

TOTAL TIME

3 hours

WORKSHOP GOALS

- Understand how military recruiters work and expose the lies that they tell.
- Provide information about who is most targeted by military recruiters.
- Make connections between the lack of funding for education in this country and increased militarism in schools.
- Look at the war in Iraq as it relates to the bigger picture of militarism.
- Look at alternatives to military service and provide resources for further information.

HOW TO PREPARE

- Set up the room with the chairs in a circle
- Write up the Agenda and Goals on large sheets of newsprint
- Make enough copies of the handouts (they are at the end of this section, page 55).
- Bring lots of markers, masking tape, and extra newsprint
- Post-it notes or small pieces of paper with tape
- Prep with your co-facilitator: review the agenda, divide up sections, and get to know each other's training style and strengths
- Check in with the organizer of the training to find out more about the group's experience level and the makeup of the group, and to confirm logistical arrangements



The Poverty Draft (continued)

WORKSHOP DESIGN

Time	Exercise
15 minutes	<p>Introduction and Agenda Review Introduce trainer to the group; get to know who's in the room; create an open space & invite participation; and let people know what to expect during the training.</p>
30	<p>Recruitment Role Play To understand how military recruiters work and expose myths that recruiters tell youth.</p>
30	<p>Step Up, Step Back To make connections between the lack of funding for education in this country and increased militarism in schools. And to provide information about who is most targeted by military recruiters.</p>
10	<p>Break</p>
60	<p>Pillars of War, History of Militarism To look at the war in Iraq as it relates to the bigger picture of militarism.</p>
15	<p>Alternatives to Military To uncover alternatives to military service that would appeal to people who are considering joining the armed forces.</p>
10	<p>Evaluation To get feedback on the training</p>
10	<p>Closing To allow for some self reflection</p>



Introduction and Agenda Review

TIME 15 MINUTES

GOALS

To create a welcoming space; set a tone and energy for the workshop that invites sharing and participation.

To introduce yourself as a trainer, and let the group know who you are.

Get everyone on the same page, and let people know what to expect from the training.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Introduce yourself to the group, giving information about the group you're with, your history with counter-recruitment work, why you are moved to train on this issue, and any other personal information you want to share.



Please introduce yourselves briefly, and say one thing you hope to learn from this training.



Pay attention to what people say they want to get out of the training. It can help you see how experienced the group is with this work, and help you to tailor the training and debrief the exercises to meet people's interest.



Write the agenda and goals (listed below) up on two large pieces of newsprint and hang them somewhere visible. When writing up the agenda, there is no need to write the description of each exercise. Just give a broad overview.

Agenda

- Introductions
- Agenda and Goal review
- Recruiter Role Play
- Who Gets Recruited?
- Pillars of War, History of Militarism
- Alternatives to Military
- Evaluation
- Closing

Goals

- Provide information about who is most targeted by military recruiters.
- Make connections between the lack of funding for education in this country and increased militarism in schools.
- Understand how military recruiters work and expose the lies that they tell.
- Look at the war in Iraq as it relates to the bigger picture of militarism.
- Look at alternatives to military service.



Review the goals first, and then the agenda.



Does anybody have any questions? Does everyone feel comfortable with the agenda and goals? Can we move ahead with the training?



Recruitment Role Play

TIME 30 MINUTES

GOAL

To understand how military recruiters work and expose myths that recruiters tell youth.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Have everyone find a partner and line up in two parallel lines facing their partner, about an arm's length apart. Assign one line to be "group A," and the other line to be "group B."



I'd like to start out the training by looking at how recruiters work. We're going to do a role-play of a military recruiter approaching a student and trying to get her/him to enlist. Group A will play the role of the student, and group B will play the role of the recruiter.

Take a minute to get into character. Group A, the students: think about how you feel about the military. Is enlisting an option for you? Were you expecting to see this recruiter today? What do you think the recruiter might tell you? How will you respond?

Group B, the recruiters: think about the job you are trying to do. You have a quota of new recruits to fill every month. How do you feel about your day-to-day work? What is your opinion of the student you are about to approach? How will you convince her/him to enlist? What do you think her/his response might be?



Start the role-play. Let it go for about five minutes, cutting it off while group energy is still high. (It's ok to cut this role-play a bit shorter, because the group will do a larger one together next.)



Watch the group, making sure nobody is getting rough or too physical. Listen to what the recruiters are saying to the students, and keep track of a few phrases you may want to draw on later.




Thanks for doing that role-play. How did it feel? (Take a few responses.) Did any students consider enlisting? Recruiters, was that a difficult role to play?

What things did the recruiters say to try to convince the students to enlist?




Make a list of the things recruiters said on the chalkboard or on a large piece of paper. Add things you overheard, or prompt for statements on specific topics if the list is short.





 Do you think a real recruiter might say these things? Do you think they are all true? Which statements do you have questions or doubts about?


 Put stars next to the statements the group has questions about.


 Will any pair of partners volunteer to do their role-play in front of the whole group? In this role-play, we'll re-play the same scenario. I'd like to ask the recruiter to try and use the lines we've listed above, especially using the ones folks had questions about. I'm going to give some fact cards to volunteers in the group so they can help us learn the truth behind some of the recruiter's statements.

Here's how it will work: this role-play can be paused like a video. Anyone in the group can hit the pause button on the role-play when they feel like the recruiter is not telling the truth. When someone calls out "Pause!" the actors will freeze and the volunteer who has a related fact card will read it out to the group. Volunteers with fact cards can also hit pause and share their information.

 Watch the role-play, making sure that the group is hitting the pause button when relevant facts can be shared. If they miss a moment, hit the pause button yourself, and ask the volunteer to read out their fact card.

 Hand out the "Before You Enlist" Fact Cards to volunteers. (If time is limited, choose only relevant fact cards that address the statements the group had doubts about.) Give the volunteers a minute to read over the cards.

 Let's begin the role-play!

 When the role-play is over, thank the volunteers again. (If there are any cards that haven't been read out yet, let the volunteers read out those cards.) Give everyone a copy of the handout "Before You Enlist." Let the group read it over and ask clarifying questions. (The fact cards and handout are found at the end of this workshop.) If there is time, lead a discussion about people's reactions to the information on the handout.

Where This Tool Comes From

Written by Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society,
www.ruckus.org.



Step Up, Step Back

TIME 30 MINUTES

GOALS

- To make connections between the lack of funding for education in this country and increased militarism in schools.
- To provide information about who is most targeted by military recruiters.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Ask everybody to line up side by side in the middle of the room.
















I am going to read out some statements about education and military recruitment. If a statement is true for you, then follow the directions given (either to take a step forward or a step back).







Read out the following statements. Encourage people to notice who is standing near them from time to time.

- If you started school speaking a language other than English, or if English is not the primary language spoken in your household, take a step forward.
- If your ancestors' history and experiences were or are reflected in the curriculum at your school, take a step back. If they were or are not, take a step forward.
- If you went to or go to a school where there were or are more than ten Advanced Placement or Honors courses offered, take a step back. If your school did / does not, take a step forward.
- If you went to or go to a school that had or has run down facilities, take a step forward. If your school had or has everything you need for a good learning environment, take a step back.
- If your high school had or has an art room, theatre, music facilities, take a step back.
- If your parents finished high school, take a step back. If not, take a step forward.
- If your parents graduated from college, take a step back. If not, take a step forward.
- If your guidance counselor or teachers helped or are helping guide you towards college, take a step back. If they didn't or are not, or if you did not or do not have a guidance counselor who was easy to make an appointment with, take a step forward.



-  If you have a family member or close friend who is currently or was once in the military take a step forward.
 -  If there is an armed forces recruiting station in your city or town, take a step forward. If not, or if you don't know, take a step back.
 -  If there were or are military recruiters in your school at least once a week, or if recruiters had or have an office inside your school, take a step forward.
 -  If your school had or has a JROTC (Junior Reserve Officers Training Corps) program in it, take a step forward. If not, take a step back.
 -  If you felt or feel that you could or can get a good paying job in your community after high school graduation, take a step back. If not, take a step forward.
 -  If a lot of people in your community went into or go into the armed forces after high school, take a step forward.
 -  If there is a military base in or very near to your community, take a step forward.
 -  If you grew up in a low-income neighborhood, take a step forward.
-  Watch the room for any discomfort, nervous laughter, or strong reactions. The topics that the group reacts to could prove insightful as you debrief the exercise.
-  After all the statements have been read, approach the people at the front of the room, shaking their hands and asking them, "Have you ever considered a career in the armed forces?" Make the point that the folks at the front of the room are the ones most likely to be targeted by military recruiters.
-  Thank everyone for participating, and ask them to find a partner and find a place to sit with them.
-  Take about five minutes to reflect with your partner about how it felt to be a part of that exercise. How did you feel to be standing where you were? Take turns sharing, with one partner listening fully while the other shares, and then switching roles. I'll let you know when time is half up and you should be switching roles.
-  Give the pairs about five minutes, watching the group energy. Let them know when time is halfway up, making sure everyone gets a chance to share. Once they are done, ask everyone to turn their attention back to the large group.



-  So, what happened during the exercise?
-  Explore people's reactions to the exercise, watching how feelings of guilt, anger, etc. are being dealt with.
-  Did the exercise help you to make any new connections between the state of our public education system and military recruitment? Has anybody heard of the idea of a "poverty draft"? Can you explain it to the group? (If nobody has heard of the term, ask them to imagine what it could mean, and share their response.)
-  Make sure that the idea that poor people are targeted at higher rates by military recruiters gets across to the group. (A lot of people have the idea that joining the military is a choice that is made by all classes with equal amounts of influence from recruiters. In reality, the lower classes are more regularly targeted and join the armed forces at higher rates.) Give everyone a copy of the handout "The Poverty Draft." Give the group time to read it over and ask questions. Lead a discussion about people's reactions to the handout, making specific connections between the facts on the handout and the statements read during the exercise.

Where This Tool Comes From

Written by Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society.

www.ruckus.org.

Tool adapted from the School Of Unity and Liberation's "What's Going Down in Our Schools" curriculum, "Schooling Conditions" exercise, as printed in their Political Education Workshop Manual.



Pillars of War, History of Militarism

TIME 60 MINUTES


GOAL


To look at the war in Iraq as it relates to the bigger picture of militarism.

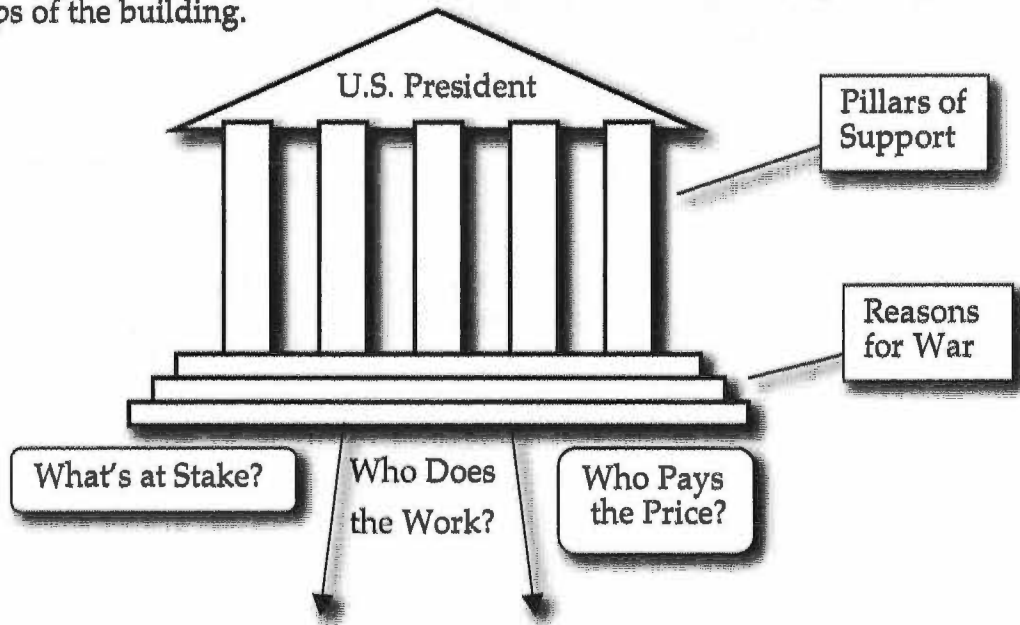
SPECIAL MATERIALS


Post-it notes or small pieces of paper with tape










RUNNING THE EXERCISE

 Now that we've looked at how military recruiters work and who is most likely to be targeted by recruiters, let's take a look at the system of militarism that wars occur in, and that new recruits would be a part of. We'll start by looking at the Iraq War as a model.


 On a large piece of newsprint, draw a picture of an ancient Greek style building, with four or five columns at the front of the building, and three or four steps leading up to the building. Draw a sidewalk leading out from the steps of the building.





 This picture represents the power structure that made the war in Iraq happen. At the top is the U.S. President. Each of the columns represent the president's "pillars of support"—the people, institutions and organizations that support the war. What would you label these? Be specific where possible.


-  Label each column based on what the group offers. Some possible labels might include: Congress, the media, corporations, the weapons industry, etc.
-  Below the columns are steps—these are the grounds or explanations the public was given to justify going to war. What should we write on these steps?
-  Write the reasons on the steps. Make sure the group understands that the reasons they should be focusing on here are the reasons the power-holders gave, not the reasons they or the public may have perceived since the start of the war. Possible reasons may include: "to spread democracy," "the war on terror," or "Iraq has weapons of mass destruction."
-  There's a path leading out from the steps—this path represents the people who do the work in the war. Who would you put on this path?
-  List the groups that carry out the work of the war. Encourage the group to get descriptive—for example, if they say soldiers, ask them what the soldiers might look like, what their backgrounds are, etc. Remind folks there are a lot of people who participate in some way in helping the wheels of the war machine turn. For example: non-military workers like Longshoremen who load up the ships with equipment and supplies sent to Iraq. Sometimes these groups are choosing to do the work of the war, sometimes they are put into support roles due to their non-military profession.
-  Now let's take a look at the ground that this building is built on. We can think of it as the people who bear the weight of war. Who would you put here? Be as specific as you can.
-  List the groups that pay the price of war in the grass to the right of the sidewalk. Again, push the group to be descriptive.
-  On the other side of the pathway, let's consider what is at stake. You might think of this region as the "real" reasons we went to war. What will we gain from the war that is outside of the official reasons given?
-  Write the "stakes" on the picture to the left of the sidewalk.





 Take a look at this picture overall. Does it feel like a fairly good description of the Iraq War? Is anything missing? How does it feel to look at this image?


 If people are feeling despair when looking at the image, remind them that any one of the groups listed in the power structure of the war can be targeted to make change. If one pillar topples the whole structure can fall! Also, if we stop the "work" of the war from getting done (through counter-recruitment and getting labor allies to strike, for example) we can also stop the machine from moving forward.


 Now that we've gotten a closer look at one war, let's look at other U.S. military interventions. We're going to create a timeline as a group of what the military has been up to since the U.S. was founded as a country.

 Hang up a blank timeline (from 1776 to the present) in the front of the room. Pass out four or five post-it notes or small slips of paper and tape to each person.

 Take some time to remember wars the U.S. was involved in and other incidences of significant U.S. military action. Write each on a separate slip of paper, and when you're done, come and add them to the timeline in the correct place on the timeline. If you've repeated someone else's, just stack them up on top of one another.

 Give the group time to write and hang their ideas up on the timeline. When they are done, go over all the military actions and wars listed. Ask folks if anything major is missing. Pass out the handout "U.S. Military Timeline." Point out military actions that are on the handout that were not listed on the timeline, and add them into the timeline.

 What is your reaction to seeing this timeline? Do you think the other military actions would have a similar picture to the one we drew about the Iraq War? Is any war justified?

 Take a few responses to the question and then ask everyone to find two other people. Ask the trios to take time to reflect on the exercise, as it relates to one of the following quotes: (you can either assign each group a different quote, or you can choose one for all of the groups to respond to.) Feel free to add in any new quotes!



"War is just a racket. A racket is best described, I believe, as something that is not what it seems to the majority of people. Only a small inside group knows what it is about. It is conducted for the benefit of the very few at the expense of the masses."

— Major General Smedley Butler, USMC, 1933

"What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans and the homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or in the holy name of liberty and democracy?"

— Mohandas Gandhi

"No, I am not going 10,000 miles to help murder, kill and burn other people to simply help continue the domination of white slavemasters over dark people the world over. This is the day and age when such evil injustice must come to an end."

—Muhammad Ali, "The Measure of a Man." (Spring 1967).



Ask the groups to share their reactions. Lead a discussion drawing out different viewpoints about war, imperialism, and militarism.

Where This Tool Comes From

Written by Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society.
www.ruckus.org.
 with help from Daniel Hunter, Training for Change.
 Pillars of war exercise adapted from David Solnit's similar
 exercise.



Alternatives to the Military

TIME 15 MINUTES

GOAL

To uncover alternatives to military service that would appeal to people who are considering joining the armed forces.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Divide the group up into smaller groups of about four or five people. Give each group some markers and a large piece of newsprint paper.



Let's take a little time to think about alternatives to military service. This can be helpful information to be able to share with folks you may know who are considering enlisting.



Each group should start out by making a list of reasons why young people join the military. When you're making your list, consider the values that the military promotes through its advertising and marketing materials that (however truthful or untruthful they are) genuinely appeal to young folks who are considering joining up.

Make sure to think about the many different groups that the military targets with its advertising. You can also think about reasons why young people you know have enlisted.



Give the groups about five minutes to work on their lists, or wait until the energy in the room has died down.



Now that you have your list of reasons people join, take some time to think of other jobs or careers that would uphold the values or satisfy the reasons on which young folks base their decision to join. Try to list an alternative job next to each reason. If you know the requirements needed to get that alternative job, list them as well. If you can, be specific and focus on what is available in your own community or region.



Give the groups time to finish their lists. Then have each group share back two or three alternatives, trying not to repeat ones that other small groups have shared. You can cut this short or let it go on longer, depending on how much time you have available.





How was that process for you? Was it difficult to empathize with the reasons the military is appealing? How was it trying to think of appealing alternatives? Do you feel like you could present those alternatives to young people you know? How important do you think it is to know alternatives to military service and how to get those jobs?

Where This Tool Comes From

Written by Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society.
www.ruckus.org.



Evaluation

TIME 10 MINUTES

GOAL

To get feedback on the training, so it can be improved for next time.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Draw a t-shaped chart with + and – symbols as headers of the two columns. Ask the group to give feedback on the training, listing positive aspects and parts that they would change or improve.



This next exercise is a really important one for me. Your feedback will help me improve this training for the next group. Take a little time to list aspects of the training that you appreciated, and parts that you might change or improve.



Closing

TIME 10 MINUTES

GOAL

To help folks reflect a little on the emotions that came up for them during the training.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Ask everyone to stand up in a circle. Go around the circle, and have everyone share one word that describes how they feel now at the end of the training. Thank everyone for coming.



Before You Enlist Fact Cards

HANDOUT

<p style="text-align: center;">COLLEGE FUNDING</p> <p>Over 2 million veterans have paid into the GI Bill program since 1985. Over 700,000 of these veterans are not eligible at all due to their discharge. Only 43% of those who signed up for the military and began paying in to the program have received anything. 57% have received nothing at all.</p> <p>Sam Diener and Jamie Munro, "Military Money for College: A Reality Check" in July-August 2005 issue of Peacework Magazine. http://www.afsc.org/pwork</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">COLLEGE FUNDING</p> <p>Recruiters don't always explain that a soldier has to make a \$1,200 nonrefundable deposit within the first year of his/her service to be eligible for GI Bill money. There is no refund of the \$1,200. Virtually nobody opts out, but many never receive benefits.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">COLLEGE FUNDING</p> <p>No Benefits and Out \$1,200: One woman we know became pregnant after serving overseas for one year. She was discharged and denied all GI Bill benefits. Not only did she not receive a refund of her \$1200 paid into the GI Bill, she is now paying back her entire enlistment bonus - with interest! She was placed in the reserves, so technically she can still be called up for war with no hope of ever receiving college money.</p> <p>Veteran's Testimony provided to AFSC National Youth and Militarism Staff</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">COLLEGE FUNDING</p> <p>Even if one only considers grants, what the Pentagon spends on college assistance each year is less than 2.9% of civilian federal grant aid for college.</p> <p>Sam Diener and Jamie Munro, "Military Money for College: A Reality Check" in July-August 2005 issue of Peacework Magazine. http://www.afsc.org/pwork</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">COLLEGE FUNDING</p> <p>(figures for 2004 for comparison) Average cost of public college: \$11,354 / year. Average cost of private college: \$27,516 / year. Average GI Bill benefit: \$5,540 / year. Maximum GI Bill benefit: \$9,306 / year</p> <p>Sam Diener and Jamie Munro, "Military Money for College: A Reality Check" in July-August 2005 issue of Peacework Magazine. http://www.afsc.org/pwork for GI Bill figures.</p> <p>College Board's Trends in Higher Education Series. "Trends in College Pricing:2004" www.collegeboard.com for college cost figures.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">COLLEGE FUNDING</p> <p>GI Bill money is counted as a resource when applying for financial aid. School grants (i.e., "free" money) are reduced dollar for dollar, leaving veterans with the same amount to pay out of pocket even with GI Bill money available except in the case that tuition is so low GI Bill money covers all or most of tuition.</p>



<p align="center">DISCRIMINATION AND SEXISM IN THE MILITARY</p> <p>75% of blacks & 67% of Latinos report experiencing racial discrimination in the military.</p> <p>US Department of Veterans Affairs, "National Survey of Veterans," 2001.</p>	<p align="center">DISCRIMINATION AND SEXISM IN THE MILITARY</p> <p>Military women, across the enlisted force and officer corps in both the Active and Reserve Components, are more likely to be members of a racial minority group than are military men. In fact, 39 percent of the women in the Active Components enlisted force are members of racial minority groups.</p> <p>Population Representation in the Military Services, 2004 http://www.dod.mil/prhome/poprep2004/summary/summary.html</p>
<p align="center">DISCRIMINATION AND SEXISM IN THE MILITARY</p> <p>African Americans comprised a much smaller proportion of officers (9 percent) than of enlisted members (21 percent)</p> <p>Population Representation in the Military Services, 2004 http://www.dod.mil/prhome/poprep2004/summary/summary.html</p>	<p align="center">DISCRIMINATION AND SEXISM IN THE MILITARY</p> <p>Latinos make up 11.47% of today's military - 9.49% of enlisted ranks; only 3.8% of officers - but 13.35% of the population of 18-44 year olds.</p> <p>Population Representation in the Military Services, 2003 http://www.dod.mil/prhome/poprep2003</p>
<p align="center">DISCRIMINATION AND SEXISM IN THE MILITARY</p> <p>According to the Veterans Health Administration's own Military Sexual Trauma National Report for the period between January 1 and March 31 of 2006, 1,586 women veterans and 1,379 male veterans receiving care at a VHA facility reported that they had either been sexually assaulted or sexually harassed at some time while on active duty service.</p> <p>Callie Wright, "Suzanne, Sara, and Military Sexual Trauma" From Draft Notices, July-September 2006 www.comdsd.org</p>	<p align="center">DISCRIMINATION AND SEXISM IN THE MILITARY</p> <p>Under "don't ask, don't tell" homosexual discharges rose every year but one since the policy was implemented in 1992 - until the U.S. went to war in Afghanistan and Iraq. In 2001, there were nearly twice as many homosexual discharges as in 1992, before "don't ask, don't tell" took effect.</p> <p>"Gays and Lesbians at War: Military Service in Iraq and Afghanistan Under "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" by Nathaniel Frank. Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military. 2004</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">LIFE AFTER MILITARY SERVICE</p> <p>The Pentagon estimates that as many as 100,000 combat veterans nationwide will suffer from mental issues ranging from depression and anxiety to the more debilitating post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Soldiers described the symptoms of PTSD as: "sudden, ferocious bouts of rage, utter detachment, anxiety attacks accompanied by shortness of breath, and increased perspiration and rapid eye movement. They complained of relentless insomnia, racing thoughts, self-loathing, blackouts, hallucinations and the constant reliving of war through flashbacks by day and nightmares at night."</p> <p>New York Times, 12/16/04 and "Behind the Walls of Ward 54", www.Salon.com</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">MILITARY CONTRACTS</p> <p>Section 9b of the military enlistment contract states that anything in the contract can change at any time: "Laws and regulations that govern military personnel may change without notice to me. Such changes may affect my status, pay, allowances, benefits, and responsibilities as a member of the Armed Forces REGARDLESS of the provisions of this enlistment/reenlistment document."</p> <p>Armed Forces of the United States, "Enlistment/Re-enlistment Document," January 2001.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">MILITARY CONTRACTS</p> <p>Section 8c of the military enlistment contract implicitly acknowledges that recruiters may make false promises: "The agreements in this section and attached annex(es) are all the promises made to me by the Government. ANYTHING ELSE ANYONE HAS PROMISED ME IS NOT VALID AND WILL NOT BE HONORED." [emphasis in original]</p> <p>Armed Forces of the United States, "Enlistment/Re-enlistment Document," January 2001.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">MILITARY CONTRACTS</p> <p>Sgt. Emiliano Santiago enlisted in the National Guard as a junior in high school at the age of 18. At age 27, three weeks before his eight-year enlistment ended, he was told his term of service was being prolonged under the stop-loss policy. He was sent to Afghanistan and told that his enlistment had been extended 27 years until 2031*. Santiago is not alone. At least 7,000 soldiers had been affected by the stop-loss policy and sent to either Afghanistan or Iraq.</p> <p>SF Chronicle, Friday, April 8, 2005 article by Bob Egelko</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">MILITARY CONTRACTS</p> <p>Section 9c of the military enlistment contract says that the length of service can change in the case of war: "In the event of war, my enlistment in the Armed Forces continues until six (6) months after the war ends, unless my enlistment is ended sooner by the President of the United States."</p> <p>Armed Forces of the United States, "Enlistment/Re-enlistment Document," January 2001.</p>	



Before You Enlist

HANDOUT

There are many facts to consider before enlisting in the armed forces. Recruiters do not always tell the whole truth about what life in the military – and afterwards – will be like. Here is some information to clarify the picture that military recruiters paint.

COLLEGE FUNDING

- Over 2 million veterans have paid into the GI Bill program since 1985. Over 700,000 of these veterans are not eligible at all due to their discharge. Only 43% of those who signed up for the military and began paying in to the program have received anything. 57% have received nothing at all. ¹
- Recruiters don't always explain that a soldier has to make a \$1,200 nonrefundable deposit within the first year of his/her service to be eligible for GI Bill money. There is no refund of the \$1,200. Virtually nobody opts out, but many never receive benefits.
- No Benefits and Out \$1,200: One woman we know became pregnant after serving overseas for one year. She was discharged and denied all GI Bill benefits. Not only did she not receive a refund of her \$1200 paid into the GI Bill, she is now paying back her entire enlistment bonus - with interest! She was placed in the reserves, so technically she can still be called up for war with no hope of ever receiving college money. ²

COLLEGE FUNDING

- Even if one only considers grants, what the Pentagon spends on college assistance each year is less than 2.9% of civilian federal grant aid for college. ³
- (figures for 2004 for comparison)
 - Average cost of public college: \$11,354 / year.
 - Average cost of private college: \$27,516 / year.
 - Average GI Bill benefit: \$5,540 / year.
 - Maximum GI Bill benefit: \$9,306 / year⁴
- GI Bill money is counted as a resource when applying for financial aid. School grants (i.e., "free" money) are reduced dollar for dollar, leaving veterans with the same amount to pay out of pocket even with GI Bill money available except in the case that tuition is so low GI Bill money covers all or most of tuition.

¹ Sam Diener and Jamie Munro, "Military Money for College: A Reality Check" in July-August 2005 issue of Peacework Magazine. <http://www.afsc.org/pwork>

² Veteran's Testimony provided to AFSC National Youth and Militarism Staff

³ Sam Diener and Jamie Munro, op. cit.

⁴ Sam Diener and Jamie Munro, op. cit., for GI Bill figures.

College Board's Trends in Higher Education Series. "Trends in College Pricing:2004" www.collegeboard.com for college cost figures.



DISCRIMINATION AND SEXISM IN THE MILITARY

- 75% of blacks & 67% of Latinos report experiencing racial discrimination in the military.¹
- Military women, across the enlisted force and officer corps in both the Active and Reserve Components, are more likely to be members of a racial minority group than are military men. In fact, 39 percent of the women in the Active Components enlisted force are members of racial minority groups.²
- African Americans comprised a much smaller proportion of officers (9 percent) than of enlisted members (21 percent)³
- Latinos make up 11.47% of today's military - 9.49% of enlisted ranks; only 3.8% of officers - but 13.35% of the population of 18-44 year olds.⁴
- According to the Veterans Health Administration's own Military Sexual Trauma National Report for the period between January 1 and March 31 of 2006, 1,586 women veterans and 1,379 male veterans receiving care at a VHA facility reported that they had either been sexually assaulted or sexually harassed at some time while on active duty service.⁵
- Under "don't ask, don't tell" homosexual discharges rose every year but one since the policy was implemented in 1992 - until the U.S. went to war in Afghanistan and Iraq. In 2001, there were nearly twice as many homosexual discharges as in 1992, before "don't ask, don't tell" took effect.⁶

LIFE AFTER MILITARY SERVICE

- The Pentagon estimates that as many as 100,000 combat veterans nationwide will suffer from mental issues ranging from depression and anxiety to the more debilitating post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Soldiers described the symptoms of PTSD as: "sudden, ferocious bouts of rage, utter detachment, anxiety attacks accompanied by shortness of breath, and increased perspiration and rapid eye movement. They complained of relentless insomnia, racing thoughts, self-loathing, blackouts, hallucinations and the constant reliving of war through flashbacks by day and nightmares at night."⁷

¹ US Department of Veterans Affairs, "National Survey of Veterans," 2001.

² Population Representation in the Military Services, 2004
<http://www.dod.mil/prhome/poprep2004/summary/summary.html>

³ Ibid.

⁴ Population Representation in the Military Services, 2003 <http://www.dod.mil/prhome/poprep2003>

⁵ Callie Wright, "Suzanne, Sara, and Military Sexual Trauma" From Draft Notices, July-September 2006 www.comdsd.org

⁶ "Gays and Lesbians at War: Military Service in Iraq and Afghanistan Under "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" by Nathaniel Frank. Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military. 2004

⁷ New York Times, 12/16/04 and "Behind the Walls of Ward 54", www.Salon.com



MILITARY CONTRACTS

- Section 9b of the military enlistment contract states that anything in the contract can change at any time: "Laws and regulations that govern military personnel may change without notice to me. Such changes may affect my status, pay, allowances, benefits, and responsibilities as a member of the Armed Forces REGARDLESS of the provisions of this enlistment/reenlistment document."¹
- Section 8c of the military enlistment contract implicitly acknowledges that recruiters may make false promises: "The agreements in this section and attached annex(es) are all the promises made to me by the Government. ANYTHING ELSE ANYONE HAS PROMISED ME IS NOT VALID AND WILL NOT BE HONORED." [emphasis in original]²
- Sgt. Emiliano Santiago enlisted in the National Guard as a junior in high school at the age of 18. At age 27, three weeks before his eight-year enlistment ended, he was told his term of service was being prolonged under the stop-loss policy. He was sent to Afghanistan and told that his enlistment had been extended 27 years until 2031*. Santiago is not alone. At least 7,000 soldiers had been affected by the stop-loss policy and sent to either Afghanistan or Iraq.³
- Section 9c of the military enlistment contract says that the length of service can change in the case of war: "In the event of war, my enlistment in the Armed Forces continues until six (6) months after the war ends, unless my enlistment is ended sooner by the President of the United States."⁴

¹ Armed Forces of the United States, "Enlistment/ Re-enlistment Document," January 2001.

² Ibid.

³ SF Chronicle, Friday, April 8, 2005 article by Bob Egelko.

⁴ Armed Forces of the United States, op. cit.



Recruiter Reality

HANDOUT

Military recruiters operate under a quota system, and have found their duties increasingly difficult in light of the ongoing tragedies in Iraq and Afghanistan. Individual quotas vary, but a typical recruiter is expected to enlist 10 to 12 high school juniors and seniors per school, per year.¹

Despite their persistence and pervasiveness, many are falling short of their goals. This has led to more aggressive recruiting in high schools, especially in those serving low-income and minority students.²

In 2005, 5 of 10 military components — the Army, Army Reserve, Army National Guard, Air National Guard, and Navy Reserve — missed their recruiting goals by a range of 8-20%. The entire military missed its target of 299,333 enlistees by 25,057 (8.4%).³

Overall, this has resulted in the lowering of recruitment standards and has led to a high level of misconduct on the part of recruiters:

- The Army's statistics show cases of wrongdoing by recruiters increased by more than 60% in 2004. Recruiters and former Army officials attribute the rise in abuse to the extraordinary pressure being put on recruiters, who must meet quotas of roughly two recruits a month. The strain is breeding not just abuses, they said, but stress-related illnesses, damaged marriages and even thoughts of suicide among some.⁴
- For the first time since 1998, the Army has lowered its standards, accepting more recruits without high school diplomas.⁵
- "Interviews with more than two dozen recruiters in 10 states hint at the extent of their concern, if not the exact scope of the transgressions. Several spoke of concealing mental-health histories and police records. They described falsified documents, wallet-size cheat sheets slipped to applicants before the military's aptitude test, and commanding officers who look the other way. And they voiced doubts about the quality of some troops destined for the front lines."⁶

¹ *PBS News Hour with Jim Lehrer*, aired 12 May 2005 www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/military/jan-june05/recruiting_5-12.html

² *Ibid.*

³ GAO-06-134: "Military Personnel: DOD Needs Action Plan to Address Enlisted Personnel Recruitment and Retention Challenges," November 2005. www.gao.gov/new.items/d06134.pdf

⁴ Cave, Damien, "Army to Spend Day Retraining Recruiters," *New York Times*, 12 May 2005

⁵ Cave, Damien, "For Recruiters, a Hard Toll From a Hard Sell" *New York Times*, 27 March 2005

⁶ Cave, Damien, "Army Recruiters Say They Feel Pressure to Bend Rules," *New York Times*, 3 May 2005



- "Recruiters in Ohio, New York, Washington, Texas and New England said that as long as an offending recruiter met his enlistment quota of roughly two recruits a month, punishment was unlikely. 'The saying here is, "Production is power.'" the recruiter in northern Ohio said. 'Produce, and all is good.'"¹
- By the Army's own count, there were 320 substantiated cases of "recruitment improprieties" in 2004. The offenses varied from threats and coercion to false promises that applicants would not be sent to Iraq. 1,118 recruiters (nearly 20% of active recruiters) were investigated for improprieties in 2004.²
- The Army's figures also show that it is not punishing offenses as it once did. In 2002, roughly half of recruiters who were found to have committed improprieties intentionally or through gross negligence were relieved of duty; in 2004, that number slipped to 3 in 10.³
- Former Marine Staff Sgt. Jimmey Massey recruited in the Appalachian Mountains of western North Carolina. During his years as a recruiter, he signed up 75 young men, mostly working class. Massey often used deceptive techniques he called "frauding" to get young men to sign up, which included coaching new recruits to lie about medical conditions and drug use on entrance forms. "When I got on recruiting duty, I was quickly taken underneath a senior recruiter's wing and explained the ropes of how real recruiting works," said Massey. Of the 75 young men Massey signed up, he says 70 of them were the result of frauding.⁴

This handout was researched and written by Nick Raymond and Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society, www.ruckus.org.

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *NOW*, 25 November 2005. www.pbs.org/now/transcript/transcriptNOW147_full.html



The Poverty Draft

HANDOUT

The military fell short of its 2005 recruitment goals by 8.4%¹, which has led to more aggressive recruiting in high schools, especially in those serving low-income and minority students.² One of the biggest lures that recruiters use is the promise of funding for higher education and job training. Recruiters aim to target communities that are in the highest need of these programs.³

Even the Pentagon's own numbers seem to suggest that. Nearly two-thirds of all recruits come from low-income communities. Responding to questions from PBS' program *NOW*, the Pentagon claims it reaches out "to all elements of the population," but adds, "We are an all-volunteer force and as such, our demographics reflect who's choosing to serve."⁴

The Pentagon spent an estimated \$4 billion on recruiting in 2005 — over \$13,000 for each kid who enlisted.⁵ The majority of recruits were from neighborhoods with median incomes at or below the national average (\$47,387)⁶. In 2005, 71.6% of black recruits, 65.7% of Hispanic recruits, and 58.3% of white recruits came from below-median income neighborhoods.⁷

By comparison, the federal government only spent an average of \$1,115 per student (aged 3 –21) enrolled in school or college in 2004.⁸

The federal government spent \$72,945,000,000 on education in 2005.⁹ The military budget for 2005 was \$474,434,000,000.¹⁰ This represents 6.5 times as much money spent on war as on education.

This handout was researched and written by Nick Raymond and Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society, www.ruckus.org.

¹ GAO-06-134: "Military Personnel: DOD Needs Action Plan to Address Enlisted Personnel Recruitment and Retention Challenges," November 2005. www.gao.gov/new.items/d06134.pdf

² Hayasaki, Erika. "Military Recruiters Targeting Minority Teens" *Los Angeles Times*, 5 April 2005

³ United For Peace, "Counter Recruitment 101" <http://unitedforpeace.org/article.php?id=2873>

⁴ *NOW*, 25 November 2005. www.pbs.org/now/transcript/transcriptNOW147_full.html

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ National Priorities Project, "Army Recruits by Neighborhood Income, 2004" www.nationalpriorities.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=221

⁷ National Priorities Project, "Army Recruits by Race According to Neighborhood Income, 2004" www.nationalpriorities.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=220

⁸ US Census report: "Enrollment Status of the Population," October 2004.

www.census.gov/population/soedemo/school/cps2004/tab01-01.xls

⁹ Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2007.

www.whitehouse.gov/omb/budget/fy2007/education.html

¹⁰ Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2007.

www.whitehouse.gov/omb/budget/fy2007/defense.html



U.S. Military Timeline

HANDOUT

"Of course our whole national history has been one of expansion...that the barbarians recede or are conquered...is due solely to the power of the mighty civilized races which have not lost the fighting instinct." ~Theodore Roosevelt (Zinn, 1997, p. 489).

