

A Primer on Organizing

Compiled by Dev Aujla

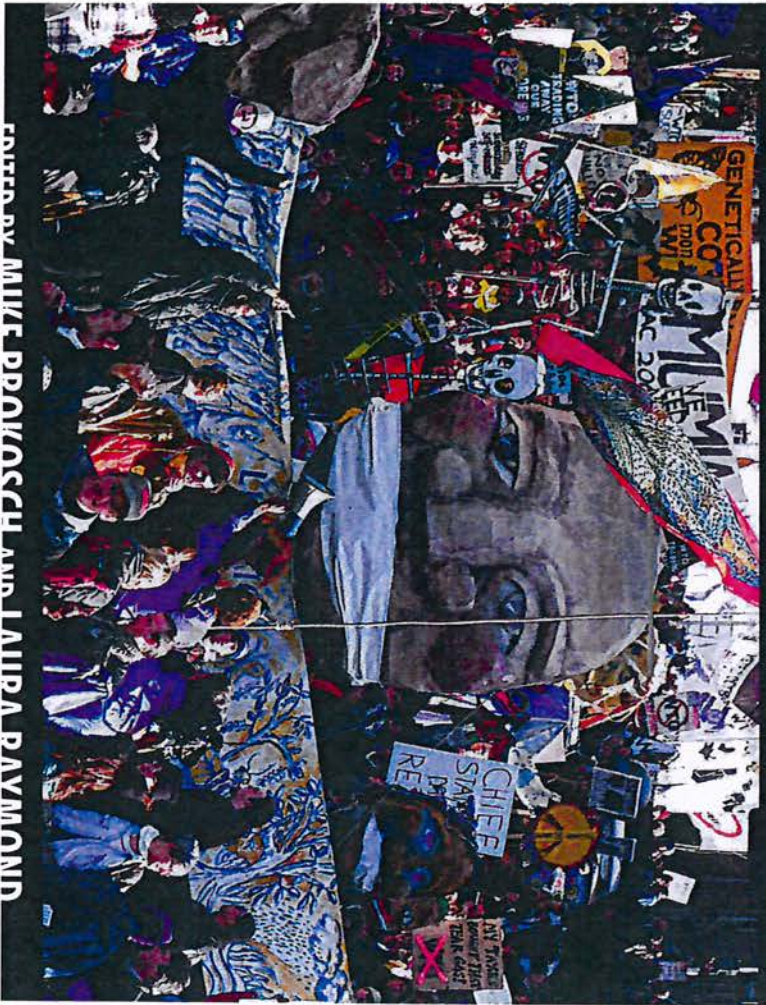
I created the following document as a discussion tool and basic 101 on organizing and movement building. Throughout the document I highlighted sections I thought would be relevant to some of the modern day movement building being done. In addition to the highlighted sections, I included questions in pencil throughout that are worth discussing or answering individually.

Best,

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THE GLOBAL ACTIVIST'S MANUAL

Local Ways to Change the World



EDITED BY MIKE PROKOSCH AND LAURA RAYMOND

Research for Action Web Site Library, www.igc.apc.org/datacenter/ir/websearch.html

The ImpactResearch team provides the on-call research that social justice organizations need to develop effective campaign strategies. They also provide research training and consultation to justice organizers and activists. Services are free to most no- and low-budget organizations and coalitions working on social justice, economic justice and environmental justice issues, principally in the United States. Justice organizations with resources pay for work on a sliding scale. ImpactResearch: A Program of the DataCenter, 1904 Franklin Street, Suite 900, Oakland, CA 94612, (510)835-4692, datacenter@datacenter.org

Spotlight on Corporations, www.essentialaction.org/spotlight, (202)234-9665

Essential Action's Spotlight on Corporations publishes data on corporate wrongdoing.

The Corporate Consensus: A Guide to the Institutions of Global Power

George Draffan, www.endgame.org, (541)468-2028

A 100-page guide to the institutions driving corporate globalization and governance (the WTO, Business Round Table, Trilateral Commission . . .). Analyzes how corporates acquire power and how they use it. Profiles global trade institutions with their phone numbers, addresses, next meetings, members, soft money contributions, etc. The cost is \$5 including shipping, or \$3 per copy for bulk orders (forty-nine or more). Checks to League of Wilderness Defenders, HCR-82, Fossil, OR 97830.

The Campaigner's Guide to Financial Markets: Effective Lobbying of Companies and Financial Institutions, cornerhouse@gn.apc.org

Nicholas Hildyard and Mark Mansley, The Corner House, UK

A 204-page guide that analyzes financial markets and their pressure points, with detailed advice for researchers and campaigners. \$30 for non-profit groups, \$90 for companies and institutions, zipped PDF files (782KB) free. United States checks accepted, payable to Corner House Research, no credit cards. The Corner House, PO Box 3137, Station Road, Sturminster Newton, Dorset DT10 1YJ, UK, tel. +44 (0)1258 73795.

Long-Range Planning

These two planning methods from Deborah Barndt and Saul Eisen can help you figure out how to reach your long-term goals. They require time and focus. Planning requires reflection and full discussion; it does not work well under pressure for immediate action.

Naming the moment

The process of political analysis for action, or *naming the moment*, moves through four phases.

Phase 1—Identifying ourselves and our interests

Who are "we" and how do we see the world?

How has our view been shaped by our race, gender, class, age, sector, religion, etc.?

How do we define our constituency? Are we of, with, or for the people most affected by the issue(s) we work on?

What do we believe about the current structure of the United States? about what it could be? about how we get there?

Phase 2—Naming the issues/struggles

What current issue/struggle is most critical to the interests of our group?

What are the opposing interests (contradictions) around the issue?

What are we fighting for in working on this issue, in the short term and in the long term?

What's the history of struggle on this issue? What have been the critical moments of the past?

Phase 3—Assessing the forces

Who's with us and against us on this issue (in economic, political, and ideological terms)?

What are their short-term and long-term interests?

What are their expressed and their real interests?

What are the strengths and weaknesses of both sides?

What about the uncommitted?

What actors do we need more information about?

WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?

What's the overall balance of forces?
Who's winning and who's losing and why?

Phase 4—Planning for action

How have the forces shifted from the past to the present? What future shifts can we anticipate?

What free space do we have to move in?

How do we build on our strengths and address our weaknesses?

Whom should we be forming alliances with in the short term and the long term?

What actions could we take?

What are the constraints and possibilities of each?

Who will do what and when?

Naming the Moment: Political Analysis for Action by Deborah Barndt is available from the Jesuit Centre for Social Faith and Justice, 947 Queen Street E., Toronto, ON, M4M 1J9, Canada.

Force field analysis

To be used for more refined targetings
Use this model once you have already analyzed your situation and decided on a major goal. Often that goal is very ambitious and not immediately attainable. Force field analysis can help you find useful intermediate goals which will help you move toward the major goal.

It helps to look at the forces which are helping you reach the goal, and those which are hindering or pushing in the opposite direction.

1. It is best to work in groups of three to five people who share a common goal and work in the same situation.
2. Ask the group to draw the following diagram on newsprint, defining briefly the *present situation* and the *major goal*. They should write one summary statement about each of these along the vertical lines.
3. Then ask the group to list the helping forces on the left side, drawing longer or shorter arrows to indicate the strength of the forces that are pushing the present situation toward the goal. On the right-hand side, list the hindering forces which prevent change or reduce its



power. Again use shorter or longer arrows to indicate the strength of these forces.

4. Explain that one can move toward the goal *either* by increasing the helping forces *or* by weakening the hindering forces. Sometimes the more pressure that comes from the helping forces, the more resistance develops in the hindering forces. In such cases, it is often best to start by reducing the hindering forces.
5. Now ask the group to choose *either* one of the helping forces which they could strengthen *or* one of the hindering forces which they could reduce or weaken.
6. You can take this force as the new situation and ask the group to identify its goal in regard to working with this force. Repeat the process—draw a new diagram listing the helping and hindering forces that work toward your new subgoal. This process can be repeated two or three times with clear subgoals, till you completely work out your step-by-step strategy to reach your major goal.

Time: two or more hours.

Materials: newsprint, markers, and tape.

A Problem Solving Program by Saul Eisen comes from NTL, 1201 16th Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

building process. How we prepare for the upsurge when millions enter the fight will, in large measure, determine which direction it will go—ours or theirs.

What this means for conscious movement-building folk is that we must focus on developing a bottom-up leadership that is broad and deep. It must include leaders from all sections of society, but concentrate on those most adversely affected. This phase of leadership development requires a process of education, with popular education being an important tool, to create a shared vision and winning strategy. This is essential if we are to be ready for the leap in our movement—to ensure that it does not compromise, and to secure and hold onto victory. Our movement depends on people who are ready—who come to the truth of the moment and are prepared to engage.

Make it happen!

Walda Katz-Fishman and Jerome Scott work at Project South: Institute for the Elimination of Poverty and Genocide.

Popular Education

IMPORTANT ORGANIZATIONAL BACKGROUND

Steve Schnapp

Popular education, developed in the 1960s and 1970s by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, is a nontraditional method of education that tries to empower adults through democratically structured cooperative study and action.

Popular education is carried out within a political vision that sees women and men at the community and grassroots level as the primary agents for social change. It is a deeply democratic process, equipping communities to name and create their own vision of the alternatives for which they struggle.

The popular education process begins by critically reflecting on, sharing, and articulating with a group or community what is known from lived experience. The participants define their own struggles. They critically examine and learn from the lessons of past struggles and from concrete everyday situations in the present.

The process continues with analysis and critical reflection upon

reality aimed at enabling people to discover solutions to their own problems and set in motion concrete actions for the transformation of that reality. In Freire's model, the teacher becomes a facilitator, the traditional class becomes a cultural circle, the emphasis shifts from lecture to problem-posing strategies, and the content, previously removed from the learners' experience, becomes relevant to the group.

Popular education has always had an intimate connection to organizing for social change. In the early 1960s, Freire began by using the principles of dialogue and critical consciousness-raising—fundamental to popular education—to teach literacy to peasants struggling for land reform in Brazil. Freire argued that action was the source of knowledge, not the reverse, and that education, to be transformative, involved a process of dialogue based on action and reflection on action.

In the United States, the Highlander Center in Tennessee—committed to the civil rights movement, labor organizing, and, more recently, environmental struggles—is an example of how education is critical for effective organizing.

Organizing guided by the following principles at the core of popular education helps to address two key interrelated challenges many organizations face: how to make our organizations more democratic, and how to get people involved who will work to make the organization represent their interests and achieve its goals.

- Encourage participation ✓
- Develop democratic practices.
- Promote participants' control of the process and actions.
- Focus action around the issues in people's daily lives. □
- Involve the entire person, including the heart, mind, body, and spirit.
- Respect the histories and cultures of those involved.
- Take power relationships into account. □
- Integrate a gender and race perspective. ✓
- Challenge all privileges (e.g. race, gender, class, sexuality, ability, age). □
- Affirm identity. □
- Emphasize movement and/or organizational base-building.
- Have long-term goals and visions.

If we want to build the base of our organizations with active and

HUMAN CENTERED DESIGN IS AN A FORERUNNER OF THIS BUILDING TODAY'S GLOBAL MOVEMENT

Highly + Practice Learning

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involved constituents who believe everyone can make a difference, we need to understand and practice organizing in this way and empower people to be the subjects of their own learning and development.

Steve Schnapp is the lead trainer and curriculum development specialist at United for a Fair Economy. With more than thirty years' experience as a community organizer and trainer, he has studied popular education theory and practice, and has trained organizers, community educators, and social justice activists.

Books on popular education

Arnold, Rick, Carl James, D'Arcy Martin, and Barb Thomas. *Educating for a Change*. Toronto, Canada: Doris Marshall Institute for Education and Action, 1991. Popular education methodology applied to community organizing. In this book the issue of power is central. Education must empower all people to act for change, and education must be based on a democratic practice, creating the conditions for full and equal participation in discussion, debate, and decision-making.

Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum Publishing Company, 1970. This book lays out Freire's theory of popular education—every human being, no matter how “ignorant” or submerged in “the culture of silence,” is capable of looking critically at the world in a dialogical encounter with others. As a new awareness of one's self and a new sense of dignity emerge, individuals are no longer willing to be mere objects but more likely to engage in a struggle, with others, to change the structures of society that are oppressive.

Freire, Paulo, and Myles Horton. *We Make the Road by Walking—Conversations on Education and Social Change*. Edited by Brenda Bell, John Gaventa, and John Peters. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1990. Edited transcript of conversations between Horton (the director of the Highlander Center in Tennessee) and Freire in 1987.

Nadeau, D. *Counting Our Victories: Popular Education and Organizing*. New Westminster, BC: Repeal the Deal Productions, 1996.

Pretty, J.N., and I. Guijt, J. Thompson, and I. Scoones. *A Trainers Guide for Participatory Learning and Action*. London: International Institute for Environment and Development, 1995.

National Ain't I a Woman?! Conference, named after a speech by former slave Sojourner Truth. We came together to talk about our lives as women and how to fight the sweatshop system that exploits us all, especially immigrants, women of color, and youth. We came together because we value our time, our health and our families. Because this sweatshop system does not value raising children and taking care of the home, mothers have no choice but to work full-time outside of the house to survive. Because this sweatshop system does not value youth, young people have to pay thousands of dollars for school, and work for money on top of studying. Because this sweatshop system does not value life, most of us work more than forty hours a week at our jobs, are forced to put in overtime, and are called in whenever the company is short-staffed. Because this sweatshop system wants to control us, it teaches us that our lives are secondary to money. Because we need to build a new grassroots

women's movement, we are beginning by making an example of Donna Karan and showing that women workers are no longer going to tolerate abuse to themselves or their families.

We need to build a grassroots women's movement led by low-income immigrants and no-income immigrants, women of color, and youth because our issues are ignored by the mainstream movements in this country. By organizing to hold DKNY accountable to workers, the DKNY garment workers inspired a much broader campaign, the Ain't I a Woman?! Campaign, to examine our own lives and recognize the ways in which we are not being valued. A hundred years ago, Sojourner Truth broke out of slavery and demanded recognition as a woman and a human being. We hope you join NMASS in ending this modern-day slave system and organize to build this new women's movement that will free us all.

Three Organizing models

skosch

Many global activists started their social change careers in the anti-sweatshop movement. Others cut their teeth on direct action or local organizing. None of these is an adequate social change strategy. The U.S. movement is using three competing organizing models, and none alone can transform the global economy.

Direct action is a sometimes revolutionary strategy for stopping business as usual and opening up the space for direct democracy. It is utopian and punk: it's acting to bring the future into being—now. But it's hard to translate that experience into systemic change, and many direct activists are asking, "Where's the strategy?"

If the direct action movement is young, **institutional campaigns** feel older, aimed at reform and education. The Citigroup campaign may change a global bank's lending policies; it will certainly teach us that the financial sector pulls the strings in the global economy (p. 171). The World Bank Bond Boycott has opened up space inside the Bank for liberal Bank staffers to push

reforms; outside, it is teaching new audiences about the Bank's many fiascos (p. 232).

Campaigns like these can awaken new activists and train them as organizers. However, they don't always build local organization. "Many national campaigns offer a cookie-cutter approach to organizing," says Kristi Disney, an organizer with the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network. "We believe it takes locally rooted action to bring these lessons home and to lay the groundwork for a successful global movement."

The third organizing model is **local and coalitional**. Environmental groups, labor unions, and community-based organizations pledge to support each others' actions. This strategy builds solidarity across sector and race lines. In the fall of 2000, Jobs with Justice and its partners called for local solidarity actions that turned the globalization movement homeward and started building sustainable ties with labor and communities of color.

Coalitions take the post-modern place of parties that used to unite many interests behind a

THIS IS
WHERE
WE
STAYED

YOU ARENT ATTACHED TO TEST.

single program. They project solidarity, but how far can that go? Can it overcome the conservatizing influence of many community-based organizations, with the strings that attach them to foundation funding and politically diverse memberships?

All these strategies arose to challenge power at times when progressive influence was ebbing. Thus, instead of building a larger movement, each strategy was expected to be the movement—to defend, extend, recruit, train, and project a national progressive presence all by itself.

Now we are in a time of movement expansion. Perhaps we can put these three strategies together in a model that overcomes the weaknesses of each. In this integrated organizing model, direct action could be used more strategically. National campaigns could support local organizing but not substitute for it. Local coalitions would gain a larger political agenda and apply effective national pressure. And the globalization movement would put its energies where most people live, work, and organize.

Organizing for the Long Haul:

The View from Western Massachusetts

Frank Berger's

The eruption of the U.S. globalization movement in Seattle was met with jubilation by the U.S. left, with most rushing in to celebrate the birth of a new broad coalition. Many activists were inspired to form new action groups and networks. One was MassAction. This western Massachusetts group mobilized an astonishing six hundred people for the IMF-World Bank protests in April 2000, and went on to organize a dizzying series of

reach-ins, protests, conferences, local solidarity actions, and for-credit classes. At the same time, MassAction's struggles over race, class, leadership, and process may help other new groups reflect on their own internal challenges.

MassAction's home, the Pioneer Valley, is anchored at its southern end by the medium-sized industrial cities of Springfield and Holyoke. Their working-class and increasingly poor African-American and Latino

populations were devastated by the erosion of the industrial economic base, especially in the 1980s and 1990s. In contrast, the Valley's universities concentrate over forty thousand students in an idyllic cluster of small college towns. The countercultural soup of ashrams and communes, and the concentration of left and progressive groups have earned the Pioneer Valley its nickname "Granola Valley" or "the Tofu Curtain."

MassAction emerged from the left-progressive off-campus community after Seattle. However, it really took off when it started to organize for the IMF-World Bank protests in Washington, D.C., in April of 2000. During this transition the group moved rapidly from the community onto the campuses of the five colleges. Extraordinary student interest and excitement led to huge planning and informational meetings of seventy participants at a time. While many wanted to recreate Seattle after having missed the show, others hoped that invigorated student activism would spill over into long-term local organizing.

In just two months MassAction educated, mobilized, transported, and supported some six

hundred local activists at IMF-World Bank rallies and direct actions. The group subsequently coordinated intensive solidarity work for those arrested. Following the D.C. mobilization, MassAction engaged in an exhausting range of actions in Windsor, Ontario, to Philadelphia and Boston, and from solidarity actions to a monthly valley-wide progressive paper.

MassAction's history in the extraordinary eruption of the globalization movement in Seattle. At the same time, the group has faced many organizational challenges fronting the larger movement.

The challenge of race and class. Since Seattle, the movement taken up the challenge of becoming more inclusive in both its membership and in its alliances. Membership is largely white, overwhelmingly comprised of students, albeit from a wide variety of class backgrounds. Much of the work has focused on the nature of the group's culture and how it might not alienate potential working-class and minority activists.

While MassAction engaged in some outreach to on-campus groups representing student

HOW DO YOU PLAY w/ OTHERS HOW DO YOU ACHIEVE SOMETHING BIGGER

activists of color, these efforts elicited little interest. One possible reason is the way the group organized for the IMF-World Bank protest. MassAction ended up operating as a stand-alone, five-campus organizing committee instead of trying to coordinate and mobilize the efforts of preexistent student groups, including those of color. If it had adopted the latter approach, it may have had more success in its outreach efforts.

MassAction was more successful in building coalitions with off-campus organizations that represent working class and people of color in the valley. Western Mass Jobs With Justice and the Pioneer Valley Labor Council were key partners in a demonstration against Wal-Mart's global sweatshop apparel sourcing and domestic union-busting. MassAction worked with ARISE for Social Justice (a Kensington Welfare Rights Union affiliate representing mostly poor black and Latin populations in nearby Springfield) to get its members down to Philadelphia for the Republican National Convention protests. MassAction has also supported a number of local strikes and organizing drives.

Moving MassAction in this

direction was not easy. The coalition-building was led by a few core organizers within MassAction. Their preexisting organizing experience and ties to off-campus groups allowed them to transcend the cultural and organizational distance between the on- and off-campus communities. Focusing on this "bridging" strategy created tensions in MassAction. After the D.C. protests, the group faced a dizzying choice of actions that interested different members. The dispute over direction was settled less by establishing consensus than by the ability of the informal leadership to establish its agenda against a fragmented and more weakly defined opposition.

Leadership

One of the movement's biggest challenges is to work within direct action parameters of consensus decision-making and nonhierarchical organizational structure. MassAction tried to adhere to these principles but still saw at least three levels of participation emerge.

Informal leadership took on heavy logistical loads and was very influential in framing the broad direction, as well as setting the broad goals and tasks of the

group. While critics acknowledge the intense workload, they charge that leaders took on the more high-profile "sexy" tasks. Overlaying this critique is the observation that this group was exclusively male.

Informal mid-level organizers and activists also took on heavy logistical loads. Again, according to critics (who belonged to this second group), these tasks were often more mundane, invisible, and framed within goals set by the informal leadership. Activists at this level felt that they had diminishing influence in shaping the group's broader direction, goals, and tasks.

A floating base of members participated sporadically in group meetings or went to D.C. as relatively autonomous and disengaged group participants.

MassAction created multiple committees to handle the various organizing tasks for the D.C. mobilization. However, many of these committees either stopped functioning or functioned only sporadically. Committee missions were often unclear or even conflicting, meetings were numerous, and key individuals would drop out and reappear randomly. While meetings were very good at generating task proposals, they were far less effective at assigning volunteers

While the D.C. mobilization was numerically very impressive, it is unclear how well it developed a broad base of long-term local activists. The goal of helping huge numbers of participants get to D.C. may, in retrospect (and with 20/20 vision), not have been the best way to build the organization's base. In fact, the very success of MassAction's logistical effort allowed many local participants simply to attend the permitted rally and march without developing a deeper engagement in the movement. As such, the goal of massive mobilization in this manner facilitated the type of casual summit-hopping that our critics have accused us of. Meanwhile, the organizers who took on this logistical work were swamped by the sheer enormity of the task and suffered severe exhaustion and burnout on return.

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- In the top left corner, type "For Immediate Release."
- Below "For Immediate Release," type the date.
- Contact Information: In the top right corner, type names and phone numbers of two contacts. Make sure these contacts can be easily reached by phone. Include the contact's home phone number, if appropriate.
- Type "###" at the end of your release. This is how journalists mark the end of a news copy.
- Type "MORE" at the end of page one if your release is two pages, and put a contact phone number and short headline in the upper-right hand corner of subsequent pages.
- Print your release on your organization's letterhead.

How to distribute it

- A release should be sent out the morning of, or the day before your event. In some cases, you may want to send an embargoed copy to select reporters ahead of time, meaning that the information is confidential until the date you specify.
- Generally, send a release to only one reporter per outlet, but sending to columnists and editorial board members at the same outlet is okay.
- If your release announces an event, send it to the daybooks. A daybook lists news events scheduled to take place in the region on that day. Someone from each major outlet reviews the daybooks each morning.
- **Always** make follow up calls after you send the release. If your release

- Have a copy of the release ready to be faxed when you make the calls.

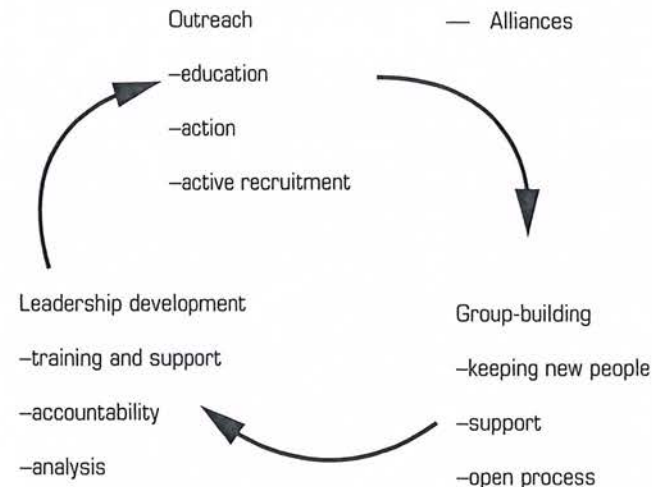
Adapted from Jason Salzman's Making the News and SPIN Project materials.

Building a New Group

Mike Prokosch

You've got a group—three, four, five people who want to do something about globalization. Here is a model to build toward. You can't create all these pieces at the start, but as you grow, add pieces to this organizing spiral. It will help you attract more people and hold onto them because they are growing politically and becoming more effective.

The Organizing Spiral



During the 1960s, most marched against the Vietnam war. But the movements abolished legal segregation and stopped U.S. military intervention overseas for fifteen years. Social scientists say that successful movements tend to have about two percent of the population active and a majority passive supporters.

Who are the two percent? Determined people like you. **What they have are strong groups that provide**

- analysis
- skills
- support
- education to the people around them
- organization of actions that reached out for more support
- active recruitment
- alliance building

You don't have to do all this

Start with the steps that seem most useful to you, and use this model as a template. Set it against what you are doing every so often (when you are doing evaluations every quarter or half year) and see if it identifies a missing piece which is limiting your growth.

Resources

One short handbook that walks you through this organizing spiral is "Building Solidarity, Building Committees," \$5 from CISPES, P. O. Box 1801 New York, NY 10159. You can also check out the longer Organizing Guides on page 284.

Researching Global Corporations and Institutions

Whether you're organizing a short-term campaign or building a long-term movement, research is essential. It will:

- tell you who's behind specific, destructive global policies . . . and whom to pressure to change them.
- identify corporate targets for a local campaign.
- identify allies. (They're the people who are being hurt by the same corporation or policy as you!)

"But I don't know how to do research," you may say. Don't let that stop you. Many friendly organizations stand ready to help you find targets and map out campaigns. Here are a few.

Corporate Dirt Archives, www.corporations.org

Extensive information about various transnational corporations, organized by industry and issue. If you can't find what you want, see their wonderful "Researching Corporations" link that is full of advice and more links for digging up the dirt about a particular corporation.

Corporate Watch, www.corpwatch.org, (415)561-6568.

This web page is full of resources that will help you research corporate activity, plus fact sheets on the IMF, World Bank, and Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). Follow the link "Research Corporations" for a step-by-step guide to researching a corporation. Corporate Watch does not provide users with customized research on a particular company, industry, or issue; for that, go to "Affiliate Organizations," which lists groups that help the public with research. "Globalization and Corporate Rule" lists material on the WTO, World Bank, IMF, UN and Corporations, and Global Financial Crisis. Corporate Watch's sponsor is the Transnational Action and Research Center (TRAC).

Dirty Money, www.ewg.org/dirtymoney/

"See for yourself how money from corporations and coalitions affect environmental decision makers." Search by politician, environmental problem, company, or state.

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izing strategies that have direct action, collective action and solidarity-building at their core.

Together we can, forever we must.

Chris Crass is a writer/organizer working to bridge race, class, and gender analysis of power with anarchist theory and practice. He

cist trainer/organizer isco; he works with the on Network and Colours of Resistance. He would like to thank his mentors Sharon Martinas, Elizabeth 'Betita' Martinez, and Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz.

Anyone
DON'T WORRY ITS JUST ABOUT DEEPENING ANALYSIS.

Tools for White Guys Who Are Working for Social Change

and other people socialized in a society based on domination

Chris Crass

1. Practice noticing who's in the room at meetings—how many men, how many women, how many white people, how many people of color. Are the majority heterosexual, are there out queers, what are people's class backgrounds? Don't assume to know people, but also work at being more aware.
- 2a. Count how many times you speak and keep track of how long you speak. → make checks in a little notebook
- 2b. Count how many times other people speak and keep track of how long they speak.
3. Be conscious of how often you are actively listening to what other people are saying as opposed to just waiting your turn and/or thinking about what you'll say next.
4. Practice going to meetings focused on listening and learning; go to some meetings and do not speak at all.
- 5a. Count how many times you put ideas out to the group.
- 5b. Count how many times you support other people's ideas for the group.
6. Practice supporting people by asking them to expand on ideas and dig more deeply before you decide to support the idea or not.

Such a Good Practice

- 7a. Think about whose work and contribution to the group gets recognized.
- 7b. Practice recognizing more people for the work they do and try to do it more often. ✓✓
8. Practice asking more people what they think about meetings, ideas, actions, strategy, and vision. White guys tend to talk amongst themselves and develop strong bonds that manifest in organizing. This creates an internal organizing culture that is alienating for most people. Developing respect and solidarity across race, class, gender, and sexuality is complex and difficult, but absolutely critical—and liberating.
9. Be aware of how often you ask people to do something as opposed to asking other people "what needs to be done."
10. Think about and struggle with the saying, "You will be needed in the movement when you realize that you are not needed in the movement."
11. Struggle with and work with the model of group leadership that says that the responsibility of leaders is to help develop more leaders, and think about what this means to you. ✓✓
12. Remember that social change is a process, and that our individual transformation and individual liberation is intimately interconnected with social transformation and social liberation. Life is profoundly complex and there are many contradictions. Remember that the path we travel is guided by love, dignity, and respect—even when it is bumpy and difficult to navigate.
13. This list is not limited to white guys, nor is it intended to reduce all white guys into one category. This list is intended to disrupt patterns of domination that hurt our movement and hurt each other. White guys have a lot of work to do, but it is the kind of work that makes life worth living.
14. Day-to-day patterns of domination are the glue that holds together systems of domination. The struggle against capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy, heterosexism, and the state, is also the struggle towards collective liberation.
15. No one is free until all of us are free.

What do you need to teach yourself to really know this?

How can you translate + build on these ideas for your audience. What aspects of this anti oppressive fine work for you which ones don't & why?

Antiracism Workshop

This three-hour workshop for white people was used for the August, 2000, Democratic Convention protests in Los Angeles.

Goals for Workshop

1. Build an awareness around power and privilege as it is tied to white racial identity.
2. Look at what it means to be white people participating in the Convergence space daily actions, and in the growing movement.
3. Gain some basic tools for communication on issues of racism.
4. Challenge ourselves and each other to keep active and conscious about issues of racism.

Introductions of facilitators, Ground rules, Tools for communication on issues of racism

Philosophy of workshop

or Class Privilege

We are going to be working together and taking action together in the streets. We need to understand that we come from different places and experiences. We need to look at how these differences affect our interactions with one another and affect people's participation in our movements. Today we are going to focus on racism because this is one of the core things that still divides our movements.

We take it as given that racism exists in this society. Racism = Race Prejudice + Power. Power is passed on by controlling the institutions and systems of governing. Racism includes institutional/systemic racism, individual acts of racism, and racist ideas. Racism gives a series of advantages, rewards, or benefits to those in the dominant group (whites, males, Christians, heterosexuals, etc). Privileges are bestowed unintentionally, unconsciously, and automatically. Often, these privileges are invisible to the receiver.

Internalized racial superiority is a multigenerational process of receiving, acting on, internalizing, making invisible, and legitimizing

a system of privilege. If we are going to practice antiracist behavior we have to do work to unlearn racism. We need spaces where we feel safe enough to take risks, grow, and unlearn.

Introductions and Sentence Completion

"When I think about my racial identity I feel _____"

Identity Exercise

Break into pairs and select partner A and partner B. Partner A will go first and answer the questions and B will listen silently. Then they will switch and do the same thing. We will then switch partners.

Questions for exercise

- When was the first time that you realized you were white?
- What did you learn from your family about being white?
- What did you learn from society about being white?
- What is one thing that is negative about being white?
- What is one thing that is positive about being white?
- What do you think it means for you to be white and a part of the globalization movement?

Also go to this for the types of privilege of privilege

Debrief exercise

- What was it like to talk about your racial identity?
- What was hard to discuss about your racial identity?

Testimony

Ask for one or two people to share a short story that illuminates a specific experience of racism in Seattle, D.C., or other action in which their privilege as a white person played out.

Breakouts on power and privilege

Break into small groups of three to four people. Discuss your privilege in relationship to institutions that we will be interacting with during the course of the actions. Answer this question: A privilege that I have in (choose one below) as a white person would be _____

- Criminal Justice System
- Media
- Education

you interact with to make work better

You

But You're Afraid to Ask for Money?

DO RECORD

RAISE

DO (+5) RECORD RAISE

VAN JAMES MODEL

IT NOT AS Relevant but included it ANYWAY. on ...

Pam Rogers

Fundraising is organizing. When you learn to fundraise effectively, you are learning the organizer's two most basic skills: motivating people to take action and strongly asking them to do it.

Fundraising is not about getting money out of people. It is about giving them the opportunity to help change the world. Your donors aren't moneybags. They are thinking people whom you can convince to care about your cause. (If they don't, you won't get money out of them.) Don't just ask them for money. Ask them to take political action—call Congress, join a protest. Involve them in your campaigns, because that builds their personal commitment.

Let's look at a typical personal visit. It is one of the most basic organizing techniques, and it's the same whether you ask a new person to join your organization, to donate money, or both.

The personal visit

- **Get to know** your "prospect," the person who could become a donor/activist. Make friends. Find out what you have in common.
- Describe the **problem** you are confronting: a global corporate polluter, a new trade treaty in Congress, an INS crackdown on immigrants. To describe it you can lay out an analysis, tell a story about someone who's getting hurt, or describe how you got involved and why you care. Personal stories can be strongest, but use the approach that will work for the person you are talking to. Whatever approach you use, convey the **urgency** of the problem you're facing.
- Describe your **solution**. How will you stop this urgent problem? How will that solve the larger pattern of corporate domination, environmental destruction, and global injustice that we are facing?
- **Ask for exactly what you want.** Ask for a definite amount of money and say what that amount will accomplish. AND/OR ask your

- **Shut up.** Let the person make up his or her own mind. Maybe you will get less than what you asked for, but you don't know that till he or she answers.

- **Close the deal.** Collect the check, or arrange when you will. Promise to call the day before the protest to make sure he or she remembers and shows up.

Personal visits take time. But they pay off many times over. Once you have visited a donor (or an activist), you can call and renew their support of money or time. Having met you, donors are more likely to take your call. They can imagine your face while you're talking. The personal bond you made during your first visit will strengthen your pitch when you get to the asking for money.

People give to causes. **But they also give to people.** And they join organizations and become active not just when the politics click, but when the personal connections do.

Once you have signed on a new donor

- **Ask again.** Renew **all your donors** at least twice a year.
- **Keep in touch.** Periodically send **all your donors** an update.
- Give them ways to get involved. If you're holding a protest or teach-in, send a flyer and handwrite a short note so they are personally invited.
- **Share** your successes. When you are coming off some stellar event and you are still juzzed, call your donors and let them hear the triumph in your voice. If you're going to be on TV, call and tell them so they can tune in. If you're in the paper, photocopy the article/photo and mail it to your donors. Include a return envelope even if you don't ask for a new donation. You'll be surprised!

Everyone asks and everyone gives

If all donors are potential activists, all activists are potential donors. During your regular meetings, pass a hat for people to donate. Sure,

members have donated their time, but who is going to pay for the leaflets for next Saturday or the snacks that kept the group going for another hour of great discussion?

Regular fundraising is a good idea for three reasons:

- People start to recognize that fundraising is a normal part of life, and their anxiety about fundraising drops.
- If you're going to be asking other people for money, you should give first. It gives you the right to ask. You're not asking them to do anything you haven't.
- Everyone can practice giving the pitch. The pitch explains why people should give. A good pitch appeals to both your head and your heart. It is passionate. And it's personal. If you're the one who has to give the pitch at the next meeting, think of why *you* are doing this work, and take it from there.

Everyone gives and everyone asks. The biggest mistake many movement organizations make is to charge just one person or one committee with raising the bucks. If everyone asks, everyone gets to confront a social taboo, summon up their commitment, and work through their fear. Once you go out on a limb and see it doesn't break off, you'll go further out next time. *Fundraising builds strong activists.*

Faith-based organizations have this fundraising thing down. They ask every week and they make you feel good about your gift. Copy them!