By their own admission, the military has authorized foreign deployment of American troops over 200 times since 1798. The history of U.S. militarism is a history of expansion for economic growth: the Pentagon's "Defense Planning Guidance" draft (1992) promotes "discouraging the advanced industrialized nations from challenging our leadership or even aspiring to a larger global or regional role." Pentagon analysts say that this dominance can ensure "a market-oriented zone of peace and prosperity that encompasses more than two-thirds of the world's economy" (Parenti, 1995, p.37).

A selected-but characteristic-list of military interventions and covert actions follows:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>U.S. Involvement</u>
1492 - Present	North America	Murder, relocation, repression and extermination of indigenous peoples
1492 - 1807	West Africa	Trans-Atlantic slave trade
1846 - 1848	Mexico	Invasion; annexation of vast territory
1855 - 1857	Nicaragua	William Walker institutes forced labor & legalizes slavery
1898 - 1899	Cuba / Puerto Rico	"Liberation" from Spanish rule
1899 - 1902	Philippines	Philippine-American War
1903	Panama	Aid to rebellion; occupation of Canal Zone
1909 - 1933	Nicaragua	Various military occupations
1914	Mexico	Bombing and occupation of Vera Cruz
1915 - 1934	Haiti	Marine occupation; establishment of U.S. protectorate
1917 - 1918	Germany	Military intervention
1945 - 1952	Japan	Nuclear bombing; occupation
1946	Panama	U.S. Army School of the Americas opens
1947 - 1948	Italy	propaganda campaign against Italian Communists
1947 - 1950s	Greece	Anticommunist intervention in Greek civil war
1945 - 1954	Italy	Occupation of Trieste
1945 - 1953	Korea	Military buildup & Korean War
1946 - 1952	Albania	Anticommunist guerrilla campaign
1949	Syria	CIA installs dictator Husni al-Zaim
1953	Iran	CIA overthrow of prime minister Mohammad Mossadeq
1953 - 1954	Guatemala	CIA overthrow of president Jacobo Arbenz
1958	Lebanon	Intervention against rebels
1950 - 1964	Vietnam	Military "advisors" assist anticommunist forces
1960s	Guatemala	Green Berets train Guatemalan army in counterinsurgency tactics
1960 - 1964	Congo	Aided assassination of Patrice Lumumba



1961	Cuba	Bay of Pigs invasion
1962 - 1973	Laos	"Secret War"
1963	Dominican Republic	CIA overthrow of president Juan Bosch
1963	Vietnam	U.S. backs overthrow of president Ngo Dinh Diem
1965 - 1967	Indonesia	Overthrow of president Sukarno
1964 - 1973	Vietnam	Full-scale intervention
1966	Ghana	CIA overthrow of president Kwame Nkrumah
1967	Bolivia	Green Berets help track down and assassinate Che Guevara
1968 - 1975	Cambodia	Bombings; "Incursion"; Khmer Rouge takeover
1972 - 1975	Iraq	U.S. funds & supplies Kurdish insurgents
1973	Chile	CIA overthrow of president Salvador Allende
1975 - 1978	Zaire	Support for brutal dictator Mobutu Sese Seko
1975 - 1993	Angola	Destabilization; military intervention in civil war
1975 - 1999	East Timor	Support for Indonesian invasion
1979 - 1989	Nicaragua	CIA organizes and trains right-wing contra insurgents
1979 - 1992	Afghanistan	Support for anti-Soviet mujahadin
1981 - 1989	Libya	Bombings; assassination attempts on president Muammar al-Qaddafi
1982 - 1984	Lebanon	Marines and Navy bomb and attack PLO forces
1983	Grenada	Invasion and occupation
1982 - 1988	Iran/Iraq	Military intervention; chemical weapons provided to Iraq
1986	Bolivia	Military assistance against coca growers
1989	Panama -	Invasion and removal of dictator Manuel Noriega
1990 - 1991	Iraq	"Gulf War" establishes military presence in Middle East
1990s	Colombia	"Plan Colombia" establishes military presence
1992 - 1994	Somalia	U.S. leads UN occupation during civil war
1993	Iraq	Bombings
1994	Haiti	Restoration of president Jean-Bertrand Aristide
1995	Bosnia	U.S. leads NATO bombing of Bosnian Serbs
1998	Iraq	Bombings
1998	Afghanistan	Missile attack on former CIA terrorist training camps
1998	Sudan	Missile attacks destroy pharmaceutical plant
1999	Serbia	U.S. leads NATO bombing of Serbian government
2001 - Present	Afghanistan	Overthrow of Taliban; installation of Karzai regime
2002 - Present	Philippines	Combat missions against Marxist insurgents
2003 - Present	Iraq	Invasion; occupation

Adapted by Ruckus Society from:
 William Blum: Killing Hope (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 2003)
 Mark Rosenfelder: "US Intervention in Latin America" www.zompist.com/latam.html
 Dr. Zoltan Grossman: "From Wounded Knee to Iraq: A Century of U.S. Military Interventions" <http://academic.evergreen.edu/g/grossmaz/interventions.html>
 Parenti, Michael. (1995). Against Empire. San Francisco: City Lights Books.
 Zinn, Howard. (1997). The Zinn Reader. New York: Seven Stories Press.



How A Recruiter Gets Your Number

This is an informational session on how military recruiters operate. Specific attention is given to tools that help recruiters get access to youth through: school access, ASVAB, No Child Left Behind, JAMRS, and JROTC. We look at each of these recruitment tools as an opportunity for activists to campaign against military recruitment. We also look at what appeals to people about going into the military, and look at the truths behind the values recruiters promote and the promises they make.

TOTAL TIME

3 hours

WORKSHOP GOALS

- Understand the reality of military recruiters' jobs
- Examine the values that military recruiters and recruitment materials promote to get youth to enlist
- Learn five key mechanisms of recruitment: ASVAB, NCLB, JROTC, JAMRS, and school visits
- Understand the ways people have chosen to counter those mechanisms
- Strengthen skills in talking to key decision makers and allies about limiting recruiter access

HOW TO PREPARE

- Set up the room and arrange the chairs in a circle.
- Write up the five recruitment tools listed in the activity "Recruitment Tools" each on a separate newsprint paper.
- Write up the Agenda and Goals on large sheets of newsprint.
- Make enough copies of the handouts (they are at the end of this section, page 81).
- Collect ten recruitment ads, from the internet, magazines, brochures, etc. Make sure they target a number of different audiences.
- Bring lots of markers, masking tape, and extra newsprint.
- Prep with your co-facilitator: review the agenda, divide up sections, and get to know each other's training style and strengths.
- Check in with the organizer of the training to find out more about the group's experience level and the makeup of the group, and to confirm logistical arrangements.



How a Recruiter Gets Your Number (continued)

WORKSHOP DESIGN

Time	Exercise & Description
15 minutes	<p>Introduction To create a welcoming space; set a tone and energy for the workshop that invites sharing and participation. To introduce yourself as a trainer, and let the group know who you are. And to get everyone on the same page, and let people know what to expect from the training.</p>
20	<p>Recruiter Job Description To help the group get a sense of the job recruiters are tasked with, to set the background for the rest of the training.</p>
20	<p>Recruitment Imagery Examine the values that military recruiters and recruitment materials promote to get youth to enlist.</p>
20	<p>Recruiter Lines Look at the truth behind promises recruiters make to youth.</p>
10	<p>Break</p>
45	<p>Recruitment Tools To explore five key ways recruiters get access to schools and youth, and look at ways the group can limit or stop recruiter access.</p>
30	<p>Counter-Recruitment Fishbowl Strengthen skills in talking to key decision makers and allies about limiting recruiter access.</p>
10	<p>Evaluation To get feedback on the training so it can be improved for next time.</p>
10	<p>Closing To provide a sense of closure for the training.</p>







Introductions

TIME 15 MINUTES

GOALS

- To create a welcoming space; set a tone and energy for the workshop that invites sharing and participation.
- To introduce yourself as a trainer, and let the group know who you are.
- Get everyone on the same page, and let people know what to expect from the training.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE


-  Introduce yourself to the group, giving information about the group you're with, your history with counter-recruitment work, what drives you to train on this issue, and any other personal information you want to share.
-  Please introduce yourselves briefly, and say one thing you hope to learn from this training, and one word you would use to describe a military recruiter.
-  Pay attention to what people say they want to get out of the training. It can help you see how experienced the group is with this work, and help you to tailor the training and debrief the exercises to meet people's interest.
-  Write the agenda and goals (listed below) up on two large pieces of newsprint and hang them somewhere visible. When writing up the agenda, there is no need to write the name or description of each exercise. Just give a broad overview. Review the goals, then the agenda.

Agenda

- Introductions
- Recruiter Job Description
- Recruitment Imagery
- Recruiter Lines
- Break!
- Recruitment Tools
- Counter-Recruitment "Fishbowl"
- Evaluation
- Closing

Workshop Goals

- Understand the reality of military recruiters' jobs.
- Examine the values that military recruiters and recruitment materials promote to get youth to enlist, and look at the truth behind recruiter's promises.
- Learn five key mechanisms of recruitment: ASVAB, NCLB, JROTC, JAMRS, and school visits.
- Understand the ways people have chosen to counter those mechanisms.

-  Does anybody have any questions? Does everyone feel comfortable with the agenda and goals? Can we move ahead with the training?




Recruiter Job Description


TIME 20 MINUTES


GOAL


To help the group get a sense of the job recruiters are tasked with, to set the background for the rest of the training.


RUNNING THE EXERCISE


-  We're going to start the training by looking at the job that a military recruiter is asked to do.


-  Divide the group up into small groups of four or five. Hand everybody a copy of the "Job Opening" worksheet.


-  I've just handed out an outline for a military recruiter help wanted ad. I want everyone to take a few minutes to fill in the details of the description, working on your own. Then we'll take time to share back to your small group.


-  Give the group five minutes to fill out the worksheet. Once everyone has finished, ask each small group to share their job descriptions with one another. Give the small groups five minutes.

-  Let's share our job descriptions. We'll start by making a list of the job responsibilities you named.


-  Make a list on a sheet of newsprint of the job duties people described. Try to keep time short.


-  Now let's look at the qualifications and skills you thought a recruiter should have.


-  Make a list on a sheet of newsprint of the job qualifications people listed. Again, try to keep it short.

-  What feelings came up for you as you thought about the realities of a recruiter's job? Was it difficult for anyone to do this activity?



-  Give everyone a copy of the "Recruiter Reality" handout. Give them a few minutes to look over it.

-  What is your reaction to the information on this handout? Why do you think it's important to think about a recruiter's job?

-  Guide the discussion, helping the group make the connection between increased pressure on recruiters and the increase in recruiter transgressions.

Where This Tool Comes From

Tools designed by Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society.
www.ruckus.org.

"Job Opening" exercise adapted from the Help Wanted exercise
in "Military Myths: Combating Military Recruitment in the
Classroom" by NYCORE, New York Collective of Radical
Educators, 2003.



Recruitment Imagery

TIME 20 MINUTES

GOAL

Examine the values that military recruiters and recruitment materials promote to get youth to enlist.

MATERIALS NEEDED

Ten recruitment ads, from the internet, brochures, or magazines & newspapers, that are targeted toward different populations (for example: women, Latinos, White men, extreme sports athletes, immigrants, etc.)

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Divide the group into ten small groups or pairs, depending on the size of the group.



Military recruitment materials promote very specifically chosen values and ideas about what it means to serve in the military, and what soldiers experience while in service. Looking at them can help us see what is appealing to young people who enlist, as well as see what kind of myths recruiters are promoting in order to get young people to sign up.



Give each group a recruitment ad and a large piece of paper and markers.




Take some time with your small group to look at the recruitment ad I have given you, and to make two lists. The first list is the *values* that are hidden or coded within the advertisement, and the second list is the *image of life in the military* that the advertisement promises. You can draw observations from the text and from the images, colors, perspective, anything. Finally, your group should give the image a title and name the target audience for this advertisement.



Let the groups work on the lists until they seem done. Ask each group to share their title and who their ad was targeted to, and name two main values that they saw reflected in their advertisement, and two images of life in the military. Ask groups not to repeat. Write their observations on two lists on large sheets of newsprint. At the end, ask if anything is missing from the lists.



 What do you notice about these lists?

 Discuss the group's reactions to the exercise, acknowledging that much of what recruitment ads say is not true, but despite this they are still effective. Encourage folks to consider how important values, storytelling, and imagery are to how people make decisions in life, sometimes despite knowing facts to the contrary.

Where This Tool Comes From

Tools designed by Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society. www.ruckus.org




Recruiter Lines


TIME 20 MINUTES

GOAL

To look at the truth behind the promises recruiters make.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE


 We've just developed a pretty thorough assessment of how military recruitment materials focus around values. Recruiters themselves also draw on the same values when deciding what to say to young people they talk to. I'd like to take a little time looking at exactly what recruiters say.


 Everybody please stand up. We're going to do a type of brainstorm called a "mingle." Everyone will walk around the room, circulating randomly, changing direction and speed as you feel it. Periodically, I'll call out "stop." You should find the closest person to you and each take a turn saying a line that a recruiter might use. Try to speak from the recruiter's voice, and think about ways that recruiters focus in on particular desires or values potential recruits may hold.

When both people have shared their lines, start moving around again until I say "stop" the next time, and then you'll repeat, sharing a new line with a new person. Everybody clear? Ok, start mingling!

 Let the group do the mingle brainstorm, calling out "stop" at least five times. At the end get a sampling of the kinds of lines people heard.

Give everyone a copy of the handout "Before You Enlist."

 I've just given you a handout full of the kinds of facts that counter-recruitment activists often tell youth. This fact-sharing approach is very different from the ways that military recruitment tends to function. What are the benefits and challenges to using the fact-sharing approach?

 Lead the group through the process of assessing the benefits and challenges to fact-sharing (as opposed to operating in a values based framework). If it helps, draw a chart with a plus and a minus at the top, and list responses in the chart.

Where This Tool Comes From

Tools designed by Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society. www.ruckus.org



Recruitment Tools


TIME 45 MINUTES

GOAL

To explore five key ways recruiters get access to schools and youth, and look at ways the group can limit or stop recruiter access.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE

 Now that we've looked at what recruiters do on an individual level, let's take a look at the systems that help recruiters get access to youth. We'll look at five main tools. All five of the tools that we'll focus on today are things that youth and community members can campaign to stop.

 Hang up all five pre-written newsprint sheets: School Visits, JROTC, ASVAB, NCLB, and JAMRS. Go through each tool, uncovering the sheets one by one, first asking the group what they know about the tool, and then asking a volunteer to read out the main points written on the newsprint:

School Visits

- Depending on the school system, recruiters can come to schools anywhere from once a year to every day.
- Recruiters table in cafeterias, run extracurricular activities, make classroom presentations, host assemblies, get recruiting vans to come to school and set up interactive displays.

JROTC

- Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps
- Established by Congress in 1916 to develop citizenship and responsibility in young people
- According to Department of Defense testimony before Congress, approximately 40 percent of those who graduate from JROTC eventually join the military.

NCLB

- No Child Left Behind, Section 9528
- High schools receiving federal funding are **REQUIRED** to turn over student contact information (name, address, phone number) to local military recruiters unless parents or the student (sometimes only if they are over 18, depending on school district rules) opt out in writing.





ASVAB


- ✦ Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery
- ✦ ASVAB is the admissions and placement test for the U.S. military. Though designed to help place new military recruits in their military jobs, it is administered in high schools (often mandatory) as career placement testing.
- ✦ The military uses ASVAB to do targeted recruitment of students in the 11th or 12th grade who meet minimum standards.
- ✦ Recruiters consider the ASVAB to be a helpful tool in streamlining the recruitment process. By using school time, they find qualified recruits, saving themselves time and money.

JAMRS


- ✦ Joint Advertising Market Research & Studies
- ✦ Central database of personal information of 30 million U.S. residents who are 16-25 years of age.
- ✦ Provides recruiters with young people's names, addresses, email addresses, cell phone numbers, ethnicities, social security numbers and areas of study.
- ✦ Designed to "help bolster the effectiveness of all the Services' recruiting and retention efforts." (www.jamrs.org)
- ✦ Conducts market research on attitudes towards enlistment.


 Check for understanding on all of these five tools, and answer clarifying questions.


 Divide the group up into five small working groups. Assign a recruitment tool to each group. Give everyone a copy of the handout, "How a Recruiter Gets Access" to help them.


 Take time with your small group to think of at least five solid ways you could reduce recruiter access to students by taking action or campaigning against the tool you've been assigned. Be creative. Think of different power holders you could target, and different groups you could mobilize to take action. Make sure to consider whether the campaign or action is something you think people in your community would get behind. Write them up clearly, because we'll share back by showing our posters the other groups!





-  When the groups are finished, ask them to choose one representative to stand with the poster. Have the five representatives stand around the room holding their poster, while the rest of the group moves around the room reading the posters and asking questions. Give the representatives a chance to switch out so they can read the other groups' posters, too.

-  Did anybody see any new ideas they had never heard of or thought of doing before? What were some of your favorites? What made them seem so effective?

-  Ask people to self-select and stand near the poster that had an idea they'd like to explore more deeply. If there are a lot of ideas people want to explore, try to get folks to negotiate and agree on just a few ideas they'd like to look at more deeply.

-  Thinking specifically about your chosen idea, talk with your group and figure out who the key decision maker is for your topic, and who your allies could be to help you succeed with the idea. (For example: if the idea is a school board resolution to limit recruiter access to two visits per year in each school, the school board is the decision maker, and the PTA, teachers, student groups, etc. are the allies.)

-  Gather a few decision maker ideas and a few ideas for good allies from the different working groups. Tell the group you'll use the ideas in the following exercise.

-  Share the handout "Campaign Goals" with the group, as a concrete list of campaign ideas they can take home with them.

Where This Tool Comes From

Tools designed by Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society. www.ruckus.org




Counter-Recruitment "Fishbowl"


TIME 30 MINUTES


GOAL


Strengthen skills in talking to key decision makers and allies about limiting recruiter access.


RUNNING THE EXERCISE


-  Talking to key decision makers and allies is an important part of changing the ways recruiters are allowed access to our youth. Knowing what to say to those groups can be a challenge, though. Often, the values you frame the issue around are as important (if not more) to those groups than facts are. It's important to know how you're going to approach decision makers before you go in to a meeting. This next role-play will give us a chance to practice our approach.


-  In the previous exercise, you listed decision makers and allies who could influence a certain counter-recruitment goal you were working on. Who were some of the decision makers? Who were some potential allies?

-  Is there a specific group or person you would like to role-play speaking to?


-  Have the group choose a particular decision maker or member of an ally group.


-  We're going to set up what's known as a "fishbowl" role-play. Two people role-play in the middle of the room, and the rest of us circle around them creating a sort of fish bowl that we can watch them in. Lucky for the actors, if they get stuck, they can "tag out" of the fishbowl and invite someone else in to the center to try another approach or help them out of the situation they're in!


-  Check for understanding, and once everyone seems ready, ask for a volunteer to play the decision maker/ally and one to play the community member. Give them a moment to get into character, and then start the role-play! Let the role-play go on until group energy dies down a bit.


-  Thanks for doing the role-play. Did anyone feel like they had, or saw, a moment of success? What made that moment successful?



-  Help the group to draw out different elements that make talking to decision makers and allies more successful. If you care to, you can also look at what minimizes success, and how to make sure to address/correct those aspects. Make sure that "framing the issue" is one of the ways to be successful.

-  Strategist Bill Moyer, who created the Movement Action Plan, suggests that for each issue, there is a Myth, a Secret Reality, and a Widely-held Value. For example, in regards to gun control, there is a saying that "Guns don't kill people, people kill people." The secret reality is that more guns around results in more deaths. And the widely held value related to the issue is that living is better than getting killed. If you learn to frame your issues by acknowledging the myth, and presenting an alternative that addresses the secret reality by promoting a widely held value, you can more easily win allies.

-  Take some time to think about your issue and figure out specifically what the myth, secret reality, and widely held values are, and how you would frame the issue based on that breakdown.

-  Ask a few folks to share their breakdown. If you have time, you can do the fishbowl again, practicing once more with the new framing. Ask for reflections on how helpful Moyer's framing tool is.

Where This Tool Comes From

Tools designed by Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society. www.ruckus.org

"Myth, Secret Reality, Widely Held Value" framework by Bill Moyer. Gun control example from Training for Change.



Evaluation

TIME 10 MINUTES

GOAL

To get feedback on the training, so it can be improved for next time.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Draw a t-shaped chart with + and – symbols as headers of the two columns. Ask the group to give feedback on the training, listing positive aspects and parts that they would change or improve.



This next exercise is a really important one for me. Your feedback will help me improve this training for the next group. Take a little time to list aspects of the training that you appreciated, and parts that you might change or improve.



Closing

TIME 10 MINUTES

OBJECTIVE

To provide a sense of closure for the training.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Ask everyone to stand up in a circle. Go around the circle, and have everyone say one tool they will take with them from the training. Thank everyone for coming.



Before You Enlist

HANDOUT

There are many facts to consider before enlisting in the armed forces. Recruiters do not always tell the whole truth about what life in the military – and afterwards – will be like. Here is some information to clarify the picture that military recruiters paint.

COLLEGE FUNDING

- Over 2 million veterans have paid into the GI Bill program since 1985. Over 700,000 of these veterans are not eligible at all due to their discharge. Only 43% of those who signed up for the military and began paying in to the program have received anything. 57% have received nothing at all. ¹
- Recruiters don't always explain that a soldier has to make a \$1,200 nonrefundable deposit within the first year of his/her service to be eligible for GI Bill money. There is no refund of the \$1,200. Virtually nobody opts out, but many never receive benefits.
- No Benefits and Out \$1,200: One woman we know became pregnant after serving overseas for one year. She was discharged and denied all GI Bill benefits. Not only did she not receive a refund of her \$1200 paid into the GI Bill, she is now paying back her entire enlistment bonus - with interest! She was placed in the reserves, so technically she can still be called up for war with no hope of ever receiving college money. ²

COLLEGE FUNDING

- Even if one only considers grants, what the Pentagon spends on college assistance each year is less than 2.9% of civilian federal grant aid for college. ³
- (figures for 2004 for comparison)
 - Average cost of public college: \$11,354 / year.
 - Average cost of private college: \$27,516 / year.
 - Average GI Bill benefit: \$5,540 / year.
 - Maximum GI Bill benefit: \$9,306 / year⁴
- GI Bill money is counted as a resource when applying for financial aid. School grants (i.e., "free" money) are reduced dollar for dollar, leaving veterans with the same amount to pay out of pocket even with GI Bill money available except in the case that tuition is so low GI Bill money covers all or most of tuition.

¹ Sam Diener and Jamie Munro, "Military Money for College: A Reality Check" in July-August 2005 issue of Peacework Magazine. <http://www.afsc.org/pwork>

² Veteran's Testimony provided to AFSC National Youth and Militarism Staff

³ Sam Diener and Jamie Munro, op. cit.

⁴ Sam Diener and Jamie Munro, op. cit., for GI Bill figures. College Board's Trends in Higher Education Series. "Trends in College Pricing:2004" www.collegeboard.com for college cost figures.



DISCRIMINATION AND SEXISM IN THE MILITARY

- 75% of blacks & 67% of Latinos report experiencing racial discrimination in the military.¹
- Military women, across the enlisted force and officer corps in both the Active and Reserve Components, are more likely to be members of a racial minority group than are military men. In fact, 39 percent of the women in the Active Components enlisted force are members of racial minority groups.²
- African Americans comprised a much smaller proportion of officers (9 percent) than of enlisted members (21 percent)³
- Latinos make up 11.47% of today's military - 9.49% of enlisted ranks; only 3.8% of officers - but 13.35% of the population of 18-44 year olds.⁴
- According to the Veterans Health Administration's own Military Sexual Trauma National Report for the period between January 1 and March 31 of 2006, 1,586 women veterans and 1,379 male veterans receiving care at a VHA facility reported that they had either been sexually assaulted or sexually harassed at some time while on active duty service.⁵
- Under "don't ask, don't tell" homosexual discharges rose every year but one since the policy was implemented in 1992 - until the U.S. went to war in Afghanistan and Iraq. In 2001, there were nearly twice as many homosexual discharges as in 1992, before "don't ask, don't tell" took effect.⁶

LIFE AFTER MILITARY SERVICE

- The Pentagon estimates that as many as 100,000 combat veterans nationwide will suffer from mental issues ranging from depression and anxiety to the more debilitating post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Soldiers described the symptoms of PTSD as: "sudden, ferocious bouts of rage, utter detachment, anxiety attacks accompanied by shortness of breath, and increased perspiration and rapid eye movement. They complained of relentless insomnia, racing thoughts, self-loathing, blackouts, hallucinations and the constant reliving of war through flashbacks by day and nightmares at night."⁷

¹ US Department of Veterans Affairs, "National Survey of Veterans," 2001.

² Population Representation in the Military Services, 2004

<http://www.dod.mil/prhome/poprep2004/summary/summary.html>

³ Ibid.

⁴ Population Representation in the Military Services, 2003 <http://www.dod.mil/prhome/poprep2003>

⁵ Callie Wright, "Suzanne, Sara, and Military Sexual Trauma" From Draft Notices, July-September 2006 www.comdsd.org

⁶ "Gays and Lesbians at War: Military Service in Iraq and Afghanistan Under "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" by Nathaniel Frank. Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military. 2004

⁷ New York Times, 12/16/04 and "Behind the Walls of Ward 54", www.Salon.com



MILITARY CONTRACTS

- Section 9b of the military enlistment contract states that anything in the contract can change at any time: "Laws and regulations that govern military personnel may change without notice to me. Such changes may affect my status, pay, allowances, benefits, and responsibilities as a member of the Armed Forces REGARDLESS of the provisions of this enlistment/reenlistment document."¹
- Section 8c of the military enlistment contract implicitly acknowledges that recruiters may make false promises: "The agreements in this section and attached annex(es) are all the promises made to me by the Government. ANYTHING ELSE ANYONE HAS PROMISED ME IS NOT VALID AND WILL NOT BE HONORED." [emphasis in original]²
- Sgt. Emiliano Santiago enlisted in the National Guard as a junior in high school at the age of 18. At age 27, three weeks before his eight-year enlistment ended, he was told his term of service was being prolonged under the stop-loss policy. He was sent to Afghanistan and told that his enlistment had been extended 27 years until 2031*. Santiago is not alone. At least 7,000 soldiers had been affected by the stop-loss policy and sent to either Afghanistan or Iraq.³
- Section 9c of the military enlistment contract says that the length of service can change in the case of war: "In the event of war, my enlistment in the Armed Forces continues until six (6) months after the war ends, unless my enlistment is ended sooner by the President of the United States."⁴

¹ Armed Forces of the United States, "Enlistment/ Re-enlistment Document," January 2001.

² Ibid.

³ SF Chronicle, Friday, April 8, 2005 article by Bob Egelko.

⁴ Armed Forces of the United States, op. cit.



Recruiter Reality

HANDOUT

Military recruiters operate under a quota system, and have found their duties increasingly difficult in light of the ongoing tragedies in Iraq and Afghanistan. Individual quotas vary, but a typical recruiter is expected to enlist 10 to 12 high school juniors and seniors per school, per year.¹

Despite their persistence and pervasiveness, many are falling short of their goals. This has led to more aggressive recruiting in high schools, especially in those serving low-income and minority students.²

In 2005, 5 of 10 military components — the Army, Army Reserve, Army National Guard, Air National Guard, and Navy Reserve — missed their recruiting goals by a range of 8-20%. The entire military missed its target of 299,333 enlistees by 25,057 (8.4%).³

Overall, this has resulted in the lowering of recruitment standards and has led to a high level of misconduct on the part of recruiters:

- The Army's statistics show cases of wrongdoing by recruiters increased by more than 60% in 2004. Recruiters and former Army officials attribute the rise in abuse to the extraordinary pressure being put on recruiters, who must meet quotas of roughly two recruits a month. The strain is breeding not just abuses, they said, but stress-related illnesses, damaged marriages and even thoughts of suicide among some.⁴
- For the first time since 1998, the Army has lowered its standards, accepting more recruits without high school diplomas.⁵
- "Interviews with more than two dozen recruiters in 10 states hint at the extent of their concern, if not the exact scope of the transgressions. Several spoke of concealing mental-health histories and police records. They described falsified documents, wallet-size cheat sheets slipped to applicants before the military's aptitude test, and commanding officers who look the other way. And they voiced doubts about the quality of some troops destined for the front lines."⁶

¹ *PBS News Hour with Jim Lehrer*, aired 12 May 2005 www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/military/jan-june05/recruiting_5-12.html

² *Ibid.*

³ GAO-06-134: "Military Personnel: DOD Needs Action Plan to Address Enlisted Personnel Recruitment and Retention Challenges," November 2005. www.gao.gov/new.items/d06134.pdf

⁴ Cave, Damien, "Army to Spend Day Retraining Recruiters," *New York Times*, 12 May 2005

⁵ Cave, Damien, "For Recruiters, a Hard Toll From a Hard Sell" *New York Times*, 27 March 2005

⁶ Cave, Damien, "Army Recruiters Say They Feel Pressure to Bend Rules," *New York Times*, 3 May 2005



- "Recruiters in Ohio, New York, Washington, Texas and New England said that as long as an offending recruiter met his enlistment quota of roughly two recruits a month, punishment was unlikely. "The saying here is, "Production is power." the recruiter in northern Ohio said. 'Produce, and all is good.'"¹
- By the Army's own count, there were 320 substantiated cases of "recruitment improprieties" in 2004. The offenses varied from threats and coercion to false promises that applicants would not be sent to Iraq. 1,118 recruiters (nearly 20% of active recruiters) were investigated for improprieties in 2004.²
- The Army's figures also show that it is not punishing offenses as it once did. In 2002, roughly half of recruiters who were found to have committed improprieties intentionally or through gross negligence were relieved of duty; in 2004, that number slipped to 3 in 10.³
- Former Marine Staff Sgt. Jimmey Massey recruited in the Appalachian Mountains of western North Carolina. During his years as a recruiter, he signed up 75 young men, mostly working class. Massey often used deceptive techniques he called "frauding" to get young men to sign up, which included coaching new recruits to lie about medical conditions and drug use on entrance forms. "When I got on recruiting duty, I was quickly taken underneath a senior recruiter's wing and explained the ropes of how real recruiting works," said Massey. Of the 75 young men Massey signed up, he says 70 of them were the result of frauding.⁴

This handout was researched and written by Nick Raymond and Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society, www.ruckus.org.

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *NOW*, 25 November 2005. www.pbs.org/now/transcript/transcriptNOW147_full.html



Job Opening

HANDOUT

Fill in the blanks to create a military recruiter "help wanted" ad.

The U.S. Military seeks a

(qualities and adjectives to describe the person)

_____. Individuals must be
able to _____

(list the job responsibilities, including hours)

A qualified candidate has:

(list the experience and qualifications for the job)

Benefits include:



How a Recruiter Gets Access

HANDOUT

SCHOOL VISITS

Depending on the school district, recruiters can come to schools anywhere from once a year to every day. Recruiters table in cafeterias, run extracurricular activities, make classroom presentations, host assemblies, get recruiting vans to come to school and set up interactive displays.

The U.S. Army Recruiting Pamphlet 350-13: "School Recruiting Handbook" describes the importance of school visits for recruiters:

"The goal is school ownership that can only lead to a greater number of Army enlistments. Recruiters must first establish rapport in the schools. This is a basic step in the sales process and a prerequisite to an effective school program. Maintaining this rapport and establishing a good working relationship is next. Once educators are convinced recruiters have their students' best interests in mind the program can be effectively implemented."

Most recruiters, like Marine Sgt. Rick Carloss, follow the pamphlet to the word. He "is as familiar to students as some teachers at Downey High School. He does push-ups with students during P.E. classes and plays in faculty basketball games. During lunch, he hands out key chains, T-shirts, and posters that proclaim: 'Think of me as your new guidance counselor.'"¹

Story of Resistance:

On Sept. 17, 2005, youth, parents, and community activists attended the Seattle School Board meeting, and successfully pressured the Seattle school board to adopt a policy banning any recruiters who harass students or provide untrue or misleading information. Additionally, recruiters must have written permission from the principal to be on campus and must sign in and out every time they visit a school. All military recruiters must be in uniform, no recruiting is to occur in the classroom, and no private appointments can occur on campus. The policy also requires that whenever military recruiters are allowed to speak with students, organizations that promote alternatives to the military must be given equal access. (Seattle Post-Intelligencer, www.seattlepi.com).

¹ The Christian Science Monitor, April 19, 2005



JUNIOR RESERVE OFFICER TRAINING CORPS (JROTC)

JROTC, a military curriculum offered in almost 20% of American high schools, was established by Congress in 1916 to develop citizenship and responsibility in young people. Long limited to classrooms in conservative Southern states, JROTC is now in the midst of the largest expansion in its history.¹

In the wake of the 1992 Los Angeles riots, General Colin Powell convinced Congress to expand JROTC. He sold the program as a social remedy for the plight of "minorities living in crime-plagued ghettos". As a result, JROTC expanded from 1,500 schools to 3,500.² Under the standard JROTC contract, the school district must provide insurance, building facilities and maintenance, and must assume responsibility for paying instructors' salaries, employment taxes and benefits.³

Retired Rear Admiral Eugene J. Carroll criticized the expansion of the JROTC program, saying "It is appalling that the Pentagon is selling a military training program as a remedy for intractable social and economic problems in inner cities. Surely, its real motive is to inculcate a positive attitude toward military service at a very early age, thus creating a storehouse of potential recruits."⁴

According to Department of Defense testimony before Congress, approximately 40 percent of those who graduate from JROTC eventually join the military. 47 of the top 50 high schools providing African-American recruits (94%) have JROTC programs. 43 of the top 50 high schools providing Hispanic recruits (86%) have JROTC programs.⁵

54% of JROTC participants nationwide are students of color. JROTC graduates are recruited directly into the lowest military ranks.⁶

Story of Resistance:

For the past two years, community groups around the country have been organizing Opt-Out campaigns at their local high schools. Supported by groups like Military Free Zone (www.militaryfreezone.org) and Leave My Child Alone (www.leavemychildalone.org), who provide standard opt-out forms and advice on how to approach school officials, community members have been helping students and parents keep their private contact information from being shared with military recruiters. Organizers in Santa Cruz have even tried unsuccessfully to turn the tables, pushing their school district to make an Opt-In policy rather than an Opt-Out policy!

¹ David Goodman, "Recruiting the Class of 2005" in *Mother Jones*, Jan/Feb 2002
<http://www.motherjones.com/news/feature/2002/01/rotc.html>

² *My American Journey*, by Colin Powell, p. 541

³ www.projectyano.org/pdf/JROTC_cost.pdf

⁴ Retired Rear Admiral Eugene J. Carroll, deputy director of the Center for Defense Information, New York Times op-ed: <http://www.objector.org/jrotc/jrotcrecruits.html>

⁵ http://nationalpriorities.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=202&Itemid=61

⁶ <http://www.objector.org/awol/jrotc.html>



ARMED SERVICES VOCATIONAL APTITUDE BATTERY (ASVAB)

The Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery test (ASVAB), the admissions and placement tool for the U.S. military, is administered in over 14,000 schools throughout the U.S. It determines whether a potential recruit is qualified for the military and for certain military jobs. Offered free of charge to schools by the Pentagon, the test's primary aim in the secondary school environment is to identify pre-qualified leads for military recruiters.¹ The ASVAB school testing program is also called the Career Exploration Program and some students and community members may only know it under this name.

The DOD reported that over half of today's youth between the ages of 16 and 21 are not qualified to serve in the military because they fail to meet the military's entry standards.² The ASVAB helps to focus recruiters' efforts on eligible students, saving recruiters' time and energy at schools' expense:

"As a recruiter, one of your most important responsibilities will be arranging the ASVAB in your schools.... ASVAB is designed to provide the field recruiter with a source of leads of high school seniors and juniors qualified for enlistment into the Active Army and Army Reserve.... The ASVAB prequalifies potential applicants academically before more expensive and time-consuming medical and moral qualifications are done.... It identifies the best potential prospects for recruitment that allows recruiters to work smarter. The printout provides the recruiter with concrete and personal information about the student."³

NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND (NCLB)

The reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 2001, also known as the No Child Left Behind Act, imposes a number of requirements on schools receiving federal funding:

"ACCESS TO STUDENT RECRUITING INFORMATION - Each local educational agency receiving assistance under this Act shall provide, on a request made by military recruiters or an institution of higher education, access to secondary school students names, addresses, and telephone listings.

CONSENT - A secondary school student or the parent of the student may request that the student's name, address, and telephone listing not be released without prior written parental consent, and the local educational agency or private school shall notify parents of the option to make a request and shall comply with any request.

¹ <http://www.afsc.org/youthmil/thinking-of-enlisting/poverty-draft.htm>

² GAO-05-952: "Military Personnel: Reporting Additional Servicemember Demographics Could Enhance Congressional Oversight," September 2005

³ US Army Recruitment Pamphlet 350-13: "School Recruiting Handbook":



SAME ACCESS TO STUDENTS - Each local educational agency receiving assistance under this Act shall provide military recruiters the same access to secondary school students as is provided generally to post secondary educational institutions or to prospective employers of those students."¹

JOINT ADVERTISING MARKET RESEARCH & STUDIES (JAMRS)

JAMRS is a central database contracted by the Pentagon containing the personal information of 30 million U.S. residents who are 16-25 years of age.