Five simple ways to raise money

- The old-fashioned bake sale or garage sale. It's a good time to spread the word about your organization's work. Set up in a place with a lot of foot traffic.
- Organize an event, such as a talent show (or a talent-less show), an open-mike poetry or stand-up comedy night. Your sister used to date the lead singer from some current cool band. Plead with her to ask if they will do a concert for you! At the event, make a pitch for the next

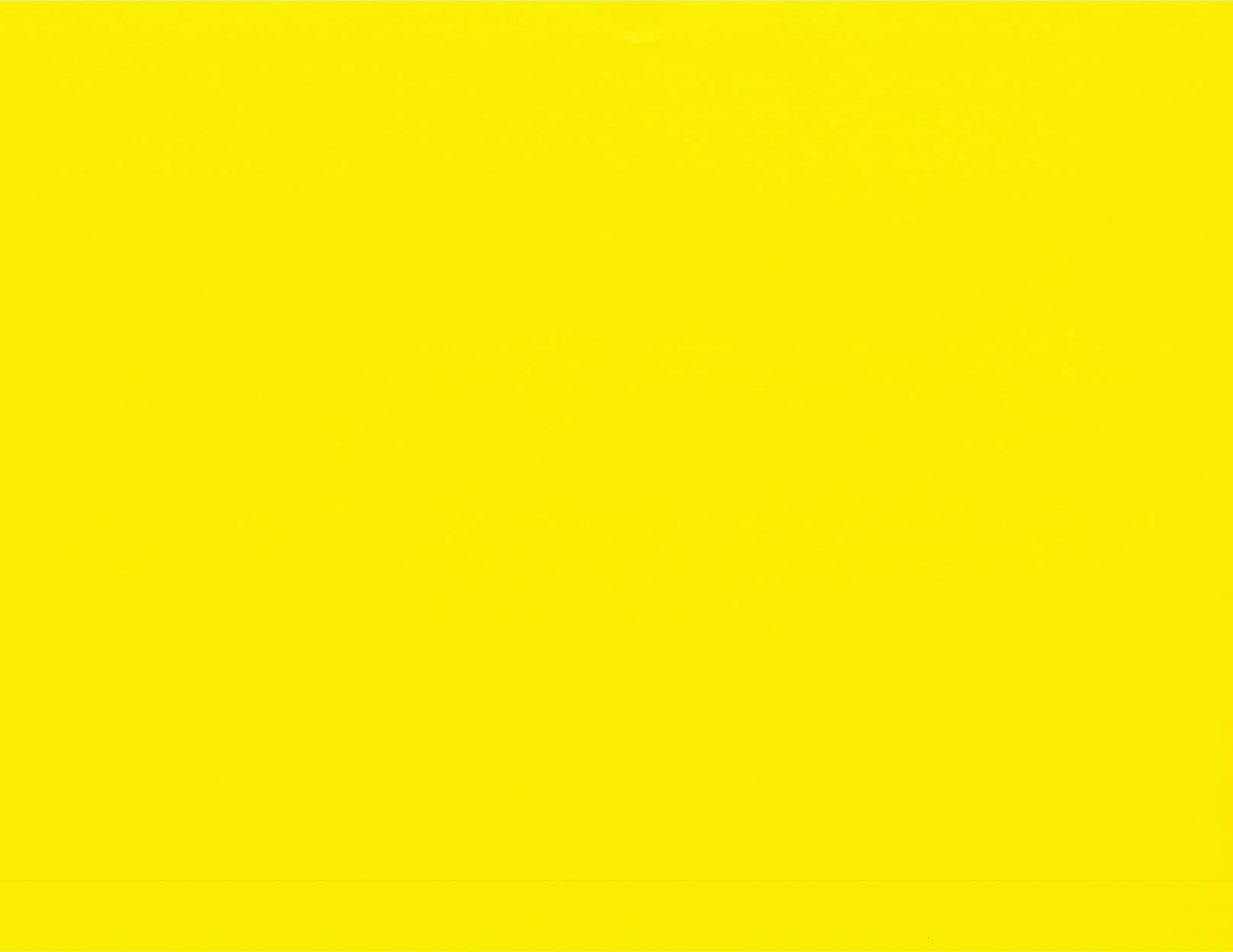
action you are organizing, sign people up, talk to them that night, and call them before the action to get them there.

- Designate a phone bank night when everyone in your group calls everyone on your list, plus their friends, asking for a donation. Also ask them to take action.
- Organize a house party where people come and hear about your work and are asked for money collectively.
- Have your group brainstorm the most successful fundraising event each person ever attended. Decide which will work the best for your group and adapt it.

* Remember: The best fundraising brings people into your group, encourages them to become part of the effort, and is fun.

Tips for asking effectively

- Be clear about the goals of your group and how you are working to reach them.
- Ask for something tangible. "Five dollars pays for x number of leaflets, \$10 covers the cost of a giant puppet, and \$25 buys a seat on the bus for the rally in D.C. for someone who can't afford it!"
- Have a vision. Just exactly what are you asking people to support?
- Have a budget. Determine how much money you need and let people know what it is. You can always have a bare-bones budget and a this-would-be-really-great-if-we-raise-this-much-money budget.
- Set up a bank account and keep meticulous records of what comes in and what goes out.
- Practice the pitch with your group. Practice asking for specific amounts of money.



**RULES
FOR**

RADICALS

**A Pragmatic Primer
for Realistic
Radicals**

Saul D. Alinsky

THIS IS
THE PRIMARY
ORGANIZING
TEXT OUTSIDE
OF MARSHALL
GAZZI'S WORK.

† Prologue

WRITTEN IN 1971

THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCE today has two targets, moral as well as material. Its young protagonists are one moment reminiscent of the idealistic early Christians, yet they also urge violence and cry, "Burn the system down!" They have no illusions about the system, but plenty of illusions about the way to change our world. It is to this point that I have written this book. These words are written in desperation, partly because it is what they do and will do that will give meaning to what I and the radicals of my generation have done with our lives.

They are now the vanguard, and they had to start almost from scratch. Few of us survived the Joe McCarthy holocaust of the early 1950s and of those there were even fewer whose understanding and insights had developed beyond the dialectical materialism of orthodox Marxism. My fellow radicals who were supposed to pass on the torch of experience and insights to a new genera-

tion just were not there. As the young looked at the society around them, it was all, in their words, "materialistic, decadent, bourgeois in its values, bankrupt and violent." Is it any wonder that they rejected us in toto.

Today's generation is desperately trying to make some sense out of their lives and out of the world. Most of them are products of the middle class. They have rejected their materialistic backgrounds, the goal of a well-paid job, suburban home, automobile, country club membership, first-class travel, status, security, and everything that meant success to their parents. They have had it. They watched it lead their parents to tranquilizers, alcohol, long-term-endurance marriages, or divorces, high blood pressure, ulcers, frustration, and the disillusionment of "the good life." They have seen the almost unbelievable idiocy of our political leadership—in the past political leaders, ranging from the mayors to governors to the White House, were regarded with respect and almost reverence; today they are viewed with contempt. This negativism now extends to all institutions, from the police and the courts to "the system" itself. We are living in a world of mass media which daily exposes society's innate hypocrisy, its contradictions and the apparent failure of almost every facet of our social and political life. The young have seen their "activist" participatory democracy turn into its antithesis—nihilistic bombing and murder. The political panaceas of the past, such as the revolutions in Russia and China, have become the same old stuff under a different name. The search for freedom does not seem to have any road or destination. The young are inundated with a barrage of information and facts so overwhelming that the world has come to seem an utter bedlam, which has them spinning in a frenzy, looking for what man has always

looked for from the beginning of time, a way of life that has some meaning or sense. A way of life means a certain degree of order where things have some relationship and can be pieced together into a system that at least provides some clues to what life is about. Men have always yearned for and sought direction by setting up religions, inventing political philosophies, creating scientific systems like Newton's, or formulating ideologies of various kinds. This is what is behind the common cliché, "getting it all together"—despite the realization that all values and factors are relative, fluid, and changing, and that it will be possible to "get it all together" only relatively. The elements will shift and move together just like the changing pattern in a turning kaleidoscope.

In the past the "world," whether in its physical or intellectual terms, was much smaller, simpler, and more orderly. It inspired credibility. Today everything is so complex as to be incomprehensible. What sense does it make for men to walk on the moon while other men are waiting on welfare lines, or in Vietnam killing and dying for a corrupt dictatorship in the name of freedom? These are the days when man has his hands on the sublime while he is up to his hips in the muck of madness. The establishment in many ways is as suicidal as some of the far left, except that they are infinitely more destructive than the far left can ever be. The outcome of the hopelessness and despair is morbidity. There is a feeling of death hanging over the nation.

Today's generation faces all this and says, "I don't want to spend my life the way my family and their friends have. I want to do something, to create, to be me, to 'do my own thing,' to live. The older generation doesn't understand and worse doesn't want to. I don't want to be just a

piece of data to be fed into a computer or a statistic in a public opinion poll, just a voter carrying a credit card." To the young the world seems insane and falling apart.

On the other side is the older generation, whose members are no less confused. If they are not as vocal or conscious, it may be because they can escape to a past when the world was simpler. They can still cling to the old values in the simple hope that everything will work out somehow, some way. That the younger generation will "straighten out" with the passing of time. Unable to come to grips with the world as it is, they retreat in any confrontation with the younger generation with that infuriating cliché, "*when you get older you'll understand.*" One wonders at their reaction if some youngster were to reply, "*When you get younger which will never be then you'll understand, so of course you'll never understand.*" Those of the older generation who claim a desire to understand say, "When I talk to my kids or their friends I'll say to them, 'Look, I believe what you have to tell me is important and I respect it. You call me a square and say that 'I'm not with it' or 'I don't know where it's at' or 'I don't know where the scene is' and all of the rest of the words you use. Well, I'm going to agree with you. So suppose you tell me. What do you want? What do you mean when you say 'I want to do my thing.' What the hell is your thing? You say you want a better world. Like what? And don't tell me a world of peace and love and all the rest of that stuff because people are people, as you will find out when you get older—I'm sorry, I didn't mean to say anything about 'when you get older.' I really do respect what you have to say. Now why don't you answer me? Do you know what you want? Do you know what you're talking about? Why can't we get together?'"

And that is what we call the generation gap.

What the present generation wants is what all generations have always wanted—a meaning, a sense of what the world and life are—a chance to strive for some sort of order.

If the young were now writing our Declaration of Independence they would begin, "When in the course of inhuman events . . ." and their bill of particulars would range from Vietnam to our black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican ghettos, to the migrant workers, to Appalachia, to the hate, ignorance, disease, and starvation in the world. Such a bill of particulars would emphasize the absurdity of human affairs and the forlornness and emptiness, the fearful loneliness that comes from not knowing if there is any meaning to our lives.

When they talk of values they're asking for a reason. They are searching for an answer, at least for a time, to man's greatest question, "Why am I here?"

The young react to their chaotic world in different ways. Some panic and run, rationalizing that the system is going to collapse anyway of its own rot and corruption and so they're copping out, going hippie or yippie, taking drugs, trying communes, anything to escape. Others went for pointless sure-loser confrontations so that they could fortify their rationalization and say, "Well, we tried and did our part" and then they copped out too. Others sick with guilt and not knowing where to turn or what to do went berserk. These were the Weathermen and their like: they took the grand cop-out, suicide. To these I have nothing to say or give but pity—and in some cases contempt, for such as those who leave their dead comrades and take off for Algeria or other points.

What I have to say in this book is not the arrogance

or unsolicited advice. It is the experience and counsel that so many young people have questioned me about through all-night sessions on hundreds of campuses in America. It is for those young radicals who are committed to the fight, committed to life.

Remember we are talking about revolution, not revelation; you can miss the target by shooting too high as well as too low. First, there are no rules for revolution any more than there are rules for love or rules for happiness, but there are rules for radicals who want to change their world; there are certain central concepts of action in human politics that operate regardless of the scene or the time. To know these is basic to a pragmatic attack on the system. These rules make the difference between being a realistic radical and being a rhetorical one who uses the tired old words and slogans, calls the police "pig" or "white fascist racist" or "motherfucker" and has so stereotyped himself that others react by saying, "Oh, he's one of those," and then promptly turn off.

This failure of many of our younger activists to understand the art of communication has been disastrous. Even the most elementary grasp of the fundamental idea that one communicates within the experience of his audience — and gives full respect to the other's values — would have ruled out attacks on the American flag. The responsible organizer would have known that it is the establishment that has betrayed the flag, while the flag, itself, remains the glorious symbol of America's hopes and aspirations, and he would have conveyed this message to his audience. On another level of communication, humor is essential, for through humor much is accepted that would have been rejected if presented seriously. This is a sad and lonely generation. It laughs too little, and this, too, is tragic.

we
HAVE
UPDATED
THE LANGUAGE

For the real radical, doing "his thing" is to do the social thing, for and with people. In a world where everything is so interrelated that one feels helpless to know where or how to grab hold and act, defeat sets in; for years there have been people who've found society too overwhelming and have withdrawn, concentrated on "doing their own thing." Generally we have put them into mental hospitals and diagnosed them as schizophrenics. If the real radical finds that having long hair sets up psychological barriers to communication and organization, he cuts his hair. If I were organizing in an orthodox Jewish community I would not walk in there eating a ham sandwich, unless I wanted to be rejected so I could have an excuse to cop out. My "thing," if I want to organize, is solid communication with the people in the community. Lacking communication I am in reality silent; throughout history silence has been regarded as assent — in this case assent to the system.

you do
this
well

As an organizer I start from where the world is, as it is, not as I would like it to be. That we accept the world as it is does not in any sense weaken our desire to change it into what we believe it should be — it is necessary to begin where the world is if we are going to change it to what we think it should be. That means working in the system.

There's another reason for working inside the system. Dostoevski said that taking a new step is what people fear most. Any revolutionary change must be preceded by a passive, affirmative, non-challenging attitude toward change among the mass of our people. They must feel so frustrated, so defeated, so lost, so futureless in the prevailing system that they are willing to let go of the past and chance the future. This acceptance is the reformation essential to any revolution. To bring on this reformation re-

quires that the organizer work inside the system, among not only the middle class but the 40 per cent of American families—more than seventy million people—whose incomes range from \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year. They cannot be dismissed by labeling them blue collar or hard hat. They will not continue to be relatively passive and slightly challenging. If we fail to communicate with them, if we don't encourage them to form alliances with us, they will move to the right. Maybe they will anyway, but let's not let it happen by default.

Our youth are impatient with the preliminaries that are essential to purposeful action. Effective organization is thwarted by the desire for instant and dramatic change, or as I have phrased it elsewhere the demand for revelation rather than revolution. It's the kind of thing we see in play writing; the first act introduces the characters and the plot, in the second act the plot and characters are developed as the play strives to hold the audience's attention. In the final act good and evil have their dramatic confrontation and resolution. The present generation wants to go right into the third act, skipping the first two, in which case there is no play, nothing but confrontation for confrontation's sake—a flare-up and back to darkness. To build a powerful organization takes time. It is tedious, but that's the way the game is played—if you want to play and not just yell, "Kill the umpire."

What is the alternative to working "inside" the system? A mess of rhetorical garbage about "Burn the system down!" Yippie yells of "Do it!" or "Do your thing." What else? Bombs? Sniping? Silence when police are killed and screams of "murdering fascist pigs" when others are killed? Attacking and baiting the police? Public suicide? "Power comes out of the barrel of a gun!" is an absurd rallying cry

when the other side has all the guns. Lenin was a pragmatist; when he returned to what was then Petrograd from exile, he said that the Bolsheviks stood for getting power through the ballot but would reconsider after they got the guns! Militant mouthings? Spouting quotes from Mao, Castro, and Che Guevara, which are as germane to our highly technological, computerized, cybernetic, nuclear-powered, mass media society as a stagecoach on a jet runway at Kennedy airport?

Let us in the name of radical pragmatism not forget, that in our system with all its repressions we can still speak out and denounce the administration, attack its policies, work to build an opposition political base. True, there is government harassment, but there still is that relative freedom to fight. I can attack my government, try to organize to change it. That's more than I can do in Moscow, Peking, or Havana. Remember the reaction of the Red Guard to the "cultural revolution" and the fate of the Chinese college students. Just a few of the violent episodes of bombings or a courtroom shootout that we have experienced here would have resulted in a sweeping purge and mass executions in Russia, China, or Cuba. Let's keep some perspective.

We will start with the system because there is no other place to start from except political lunacy. It is most important for those of us who want revolutionary change to understand that revolution must be preceded by reformation. To assume that a political revolution can survive without the supporting base of a popular reformation is to ask for the impossible in politics.

Men don't like to step abruptly out of the security of familiar experience; they need a bridge to cross from their own experience to a new way. A revolutionary organizer

Also you have
power to be
this

must shake up the prevailing patterns of their lives—agitate, create disenchantment and discontent with the current values, to produce, if not a passion for change, at least a passive, affirmative, non-challenging climate.

"The Revolution was effected before the war commenced," John Adams wrote. "The Revolution was in the hearts and minds of the people . . . This radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments and affections of the people was the real American Revolution." A revolution without a prior reformation would collapse or become a totalitarian tyranny.

A reformation means that masses of our people have reached the point of disillusionment with past ways and values. They don't know what will work but they do know that the prevailing system is self-defeating, frustrating, and hopeless. They won't act for change but won't strongly oppose those who do. The time is then ripe for revolution.

Those who, for whatever combination of reasons, encourage the opposite of reformation, become the unwitting allies of the far political right. Parts of the far left have gone so far in the political circle that they are now all but indistinguishable from the extreme right. It reminds me of the days when Hitler, new on the scene, was excused for his actions by "humanitarians" on the grounds of a paternal rejection and childhood trauma. When there are people who espouse the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy or the Tate murders or the Marin County Courthouse kidnapping and killings or the University of Wisconsin bombing and killing as "revolutionary acts," then we are dealing with people who are merely hiding psychosis behind a political mask. The masses of people recoil with horror and say, "Our way is bad and we were willing to let it change, but certainly not for this murderous madness—no matter

how bad things are now, they are better than that." So they begin to turn back. They regress into acceptance of a coming massive repression in the name of "law and order."

In the midst of the gassing and violence by the Chicago Police and National Guard during the 1968 Democratic Convention many students asked me, "Do you still believe we should try to work inside our system?"

These were students who had been with Eugene McCarthy in New Hampshire and followed him across the country. Some had been with Robert Kennedy when he was killed in Los Angeles. Many of the tears that were shed in Chicago were not from gas. "Mr. Alinsky, we fought in primary after primary and the people voted *no* on Vietnam. Look at that convention. They're not paying any attention to the vote. Look at your police and the army. You still want us to work in the system?"

It hurt me to see the American army with drawn bayonets advancing on American boys and girls. But the answer I gave the young radicals seemed to me the only realistic one: "Do one of three things. One, go find a wailing wall and feel sorry for yourselves. Two, go psycho and start bombing—but this will only swing people to the right. Three, learn a lesson. Go home, organize, build power and at the next convention, *you be the delegates.*"

Remember: once you organize people around something as commonly agreed upon as pollution, then an organized people is on the move. From there it's a short and natural step to political pollution, to Pentagon pollution.

It is not enough just to elect your candidates. You must keep the pressure on. Radicals should keep in mind Franklin D. Roosevelt's response to a reform delegation, "Okay, you've convinced me. Now go on out and bring pressure on me!" Action comes from keeping the heat on.

No politician can sit on a hot issue if you make it hot enough.

As for Vietnam, I would like to see our nation be the first in the history of man to publicly say, "We were wrong! What we did was horrible. We got in and kept getting in deeper and deeper and at every step we invented new reasons for staying. We have paid part of the price in 44,000 dead Americans. There is nothing we can ever do to make it up to the people of Indo-China—or to our own people—but we will try. We believe that our world has come of age so that it is no longer a sign of weakness or defeat to abandon a childish pride and vanity, to admit we were wrong." Such an admission would shake up the foreign policy concepts of all nations and open the door to a new international order. This is our alternative to Vietnam—anything else is the old makeshift patchwork. If this were to happen, Vietnam may even have been somewhat worth it.

A final word on our system. The democratic ideal springs from the ideas of liberty, equality, majority rule through free elections, protection of the rights of minorities, and freedom to subscribe to multiple loyalties in matters of religion, economics, and politics rather than to a total loyalty to the state. The spirit of democracy is the idea of importance and worth in the individual, and faith in the kind of world where the individual can achieve as much of his potential as possible.

Great dangers always accompany great opportunities.

The possibility of destruction is always implicit in the act of creation. Thus the greatest enemy of individual freedom is the individual himself.

From the beginning the weakness as well as the strength of the democratic ideal has been the people.

People cannot be free unless they are willing to sacrifice some of their interests to guarantee the freedom of others. The price of democracy is the ongoing pursuit of the common good by *all* of the people. One hundred and thirty-five years ago Tocqueville* gravely warned that unless individual citizens were regularly involved in the action of governing themselves, self-government would pass from the scene. Citizen participation is the animating spirit and force in a society predicated on voluntarism.

We are not here concerned with people who profess the democratic faith but yearn for the dark security of dependency where they can be spared the burden of decisions. Reluctant to grow up, or incapable of doing so, they want to remain children and be cared for by others. Those who can, should be encouraged to grow; for the others, the fault lies not in the system but in themselves.

Here we are desperately concerned with the vast mass of our people who, thwarted through lack of interest or opportunity, or both, do not participate in the endless re-

* "It must not be forgotten that it is especially dangerous to enslave men in the minor details of life. For my own part, I should be inclined to think freedom less necessary in great things than in little ones, if it were possible to be secure of the one without possessing the other.

"Subjection in minor affairs breaks out every day, and is felt by the whole community indiscriminately. It does not drive men to resistance, but it crosses them at every turn, till they are led to surrender the exercise of their will. Thus their spirit is gradually broken and their character enervated; whereas that obedience, which is exacted on a few important but rare occasions, only exhibits servitude at certain intervals, and throws the burden of it upon a small number of men. It is vain to summon a people, which has been rendered so dependent on the central power, to choose from time to time the representatives of that power; this rare and brief exercise of their free choice, however, important it may be, will not prevent them from gradually losing the faculties of thinking, feeling, and acting for themselves, and thus gradually falling below the level of humanity."

—Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*

sponsibilities of citizenship and are resigned to lives determined by others. To lose your "identity" as a citizen of democracy is but a step from losing your identity as a person. People react to this frustration by not acting at all. The separation of the people from the routine daily functions of citizenship is heartbreak in a democracy.

It is a grave situation when a people resign their citizenship or when a resident of a great city, though he may desire to take a hand, lacks the means to participate. That citizen sinks further into apathy, anonymity, and depersonalization. The result is that he comes to depend on public authority and a state of civic-sclerosis sets in.

From time to time there have been external enemies at our gates; there has always been the enemy within, the hidden and malignant inertia that foreshadows more certain destruction to our life and future than any nuclear warhead. There can be no darker or more devastating tragedy than the death of man's faith in himself and in his power to direct his future.

I salute the present generation. Hang on to one of your most precious parts of youth, laughter—don't lose it as many of you seem to have done, you need it. Together we may find some of what we're looking for—laughter, beauty, love, and the chance to create.

Saul Alinsky

meet each unforeseeable future crisis as they move ahead in their eternal search for those values of equality, justice, freedom, peace, a deep concern for the preciousness of human life, and all those rights and values propounded by Judaeo-Christianity and the democratic political tradition. Democracy is not an end but the best means toward achieving these values. This is my credo for which I live and, if need be, die.

The basic requirement for the understanding of the politics of change is to recognize the world as it is. We must work with it on its terms if we are to change it to the kind of world we would like it to be. We must first see the world as it is and not as we would like it to be. We must see the world as all political realists have, in terms of "what men do and not what they ought to do," as Machiavelli and others have put it.

It is painful to accept fully the simple fact that one begins from where one is, that one must break free of the web of illusions one spins about life. Most of us view the world not as it is but as we would like it to be. The preferred world can be seen any evening on television in the succession of programs where the good always wins—that is, until the late evening newscast, when suddenly we are plunged into the world as it is.*

Political realists see the world as it is: an arena of power politics moved primarily by perceived immediate self-interests, where morality is rhetorical rationale for expe-

* With some exceptions. In one of America's Shangri-Las of escape from the world as it is, Carmel-by-the-Sea, California, on the coast of the beautiful Monterey Peninsula, radio station KRML used to broadcast the "Sunshine News—which headlines the positive, only the good news of the world!"

Intellectuals, who would scoff at "Sunshine News," are no exception to the preference for already-formulated answers.

dient action and self-interest. Two examples would be the priest who wants to be a bishop and bootlicks and politicks his way up, justifying it with the rationale, "After I get to be bishop I'll use my office for Christian reformation," or the businessman who reasons, "First I'll make my million and after that I'll go for the real things in life." Unfortunately one changes in many ways on the road to the bishopric or the first million, and then one says, "I'll wait until I'm a cardinal and then I can be more effective," or, "I can do a lot more after I get two million"—and so it goes.* In this world laws are written for the lofty aim of "the common good" and then acted out in life on the basis of the common greed. In this world irrationality clings to man like his shadow so that the right things are done for the wrong reasons—afterwards, we dredge up the right reasons for justification. It is a world not of angels but of angles, where men speak of moral principles but act on power principles; a world where we are always moral and our enemies always immoral; a world where "reconciliation" means that when one side gets the power and the other side gets reconciled to it, then we have reconciliation; a world of religious institutions that have, in the main, come to support and justify the status quo

* Each year, for a number of years, the activists in the graduating class from a major Catholic seminary near Chicago would visit me for a day just before their ordination, with questions about values, revolutionary tactics, and such. Once, at the end of such a day, one of the seminarians said, "Mr. Alinsky, before we came here we met and agreed that there was one question we particularly wanted to put to you. We're going to be ordained, and then we'll be assigned to different parishes, as assistants to—frankly—stuffy, reactionary, old pastors. They will disapprove of a lot of what you and we believe in, and we will be put into a killing routine. Our question is: how do we keep our faith in true Christian values, everything we hope to do to change the system?"

That was easy. I answered, "When you go out that door, just make your own personal decision about whether you want to be a bishop or a priest, and everything else will follow."

INTENTIONAL
TO MAKE
WHAT
YOU
CAN
SAY
ABOUT
TRU

so that today organized religion is materially solvent and spiritually bankrupt. We live with a Judaeo-Christian ethic that has not only accommodated itself to but justified slavery, war, and every other ugly human exploitation of whichever status quo happened to prevail:

We live in a world where "good" is a value dependent on whether we want it. In the world as it is, the solution of each problem inevitably creates a new one. In the world as it is there are no permanent happy or sad endings. Such endings belong to the world of fantasy, the world as we would like it to be, the world of children's fairy tales where "they lived happily ever after." In the world as it is, the stream of events surges endlessly onward with death as the only terminus. One never reaches the horizon; it is always just beyond, ever beckoning onward; it is the pursuit of life itself. This is the world as it is. This is where you start.

It is not a world of peace and beauty and dispassionate rationality, but as Henry James once wrote, "Life is, in fact, a battle. Evil is insolent and strong; beauty enchanting but rare; goodness very apt to be weak; folly very apt to be defiant; wickedness to carry the day; imbeciles to be in great places, people of sense in small, and mankind generally unhappy. But the world as it stands is no narrow illusion, no phantasm, no evil dream of the night; we wake up to it again forever and ever; and we can neither forget it nor deny it nor dispense with it." Henry James's statement is an affirmation of that of Job: "The life of man upon earth is a warfare . . ." Disraeli put it succinctly: "Political life must be taken as you find it."

Once we have moved into the world as it is then we begin to shed fallacy after fallacy. The prime illusion we must rid ourselves of is the conventional view in which things are seen separate from their inevitable counterparts.

THIS IS THE POINT

We know intellectually that everything is functionally inter-related, but in our operations we segment and isolate all values and issues. Everything about us must be seen as the indivisible partner of its converse, light and darkness, good and evil, life and death. From the moment we are born we begin to die. Happiness and misery are inseparable. So are peace and war. The threat of destruction from nuclear energy conversely carries the opportunity of peace and plenty, and so with every component of this universe; all is paired in this enormous Noah's Ark of life.

Life seems to lack rhyme or reason or even a shadow of order unless we approach it with the key of converses. Seeing everything in its duality, we begin to get some dim clues to direction and what it's all about. It is in these contradictions and their incessant interacting tensions that creativity begins. As we begin to accept the concept of contradictions we see every problem or issue in its whole, inter-related sense. We then recognize that for every positive there is a negative,* and that there is nothing positive without its concomitant negative, nor any political paradise without its negative side.

Niels Bohr pointed out that the appearance of contradictions was a signal that the experiment was on the right track: "There is not much hope if we have only one difficulty, but when we have two, we can match them off against each other." Bohr called this "complementarity,"

* For more than four thousand years the Chinese have been familiar with the principle of complementarity in their philosophical life. They believe that from the illimitable (nature, God or gods) came the principle of creation which they called the Great Extreme and from the Great Extreme came the Two Principles or Dual Powers, Yang and Yin, out of which came everything else. Yang and Yin have been defined as positive and negative, light and darkness, male and female, or numerous other examples of opposites or converses.

Related to Moho-Mony + Chae, the

A Word About Words

THE PASSIONS OF MANKIND have boiled over into all areas of political life, including its vocabulary. The words most common in politics have become stained with human hurts, hopes, and frustrations. All of them are loaded with popular opprobrium, and their use results in a conditioned, negative, emotional response. Even the word *politics* itself, which Webster says is "the science and art of government," is generally viewed in a context of corruption. Ironically, the dictionary synonyms are "discreet; provident, diplomatic, wise."

The same discolorations attach to other words prevalent in the language of politics, words like *power*, *self-interest*, *compromise*, and *conflict*. They become twisted and warped, viewed as evil. Nowhere is the prevailing political illiteracy more clearly revealed than in these typical interpretations of words. This is why we pause here for a word about words.

A Word About

POWER

The question may legitimately be raised, why not use other words—words that mean the same but are peaceful, and do not result in such negative/emotional reactions? There are a number of fundamental reasons for rejecting such substitution. First, by using combinations of words such as "harnessing the energy" instead of the single word "power," we begin to dilute the meaning; and as we use purifying synonyms, we dissolve the bitterness, the anguish, the hate and love, the agony and the triumph attached to these words, leaving an aseptic imitation of life. In the politics of life we are concerned with the slaves and the Caesars, not the vestal virgins. It is not just that, in communication as in thought, we must ever strive toward simplicity. (The masterpieces of philosophic or scientific statement are frequently no longer than a few words, for example, " $E=mc^2$.") It is more than that: it is a determination not to detour around reality.

To use any other word but power is to change the meaning of everything we are talking about. As Mark Twain once put it, "The difference between the right word and the almost-right word is the difference between lightning and the lightning bug."

Power is the right word just as self-interest, compromise, and the other simple political words are, for they were conceived in and have become part of politics from the beginning of time. To pander to those who have no stomach for straight language, and insist upon bland, non-controversial sauces, is a waste of time. They cannot or

YOU HAVE
POWER—
IT IS IMPORTANT
TO RECOGNIZE
NAME
ix

TO
ADAM

deliberately will not understand what we are discussing here. I agree with Nietzsche's statement in *The Genealogy of Morals* on this point:

Why stroke the hypersensitive ears of our modern weaklings? Why yield even a single step . . . to the Tartuffery of words? For us psychologists that would involve a Tartuffery of *action* . . . For a psychologist today shows his good taste (others may say his integrity) in this, if in anything, that he resists the shamefully *moralized* manner of speaking which makes all modern judgments about men and things slimy.

We approach a critical point when our tongues trap our minds. I do not propose to be trapped by tact at the expense of truth. Striving to avoid the force, vigor, and simplicity of the word "power," we soon become averse to thinking in vigorous, simple, honest terms. We strive to invent sterilized synonyms, cleansed of the opprobrium of the word *power*—but the new words mean something different, so that they tranquilize us, begin to shepherd our mental processes off the main, conflict-ridden, grimy, and realistic power-paved highway of life. To travel down the sweeter-smelling, peaceful, more socially acceptable, more respectable, indefinite byways, ends in a failure to achieve an honest understanding of the issues that we must come to grips with if we are to do the job.

Let us look at the word *power*. Power, meaning "ability, whether physical, mental, or moral, to act," has become an evil word, with overtones and undertones that suggest the sinister, the unhealthy, the Machiavellian. It suggests a phantasmagoria of the nether regions. The mc-

ment the word *power* is mentioned it is as though hell had been opened, exuding the stench of the devil's cesspool of corruption. It evokes images of cruelty, dishonesty, selfishness, arrogance, dictatorship, and abject suffering. The word *power* is associated with conflict; it is unacceptable in our present Madison Avenue deodorized hygiene, where controversy is blasphemous and the value is being liked and not offending others. Power, in our minds, has become almost synonymous with corruption and immorality.

Whenever the word *power* is mentioned, somebody sooner or later will refer to the classical statement of Lord Acton and cite it as follows: "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." In fact the correct quotation is: "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." We can't even read Acton's statement accurately, our minds are so confused by our conditioning.

The corruption of power is not in power, but in ourselves. And yet, what is this power which men live by and to a significant degree live for? Power is the very essence, the dynamo of life. It is the power of the heart pumping blood and sustaining life in the body. It is the power of active citizen participation pulsing upward, providing a unified strength for a common purpose. Power is an essential life force always in operation, either changing the world or opposing change. Power, or organized energy, may be a man-killing explosive or a life-saving drug. The power of a gun may be used to enforce slavery, or to achieve freedom.

The power of the human brain can create man's most glorious achievements, and develop perspectives and insights into the nature of life-opening horizons previously

beyond the imagination. The power of the human mind can also devise philosophies and ways of life that are most destructive for the future of mankind. Either way, power is the dynamo of life.

Alexander Hamilton, in *The Federalist Papers*, put it this way: "What is a power, but the ability or faculty of doing a thing? What is the ability to do a thing, but the power of employing the means necessary to its execution?" Pascal, who was definitely not a cynic, observed that: "Justice without power is impotent; power without justice is tyranny." St. Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuit order, did not shrink from the recognition of power when he issued his dictum: "To do a thing well a man needs power and competence." We could call the roll of all who have played their parts in history and find the word *power*, not a substitute word, used in their speech and writings.

It is impossible to conceive of a world devoid of power; the only choice of concepts is between organized and unorganized power. Mankind has progressed only through learning how to develop and organize instruments of power in order to achieve order, security, morality, and civilized life itself, instead of a sheer struggle for physical survival. Every organization known to man, from government down, has had only one reason for being—that is, organization for power in order to put into practice or promote its common purpose.

When we talk about a person's "lifting himself by his own bootstraps" we are talking about power. Power must be understood for what it is, for the part it plays in every area of our life, if we are to understand it and thereby grasp the essentials of relationships and functions between groups and organizations, particularly in a pluralistic society. To know power and not fear it is essential to its con-

structive use and control. In short, life without power is death; a world without power would be a ghostly wasteland, a dead planet!

SELF-INTEREST

Self-interest, like *power*, wears the black shroud of negativism and suspicion. To many the synonym for self-interest is selfishness. The word is associated with a repugnant conglomeration of vices such as narrowness, self-seeking, and self-centeredness, everything that is opposite to the virtues of altruism and selflessness. This common definition is contrary, of course, to our everyday experiences, as well as to the observations of all great students of politics and life. The myth of altruism as a motivating factor in our behavior could arise and survive only in a society bundled in the sterile gauze of New England puritanism and Protestant morality and tied together with the ribbons of Madison Avenue public relations. It is one of the classic American fairy tales.

From the great teachers of Judaeo-Christian morality and the philosophers, to the economists, and to the wise observers of the politics of man, there has always been universal agreement on the part that self-interest plays as a prime moving force in man's behavior. The importance of self-interest has never been challenged; it has been accepted as an inevitable fact of life. In the words of Christ, "Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." Aristotle said, in *Politics*, "Everyone thinks chiefly of his own, hardly ever of the

Revised
11

public interest." Adam Smith, in *The Wealth of Nations*, noted that "It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard of their own interest. We address ourselves not to their humanity, but to their self-love, and never talk to them of our own necessities, but of their advantage." In all the reasoning found in *The Federalist Papers*, no point is so central and agreed upon as "Rich and poor alike are prone to act upon impulse rather than pure reason and to narrow conceptions of self-interest . . ." To question the force of self-interest that pervades all areas of political life is to refuse to see man as he is, to see him only as we would like him to be.

And yet, next to this acceptance of self-interest, there are certain observations I would like to make. Machiavelli, with whom the idea of self-interest seems to have gained its greatest notoriety, at least among those who are unaware of the tradition, said:

This is to be asserted in general of men, that they are ungrateful, fickle, fake, cowardly, covetous, as long as you succeed they are yours entirely; they will offer you their blood, property, life, and children when the need is far distant; but when it approaches they turn against you.

But Machiavelli makes a mortal mistake when he rules out the "moral" factors of politics and holds purely to self-interest as he defines it. This mistake can only be accounted for on the basis that Machiavelli's experience as an active politician was not too great, for otherwise he could not have overlooked the obvious fluidity of every man's self-interest. The overall case must be of larger dimensions than that of self-interest narrowly defined; it must be larger

we need to see people as they are, not as they are not

Believe in people
Believe in the best interests that help them set their.

How do you align your belief in the power of the

BUT HOW DO YOU KNOW WHAT THOSE ARE? LISTE

enough to include and provide for the shifting dimensions of self-interest. You may appeal to one self-interest to get me to the battlefield to fight; but once I am there, my prime self-interest becomes to stay alive, and if we are victorious my self-interest may, and usually does, dictate entirely unexpected goals rather than those I had before the war. For example, the United States in World War II fervently allied with Russia against Germany, Japan, and Italy, and shortly after victory fervently allied with its former enemies—Germany, Japan, and Italy—against its former ally, the U.S.S.R.

These drastic shifts of self-interest can be rationalized only under a huge, limitless umbrella of general "moral" principles such as liberty, justice, freedom, a law higher than man-made law, and so on. Morality, so-called, becomes the continuum as self-interests shift.

Within this morality there appears to be a tearing conflict, probably due to the layers of inhibition in our kind of moralistic civilization—it appears shameful to admit that we operate on the basis of naked self-interest, so we desperately try to reconcile every shift of circumstances that is to our self-interest in terms of a broad moral justification or rationalization. With one breath we point out that we are utterly opposed to communism, but that we love the Russian people (loving people is in keeping with the tenets of our civilization). What we hate is the atheism and the suppression of the individual that we attribute as characteristics substantiating the "immorality" of communism. On this we base our powerful opposition. We do not admit the actual fact: our own self-interest.

We proclaimed all of these negative, diabolical Russian characteristics just prior to the Nazi invasion of Russia. The Soviets were then the cynical despots who

People you work with their self interest?