Distributed five times each year, the JAMRS "High School Master File" contains contact information on nearly four million youth for a given class year, covering about 90% of the high school age population.²

"Our public programs help broaden people's understanding of Military Service as a career option. Our internal government programs help bolster the effectiveness of all the Services' recruiting and retention efforts."³

JAMRS collects names from the Selective Service System, private companies, the ASVAB testing program and through its websites www.todaymilitary.com and www.myfuture.com.

JAMRS creates advertising and public relations tools and conducts polls of youth and their "influencers" to determine enlistment propensity.

Written by Nick Raymond and Hannah Strange, The Ruckus Society, www.ruckus.org.

¹ Public Law 107-110, Section 9528, "Armed Forces Recruiter Access to Student Directory Information"

² <http://jamrs.org/programs/direct.php>

³ <http://jamrs.org/about/about.php>



Campaign Goals

HANDOUT

Campaign goals are specific and realistic.

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

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

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

- increase people's decision-making power or ability to control decisions (e.g., give students greater power over their own schools)
- naturally lead people to see how society could be different (e.g., winning suggests a logical next step which people will want to take)
- raise people's consciousness (i.e., help people see through the veil of lies of the current society)
- build people's confidence and capability so that they can make future wins (e.g., choosing an easy goal that is quickly winnable so our group/movement can increase its morale, its size, and its awareness of its own power).

Here are some examples of campaign goals related to counter-recruitment.

JROTC

- get a school board (or some respected mainstream group) to make a statement coming out against JROTC
- start an adventure club or exercise club (e.g., www.DemocracyGuard.org)

For schools that have it...

- get rid of it
- reduce number of students enrolled in it by X%
- stop JROTC instructors from teaching regular classes
- provide an alternative activism or physical education class (e.g., www.DemocracyGuard.org)

For schools that don't...

- make a policy that the school will never have a JROTC program (or prevent one from being started)

JAMRS

- make public the documents describing the JAMRS program, including where they get their information from
- target a group known to feed info into the JAMRS database and require they stop giving information
- force those companies to require permission to share the personal information collected on their forms
- pass shareholder resolutions opposing cooperation with JAMRS
- pressure local businesses or the city business association to come out against sharing information for that database
- get a congressional resolution/city resolution against this database



No Child Left Behind

- increase the number of students opting out by X% (consider framing the numbers: i.e., that more of our students meet with college recruiters than with military recruiters)
- pass a state or local requirement that all schools must offer opt-out information on their school emergency card
- pressure the school to refuse to provide information (and risk losing federal funding)
- adopt an "opt-in" rather than an "opt-out" policy at your school
- develop an opt-out form for your area
- start a student peace club to discuss counter-recruiting

ASVAB

- stop your school from using it
- organize X number of students to refuse the test,
- organize school administrators to choose Option 8
- require that all studies going into the ASVAB test (psychological, advertising) have to be public
- secure a report from the school system about why they administer ASVAB
- get a school board resolution against using ASVAB
- require that ASVAB is handed out with an explanation of its goals, its history, and whether the school has chosen to release students' contact information and scores to military recruiters
- offer ASVAB, but not as a mandatory test
- fundraise for the school system to provide an alternative test

Recruiter Access in Schools/Recruiting Vans

- require all recruiters to sign a behavior code if they want to come into the school (i.e., cannot carry guns, no homophobic slurs, etc.)
- ban recruiters from school grounds
- limit recruiter access to twice a year (i.e., on career fair days)
- restrict recruiters to certain areas of the school
- don't allow recruiters to sponsor extracurricular activities at the school
- convince the school to accept military brochures/pamphlets, but no recruiters
- promote equal access: a counter-recruitment activist may be present every time a recruiter is present
- offer a brown bag lunch series about "how I got my job" from different local parents and community members (who aren't employed by the military)
- get 50 teachers to refuse to allow recruiters in their classroom / get 300 students to say they refuse to speak to them / get 500 parents saying they don't want recruiters in the schools¹
- have an open debate between military recruiters and folks against school recruitment, sponsored by the school

¹ This could be a tactic, but also might be a campaign.



Core Organizing Skills

What is organizing and how do we do it? This workshop explains how organizing differs from other forms of social change (like service providing/advocacy). It then moves into specific skills for being persuasive, in settings such as school board meetings, and other skills for building relationships and becoming an effective organizer.

TOTAL TIME

3 hours

WORKSHOP GOALS

- Learn what is organizing and where and how it has been used
- Learn the four roles of social change (helper, advocate, organizer, rebel)
- How to adopt more of an organizing approach into counter-recruitment work
- How to build an organizing base and expand it through relationship-building
- How to be persuasive, such as when approaching school boards
- How to organize groups across lines of diversity

HOW TO PREPARE

- Set up the room and arrange the chairs in a circle
- Write up the agenda on large newsprint paper
- Make enough copies of the handouts (they are at the end of this section, page 107).
- Make sure the training is in a large room with movable furniture or open space



Core Organizing Skills (continued)**WORKSHOP DESIGN**

Time	Exercise & Description
10 minutes	Introductions & Agenda Review
25	Tornado Warning: Four Roles The four roles of social change activists
35	Organizing Timeline A look at how organizing has impacted our lives and a historical perspective on organizing
35	Relationship Mapping Examining the crucial importance of building relationships as an organizer
35	Elicitive Questions Practice of a foundational skill in strengthening relationships
35	Parallel Lines: How to be persuasive Practice at influencing a school board
5	Closing Circle



Introductions & Agenda Review

TIME 10 MINUTES

GOALS

To create a welcoming space; set a tone and energy for the workshop that invites sharing and participation.

To let people know who you are as a trainer

Reviewing the agenda gets everyone on the same page, and lets people know what to expect from the training.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Introduce yourself to the group, giving information about the group you're with, your history with counter-recruitment work, and any other personal information you want to share.



Please introduce yourselves briefly, and say one thing you hope to learn from this training.



Pay attention to what people say they want to get out of the training. It can help you see how experienced the group is with this work, and help you to tailor the training and debrief the exercises to meet people's interest.



Write the agenda (listed below) up on two large pieces of newsprint and hang them somewhere visible. When writing up the agenda, there is no need to write the name or description of each exercise. Just give a broad overview.

Agenda

- Introductions & Agenda Review
- Four Roles of Social Change
- Organizing History
- Relationship Mapping
- Organizing Skill #1: Elicitive Questions
- Organizing Skill #2: Being Persuasive
- Closing



Read the agenda aloud.



Does anybody have any questions?




Tornado Warning: Four Roles

TIME 25 MINUTES

GOALS

Learn about the four roles of social change activists
Appreciate the different roles while also contextualizing the remainder of the workshop

RUNNING THE EXERCISE

 I'm going to read a scenario. While you're hearing this scenario, think about the kind of response you'd make. Where are you immediately drawn in this situation?

The scenario:

In a Midwestern city in the U.S., a major tornado hits and knocks down a big manufactured home park. Almost forty people are still unaccounted for and might be trapped in the rubble. The city's response is terribly inadequate – both in terms of preparation for a disaster like this, and in terms of execution of its flawed plan. State and federal offices have the resources to respond, but are not adequately mobilized. The bungled relief effort highlights a number of broader issues about how the government at all levels responds, especially to working poor Midwesterners.

How do you change this dreadful situation? Take a quick moment to think what you would do if you lived in that city.

Now, I'm going to read four possible actions, and point to places in the room. If you are immediately drawn to this particular action, move over to that spot. First listen to them all, then think about which reaction you are most likely to take.

Possible actions:

1. People could be dying under the rubble and need help immediately. We should go to the park right now and try to help the rescue efforts. Even if we can't help them, there are probably children who need care and could use our help.
2. We need to get on city hall's case right away, and see what is keeping the authorities from doing their jobs. We know they could get the state and the feds in here right away. There are systems in the city and we need to make sure everyone has tried all the options.
3. We need to get people together to plan an action about all the needs that aren't getting met. What can the churches do? What can the Rotarians and the Chamber of Commerce do? We should bring the people who are suffering and allies together to put pressure on government to change the situation.



4. We can't let the government abuse people like this! Where's the governor and mayor? We need to raise our voices so they and the public can hear our outrage! Let's go camp on the state capitol grounds until he asks for a disaster declaration and gets the disaster relief funds flowing. We'll dramatize the loss of homes by setting up tents right where he has to look at them every day!



Assign each of the four roles to a corner in the room. Have people move there based on their immediate response to *this* situation. It may not always be an exact match, but tell people to pick which role best describes their impulse. If there are not enough people to fill a role, ask if a few people at least have an inkling in that direction, and could move over to that corner.

With people grouped by the four roles, explain that these responses are typical of four different roles that social activists often play: helpers, organizers, advocates, and rebels. Write these words up on the newsprint, but don't tell them which corner is intended to represent which role. Instead, ask them the following questions, one at a time. Allow two or three minutes for the groups to discuss their answers. Then ask them to share those succinctly in the large group.



Which of these four words do you think best describes your own group? Why are you in this spot? Would you be in this same spot if the scenario were different? How is this particular role critical in making social change happen?

What is a strength from this role? How is it effective?

From your position, what annoys you or concerns you when working with someone from one of the other positions? What would you say to the other roles about working with you?



If, after the first question ("associate your position with one of the four words on the newsprint"), two groups choose the same word to describe themselves, explore the differences. Re-read the response they selected to the tornado scenario, if necessary. Explore the differences. Pass out the handout "Four Roles Relating to Change" now, if you think it would clarify the roles. Otherwise wait.


You might mention that the first option is consistent with Helper role, second option with the Advocate role, third with Organizer, and fourth with Rebel.

Give the groups an especially long time to discuss the second cluster of questions.

Participants may change position if they discover they are in the wrong group for them.



After discussing all the questions in small groups, and reporting back after each discussion, bring everyone back together. Then pass out the handout "Four Roles Relating to Change" if you haven't already and talk about it in the large group.

 For this workshop, we'll be developing skills in the *Organizing* role. Each role is important and valuable. But for the purposes of this workshop, we'll be focusing on one.

Where This Tool Comes From

Written by Daniel Hunter with Betsy Raasch-Gilman, Training for Change (www.TrainingForChange.org).
Four Roles of Social Change adapted by George Lakey from Bill Moyer's Movement Action Plan (see his book *Doing Democracy*).



Organizing Timeline

TIME 35 MINUTES

GOALS

- Assist people to see the big picture of organizing and how it's worked in previous movements
- Give people a personal sense of the victories won through organizing

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



On the wall put a long strip of newspapers next to each other. Draw one large line from left to right that extends the entire way (this is the timeline).



We're going to look a little more deeply at how organizing has shown up in history and in our lives.

This line represents a timeline. On the left is as far back as we can go in this land's history. On the right is today. The task is to put up different campaigns/struggles/movements for social change that used organizing effectively.

On the timeline write the name of the campaign, struggle or movement. If you know the date, that's fine. But approximating it is just fine, too.



Ask for any questions of clarification. This task isn't about being exclusive or getting into debates about "what is social change" – so be loose about this.

After questions are answered, hand out markers for people to put up dates. (If the group is very large, you might facilitate this process by dates, to make room for people writing examples up. Most small groups should be able to manage themselves just fine.)

Eventually people will slow down putting up events or campaigns. Help them think of any they may be missing. (You are *not* aiming to make a complete history, however). Once people are done, invite them to stand around the timeline. Ask for volunteers to read out the various events, movements, campaigns and struggles.



What is it like making this timeline? How much do we generally learn about organizing history? Why do you think it is and isn't taught?



Facilitate a short conversation about organizing movements and their histories. Invite people to notice how these past movements affect their daily lives. (You can take clues on how to facilitate this section from the handout.) Pass out the handout "Organizing: Myth and Reality" and encourage people to discuss it.




Relationship Mapping

TIME 35 MINUTES


GOAL

Understand the role of an organizer more deeply

RUNNING THE EXERCISE

 At the heart of organizing is relationships. Organizers find people interested in the issue and give them ways to get as involved as they are willing to be. Good organizers give people chances to learn more skills. Essentially, organizers are helping people do what they want to do.

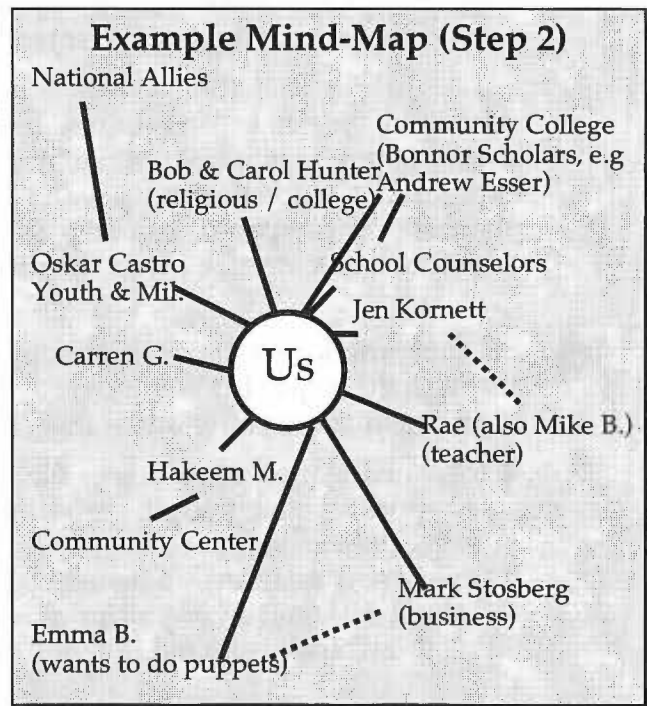
Here's a tool to look at communities and clarify the role of an organizer. It is called relationship mapping (based on a tool called mind-mapping). And here's how you do it:

 Model on the newsprint creating a relationship mind-map about an issue or community you work with.


Step 1: Put a big "Us" (or "Me") in the center of the newsprint.


Step 2: Put the names of different people and organizations that you have some relationship to. (Point out that you don't have to work closely with these people, because over time your relationship might be closer). Use connecting lines to draw the relationships.


Step 3: Look at the names and see if there are ways to clump some of the folks' interests. (For example, one clumping might be: Puppets, Street Theater, School Presentations, Leafleting, and Website). Connect the people in the clumps together, either by drawing lines in another color or circling them with the same color.





After modeling this process, give everybody a piece of paper to do this work individually. Suggest that they take counter-recruitment generally, or a particular counter-recruitment goal, as their issue. Allow 10 or 15 minutes. Give them a two-minute warning before time is up.


 Find someone else to work with. Share what you have come up with. Together, think about whether some of your potential allies might be missing.

 Walk around and notice if certain demographic groups are missing. Labor groups? Chicano youth groups? Community centers? Job centers? Academic allies? If people are stuck in certain sets of communities, it may be important to help people notice other groups and identify specific groups they might reach out to.

 Notice the demographics of the people and organizations on your sheet. Can you expand your thinking about your relationships beyond the obvious, and broaden the demographics? Who else do you need to reach out to? What relationships do you need to create or what relationships help you get there? I'll give you a few minutes to discuss this in pairs.

 The next step is to determine a strategy for what needs to happen next. Is there an event that will bring those groups together? Is something waiting to happen to mobilize these people around this issue that they care about? Take some time to think through your next steps with your partner.

 After another five to ten minutes, bring the group back together to share their most exciting ideas about organizing a counter-recruitment campaign. Explain that, while the group won't be able to go into depth right now in planning the campaign, you do want to hear a few highlights from the discussions. Hear some ideas, then turn the group's attention back to the tool.

 So, this process of relationship mapping: What have you learned from going through the steps? Do you have any questions or new thoughts about the role of an organizer, coming out of this exercise? Some key lessons:

- organizing means looking at the set of relationships; oftentimes that means supporting other people's relationships or building connections where none pre-existed;
- every new relationship opens up new potential avenues; depending on who is missing, an organizer may spend extra energy on certain relationships to expand in that direction.

Where This Tool Comes From

Written by Daniel Hunter, Training for Change 1501 Cherry St.
 • Philadelphia, PA 19102 USA (www.TrainingForChange.org).



Elicitive Questions

TIME 35 MINUTES

GOAL

Practice an organizing skill: elicitive questions

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Many of the things an organizer does depend on asking questions. Questions offer people a chance to consider things more deeply. We often ask questions casually: "What should we do? When should we do it?"

When used thoughtfully, though, questions can help expand people's perspectives and visions. That can happen in an empowering way: that is, without telling people "the answers" but inviting their own wisdom to show up.

When organizing, they can be an effective way of getting new information and new ideas.

For this session, we'll practice elicitive questions. You may have already heard me use various elicitive questions. Can you remember some of the questions I've asked?



If the group is having trouble, you might offer some examples. Write other examples the group can come up with on the board:

- What are some other examples of when that has happened?
- What parts of the proposal do you agree with?
- How did you reach the conclusion?
- What else?
- What would you like to do about it?
- What is a way of handling this that you have not suggested yet?
- Who else cares about this?
- What do you think that might be about?
- What might be a way to fix that?
- What seems most important to you when you think about it now?





What do these questions have in common?



Using the handout as a guide, help people understand what makes a question elicitive. They won't be able to successfully complete the next task until they understand this.




 If people are looking for a definition of elicitive questions, explain with a metaphor. Like an onion, people have layers. The top layer is that layer which is showing. Elicitive questions are used to help peel the onion and get a little deeper.


 Next, I invite everyone to stand up. We are going to practice elicitive questions together. You are going to move around the room and interact with one other person performing a specific task. This is called "mingling".


In this mingle you'll approach another person. One of you will ask an elicitive question about any topic that interests them. The other person will reply with a short answer. The person who asked the first question will ask *another* elicitive question. Reply. Then another question. Reply.

So the first person has asked three elicitive questions – the second two questions picked in light of what their partner said. Say thanks and find a new partner.

No discussion. No back and forth conversation. Three elicitive questions in a row and then find another partner.

 Participants then will walk around the room, having a brief interaction, thank their partner, find a new partner and repeat. Let the participants mingle for several minutes – at least until everyone gets several chances.

 Watch participants to make sure they are finding new partners. If you notice that some people are staying together longer, repeat the instruction to thank your partner and move on. (Staying together and having a conversation is a way to avoid taking risks. You can notice if this seems to be the case, and follow up in the debriefing, if you think it could help everyone in the group. Avoid shaming the pair(s) that stay together instead of mingling, though.)

 How was that? What was easy or challenging about it?

Where do you see the value of elicitive questions?

When we think about the value of empowerment in organizing, how can elicitive questions be useful when we speak to young people trying to make up their minds?

How are elicitive questions different from persuasion or giving advice? How might this be a particularly effective tool when working with groups across lines of difference, like race or class?

 Pass out the handout "Organizing with Elicitive Questions."



Parallel Lines: How to be Persuasive

TIME 35 MINUTES

GOALS


Build skills by trying new behaviors
Help participants learn how to be persuasive.

SPECIAL MATERIALS


Large room with movable furniture or open space

RUNNING THE EXERCISE

In parallel lines, participants work with a partner. All pairs practice simultaneously; none are being watched by any of the others. Participants are given a few minutes to try out different behaviors within their roles, and then the facilitator debriefs the entire group, looking for success stories. The whole process is repeated, switching roles.

 So, listening and questioning are very important organizing skills. There are times, though, when an organizer needs to be persuasive, too. We're going to look now at how to be persuasive.

Stand up and form two lines with equal numbers facing each other. Everybody should have a "partner" – one person standing in front of them. Shake hands with your partner across the line. That's the only person you'll be working with. To give yourselves as much audio room as possible, stretch out your arms to either side and touch fingertips with the person next to you.

 If there is an extra person without a partner, tell them to be an observer.

Explain that all those people in one line (call it the "A" line) will play one role, and all the people in the other line (call it the "B" line) will play a different role. Read the role for those in the "A" line, then the role for those in the "B" line. Answer any questions quickly. Give participants a moment or two to get into character, then have them begin!

Immediately after telling the participants to "begin!" they may take an awkward moment while they get into role. Let them take it.

Optional: You can adapt the roles in the parallel lines to respond directly to the group. For example, instead of a school board member it could be a hostile young person,

How to be Persuasive Roles

A Role:


You are yourself: a counter-recruiter trying to persuade a school board member to vote to close the JROTC class. Think about how you want to approach them and what your goal is for this interaction.


B Role:

You are a school board member who is skeptical about the idea of closing the JROTC. Think about your reasons for being skeptical.





community member, or other role. Or you can change the goals of the counter-recruiter to be more appropriate for the group's goals.

 While the role-play is going, watch for the kinds of interventions/behaviors various participants try out.


 After a few minutes cut off the role-play and begin the debrief. One sense of when to stop the parallel lines is when participants look like they have run out of ideas, or when several of the pairs have reached a natural conclusion. Debriefing goes through three stages: feelings, behaviors in the role-play and generalizing lessons.

Experimenting with new behaviors in parallel lines can be lots of things: stressful, exhilarating, engaging, scary, etc. Since people learn best when they are fully present, ask the A line of participants (who have been trying out opening lines) for feelings. Give them a chance to really express whatever comes up. You may have to press them to keep them from going straight to analysis, but it's worth persisting.

 And for those of you on B line, what did your partner do or say to get you interested in hearing more? What helped you get more interested?

 Help participants clarify what opening lines and behaviors helped (with enough detail so people could do it again!). Balance that with getting a wide range of different answers. (You can write various successes on newsprint, or have an observer do that.)

If the group has the time, run the role-play again, switching roles. Debrief with additional options on "what worked."

 Finally, have participants return to their seats. If you wrote a list on newsprint, review that list. Ask for stories from people's personal experiences or some of your own. Make sure to highlight some points:

- Keep checking in with the person you're talking with to see if they're with you. It's no use talking to them if you're not connecting with them.
- Keep asking questions of the person you're reaching out to to find out how your information is being received.
- Try to keep the door open for more. Even if somebody doesn't agree to everything you're asking for, a small concrete step from them is great, too.

Pass out the handouts "How to Be Persuasive" and "Making Your Case". If there's enough time, discuss it. Also hand out "Ten Things That Worked in My Rural NY State School" and "Working with School Boards."



Closing Circle

TIME 5 MINUTES

GOALS

Provide a ritual closing to end the workshop or session

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Get the group standing in a circle.



Let's close by sharing in a phrase or a short sentence a way that you want to apply what you learned during this workshop.

I'll start and then we'll go to my left. First I'll give you a moment to reflect on what you want to say.



Give people a moment and then model with a short sharing. Continue until everyone has shared.

Other options for the closing circle:

- something they learned today; *or*
- the attitude they hope to bring tomorrow; *or*
- the attitude they hope to bring to the group in the future; *or*
- something they appreciated about themselves that day; *or*
- some way that they shined today; *or*
- some area they hope to continue exploring and learning.



Four Roles Relating to Change

HANDOUT

by George Lakey (Training for Change) with thanks to movement strategist Bill Moyer

helper

EFFECTIVE INEFFECTIVE

- | | |
|---|--|
| Assists people in ways that affirm their dignity and respect | Believes charity can handle social problems, or that helping individuals can change social structures |
| Shares skills and brings clients into decision-making roles | Focuses on casualties and refuses to see who benefits from victimization |
| Educates about the larger social system | Provides services like job training which simply give some people a competitive edge over other people, without challenging the scarcity which gives rise to competition |
| Encourages experiments in service delivery which support liberation | |

advocate

EFFECTIVE INEFFECTIVE

- | | |
|--|---|
| Uses mainstream institutions like courts, city hall and legislatures to get new goals and values adopted | “Realistic politics”: promotes minor reforms acceptable to power-holders |
| Uses lobbying, lawsuits, elite networking/ coalition-building for clearly-stated demands, often backed by research | Promotes domination by professional advocacy groups that are top-down, patriarchal and are more concerned about organization’s status than the goal of their social movement. (Such agencies can undermine democracy in movements and disempower the grassroots.) |
| Monitors successes to make sure they are implemented | Identifies more with power-holders than with grassroots |
| | Does not like paradigm shifts |

rebel

EFFECTIVE INEFFECTIVE

- | | |
|---|--|
| Protests: says “no!” to violations of positive American values | Promotes anti-American, anti-authority, anti-organization rules and structure |
| Employs nonviolent direct action and attitude, including civil disobedience | Identifies as a lonely voice on society’s fringe; attached to that identity |
| Targets power-holders and institutions | Promotes change by “any means necessary” – uses tactics without realistic strategy |
| Puts problems and policies in public spotlight | Has victim attitude and behavior: angry, judgmental, dogmatic |
| Uses strategy as well as tactics | Uses rhetoric of self-righteousness, absolute truth, moral superiority |
| Does work that is courageous, exciting, risky | |
| Shows in behavior the moral superiority of movement values | Can be strident: personal upset more important than movement’s needs |

organizer

EFFECTIVE INEFFECTIVE

- | | |
|--|---|
| Believes in people power: builds mass-based grassroots groups and networks | Has tunnel vision: advocates single approach while opposing those doing all others |
| Nurtures growth of natural leaders | Promotes patriarchal leadership styles |
| Chooses strategies for long-term movement development rather than focusing only on immediate demands | Promotes only minor reform |
| Uses training to build skills, democratize decisions, diversify and broaden organizations and coalitions | Stifles emergence of diversity and ignores needs of activists |
| Promotes alternatives and paradigm shifts | Promotes visions of perfection cut off from practical political and social struggle |

Organizing: Myth and Reality

HANDOUT

MYTH: CHANGE COMES FROM A SUPERHERO WHO SWOOPS OUT OF THE SKY TO SAVE THE DAY

This myth makes us believe that we have to wait around for the superhero to appear. Because we are not superheroes, we can't change things.

For example, people often think that Rosa Parks was some superhero woman who sparked the whole civil rights movement. Actually, she was a normal woman who took a stand for justice for Black folks. Leaders do have a role, but there are many more; the movement is made up of all the people who take a part in it.

MYTH: MOVEMENTS HAPPEN LIKE A BIG EXPLOSION – ALL OF A SUDDEN, USUALLY FOLLOWING A CRISIS

In the Rosa Parks myth, we hear that one day, hard-working Rosa Parks was tired, decided she didn't want to give up her seat on a city bus to a White person, and out of the blue, a movement happened. This gives us the idea that movements explode out of nowhere.

The truth is that Rosa Parks was an experienced civil rights organizer who had been in the movement for awhile. Others before her had refused to give up their seats, but the timing of her action matched the situation.

The groundwork was laid by Rosa Parks along with women like Jo Ann Robison and the Women's Political Council and pastors like Rev. E. D. Nixon. They had built up mechanisms and relationships so that when Rosa Parks took her action, they were ready with phone numbers to call, resources to make leaflets calling for a boycott, and the framework with which to carry out the bus boycott.

It's that groundwork that is organizing.

REALITY: ORGANIZING TAKES TIME, CREATES RELATIONSHIPS, AND HAS MADE LOTS OF CHANGES IN THE WORLD

Take a look at a few of the victories of social movements. This is just a sample – it doesn't include all the social movements by working people for freedom of speech, the concept of the weekend, child labor laws, health and safety laws, and much more.



If you have ever worked for a minimum wage job...

Workers organized and fought for the implementation of a minimum wage so that, legally, bosses had to pay workers at least a certain amount.

If you have ever worked a living wage job...

Workers in some cities have even succeeded in getting a living wage –the wage that gives workers enough money to survive comfortably. In Oakland, state contracted employees fought and won a living wage in 1999.

If you or anybody you know has ever taken an ethnic studies class...

Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, and Asian American youth led school walkouts and building occupations in the 1960s to demand more community control over our schools. These strikes led to the creation of the ethnic studies programs in many high schools and colleges across the country.

If you have gotten gas at a Chevron station...

In 2000, youth organizers in Northern California forced the Chevron corporation to agree to stop funding the movement to pass the legislative bill Prop 21 (which proposed draconian penalties for juvenile crime) as a result of their organizing efforts.

If you have ever ridden the bus...

Black community organizers led a city-wide bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama which successfully desegregated public transportation in 1956.

If you or somebody in your family voted in the last election...

Women and Black people led massive campaigns for the right to vote. Women won the vote nationwide in 1920. African-Americans won the right to vote, first after the Civil War and then again in 1964 with the passage of the Civil Rights Act.

If you are wearing anything right now that is Nike, Gap, Old Navy, Guess, Reebok, Esprit, Banana Republic, or Levis...

All these companies use sweatshop labor – they exploit workers to make a bigger profit. In 1995, Asian American immigrant advocates led a successful campaign against Jessica McClintock, whose sweatshop workers manufacture party dresses. As a result of their organizing, the workers won back wages for laid off garment workers; money for an education fund for garment workers; state literature to inform garment workers of their rights; and a hotline for garment workers to report abuse by their employers.

Adapted by Daniel Hunter from School of Unity & Liberation's
Political Education Workshop Manual.
(www.schoolofunityandliberation.org).



Organizing with Elicitive Questions

HANDOUT

Effective organizing helps people get what they want; helps people want what is consistent with their values; and clarifies and aligns their values. An important tool for accomplishing all this is elicitive questions.

Elicitive questions benefit both the person asking them and the person answering. The person asking the questions gets information – and information is an organizer's life blood! Elicitive questions help you understand people who disagree with you. By asking rather than arguing, you get their perspective; discover how they are framing the issue; find common ground with unexpected allies; and collect data. In that way they can strengthen relationships.

Elicitive questions encourage the person being asked to express their assumptions and beliefs. They assist people to look beneath the surface, like peeling a layer of an onion.

Elicitive questions are ones which:

- avoid simple yes or no answers
- avoid "why" ("why" questions often stir up resistance or allow people to wax philosophical, and to speculate)
- connect people deeper with their own selves
- create motion and options
- are not about having a right or wrong answer
- are short, simple sentences.

Examples of elicitive questions:

- Specifically, when has that happened?
- What parts of the proposal do you agree with?
- How could you imagine us working together?
- What would it take to convince you to...?
- How did you reach that conclusion?
- What jumps out at you when you look at this information?
- What else?

Attributes of Elicitive Questions

Seven attributes of what Fran Peavy calls "strategic questions." They:

1. create motion,
2. create options,
3. avoid "Why" ("Why" questions often elicits *resistance*. "Why are you doing this" can invite people to rationalize or make up a reason.)
4. avoid "Yes or No" answers
5. are empowering
6. ask the unaskable question, and
7. are simple sentences (long complex questions are not nearly as powerful as easy to digest elicitive questions)

From Fran Peavy in "Strategic Questioning: An Experiment in Communication of the Second Kind" (2001).

By Daniel Hunter with Betsy Raasch-Gilman, Training for Change incorporating ideas from "Strategic Questioning: An Experiment in Communication of the Second Kind" by Fran Peavy (available from Crabgrass at 3181 Mission Street #30; San Francisco, CA 94110; crabgrass@igc.org)



How to Be Persuasive

HANDOUT

Persuasion is the art of helping people change their behaviors and/or attitudes in the ways you want. You generally can be more persuasive when the other person or people have a good opinion of you, and trust you to some extent. Similarly, if the other party wants you to have a good opinion of them, they are more likely to be persuaded by your arguments. The key to being persuasive lies in creating, affirming, and maintaining your relationship with your listeners.

BE "FOR" SOMETHING

Negativity often turns people off. Look for ways to describe your vision, preferred outcome, or solution to the problem. Avoid tearing down without offering alternatives.

PRESENT BOTH SIDES OF THE QUESTION

Lay out the opposing point of view as fairly and thoroughly as you can. With tone of voice and with content, demonstrate that you respect the opposition, before you offer your own opinion or solution.

ADDRESS THE OBJECTIONS OF THE LISTENERS

Listen for their reservations, and consider them carefully. The listeners have important reasons for thinking and acting in the ways they do. When you show that you take their interests seriously, your listeners may consider new ways to get those interests met.

REFER TO YOUR COMMON GROUND

Acknowledge the goals, beliefs, and past that you share with your listeners. For example, "We have the same basic concern, here – we seem to tackle it differently, though."

KEEP A REFLECTIVE, THOUGHTFUL PACE

Let the other people finish their sentences and their thoughts; don't interrupt. Take your time in making your own points. Cover one point, then let the other person have a turn at talking.

USE HUMOR

Find ways that you can laugh together. Poke fun at yourself and at the situation – though not at your listeners. Teasing can backfire, and it can win friends.

KNOW YOUR KEY POINTS, AND COME BACK TO THEM

Note when your arguments seem to connect with your listeners. Repeat and elaborate on those points. Repeat your strongest argument as you finish up.

Written by Betsy Raasch-Gilman, based on "Understanding Your Conflict Management Style" by Speed B. Leas (Washington, D.C.: The Alban Institute, 1985)



Making Your Case

HANDOUT

- 1. Be yourself.** If you're uncomfortable doing this, say so. If one part of what you're pitching is more attractive than another part to you personally, admit it. You don't need to act the role of a stereotyped "salesperson"; just let yourself be who you are, caring about something, and inviting them to care also.
- 2. Make sure this is an OK time to talk.** It's basically a waste of breath to talk with someone who is preoccupied with worries or homework or a date or getting to work. Ask if they have a few minutes, and if not, ask for a better time.
- 3. Keep checking in to see how they are receiving your message.** Ask, "Does that make sense?" "Do you think that matters?" "Can you picture yourself joining us?" "What hesitations would you have about it?" "What would you need to know in order for this to make sense to you?" "How can I persuade you to come with us for this action?" Remember, the beautiful thing about talking with them (as opposed to handing them a leaflet) is that you can pay attention to them, to their interests and concerns.
- 4. If there's stuff you don't know, acknowledge it and offer to get back to them with the information.** Your honesty makes you more trustworthy than trying to gloss over something.
- 5. Prepare yourself to hear some "no's".** Figure that there are certain to be "no's" and getting a "no" moves you on to someone more likely to say "yes." Remember, they are not saying "no" to your worthiness as a person; they are just saying "no" to this project. When you can accept a "no," you are more likely to relax and enjoy the interaction.
- 6. Remember that they haven't said "No" until they've said it.** When they leave the door open by saying "I'll think about it," "I might be busy that day," "That's not the kind of thing that grabs me," etc., keep the door open yourself. Try saying things like "How can I get you more information?" "As you think about it, what might tilt you in favor of doing it?" "When will you know more about your schedule - would it be OK if I got back to you?" etc.
- 7. Thank them for their time whether they've said yes or no.** Today's nay-sayer may be tomorrow's yea-sayer for another action or event, partly depending on whether you accepted them for where they are. You don't need to be righteous - the cause is just. You can just be yourself.

Written by George Lakey, Training for Change
(TrainingforChange.org)



Ten Things That Worked at My Rural NY State School

HANDOUT

1. SPEAKING AT SCHOOL BOARD MEETINGS

I use them as a public forum to bring up various issues, including the No Child Left Behind military recruitment problems. Attending meetings is efficient, as they are public; minutes are recorded which you should get a copy of; and all the top administrators are present. Remember the Superintendent of Schools in most school systems is the person in charge; principals just oversee buildings. Hold the Superintendent responsible and accountable whether s/he likes it or not, but be polite and respectful.

2. WRITTEN POLICY MATERIALS

Read the written policy your school has on its website or other places; use their own words against them as necessary to protect students. Ask for the Student Handbook and Code of Conduct and they will sometimes reveal statements that you could make use of. For instance, by definition, the recruiters should be treated as visitors at my school, but they were given special treatment instead. Point this out at a public meeting.

3. RESEARCH, READ AND KNOW YOUR SUBJECT MATTER

This does worlds of good, as you will have oodles more knowledge than the administrators. I really think a lot of them, if they were simply better educated on this subject (by us parents and students), might realize that our concerns are legitimate and react more appropriately. Take information with you and read bits and pieces to them. Give the paperwork to the board clerk to be included with the minutes.

4. REALIZE YOUR POWER BASE IS VERY BIG

This NCLB law states schools receiving federal funds must provide student [contact] information to [recruiters] upon request unless a parent or student opts out in writing. Compare federal funds received by your district with local and state support. You will discover the federal funds are minor in comparison to other sources. That provides you power if you make use of it.

5. DOCUMENT MILITARY ACTIVITY

Some may feel this is too aggressive, but it is a very good idea to document what you can with photographs. I only photographed objects, not people, and went in the building after hours. There were military posters in the hall, bookmarks in the library, and several military displays, plus a bumper sticker on a bus. I did the work silently, which of course was noticed, but what can they say or do? Call the police because a mom is taking pictures of bookmarks? Never photograph a person, especially a student, without written parental permission.



6. FINDING AN ALLY

I was lucky and found someone inside that was cooperative and an administrator. But it wasn't *all* luck, as I also didn't demonize school employees. You should assume you can find students, teachers, and maybe even an administrator or two that agree with you. Don't lump them all together; it's not fair or realistic.

7. BE LEGAL AND PERSISTENT

Join the ACLU and use them as a resource. You can accomplish a lot by chipping away at negatives one at a time. Pick ASVAB testing to start with as recruiters use the test to gain carefully targeted knowledge about each student to make their job easier. Get rid of it, as it really serves the military's needs. Also, enforce "equal access". Recruiters need to be in balance with what colleges do, or they have more than equal access. Although the school could argue otherwise, staying firm in asking for recruiters to be cut back to the same level as colleges will often work, especially if you demonstrate persistence and honest concern for students. Read the actual clause in the law; I think it supports what I am saying.

8. STAY AWAY FROM THE PRINCIPAL'S OFFICE

This will sound odd, but if you go into the office alone, you will regret it. There is no witness to anything, and that creates a negative situation for you. This advice has been learned the hard way, so please use board of education meetings instead. They will probably instruct you to see the principal, and the Superintendent may even try to belittle you, but you will have to tell them "no", you prefer an open format with witnesses. They will not like that, but they will adjust.

9. BE CREATIVE

Lots of things can be done: meeting with the librarian to make sure peace books are available; bringing in a Veteran for Peace to speak at school if the building use policy allows; helping students form a peace group; etc. Be creative and reach out for help at peace churches and others. I email articles into my board of education when I feel it's important to do so. This also serves to show them how much public opposition to recruitment in the schools is really out there. (They won't be wild about you for any of this.)

10. ALWAYS FOLLOW SCHOOL SECURITY AND VISITOR REGULATIONS IF YOU CAN FIGURE OUT WHAT THEY ARE

Make sure you know what they are supposed to be. Use the School Handbook and Code of Conduct to familiarize yourself with them. Those books may not be denied you, as it is your right to have them. Just be warned: Homeland Security has created a nightmare of "secure school" rules that can be unpredictable and leave you with bewildering headaches over what is allowed and what should be allowed under the U.S. Constitution. My school has not provided any of these rules to parents and so it is very hard to know the rules and equally difficult to have any access to students on-campus now that they are in place.

The author wishes to remain anonymous.



Working With School Boards

HANDOUT

Some tips for working with school boards from Albany, New York.

The people who constitute your school board are volunteers, unpaid and with varying degrees of ability and education. In some districts they are there out of sheer frustration with the previous board. At some point, members concluded the only way needed changes would be implemented was by running for office and being elected. In major metropolitan areas, political power is a strong consideration. In a few districts, widespread corruption as well as fraudulent use and theft of taxpayers money has been documented.

Running a school district is a very difficult endeavor. There is an enormous workload, extraordinary frustration, and seemingly endless meetings. Unfunded state and federal mandates, charter schools, poverty, late state budgets, and local governmental policies and politics all are juxtaposed with varying degrees of order and often very mixed educational results. School boards are concerned with all facets of the district, including the hiring and firing of personnel, school bus contracts, nutrition, health care, maintenance and construction, textbook review and purchases, sports, etc. The simple reality is that, as unpaid volunteers, they neither have the expertise nor time to be well versed in all aspects of the school district's business.

Given the complexity of this position, it is necessary to realize that your school board probably does not have the depth of knowledge needed to understand the issues you are concerned with, and it is your job to provide basic, honest and accurate information about your area of concern. This information will need to be given over and over again. Be patient and be persistent. Bring supporting documentation and provide copies to the district staff and board members. Allow for a normal learning curve, and [expect] that in many cases there will be a high level of fear and resistance.

GETTING STARTED

Attending school board meetings frequently is like joining a small and private club. Meetings are often poorly conducted and, for the most part, attended by stakeholders and a few independently concerned citizens. A heavily attended meeting usually is indicative of a community problem, accented by concern and dissatisfaction.

For example, Albany [NY] School District School Board meetings are open to the public and have an allotted time period for public comment. This allows parents and members of the community to speak directly to our school board. Each individual is given approximately three minutes to speak about his or her concern. The school board listens without comment. Questions are almost never asked by the board and rarely answered by the board when asked by a speaker. There is a practical reason for this. If a dialogue was permitted, little of the business of the school board would be accomplished. Sometimes there are ten or more speakers, so, even at three minutes apiece, a fair amount of time is used. Clearly, three minutes is limited but, nonetheless, very useful to provide a public forum for the presentation of several



good ideas or one idea with supporting facts. Provide hard copy documentation of facts and articles along with e-mail copy. You need not be a great public speaker to successfully use three minutes to help educate your board or the public.

Not all school boards have a time for public comment. In some areas school board meetings are broadcast on public TV.

KNOW YOUR BOARD

Get to know your board. Personal relationships are important, and understanding each school board member's needs and concerns can help facilitate reaching your objectives.

Clearly understand that your school board members need to know who you are and what your motivation is before you ask them to take an action or pass a resolution. This is particularly important when the resolution or action presented may be viewed as challenging the system and entails some risk on their part. Getting to know your board fully means a shared and respectful understanding of each other.

Board members are elected officials, and subject to the forces common to all political endeavors. Please understand, too, the board has a great deal of responsibility and some very real power. They have a tremendous impact on the quality of education and local taxation.

GETTING A RESOLUTION PASSED

If you wish to pass a resolution similar to the "Our Children's Future" (see below) resolution, or if you wish to place AFSC's "Do You Know Enough To Enlist?" brochure in your high school library or guidance office, there are a number of steps which will help lead to success. Some boards believe very strongly that the U.S. military offers economic opportunity for the poor (if not necessarily their own children, for whom they may see a more promising future).

1. Demonstrate economic realities, rather than argue morality. Explain in detail that the board will never have enough money for education if they don't address the disproportionate amount of federal resources being spent on the military at the federal level.
2. Learn why the military is not a viable economic opportunity for the poor or for the nation as a whole. Accurate information on the extensive levels of mental and physical disabilities incurred from Gulf War Syndrome, PTSD and combat, as well as subsequent rates of homelessness, alcoholism and suicide, will help present a truer picture of this alleged economic opportunity. Also consider whether military job skills are transferable to a civilian economy. Make it clear that there are few instances in which the GI Bill will actually pay a reasonable amount for college.
3. Talk to your board members, privately and individually. See how they stand. Ask them what would help them support your resolution or the placement of brochures in the library. Some will give you insight into the process and direct you to key personnel or places for public presentations.



4. Bring in parents as speakers, and address your concerns respectfully and forcefully. There really is a sense of urgency. Our children are dying.
5. Demonstrate the incompleteness and the dishonesty of the military recruitment literature and the recruitment process.
6. Do outreach to the students of your school. Work with existing student groups.
7. Don't forget the PTA. Provide them the educational material that will support and help them understand your position.
8. Union representatives are important folks. Show the union how JROTC staff cross picket lines and, in fact, do not support the goals and rights of citizens, particularly unions.
9. Keep speaking at school board meetings, not once or twice but every month for as long as it takes. Make a real commitment and follow through. It will take time for your message to make an impact. Be patient and persistent.
10. Look for allies in the community. When people indicate they are supportive, ask them gently and directly if they are willing to work with you on these issues. A broad range of support is very helpful.
11. Make it clear that it is time we stop exploiting children for the purposes of violence. Studies have demonstrated that the military preys on the young because their cognitive abilities have not fully matured.
12. Devise strategies for greater impact. If you are pressing the school board to change a specific policy, for example, have at least five speakers at a meeting, each covering one aspect of the issue. If well rehearsed, your speakers can provide a powerfully coherent presentation and demonstrate significant support in the community at the same time.
13. After educating your board, write the needed resolution. Ask your board to consider the resolution, pass it if they agree, and send it to local elected representatives. Bring a copy of the "Our Children's Future" resolution (see below), and tell your board this already has been passed by other responsible school boards. They will not be alone in taking this stand for children. Ask them to place the "Do You know Enough to Enlist?" brochure in your high school library.
14. Don't be timid. Raise issues about the war, racism, class, violence and sexism.
15. And, after a reasonable length of time if you aren't successful in getting the needed changes accomplished, find candidates who will make those changes and help them win election to the school board.

This brief report and the suggestions within it have worked in NY. Good luck!

Written by John Amidon, who is open to feedback and suggestions at: jajaja1234@aol.com



Our Children's Future Resolution

HANDOUT

WHEREAS as members of the elected Board of Education of the City School District of Albany, New York, it is our responsibility to provide quality public education for the children of our district. On occasions when the conduct of other government entities significantly hinders our ability to effectively and conscientiously carry out our responsibility, and when such conduct negatively impacts the prospects for our children's future, we believe it is our responsibility, in fact, our moral imperative to raise awareness and issue dutiful notice enabling a timely and sensible course of corrective action to be taken, and,

WHEREAS as individuals, we hold a wide range of opinions about the policies of our federal government, but, as members of the Board of Education, responsible for both the present education and future of our district's children, however, we are of one mind in our concern and distress about the unprecedented national deficit and the extent to which available resources are being diverted to military purposes. Specifically, we are concerned about the degree to which this has negatively impacted the availability of resources to provide for the quality education and well-being of our nation's children, and,

WHEREAS while we recognize that resources must be made available to support appropriate national interests, including the safety of our troops, we are resolved in our concern when resources are diverted from insuring an educational future for our children, and,

WHEREAS we believe that government officials at all levels should be mindful of this concern, must particularly, the President of the United States and our elected members in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives, and,

WHEREAS while Congress has requested unprecedented levels of accountability from local school districts, and imposed additional bureaucratic burdens upon them pursuant to the No Child Left Behind Legislation and the Individuals with Disabilities in Education Act, it has nevertheless failed to provide the resources necessary to fund its ambitious goals, and,

WHEREAS the federal government has failed to live up to its commitment to fully fund these programs, and as a result, schools across New York State receive \$1 billion less than was originally committed to them by the federal government.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Board of Education of the City of Albany, New York requests that the federal government honor its commitment to fully fund all legislation imposed on local school districts, including NCLB and IDEA and the President and Congress be mindful of this commitment and obligation as they continue to allocate resources for military expansion and otherwise.

The Resolution was passed by the Albany School Board on September 23, 2004.



Creating and Expanding Your Group

This workshop offers leadership skills training to help groups become more effective. It is especially for counter-recruitment groups looking to strengthen their own internal leadership and ability at organizing. It includes theory and skills about leadership development, decision-making and team-building.

A major section is devoted to expanding the group, especially how to reach out across lines of diversity, such as race and class.

TOTAL TIME

3 hours

WORKSHOP GOALS

- Learn the theory of Task/Maintenance leadership skills
- Learn about Mainstreams and Margins in groups
- How to reach out to ally groups, including how to build an organization that respects its margins
- How to be a leader: examining different leadership types/roles in a group
- How to improve the group's decision-making processes
- How to frame an issue to appeal to different allies/organizations

HOW TO PREPARE

- Set up the room and arrange the chairs in a circle
- Write up the agenda on large newsprint paper
- Make enough copies of the handouts (they are at the end of this section, page 135).
- Make sure the training is in a large room with movable furniture or open space
- Get pieces of paper to draw on (a larger piece of paper than standard school paper may encourage creativity)
- Get crayons, markers or other drawing tools
- Also have on hand pieces of paper, preferably thick – about one per person



Creating and Expanding Your Group (continued)**WORKSHOP DESIGN**

Time	Exercise & Description
10 minutes	Introductions & Agenda Review
45	Stepping Stones A team-building activity to examine what makes for a good team
30	River of Life: Draw the story of the life of this group Reflection on how decisions get made in this group
45	We/Not We (Mainstream/Margin) A look at the internal diversity of the group
20	Framing Challenge How to talk to different people
20	Parallel lines: Opening Lines Participants practice starting a conversation with interested students
10	Head, Heart, Hands Evaluation of the training and closing



Introductions & Agenda Review

TIME 10 MINUTES

GOALS

To create a welcoming space; set a tone and energy for the workshop that invites sharing and participation.

To let people know who you are as a trainer

Reviewing the agenda gets everyone on the same page, and lets people know what to expect from the training.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Introduce yourself to the group, giving information about the group you're with, your history with counter-recruitment work, and any other personal information you want to share.



Please introduce yourselves briefly, and say one thing you hope to learn from this training.

Optional: Consider having people share something they like about working in the group so far (that they have not shared with the group already). This sets them up for future learning.



Pay attention to what people say they want to get out of the training. It can help you see how experienced the group is with this work, and help you to tailor the training and debrief the exercises to meet people's interest.



Write the agenda (listed below) up on two large pieces of newsprint and hang them somewhere visible. When writing up the agenda, there is no need to write the name or description of each exercise. Just give a broad overview.

Agenda

- Introductions & Agenda review
- What makes teams work?
- Decision-making in groups
- Mainstream/Margins
- Framing
- Opening Lines
- Evaluation & Closing



Review the agenda aloud. Ask for any questions.



Stepping Stones

TIME 45 MINUTES

GOALS

Build team work through providing a challenge
Introduce theory about task/maintenance leadership skills.

SPECIAL MATERIALS

Pieces of paper, preferably thick – about one per person

DESCRIPTION



Set up the physical space. Use masking tape or a rope to mark off areas which will become separate land masses, with an empty space between them, which will become a river. There should be no chairs or other furniture in the empty space. This space should be 20 to 30 feet across (wider for bigger groups and groups with good experience working with each other).

The empty space will represent a polluted river, and the participants will have to cross it. With a larger group (over ten) you can split them into two teams, and instruct them to play from different ends (in which case the river should be about 30 feet wide).

Write up the rules (below) on newsprint and post them so teams can refer back to them.



In a minute, this is going to be a polluted river [point to the river area] and as teams you will have to travel across the river. The river is so polluted that you can only walk on stepping stones. If any part of anyone's body touches the water, you will have to immediately go back to shore to heal that person and start over again. Your whole team has to get from one side to the other together.

Goal

For each group to go from its starting place to the other side of the polluted river.

Rules

- Your group must all be in physical contact at all times or you have to start over;
- If any member's body touches the river, your entire team must return to the bank ;
- The only resource you can use is the limited number of "stepping stones" (pieces of carpet) which will float away if nobody is touching them; and
- **OPTIONAL:** You must do all of this in twenty or thirty minutes (amount of time depends on condition of the group, size of group, its need to be successful, etc.).





You may introduce a scenario to describe this situation. For example: each group is an activist group trying to meet with each other. They have been consistently divided by the government, which does not want them to meet and work together. So each group is going to send a small team (that's them!) across the river to meet. Between the groups, however, is a highly polluted river – so polluted that if anyone touches it they get seriously injured. The only way to get across the river is on stepping stones. Every twenty-five minutes a government boat comes along. If they are sighted on the river while the boat passes they will have to all return back to their home. (In effect, the group has twenty-five minutes to complete the exercise.) Explain the specific rules, pointing to the rules that are written up.

Ask for any clarifying questions, and keep pointing back to the rules. After most of the questions are answered, have teams get into position, and hand each team its stepping stones (one stepping stone per person minus one so that there is one less stepping stone than the total number of team members).



During the running, enforce the rules but otherwise avoid helping the group strategize. Answer rule-based questions. In the beginning, especially, be very strict with the rules. If someone is testing out a stepping stone in the water and they step off it, quickly grab the stepping stone away and explain that it floated down the river. (Do not return the stone to them.)

If someone touches the river, then have the group pick up the stones and return back to the shore where they came from.

Continue enforcing the rules until all teams have successfully completed the challenge or time expires.

While it's going, watch how the group is interacting and working together. Look especially for moments of different kinds of leadership.



After the exercise, put participants in pairs immediately to vent feelings and first thoughts. Ask: "How was that for you?" "Were there differences in how you reacted in the beginning and the middle and toward the end?" (If the group is open to sharing feelings: "What were some of the feelings you experienced during that challenge?")

After a few minutes in pairs, call the group back together. In the following section, write up on the newsprint any insights into what worked for any team.



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 one? 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 touch each other so closely?

(If there were two teams crossing the river): Who thought of cooperating with the other team? How was the decision made to do so/not to do so? How did the cooperation work out?



When the group has thoroughly processed that experience, invite the group to look for lessons on leadership that might apply in more ordinary situations. If it's a large group, try the next question or two in pairs or small buzz groups: What different kinds of leadership showed up in this group? What are some things that worked for this group that you think works in other groups facing a challenge? Encourage the group to look for a wide range of leadership (keeping in mind the handout).

Write up the insights on newsprint. Possible questions to ask: "Which of you have done one or more of these things in groups you're part of?" (Raise hands.) "How would this group (or the group you work with) benefit from these practices?"

After harvesting the group's own wisdom, pass out the handout, "Task and Maintenance Functions." Have people identify their tendency and their strengths. (Do they tend toward task roles? Maintenance roles? Does it depend on the rest of the group? What would they like to get better at?

Let participants know that during this rest of this workshop, they have the opportunity to practice one of those leadership skills with each other.

Task/Maintenance Leadership Skills

Leadership skills in groups can be divided into two functions: task functions and maintenance functions. **Task functions** are those needed to help the group achieve its task (giving information, opinion-giving, coordinating, summarizing ideas). **Maintenance functions** are those needed to help build and maintain group unity and a strong team (relieving tension, harmonizing group ideas, mediating, encouraging).

Where This Tool Comes From

This tool is out in the world in different forms. We learned it from *Quicksilver: Adventure Games, Initiative Problems, Trust Activities and a Guide to Effective Leadership*, by Karl Rohnke and Steve Butter (Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, reprinted 1996).



River of Life

TIME 30 MINUTES

GOAL

Give the group a chance to reflect on its own decision-making process and how to improve it
To apply task/maintenance theory to their own group

SPECIAL MATERIALS

Pieces of paper (a larger piece of paper than standard school paper may encourage creativity)
Crayons, markers or other drawing tools

DESCRIPTION

(Note: This exercise is intended for groups that have a history of working together. If the group is new, give them extra time debriefing the Stepping Stones exercise.)



Distribute paper and drawing tools. Ask the group to spread out, to work solo.



You are going to have a few minutes to reflect and draw about your life as a group that's working together. Imagine that all of you, and everything you've done together, is a river. What does it look like? How can you show it on the paper? Where have the turns been, and the straight sections?

Where have you made major decisions or changes, and how has that affected the flow? Were they rocky? Smooth? How would you add them to your drawing? Does the river flow slowly or quickly? What turns has the river made?



Circulate and notice what images people are using so that you will be ready to ask questions during the debrief. Some people may take a few minutes to get going.




Give people seven to ten minutes for drawing. (Give them a one or two minute warning.) When it looks like most are finishing up, call them back together.



Before we talk about what you notice about the life of this group, imagine yourself along the river you drew. Trace it along and think about the journey and what it has been like for you.




 First go-round: Ask for one thing they'd like to show from their drawing. "What occurred to you as you made these sketches?"

Second go-round: Ask them to use their drawing to answer the question: "What's been working? What are our strengths? How are we using them?"


Whole group discussion or pairs: As you're looking at this group's history, what are we seeing about decision-making? As you look back at your decisions or the turns in your river, can you pick out decisions that were made well? Not so well? What could you do differently? How would the task/maintenance leadership skills apply to decision-making? Are there any parallels between the river of your actual group life and what happened in the Stepping Stones exercise?

 Some aspects to look out for:

- Does a majority push a decision through over objections?
- Does the group jump from topic to topic? What are the reasons for this?
- Is there an attempt to get everyone involved in the decision?
- Does anyone say things that gets ignored? How does this affect that person and others?
- Is there someone or someones asked to watch out for the task of the group? The maintenance?

 (In the large group): What would you like the group to remember the next time you make a decision? Make a couple of notes on your paper about what you might want to remember.

Draw the next (week/month/semester) of your life together. How would you like it to be? What will happen in turns and in rapids? How will the group make decisions more effectively?

 *If there is time:* Ask each to share one thing about the upcoming river.

Pass out the handout "Things to Observe for Effective Decision-Making."

Where This Tool Comes From

Adapted from Matt Guynn, Training for Change (1501 Cherry St. • Philadelphia, PA 19102) USA.



We/Not We (Mainstream/Margin)

TIME 45 MINUTES

GOAL

Examine this group's diversity and ways to support an even better relationship between the mainstream and the margin
Prepare the group for noticing other margins in society, and planning how to reach out to them

DESCRIPTION

Step One: We/Not We of this group – looking at the mainstream/margin of this group



Draw a big circle on the board, with some space around the edges.



In every group there are different qualities, characteristics, and behaviors. Some of those are in the center of the group – the mainstream, as it were. Others are on the periphery.

In this group, what is in the center? What is the "we" of this group, the mainstream qualities, characteristics and behaviors?



Get the group to come up with different characteristics. Write the "we" characteristics (mainstream) in the center of the circle. After a few of these come up, tell them, "If this is a description of this group, what's left out? If this is "we" who is "not we"? What are margins in this group?"

Write the "not we" characteristics (margins) outside of the circle.





Watch the group to notice if they are avoiding any key issues, especially race, class or other demographic differences. Remember that sometimes groups need to do a little bit of avoidance before they can directly name difference. But that which is not named becomes more powerful, so keep encouraging the group and showering it with positive feedback and a belief they can directly face their challenges.


Notice if there is particular energy around certain issues. Laughter is usually a good indication, or topics that get lots of attention. There may be energy because it's a very important issue for this group. Sometimes a description like "people who wear sandals versus people who don't" may be hiding something larger, too. Allow any nervous laughter or other expressions of emotion.



Do this for about ten to fifteen minutes.





-  Now I'd like to invite someone who identifies some part of themselves on the "not we" to speak from that perspective. If this became more a part of the "we", how would it enrich the life of this group? How would the group benefit?
-  Give plenty of time for people to speak. Discourage too much heady discussion, and emphasize listening skills. Use elicitive questions to help folks speaking out to become more clear, and speak from their own power.
- After fifteen minutes to twenty minutes of sharing (or when the group's attention begins to fade), close this portion by putting people into pairs to share their reactions and personal insights.
- Distribute the handout "Mainstream and Margin", and discuss it. How could the group apply some of the lessons they've heard?
- Important:* Remind the group that if it wants to expand, it needs to be aware of its own diversity and respect its own margins. This is, of course, not the only reason for paying attention to a group's margins. But it is needed for expanding the group by inviting other margins in.

-  So there's a second step to this tool. Let's change seats for this next step.

Step Two: Identify the mainstream/margin of the group's previous outreach efforts, at the school/community/state level

Trainer Notes

Changing seats is a quick way to increase energy in the group and shift the dynamic from the previous exercise.

-  Identify the level – school, city, state, or some other one – on which the group should work, for the purposes of this exercise. (You may already know the most appropriate level, or the level this group is mainly working at – in which case it is fine to choose for them.)
- As in the previous exercise, draw a big picture on the newsprint or board. This time instead of a circle draw a school, the state, or an approximate of the city boundaries. (The artistic value of this is minimal – it's mainly to help the group understand the transition from the previous exercise.)
-  Now we're going to look at the (state/community/city/school) level. Who is the mainstream that you have successfully reached? Who is being left out, and not successfully reached? Let's get specific.



Is there a physical location associated with various groups? (For instance, do all the jocks that you reach out to hang out in certain parts of the school? Write them in that location.)



It's good for the group to notice this, because a major way to reach out to new people is to *go to where they are* – *don't expect them to come to you!*



Where do *you* hang out? What groups are *you* a part of? In what ways are *you* not like others in those groups?



Give the group some time to look at this list; this list will provide the next step for the framing practice.

Where This Tool Comes From

First step from George Lakey with Judith Jones, Training for Change (www.TrainingForChange.org).

Second step from Daniel Hunter and Matt Guynn, also from Training for Change (www.TrainingForChange.org).



Framing Challenge

TIME 20 MINUTES

GOAL

Practice framing to people outside of the group's ordinary circles
Identify margins that the group has yet to reach out to and provide encouragement and skill-building in successfully reaching out to them

DESCRIPTION



One of the skills that most assists us in successfully reaching out to new people is our ability to "frame" our message - the way we explain to people what we're doing. Successful framing helps connect our message with the people we're trying to reach out to.

For example, in some places there is a campaign to get local cities to support the international Kyoto Protocols to reduce environmentally destructive greenhouse gas emissions by becoming in line with the protocols (even though the national government does not support them). I'll read three different ways to frame that campaign, to show you how you can frame your issue differently:

Framing #1: "If we're going to take seriously the slogan "no blood for oil," then we have to stop the blood and stop the oil. Getting rid of our oil dependency is key - and by getting our city to reduce its oil consumption to the levels outlined in the Kyoto Protocols, we'll move towards ending this and future wars."

Framing #2: "The government is not taking the environment seriously. But we don't have to wait for the national government to get its act together. We can start something local now to counter these policies. That's why we're getting our city to come into line with the Kyoto Protocols. We can support environmental sanity even without the approval of the national politicians."


Framing #3: "In our neighborhoods we're getting trashed by corporations dumping toxic chemicals around us and polluting our air. We don't have to stand for this. We can make the city take this seriously and do something about it. We're going to make the city council clean up our air by getting into line with a respected international treaty that forces corporations to reduce the toxics they dump."

Can you hear how each framing appeals to different values and different people? What do you notice about the contrast?



From the author's perspective, framing #1 is to peace movement people; #2 is anti-administration folks who are paying attention to the national scene; and #3 are community members concerned about local pollution.




-  Now let's look at some of the groups on the margin of the previous drawing. Who might we reach out to that we're not reaching out to now?

Identify one or two groups to work on. On newsprint, draw three columns. The first one is headed, "What the group values". The second is headed "How the military frames to them", and the last is headed "How we could frame to them". Break into pairs, and use that format to think about one of the groups they want to reach out to. Ask them to come up with three possible ways of framing to their chosen group. Challenge them to consider ways that they've never framed this issue before. Write the results down in the format you demonstrated.

Key elements of framing

- speaks to the core value that the audiences hold - it affirms or confirms those positive values;
- is language sensitive;
- is highly accessible and simple enough to be rapidly understood.

-  After five to eight minutes in pairs, call the group back together and ask for a few reports.

Debrief with any lessons about how to do good framing. Make sure each of the key elements gets mentioned.

Pass out the handout "What is Framing?"

Where This Tool Comes From

Designed by Daniel Hunter, Training for Change (hyrax1@gmail.com) and Shari Silberstein, Quixote Center (sharis@quixote.org).

Parallel Lines: Opening Lines

TIME 20 MINUTES

GOALS

- Build skills at "opening lines" to reach youth/students by trying new behaviors
- Apply insights from their framing practice

SPECIAL MATERIALS

- Large room with movable furniture or open space

DESCRIPTION

In parallel lines participants work with a partner. All pairs practice simultaneously; none are being watched by any of the others. Participants are given a few minutes to try out different behaviors within their roles, and then the facilitator debriefs the entire group, looking for success stories. The whole process is repeated, switching roles.



We have talked about how to expand your group by becoming more flexible at framing and talking about our work in different ways – especially appealing to different people's values and interests.

Military recruiters sometimes do this very explicitly. For example, some recruiters will put twenty phrases on the table, like "strength," "valor," "courage," "financial security," "discipline." They ask that person to pick their top two or three values that appeal to that person. Then they adapt what they say to the values the potential recruit picked.

In this case, you'll get a chance to practice honing what you say to what people value, too.

Stand up and form two lines of equal numbers facing each other. Everybody should have a "partner" – one person standing in front of them. Shake hands with your partner across the line. That's the only person you'll be working with. To give yourselves as much audio room as possible, stretch out your arms to either side and touch fingertips with the person next to you.



If there is an extra person without a partner, ask them to be an observer.

Opening Line Roles

A Role:

You are yourself: a counter-recruiter trying to connect to a student in the hallway. Stop them as they're walking by and try to get them to engage in a longer conversation with you.


B Role:


You are a student who is tempted to go into the military. You're open-minded and have not made up your mind. Think about the reasons you're considering going into the military.




Explain that all those people in one line (call it the "A" line) will play one role, and all the people in the other line (call it the "B" line) will play a different role. Read the role for those in the "A" line, then the role for those in the "B" line.


Answer any questions quickly. Give participants a moment or two to get into character, then have them begin! (Immediately after telling the participants to "begin!" they may take an awkward moment while they get into character. Let them get into it.)

 While the role-play is going, watch for the kinds of interventions/behaviors various participants try out. The role-play should only take a minute or so, because the key is for people to practice rapidly adapting what they say to the values of the people they meet.


 Cut off the role-play and begin the debriefing. Debriefing goes through three stages: feelings, behaviors in the role-play and generalizing lessons.

Experimenting with new behaviors in parallel lines can be lots of things: stressful, exhilarating, engaging, scary, etc. Since people learn best when they are fully present, ask the A line of participants (who have been trying out opening lines) for feelings. Give them a chance to really express whatever comes up. You may have to press them to keep them from going straight to analysis, but it's worth persisting.

 And for those of you on B line, what did your partner do or say to get you interested in hearing more? What helped you get more interested?

 Help participants clarify what opening lines and behaviors helped (with enough detail so people could do it again!). Balance that with getting a wide range of different answers. (You can write various successes on newsprint, or have an observer do that.)

Optional: If the group has the time (and if you think they have the energy), you run the role-play again, switching roles. (Those in the A line take B's role and those in the B line take A's role). This is great for skill development, helps groups think of more options, and is useful for everyone's learning.

 Finally, have participants return to their seats. If you wrote a list on newsprint, review that list. Ask for stories from people's personal experiences which could flesh out the list. Be sure to add your own, if you have some.

Pass out the handout "Counter-Recruitment Opening Lines." If there's enough time, discuss it.




Head, Heart, Hands

TIME 10 MINUTES


GOALS

Provide a closing
 Get feedback about the training through noticing what people are taking away from it

DESCRIPTION

 On a large piece of newsprint, draw an outline of a person. Draw a heart in the center of the chest.

Invite the group to stand in a circle.


 Our heads, our hearts, and our hands have been touched today.

As a way of acknowledging those different ways we affect each other, like our task orientation or our maintenance orientation, we'll do a go-around to share what we're taking away from this workshop.

I'm inviting each of you to share a thought or theory you're taking away from the training (head), a feeling or emotional response to what you learned and practiced (heart), and something concrete, like a tool or action, that you are taking away from the training (hands).

So, in a short phrase, share something from your head, from your heart, and how you'll use your hands.

I'll give you a minute to think about what you want to say when your turn comes.

 Wait a minute. Begin the round yourself, or pick someone to start. Then go to their left around the circle until everyone has shared.

Thank everybody for coming.

Trainer Notes

When people are standing, they are more focused and less likely to ramble on and on. Plus, it supports creating sacred space to acknowledge the work people have done.

Where This Tool Comes From

From Ruckus Society's Introduction to Nonviolent Direct Action training curriculum (www.Ruckus.org).



Task and Maintenance Functions

HANDOUT

The two elementary parts of effective group operation are **task roles** and **maintenance roles**. Each role is really a set of behaviors to pay attention to in meetings and activities. Generally, task functions keep groups headed toward decisions and nutsy-boltsy kinds of business. Maintenance functions help build a group's sense of identity and develop the social relationships in a group.

Task

Initiating

Proposing tasks and goals, defining the problems, suggesting procedures and solutions all help to give direction and purpose to a group.

Information seeking

Requesting relevant facts and soliciting clarification helps groups gather information, and makes them aware of what information is needed.

Information giving

Offering relevant facts, and sorting out biases and opinions from facts, helps to provide useful information.

Opinion seeking

Asking for opinions or feelings on a topic can test for unity, and helps groups understand an issue more deeply

Clarifying

Defining terms, interpreting ideas, indicating issues and alternatives helps to eliminate confusion

Elaborating

Giving examples, developing meanings and explaining help reduce ambiguity and illustrate consequences of plans and positions

Maintenance

Encouraging

Being friendly, warm or responsive, and eliciting others' contributions all help to bring out opinions in a group and give recognition

Expressing feelings

Expressing feelings, restating others' feelings, and getting people to label their own feelings helps groups take risks

Having fun

Joking, clowning, breaks and games all help to diffuse tensions, allow groups to express feelings, and create a lively, interesting social setting

Compromising

Offering or accepting compromises, yielding status, or admitting error, all help to build trust and group cohesion

Facilitating communication

Drawing out silent members and suggesting procedures for discussions helps keep groups open and promotes equal power

Setting standards and goals

Identifying common concerns and outlining standards for the group to achieve, helps groups to enact direction and follow progress



Task (continued)**Coordinating**

Suggesting ways to handle a problem or process can help harmonize conflicting issues, or help a group make tough choices

Developing procedures

Suggesting agendas and discussion formats helps meetings to become more efficient

Summarizing

Pulling together related issues or contradictions, restating and identifying conclusions all focus discussions, and keep groups on track

Maintenance (continued)**Interpreting**

Paraphrasing often helps to explain and interpret, creating greater understanding

Listening

Actively listening to others builds trust, gathers information, and promotes mutual respect

Following

Accepting and appreciating the ideas of others, and going along with the group promotes unity

Declaring success

Noticing successes, even small ones, helps groups develop self-confidence and greater awareness of their power

An effective group will pay attention to all of these functions, and to the overall balance between accomplishing things and feeling good about being together. Keeping the balance often feels like a struggle, and each group will find its own point of equilibrium. When it does, the group can be dynamic, enjoyable, effective and efficient. When a group is overloaded on either task or maintenance, people dread meetings, group cohesion is low, resistance to leadership is high, and conflicts don't get resolved easily.

Marginalizing the Maintenance Role: Another way sexism holds groups back
Society often places women into maintenance roles (care-taking) while men get encouraged to be in task roles (getting things done). This gets overlaid with a value in many groups on *task* forms of leadership over *maintenance* forms of leadership. Thus, women (and men) providing maintenance leadership are given less respect for their contributions. But since both are needed and important, a smart group will get wise about appreciating both forms.

This handout was first written by Will Pipkin and Betsy Raasch-Gilman for Future Now: a training collective in December 1988, and revised in June 1989 and November 1991; this version by Daniel Hunter, Training for Change 2006. For more on this theory, see Leadership for Change: toward a feminist model, by Bruce Kokopeli and George Lakey. Available from Training for Change (1501 Cherry St. • Philadelphia, PA USA 19102): www.TrainingForChange.org • peacelearn@igc.org



Things to Observe for Effective Decision-Making

HANDOUT

Groups are making decisions all the time, even when they don't realize it. Seeing how decisions are made, and if the group is doing what it wants, is important. Group decisions can be hard to undo later; when you're debating them is the best time to notice group dynamics.

- Does a majority push a decision through over objections?
- Does the group jump from topic to topic? What are the reasons for this?
- Is there an attempt to get everyone involved in the decision?
- Does anyone say something that gets ignored? How does this affect that person and others?

COMMUNICATION/PARTICIPATION:

- Who talks? For how long? How often?
- Who interrupts whom? Who talks after whom?
- Who talks to whom? Do you see a reason for this?
- Is there a time when quiet people become talkative, or talkative people become quiet? When does that seem to happen?
- How are quieter people treated? How is their silence interpreted?
- How are louder people treated? How is their talking interpreted?

NONVERBAL DYNAMICS:

Sometimes we can overdo it with interpretations, but other times communication without talking can be important. These are some things you can watch for.

- Who sits where? Where are they in relation to each other?
- How are people sitting – slouched, legs crossed, head down?
- Who looks at whom during a meeting?
- Is silence allowed? What role does it play?
- What are the expressions on people's faces?
- Does the way people look match what they are saying?

NORMS:

All groups develop patterns about how people should or should not behave. These are called norms. If everyone knows what the norms are, they are clear and explicit. If the norms are not talked about directly, they are unclear or implicit. These norms can help or hurt group progress.



- Are certain topics avoided, such as talking about feelings, or about certain feelings? Why and how do people avoid these topics?
- Do people talk using a certain jargon or language with each other?

INFLUENCE:

This is not the same as participation. Some people say little but get the group's attention. Others say a lot but are not listened to.

- Which people are listened to when they talk? How can you tell?
- Who is not listened to? Can you see any reason for this?
- Are people fighting for leadership? How is this affecting other group members?
- In what way do people try to influence each other?
- Do they try to impose their will, judge others, or block action?
- Do they try to avoid conflict and leave decisions to others?
- Do they get attention by being uninvolved and uncommitted?
- Do they try to include everyone by being open with feelings?

ATMOSPHERE:

Sometimes, there is more conflict and disagreement in groups than necessary. Some people may seem to prefer conflict, while others are afraid of it.

- Who seems to push for a "friendly" atmosphere? What does that mean?
- Is there an attempt to suppress conflict or unpleasant feelings?
- Who seems to disagree constantly? Does that person annoy or provoke other group members?
- Are people involved and interested? Are they working, playing, bored?
- Do some people seem "outside" the group? Are others "in"? How are the "outsiders" treated?
- Do people move from insiders to outsiders and from outsiders to insiders? When?

Obviously there is a lot to observe in a group. You cannot pay attention to all of these areas at once. You can assign someone to watch a meeting with one or two issues in mind, and report to you at the end as to what he or she saw. As you notice things during the meeting, you can point them out. Try to report just what you see, without adding judgment or a long socio-political analysis. This is especially important when you are first learning group process, since it can take a while for people to trust someone watching them closely.

You may want to set up some new rules if unhelpful things are going on in the group. Sometimes, just bringing them to people's attention can make them change.

by Project Accompaniment
PA Training Resources, January 1994
(adapted slightly by Daniel Hunter, Training for Change)



Mainstream and Margin

HANDOUT

Mainstream and **margins** are two roles that often appear in group conflicts. The mainstream is part of the group that has its interests recognized; the margin, however, is not part of this universalized interest. Margins are any sub-group (or sub-groups) whose voice is not recognized by the group. In every group, there are mainstream and margins.

For example, in a group that communicates by talking loudly, people who tend to be quiet may go unheard. The people who talk loudly, in this case, are playing the "mainstream" role while the quiet people are the "margins." *Both roles are important.* The mainstream offers commonality (such as an accepted way of communicating) to the group; the margins offer growth for new behaviors, insights and understandings.

At any time, we might be in one role or another (or playing several roles at once). It is important for us to recognize which role(s) we are occupying at any given time. Each role can make moves toward a resolution of conflict: the mainstream can become curious about the experiences of the margins and take new action; the margin can step outside of their internalized sense of inferiority and victimization, and stand up for itself.