EGO

All definitions of words, like everything else, are relative. Definition is to a major degree dependent upon your partisan position. Your leader is always flexible, he has pride in the dignity of his cause, he is unflinching, sincere, an ingenious tactician fighting the good fight. To the opposition he is unprincipled and will go whichever way the wind blows, his arrogance is masked by a fake humility, he is dogmatically stubborn, a hypocrite, unscrupulous and unethical, and he will do anything to win; he is leading the forces of evil. To one side he is a demigod, to the other a demagogue.

Nowhere is the relativity of a definition more germane in the arena of life than the word *ego*. Anyone who is working against the Haves is always facing odds, and in many cases heavy odds. If he or she does not have that complete self-confidence (or call it ego) that he can win, then the battle is lost before it is even begun. I have seen so-called trained organizers go out to another city with an assignment of organizing a community of approximately 100,000 people, take one look and promptly wire in a resignation. To be able to look at a community of people and say to yourself, "I will organize them in so many weeks," "I will take on the corporations, the press and anything else," is to be a real organizer.

"Ego," as we understand and use it here, cannot be even vaguely confused with, nor is it remotely related to, egotism. No would-be organizer afflicted with egotism can avoid hiding this from the people with whom he is working,

no contrived humility can conceal it. Nothing antagonizes people and alienates them from a would-be organizer more than the revealing flashes of arrogance, vanity, impatience, and contempt of a personal egotism.

The ego of the organizer is stronger and more monumental than the ego of the leader. The leader is driven by the desire for power, while the organizer is driven by the desire to create. The organizer is in a true sense reaching for the highest level for which man can reach—to create, to be a "great creator," to play God.

An infection of egotism would make it impossible to respect the dignity of individuals, to understand people, or to strive to develop the other elements that make up the ideal organizer. Egotism is mainly a defensive reaction of feelings of personal inadequacy—ego is a positive conviction and belief in one's ability, with no need for egotistical behavior.

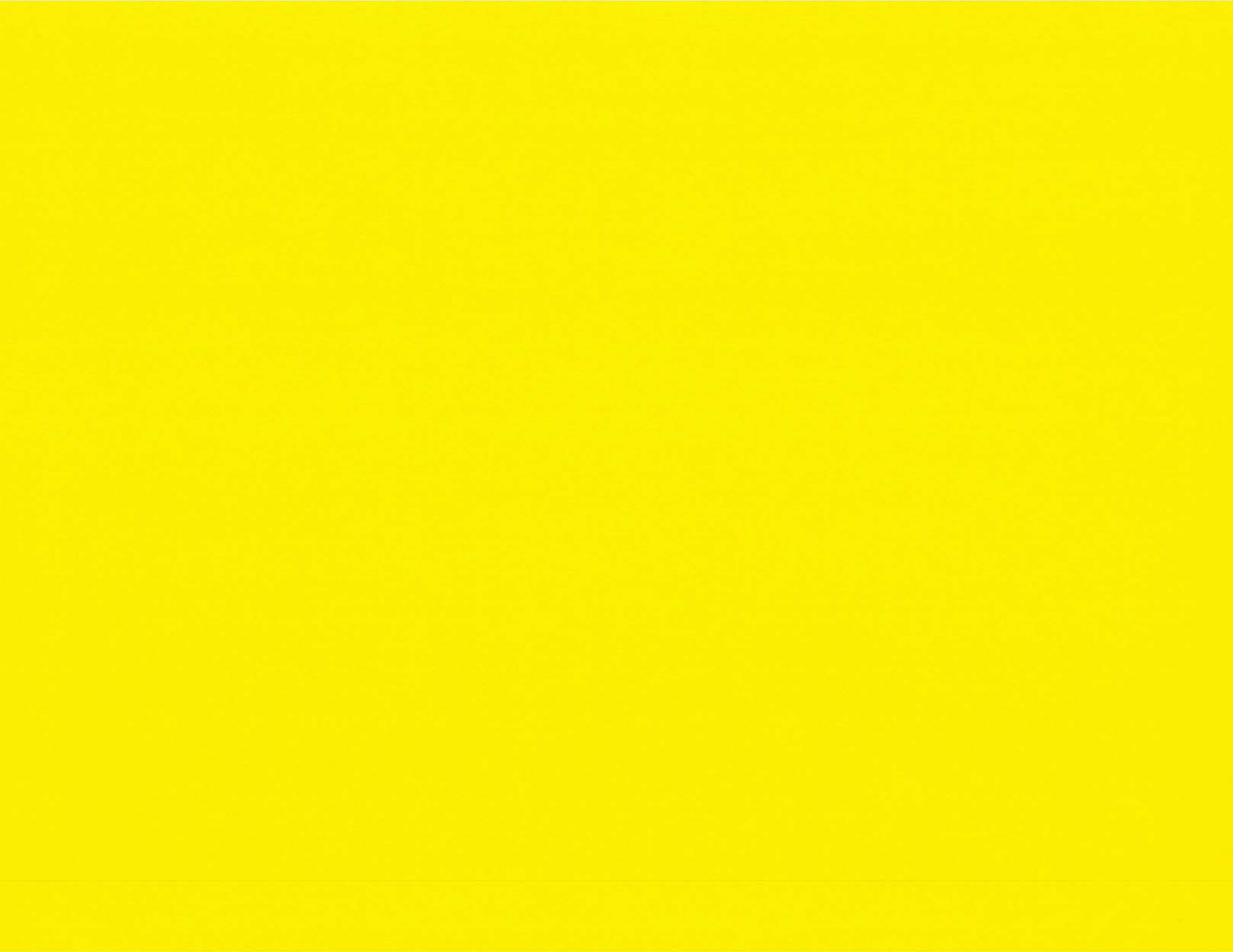
Ego moves on every level. How can an organizer respect the dignity of an individual if he does not respect his own dignity? How can he believe in people if he does not really believe in himself? How can he convince people that they have it within themselves, that they have the power to stand up to win, if he does not believe it of himself? Ego must be so all-pervading that the personality of the organizer is contagious, that it converts the people from despair to defiance, creating a mass ego.

CONFLICT

Conflict is another bad word in the general opinion. This is a consequence of two influences in our society: one in-

I love
THIS
TO
create
vs
TO
GAIN
power

How HAS your Rebelant
to EGOTISM evolved





THIS BOOK IS FOR THOSE WHO ARE NOT HAPPY WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE AND WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE. THIS BOOK IS FOR ORDINARY PEOPLE WHO WANT TO MAKE CONNECTIONS THAT WILL CREATE EXTRAORDINARY OUTCOMES. THIS IS A BOOK ABOUT MAKING THE IMPOSSIBLE HAPPEN. GETTING TO MAYBE. HOW THE WORLD IS CHANGED.

...relationship that is
to us, compels our judgments and

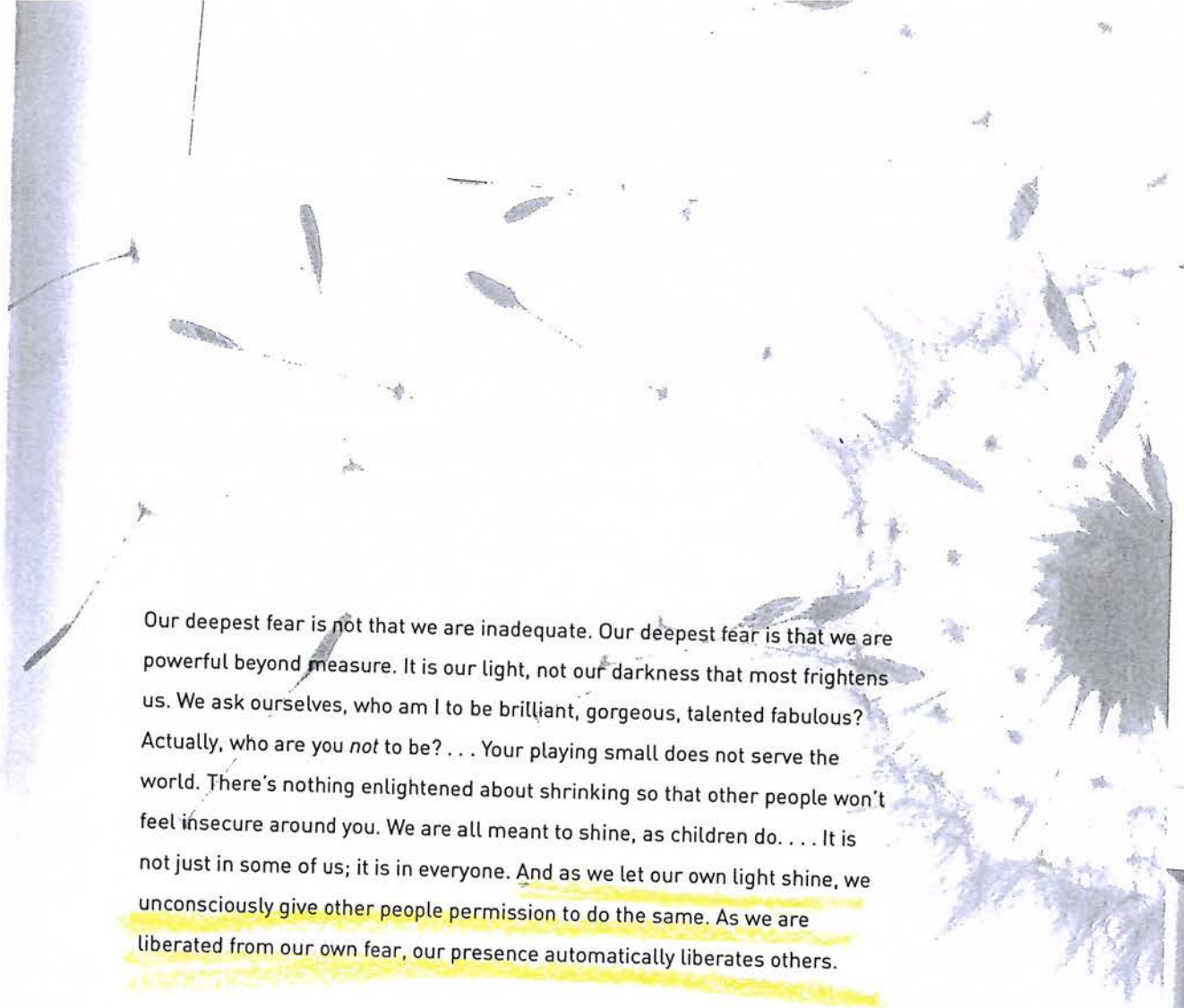
to not command it. And yet—it yields. So
for the brave, the inventive, the
we can discover a way to save a
disease or violence, help lift people out
the grip of intolerance, lighten our

is, only a chance. But “maybe” has always
offered to those who set out to alter its
the sea, to end slavery, to enable women
ing down the Berlin Wall.

It is a defiant claim of possibility in the
ling to accept. And as you will see from
the world is possible because the very
that make systems resistant to change
nessed to propel change.

I but the complacent and the cynical.

—ERIC YOUNG, PRESIDENT, E.Y.E.
KOEYE, B.C., JUNE 2006



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? . . . Your playing small does not 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. . . . It is
not just in some of us; it is in everyone. And as we let our own light shine, we
unconsciously give other people permission to do the same. As we are
liberated from our own fear, our presence automatically liberates others.

—Marianne Williamson, *A Return to Love*

3, and often feel that the circumstances we face—
 and personally—are too overwhelming for us to take
 change them. The word “complex” applied to any
 a code word for inertia from our politicians and
 , but the revelations of complexity theory actually
 possible—a vivid term coined by Eric Young.

s we face as humans are as simple as they
 take. If we follow the recipe, measure properly
 s in the right order, bring the oven to the right
 the cake out when the timer dings, we have a
 enjoying the result. Baking a cake has clear cause
 s that can be mastered through developing and
 Even someone who has never baked still has a
 success since a well-tested cake recipe outlines the
 l in the past and should continue to work in the
 s designed around an assembly line have a similar

that sending a rocket to the moon is not simple.
 and coordination of the experts is an area of
 rules and the latest scientific evidence have to be
 trajectory and path of the rocket. Calculations are
 vessel carries sufficient fuel based on current
 complicated problem, but if all specifications are
 re coordination and communication systems are
 tioning, and if everything is done in the right
 egree of certainty that we can control the
 ccess in sending one rocket to the moon increases
 : will also succeed.

Simple, Complicated and Complex Problems⁴

| SIMPLE | COMPLICATED | COMPLEX |
|---|---|--|
| Baking a Cake | Sending a Rocket to the Moon | Raising a Child |
| The recipe is essential | Rigid protocols or formulas are needed | Rigid protocols have a limited application or are counter-productive |
| Recipes are tested to assure easy replication | Sending one rocket increases the likelihood that the next will also be a success | Raising one child provides experience but is no guarantee of success with the next |
| No particular expertise is required, but experience increases success rate | High levels of expertise and training in a variety of fields are necessary for success | Expertise helps but only when balanced with responsiveness to the particular child |
| A good recipe produces nearly the same cake every time | Key elements of each rocket MUST be identical to succeed | Every child is unique and must be understood as an individual |
| The best recipes give good results every time | There is a high degree of certainty of outcome | Uncertainty of outcome remains |
| A good recipe notes the quantity and nature of the “parts” needed and specifies the order in which to combine them, but there is room for experimentation | Success depends on a blueprint that directs both the development of separate parts and specifies the exact relationship in which to assemble them | Can't separate the parts from the whole; essence exists in the relationship between different people, different experiences, different moments in time |

WHAT IS THE PROBLEM YOU ARE WORKING ON?

HOW IS IT CATEGORIZED IN THIS FRAMEWORK?

RELATED TO TARGET IN THEORY OF CHANGE.

Paragraph opened with "Our intention in
we *intend* to bring about change, to make a
it as we will explore in this book, they work
transforming, that is changing the innovator as he
world. A complexity lens allows us to look at
sely. Control is replaced by a toleration of
mentality of "making things happen" is
t is simultaneously visionary and responsive
ing of events. The successful social innovator
rt of the dynamics of transformation rather
ng the charge.

seem like much of a gain. We tend to prefer
re charging stallion to that of the sailor trying
leader on the stallion seems to be in control
or has no chance of controlling a stormy sea.
vercome with force and too unpredictable to
he sailor needs to be adept at reading the
patterns, reacting to changes and adjusting
e gained by this change of perspective?
f actual success by being more closely
how social innovation actually unfolds in

and metaphors of complexity science
stability and swirling chaos, as with
sense of helplessness, even fatalism, pervades
uggesting we can know what has happened
nd the exact same thing will never happen
guring out what just happened? Complexity
ortray real-world dynamics better than simple

causal models, but they tend to downplay, even dismiss, the possibility
of human agency. We, on the other hand, by studying successful social
innovations and drawing on our own experiences, believe that social
activists can use the insights that come from complexity theory to increase
the likelihood of success. Not guarantee success. There are no guarantees,
no certainties. This book does not promise success if you follow seven
proven steps. Instead, we're about tipping the scales in favour of successful
social innovations in the face of seemingly overwhelming odds. Getting
to maybe—as our title suggests.

These two perspectives—intentionality and complexity—meet in
tension. If you intend to do something, you make a deliberate
commitment to act to bring about change. Complexity science is about
unpredictable emergence without regard for (indeed, even in spite of)
human intentions. These two perspectives meet in the question that is
the foundation of this book: to what extent and in what ways can we be
deliberate and intentional about those things that seem to emerge
without our control, without our intention?

As we start on this journey, what can guide us? Here are a few points of
orientation:

- **Questions are key.** In complex situations there are no final answers.
But certain key questions illuminate the issues of social innovation.
- **Tensions and ambiguities are revealed through questioning.** Social
innovation both reveals and creates tensions. Once understood, these
tensions can then be engaged—not simply managed—in the interests
of amplifying the desired change.
- **Relationships are key to understanding and engaging with the complex
dynamics of social innovation.** For social innovation to succeed, everyone
involved plays a role. As systems shift, everyone—funders, policy makers,

OR IS IT ABOUT
Something else?
A BIZ = money
Ggs
expertise
[unclear]

WHAT QUESTIONS
ARE YOU ADDRESSING
AND ANSWERING
THROUGH YOUR
WORK?

between people, organizations, communities and parts of systems that matters—"in the between" of relationships.

- A certain mindset is crucial: framed by inquiry not certitude, one that embraces paradoxes and tolerates multiple perspectives.

Questions, tensions, uncertainties, relationships, mindset. These words are a curiously reflective description of what, surely, is all about action. Doesn't innovation by definition require action? If Geldof, Lundström, the Pritchards and the legions of Brazilian HIV/AIDS workers had merely reflected, we wouldn't call it innovation. Or would we?

We've been taught that thinking is separate from doing. But in this book we offer thinking as a form of doing, and emphasize doing as an opportunity for thinking, reflecting and learning. Complexity science suggests that how we think about things matters. A fundamental sociological premise is the Thomas theorem: *what is perceived as real is real in its consequences*. We would add: *how we think about and understand the world frames our actions*. Indeed, we can be even more basic: *whether we think about things matters*.

The capacity to think astutely is often undervalued in the world of action. But philosopher Hannah Arendt identified the capacity to think as the foundation of a healthy and resilient democracy. Having experienced totalitarianism in Nazi Germany, then having fled it, she devoted much of her life to studying it and its opposite, democracy. She believed that thinking thoughtfully in public deliberations and acting democratically were intertwined and that totalitarianism is built on and sustained by deceit and thought control. In order to resist efforts by the powerful to deceive and control thinking, Arendt believed that people

can be won, like all experience in doing something practice, through exercises."¹²

We consider every effort at social innovation an one involved to practise thinking.

Recent action on the world stage of politics offer American invasion of Iraq was conceived as a goal of regime change. The U.S. military plan on a "shock and awe" strategy, which would use force and unprecedented speed to quash the Iraq were some relatively minor deviations from the whole the invasion unfolded as an exercise in complicated blueprint for victory. "Mission accomplished" George W. Bush declared. It worked, as far as it the challenge of securing the peace.

Nation building is a complex challenge, more like sending a rocket to the moon. However, the United the tasks of securing the peace, instituting democracy new nation as a complicated rather than complex political environment and the controversy over the nominally "in charge" from being able to acknowledge control, the inherent uncertainties, rapidly changing dynamics, and unpredictably emergent insurgencies failing to think about the situation as a complex complicated problem has increased the chaos in to instability and loss of life. This is not a political complexity judgment.

How do those interactions in your work?

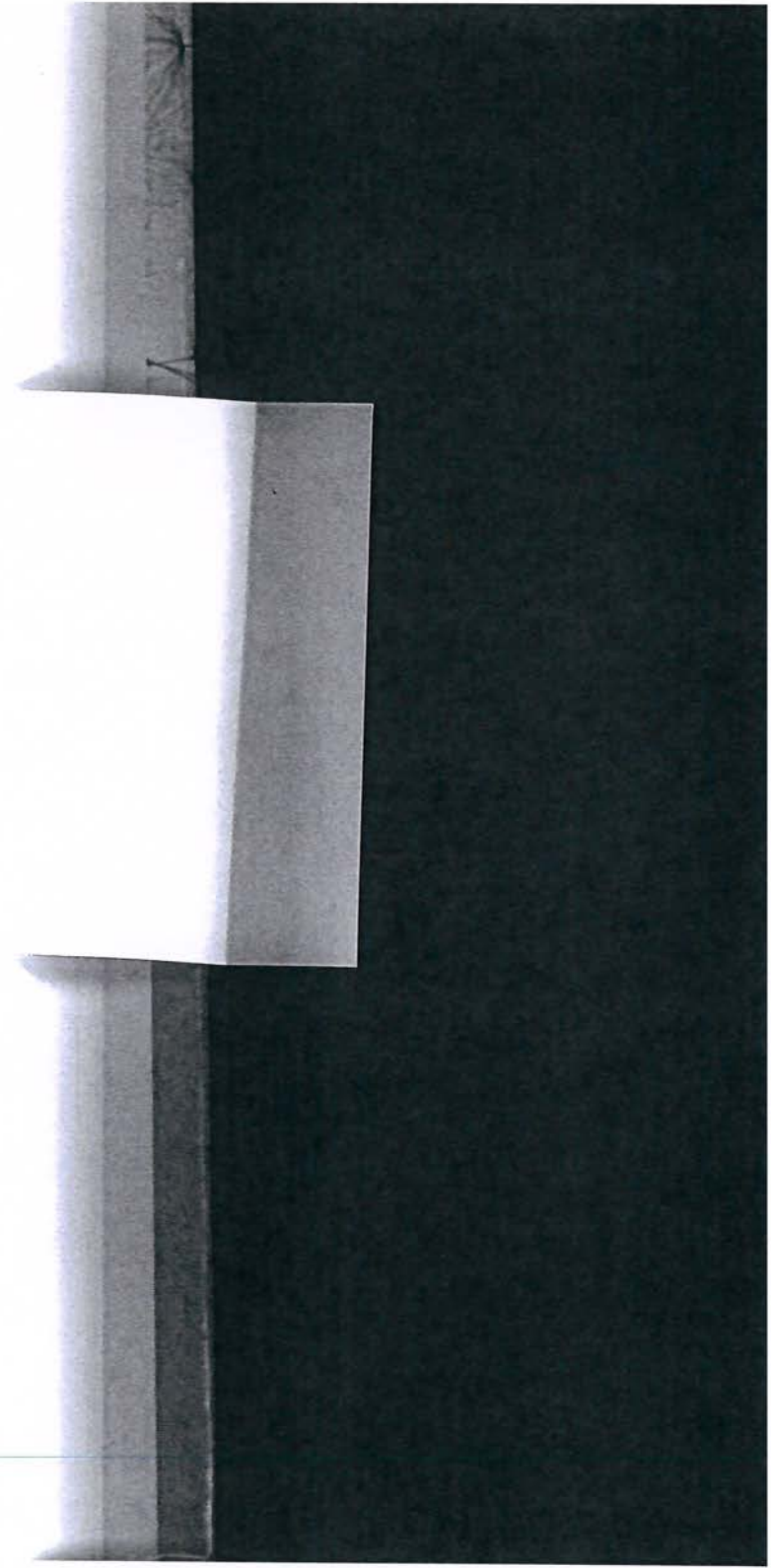
THIS IS WHAT THIS CONVERSATION IS ABOUT.

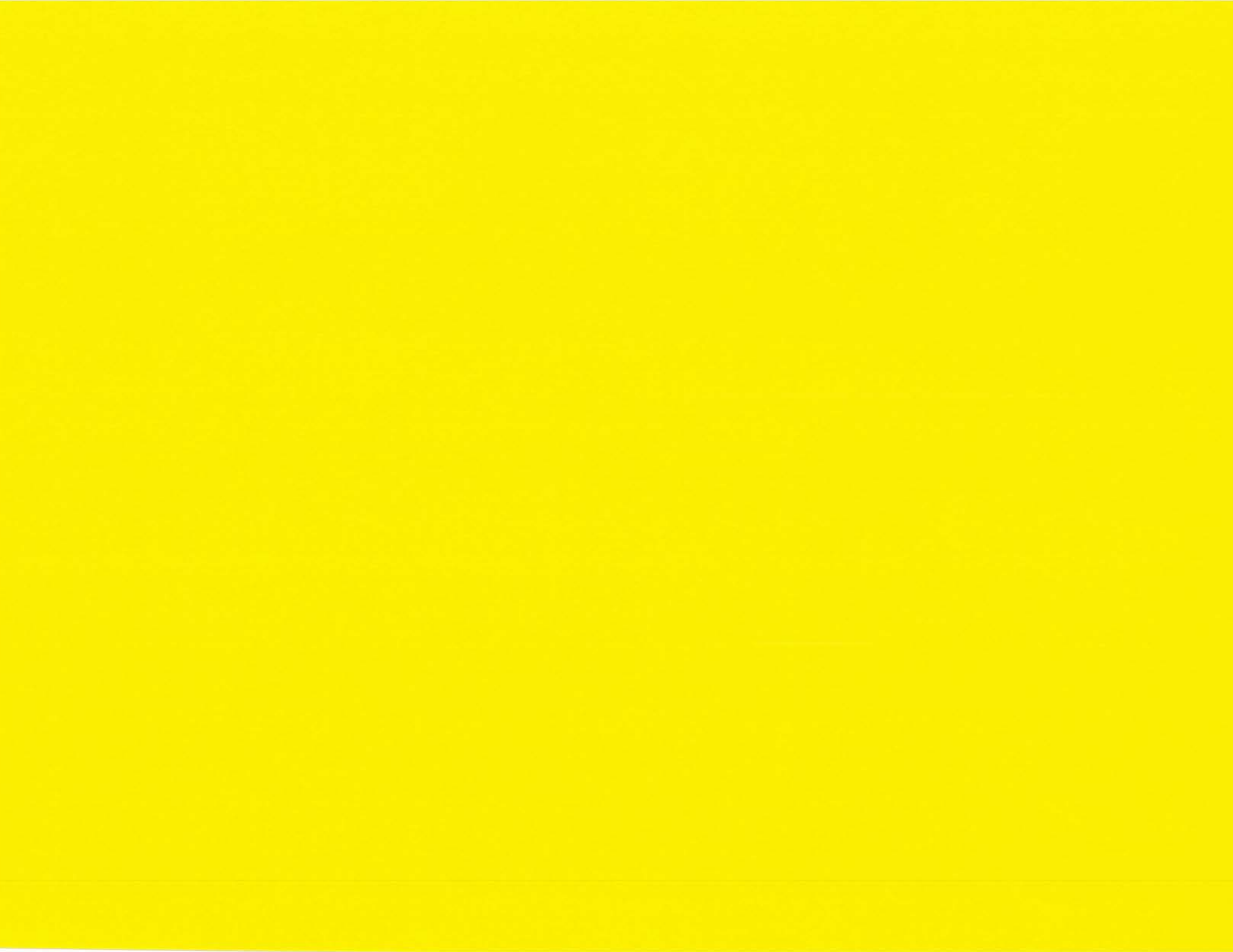
needed to practise thinking. She wrote that “experience in thinking . . . can be won, like all experience in doing something, only through practice, through exercises.”¹²

We consider every effort at social innovation an opportunity for those involved to practise thinking.

Recent action on the world stage of politics offers a prime example. The American invasion of Iraq was conceived as a complicated problem with the goal of regime change. The U.S. military planned the invasion based on a “shock and awe” strategy, which would use overwhelmingly superior force and unprecedented speed to quash the Iraqi military. While there were some relatively minor deviations from the original plan, on the whole the invasion unfolded as an exercise in implementing a complicated blueprint for victory. “Mission accomplished,” President George W. Bush declared. It worked, as far as it went. But then came the challenge of securing the peace.

Nation building is a complex challenge, more like rearing a child than sending a rocket to the moon. However, the United States in Iraq treated the tasks of securing the peace, instituting democracy and building a new nation as a complicated rather than complex problem. Perhaps the political environment and the controversy over the invasion kept those nominally “in charge” from being able to acknowledge their lack of control, the inherent uncertainties, rapidly changing and unstable system dynamics, and unpredictably emergent insurgencies. But we’d argue that failing to think about the situation as a complex rather than merely complicated problem has increased the chaos in Iraq and contributed to instability and loss of life. This is not a political judgment; this is a complexity judgment.





MARGARET WHEATLEY | DEBORAH FRIEZE

WALK OUT WALK ON



A LEARNING JOURNEY INTO COMMUNITIES
DARING TO LIVE THE FUTURE NOW

By the bestselling author of *Leadership and the New Science*

SCALING UP

We've just been in the company of people who are inventive and hard-working, passionate about what they're doing. And we witnessed how their inventions and ideas traveled across the world, inspiring others to be creative and claim for themselves what they needed.

Think about how you and your colleagues feel when you create something that excites you, when you've discovered a new process, idea, or model that solves a recurring problem. If what you've discovered is a solution to a problem that plagues many people, what do you do? **Most of us want to get it out to as many people as possible, as quickly as possible so that everyone can benefit.**

In **Western culture, we're encouraged to scale up our good idea to have the greatest influence.** We're directed, even funded, to create manuals, training programs, franchises, templates, transferable business models. **The primary focus is to create easily replicated models and then disseminate them.** This process is based on the assumption that whatever worked here will work there—we just need to get it down on paper and train people in how to be us.

If only it were that simple.

Scaling up relies on another assumption, one that is fervently believed, but rarely true in experience. The assumption is that people do what they're told. So instructions get issued, policies get pronounced. When we don't follow them, bosses just create more. When we still fail to obey, we're labeled as resistant or lazy. **Consider your own experience. How do you feel when someone presents you with a finished plan or outline, when the steps, the curriculum, the process are set down in great detail? Do you gratefully accept it, excited to implement it to the letter of the law? Or do you poke holes in it, noticing where it needs changing, where you disagree? How many times do you just file it away, never to look at it again? Have you ever been so opposed to a plan or program that you quietly sabotaged it?**

If you've done any of these things, you're just like the rest of us. People don't support things that are forced on them. We don't act responsibly on behalf of plans and programs created without us. **We resist being changed, not change itself.**

This is the fatal flaw of scaling up. Its methods destroy the very energies necessary for taking things to scale—people's creativity and curiosity, our desire to learn and contribute, and the satisfaction we experience when we're engaged together in mutual discovery.



When have you been given someone else's plans or practices and told to just implement them?
How did you respond?

SCALING ACROSS

Unitierra, the Zapatistas, Daniel of the bicimáquinas—these stories illuminate a radically different approach to taking things to scale. They each began as small local efforts that moved trans-locally through networks of relationships. Each new place adapted, changed, grew the original idea into something else. As more people joined the experiments, large-scale change emerged.

This is how sustainable change happens in this networked, interconnected world. A few people focus on their local challenges and issues. They experiment, learn, find solutions that work in their local context. Word travels fast in networks and people hear about their success. They may come to visit or engage in spirited communications. There's usually a lot of energy in these exchanges: Visitors are curious to learn what's been accomplished, and those who did the work are eager to tell their story. But these exchanges are not about learning how to replicate the process or mimic step-by-step how something was accomplished. Even if people want to know exactly what went on, this isn't the information that's most useful. Any attempt to replicate someone else's success will smack up against local conditions, and these are differences that matter.

People often say, "We don't want to waste time reinventing the wheel." But we *do* need to reinvent the wheel. And it's never a waste of time. What we learn from others' successful innovations is that wheels are possible. What others invent can inspire us to become inventive, can show us what's achievable. Then we have to take it from there.

People eagerly support those things we've had a hand in creating; we're motivated to keep going by discovering for ourselves what works (and what doesn't). Engaged with others in problem solving, inventing, and learning, we discover that we're creative, caring, intelligent. When we have the chance to meet with other wheel inventors, our energy, confidence, and boldness grow and grow.

As we connect with others and discover solutions to our problems, our small local efforts can emerge into large-scale change. And then we have the satisfaction of no longer feeling strange or being labeled as foolish

dreamers, mavericks, and crackpots. Our pioneering methods become accepted, normal even, just the way things get done around here.

This is scaling across—we start locally, then connect with others. We learn and experiment together, focused on figuring out what works. After years of inventing, risking, failing and learning, our approaches and inventions take root in many places and are accepted by large numbers of people. This is how the Zapatista movement ignited people's spirits around the world. This is how you plant forty million trees in Africa.



Do you know of small efforts that grew large
not through replication, but by inspiring
each other to keep inventing and learning?

THIS IS POSSIBLE!

WHY CHANGE HAPPENS

The only reason change happens on this planet,
the only reason change ignites across networks,
the only reason Daniel's invention finds new forms
as he carries it from Mexico to India,
the only reason Unitierra succeeds in creating joyful universities,
the only reason Zapatistas speak to the hearts of millions,
the only reason seven trees planted in Kenya blossom across Africa
into forests of forty million. . . .

The only reason these changes happen is because of people.

People who discover they're creative and caring.

People who know others are like them, creative and caring.

People who learn to trust themselves and everyone else.

People who know that dreams only manifest when shared.

People who pour time and love into creating

the places where ever more people,

no matter how oppressed or beaten down,

no matter how beaten down,

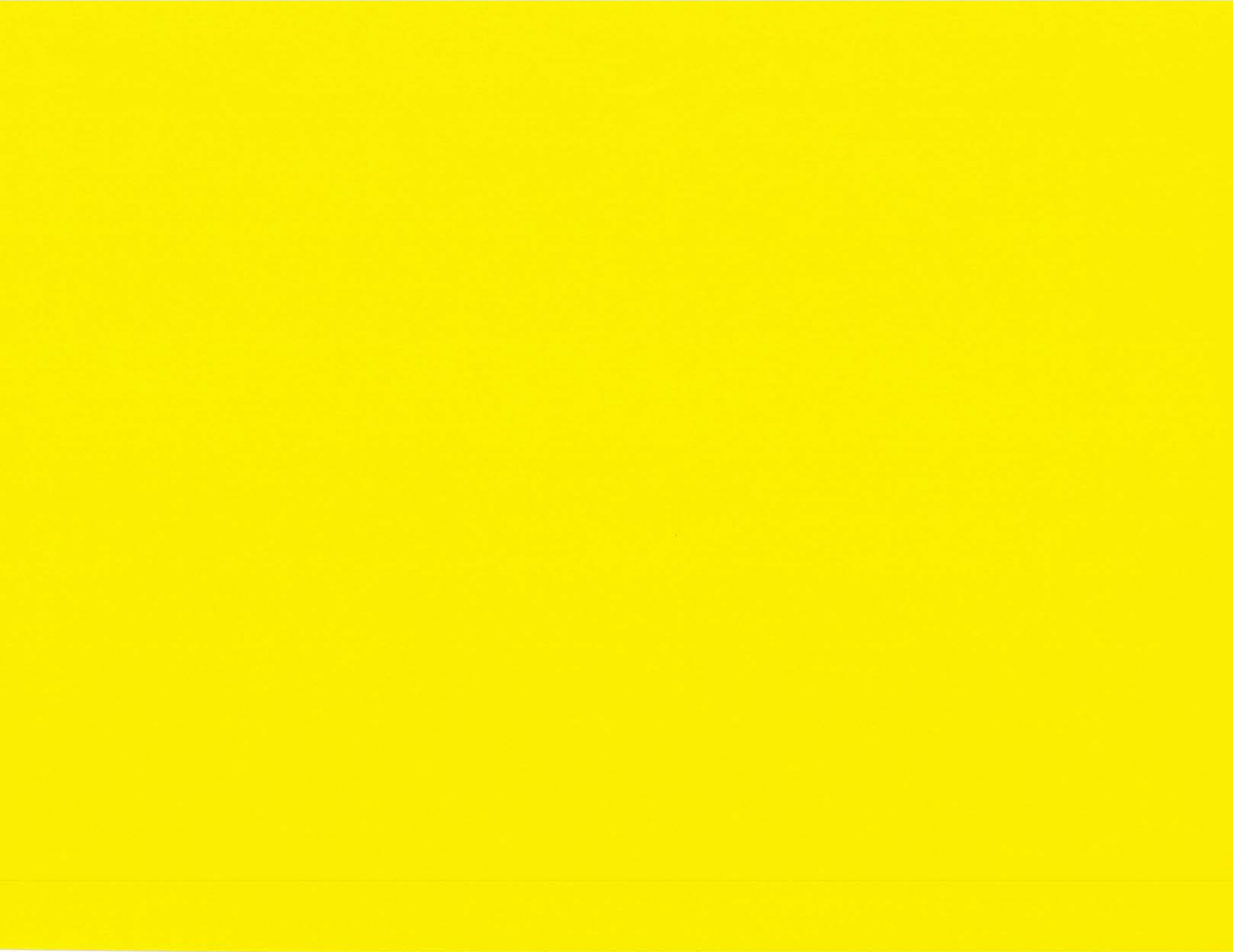
will step forward and

confidently, predictably, miraculously

discover their true human spirits.

Are you a Zapatista?