MAINSTREAM

- Has interests universalized
- Clueless to the margin's experience
- Identity taken as assumption
- Unconscious to its privileges and rank

Negative Approaches to Conflict

- Being unengaged (does not need to deal with issue)
- Personalizing: hearing the individual, not the margins
- Requiring comfort before entering dialogue
- Evading thinking structurally (e.g., "I don't see race, I just see human beings")

Positive Approaches to Conflict

- Listen, listen, listen!
- Stay engaged
- Try to understand the margin's experience and what it can teach

MARGIN

- Naturally conscious (at least subconsciously) of power differences
- Has experiences and insights not recognized by the mainstream
- Holds the potential for making the group grow

Negative Approaches to Conflict

- Avoidance (especially due to fear of sanctions)
- Isolation ("I'm the only one")
- Acceptance of oppressive beliefs and practices (internalizing the oppression)
- Getting stuck in an identity of victimhood

Positive Approaches to Conflict

- Remember everyone is worthy of justice
- Don't trust the isolation: there is never a margin of one!
- Grow in compassion for the mainstream's lack of power because of its cluelessness

by Daniel Hunter, Training for Change
1501 Cherry St. • Philadelphia, PA 19102 USA
www.TrainingForChange.org • peacelearn@igc.org



What is Framing?

HANDOUT

Framing – like framing a picture – is setting the scene through which people see the situation. It won't work to convince people through a laundry list of issues related to your campaign or a compelling set of facts. People also need to feel what you're saying and connect with it at some emotional level.

Framing contains three elements:

- injustice (what is this issue really about? What is the injustice, the oppression going on?);
- identity (who is affected and who are the players? Are the victims of the injustice clearly at the forefront of the struggle?); and
- agency (how can you play a role in change?).

Key elements of framing

- speaks to the core value that the audiences hold - it affirms or confirms those positive values;
- is language sensitive;
- is highly accessible and simple enough to be rapidly understood;
- shows people both what the problem is but also *how* they can play a role in change.

Class: A Missing Dimension

When framing, a large cultural gap exists between middle-class, owning-class and working-class activists. The lack of clear agency often seems a class dynamic that shows up in middle-class and owning-class activists – telling people about problems (your world is getting smaller, the arctic caps are melting) rather than encouraging them to find deeper *motivation* to build their own power. It shows up, for example, with an emphasis on "education." Some assume that what keeps most people from joining work for social change is the lack of knowledge or understanding about an issue ("If only they knew about the situation in Palestine" or even more insulting: "If only they understood how they are getting screwed over"). That approach says: education will motivate people to act.

And that makes sense based on *their* experience. A lot of middle-class and owning-class activists, upon hearing about an injustice for the first time (oftentimes an injustice that does not directly impact them), will jump into action and try to change the situation. They may assume that the lack of knowledge about the injustice is therefore what stops others from joining. That perspective says: *If we just educate people, then they will also jump into action!*

But that does not prove to be the case. People know when they're getting screwed over. People who have personally experienced oppression are often not motivated by education. They understand through life experience how the social system works and so are less naive in assuming that just "jumping into action" will result in change. Instead, they want to build power to change the system.



Cynthia Peters writes about this dynamic, quoting from two working class progressives, Linda Stout who wrote "Bridging the Class Divide" and David Croteau who wrote "Politics and the Class Divide."¹

Perhaps hoping to replicate in others their own experience of discovering injustice, middle-class activists focus too much on education. Linda Stout says, "Many groups give educational programs without any actions assigned, believing that knowledge about a particular issue is enough to make people work for change. But I believe that if folks leave a program without understanding what to do with the knowledge they have gained, they frequently feel even more disempowered" (p. 138).

Meanwhile, David Croteau argues, setting up educational forums to reveal to people all the terrible injustice in the world is akin to asking people to learn the details of horrible but fixed aspects of life – things we have no chance of changing, like the weather. "A lot of times I don't like the weather," says one worker that Croteau interviewed, "but I don't wrack my brain trying to think up a way to change it... If it's raining...I go inside. I don't try to stop it from raining."²

Saul Alinsky described the situation in this way, "If people feel they don't have the power to change a bad situation, *then they do not think about it.*"³

In framing, emphasizing the *agency* dimension (how can I play a role? Even if I'm not completely committed to the struggle?), therefore, helps people see *how* they have the power to make change: what actions can they take to make a difference or build power. Framing should not *educate* about wrongs as much as *motivate* people to identify and use their power to take action.

Written by Daniel Hunter, Training for Change

These three aspects come from collective action framing as written by Gamson, W. "Constructing Social Protest" in H. Johnston & B. Klandermans (eds.) *Social movements and culture* (UCL Press, London 1995) pp.85-106. I received a version of it from The Change Agency: www.thechangeagency.org

For more on class:

Training for Change also offers workshops for activist groups on economic class: www.trainingforchange.org. Another book on economic class especially for middle-class activists is *Class Matters: Cross-Class Alliance Building for Middle-Class Activists* by United for a Fair Economy Communications Director Betsy Leondar-Wright (New Society Publishers 2005).

¹ Linda Stout wrote *Bridging the Class Divide* (Beacon Press 1996) and David Croteau wrote *Politics and the Class Divide: Working People and the Middle Class Left* (Temple University Press 1999).

² Cynthia Peters, "The Class Divide," *ZMagazine* <http://www.zmag.org/Sustainers/Content/2003-10/25peters.cfm> (October 25, 1999).

³ Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals* (Random House 1972), page 105.



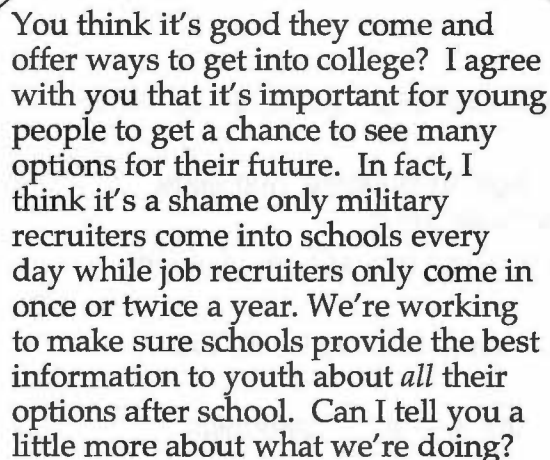
Counter-Recruitment Opening Lines

HANDOUT

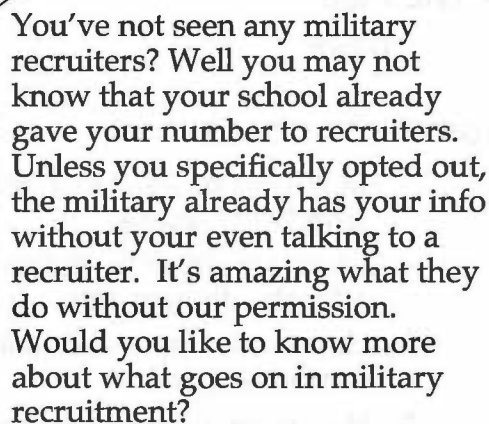
Ask yourself: How can I contextualize what I am offering in a way that relates to this moment or person?

FOR EXAMPLE:

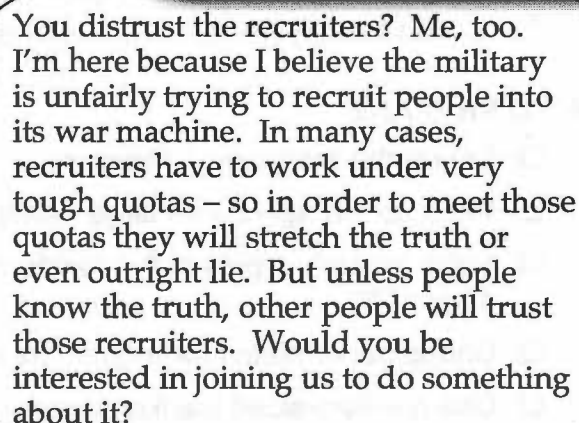
HAVE YOU SEEN RECRUITERS IN YOUR SCHOOL THIS YEAR? WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT IT?



You think it's good they come and offer ways to get into college? I agree with you that it's important for young people to get a chance to see many options for their future. In fact, I think it's a shame only military recruiters come into schools every day while job recruiters only come in once or twice a year. We're working to make sure schools provide the best information to youth about *all* their options after school. Can I tell you a little more about what we're doing?



You've not seen any military recruiters? Well you may not know that your school already gave your number to recruiters. Unless you specifically opted out, the military already has your info without your even talking to a recruiter. It's amazing what they do without our permission. Would you like to know more about what goes on in military recruitment?



You distrust the recruiters? Me, too. I'm here because I believe the military is unfairly trying to recruit people into its war machine. In many cases, recruiters have to work under very tough quotas – so in order to meet those quotas they will stretch the truth or even outright lie. But unless people know the truth, other people will trust those recruiters. Would you be interested in joining us to do something about it?

BOTTOM LINE

The value of meeting someone face to face is that you can directly interact with them and respond to their concerns. They can read the e-mail or literature on their own – for now, let your own conviction show in a way that connects to their interest.

Most of all, take a risk and let them know how much this matters to you. "Maybe you'll think me naive, but I believe we can make real changes in our country's national priorities by making it harder and harder for them to use and abuse our sons and daughters by sending them off to wars."

And Remember...

Make sure to think through how to make your table or booth inviting.

- Is it neat?
- Does it attract people (e.g. have candy or food)?
- Do people speak the language of the literature?



How to Build a Campaign

Setting Goals, Making Allies and Evaluating Outcomes

Campaigns wage struggle for specific outcomes that further one's larger social change goals. Like a story, they have a beginning, middle and end – setting goals, waging the struggle, and eventually winning.

This workshop focuses on defining a campaign and building skills to create a counter-recruitment campaign. The skills include setting specific goals that lead to larger outcomes, reaching out to new allies to win that campaign, and evaluating a campaign.

TOTAL TIME

3 hours

WORKSHOP GOALS:

- Learn key aspects and terms of a strategic campaign: goals, base, allies, target, and tactics.
- Learn the six steps in developing a campaign: investigate, negotiate, educate, demonstrate, resist, create new relationships
- How to turn general counter-recruitment activism into specific, tangible campaign goals
- How to sequence objectives and choose appropriate tactics for the campaign to achieve those goals
- How to identify the spectrum of allies to work with in the campaign

HOW TO PREPARE

- Set up the room and arrange the chairs in a circle
- Write up the agenda on large newsprint paper
- Make enough copies of the handouts (they are at the end of this section, page 158).
- Cheap paper plates (or regular sheets of paper) – about five per person
- One medium-sized blanket (a small blanket if the group is less than six people)



How to Build a Campaign (continued)**WORKSHOP DESIGN**

Time	Exercise & Description
10 minutes	Introductions & Agenda Review
40	Blanket Game Identifying strategy and the six steps in a campaign (in a team-building exercise)
25	Rapid Brainstorming: Creating Goals What makes for good campaign goals
40	Spectrum of Allies Examining the range of potential allies, and the pay-offs from reaching out to new people, with an emphasis on the value of <i>relationships</i> in campaigns
40	Paper Plate Challenge Sequencing objectives (sub-goals) in a campaign
20	Evaluation Practice: Review of Activities Methods of evaluating campaign activities
5	Closing Circle



Introductions & Agenda Review

TIME 10 MINUTES

GOALS

To create a welcoming space; set a tone and energy for the workshop that invites sharing and participation.

To let people know who you are as a trainer

Reviewing the agenda gets everyone on the same page, and lets people know what to expect from the training.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Introduce yourself to the group, giving information about the group you're with, your history with counter-recruitment work, and any other personal information you want to share.



Please introduce yourselves briefly, and say one thing you hope to learn from this training.



Pay attention to what people say they want to get out of the training. It can help you see how experienced the group is with this work, and help you to tailor the training and debrief the exercises to meet people's interest.



Write the agenda (listed below) up on two large pieces of newsprint and hang them somewhere visible. When writing up the agenda, there is no need to write the name or description of each exercise. Just give a broad overview.

Agenda

- Introductions & Agenda review
- What is a campaign?
- Step 1 of Campaigns: Creating Goals
- Step 2 of Campaigns: Finding Allies
- Step 3 of Campaigns: Ordering Tactics
- Evaluation Mini-Practice of Campaigns
- Closing



Read the agenda aloud.



Does anybody have any questions?



What is Strategy: Blanket Game

TIME 40 MINUTES







GOALS

- Define goals, tactics, and strategy
- Introduce participants to the five components of a campaign (base, allies, goals, target, and tactics)
- Examine the phases or stages of a campaign


SPECIAL MATERIALS

- One medium-sized blanket (small blanket if the group is less than six people)


RUNNING THE EXERCISE

-  Spread the blanket on the floor. Tell the entire group to stand on the blanket. (The blanket is the right size if the group is slightly packed on the blanket; if it's too big you can fold it in half.)
-  This is a group challenge. The group must flip the blanket completely over while standing on it, without anyone stepping off the blanket. No one may leave the blanket, lean on the walls, or use any other props. Also, just for safety, don't stand on each other's shoulders. If someone steps off the blanket, you will have to start over again.
-  Check if there are any questions for clarification. Don't help people figure out how to do it – just make sure they understand the rules. Then, step back and let the group take on the challenge.
-  Watch the group to see if anybody steps off the blanket. If so, enforce the rule and tell the group to start over again. While you're doing this, pay attention to how the group makes decisions and picks its strategy for handling the challenge.
-  Once the group succeeds, give it a chance to celebrate. (The vast majority of groups succeed at this task. But if after twenty minutes they still haven't turned the blanket over, feel free to interrupt them because of time.) People will need a chance to debrief, so put the participants into pairs immediately to share about how it was for them.
After they've spent a few minutes in pairs:
-  So, how was it? What helped your group succeed at the task? (Or, if they weren't successful) What seemed to be working?
What was the goal in that game? What was your analysis of the situation? What was your strategy to achieve the goal? What were your tactics? Did you change them over time? How did you decide to do that?




-  As the group responds to these questions (and other follow-up questions to help the group examine what worked in their strategizing process), look for the different aspects of strategizing: clear goals, developing an analysis, and implementing different tactics. If possible, let them name the different aspects of strategizing; you might write the aspects on newsprint. After the different aspects are out there, offer the following definition:

A Strategy is a Plan to organize your Folks and your Friends to force The Man to give you the Goods.


-  In this case, I gave you the goal – flip the blanket over. You devised a strategy or a method to achieve the goal; and you experimented with tactics or particular ways to implement your strategy. You evaluated along the way to see if your tactics helped you to achieve your goal.


Aspects of Strategy

The Goods: What is it that you want to get? (goals)
Your Folks: Who is impacted by this issue? (base)
Your Friends: Who else will help? (allies)
The Man: Who can give you what you want? (target)
Plan: What actions can we take with our power as everyday people to force The Man to give us what we want? (series of tactics)

-  Finally, write up the different "Aspects of Strategy" on newsprint and share them with the group.

Ask for examples from the group's experience or knowledge to help connect that set of definitions to the larger world. Help the group to see how these aspects of strategy show up in their own work.

-  In building a campaign, it is important to identify each aspect (our goal, our base, etc). Campaigns often go through different phases or stages over time. What are key steps in a campaign?

-  Let the group come up with the answers to that question. Then offer the handout "Steps in Campaigns" from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Explain that this workshop will cover more on how to develop good strategy, including looking in more detail at the different aspects and steps in a campaign.

Pass out the handout "Campaigning for Social Change: Beyond just protesting for it."

Where This Tool Comes From

Training for Change learned the Blanket Game from trainer Nadine Bloch nbloch@igc.org based in Washington, DC USA. Aspects of Strategy based on School of Unity & Liberation's Political Education Workshop Manual. (www.schoolofunityandliberation.org).


Rapid Brainstorming: Creating Goals


TIME 25 MINUTES

GOALS

Challenge participants to make rapid, collective decisions
Practice developing concrete goals


RUNNING THE EXERCISE


 Break participants into teams of three or four. Ask each team to come up with a name for themselves and announce it.

 Creating goals is the first step in creating a campaign. One of the major differences between a campaign and other types of work is that campaigns are finite – they have a beginning, a middle, and an end. The end is when they have achieved their goals (or are clearly unable to achieve their goals).

Therefore, campaigns needs specific goals. A non-specific goal would be "world peace." It's vague. It's too big. A specific goal would be to "get a class on historical alternatives to warfare in high school."

In this exercise, you'll get a chance to practice creating specific goals, especially ones that can be used within the counter-recruitment context. I'll read an area and your group will try to come up with specific, useful campaign goals in that area. It's more a brainstorm than decision-making, but the higher quality of the campaign goal, the better.

 Check for questions. If some people are not clear what campaign goals should be like, see if other participants can give examples. Feel free to illustrate from the Campaign Goals handout, historical examples, or your own experience.

 And just to add excitement, this will be done rapidly. You'll have only a minute or two to come up with different specific campaign goals in each given area.

Trainer Notes


Team names are a very quick and easy way to help new groups develop. The name gives some group identity; plus it becomes the team's first successful decision.

Areas

- JROTC
- ASVAB
- Recruiter Access in Schools
- JAMRS
- No Child Left Behind

Optional: If you think it will help boost energy for this exercise, you can add a competitive element to it: "The team that comes up with the most specific campaign goals wins!"




 Call out the first area (for example: "Come up with campaign goals around JROTC in a school: Two minutes!")


After two minutes interrupt their conversations. Go around the room and get a report from each team. Allow discussion and reflection on the specifics – are the different answers specific? Are they realistic?

Repeat three or four more times. Allow three minutes for the conversations as the teams begin to come up with more specific, realistic goals.

After several rounds of this, ask the group: "What is important for effective campaign goals?" Put up on newsprint "Effective Campaign Goals" and write down people's answers.

Once a good list is made, pass out the handout "Campaign Goals." Give people a minute or two to read silently, or do a group read. (Suggest that people read a line or a paragraph aloud as they wish to; it's not like school where everyone has to take a turn, but more popcorn-style – as individuals choose to read aloud).

 As the group is making the list, look for teachable moments to push the group on how *they* might use campaign goals. For example, notice if they are being reflective about either how they operated *in the past* or how they might operate *in the future*.

 Pass out the handout "Beyond Opt-Out: A strategy article." Explain it is an example of strategic thinking applied to *which* campaign goal to apply.

Where This Tool Comes From

Quick decisions based on *Resource Manual for a Living Revolution*, by Virginia Cooper, et al (New Society Press, 1978), page 59-61.




Spectrum of Allies

TIME 40 MINUTES


GOALS

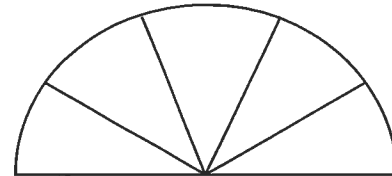
Understand how reaching out to new allies creates social change
 Identify potential allies in counter-recruitment work


RUNNING THE EXERCISE

 In social change there's always a struggle between those who want change and those who don't. In this exercise we're going to look at how we can see that tension in a way to help us develop strategic campaigns.


On this piece of newsprint, I'll represent those who want a change – like an end to military recruitment in high schools – by a point at one end of a line (say, on the left). I'll represent those who don't want the change by a point on the other end of the line (say, on the right). Of course, there are all kinds of groups that would fit on a spectrum in between, from closest to our point of view to farther away.

 As you're talking, draw a line on the newsprint. Then draw a half-moon or half of a pie with wedges (as to the right). (Don't distribute the handout yet, but identify the wedges as they appear on the handout.) Select one of the goals the group developed in the previous exercise. Ask which groups in society might be most supportive of that goal, and least supportive, and in the middle. As people identify different groups of society, place those in the appropriate wedge on the newsprint, getting feedback from the group about where they think the groups should be.




 Participants may want to identify very broad categories – "the public," "religious groups," or "businesses." Help them become more specific – the more specific the better, and the more strategic they will be. Also, invite debate about the placement of groups on the spectrum. Disagreement sheds light on the positions of potential allies, reveals differences within categories of allies (such as "religious bodies"), and counters stereotypes participants may have.

Look for teachable moments around race/class. Is the group identifying working-class allies? Middle-class allies? Are they ignoring social service workers, clubs, community centers, etc?


 There's good news. In most social change campaigns it's not necessary to win all those on the other side over to your point of view, even if the opponent is the target. It's only necessary to move each of the pie wedges one step in your




direction. If you can make your passive allies become active, and the neutrals become your passive allies, and the passive opponents act neutrally – you can still win. It's usually not necessary to move your opponents a step toward you in order to win, although it can hasten the win.

 Let the group digest the good news for a bit. They may have been operating under the assumption that they need to win everyone over (inviting despair), or that their whole attention needs to be on the powerholders (again inviting despair).

Pass out the handout "Spectrum of Allies." Give people some time to read it.

 How you would go about reaching out to your various potential allies? What language, arguments, and phrases would connect you? What *tactics* are most likely to attract them to join you?

 Harvest insights in the whole group, using newsprint. Continue to emphasize that it is more productive to focus on the allies right next to us than on our die-hard opponents on the other side of the spectrum. This is so different from the way most activists have thought and behaved that it takes time for the new perspective to sink in.

Where This Tool Comes From

Adapted from Martin Oppenheimer and George Lakey, *A Manual for Direct Action*, Quadrangle Books, 1965



Paper Plate Challenge

TIME 40 MINUTES

GOALS


Outline the stages of a counter-recruitment campaign
Gain experience and skill in defining clear steps of a campaign
Become aware of one's own beliefs about how social change happens

SPECIAL MATERIALS

Cheap paper plates (or regular sheets of paper) – about five per person


RUNNING THE EXERCISE


Note: If the group is fewer than seven people, participants can do this exercise individually. If the group is larger than seven, divide them into teams of four or five people. Each player – whether a person or team – should get five paper plates to start out with.

 As we know, campaigns don't win all at once – they win through taking small steps. Being able to identify the steps is a key strategizing skill. In this exercise we will literally set up stepping stones toward accomplishing a campaign goal, and sequence them.

Each team will pick a campaign goal. You could do this exercise with short-term, medium-term, or very long-term goals. For now, I suggest you use a campaign goal that might take two months to a year.

The first step is to pick a campaign goal. It might be one of those we've already worked on, or one from the Campaign Goals handout, or one that's occurred to you since. If it's one you're likely to actually use, that's all the better. I'll give you a couple of minutes to do that.

 Wait a couple of minutes. When one group finishes, explain the next step to everyone, so that when people finish picking a campaign goal they can move on to the next task.

 Once you have your campaign goal, write it on one of the paper plates and place it here at the front of the room.

The next step is to identify what you need to do in order to get there. You're going to break down your campaign goal into specific steps, and write each one on a paper plate. Then you'll arrange the plates from where you are sitting to the front of the room, as stepping stones leading to your campaign goal.




If you have time, you might identify tactics you could use at each step, too.

Here's an example of what I mean: a *successful* campaign against JROTC would probably not start with two people going to the school board to propose getting rid of the JROTC program. The school board is probably not going to listen to them. Instead, the first step might be to recruit a core group of five students committed to eliminating JROTC from their school. That group of five students might find out how JROTC got there; what it costs; who benefits from its presence; and other background information to develop arguments for their demand. The third objective might be to set up allies among teachers and parents, such as getting ten parents and ten teachers to sign a petition saying they would prefer the JROTC money be spent on math, science, band, or other programs (or some other demand). The next step could be a public debate that would include teachers, parents, and students who support JROTC plus the newly organized allies. The fourth objective is a drafted resolution, such as by finding out which school board members are the most likely to agree with us and get them to agree to put forward a resolution. When there are enough people convinced, we should have a rally outside a school board meeting. Finally, the resolution has to be introduced once we can mount enough pressure to win a resolution from the school board.


Example Anti-JROTC Campaign


(notice each step is loosely an objective, not a tactic; though certain tactics apply better at certain other times)

- Step 1: Develop a Core Group of Students
- Step 2: Create Demands (requiring research)
- Step 3: Gather Teacher / Parent Allies
- Step 4: Mount Public Pressure (e.g., public debate / marches)
- Step 5: Draft a Resolution
- Step 6: Get the Resolution Passed

 As you're telling the story, spread some paper plates across the room, and illustrate how they lead from step to step. Note that each situation will require its own ordering and its own steps.

Check for questions. Then have people do it themselves on their own campaign goal. Acknowledge that this exercise is intended to be challenging.

 Watch for groups or individuals who are stumped and may need coaching and resources. Disagreement and discussion among participants is great for learning.


 If some players finish quickly, suggest that they take more paper plates and continue to refine their steps, or identify tactics to achieve each of the outcomes. Have they considered a rally? A teach-in? Street theater? Hanging a



banner at a school football game? Have they thought about what the opposition might do to discourage them or fight back, and what they could do then?

When everyone is done, ask each team or person to explain their campaign goal, and step from one stone to the next explaining their journey. Allow for questions, comments, and congratulations to each player.

After everyone has shared their work, ask for reflections on how that went. "What was it like to go through that process of setting a goal and figuring out how you'd accomplish it?" "Where did you get stuck?" "What are you still mulling over?" "Did you hear something from another participant which gave you new insights into one of your own problems?"

 If people want a bit more theory, you could explain that what they've just created is a "critical path analysis." Critical path analysis is a tool used in social movements to examine the steps for winning a campaign. Those steps, of course, may change as the environment changes. But having a sense of the scope of a campaign and how the pieces work together, i.e. seeing how investigation leads to education leads to the commitment, etc., supports smart strategic campaigning.

 Highlight themes or aspects important to campaigns. A couple of important points are that campaigns:

- need specific goals (as activist David Solnit says, "You need to know when you can have your party to celebrate a victory!");
- have winnable goals but are not winnable immediately – they need time for the group to organize and get stronger (bold goals can be great);
- use that time to include more people (need tactics/events that involve people along the way).

Where This Tool Comes From

Created by Daniel Hunter (Training for Change) with James Whelan and Sam LaRocca (The Change Agency). For more information on critical path analysis, see: www.TheChangeAgency.org.



Evaluation: Review of Activities

TIME 20 MINUTES

GOALS

Practice evaluating this group's history of campaigning
Learn how to evaluate effectively

RUNNING THE EXERCISE

(Note: If the group is brand new, give them extra time on the Paper Plate exercise so they can create a more thorough plan. Then explain this tool and how it would work. Ask them to discuss how they'll follow the four criteria, and ways they'll keep evaluating over time.)



Here's a very simple tool that you can use regularly to evaluate how your group is doing.



Have people write down everything their organization has accomplished in a certain period, like the past year. Include every action, march, petition drive, public meetings, important meetings, etc. If the workshop has people from different organizations, ask those members to do this exercise together. If there are more than ten people in the workshop, you may want to break them into smaller groups anyway.

Allow five to ten minutes for this part. They can make a more exhaustive list later during a special evaluation meeting, for example, if they wish.

When you call time, immediately ask them to notice any feelings or reactions they have to making the list. Since many activists experience some level of despair, they may feel shocked or surprised to notice how much they have really accomplished.



Now, look at that list of tactics you've used. Let's reflect on that list and the goals of your group. If you were an outsider, what might you say about the strategy of that organization? What could you learn from it? What advice might you have for it?



Take a few minutes for discussion, either in small groups or in the whole group.

Evaluation Criteria

Direction: Did we have a clear goal we were headed toward?

Consistency: Did we keep pushing toward that goal? Did our actions match that goal?


Flexibility: Did we change when we needed to? Were we able to stay responsive?

Self-Care: Did we take care of each other while we got the work done? Did we have fun and stay in touch with our motivation?




Write up the four criteria (to the right). Ask the participants to evaluate their last year, based on this criteria. How did they do? Invite them to consider how they could get even better.

When time is up, let the group know.

 The criteria which challenges most groups is *consistency*. Many activist groups, even if they have clear goals, have a tendency to try to do everything, rather than stay focused on their goals. Participants may need to be gently nudged to acknowledge if this is true for their organizations. Groups with this tendency may see how far their tactics are from their goals when they list their activities out.


Also, watch for groups which have "outreach to more people" as a goal. If they do, check in with them to see how successful they've been. If they are disappointed with themselves, brainstorm with them ways to get better at it.

 In your groups later you can spend more time evaluating in this way. I just want to emphasize two things about this style of evaluation. First, it's rooted in reality. Sometimes, when we start evaluating we get so caught up in our sense of how things are doing – "we're losing," "we suck," "we're amazing" that it's hard for us to ground ourselves in what we've actually accomplished. That's why we started with the listing of tactics/events/actions – to ground ourselves.

Second, when you do this evaluation, you can keep referencing your campaign goals (if you have them). What would you say about your strategy, in light of your goals? Are you actually taking steps (along that paper plate path) toward achieving your goals?

Many groups have a practice of evaluating their meetings, but isn't it just as important to occasionally check in with our strategy? Doing this over time will help your group become more conscious at those strategic moments when you ask yourselves, "Is this something we should do? Or should we be consistent?"

Also, on this handout that I'm passing out, there's another evaluation tool that can be used to look at how each of the *tactics* we're using help (or don't help) us move towards our goals.

 Pass out the handout "Evaluating: Review of Activities."

Where This Tool Comes From

Shari Silberstein (Quixote Center) and Daniel Hunter (Training for Change) designed this tool. The tactic analysis tool is from Shari Silberstein (sharis@quixote.org).



Closing Circle

TIME 5 MINUTES

GOALS

Provide a ritual closing to end the workshop or session

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Get the group standing in a circle.



Let's close by sharing in a phrase or a short sentence a way that you want to apply what you learned during this workshop.

I'll start and then we'll go to my left. First I'll give you a moment to reflect on what you want to say.



Give people a moment and then model with a short sharing. Continue until everyone has shared.

Other options for the closing circle:

- ✦ something they learned today; *or*
- ✦ the attitude they hope to bring tomorrow; *or*
- ✦ the attitude they hope to bring to the group in the future; *or*
- ✦ something they appreciated about themselves that day; *or*
- ✦ some way that they shined today; *or*
- ✦ some area they hope to continue exploring and learning.



Steps in Campaigns

HANDOUT

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

- (1) **Investigate/gather information:** Get the facts. Clear up any possible misunderstanding right at the start. If an injustice clearly has been done, be equally certain exactly who or what is to blame for it. The complexity of society today requires patient investigation to accurately determine responsibility for a particular injustice. The ability to explain facts rather than just relying on rhetoric will win support and prevent misunderstandings.
- (2) **Educate:** Keep campaign participants and supporters well-informed about the issues, and spread the word to the public. Education also requires facing issues of oppression and internalized oppression that may face the group. Tactics may include leaflets, street theater, training, informal street speaking, door-to-door personal visits, phone calls and press releases. Always stick to the facts, avoid exaggeration, be brief and show good will.
- (3) **Increase motivation and personal commitment for the struggle ahead:** Prepare your group to commit itself to nonviolent action. This includes getting ready to face backlash or possible repression for some of the actions necessary to establish justice.
- (4) **Negotiate with target:** Meet with opponents and put the case to them. A solution may be worked out at this point. It is possible that your opponents have a grievance which you didn't know about. Now is the time to find out. If no solution is possible, let your opponents know that you intend to stand firm to establish justice.
- (5) **Direct action:** Engage in tactics to resist the unjust system. Some of these may be legal strategies while others may be outside of the law, such as the use of civil disobedience.
- (6) **Create new relationship with opponent which reflects the new power reality:** King referred to this stage as "reconciliation" – not losing relationships because of nonviolent action but building stronger, more respectful relationships.

Common Campaign Terms

The Goods: What is it that you want to get? (**goals**)

Your Folks: Who is impacted by this issue? (**base**)

Your Friends: Who else will be down to help? (**allies**)

The Man: Who can give you what you want? (**target**)

Plan: What things can we do with our power as everyday people to force The Man to give us what we want? (series of **tactics**)

Six Stages of Nonviolent Campaigns derived from Dr. Martin Luther King's essay "Letter from Birmingham Jail" in Why We Can't Wait, New York: Penguin Books, 1963

Term's definitions based on School of Unity & Liberation's Political Education Workshop Manual. (www.schoolofunityandliberation.org).



Campaigning for Social Change: Beyond just protesting for it!

HANDOUT

For groups looking for more strategic models and tools to use, here's a time-tested model for effective social change work. It's a tool that's inherently democratic and builds resources for the movement by winning specific goals. And, as an added bonus, this tool is sizeable to local as well as national contexts. The tool? It's one used throughout history by large and small social movements for everything from overthrowing dictators to getting recycling in a city. So here's to a reminder of a powerful tool: campaigns!

WHAT ARE CAMPAIGNS?

In a nutshell, campaigns are sustained efforts at a specific social justice goal. Campaigns are a powerful way of strategically building the capacity, developing experience, and laying the groundwork for future movements. Simultaneously, campaigns win solid victories for social justice.

Campaigns have a goal. Campaigns are defined by their objectives: winning a particular housing reform; overthrowing a dictator; convincing the city council to undo a repressive ordinance; or getting sweatshop multinationals to allow unionization in their factories.

Goals require having someone or a group of someones who are "targets" – the people who can make that change. This is different from a future vision of "economic justice" in which no single individual or group of individuals can make the vision come true. Campaigns take a piece of those large visions and demand implementation. So a campaign goal under economic justice might be "universal health care" (and the target would be the national government). In a local context it might be "five new affordable housing developments in an area" – the target would be the private developers, or the government which gives out housing contracts.

Campaigns have attainable goals. Some goals are also more useful than others. Unattainable goals aren't as useful as attainable goals (it doesn't build the movement to set ourselves up for failure!). To be attainable, the goals need to consider the group's capacity (a local group would, before a national movement shows up, take on a local-sized goal, though it might be a goal with national/international implication).

To combat sweatshops, United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) used students' schools as the location to wage local campaigns. In schools across the country, students forced their administrations to sign contracts requiring full disclosure of where the various products were made. With that information in hand, students could make and get others to make visits to the sweatshops to inquire about human rights violations, the ability of workers to unionize, wages and other notorious conditions (like no bathroom breaks). Workers in sweatshops in Indonesia, China, Haiti and territories of the United States would no longer be fired in secret.

Nike and other apparel companies said information about their factories was a "trade secret" and could not be shared without ruining business. After months of organizing on dozens of



campuses, the campaign paid off with the largest apparel leader – Nike – doing partial and then ultimately full disclosure of its factory sites. Other apparel industries followed suit.

So that gives a glimpse of another aspect of goals: Goals that have more meaning and impact on people's lives can be more useful than goals that have less impact. I personally went on a speaking tour during the USAS campaign with a union organizer named Haryanto, who had been fired for passing out Nike's Code of Conduct in a factory. Because of the pressure mounting against Nike for full disclosure, when his factory got exposed to the public, he became the first union organizer in a Nike sweatshop to be reinstated through international pressure.

Goals that set up the movement for future wins are more useful than goals that prove to be dead-ends. (Does that new achievement encourage more activism? Does it lead to a practical next step?) In the case of full disclosure of sweatshops, it led naturally to a campaign to create and get campuses to endorse using a monitoring organization, now called the Workers Right Consortium.

Campaigns may be made up by many different tactics. Blockades, sit-ins, strikes, marches, and street speak-outs are all tactics that might show up in campaigns. In the case of the USAS, all of those tactics were used, plus many creative ones like the sweatshop-in (sewing all night and day in a public square).

In campaigns, the tactics are designed to keep the pressure on. Throughout the campaign the pressure on the target keeps being applied until they accept or can no longer oppose.

Otpor, the student movement organization in Yugoslavia, understood this when they built their successful campaign to oust the brutal dictator Slobodan Milosevic. They picked tactics that kept escalating the pressure on Milosevic. They started with creative forms of popular education and guerilla theatre, and moved to illegal public protests combined with other tactics. (One highly effective tactic was "stalking police officers" – getting the names of police officers who brutalized students on the streets, and then showing up in their neighborhoods with signs saying, "This police officer beats up peaceful protesters." It was so effective at shaming police officers in front of their neighbors/families, that Milosevic could no longer count on them to follow orders.) As the public pressure mounted, Otpor eventually shut down the capital city, literally stormed the parliament building, and forced Milosevic into exile.

Different tactics are used to do education and outreach to specific allies/ally groups. Petitions and marches mobilize support and show power, and build toward mass noncooperation with the system (like boycotting campus sweatshop apparel).

Campaigns take time to build. In this way, they differ from one-time actions. They are sustained and involve building pressure over time. While a one-time march might scare the politicians, they want to know if they can "stay cool till the heat blows over." Campaigns make sure the temperature on politicians (or whoever the targets are) stays hot. They keep escalating tactics until a win is gained.

This also distinguishes campaigns. They have an end-point: when the campaign wins. Campaign groups can clap their hands, celebrate, and then tic off a checkmark on that campaign! (In some cases, like that of USAS, there may be a need for monitoring to protect the win from rollback.)



If they choose, campaign organizations can lay themselves down and free up individuals to work on the next campaign. That's different from building an action organization that protests every month for years, with no end in sight. (Don't get me wrong; I also believe in organization building! But one advantage of campaigns is they do not always need a wide organizational base to win.) Indian National Congress provided another model: doing an "all out" campaign every couple of years, and returning to their "regular" political activity in between.

WHY DO CAMPAIGNS WORK?

The movement needs leadership and experience at the grassroots. In order to carry out effective national campaigns, we cannot rely solely on national or international leadership. King, Gandhi and Che may be great, but the real power of social change lies in the grassroots.

Campaigns build local capacity and local leadership in a natural, decentralized way. With local victories come increased self-confidence and readiness to take on more and more. With experience, groups make smarter and more sophisticated decisions.

Campaigns are also radicalizing processes: people who get deep into one issue are likely to learn – not at a book-reading level but via personal experience – the ways issues connect. When campaigning about local housing issues, for example, people naturally run into environmental, economic, and political issues, too. As local activists get smarter and more experienced, they are less caught up in useless political skirmishes or sidetracked by negotiated settlements with the opposition (bargaining for higher wages but breaking the union). Reflected-upon experience creates wisdom, which is a pool we will have to draw from again and again.

Local campaigns can be replicable. As local organizations explore issues and try out new tactics, they are more likely to run across tactics that are replicable. The national sit-in movement, for example, began with four students in Greensboro, NC, who decided to take on their local Woolworth. They popularized the tactic we now know as the sit-in.