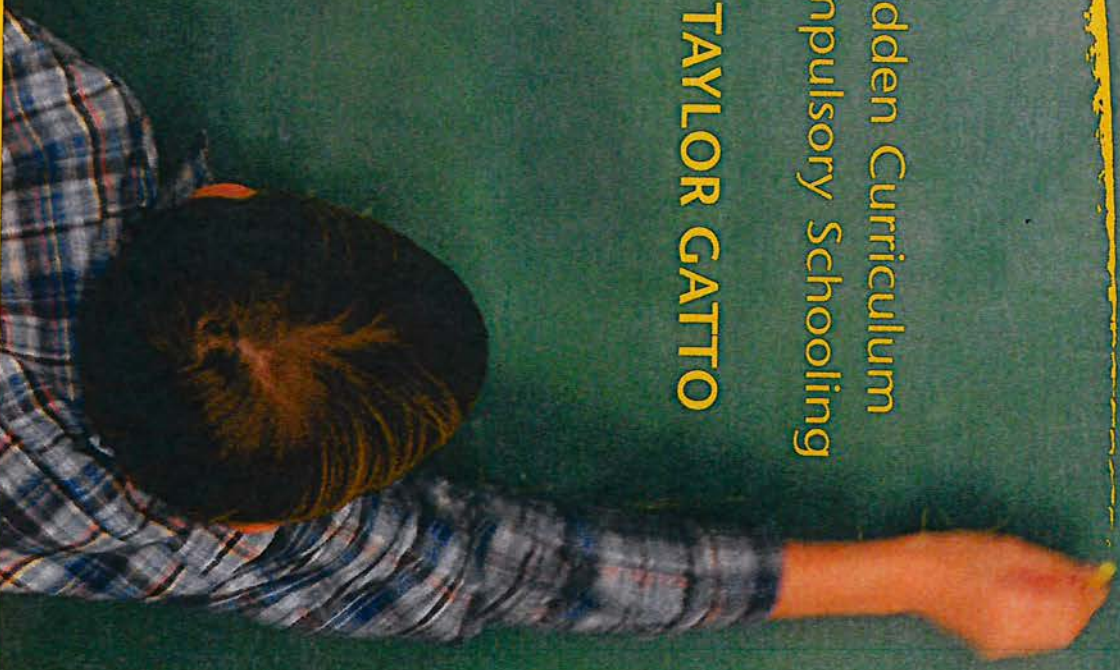


NEW 10TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION

Dumbing Us Down

The Hidden Curriculum
of Compulsory Schooling

JOHN TAYLOR GATTO



FOREWORD BY THOMAS MOORE

Dev. Note. ON EDUCATION, A RESPONSE, DIAGNOSIS
AND IMPORTANT IDEAS TO KNOW HUSTILALLY
TO ALWAYS BE SURE WE DONT RECREATE
THE CONDITIONS AND LESSONS WE
SUB CONCIOSLY LEARNED GROWING
UP.

About the Author

I'M HERE TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT IDEAS, but I think a purpose might be served in telling a little bit about myself so I become a person like you rather than just another talking head from the television set. I know that sometimes when I hear a news report from TV I wonder, Who are *you?* and, Why are you telling me these things? So let me offer you some of the ground out of which these ideas grew.

I've worked as a New York City schoolteacher for the past thirty years, teaching for some of that time elite children from Manhattan's Upper West Side between Lincoln Center, where the opera is, and Columbia University, where the defense contracts are; and teaching, in most recent years, children from Harlem and Spanish Harlem whose lives are shaped by the dangerous undercurrents of the industrial city in decay. I've taught at six different schools in that time. My present school is in the shadow of St. John the Divine Cathedral, the largest Gothic structure in the United States, and not a long walk from the famous Museum of Natural History and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. About three blocks from my school is the spot where the "Central Park jogger" (as media mythology refers to her) was raped and brutally beaten

a few years ago — seven of the nine attackers went to school in my district.

My own perspective on things, however, was shaped a long way from New York City, in the river town of Monongahela, Pennsylvania, forty miles southeast of Pittsburgh. In those days, Monongahela was a place of steel mills and coal mines, of paddle-wheel river steamers churning the emerald green water chemical orange, of respect for hard work and family life. Monongahela was a place with muted class distinctions since everyone was more or less poor, although very few, I suspect, knew they were poor. It was a place where independence, toughness, and self-reliance were honored, a place where pride in ethnic and local culture was very intense. It was an altogether wonderful place to grow up, even to grow up poor. People talked to each other, minding each other's business instead of the abstract business of "the world." Indeed, the larger world hardly extended beyond Pittsburgh, a wonderful dark steel city worth a trip to see once or twice a year. Nobody in my memory felt confined by Monongahela or dwelled, within my earshot, on the possibility they were missing something important by not being elsewhere.

My grandfather was the town printer and had been for a time the publisher of the town newspaper, *The Daily Republican* — a name that attracted some attention because the town was a stronghold of the Democratic Party. From my grandfather and his independent German ways I learned a great deal that I might have missed if I had grown up in a time, like today, when old people are put away in a home or kept out of sight.

Living in Manhattan has been for me in many ways like living on the moon. Even though I've been here for thirty-five years, my heart and habit are still in Monongahela. Nevertheless, the shock of Manhattan's very different society and values sharpened my sense of difference and made me an anthropologist as well as a schoolteacher. Over the past thirty years, I've used my classes as a laboratory where I could learn a broader range of what human possibility is — the whole catalogue of hopes and fears — and also as a place where I could study what releases and what inhibits human power.

During that time, I've come to believe that genius is an exceedingly common human quality, probably natural to most of us. I didn't want to accept that notion — far from it: my own training in two elite universities taught me that intelligence and talent distributed themselves economically over a bell curve and that human destiny, because of those mathematical, seemingly irrefutable scientific facts, was as rigorously determined as John Calvin contended.

The trouble was that the unlikeliest kids kept demonstrating to me at random moments so many of the hallmarks of human excellence — insight, wisdom, justice, resourcefulness, courage, originality — that I became confused. They didn't do this often enough to make my teaching easy, but they did it often enough that I began to wonder, reluctantly, whether it was possible that being in school itself was what was dumbing them down. Was it possible I had been hired not to enlarge children's power, but to diminish it? That seemed crazy on the face of it, but slowly I began to realize that the

bells and the confinement, the crazy sequences, the age-segregation, the lack of privacy, the constant surveillance, and all the rest of the national curriculum of schooling were designed exactly as if someone had set out to *prevent* children from learning how to think and act, to coax them into addiction and dependent behavior.

Bit by bit I began to devise guerrilla exercises to allow as many of the kids I taught as possible the raw material people have always used to educate themselves: privacy, choice, freedom from surveillance, and as broad a range of situations and human associations as my limited power and resources could manage. In simpler terms, I tried to maneuver them into positions where they would have a chance to be their own teachers and to make themselves the major text of their own education.

In theoretical, metaphorical terms, the idea I began to explore was this one: that teaching is nothing like the art of painting, where, by the *addition* of material to a surface, an image is synthetically produced, but more like the art of sculpture, where, by the *subtraction* of material, an image already locked in the stone is enabled to emerge. It is a crucial distinction.

In other words, I dropped the idea that I was an expert whose job it was to fill the little heads with my expertise, and began to explore how I could remove those obstacles that prevented the inherent genius of children from gathering itself. I no longer felt comfortable defining my work as bestowing wisdom on a struggling classroom audience. Although I continue to this day in those futile assays because of the nature of institutional teaching, wherever possible I have broken

with teaching tradition and sent kids down their separate paths to their own private truths.

The sociology of government monopoly schools has evolved in such a way that a premise like mine jeopardizes the total institution if it spreads. Kept contained, the occasional teacher who makes a discovery like mine is at worst an annoyance to the chain of command (which has evolved automatic defenses to isolate such bacilli and then to neutralize or destroy them). But once loose, the idea could imperil the central assumptions which allow the institutional school to sustain itself, such as the false assumption that it is difficult to learn to read, or that kids resist learning, and many more. Indeed, the very stability of our economy is threatened by any form of education that might change the nature of the human product schools now turn out: the economy schoolchildren currently expect to live under and serve would not survive a generation of young people trained, for example, to think critically.

Success in my practice involves a large component of automatic trust, categorical trust, not the kind conditional on performance. People have to be allowed to make their own mistakes and to try again, or they will never *master* themselves, although they may well *seem* to be competent when they have in fact only memorized or imitated someone else's performance. Success in my practice also involves challenging many comfortable assumptions about what is worth learning and out of what material a good life is fashioned.

Over the years of wrestling with the obstacles that stand between child and education I have come to

believe that government monopoly schools are structurally unreformable. They cannot function if their central myths are exposed and abandoned. Over the years I have come to see that whatever I thought I was doing as a teacher, most of what I actually was doing was teaching an invisible curriculum that reinforced the myths of the school institution and those of an economy based on caste. When I was trying to decide what to say to you that might make my experience as a schoolteacher useful, it occurred to me that I could best serve by telling you what I do that is wrong, rather than what I do that is right. What I do that is right is simple to understand: I get out of kids' way, I give them space and time and respect. What I do that is wrong, however, is strange, complex, and frightening. Let me begin to show you what that is.

I Chapter

THE SEVEN-LESSON SCHOOLTEACHER

*This speech was given on the occasion of the author being named
"New York State Teacher of the Year" for 1991.*

I

CALL ME MR. GATTO, PLEASE. Thirty years ago, having nothing better to do with myself at the time, I tried my hand at schoolteaching. The license I have certifies that I am an instructor of English language and English literature, but that isn't what I do at all. I don't teach English; I teach school — and I win awards doing it.

Teaching means different things in different places, but seven lessons are universally taught from Harlem to Hollywood Hills. They constitute a national curriculum you pay for in more ways than you can imagine, so you might as well know what it is. You are at liberty, of course, to regard these lessons any way you like, but believe me when I say I intend no irony in this presentation. These are the things I teach; these are the things you pay me to teach. Make of them what you will.

1. CONFUSION

A lady named Kathy wrote this to me from Dubois, Indiana, the other day:

What big ideas are important to little kids? Well, the biggest idea I think they need is that what they are learning isn't idiosyncratic — that there is some system to it all and it's not just raining down on them as they helplessly absorb. That's the task, to understand, to make coherent.

Kathy has it wrong. *The first lesson I teach is confusion. Everything I teach is out of context.* I teach the un-relating of everything. I teach disconnections. I teach too much: the orbiting of planets, the law of large numbers, slavery, adjectives, architectural drawing, dance, gymnasium, choral singing, assemblies, surprise guests, fire drills, computer languages, parents' nights, staff-development days, pull-out programs, guidance with strangers my students may never see again, standardized tests, age-segregation unlike anything seen in the outside world ... What do any of these things have to do with each other?

Even in the best schools a close examination of curriculum and its sequences turns up a lack of coherence, a host of internal contradictions. Fortunately the children have no words to define the panic and anger they feel at *constant violations of natural order and sequence* fobbed off on them as quality in education. The logic of the school-mind is that it is better to leave school with a tool kit of superficial jargon derived from economics, sociology, natural science, and so on than with one genuine enthusiasm. But quality in education entails

learning about something in depth. Confusion is thrust upon kids by too many strange adults, each working alone with only the thinnest relationship with each other, pretending, for the most part, to an expertise they do not possess.

Meaning, not disconnected facts, is what sane human beings seek, and education is a set of codes for processing raw data into meaning. Behind the patchwork quilt of school sequences and the school obsession with facts and theories, the age-old human search for meaning lies well concealed. This is harder to see in elementary school where the hierarchy of school experience seems to make better sense because the good-natured simple relationship between "let's do this" and "let's do that" is just assumed to mean something and the clientele has not yet consciously discerned how little substance is behind the play and pretense.

Think of the great natural sequences — like learning to walk and learning to talk; the progression of light from sunrise to sunset; the ancient procedures of a farmer, a smithy, or a shoemaker; or the preparation of a Thanksgiving feast. All of the parts are in perfect harmony with each other, each action justifying itself and illuminating the past and the future. School sequences aren't like that, not inside a single class and not among the total menu of daily classes. School sequences are crazy. There is no particular reason for any of them, nothing that bears close scrutiny. Few teachers would dare to teach the tools whereby dogmas of a school or a teacher could be criticized, since everything must be accepted. School subjects are learned, if they *can* be

learned, like children learn the catechism or memorize the Thirty-nine Articles of Anglicanism.

I teach the un-relating of everything, an infinite fragmentation the opposite of cohesion; what I do is more related to television programming than to making a scheme of order. In a world where home is only a ghost because both parents work, or because of too many moves or too many job changes or too much ambition, or because something else has left everybody too confused to maintain a family relation, I teach students how to accept confusion as their destiny. That's the first lesson I teach.

2. CLASS POSITION

The second lesson I teach is class position. I teach that students must stay in the class where they belong. I don't know who decides my kids belong there but that's not my business. The children are numbered so that if any get away they can be returned to the right class. Over the years the variety of ways children are numbered by schools has increased dramatically, until it is hard to see the human beings plainly under the weight of numbers they carry. Numbering children is a big and very profitable undertaking, though what the strategy is designed to accomplish is elusive. I don't even know why parents would, without a fight, allow it to be done to their kids.

In any case, that's not my business. My job is to make them like being locked together with children who bear numbers like their own. Or at least to endure it like good sports. If I do my job well, the kids can't even *imagine* themselves somewhere else because I've shown

them how to envy and fear the better classes and how to have contempt for the dumb classes. Under this efficient discipline the class mostly polices itself into good marching order. That's the real lesson of any rigged competition like school. You come to know your place.

In spite of the overall class blueprint that assumes that ninety-nine percent of the kids are in their class to stay, I nevertheless make a public effort to exhort children to higher levels of test success, hinting at eventual transfer from the lower class as a reward. I frequently insinuate the day will come when an employer will hire them on the basis of test scores and grades, even though my own experience is that employers are rightly indifferent to such things. I never lie outright, but I've come to see that truth and schoolteaching are, at bottom, incompatible, just as Socrates said thousands of years ago. The lesson of numbered classes is that everyone has a proper place in the pyramid and that there is no way out of your class except by number magic. Failing that, you must stay where you are put.

3. INDIFFERENCE

The third lesson I teach is indifference. I teach children not to care too much about anything, even though they want to make it appear that they do. How I do this is very subtle. I do it by demanding that they become totally involved in my lessons, jumping up and down in their seats with anticipation, competing vigorously with each other for my favor. It's heartwarming when they do that; it impresses everyone, even me. When I'm at my best I plan lessons very carefully in order to produce

this show of enthusiasm. But when the bell rings I insist they drop whatever it is we have been doing and proceed quickly to the next work station. They must turn on and off like a light switch. Nothing important is ever finished in my class nor in any class I know of. Students never have a complete experience except on the installment plan.

Indeed, the lesson of bells is that no work is worth finishing, so why care too deeply about anything? Years of bells will condition all but the strongest to a world that can no longer offer important work to do. Bells are the secret logic of school time; their logic is inexorable. Bells destroy the past and future, rendering every interval the same as any other, as the abstraction of a map renders every living mountain and river the same, even though they are not. Bells inoculate each undertaking with indifference.

4. EMOTIONAL DEPENDENCY

The fourth lesson I teach is emotional dependency. By stars and red checks, smiles and frowns, prizes, honors, and disgraces, I teach kids to surrender their will to the predestinated chain of command. Rights may be granted or withheld by any authority without appeal, because rights do not exist inside a school — not even the right of free speech, as the Supreme Court has ruled — unless school authorities say they do. As a schoolteacher, I intervene in many personal decisions, issuing a pass for those I deem legitimate and initiating a disciplinary confrontation for behavior that threatens my control. Individuality is constantly trying to assert itself among children and

teenagers, so my judgments come thick and fast. Individuality is a contradiction of class theory, a curse to all systems of classification.

Here are some common ways in which individuality shows up: children sneak away for a private moment in the toilet on the pretext of moving their bowels, or they steal a private instant in the hallway on the grounds they need water. I know they don't, but I allow them to "deceive" me because this conditions them to depend on my favors. Sometimes free will appears right in front of me in pockets of children angry, depressed, or happy about things outside my ken; rights in such matters cannot be recognized by schoolteachers, only privileges that can be withdrawn, hostages to good behavior.

5. INTELLECTUAL DEPENDENCY

The fifth lesson I teach is intellectual dependency. Good students wait for a teacher to tell them what to do. This is the most important lesson of them all: we must wait for other people, better trained than ourselves, to make the meanings of our lives. The expert makes all the important choices; only I, the teacher, can determine what my kids must study, or rather, only the people who pay me can make those decisions, which I then enforce. If I'm told that evolution is a fact instead of a theory, I transmit that as ordered, punishing deviants who resist what I have been told to tell them to think. This power to control what children will think lets me separate successful students from failures very easily.

Successful children do the thinking I assign them with a minimum of resistance and a decent show of

enthusiasm. Of the millions of things of value to study, I decide what few we have time for. Actually, though, this is decided by my faceless employers. The choices are theirs — why should I argue? Curiosity has no important place in my work, only conformity.

Bad kids fight this, of course, even though they lack the concepts to know what they are fighting, struggling to make decisions for themselves about what they will learn and when they will learn it. How can we allow that and survive as schoolteachers? Fortunately there are tested procedures to break the will of those who resist; it is more difficult, naturally, if the kids have respectable parents who come to their aid, but that happens less and less in spite of the bad reputation of schools. No middle-class parents I have ever met actually believe that *their* kid's school is one of the bad ones. Not one single parent in many years of teaching. That's amazing, and probably the best testimony to what happens to families when mother and father have been well-schooled themselves, learning the seven lessons.

Good people wait for an expert to tell them what to do. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that our entire economy depends upon this lesson being learned. Think of what might fall apart if children weren't trained to be dependent: the social services could hardly survive — they would vanish, I think, into the recent historical limbo out of which they arose. Counselors and therapists would look on in horror as the supply of psychic invalids vanished. Commercial entertainment of all sorts, including television, would wither as people learned again how to make their own fun. Restaurants, the prepared food

industry, and a whole host of other assorted food services would be drastically down-sized if people returned to making their own meals rather than depending on strangers to plant, pick, chop, and cook for them. Much of modern law, medicine, and engineering would go too, as well as the clothing business and schoolteaching, unless a guaranteed supply of helpless people continued to pour out of our schools each year.

Don't be too quick to vote for radical school reform if you want to continue getting a paycheck. We've built a way of life that depends on people doing what they are told because they don't know how to tell *themselves* what to do. It's one of the biggest lessons I teach.

6. PROVISIONAL SELF-ESTEEM

The sixth lesson I teach is provisional self-esteem. If you've ever tried to wrestle into line kids whose parents have convinced them to believe they'll be loved in spite of anything, you know how impossible it is to make self-confident spirits conform. Our world wouldn't survive a flood of confident people very long, so I teach that a kid's self-respect should depend on expert opinion. My kids are constantly evaluated and judged.

A monthly report, impressive in its provision, is sent into a student's home to elicit approval or mark exactly, down to a single percentage point, how dissatisfied with the child a parent should be. The ecology of "good" schooling depends on perpetuating dissatisfaction, just as the commercial economy depends on the same fertilizer. Although some people might be surprised how little time or reflection goes into making up these mathematical

records, the cumulative weight of these objective-seeming documents establishes a profile that compels children to arrive at certain decisions about themselves and their futures based on the casual judgment of strangers. Self-evaluation, the staple of every major philosophical system that ever appeared on the planet, is never considered a factor. The lesson of report cards, grades, and tests is that children should not trust themselves or their parents but should instead rely on the evaluation of certified officials. People need to be told what they are worth.

7. ONE CAN'T HIDE

The seventh lesson I teach is that one can't hide. I teach students that they are always watched, that each is under constant surveillance by me and my colleagues. There are no private spaces for children; there is no private time. Class change lasts exactly three hundred seconds to keep promiscuous fraternization at low levels. Students are encouraged to tattle on each other or even to tattle on their own parents. Of course, I encourage parents to file reports about their own child's waywardness too. A family trained to snitch on itself isn't likely to conceal any dangerous secrets.