The innovation was the tactic – and the implicit campaign goal. It was local, so it could happen in hundreds of other locations. Out of one local action came a national movement. So even while the national/international organizations and coalitions argue out details, we can change the agenda by our combined local actions.

A more recent example of that occurred in the struggle against the U.S.'s domestic war on Muslims, Arabs and other marginalized groups. Hundreds of cities passed city council resolutions against the so-called USA PATRIOT Act [that sanctioned these actions]. For a long time this growing movement went unnoticed by the mainstream until a *New York Times* reporter in Flagstaff, Arizona (a fairly conservative city) found that the city passed a resolution against the USA PATRIOT Act. Thinking it was a fluke, he investigated, and broke the story that dozens of cities had passed such resolutions! Some of the resolutions were symbolic statements, while others pushed the envelope and constrained local officers to not be involved in any USA PATRIOT Act-related round-ups.

Though each resolution resulted from a local campaign, the impact of so many cities passing such resolutions amounted to a groundswell of opposition to the PATRIOT Act. In fact, resistance was so high that John Ashcroft, [former U.S. attorney general and key supporter of



the Act,] tried to take back the offensive by launching a major publicity campaign and doing speaking tours on the PATRIOT Act around the country. The campaign has provided communities with a voice: they don't have to act powerless in the face of oppression. In fact, it has resulted in a major scaling back of plans to launch a PATRIOT Act II. (Senators who authored the document recently claimed they had never even heard of it!)

Campaigns take the offensive. As in the case of the PATRIOT Act, campaigns reclaim the initiative. It puts the oppressors in the mode they should stay in: defensive.

Protests often keep *us* on the defensive: responding to the last war, bemoaning the most recent destroyed housing, attacking the latest action by our mayor/Senator/Governor, or doing mass actions when and where powerholders meet. Campaigns are about achieving goals – and therefore are inherently on the offense. *We* set the goal and *we* push for that goal. Local sit-ins put those who would enforce the Jim Crow laws on the defensive. Campaigns pull the foundation of society – the grassroots – out from underneath the structure of oppression. As more campaigns win, more and more people are ready to resist and non-cooperate with the oppressive patterns of society. A building cannot support itself without its foundations.

Campaigns bring in new energy and form new allies. Many of us work toward a meaningful social revolution with a new paradigm. We are not content with single, isolated victories.

Campaigns mobilize new constituencies. People like winning, and people like being part of a movement that is headed somewhere. "What's your goal?" people so often want to know. By being in a campaign, you can bring in people interested in achieving meaningful goals, but who are not yet ready for the revolution (unlike trying to convert them to Marxism, and *then* tell them to protest the war). New people provide new energy and help radicalize stale organizations.

Furthermore, in a campaign you may be able to engage passive allies. While some political allies may not be ready to sign up for a lifetime of activism, more are ready to work for a specific campaign (which has a limited duration). Campaigns can be key radicalizing processes for such potential armchair activists or isolated allies.

For a grassroots revolution to take place we need a radicalized grassroots base. Without a grassroots ready to challenge the system, confident enough to take on leadership, and experienced enough to make wise decisions, we cannot gain our larger social justice aims.

Targeting specific key allies can also be the difference between victory in a campaign. George Lakey writes of an example of this:

A small group of activists once threw a monkey wrench into a U.S. foreign policy objective by correctly figuring out who to influence through direct action. The U.S. was supporting, as it often does, a military dictatorship that was killing thousands of people. In fact, Pakistani dictator Yayah Khan was killing hundreds of thousands of people in East Bengal who wanted independence. The U.S. government lied about its support, but the activists learned that Pakistani ships were on their way to U.S. ports to pick up military supplies for the continuing massacre. The group also realized that if



longshoremen refused to load the ships, the U.S. government would be foiled.

The problem was, the East Coast longshoremen were, if anything, politically inclined to support the government, and wanted to feed their families. The activists repeatedly tried to persuade the longshoremen to act in solidarity with the East Bengalis, without success. It was time for direct action. The group announced a blockade of the port which was expecting the next Pakistani freighter, and began practicing "naval maneuvers" with sailboats, rowboats and the rest of its motley fleet. The media gave ongoing coverage, and longshoremen witnessed on television as well as in person the strange antics of protesters who seemed to believe they could stop a big freighter with tiny boats. The tactic raised the longshoremen's motivation to listen and discuss, and they agreed that, if the activists created a picket line, the longshoremen would refuse to cross it!¹

When the campaign succeeded in that city, the activists took it to other port cities, and finally the International Longshoremen's union agreed workers would not load Pakistan-bound weapons anywhere in the U.S.! The blockade, initiated by a small group, succeeded because the group crafted direct action tactics specifically geared toward the part of the public that most needed to be influenced.² Through campaigns we can involve constituencies who are ready to be moved into action and move those who are merely passive spectators into participants! Rather than waiting for groups to agree with our vision, we can use tactics to engage with them and, in the context of a clear objective, help them see the reasons why they should support that goal.

Ultimately, campaigns are strategic in that they are headed somewhere. They are a series of tactics, headed toward an attainable goal, which build skills for resistance and grassroots leadership. They can bring in new allies and activate others that have become passive.

The question now is: what campaigns are we ready to take on in our contexts? Already movements around the world use campaigns – Otpor in Serbia, Nagas in India, farmers in Thailand, pro-democracy activists in Kenya and innumerable others. As we act in solidarity with them, what campaign goals will help *our* movements? How can your group/organization/collective integrate campaign thinking into its work? What campaigns can *we* imagine – locally, nationally, internationally – and build?

So: let's wage campaigns for social justice, not just protest for it!

*Written by Daniel Hunter, Training for Change
(www.TrainingForChange.org)*

¹ Strategizing for a Living Revolution, George Lakey – available on the Training for Change website (www.TrainingForChange.org).

² This campaign, which has more to teach us about direct action than there's room to go into here, is described blow-by-blow by Richard K. Taylor, *Blockade* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1977). This campaign in solidarity with Bangladesh happened in 1971-72.



Campaign Goals

HANDOUT

Campaign goals are specific and realistic.

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

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

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

- increase people's decision-making power or ability to control decisions (e.g., give students greater power over their own schools)
- naturally lead people to see how society could be different (e.g., winning suggests a logical next step which people will want to take)
- raise people's consciousness (i.e., help people see through the veil of lies of the current society)
- build people's confidence and capability so that they can make future wins (e.g., choosing an easy goal that is quickly winnable so our group/movement can increase its morale, its size, and its awareness of its own power).

Here are some examples of campaign goals related to counter-recruitment.

JROTC

- get a school board (or some respected mainstream group) to make a statement coming out against JROTC
- start an adventure club or exercise club (e.g., www.DemocracyGuard.org)

For schools that have it...

- get rid of it
- reduce number of students enrolled in it by X%
- stop JROTC instructors from teaching regular classes
- provide an alternative activism or physical education class (e.g., www.DemocracyGuard.org)

For schools that don't...

- make a policy that the school will never have a JROTC program (or prevent one from being started)

JAMRS

- make public the documents describing the JAMRS program, including where they get their information from
- target a group known to feed info into the JAMRS database and require they stop giving information
- force those companies to require permission to share the personal information collected on their forms
- pass shareholder resolutions opposing cooperation with JAMRS
- pressure local businesses or the city business association to come out against sharing information for that database
- get a congressional resolution/city resolution against this database



No Child Left Behind

- increase the number of students opting out by X% (consider framing the numbers: i.e., that more of our students meet with college recruiters than with military recruiters)
- pass a state or local requirement that all schools must offer opt-out information on their school emergency card
- pressure the school to refuse to provide information (and risk losing federal funding)
- adopt an "opt-in" rather than an "opt-out" policy at your school
- develop an opt-out form for your area
- start a student peace club to discuss counter-recruiting

ASVAB

- stop your school from using it
- organize X number of students to refuse the test,
- organize school administrators to choose Option 8
- require that all studies going into the ASVAB test (psychological, advertising) have to be public
- secure a report from the school system about why they administer ASVAB
- get a school board resolution against using ASVAB
- require that ASVAB is handed out with an explanation of its goals, its history, and whether the school has chosen to release students' contact information and scores to military recruiters
- offer ASVAB, but not as a mandatory test
- fundraise for the school system to provide an alternative test

Recruiter Access in Schools/Recruiting Vans

- require all recruiters to sign a behavior code if they want to come into the school (i.e., cannot carry guns, no homophobic slurs, etc.)
- ban recruiters from school grounds
- limit recruiter access to twice a year (i.e., on career fair days)
- restrict recruiters to certain areas of the school
- don't allow recruiters to sponsor extracurricular activities at the school
- convince the school to accept military brochures/pamphlets, but no recruiters
- promote equal access: a counter-recruitment activist may be present every time a recruiter is present
- offer a brown bag lunch series about "how I got my job" from different local parents and community members (who aren't employed by the military)
- get 50 teachers to refuse to allow recruiters in their classroom / get 300 students to say they refuse to speak to them / get 500 parents saying they don't want recruiters in the schools¹
- have an open debate between military recruiters and folks against school recruitment, sponsored by the school

¹ This could be a tactic, but also might be a campaign.



Beyond Opt-Out: a strategy article

HANDOUT

(This article is included as an example of applied criteria about choosing objectives in light of where they lead. It's a strategy article challenging the counter-recruitment movement on how we pick campaign goals.)

It is encouraging to observe the contemporary anti-war movement's recent shift toward giving greater attention to military recruiting. This means that a growing number of individuals and organizations now understand that there is an organizing strategy that can be employed with much more effectiveness than the symbolic protest that has characterized most anti-war activism since September 11, 2001. People are finally looking deeper into the issues and understanding that no matter how frightening and uncontrollable the Bush administration may seem, it has a very reachable Achilles heel when it comes to needing human resources to wage its wars.

Nevertheless, there are reasons to be cautious in our optimism about the shift toward counter-recruitment work. In the organizing choices we now see, there is evidence that many activists still do not perceive the larger picture that surrounds the issue of recruitment. They are not understanding why the problem deserves much more than a tactical treatment, and as a result, counter-recruitment organizers are sometimes emphasizing very limited goals that look at the problem merely at the individual level, and not at the equally important community and societal levels. The phenomenon parallels the pattern we experienced during the anti-Vietnam War movement when, for many, the predominant tactical focus was on saving individuals from the draft. That approach benefited a limited number of potential draftees, but it also missed many others who were still drafted. More importantly, it did not affect the larger institutional issues that made Vietnam possible, even though the war was eventually halted. The consequence was 30 years of gradual remilitarization that has led us to where we are now.

How is this mistake being repeated today? First, a substantial amount of concern about military recruiting is focusing solely on schools giving recruiters students' names, addresses and phone numbers. Often, people do not realize that this practice has existed for many years. Though the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001 made providing recruiters access to student lists mandatory, the vast majority of secondary schools had already been giving recruiters this contact information for decades, under the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA). Before NCLB, release of the information was discretionary, and if schools elected to do it, they had to notify parents of the right to opt out. When NCLB was implemented in 2002, some of this changed: the opt-out right is still in effect, but schools can no longer choose to withhold names, addresses and phone numbers from recruiters without risking losing their federal funds.

When this change in the law occurred, news coverage brought more people's attention to the fact that schools were sharing the information, and in the context of growing concern about the Iraq war and occupation, this triggered campaigns to educate students and parents about opting out. Though Iraq has been the critical subtext for these campaigns, the tactical choice has been to give the issue of privacy an equal, or even greater, emphasis in opt-out organizing, while little attention is being given to other factors — like militarism in education — that led schools to give recruiters access to student information long before Iraq. As a result, activists frequently focus all of their energy on getting students and parents to sign and submit opt-out requests to their schools, while most schools (there are some exceptions) drag their feet when it comes to facilitating the opt-out process and only do the



minimum required to publicize that the opt-out right exists. Maximizing the opt-out rate is then dependent on activists renewing their opt-out organizing efforts every year as new students enter secondary schools. This can become a serious resource problem.

And while all of this energy is being devoted to opt-out organizing, over 14,000 schools per year are allowing the military to get around the opt-out barrier by giving its aptitude test, the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB), to students. With very few exceptions, the ASVAB results in student contact information and much more personal data being released to recruiters, even if the student has opted out from the separate, general release of student lists to recruiters.

Recruiters get around the opt-out barrier in a number of other ways as well. For example, they purchase information on students who take college entrance examinations, such as SAT. At high school career and college fairs, they entice students into surrendering their names and addresses in exchange for military-logoed trinkets, like water bottles and lanyards. Some National Guard units have developed ruses like a "study skills seminar" that students are excused from regular class to attend. Once at the seminar, they are required to fill out contact cards that are then used for recruiting.

Further, there are ongoing classroom programs such as Jr. ROTC, which now affects approximately half a million secondary students. JROTC is basically a daily indoctrination program, disguised as "education," that has been recognized by the U.S. Congress as one of the best recruiting tools for the military. But before students even get to the secondary school level, they are, increasingly, being taught military values and groomed for recruitment through a network of partnerships the military has with primary schools and, via programs like the Young Marines, in middle schools.

The lesson here is that while opting out is worth pursuing as a tactical issue, an approach to countering recruitment that focuses mostly on saving individual students is an energy-intensive one that will perpetually miss most young people because the involvement of the military in schools is too widespread and is not being adequately challenged institutionally. Also open to question is whether or not parents and others will end their involvement in the cause once their own kids graduate, or the U.S. withdraws from Iraq. This is what happened with many activists after Vietnam.

Thus, opt-out campaigns have very limited significance without addressing the other ways by which the military reaches and influences students, and that requires us to address the general militarization of schools. If, as a movement, we fail to recognize this reality and do not use this specific historical moment to adopt a long-term commitment to confronting militarism in education, we will be wasting a critical opportunity to not only prevent future wars, but more importantly, to reverse the 30-year trend toward militarization that is making the political climate in this country increasingly reactionary.

Counter-recruitment, then, becomes far more than a tactical issue concerning Iraq. It is an integral part of a larger strategy for defeating militarism that is absolutely necessary to cultivate a political and social climate that embraces critical thinking and democratic discourse. Counter-recruitment work is really an effort to ensure our future ability to work for progressive social change in the U.S. It's very crucial that this larger context not escape us.

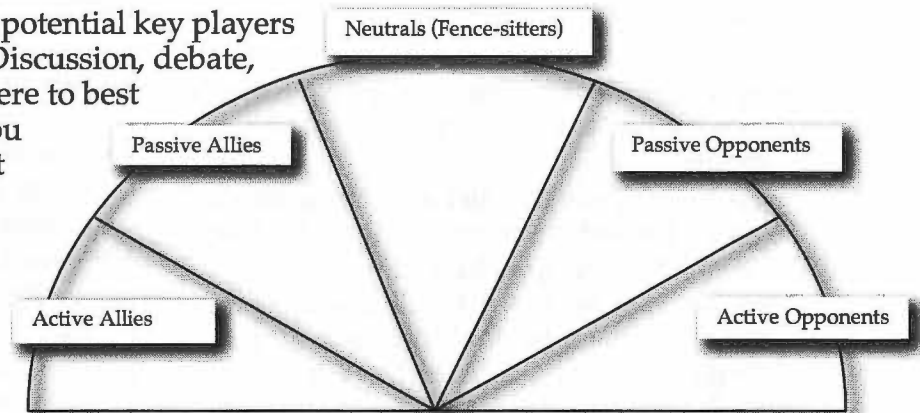
From Draft NOTICES, newsletter of the Committee Opposed to Militarism and the Draft (<http://www.comdsd.org>), July-August 2005, Beyond Opt-out, by Rick Jahnkow



Spectrum of Allies

HANDOUT

Start by placing current and potential key players in the appropriate wedges. Discussion, debate, is great as people decide where to best put certain groups. When you have that analysis in place, it leads naturally to making choices. You can identify which groups to work with and then orient your outreach to match them. To do that, ask:



- which groups do we have some access to or credibility with?
- which groups can we persuade (even if it is a challenge) that will help us in the long-term?
- which groups already get a lot of attention from activists and which ones suffer from neglect?
- which groups do we personally feel most called to persuade?
- which groups would help us expand our circle of influence and create a ripple effect?

Here is an example from a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee organizer, Bernard Lafayette, who describes identifying allies in their efforts to register voters in Selma, Alabama, in 1965:

We tried to get people around the city to come, but it was slow. So we went out in the rural [areas]. The people out there are close to the earth, they're very religious and warm and friendly. And mostly they're unafraid. They own most of their own property and their little stores. So we got these people to go and try to register to vote.

Then we used this as a leverage to try to embarrass many of the people in the city. City folks are sometimes critical and skeptical about country people. So we pointed that these people were really getting ahead. When these city people began to go down it was really sort of a birth of a movement.¹

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

Written by Daniel Hunter, Training for Change
(www.TrainingForChange.org)

¹ Guy and Candie Carawan, ed., *Sing for Freedom: the story of the Civil Rights Movement through its songs* (Sing Out Publication 1990), page 246.



Evaluation: Review of Activities

HANDOUT

How to lead

Step 1: List all the events the group has done in the past year (six months, two months....)

Step 2: Compare that list with the group's goals. Consider external events: did they impact the group's choices?

Step 3: Examine that list as if you were an external strategist, looking for strategic insights and lessons from the list.

Step 4: Compare the list to the evaluation criteria (to the right). Identify growth edges for the group, and how to be more effective. If the goals include increasing capacity – e.g., more people in the organization or increased skills – make sure to check if that goal is being achieved. (That's another aspect of direction).

Evaluation Criteria

Direction: Did we have a clear goal we were headed toward?

Consistency: Did we keep pushing toward that goal? Did our actions match that goal?

Flexibility: Did we change when we needed to? Were we able to stay responsive?

Self-Care: Did we take care of each other while we got the work done? Did we have fun and stay in touch with our motivation?

ADDITIONAL EVALUATION TOOL: TACTIC ANALYSIS

Purposes: To examine how a group's tactics are being effective. To make smarter decisions about which tactics to use, and when to use them.

Identify tactics that the group uses a lot and examine each of them using the chart below:

TACTIC	1-10 Amount it achieves its goals (E.G., SHOWING POWER OR EDUCATING)	1-10 Amount of power it CREATES (E.G., DOES IT BRING MORE PEOPLE)	1-10 Amount of energy it TAKES	1-10 Amount of energy it CREATES /REPLENISHES

After analyzing tactics, note some that you might want to spend the time to improve. Make a list of ways to *maximize* and ways to *minimize* the tactic's effectiveness. How can you use it most effectively?

Review of Activities by Daniel Hunter, Training for Change
(www.TrainingForChange.org).

Tactic Analysis by Shari Silberstein, Quixote Center
(sharis@quixote.org).



The Big Picture of Counter-Recruitment

Seeing CR as a Movement

For those already involved in counter-recruitment work, this workshop helps folks put counter-recruitment into a larger context of militarism. This workshop focuses on the dynamics of social movements and puts smaller campaigns into the bigger picture of social change.

Folks will build skills in the strategic choices they need to further their campaign, sustain themselves for the long run, and get familiar with the Movement Action Plan, a powerful framework for how movements develop over time.

TOTAL TIME

3 hours

WORKSHOP GOALS

- Learn the Movement Action Plan: eight steps in successful social movements
- How to map and analyze counter-recruitment in a larger context, including in relation to the anti-war and anti-militarism movements
- Understand one's own personal motivation and commitment to do counter-recruitment
- How to take care of oneself to help sustain oneself for the long run
- How to analyze political power from a grassroots nonviolence perspective

HOW TO PREPARE

- Set up the room and arrange the chairs in a circle
- Write up the agenda on large newsprint paper
- Make enough copies of the handouts (they are at the end of this section, page 183).
- Four sturdy chairs (not folding)
- Post-it notes or paper with pieces of tape and at least one writing tool for each participant



The Big Picture of Counter-Recruitment (continued)**WORKSHOP DESIGN**

Time	Exercise & Description
10 minutes	Introduction & Agenda Review Sharing "something you don't know about me related to why I do this work"
30	Power of the Grassroots A tool to examine different types of power and how social change happens
40	Force Field Analysis A big picture analysis of the forces impacting our movement, the military and its cultural impact, including how counter-recruitment relates to other movements
50	Movement Action Plan An eight-stage framework for how social movements win. Debriefed with where are we and what does this mean for us?
45	Sustaining Self-Care A tool to help people connect their personal motivations with their personal health.
5	Closing Circle



Introductions & Agenda Review

TIME 10 MINUTES

GOALS

To create a welcoming space; set a tone and energy for the workshop that invites sharing and participation.

To let people know who you are as a trainer

Reviewing the agenda gets everyone on the same page, and lets people know what to expect from the training.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Introduce yourself to the group, giving information about the group you're with, your history with counter-recruitment work, and any other personal information you want to share.



As a way of introducing yourself, I'd like to invite each person to share with the group the answer to this question: "What's something you don't know about me related to why I do this work?" Whoever wants to start can start. We won't go in a circle around the room, so whoever wants to speak after that can speak – and so forth, until everyone shares.



Pay attention to what people say. It can help you see how experienced the group is with this work, and help you to tailor the training and debrief the exercises to meet people's interest and need. Plus this ties in to the sustaining self-care piece by getting in touch with people's personal motivation.



Write the agenda (listed below) up on two large pieces of newsprint and hang them somewhere visible. When writing up the agenda, there is no need to write the name or description of each exercise. Just give a broad overview.

Agenda

- Introductions & Agenda Review
- Power of the Grassroots
- Force Field Analysis (an analytical tool)
- Movement Action Plan: 8-stage model of movements
- Sustaining Ourselves for the Long-term
- Closing



Read the agenda aloud.



Does anybody have any questions?



Power of the Grassroots

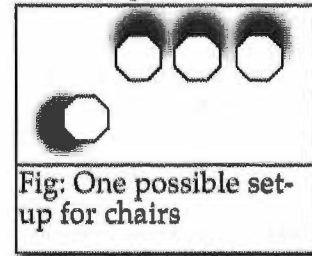
TIME 30 MINUTES

GOALS


Give participants a theoretical tool to analyze the power of the grassroots
Introduce participants to theory of nonviolence as a means for social change (pillars of support)


SPECIAL MATERIALS


Four sturdy chairs (not folding)





RUNNING THE EXERCISE

-  Set up four chairs in the center of the room. Put them in some configuration (see figure at right).

-  We're now going to think about different types of power and how groups can make change in society. So, looking at these chairs, which chair is the most powerful?

-  Get lots of 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
 - Keep looking for diversity of opinions ("How about this chair? Why is this chair the most powerful?")
 - It's great to encourage and note difference ("So that's why you think that is the most powerful chair? Another perspective?")
 - Use *brief* follow-up questions: "So why is this one powerful?"
 - Get a lot of different input from different people
 - Try to keep noting themes in the conversation and disagreements (use the three 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."

-  **Key point:** After getting a wide range of perspectives, introduce the three types of power (below). Pass out the handout "A Fresh Look at 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."


 There is a next step to this activity. We can see that there are different ways of looking at power – but how does this show up in terms of political power? Let's examine it. First, can I get a few volunteers?

 Get three or four volunteers. Keeping an eye on the safety and well-being of all the participants, ask one of them to stand on a chair and stand on his/her tippy-toes. That person is going to represent The Man (the elite). The others hold up The Man to make sure she/he doesn't fall (supporters).

Ask The Man to make statement like "I'm in charge here!" "You must do what I say!" "You are suspended!" "I expel you!"

After a minute or so, stop the exercise. Ask people to look at this dynamic.

 So what do you see here? What's going on? Who's in charge here? In what way?

 Key point: Supporters hold up the elite in our societies. Occasionally, those supporters consciously and, more often, unconsciously support the current elite by their cooperation with the system.

Pass out the handouts "Nonviolent Action: Removing Pillars of Support."
Read the handout together or share a story of nonviolent movements pulling the pillars of support in order to win major victories.

Where This Tool Comes From

Tools adapted and series designed by Daniel Hunter (Training for Change).

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).

Three types of power as used by George Lakey from activist/author/witch Starhawk (see "Dreaming in the Dark: Magic, Sex, and Politics", by Starhawk).



Force Field Analysis

TIME 40 MINUTES


GOALS


- Identify major forces at work behind military recruitment and the military industrial complex.
- Build group understanding of what is going on in society

SPECIAL MATERIALS

- Post-it notes or paper with pieces of tape and at least one writing tool for each participant

RUNNING THE EXERCISE

-  Draw a large line down the middle of a piece of paper on the wall. On one side put "Vision of Harmony" (or some phrase to that effect) and on the other side a phrase to represent "Complete Nightmare". Then draw arrows on each side of the line (like the image below).

-  The next exercise is a way to think about forces affecting our movement. We're looking for the big picture in which we're operating and how that affects what we're doing.

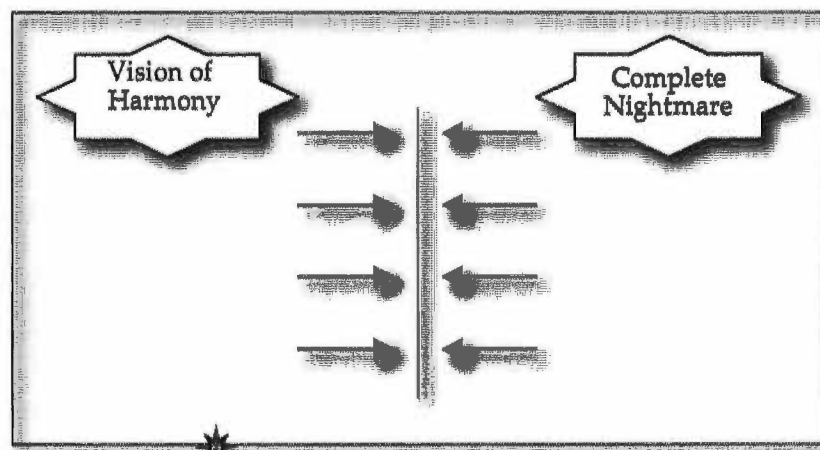
The tool is simple enough. On the right side are forces that push us toward our vision of harmony. (Notice that they're pushing to the *left* and therefore are put on the right side.) On the left side are other forces pushing toward the worst possible society.

The line in the middle represents society. As the forces on the right get more powerful, or those on the left side get less powerful or are undercut, then society moves toward our vision of harmony.

This tool was originally designed by Kurt Lewin, who was a Jew living through the rise of Nazism in Germany. He saw that society generally was neither ideal (in terms of freedom from poverty, fear, injustice and oppression,) nor fully deteriorated (violent, littered with corruption and completely fascist).


Instead, he said society is the tension of these forces pushing against each other.

For us now, the task is to identify some of the forces pushing in both directions. They




may be psychological, economic, environmental, historical trends, etc. But I also invite you to think of specific people or organizations. And since this workshop is about counter-recruitment against the military, we'll focus on the parts of society pushing us toward our vision of a just and peaceful society.

So think about the forces pushing us one way or the other, and write them down. What are the different groups/organizations/forces? Put one force on each piece of paper. When you're done, put your papers up on the wall *on the side that shows whether the force is pushing society toward justice and peace, or away from that dream.*

-  Depending on the group, the vision of a perfect society might be very different (e.g., no military, no unjust wars, no recruitment for the Iraq war, no unjust targeting of people of color). There is no need for the group to agree on one vision, but it's useful to at least notice if there are major differences in the room.

Watch to make sure participants put their papers up on the side that they intend to. They can write the same force pushing in both directions, but some people will get confused because forces they agree with are on the right side pushing society toward the left.


-  In explaining this tool, it may help to use the metaphor of a football game: the team on the right is trying to reach its goalpost – the vision of harmony – and the team on the left is trying to reach *its* goalpost – what we would call complete nightmare. The line down the center moves, just as the scrimmage line moves in football. This image won't work for every group, but in explaining the concept it is good to use as many words and images that emphasize motion as possible. Gesturing often, and illustrating movement with your own body and hands, also helps to clarify the object of the exercise.

Allow several minutes for people to think and post their thoughts. Push them to identify forces that they may be missing. "Have you considered unions?" "Where do local community centers fit in?" "What about our local lodges?" "Have we exhausted all the local political organizations?" "Are there some people with rank in that organization that disagree with its position? Who are they?"

Invite people to think locally, nationally and internationally.

Wrap up when the group has exhausted its ideas.

-  So let's step back and look at the various forces. What have we got?

-  Invite people to read out different forces. If there is curiosity about why it's there, or controversy, follow it. Oftentimes within the disagreement are major



lessons. Add in theory about the relationships of military, money, and elite forces. Notice cultural trends and how they impact on recruitment.

Give lots of time for this, because the discussion generates major learning.

A few key questions/points to make:

- Who are we working with? Who are other social movements working with? What about the peace/anti-war movement? What about the anti-militarism movement? How are we or how are we not connecting effectively to other movements?
- Which of these forces reflect mainstream cultural values? What are those values? Which of the values are being violated by the military? How could we connect to those more?
- Where are weak spots in the military's strength? How effective are we at exploiting their weaknesses?
- Is our movement mainly: a) trying to undermine the forces pushing toward the Nightmare or b) strengthening the forces pushing toward our Vision? How do we feel about that? If that's our current strategy, what does that mean for next steps? (Note that movements can win by using fully one strategy or another.)
- What are the demographics of the groups on the left and on the right side? What are the demographics of this room? How does that reflect or not reflect the racial and economic class composition of those suffering under military oppression (in this country and outside this country)?

Pass out the handout "The Twin Heads of Militarism." It is a sample article about finding new allies through putting the issues of recruitment into a larger context, in this case domestic and international militarism.

Where This Tool Comes From

Created by Judith Jones with George Lakey, Training for Change (www.trainingforchange.org).
Based on Kurt Lewin's force field analysis.


Movement Action Plan






TIME 50 MINUTES

GOALS


- Introduce the Movement Action Plan
- Encourage people to see counter-recruitment as part of a larger movement
- Encourage participants to take responsibility for counter-recruitment's next steps, and to become more consciously strategic in their choices of tactics in light of the big picture

RUNNING THE EXERCISE


-  Have participants brainstorm a list of their favorite tactics. Emphasize that tactics are different types of actions – direct action, alternative institutions, culture, work, etc.

After a range of tactics are on the list (twenty or so is generally fine), break participants into groups of four or five. Assign each group an approximately equal section of the list. (You may have to tear the newsprint up; that's fine).
-  In your small group, look at each tactic. Identify if you would use the tactic in the *beginning*, *middle*, or *end* of a movement. I'll give you about seven minutes for this. After that we'll share our results with the large group.
-  If participants want to identify all tactics as use-able in the beginning, middle, and end, push them to put each tactic in one, maybe two, categories. If they protest that they don't know enough about a tactic to say, push them to develop the tactic until they can fit it in somewhere. The more seriously participants take this assignment, the more they will get out of this exercise.
-  After seven minutes, ask the groups to share their results. If there was disagreement, explore the reasons. Go around the room until each group has reported on its conversation.
-  So, let's use the clusters of tactics to explore our understandings of each of the stages. How might we characterize the *beginning* stage? The *middle* stage? The *end* stage?
-  Write up those major themes: Beginning stages include this; middle stages include this; end stages include this. Call attention to the ways in which movements build capacity over time, both in terms of the numbers of people involved and in terms of their skills. An effective movement is one which *sequences* its actions (tactics) so that over time its capacity is increased.




 Well congratulations! You've begun to make a broad, general framework of how social movements grow and why certain tactics make sense at certain moments (and less at others). When we're particularly good at a tactic, or comfortable with a tactic, (like classroom speaking or marching), we have a tendency to think that it is always effective and appropriate, regardless of the larger strategic context. Not so: tactics should be guided by strategy.


So here is someone else's framework for movements develop over time. It's called the Movement Action Plan, written up by activist/theoretician William Moyer. Moyer was involved in the civil rights movement, as well as the safe energy and nuclear weapons freeze campaigns.

 Hand out the two Movement Action Plan handouts ("Movement Action Plan: A Map for the Course" and "Eight Stages of Social Movement Success"). Have people read the handout if there is time; or, if you're familiar with the theory, do a mini-lecture on it using a movement you're familiar with for illustration. Expect that walking through the theory and internalizing it will take the group some time. Allow for disagreement, too: "Not everyone will agree with this or any framework (nor needs to). However, it might help us to identify strategy lessons we can use." Then compare MAP with what the group created.

Leave at least 10 minutes for this last section.

 So given this model, what stage do you think the counter-recruitment movement is in? Why do you think that?

And if that's true, what does that mean we need to be doing to get to the next stage? What are we not doing that we should be doing differently? What would that look like?

 Help people move from this general theory to specific application of how they could be doing their work differently. Close with any final insights or sharing about how people will do their work differently.

Where This Tool Comes From

By George Lakey with Daniel Hunter, Training for Change
www.TrainingForChange.org.

Bill Moyer's Movement Action Plan is written in his book
Doing Democracy (New Society Publishers).




Sustaining Self-Care


TIME 45 MINUTES


GOALS


Encourage self-care in the long-term
Help participants reflect on techniques they already use in order to become more aware of what balances them (and depletes their energy)

RUNNING THE EXERCISE


-  If we're going to stay involved in the movement for the long-term, we also have to take care of ourselves. It takes energy to move the movement from stage to stage, and we need to take care of ourselves and each other along the way. This is an exercise to support that.


-  Break participants into groups of three. Ask them to settle into a moment of silence to reflect on three questions:
 - How do I come to this work?
 - What helps me sustain my work?
 - What gets in the way of sustaining my work?

-  As you think about each question, try to recall a particular moment or story related to each of the questions. I'll give you a minute or two to reflect on that. I'll let you know when you can start sharing.

-  After a minute or two (or more for groups more comfortable with silence), have them share the stories. This should take about 10-15 minutes (up to 5 minutes per person). Ask folks in the group to listen actively to each other, offering reflections and questions, not advice.


Bring the group back together and report, looking for common themes.

-  What are people's personal motivations? What gets in the way of sustainability?

-  Make two lists based on what people are sharing: What Sustains You / What Depletes You.

Notice any patterns (for example, physical action often shows up on the "sustain" list). Be light, and help the group be honest as they disclose.



 Much of self-care is about balance. There may be some wisdom in looking at the two lists together and how they relate to one's personal balance. Go back to your groups of three with the question: "For you, what are the connections between what sustains you and what depletes you?"

After several minutes, reflect with the group in the plenary. Close the session by passing out and reading the "Our Power" handout.

If there is time: Have people reflect with someone else on the question: "What can I do for more self-care?"

Where This Tool Comes From

This design was created by Claudia Horowitz and Jesse Maceo Vega-Frey, stone circles (301 West Main St, Suite 280 • Durham, NC USA 27701) www.stonecircles.org • www.spiritualactivist.org



Closing Circle

TIME 5 MINUTES

GOALS

Provide a ritual closing to end the workshop or session

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Get the group standing in a circle.



I have terrible news. The sky has fallen down! It lies before us: there is the sun, and the moon, and there are the clouds. We need to carefully lift the sky in place. To do that, we need to lift it up from the ground *all together* – we cannot have pieces sliding off because we're uneven.



Demonstrate raising the sky from your knees, up above your head, to tossing it into the air. Explain that the sky sticks better when you yell: so as you toss it into the air you all need to yell really loud. (Note physical abilities and height and being sensitive to those.)

Do it – don't lead the group in doing it. Let them do it on their own together.



A Fresh Look at Power

HANDOUT

Nonviolent action differs from violence, which tries to terrorize or hurt someone until they accede. It relies on a different type of power. To understand nonviolent action, we have to look at the question: What is power?

1. There are 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."

Nonviolent action awakens power-from-within and mobilizes power-with to withdraw support from power-over institutions and behaviors.

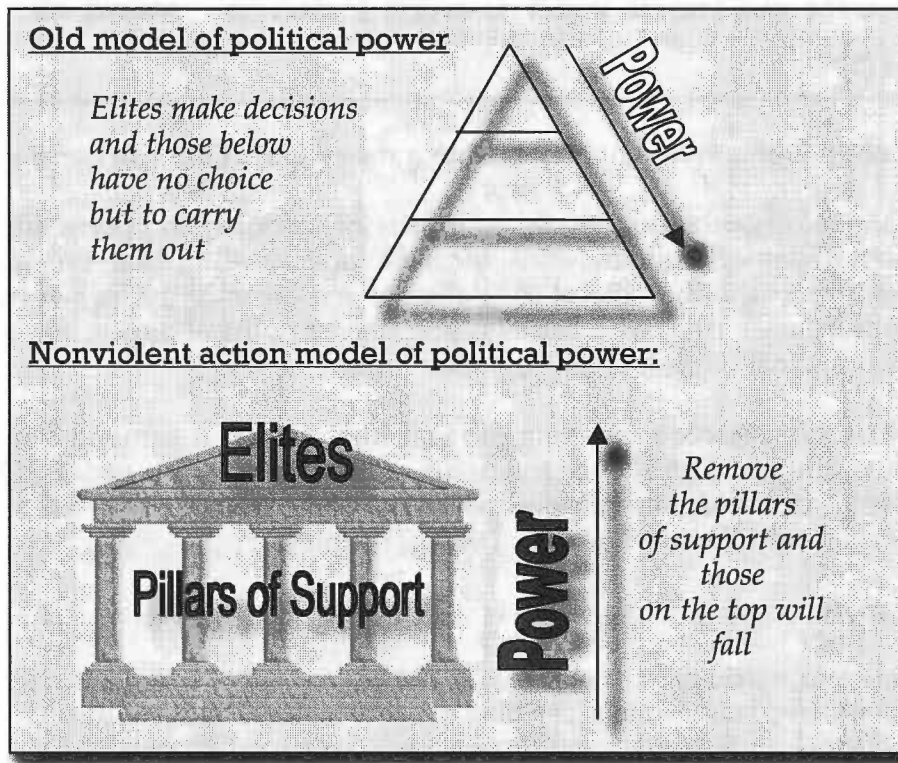
2. Nonviolent action is a *political* power because all the elites' power rests with people's cooperation with the system

The elites cannot have power over the masses unless the masses generally cooperate. The elites depend on the masses to ship goods; to teach and take classes; to maintain the power grid; to consume electricity; to pay and collect taxes; to make and buy fast foods; to run hospitals; to conduct and attend religious services; to fear and welcome change; and many, many other things.

In a social structure, the pillars supporting the elites remain in place because the people making up each pillar believe:

- They have more in common with the elites above them than with people in other pillars around them
- They will be crushed if the elites fall
- The elites would stay up there with or without support; the pillars are not really holding up the elites
- The elites know better than the pillars, and the pillars should just stay in place for their own good





3. Change happens when people identify what “pillars” they want to affect through nonviolent action

Nonviolent activists can identify the pillars of support (sturdy, slender, and somewhere in between) which maintain an unjust situation. Those pillars of support can be eroded until not enough remain, and the elite topples. Choosing which pillars to work on; choosing how to work on them; and choosing when to work on them is the task of strategizing.

Written by Betsy Raasch-Gilman and Daniel Hunter
 raaschgilman@gaiavoices.net, Training Associate with Training
 for Change (www.TrainingForChange.org).

Nonviolent Action: Removing Pillars of Support

HANDOUT

Here's an example of nonviolent action from a recent case: Otpor in Serbia.

Otpor was a loose organization, made up mostly of school-aged young adults, that brought down dictator Slobodan Milosevic in October 2000. Serbian President Milosevic, known as the "Butcher of the Balkans," led the country for twelve years under an authoritarian rule, with brutal repression of political opposition and a decade of war against other former Yugoslav republics.

Otpor organized a grassroots campaign to kick him out. Their campaign mobilized sectors of the population until even the police refused to obey his orders. Otpor used the nonviolent action insight that power does not come from those at the top, but from the workers and those who really run the country.

Trainers from the country wrote:

By themselves, rulers cannot collect taxes, enforce repressive laws and regulations, keep trains running on time, prepare national budgets, direct traffic, manage ports, print money, repair roads, keep food supplied to the markets, make steel, build rockets, train the police and the army, issue postage stamps or even milk a cow. People provide these services to the ruler through a variety of organizations and institutions. If the people stop providing these skills, the ruler cannot rule.

[From the Centre for Applied NonViolent Action and Strategies (CANVAS) a training organization started by trainers from Otpor. Their website is: <http://www.canvasopedia.org>]

Instead of imagining power flowing down, they observed that power flows up – the bosses and the elites must be supported by the layers below. People "on top" are only powerful as long as the people below them continue to cooperate. They pictured pillars of support in Serbian society which held up the dictator. If the pillars gave way, Otpor believed, Milosevic would fall. For example:

One pillar of support for Milosevic was his police. Otpor systematically undermined that pillar. The young activists knew that fighting the police would strengthen police loyalty to Milosevic (and also support the mass media claim that the young people were hoodlums and terrorists). So they trained themselves to make nonviolent responses to police violence during protests. One of the slogans they learned during their trainings was: "It only hurts if you're scared." They took photos of their wounded. They enlarged the photos, put them on signs, and carried the signs in front of the houses of the police who hurt them. They talked to the cop's neighbors about it, took the signs to the schools of the police officers' children and talked with the children about it. After a year of this, police were plainly reluctant to beat



Otpor activists even when ordered to do so, because they didn't want the negative reactions of their family, friends, neighbors.

The young people joked with the plainclothes police assigned to infiltrate them and reminded the cops that everyone would get their chance to act for democracy. Through the assertive outreach of the activists, relationships were built with the police, even into the higher ranks. When the movement ripened into a full-fledged insurgency in Belgrade, many police were sent out of the city by their commanders while other police simply watched the crowds take over the Parliament building.

[From, Globalize Liberation: How to Uproot the System and Build a Better World, a collection of articles on analysis, vision, and strategy edited by David Solnit (City Lights 2004), pages 137-138.]

In similar ways, they removed other pillars of support until eventually they forced Milosevic out of office in October, 2000.

They used the elements of nonviolent action to win: they reduced repression by refusing to engage the police (and the many agent provocateurs) in street battles; they stayed connected with the general public; and they recognized that they could be militant and committed to victory without taking up arms.

Written by Daniel Hunter, Training for Change
For more on this struggle with great visuals, see the video,
"Bringing Down a Dictator."



The Twin Heads of Militarism

HANDOUT

All too often peace activists who organize against war and militarism by the U.S. armed forces forget to also organize against the domestic arm of militarism: U.S. police forces. It is unfortunate that connections between the two are not being made. Now, on the eve of a second Iraq war, we as activists are in a prime position to make vital connections between global militarism and domestic militarism.

Everyday we are bombarded through the media with the term "state sponsored terrorism." We must look at Reverend Daniel Buford's concept of racial profiling and police brutality as U.S. sanctioned "state-based terrorism". This terrorism is being waged against communities of color all across the U.S. Here in Seattle where I work, African Americans make up only 10% of the population but are over 40% of those in the King County jail. This disproportionality is directly related to the acknowledged behavior of racial profiling by the Seattle Police Department. On a national level, because of profiling, by the year 2017 there will be more African Americans incarcerated than were enslaved at the height of slavery in 1863. That is terrorism against communities of color of genocidal proportions.

As we talk about police departments waging terrorism against communities of color, we also cannot forget the countless beatings and murders of people of color by police officers. From the killing of Aaron Roberts here in Seattle to the killing of Amadu Diallo in New York, police have shown disregard for the lives of people of color, with consistent impunity from the courts, or should I say the state.

All across the U.S. we hear police chiefs and elected officials declaring war against crime, war against gangs, war against drugs and war against violence. The concrete results of these "wars" have actually been a war against people of color and the poor. There is a disproportionate amount of suffering in communities of color and poor communities as a result of these wars.

Police officers and the armed forces go through very similar militaristic and dehumanizing training to become soldiers or officers. The new cable show "The Elites" very clearly illustrates how comparable the police academy is to the type of boot camp that new military recruits attend. Whether it is the police academy or boot camp, recruits are taught to treat the enemy as less than and worthy of death.

Who is the domestic enemy in the U.S.? Incarceration rates show the enemy as being African American and Latino men. Both institutions also receive a large share of national, state, and municipal budgets. In Seattle, 49% of the budget goes to the criminal justice system and 56% of the federal budget goes to the military. This allocation of funding to our institutions of militarism takes away money from social needs such as healthcare, job training, and education. A nation that has a relationship based on justice with all of its citizens and the world would not need to spend so much money on security forces. The most glaring similarity between the military and the police is their institutional role. The role of both institutions is to maintain the



status quo. Globally and domestically the military and the police serve to control any resistance to U.S. economic domination and to quell any uprising against racist institutional polices here at home. From Central America and Vietnam to Iraq, it is clear that the U.S. military has been used to either destroy democratic people's movements that threaten U.S. economic interests or to destroy any regime that entertains the least notion of challenging U.S. global domination. Domestically from the Watts rebellion in 1966 to the most recent African American uprising in response to a police killing a young black male in Cincinnati, the institutional role of the police is to silence any uproar in communities of color that suffer from high unemployment, poor schools, poor housing, high infant mortality rates, and four hundred plus years of institutional racism.

Even predominately White crowds have been victims of the militarism of the police as we saw in the 1999 WTO protest in Seattle. It is hard to believe that those nonviolent protestors, who were faced with police dressed as storm troopers with tanks, tear gas, concussion grenades, and high powered weapons did not view the police as an Army of sorts. If the police would wage such an attack on the civil liberties of its White citizens, imagine what is occurring in communities of color everyday.

Those in power are very clear that in order to maintain the current global and social domestic order, with its unequal distribution of wealth and its racial caste system, the U.S. needs the lethal force of the military and the police to keep people in line.

In many White activist circles the question is asked, why are people of color not coming out in mass to oppose President Bush's plan to attack Iraq? Although people of color are directly affected by budget transfers from social services to the military, are disproportionally killed during war (50% of the frontline soldiers in the first Gulf war were people of color), and suffer from negative psychological effects of having to go to war – all too often against nations of color – people of color do not see the peace movement as relating to their day-to-day struggle. One way to bridge this divide is for our White brothers and sisters to become active in the movement to confront domestic militarism. The peace movement cannot be effective if it continues to remain silent on the issues of racial profiling and police brutality.

If we are ever to build a strong, multicultural movement for social change in the U.S. and truly address systemic poverty, institutional racism, and militarism, the three pillars of oppression that Dr. King spoke of, we must come together around issues of domestic militarism. Now is the perfect opportunity to show on an institutional level, police force and the military are different heads of the same beast.

Written by Dustin Washington as printed in *Peacework* (November 2002). Dustin Washington is the director of the Seattle AFSC's Cross Cultural Youth Leadership Development (YLD) Program which works to develop leadership in high school and college students to organize around the issues of racism, poverty, and militarism.



Movement Action Plan: A Map for the Course

HANDOUT

The rich history of social movements means that we do not entirely have to make it up as we go along. We can learn from what worked and what didn't, and the lessons from movements then inform the choices we make as we steer our organizations. The authors have learned a lot about the life cycle of movements from long-time organizer Bill Moyer, who worked with Dr. King on the staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was a major strategist for the anti-nuclear power movement, and assisted a variety of other movements and organizations. From his study and experience Bill has created a model of how successful movements achieve their goals, the Movement Action Plan (MAP).

MAP is a development model; that is, it shows how movements evolve, step by step. Just as we think about human beings with a development model (infancy, adolescence, middle age), so also it helps us think about our social change work to have a framework of stages.

Of course MAP is only one way of looking at social movements. We have found it useful, especially in understanding how to steer an organization through the ups and downs of a cause. Bill has kindly allowed us to summarize his model for this book, and we recommend that you read it with the history of your issue in mind.

First, a word about models. A model airplane is a simplified version of the real thing. You wouldn't want to fly in it, but it gives you an idea of what it's like and can even be useful for certain tests. An architect often builds a model of a building before the real thing goes up with all its complications. Like all models, MAP is a simplification of a very complex reality, and helps us to face reality with more clarity and perspective.

Bill's model shows us how the development stages of a successful movement relate to public opinion, so before we get into the internal life of the movement, we'll take a quick overview of the public. Before there is a social movement around a certain injustice, the body politic seems to be asleep. The toxic waste is being routinely dumped, for example, with office holders looking the other way and public opinion preoccupied with other things. This is stage one.

Then stress builds and the body politic wakes up. In stages two, three, and four, more and more of the public notices what's going on, and the office holders get busy reassuring the public that they are taking care of the problem and it's OK to go back to sleep. In each of stages two, three, and four, the movement's growth is in a different place.

By stages five and six the majority of the public agrees with the movement that change is needed (the war should be stopped, or nuclear power is too dangerous, for example). There's a debate though, about possible alternatives. Stage five is a letdown time for activists, and can be tricky; some movements just die in this stage instead of moving ahead to success.

At last comes success, in stages seven and eight. Many office holders are proclaiming that they really wanted these changes all along, while some of the holdouts are being voted out of office. New groups are spinning off the main reform movement to start the process all over again. Most of the public is glad to stop talking about civil rights, or Vietnam, or nuclear power, and go back to their individual concerns (which, from an activist's point of view, looks like going back to sleep!).



Stage One: Business as Usual

Only a relatively few people care about the issue at this point, and they form small groups to support each other. Their objective: to get people thinking. They do their best to spread the word and often try small action projects.

Stage Two: Failure of Established Channels

A major reason why most of the public does not inform itself and act on an injustice is that people think (or hope) that established structures are taking care of it. "Surely the government is watching out for the safety of our ground water supply." "The government is researching AIDS." "Corporate scientists know which chemicals are dangerous in our workplace and which are not."

In this stage the small groups challenge the established channels. They often do research, or get victims of injustice to file formal complaints. They may sue governmental agencies, or use any opportunities to appeal that exist in the regulations. Usually the activists lose at this stage, but it is very important that they take these steps. Stage two is essential for change, since large-scale participation will not happen as long as people believe in the established channels. In fact, you'll find that, by stage two, polls show fifteen to twenty percent of public opinion is leaning toward a change.

Stage Three: Ripening Conditions/Education and Organizing

Now the pace picks up considerably because many people who earlier did not want to listen become interested. The movement creates many new groups who work on this issue, largely through education. The groups send speakers to religious groups and union halls; they do marches through their communities; they hold house meetings and news conferences. Much of the content of what they say is refuting powerholders' claims: "People start pollution; people can stop it," "Radiation is not really all that bad for you," "Plenty is already being done to prevent AIDS." This stage can take a very long time or a short time, depending on many things, but constant outreach, through education and forming new groups, is essential for the movement to take off. By now, polls show twenty to thirty percent agree that there is a problem or an injustice.

Stage Four: Takeoff

This stage is usually initiated by a trigger event, a dramatic happening that puts a spotlight on the problem, sparking wide public attention and concern. Sometimes the trigger event is created by the movement. In 1963 the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., focused on Birmingham, Alabama, in a direct action campaign which filled the jails and highlighted the evils of segregation with vivid pictures of police dogs and fire hoses. The Birmingham campaign triggered a national and international response, which resulted in the passage of major civil rights legislation.

Sometimes the trigger event just happens, like the near meltdown at the Three Mile Island nuclear reactor in 1979. Three Mile Island (TMI) precipitated massive nonviolent protest and propelled many new people into activity. Previous movement growth had been substantial, but TMI triggered a crisis atmosphere that brought depth and breadth to the movement. MAP shows that the takeoff stage needs the preparation of stages two and three. Nuclear power provides an example we can explore.

Many years before TMI, the Fermi nuclear plant in the city of Detroit nearly melted down. A disaster similar or worse than TMI threatened then, yet there was no social crisis



and spurt of anti-nuclear organizing. Why? Because there was no previous social movement challenging the normal channels (stage two) and no education and organizing (stage three). An event becomes a trigger event when a movement has first done its homework.

Because of the high media profile in this stage, many people associate social change with stage four. Often one or more large coalitions form at this time. Celebrities join the movement, the powerholders are shocked by the new opposition and publicity and try to discredit the movement, and polls show forty to sixty percent of the public say they oppose the injustice or current policies. Activists often unrealistically expect a quick victory at this point and work around the clock. Long rambling meetings occur in which new people come and try to make decisions without the necessary procedures in place. The issue is seen in isolation from other issues.

The objectives of stage four are to build and coordinate a new grassroots movement and to win over public opinion. Part of winning the public is connecting the demands of the movement with widely held values (like freedom, fairness, or democracy).

Stage Five: Perception of Failure

There's an old phrase: "Two steps forward, one step back." Stage five is the step back, in the perception of many activists. Numbers are down at demonstrations, the media pay less attention, and the policy changes have not yet been won. The powerholders' official line is, "The movement failed." The media focuses on splits in the movement and especially on activities which offend public sensibilities.

It is the excitement and lack of planning on stage four that create the sense of failure in stage five. By believing that success is at hand, activists can become disillusioned and despairing when they realize they aren't there yet. Hoping to recapture the excitement and confidence of stage four, some groups create Rambo-style actions of anger and violence or become a permanent counterculture sect that is isolated and ineffective.

Fortunately, a great many activists do not become discouraged, or if they do, accept it as part of the process. They treat it like rafters on a river who most of all love excitement of the white water, but also accept the slow times in between.

Smart strategists lay out strategic, achievable and measurable objectives, and smart movements celebrate them as they achieve them along the way. The powerholders may try to crush the movement through repression at this point, even if they have felt constrained before by a civil liberties tradition. Even repression, however, can sometimes be responded to in the spirit of celebration, as a symptom of achievement.

Stage Six: Winning Over the Majority

In this stage the movement transforms. Protest in crisis gives way to long-term struggle with powerholders. The goal is to win majority opinion. Many new groups, which include people who previously were not active, are formed. The new groups do grassroots education and action. The issue shows up in electoral campaigns, and some candidates get elected on this platform. Broader coalitions become possible, and mainstream institutions expand their own programs to include the issue.

Until stage six, much of the movement's energy was focused on opposition (to toxic waste, to war, to homelessness, etc.). In stage six, sixty to seventy-five percent of the public agrees on a need for change. There is no vast audience ready to think about alternatives to existing policies, and the smart movement offers some. Mainstream institutions can be helpful at this point. One example comes from the anti-Vietnam War movement: universities responded to stage four with peace studies courses and departments, and during stage six many of the scholars involved began thinking about alternatives to the war system.



The powerholders are not passive. They try to discredit and disrupt the movement, insist there is no positive alternative, promote bogus reforms, and sometimes create crisis events to scare the public. The powerholders themselves also become more split in this period.

The dangers of this stage are: national organizations and staff may dominate the movement and reduce grassroots energy; reformers may compromise too much or try to deliver the movement into the hands of politicians; a belief may spread that the movement is failing because it has not yet succeeded.

Stage Seven: Achieving Alternatives

Stages seven and eight could be called managing success. They are tricky, however, because the game isn't over until it's over. In stage seven, the goals are to recognize the movement's success (not as easy as it sounds!), to empower activists and their organizations to act effectively, to achieve a major objective or demand, and to achieve that demand within the framework of a paradigm shift — a new model or way of thinking about the issue.

Goals or demands need to be consistent with a different way of looking at things: a new framework or paradigm. If a civil rights movement simply demands some changes of personnel in government, industry, or schools, it will get more women, people of color or lesbians and gays occupying functions that continue business as usual, including policies which oppress women, people of color, and gays. Social movements are usually much more creative than that, and project new visions of how things can be. A successful social movement, therefore, can gain objectives that, although grudgingly yielded by the powerholders, introduce a new way of operating and of being.

Stage seven is a long process, not an event. The struggle shifts in this stage from opposing present policies to creating dialogue about which alternatives to adopt. The movement will have differences within itself about alternatives, and different groups will market different alternatives to the public. The central powerholders will try their last gambits, including study commissions and bogus alternatives, and then be forced to change their policies, have their policies defeated, or lose office.

It's not unusual for another trigger event to come along (the Chernobyl nuclear meltdown) or be created (the 1965 Selma freedom march in the civil rights movement), which gives increased energy to the cause and wins over still more allies.

Each movement needs to develop an endgame which makes sense in terms of its own goals and situation. The fight against nuclear power is an example of change in which there was never a showdown in the United States Congress. Instead, the movement created enough obstacles in the U.S. market to result in a de facto moratorium on new plants, partly by showing them to be unacceptably costly.

Stage Eight: Consolidation and Moving On

The movement leaders need to protect and extend the successes achieved. The movement also becomes midwife to other social movements. We saw growing out of the 1960s civil rights movement the student movement, the anti-Vietnam war movement, the farmworkers union, the women's movement, the American Indian movement, and others. The long-term focus of stage eight is to achieve a paradigm shift, to change the cultural framework.

The paradigm shift the civil rights movement initiated is still a major part of the U.S. agenda thirty-five years later: diversity as a positive value. In the 1950s, difference was shunned and feared. The rule was to conform. Even rock and roll was attacked as "a communist plot," because it was different from prevailing pop music. Ethnic minorities were taught to be as White and middle class as possible to fit in — that was their only hope (and



not a large one) for acceptance. The momentum of the civil rights movement and the movements it midwived continues today as an often intense struggle to see difference differently and to create the structures and processes that make diversity a strength in building community.

While the movement is consolidating its gains and dealing with backlash from those who never were persuaded, the powerholders are adapting to new policies and conditions and often claiming the movement's success as their own. At the same time, they may fail to carry out agreements, fail to pass sufficient new legislation, or weaken the impact of new structures by appointing people who are resistant to the change. A major pitfall awaiting activists in stage eight, therefore, is neglecting to make sure of institutional follow-through.

In this stage, the movement not only can celebrate the specific changes it has gained, but also can notice and celebrate the larger ripple effect it has in other aspects of society and even in other societies. The U.S. movement against nuclear weapons was inspired by the mass occupations of construction sites by German environmentalists. On this shrinking planet, we get to learn from and inspire each other internationally.

If You Think You're Lost, Check the Map

The course of the river is winding, and sometimes it divides and goes in unexpected directions. Maybe you feel lost; maybe someone wants you to feel lost. Notice that powerholders generally continue the policy you are campaigning against, even while they secretly are laying plans to announce new policies and to prepare the public to accept them. They deliberately hide their defeat from the public, understandably. When you give in to discouragement, you are accepting their definition of the situation. You don't need to — a strategic framework enables you to define the situation.

The last four years of the anti-Vietnam War movement provide our example. The U.S. government stepped up its bombing of Vietnam, exceeding all the bombing of Europe in World War II, and publicly stated its commitment to continuing the war indefinitely. This visible, aggressive policy depressed most antiwar activists, who thought that their ten years of effort had been wasted.

Activists did not know that the U.S. government was at the same time quietly beginning to give up the war. The United States began peace talks in Paris with the North Vietnamese. It then gave in to two key movement demands: withdrawing U.S. troops from Vietnam and ending the military draft. Movement activists saw these moves as irrelevant plots that undercut the movement's opposition. In the last years, the anti-Vietnam War movement became totally depressed. Then, suddenly, the war ended. Former government officials have acknowledged that the movement was extremely effective in ending the war. To activists at the time, however, it felt just the opposite!

You're likely to find yourself beached on that same shore with those activists unless you have a stable strategic framework to use when your work seems discouraging. Check out the MAP — it may keep you going long enough to win!

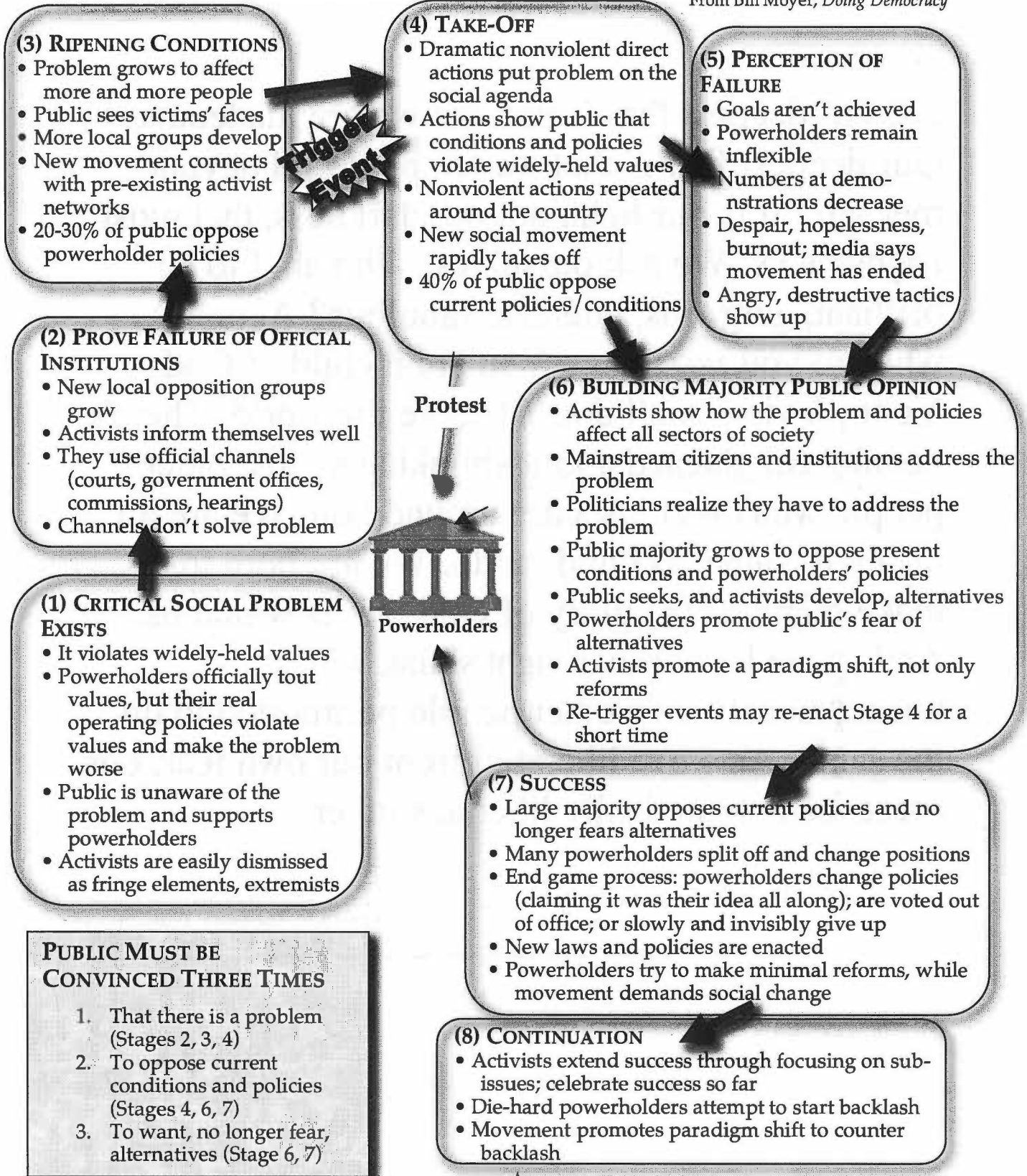
*From *Grassroots and Nonprofit Leadership: A Guide for Organizations in Changing Times*, by Berit Lakey, George Lakey, Rod Napier and Janice Robinson, pages 17-25)*
 Read more about the Movement Action Plan in Bill Moyer's last book, *Doing Democracy*, available from the Training for Change website (www.TrainingForChange.org).



Eight Stages of Social Movement Success

HANDOUT

From Bill Moyer, *Doing Democracy*



Our Power

HANDOUT

. . . our deepest fear is not that we are inadequate. Our deepest fear is that we are powerful beyond measure. It is our light, not our darkness, that most frightens us. We ask ourselves, Who am I to be brilliant, gorgeous, talented, fabulous? Actually, who are you *not* to be? You are a child of God. Your playing small doesn't serve the world. There's nothing enlightened about shrinking so that other people won't feel insecure around you. We are all meant to shine, as children do. We are born to make manifest the glory of God that is within us. And as we let our own light shine, we unconsciously give other people permission to do the same. As we're liberated from our own fear, our presence automatically liberates others.

Written by Marianne Williamson
A Return to Love, pp 188-189



Media and Messaging

Presentation, Message Discipline, Telling Stories

In order to effect the kind of change that we long for we need to engage, and on some level mobilize, large numbers of people. To do this we need to tell a story that speaks to people's values; a story that reframes the conflicts we face; a story that tells a different future than the one projected by the power holders; a story that people can sympathize with and imagine themselves in. And it is not enough just to tell a story; we need to amplify it. This requires navigating through the filters of the corporate-owned media – the less-than-ideal channels through which many people get their information.

TOTAL TIME

3 hours

WORKSHOP GOALS

- Develop story-based messaging that can reframe an issue or conflict.
- Learn to communicate your message effectively through the channels of the mainstream media.
- Learn to give an effective interview.

HOW TO PREPARE

- Set up the room and arrange the chairs in a circle
- Write up the Agenda and Goals on large sheets of newsprint.
- Make enough copies of the handouts (they are at the end of this section, page 220).
- Write up on big paper beforehand: definition of sound bite, Message Discipline sheet, definition of bridging, Interview ABC sheet (from the Parallel Line: Interview Practice) and All Part of the Story (from The Battle of the Story exercise)
- Copy the images of Rosa Parks and the Democracy vs. WTO banner on large paper.
- Bring lots of markers, masking tape, and extra newsprint.
- Prep with your co-facilitator: review the agenda, divide up sections, and get to know each other's training style and strengths.
- Check in with the organizer of the training to find out more about the group's experience level and the makeup of the group, and to confirm logistical arrangements.



Media and Messaging (continued)

WORKSHOP DESIGN

Time	Exercise & Description
10 minutes	<p>Welcome & Intros Create a welcoming space; set a tone and energy for the workshop that invites sharing and participation</p>
10	<p>Sentence Completion Exercise Ground people in their personal learning goals for the workshop, as well as in what they already know, from the outset</p>
20	<p>Brainstorms: About the Media Build a collective understanding about the media, the reasons for engaging the media, and the concerns that should inform this work</p>
20	<p>Parallel Lines: Interview Practice Get people practicing; get their mental gears turning. Create an experiential reference point for the rest of the workshop. Introduce key concepts in message discipline (using sound bites, repetition, bridging and "ABC").</p>
20	<p>Giving Effective Interviews Draw out the group's shared wisdom about what contributes to the effectiveness of an interview. And reinforce lessons about message discipline (using sound bites, repetition, bridging, and ABC).</p>
20	<p>Story-Based Messaging Introduce story-based messaging strategy.</p>
45	<p>Battle of the Story Apply story-based strategy to counter-recruitment work.</p>
25	<p>Interview Practice Provide a space for the immediate application of the workshop's lessons with feedback.</p>
10	<p>Evaluation To get feedback on the training, and provide a closing for the training.</p>




Welcome & Intros


TIME 10 MINUTES


GOALS


Create a welcoming space; set a tone and energy for the workshop that invites sharing and participation.
Establish your credibility as a trainer, and let the group know who you are.
Let people know what to expect from the training by reviewing agenda and goals.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE

-  Welcome the group into the space. Introduce yourself to the group, giving information about the group you're with, your history with counter-recruitment work, and any other personal information you want to share.

-  Please introduce yourselves briefly, and say one thing you hope to learn from this training.

-  Pay attention to what people say they want to get out of the training. It can help you see how experienced the group is with this work, and help you to tailor the training and debrief the exercises to meet people's interest.

-  Write the agenda and goals (listed below) up on two large pieces of newsprint and hang them somewhere visible. When writing up the agenda, there is no need to write the name or description of each exercise. Just give a broad overview.

Goals


- Learn how to develop story-based messaging that can reframe an issue or conflict.
- Learn how to communicate your message effectively through the channels of the mainstream media.
- Learn how to give an effective interview.

Agenda


- Engaging the Media
- Effective Interviews
- Story-based Strategies
- Interview Practice
- Evaluation



 Review the goals first, and then the agenda.

 To be clear, there are some important components of media work that are beyond the scope of this training. They are not included in this workshop because of time constraints and because many of the components cannot be easily incorporated into an experiential learning workshop. Just to name a few:

- Writing and sending out a news release or advisory
- Developing media lists
- Pitching a story to reporters
- Organizing a news conference
- Compiling a press packet
- Creating a media plan and timetable for an event or campaign
- Monitoring news coverage

 While apprenticeship is ideal for learning all of these, you can also find enough resources online to get you started. The Spin Project offers excellent free online tutorials. (www.spinproject.org - Click on *resources*, then *tutorials*.)

Does anybody have any questions? Does everyone feel comfortable with the agenda and goals? Can we move ahead with the training?









Sentence Completion Exercise

TIME 10 MINUTES

GOALS

- Ground people in their personal learning goals for the workshop, as well as in what they already know, from the outset.
- Get everyone talking. People who are more reserved or shy are more likely to speak up in the group if first given an opportunity to "find their words" by bouncing ideas off one person.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE

-  Have the group break into pairs, encouraging them to find someone they don't know as well. Ask each pair to choose someone to go first (*Partner 1*).
-  I will give you the first part of a sentence. *Partner 1* will repeat it and then complete the sentence with his or her own words. S/he will then complete the sentence again with a different ending, and again and again until I say to stop. (For example: *I like ice cream because... I like ice cream because it's yummy. I like ice cream because it cools me down on a hot summer day. I like ice cream because it's sweet and sticky and messy, etc.*)
-  Read each of the below sentence beginnings twice in a row to make sure everyone is clear. *Partner 1* has 60-90 seconds for each of the below sentences.
-  **(Sentence 1)** *Partner 1*, your first sentence is, "I want to get my message out through the media because..."
-  Watch the pairs from a distance to make sure they understand and are following the instructions correctly. (If people are stuck you can rephrase the question, "Why would someone want to talk to the media? ...So then, 'I want to get my message out through the media because...'"") Cut the exercise off after no more than 2 minutes, or sooner if a lot of folks appear to be running out of things to say.
-  **(Sentence 2)** Still *Partner 1*, your second sentence is, "One fear or concern I have about engaging the media is..."
- (Sentence 3)** Your final sentence is, "Something I might do to overcome this challenge is..."





After *Partner 1* has done all three, then the pairs switch and *Partner 2* does the same thing. Repeat the above three sentence beginnings, one at a time, to *Partner 2*.

When both partners have taken their turn, ask everyone to thank their partner, and then have everyone come back into a circle. There is no need to debrief this exercise as people's reasons for engaging the media, as well as their concerns, will be drawn out for the whole group in the next exercise.

Where This Tool Comes From

Written by Matthew Smucker, smartMeme.com and
www.beyondthechoir.org with appreciation to Training for
Change where he learned sentence completion
(www.TrainingForChange.org)



Brainstorms about the Media

TIME 20 MINUTES

GOALS

- Build a collective understanding about the media, the reasons for engaging the media, and the concerns that should inform this work.
- Create a mandate for media work within the group.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Present the below questions as brainstorms. Write people's ideas on newsprint. Allow up to two minutes for the first two brainstorms. The third brainstorm—an "ambivalence chart"—is the focal point of this section.



We're going to do a few brainstorms now. I'll ask a question and you all can throw out answers.

First brainstorm: What is the media? (types of media: radio, TV, print, web, community, alternative, corporate, etc.)

Second brainstorm: Who owns the media?

Third brainstorm: What are the positives and negatives about talking to the mainstream media?



This brainstorm will be different from the others in that you will use an "ambivalence chart" to draw out the complex and sometimes contradicting thoughts and feelings people have about engaging the mainstream media. **Allow more time for this brainstorm, as it should be the focal point of this section.**

Write "Talking to Mainstream Media" at the top of a big sheet of paper; draw a line down the center of the page with a plus on the left and a minus on the right; and invite participants to share positives and negatives.








Ask participants to "say more" when they are overly brief, when you're not clear on what they're getting at, or if you think that others in the group may not follow what's being said.



In addition to general concerns people have about engaging the mainstream media, there is also a set of concerns particular to media work around counter-recruitment. In many contexts it is critical to begin organizing under the radar in order to build a support base. Contacting the media could be counter-productive during this stage of organizing. Look for these concerns during this brainstorm. If toward the end of the brainstorm these concerns haven't already come up, ask leading questions like, "What about timing? ...Are there any times in a campaign when engaging the media might be counter-productive? ...When? ...Why?"



Now and throughout the workshop, look for tensions, disagreements and controversies within the group. Rather than try to sweep these under the rug, or to try to solve the disagreement with your opinion, look for ways of drawing out (or inviting) the different opinions and feelings in the room – particularly those of individuals who may hold a marginal perspective within the context of the group. Without placing judgment, duly note all perspectives (often on newsprint) to create a workshop culture where people feel heard and respected.

-  So is it worth it to engage the mainstream media? (They distort our message, they're owned by huge corporations, etc.) Are the positives compelling enough to make this work worth enduring the negatives?
-  If the answer to the above question is yes—and hopefully it will be!—this amounts to your mandate to continue the workshop. It may be a qualified yes ("Yes, it is worth it to engage the mainstream media when the context and timing is right."). There is often a great deal of ambivalence in groups around engaging the mainstream media. Coverage is routinely slanted against challenger perspectives, and news outlets are owned by big corporations. Sometimes if these concerns and contradictions are not named at the beginning, workshop participants may carry a counter-productive degree of skepticism into the rest of the workshop. (If the answer to the question is no, then you'll want to re-evaluate whether your group is ready for this workshop!)
-  Another brainstorm: What *types* of questions do the media ask?
-  If participants start asking specific questions, help them to categorize the questions. For example, if someone offers as a question, "Does your mother know you're doing this?" you might suggest this is a personal and/or a hostile question. Some of the types of questions that should come up: friendly, hostile, open-ended, tactical, logistical, marginalizing, issue-oriented, policy, personal, etc. Toward the end of the brainstorm ask the group about any significant categories (from above list) that they may have missed.
-  What types of questions do we prefer the media to ask?
-  Circle types from the previous brainstorm—namely issue-oriented and open-ended—as they come up. Ask why, and allow for disagreement in the group.
-  In the next section, we'll get into what to do when reporters ask questions that we think are distractions from the real issue.

Where This Tool Comes From

Written by Matthew Smucker, smartMeme.com and
www.beyondthechoir.org



Parallel Lines: Interview Practice

TIME 20 MINUTES

GOALS

- Get people practicing; get their mental gears turning. Create an experiential reference point for the rest of the workshop.
- Introduce key concepts in message discipline (using sound bites, repetition, bridging and "ABC").

MATERIALS

- Write up on big paper beforehand: definition of sound bite, Message Discipline sheet, definition of bridging, Interview ABC sheet (all below in boxes)

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Have the group form into two lines, facing each other.



Shake hands with the person across from you – preferably the person across from you is someone you don't know super well. Does everyone have a partner?

Okay. This side [pointing to one side], you're reporters. You can be whatever kind of reporter you want to be—friendly, hostile, corporate, alternative, whatever. Reporters, you're interviewing the person across from you, who is a counter-recruitment activist. This side [pointing to other side], you're CR activists. Invent a scenario in which you are being interviewed by the reporter across from you. Maybe you're at an action. Maybe you've called up a local reporter and successfully pitched them to do a story. The details of how it is that you're being interviewed are up to your imagination. The point is, you're here, on the spot, on the record. Does everyone understand what you're doing?

Everyone take a second to put yourself in your role... Okay, everyone ready? Go to it.









Allow 1-2 minutes before cutting off the interview. Cut it off while there is still energy, even though many folks may still feel like they are right in the middle of the interview.







Activists, how did that feel? ...Did anyone feel intimidated? ...How prepared did folks feel? ...Did anyone have a hostile reporter? ...How did that feel? ...Are most reporters hostile? ...What kinds of questions did your interviewers ask? ...How did you answer? ...Was anyone asked an issue-oriented question? ...How was that?



Reporters, what struck you? ...Any strong quotes or sound bites that you want to share? ...Did anything strike you about your interviewee's presentation, beyond their actual words?

-  Allow adequate time for observations and discussion. Invite people to go deeper into their thoughts by asking open-ended questions that elicit further information. (For example, if someone answers that, yes, they felt intimidated, follow-up by asking, "How was it feeling intimidated?" If someone answers that they felt prepared, ask "What was it that you did before the interview that made you feel prepared?" If someone shares what they think was a strong quote, ask them to explain what they liked about the quote.) Ask *what* and *how* questions, but avoid *why*, as it sometimes makes people feel defensive.
-  Always look for ways of encouraging and affirming people's input and participation.
-  We're going to switch it up now. This side [pointing] is reporters, and this side is activists. Ready? Go.
-  Repeat debrief, probably taking less time than before.
-  The remainder of the agenda for this exercise can go where it appears, after the role-play and debrief, or you may want to look for segue opportunities to introduce and discuss these points (*sound bites, message discipline, bridging* and "ABC") throughout the debriefs. The charts and definitions below should be written up beforehand on newsprint. Reveal the sheets, one at a time, where indicated below.
-  Can someone tell us what a *sound bite* is? ...How long is a sound bite? [Reveal sound bite sheet]...Will someone read this definition please?

A *sound bite* is a short, often striking, quotable statement suited for television or radio news programs. The average television sound bite is 7-9 seconds.

-  Can someone give an example of a sound bite? ...Anyone else want to offer an example?
-  Some ideas of counter-recruitment sound bites that you may wish to offer:
 -  Recruiters prey upon poverty.
 -  Recruiters target communities of color.



- Recruiters disproportionately visit the most neglected schools, in the poorest areas, where young people have the fewest opportunities.
- Today's military recruitment system amounts to a poverty draft. How many senators' sons are enlisted?

☞ Production editors like sound bites. By arranging our words into **concise, catchy, freestanding sound bites**, we are much more likely to get our core messages through the filters of the corporate media.

In most news stories you will only get one single quote (if you get even that!). Therefore you shouldn't say anything to a reporter that you wouldn't feel good about if it were used as your one and only quote. In interviews, we need to think and talk in sound bites!

Any questions about sound bites?

What might *message discipline* mean? [Reveal message discipline sheet]...Will someone read this please?

Message Discipline

Develop two to three core messages.

Practice concise, catchy, freestanding sound bites that communicate your messages..

Repeat Repeat Repeat! Don't give reporters quotes you don't want to see printed! Don't be afraid to give the same answer to multiple questions, awkward as it may seem. Feel *entitled* to say your piece.

"Build a bridge" from the questions you are asked to the messages you want to communicate.

☞ What does it mean to "build a bridge" from the questions you are asked to the messages you want to communicate? Can someone explain *bridging*? [Reveal bridging sheet]...Will someone read this please?

Bridging is transitioning quickly to the message you want to communicate, from a given question or subject.

☞ This leads to the "interview ABC"". [Reveal ABC sheet] Will someone read this (see below)?

☞ You don't want to appear to be avoiding a topic, so it's important sometimes to acknowledge the question. Bridging away from the question is basically saying that you dispute the relevance or the frame of the question, and that you would rather talk about the real issue, which is X (your message).



ABC and bridging are not evading, but directing the reporter's attention to the issue. If your issue is counter-recruitment, that is the reason for your action or event. That is the *why*. And the *why*—the *issues*—are what responsible journalists should be focusing on.

Even when a reporter does ask an issue-oriented question, you may still wish to dispute the *frame* implicit in a given question. We'll talk more about framing later in the workshop.




I'm going to ask some distraction questions now. Think about how to bridge from the question to your message. It doesn't have to be fancy.

Interview ABC

Acknowledge the question

Bridge away from the question

Communicate your message

-  Ask the group a distraction question. (Ideas of distraction questions: What about stopping terrorism? Are you against the military? Are you going to break the law? Do you even know anyone who is enlisted?)
-  Does anyone have a bridge to share with us?
-  Ask for other responses. Thank everyone who volunteers. Move on to other distraction questions if time permits.

Where This Tool Comes From

Written by Matthew Smucker, smartMeme.com and
www.beyondthechoir.org with thanks to Celia Alario, PR for
People and the Planet











Giving Effective Interviews

TIME 20 MINUTES

GOALS

- Draw out the group's shared wisdom about what contributes to the effectiveness of an interview.
- Reinforce lessons about message discipline (using sound bites, repetition, bridging and ABC) from the previous exercise.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE

-  Divide participants into small groups. Ask for a volunteer in each group to take notes. (If short on time, stay in a big group and have people throw things out popcorn style while you—or a volunteer—jot ideas on newsprint.)
-  Brainstorm in your group about what can increase—and what can detract from—our effectiveness in giving interviews. Discuss and note what things can *maximize* effectiveness in giving interviews, and what things can *minimize* effectiveness. Don't limit your observations to the actual words spoken in an interview.
-  Eavesdrop on the small groups. Interject questions only if you think a group may be stuck or focusing too narrowly for too long. Questions could include the following:
 -  What about appearance? Is that important?
 -  Is there anything you can do *before* an interview to maximize your effectiveness?
 -  What about some of the things we've gone over already?
 -  Do you think someone needs to be a policy expert on the subject to give an effective interview? ...What might you do to effectively handle (the rare occurrence of) a complex policy question?
-  Bring the small groups back together after ten minutes. Draw a line down the center of a big piece of paper and write "max" in the upper left, and "min" in the upper right. Go around hearing from each group, first on what can maximize effectiveness, and second what can minimize effectiveness. Jot answers in the respective categories. Ask people to say more ("Can you say more about that?"), or to give examples, when they give brief answers. Toward the end fill in what the group misses by asking, "What about (such and such)?" *Pass out handout "How to Give Effective Interviews."*

Where This Tool Comes From

Written by Matthew Smucker, smartMeme.com with credits to Celia Alario, PR for People and the Planet, for the questions



Story-based Messaging

TIME 20 MINUTES


GOAL


Introduce story-based messaging strategy.

MATERIALS


Print out or PowerPoint of two images: WTO banner, Rosa Parks
Write up on big paper beforehand: "All Part of the Story" (below in box)

RUNNING THE EXERCISE


 You will set up a "spectrogram" where participants can stand at various places along a line to indicate agreement or disagreement with a statement.

 Okay, everyone get up on your feet. I'm going to say something, and I want you all to arrange yourself in the room in relation to how strongly you agree or disagree with the statement. If you agree with the statement, stand toward that end of the room [point to one wall], and if you disagree, stand toward that end of the room [point to opposite wall]. Again, you may stand at any point along this line. Does everyone understand the instructions?

Here's the statement: *If people had the **right information**, they would take action or want change. Again: If people had the **right information**, they would take action or want change.*

 Allow people to arrange themselves in the room. Ask people at different places in the room to explain why they are standing where they are (one side, the other, and the middle). It's okay if everyone is clustered together.

After hearing from several folks and allowing some discussion, ask for a volunteer to read the following:




 Sometimes it's not what people don't know as much as what they *do know* that prevents them from taking action or wanting change. People carry stories with them everywhere – narratives through which they process, categorize and filter information. People often ignore, tune-out, de-emphasize, resist and repress information that challenges the assumptions of their narratives.

So, while it may or may not be true that people would take action or want change if only they had the right information, the reality is that many people's filters are so strong that they are unable to even hear certain information. For example, if you quote statistics about Iraqi casualties to someone attached to the meta-narrative of U.S. benevolence, s/he will likely find a way to quickly discount you.



The way to get past people's narrative defenses is to embed your message into a compelling story that appeals directly to people's core values. We need story-based messaging strategies!

Adapted from "Beyond the Choir," by Matthew Smucker, www.beyondthechoir.org

-  Ask the reader to repeat the last paragraph.
-  What does this mean to folks? ...What do we mean by "filters" and "narrative defenses?" ...What do we mean by "story-based messaging strategies?"
-  Ask for a volunteer to read the following:

Established in 1995, the World Trade Organization (WTO) is a powerful new global commerce agency, which transformed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) into an enforceable global commerce code. The WTO is one of the main mechanisms of corporate globalization. Under the WTO's system of corporate-managed trade, economic efficiency, reflected in short-run corporate profits, dominates other values. Decisions affecting the economy are to be confined to the private sector, while social and environmental costs are borne by the public. (from Public Citizen's website www.citizen.org).

-  Show the following photo (PowerPoint or printout):



- Can someone tell us about this? ...What is the story here? ...Which presentation is more powerful, the reading or the photo? ...Why? ...Would you say that the reading was information, or a story? ...What about the photo? ...Which appeals more to people's values?

- Ask for a volunteer to read the following:

Blacks have to sit in the back of the bus. If a black person is seated and a white person enters the bus and lacks a seat, then the black person must give their seat to the white person.

- Show the following photo (PowerPoint or printout):



- Can someone tell us about this? ...What is the story here? ...Which presentation is more powerful, the reading or the photo? ...Why? ...Would you say that the reading was information, or a story? ...What about the photo? ...Are there any **sympathetic characters** in the reading? ...What about in the photo? ...Why is Rosa Parks a sympathetic character? ...Does the photo **foreshadow** a different future? ...Are the campaign goals embedded in the story? ...What about the reading; does it foreshadow a different future?

In both Rosa Parks' action and the WTO banner-hang action, activists told a story that appealed to people's values, and thus reframed the issue and conflict.



The point here is that information alone doesn't challenge people's assumptions. For a media strategy to be effective, activists have to tell a potent story that appeals to people's values.

While our words are important, are they the only components of a story?
...What, beyond our words, goes into a story?



Get a few responses before revealing the "All Part of the Story" sheet and asking for a volunteer to read it.



If we're not conscious of the different ways we tell a story, we run a greater risk of sending mixed messages or telling a confusing story.

Can anyone think of a time when the words were right, but the person's tone or appearance was distracting? ...Or a time when the words were right, but the person saying them wasn't a sympathetic character? ...What do the words "This War is Unjust" communicate when said by a U.S. soldier compared to when the same words are said by someone who appears counter-cultural? ...Has anyone ever been part of an action where the action logic was clear to the participants, but might have been confusing or even off-putting to a broader audience?

All Part of the Story:

- Words, quotes, sound bites
- Messenger: Who are our spokespersons? Are they *sympathetic characters*?
- Appearance, tone, confidence, emotion, style
- Drama, conflict, action: Is there an *action logic*? (i.e., Does the action, unaccompanied by words, carry the story?)
- Props, backdrops, etc.
- Context: What recent events may impact people's interpretations?

Our actual words are just one of many containers that carry our stories.

Where This Tool Comes From

From smartMeme.com, this version written by Matthew Smucker (www.beyondthechoir.org)



Battle of the Story

TIME 45 MINUTES

GOALS

Apply story-based strategy to counter-recruitment work.

MATERIALS

Copies of Battle of the Story worksheet (one for every participant)

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Pass out the *smartMeme* "Battle of the Story" handout along with pens, as you have people count off into groups of 4-8. Have people get into their small groups. Then get all the groups' attention in order to give instructions.

Ask a volunteer to read aloud the instructions on the "Battle of the Story" worksheet.




In your groups you're going to fill this out for the story of military recruitment and counter-recruitment. You'll go down the "Power Holders/Status Quo" column and fill in their story concerning this issue. We're not looking here for what you think about their story – we're looking for the story itself, as told by the power holders. (This may require a brief trip into their minds!) How are the power holders framing the conflict? Who are their sympathetic characters, the messengers that tell their story? How do they engage values and encourage people to take their side? What are the underlying assumptions that allow people to believe their story (for example the story of U.S. benevolence)? And finally, what are the points of intervention, the vulnerabilities in their narrative?

After you've gone the whole way through the power holders' stories, then you'll go through the second column: the change agents' stories. How are *we* framing the conflict? Who are our sympathetic characters? How are we engaging values? What assumptions might allow people to believe our stories? And, if you get to it, what are the vulnerabilities in our narrative?

After about 18 minutes I'll do a time-check to say that you should be moving on to the second column (change agents) if you haven't already done so. After another 18 or so minutes your groups will report-back to the whole group.


If you don't fully understand, hopefully someone in your small group does! I'll be going around to the groups, if you have any questions.



-  Watch to make sure that all the groups understand the instructions. If people are stuck at the beginning you might ask questions like, "What is the Pentagon saying that is relevant to the issue of military recruitment and/or counter-recruitment?" What is their story – the story they want everyone to believe?"

Keep track of time and check in with the groups about time if it seems necessary.

Usually the groups have a far easier time telling the Power Holders' story than the Change Agents' story. See if this is true for the small groups in your workshop.

-  Gather people back into a large group. Ask each group to present their completed (or nearly completed) worksheet. Ask elicitive questions, and ask groups to give each other feedback. Invite discussion.

Where This Tool Comes From

From smartMeme.com, this version written by Matthew Smucker (www.beyondthechoir.org)



Interview Practice

TIME 25 MINUTES

GOALS

Provide a space for the immediate application of the workshop's lessons.
Create an opportunity for participants to receive constructive feedback from each other.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE



Divide people into groups of three.



Choose someone in your group who will be interviewed first. ...Does every group have someone ready to be interviewed? Okay, now choose someone to be a reporter. ...Does every group know who your reporter is? The third person, you'll be an observer.

Your interview will go four minutes, followed by two minutes of feedback from the observer and reporter. Then we'll switch roles. Everyone will play all three roles: activist/interviewee, reporter/interviewer and observer. I'll tell you when to end the interview and start giving feedback, and then when to switch. Does everyone understand the instructions?

Keep in mind the things we've gone over in this workshop:

- *presentation*: setting the pace and tone, being conscious of appearance, emotion, body language, etc.
- *message discipline*: using sound bites, repetition, bridging and ABC
- *story-telling*: engaging values, framing the narrative, foreshadowing





And, hey, relax. Take a deep breath. Becoming media-savvy takes lots of practice and lots of mistakes. We're all here to learn from our mistakes. We're not here to compete for who can make the fewest mistakes. This workshop is actually designated mistake time. What better time to make mistakes than when you're surrounded by such wonderful, intelligent, supportive people? So don't be afraid or apologetic about messing up. And also, don't be afraid to give honest constructive feedback when you see ways that others might improve. And certainly don't be shy about telling folks what they're doing well. Okay, everyone ready? Go to it.




Call time after four minutes, asking the observer and reporter to give the interviewee two minutes of feedback. (If time allows, consider extending the allotment for both the interviews and the feedback.)



-  You can give feedback based on how folks did in terms of presentation, message discipline, story-telling, and anything else that strikes you.

-  When the time for feedback is up, have people quickly switch roles and go to it again.
Repeat the process so that each person has played all three roles.
Gather folks back into a big circle. Ask questions and allow for discussion as time permits. You don't need to take notes on newsprint for this debrief.

-  How was that for folks? ...What did you notice? ...What else? ...Any other things you noticed? ...Did you notice a difference between the interviews you gave at the beginning of the workshop in the parallel lines and the interviews you gave now? ...Where do folks see the most room for improvement?



Evaluation

TIME 10 MINUTES

GOAL

To get feedback on the training, so it can be improved for next time.

RUNNING THE EXERCISE

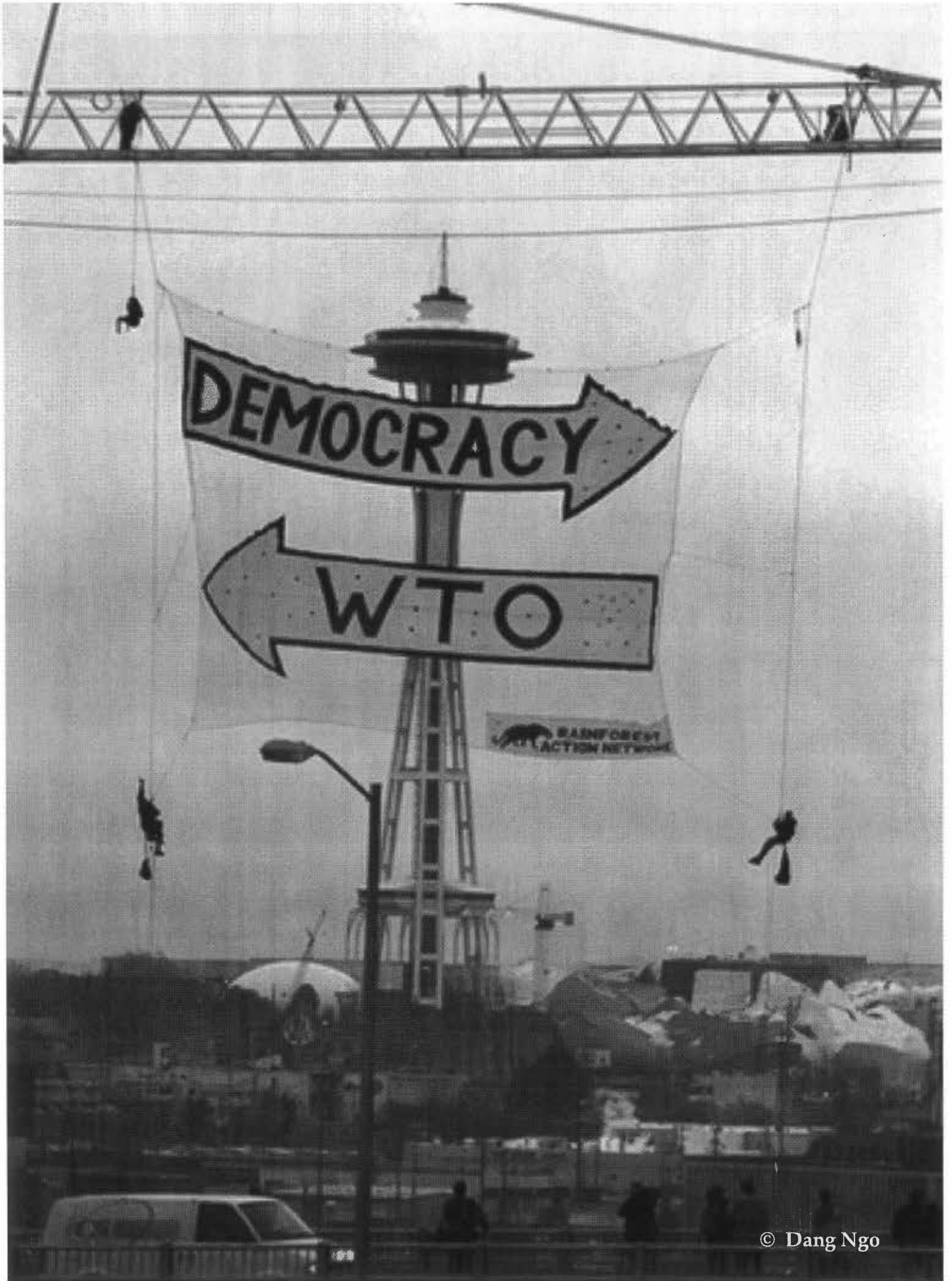


Draw a t-shaped chart with + and – symbols as headers of the two columns. Ask the group to give feedback on the training, listing positive aspects (what they found most useful) and parts that they would change or improve.



This next exercise is a really important one for me. Your feedback will help me improve this training for the next group. Take a little time to list aspects of the training that you appreciated, and parts that you might change or improve.







How to Give Effective Interviews

HANDOUT

- practice practice practice!
- practice in front of a mirror
- practice with a friend, and get feedback
- prepare concise sound bites
- develop messaging within context of campaign and political climate
- get outside opinions about clarity of message
- consider what others will be saying (allies and opposition)
- don't repeat the opposition's frame
- stay on message!
- ask the reporter questions (What's the angle? Who else are they talking to? How familiar are they with the issue? Is it live? When will it air or appear?)
- provide background materials
- build up self-confidence
- be conscious of appearance
- be aware of tone and body language
- practice the art of bridging
- set the pace and tone of the interview
- keep a phone number of someone you can refer a reporter to for further information (for rare event of policy-oriented questions!)
- remember and ground yourself in the passion that motivates you!

Adapted by Matthew Smucker, www.smartMeme.com and
www.beyondthechoir.org from Celia Alario, PR for People and
the Planet



Battle of the Story Worksheet

HANDOUT

This exercise is intended to help grassroots activists create more compelling narratives to communicate their campaigns. The Battle of the Story is the framework through which we can analyze the current "idea climate" around an issue. The worksheet asks you to apply three different elements of story telling to both the power holder's story and then our story as grassroots activists. Once you have articulated these elements, use the logic of the story to identify the assumptions that allow each of the stories to operate. The final row of the chart – the points of intervention - is the place to identify weaknesses in each story and rhetorical strategies for challenging each story's assumptions. This could take the form of challenging the story's framing, contrasting alternate visions of the future, articulating hopes, dispelling fears, exposing hidden agendas, etc. At the completion of this exercise you should be able to revisit each story in terms of frames and core messages that can be developed into a strategy to **Win the Battle of the Story!**

Story	Powerholders/Status quo	Change Agents
CONFLICT How is the problem being framed? Who is the conflict between? Who are the good guys and the bad guys?		
SYMPATHETIC CHARACTERS Who are the victims? Who are the messengers that tell the story?		
SHOW DON'T TELL How does the story use images or anecdotes to convince without being preachy? How does the story engage our values and encourage us to choose sides?		
ASSUMPTIONS What are the unstated assumptions? What does someone have to believe to accept the story?		
POINTS OF INTERVENTION How can we challenge the other story's assumptions? What are the other story's vulnerabilities? Limits? Contradictions? Lies?		

From SmartMeme, www.smartMeme.com



Support Documents

Beyond *Just* Education: Why our approach to teaching makes all the difference in social change

"We need to educate people," is one of the most common refrains from social change activists. But what does it really mean? The rise of popular education and insights from anti-oppression movements give us major insights into how to do meaningful education. The more we can take these lessons to heart, the more effective we will be.

STEP ONE: BREAK OUT OF THE BELIEF THAT MERE RECITATION OF FACTS IS SUFFICIENT

Take the counter-recruitment movement. In that movement we want to assist folks to better understand the impact of the military on their communities and the world. We want to help people understand ways they can internally and externally resist the military-industrial complex. We want to help young people see the whole range of their life's options, breaking out of the myth that the military may be their only option.

This requires more than memorizing pieces of information. It requires new skills and new ways of seeing the world.

Unfortunately, most of us were raised in a model of education that does not promote this kind of paradigm shifting. Traditional education is teacher-centered: teachers know information and give it to their students. Students are told what is right and what is wrong, and are tested on their ability to memorize it.

In that model, students are not asked to reflect on their own life experiences. They are not asked to integrate what they're learning into their own lives and their life perspectives. In other words, they're not active participants in their own liberation.

When we come to "educating" people it is easy to replicate this information-centered and teacher-centered approach. Thankfully, we can choose to do our activism and education in people-centered ways.



STEP TWO: STEP OUT OF INFORMATION-CENTERED APPROACHES AND INTO A PEOPLE-CENTERED APPROACH

In this new method, the role of the educator is to help people tap their own inner wisdom. People are brilliant. Studies and facts may prove helpful, but even more important is people's capacity to see reality for themselves.

In this model, the starting point is not information, but each person. What do they care about? What do they see? And then probe to get a little deeper (getting to deeper layers or "peeling the onion").

"Education" moves from telling people what is true to asking people what they see. This is more effective because education that helps people find their own inner voice is far more powerful than education that promotes the recitation of facts and figures.

This is the route of empowerment, not further reliance on experts and "those who know."

STEP THREE: LEAD WITH QUESTIONS (AKA: ASK HOW MY DAD KEPT ME OUT OF THE NATIONAL GUARD)

In thinking about my own life, this showed up quite dramatically around the issue of recruitment. When I was younger, I considered going into the National Guard. I believed in helping people, and I saw the National Guard putting up sand bags to stop flooding and generally giving a hand to people in need.

I mentioned to my dad what I was thinking. He asked me why I wanted to do it – and I explained. I added that I didn't want to join the army because I didn't believe in killing people or in what they were doing. But I saw the National Guard as one way to give back to my community. (This was before the National Guard was being back-door drafted into Iraq.)

He said that made sense, and asked me if I had thought about other ways of giving back. I mentioned a few. Knowing I was very self-directed and wanted to go my own way, he asked me, "What would you do if the National Guard asked you to do something that you morally didn't agree with?" He may have given an example.

I told him, "I don't think I could do it."

"Oh. Then what would do you think they would do," my dad asked.

"I guess they'd court martial me, wouldn't they?"

"Probably," my dad affirmed, adding, "They don't have any flexibility for people disagreeing with them." (He was affirming my wisdom and I easily could have pictured him adding a fact or two here to shore up my own instincts.)

That was the end of the conversation. But it completely shifted me out of thinking about the National Guard. He helped me access my own instincts and trust them more. I guess I could say I was being empowered.



At one level, he was supporting me with information. But he was also showing me that he trusted that I could think the issue through. He believed I had the wisdom inside of me, given enough time and thoughtful attention. And he did it all through questions.

He modeled for me a people-centered form of education: education that invites people to think through their own lives, and trusts them to make wise decisions. Ultimately, they're the ones who have to take responsibility for their own decisions, anyway.

IMPLICATIONS OF THIS EDUCATIONAL APPROACH

This approach is not value neutral. It relies on empathy, respect for each person's wisdom and finding one's own leading into a pro-justice lifestyle. But it does not believe in imposing itself by setting up experts who should tell people what they should do with their lives.

In the counter-recruitment movement, this means youth should make their own decisions about their lives. We can listen, asking leading questions, and occasionally provide information based on our relationship – but the bottomline is not making them come out with the right position. The bottomline is respect for persons.

The old paradigm centered on facts. This one centers around the learner – their hearts, their intellect, and their self-confidence in their ability to act. It's what being pro-empowerment is all about.

EDUCATION FOR ACTION? A CLASS DIMENSION

The people-centered approach is pro-action because, rather than starting from the outside, the process of learning happens on the inside. There's a class dimension at play that further supports this shift away from external facts being seen as the major impetus to action (versus people's internal process.)

Many middle-class activists came into activism by learning about an injustice – often one that didn't directly affect them. Think about middle-class dominated movements, like the peace movement or anti-globalization movement. Their focus is on the lives of others. Many middle-class activists keep themselves motivated by finding out more about an issue, exploring the depth of structural injustice, and getting better educated about an injustice.

This is in stark contrast to many working-class activists. Working-class people are often fighting for a difference in their *own* lives. They operate on a lived experience of oppression. Learning more about the details of how mistreated they are does not inspire them into action. Instead, working-class activists look for *how* the change can happen. Seeing power and ways to make change gives them encouragement to move forward.



Cynthia Peters writes about this dynamic, quoting from two working-class progressives, Linda Stout (who wrote *Bridging the Class Divide*) and David Croteau (who wrote *Politics and the Class Divide*).¹

Perhaps hoping to replicate in others their own experience of discovering injustice, middle-class activists focus too much on education. Linda Stout says, "Many groups give educational programs without any actions assigned, believing that knowledge about a particular issue is enough to make people work for change. But I believe that if folks leave a program without understanding what to do with the knowledge they have gained, they frequently feel even more disempowered" (p. 138).

Meanwhile, David Croteau argues, setting up educational forums to reveal to people all the terrible injustice in the world is akin to asking people to learn the details of horrible but fixed aspects of life – things we have no chance of changing, like the weather. "A lot of times I don't like the weather," says one worker that Croteau interviewed, "but I don't wrack my brain trying to think up a way to change it... If it's raining...I go inside. I don't try to stop it from raining."²

Saul Alinsky summarized the situation in this way, "If people feel they don't have the power to change a bad situation, *then they do not think about it.*"³

The suggestion is clear: move away from education *about the problem* and into confidence building, increasing people's motivation to act.

IN CONCLUSION

This educational analysis and class dimension could inform the way that we think of "educating" people. Rather than bombarding people with facts and figures, our task is to stimulate people to think more deeply for themselves. That means asking questions that don't have right or wrong answers. That means inviting people to see the difference that they can make. What are their options? Where are their choices?

Ultimately, this means more liberation for everyone.

Written by Daniel Hunter, Training for Change (www.TrainingForChange.org). For more on *people-centered education*, check out the Training for Social Action Trainers and other workshops offered by Training for Change.

¹ *Bridging the Class Divide* (Beacon Press 1996) and *Politics and the Class Divide: Working People and the Middle Class Left* (Temple University Press 1995) are two highly-recommended books on class. A new book on economic class especially for middle-class activists is *Class Matters: Cross-Class Alliance Building for Middle-Class Activists* by Betsy Leondar-Wright (New Society Publishers 2005). Training for Change also offers public and tailored workshops for activists groups on economic class: <http://www.trainingforchange.org>.

² Cynthia Peters, "The Class Divide," *ZMagazine* <http://www.zmag.org/Sustainers/Content/2003-10/25peters.cfm> (October 25, 1999).

³ Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals* (Random House 1972), page 105.



Tips for Facilitators

- Put in prep time. Don't do a sloppy job. Know where the group is at before you go in there. Every workshop will be different—put in the effort to make it relevant.
- Have visuals, handouts, and materials prepared nicely. Don't scribble the stuff onto some butcher paper and expect people to want to look at it.
- Value the life experiences of oppressed people as a doorway to understand systems of oppression and resistance. Base the workshop in the experience of the students and always push beyond that experience.
- Be real about where you are coming from—don't try to be somebody you are not.
- The facilitator should facilitate the process but not be dominant.
- Make space for everyone to participate. Don't just look for raised hands—check out faces and nods. Encourage and create space for dialogue.
- Pose questions, don't just give answers.
- Encourage students to answer each others' questions. Ask the group if anyone wants to speak on it. Don't assume you are the only source of knowledge in the room.
- Keep an eye on group dynamics and address any issues respectfully (not enough women speaking up, White people participating too actively, etc.)
- Proactively address problematic comments. Silence is agreement. Don't come with attitude, but don't let things slide. Support good ideas; challenge problematic ones.
- Speak with passion. Show your interest in the topic and the group. Be dynamic.
- Be flexible—be ready to change the workshop based on the feeling of the group.
- Keep the group on topic. Don't be afraid to remind the group of how important the topic is and why we are all here.
- Promote education for action, not just for the sake of education. Give the group ways to get involved before you leave—bring pamphlets and info about community and youth organizations they can get involved in.
- Pause to check for understanding. Go over things a few times if needed. Don't rush.
- Have the group do an evaluation before you leave—verbal or written depending on the time and abilities of the group.
- Participate in the activities with the students whenever it makes sense. (If everybody is doing silent reflection, the facilitator should not just be sitting there, etc.)

From the School of Unity and Liberation, Political Education
Workshop Manual, pg 11.
www.schoolofunityandliberation.org



Tailoring Workshops

COMMON REASONS TO TAILOR WORKSHOPS

- ◆ **The level of analysis is too basic or too advanced for the group.**
Ex: The workshop is on white supremacy, and the group does not have an understanding of prejudice and discrimination.
- ◆ **There is a specific dynamic in the group that the workshop, as is, does not account for.**
Ex: The group is very quiet, and the workshop is largely based around activities they would have to be vocal for (like skits and group discussions).
- ◆ **The workshop is related to but doesn't specifically reflect the experiences of the group or doesn't deal with all of their experiences.**
Ex: You have been asked to do a white supremacy workshop for a group of women of color.
- ◆ **There is a time constraint.**
Ex: The workshop is created for 2 hours, and you only have 1.5 hours to facilitate it.
- ◆ **There is a specific political intent for the workshop.**
Ex: You have been asked to do a workshop on sexism for a mixed gender group because there have been problematic gender dynamics in the group.

Remember: Whenever you are working to tailor the training workshops, you should work with someone who is very familiar with the group you are going to train. If you work with the group, then your input is sufficient. But if you are being called in to work with a group that you have little or no contact with, the contact person should help you tailor the training workshops to truly meet their needs.

Article excerpted from the School of Unity and Liberation's
Training for Trainers Manual, page 131
(www.schoolofunityandliberation.org).

How To Design a Workshop

Designing workshops is a creative activity, which means that different trainers have their own ways of doing it. Here is one way, which works for me.

- 1. Learn about the group.** I ask the leaders/sponsors about the group, its history, problems, conflicts, expectations, hopes, experience with workshops. I often ask a contact person "Who else should I interview? Anyone with a different or unusual perspective?" I do this work by telephone or face-to-face or in a committee meeting (or all of the above). I may have a questionnaire that participants fill out, to get broader data.
- 2. Formulate goals.** I want goals that are realistic, that respond to the needs/wants of the sponsors of the workshop and/or the participants, and that motivate me. I don't want more goals than I can remember because my goals control many of my judgment calls as I facilitate the workshop. I want goals that are clear, so I can use them to evaluate the workshop mid-term and on completion.
- 3. Brainstorm activities/tools.** Goal-setting often requires making hard choices, so I'm ready for some fun. Brainstorming lightens me up. Sometimes I start by brainstorming "my favorite activities and exercises." These are mostly experiential, but I do include relevant mini-lectures/videos/etc.
- 4. Sort the list.** I sort for which activities lend themselves especially to the substance of the workshop and its goals. Also for the kind of group I'm working with. Sometimes I make another phone call at this point to fine-tune my diagnosis of the group. I also sort for differently abled: are there too many activities depending on hearing for this group, or seeing, or running around?
- 5. Develop sequence and select.** As I develop a sequence I select the activities likely to move the group forward in its learning process. Which activities are building blocks that prepare for the next step? I let my expectation of energy flow influence the sequence: when to place cognitive work? Are there high energy activities after meals? Emotional dynamics – do the activities allow for the highs and lows?
- 6. Check for variety of formats.** Does the design move the group into pairs, threes, fours, etc? Does whole group time come when most needed (for example, at the end of the day)? Is there some individual time for the introvert?
- 7. Check for learning styles/channels.** Is there a mix of auditory, visual, and kinesthetic? Is there sufficient safety-building time before people are asked to risk? What does the whole design indicate I need to say during Agenda Review to anticipate individual needs?

Written by George Lakey, Training for Change
(www.TrainingForChange.org).



Index of Tools and Handouts

- A Fresh Look at Power Handout, 183
 Alternatives to the Military, 30, 51
- Battle of the Story, 213
 Battle of the Story Worksheet, 221
 Before You Enlist Fact Cards, 31, 55
 Before You Enlist Handout, 34, 58, 81
 Beyond *Just* Education Article, 222
 Beyond Opt-Out: a strategy article, 166
 Brainstorms about the Media, 202
- Campaign Goals Handout, 91, 164
 Campaigning for Social Change: beyond just protesting for it! Handout, 159
 Closing, 54, 80
 Closing Circle, 106, 157, 182
 Counter-Recruitment "Fishbowl", 77
 Counter-Recruitment Opening Lines Handout, 142
 Counter-Recruitment Video, 29
- Eight Stages of Social Movement Success Handout, 194
 Elicitive Questions, 102
 Evaluating: Review of Activities Handout, 169
 Evaluation, 53, 79, 217
 Evaluation: Review of Activities, 155
- Force Field Analysis, 175
 Four Roles. *See* Tornado Warning
 Four Roles Relating to Change Handout, 107
 Framing Challenge, 130
- Giving Effective Interviews, 208
- Head, Heart, Hands, 134
 How a Recruiter Gets Access Handout, 87
 How to Be Persuasive Handout, 111
 How to Design a Workshop, 228
 How to Give Effective Interviews Handout, 220
- Interview Practice, 215
 Introductions, 21, 41, 68, 95, 121, 145, 172, 198
- Job Opening Handout, 86
- Mainstream and Margin Handout, 139
 Making Your Case Handout, 112
 Movement Action Plan, 178
 Movement Action Plan: A Map for the Course Handout, 189
- Nonviolent Action: Removing Pillars of Support Handout, 185
- Organizing Timeline, 99
 Organizing with Elicitive Questions Handout, 110
 Organizing: Myth and Reality Handout, 108
 Our Children's Future Resolution, 118
 Our Power Handout, 195
- Paper Plate Challenge, 152
 Parallel Lines: How to be Persuasive, 104
 Parallel Lines: Interview Practice, 204
 Parallel Lines: Opening Lines, 132
 Pillars of War, History of Militarism, 47
 Power of the Grassroots, 173
- Rapid Brainstorming: Creating Goals, 148
 Recruiter Job Description, 69
 Recruiter Lines, 73
 Recruiter Reality Handout, 37, 61, 84
 Recruitment Imagery, 71
 Recruitment Role Play, 24, 42
 Recruitment Tools, 74
 Relationship Mapping, 100
 River of Life, 125
- Sentence Completion Exercise, 200
 Spectrum of Allies, 150
 Spectrum of Allies Handout, 168
 Stand Up, Sit Down, 22
 Step Up, Step Back, 44
 Stepping Stones, 122
 Steps in Campaigns Handout, 158
 Story-based Messaging, 209
 Sustaining Self-Care, 180
- Tailoring Workshops, 227
 Task and Maintenance Functions Handout, 135
 Ten things that worked at my rural NY state School Handout, 113
 The Poverty Draft Handout, 63
 The Twin Heads of Militarism Handout, 187
 Things to Observe for Effective Decision-Making Handout, 137
 Tips for Facilitators, 226
 Tornado Warning: Four Roles, 96
- U.S. Military Timeline Handout, 64
- Values Clarification, 26
 Veteran Speaker, 28
- We/Not We (Mainstream/Margin), 127
 What is Framing? Handout, 140
 What is Strategy: Blanket Game, 146
 Working With School Boards Handout, 115