I assign a type of extended schooling called "homework," so that the effect of surveillance, if not the surveillance itself, travels into private households, where students might otherwise use free time to learn something unauthorized from a father or mother, by exploration or by apprenticing to some wise person in the neighborhood. Disloyalty to the idea of schooling is a devil always ready to find work for idle hands.

The meaning of constant surveillance and denial of privacy is that no one can be trusted, that privacy is not legitimate. Surveillance is an ancient imperative, espoused by certain influential thinkers, a central prescription set down in *The Republic*, *The City of God*, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, *New Atlantis*, *Leviathan*, and a host of other places. All the childless men who wrote these books discovered the same thing: children must be closely watched if you want to keep a society under tight central control. Children will follow a private drummer if you can't get them into a uniformed marching band.

II

It is the great triumph of compulsory government monopoly mass schooling that among even the best of my fellow teachers, and among even the best of my students' parents, only a small number can imagine a different way to do things. "The kids have to know how to read and write, don't they?" "They have to know how to add and subtract, don't they?" "They have to learn to follow orders if they ever expect to keep a job."

Only a few lifetimes ago things were very different in the United States. Originality and variety were common currency; our freedom from regimentation made us the miracle of the world; social-class boundaries were relatively easy to cross; our citizenry was marvelously confident, inventive, and able to do much for themselves independently, and to think for themselves. We were something special, we Americans, all by ourselves, without government sticking its nose into and measuring every aspect of our lives, without institutions and social

agencies telling us how to think and feel. We were something special, as individuals, as Americans.

But we've had a society essentially under central control in the United States since just after the Civil War, and such a society requires compulsory schooling — government monopoly schooling — to maintain itself. Before this development schooling wasn't very important anywhere. We had it, but not too much of it, and only as much as an individual *wanted*. People learned to read, write, and do arithmetic just fine anyway; there are some studies that suggest literacy at the time of the American Revolution, at least for non-slaves on the Eastern seaboard, was close to total. Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* sold 600,000 copies to a population of 3,000,000, of whom twenty percent were slaves and fifty percent indentured servants.

Were the Colonists geniuses? No, the truth is that reading, writing, and arithmetic only take about one hundred hours to transmit as long as the audience is eager and willing to learn. The trick is to wait until someone asks and then move fast while the mood is on. Millions of people teach themselves these things — it really isn't very hard. Pick up a fifth-grade math or rhetoric textbook from 1850 and you'll see that the texts were pitched then on what would today be considered college level. The continuing cry for "basic skills" practice is a smoke screen behind which schools preempt the time of children for twelve years and teach them the seven lessons I've just described to you.

The society that has come increasingly under central control since just before the Civil War shows itself in

the lives we lead, the clothes we wear, the food we eat, and the green highway signs we drive by from coast to coast, all of which are the products of this control. So too, I think, are the epidemics of drugs, suicide, divorce, violence, and cruelty, as well as the hardening of class into caste in the United States, products of the dehumanization of our lives, of the lessening of individual, family, and community importance — a diminishment that proceeds from central control. Inevitably, large compulsory institutions want more and more, until there isn't any more to give. School takes our children away from any possibility of an active role in community life — in fact, it destroys communities by relegating the training of children to the hands of certified experts — and by doing so it ensures our children cannot grow up fully human. Aristotle taught that without a fully active role in community life one could not hope to become a healthy human being. Surely he was right. Look around you the next time you are near a school or an old people's reservation if you wish a demonstration.

School, as it was built, is an essential support system for a model of social engineering that condemns most people to be subordinate stones in a pyramid that narrows as it ascends to a terminal of control. School is an artifice that makes such a pyramidal social order seem inevitable, even though such a premise is a fundamental betrayal of the American Revolution. From Colonial days through the period of the Republic we had no schools to speak of — read Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* for an example of a man who had no time to waste in school — and yet the promise of democracy

was beginning to be realized. We turned our backs on this promise by bringing to life the ancient pharaonic dream of Egypt: compulsory subordination for all. That was the secret Plato reluctantly transmitted in *The Republic* when Glaucon and Adeimantus extort from Socrates the plan for total state control of human life, a plan necessary to maintain a society where some people take more than their share. "I will show you," says Socrates, "how to bring about such a feverish city, but you will not like what I am going to say." And so the blueprint of the seven-lesson school was first sketched.

The current debate about whether we should have a national curriculum is phony. We already have a national curriculum locked up in the seven lessons I have just outlined. Such a curriculum produces physical, moral, and intellectual paralysis, and no curriculum of content will be sufficient to reverse its hideous effects. What is currently under discussion in our national hysteria about failing academic performance misses the point. Schools teach exactly what they are intended to teach and they do it well: how to be a good Egyptian and remain in your place in the pyramid.

III

None of this is inevitable. None of it is impossible to overthrow. We do have choices in how we bring up young people: there is no one right way. If we broke through the power of the pyramidal illusion we would see that. There is no life-and-death international competition threatening our national existence, difficult as that idea is even to think about, let alone believe, in the

face of a continual media barrage of myth to the contrary. In every important material respect our nation is self-sufficient, including in energy. I realize that idea runs counter to the most fashionable thinking of political economists, but the "profound transformation" of our economy these people talk about is neither inevitable nor irreversible.

Global economics does not speak to the public need for meaningful work, affordable housing, fulfilling education, adequate medical care, a clean environment, honest and accountable government, social and cultural renewal, or simple justice. All global ambitions are based on a definition of productivity and the good life so alienated from common human reality that I am convinced it is wrong and that most people would agree with me if they could perceive an alternative. We might be able to see that if we regained a hold on a philosophy that locates meaning where meaning is genuinely to be found — in families, in friends, in the passage of seasons, in nature, in simple ceremonies and rituals, in curiosity, generosity, compassion, and service to others, in a decent independence and privacy, in all the free and inexpensive things out of which real families, real friends, and real communities are built — then we would be so self-sufficient we would not even need the material "sufficiency" which our global "experts" are so insistent we be concerned about.

How did these awful places, these "schools," come about? Well, casual schooling has always been with us in a variety of forms, a mildly useful adjunct to growing up. But "modern schooling" as we now know it is a by-

product of the two “Red Scares” of 1848 and 1919, when powerful interests feared a revolution among our own industrial poor. Partly, too, total schooling came about because old-line “American” families were appalled by the native cultures of Celtic, Slavic, and Latin immigrants of the 1840s and felt repugnance toward the Catholic religion they brought with them. Certainly a third contributing factor in creating a jail for children called “school” must have been the consternation with which these same “Americans” regarded the movement of African-Americans through the society in the wake of the Civil War.

Look again at the seven lessons of school teaching: confusion, class position, indifference, emotional and intellectual dependency, conditional self-esteem, and surveillance. All of these lessons are prime training for permanent underclasses, people deprived forever of finding the center of their own special genius. And over time this training has shaken loose from its original purpose: to regulate the poor. For since the 1920s the growth of the school bureaucracy as well as the less visible growth of a horde of industries that profit from schooling exactly as it is, has enlarged this institution’s original grasp to the point that it now seizes the sons and daughters of the middle classes as well.

Is it any wonder Socrates was outraged at the accusation he took money to teach? Even then, philosophers saw clearly the inevitable direction the professionalization of teaching would take, that of preempting the teaching function, which, in a healthy community, belongs to everyone.

With lessons like the ones I teach day after day it should be little wonder we have a real national crisis, the nature of which is very different from that proclaimed by the national media. Young people are indifferent to the adult world and to the future, indifferent to almost everything except the diversion of toys and violence. Rich or poor, school children who face the twenty-first century cannot concentrate on anything for very long; they have a poor sense of time past and time to come. They are mistrustful of intimacy like the children of divorce they really are (for we have divorced them from significant parental attention); they hate solitude, are cruel, materialistic, dependent, passive, violent, timid in the face of the unexpected, addicted to distraction.

All the peripheral tendencies of childhood are nourished and magnified to a grotesque extent by schooling, which, through its hidden curriculum, prevents effective personality development. Indeed, without exploiting the fearfulness, selfishness, and inexperience of children, our schools could not survive at all, nor could I as a certified schoolteacher. No common school that actually dared to teach the use of critical thinking tools — like the dialectic, the heuristic, or other devices that free minds should employ — would last very long before being torn to pieces. In our secular society, school has become the replacement for church, and like church it requires that its teachings must be taken on faith.

It is time that we squarely face the fact that institutional schoolteaching is destructive to children. Nobody survives the seven-lesson curriculum completely unscathed, not even the instructors. The method is deeply

and profoundly anti-educational. No tinkering will fix it. In one of the great ironies of human affairs, the massive rethinking the schools require would cost so much *less* than we are spending now that powerful interests cannot afford to let it happen. You must understand that first and foremost the business I am in is a *jobs project* and an agency for letting contracts. We cannot afford to save money by reducing the scope of our operation or by diversifying the product we offer, even to help children grow up right. That is the *iron law* of institutional schooling — it is a business, subject neither to normal accounting procedures nor to the rational scalpel of competition.

Some form of free-market system in public schooling is the likeliest place to look for answers, a free market where family schools and small entrepreneurial schools and religious schools and crafts schools and farm schools exist in profusion to compete with government education. I'm trying to describe a free market in schooling exactly like the one the country had until the Civil War, one in which *students volunteer for the kind of education that suits them* even if that means self-education. It didn't hurt Benjamin Franklin that I can see. These options exist now in miniature, wonderful survivals of a strong and vigorous past, but they are available only to the resourceful, the courageous, the lucky, or the rich. The near impossibility of one of these better roads opening for the shattered families of the poor or for the bewildered host camped on the fringes of the urban middle class suggests that *the disaster of seven-lesson schools is going to grow unless we do something bold and decisive with the mess of government monopoly schooling.*

After an adult lifetime spent teaching school, I believe the *method* of mass schooling is its only real content. Don't be fooled into thinking that good curriculum or good equipment or good teachers are the critical determinants of your son's or daughter's education. All the pathologies we've considered come about in large measure because the lessons of school prevent children from keeping important appointments with themselves and with their families to learn lessons in self-motivation, perseverance, self-reliance, courage, dignity, and love — and lessons in service to others, too, which are among the key lessons of home and community life.

Thirty years ago these lessons could still be learned in the time left *after* school. But television has eaten up most of that time, and a combination of television and the stresses peculiar to two-income or single-parent families has swallowed up most of what used to be family time as well. Our kids have no time left to grow up fully human and only thin-soil wastelands to do it in.

A future is rushing down upon our culture that will insist that all of us learn the wisdom of nonmaterial experience; a future that will demand as the price of survival that we follow a path of natural life that is economical in material cost. These lessons cannot be learned in schools as they are. School is a twelve-year jail sentence where bad habits are the only curriculum truly learned. I teach school and win awards doing it. I should know.

of its hills and streets and waters and people — or you will live a very, very sorry life as an exile forever. Discovering *meaning for yourself* as well as discovering satisfying *purpose for yourself*, is a big part of what education is. How this can be done by locking children away from the world is beyond me.

V

An important difference between communities and institutions is that communities have natural limits; they stop growing or they die. There's a good reason for this: in the best communities everyone is a special person who sooner or later impinges on everyone else's consciousness. The effects of this constant attention make all, rich or poor, feel important, because the only way importance is perceived is by having other folks pay attention to you. You can buy attention, of course, but it's not the same thing. Pseudo community life, where you live around others without noticing them and where you are constantly being menaced in some way by strangers you find offensive, is exactly the opposite. In pseudo community life you are anonymous for the most part, and you want to be because of various dangers other people may present if they notice your existence. Almost the only way you can get attention in a pseudo community is to buy it, because the prevailing atmosphere is one of indifference. A pseudo community is just a different kind of network: its friendships and loyalties are transient; its problems are universally considered to be someone else's problems (someone else who should be paid to solve them); its young and old are largely regarded as annoyances; and the

most commonly shared dream is to get out to a better place, to "trade up" endlessly.

Unlike true communities, pseudo communities and other comprehensive networks like schools expand indefinitely, just as long as they can get away with it. "More" may not be "better," but "more" is always more profitable for the people who make a living out of networking. That is what is happening today behind the cry to expand schooling even further: a great many people are going to make a great deal of money if growth can be continued.

Unlike the intricate, sometimes unfathomable satisfactions of community and family life, the successes of networks are always measured in mathematical displays of one-upmanship: How many A's? How much weight lost? How many inquiries generated? Competition is the network's lifeblood, and the precision suggested by the numerical ranking of performance is its preferred style.

The quality-competition of businesses (when it actually happens) is generally a good thing for customers; it keeps businesses on their toes, doing their best. The competition inside an institution like a school isn't the same thing at all. What is competed for in a school is the favor of a teacher, and that can be won or lost by too many subjective parameters to count; it is always a little arbitrary and sometimes a lot more pernicious than that. It gives rise to envy, dissatisfaction, and a belief in magic. Teachers, too, must compete for the arbitrarily dispensed favor of administrators, which carries the promise of good or bad classes, good or bad rooms, access to or denial of tools, and other hostages to obedience, defer-

What do you want to create?

ence, and subordination. The culture of schools only coheres in response to a web of material rewards and punishments: A's, F's, bathroom passes, gold stars, "good" classes, access to a photocopy machine. Everything we know about *why* people drive themselves to know things and do their best is contradicted inside these places.

Truth itself is another important dividing line between communities and networks. If you don't keep your word in a community, everyone finds out, and you have a major problem thereafter. But lying for personal advantage is the operational standard in all large institutions; it is considered part of the game in schools. Parents, for the most part, are lied to or told half-truths, as they are usually considered adversaries. At least that's been true in every school I ever worked in. Only the most foolish employees don't have recourse to lying; the penalties for being caught hardly exist — and the rewards for success can be considerable. Whistle-blowing against institutional malpractice is always a good way to get canned or relentlessly persecuted. Whistle-blowers never get promoted in any institution because, having served a public interest once, they may well do it again.

The Cathedral of Rheims is the best evidence I know of what a community can do and what we stand to lose when we don't know the difference between these human miracles and the social machinery we call "networks." Rheims was built without power tools by people working day and night for a hundred years. Everybody worked willingly; nobody was slave labor. No school taught cathedral building as a subject.

What possessed people to work together for a hundred years? Whatever it was looks like something worth educating ourselves about. We know the workers were profoundly united as families and as friends, and as friends they knew what they really wanted in the way of a church. Popes and archbishops had nothing to do with it. Gothic architecture itself was invented out of sheer aspiration — the Gothic cathedral stands like a lighthouse illuminating what is possible in the way of uncoerced human union. It provides a benchmark against which our own lives can be measured.

At Rheims, the serfs and farmers and peasants filled gigantic spaces with the most incredible stained-glass windows in the world, but they never bothered to sign even one of them. No one knows who designed or made them, because our modern form of institutional boasting did not yet exist as a corruption of communitarian feeling. After all these centuries they still announce what being human really means.

VI

Communities are collections of families and friends who find major meaning in extending the family association to a band of honorary brothers and sisters. They are complex relationships of commonality and obligation that generalize to others beyond the perimeter of the homestead.

When the integration of life that comes from being part of a family in a community is unattainable, the only alternative, apart from accepting a life in isolation, is to search for an artificial integration into one of the many

al pathology:
nce, and the

we can do better VIII This is possible

It's high time we looked backwards to regain an educational philosophy that works. One I like particularly well has been a favorite of the ruling classes of Europe for thousands of years. I use as much of it as I can manage in my own teaching, as much, that is, as I can get away with, given the present institution of compulsory schooling. I think it works just as well for poor children as for rich ones.

At the core of this elite system of education is the belief that self-knowledge is the only basis of true knowledge. Everywhere in this system, at every age, you will find arrangements that work to place the child *alone* in an unguided setting with a problem to solve. Sometimes the problem is fraught with great risks, such as the problem of galloping a horse or making it jump, but that, of course, is a problem successfully solved by thousands of elite children before the age of ten. Can you imagine anyone who had mastered such a challenge ever lacking confidence in his ability to do anything? Sometimes the problem is the problem of mastering solitude, as Thoreau did at Walden Pond, or Einstein did in the Swiss customs house.

Right now we are taking from our children all the time that they need to develop self-knowledge. That has to stop. We have to invent school experiences that give a lot of that time back. We need to trust children from a

" — when we
 network values in conflict with traditional community values. For one hundred and fifty years institutional education has seen fit to offer as its main purpose the preparation for economic success. Good education = good job, good money, good *things*. This has become the universal national banner, hoisted by Harvards as well as high schools. This prescription makes both parent and student easier to regulate and intimidate as long as the connection goes unchallenged either for its veracity or in its philosophical truth. Interestingly enough, the American Federation of Teachers identifies one of its missions as persuading the business community to hire and promote on the basis of school grades so that the grades = money formula will obtain, just as it was made to obtain for medicine and law after years of political lobbying. So far, the common sense of businesspeople has kept them hiring and promoting the old-fashioned way, using performance and private judgment as the preferred measures, but they may not resist much longer.

The absurdity of defining education as an economic good becomes clear if we ask ourselves what is gained by perceiving education as a way to enhance even further the runaway consumption that threatens the earth, the air, and the water of our planet? Should we continue to teach people that they can buy happiness in the face of a tidal wave of evidence that they cannot? Shall we ignore the evidence that drug addiction, alcoholism, teenage suicide, divorce, and other despairs are pathologies of the prosperous much more than they are of the poor?

WHAT IS THE POINT OF THIS?

CONNECT, INSPIRE & COLLABORATE

YES!



**ACTIVITIES
FACILITATION MANUAL
FOR YOUNG CHANGEMAKERS**

DEAR FRIEND—

When YES! was founded in the spring of 1990, we didn't know that it would reach hundreds of thousands of people with a call to action for a better world, or play a part in mobilizing our generation for positive change. What was known was that our people and our planet were in a crisis, that many youth were losing hope, and that we had to do what we could to turn things around.

YES! was born out of a prayer. A prayer to be of service in a world enshrouded in pain. A prayer to help young people see their power and believe in themselves. A prayer that somehow, in some way, YES! might be part of the great work that is so needed in these troubled times.

In our first 20 years, YES! spoke in person to more than 650,000 students in schools nationwide. We facilitated hundreds of day-long youth empowerment workshops. And we organized and facilitated 100+ week-long gatherings in seven countries, reaching young people from 65+ nations. The response to our work was outstanding, and nowhere did we see our impact so profoundly illustrated as in our camps and Jams. Hundreds of letters poured in, telling us that the programs we offered were making a difference in young people's lives.

The single most important thing YES! events offer is perhaps also the simplest. Respect. A safe environment for young people to talk about what really matters to them, and to know that they will be listened to and accepted. So many of us feel isolated, like we are the only ones who care about our world. At YES! events, we discover that we are, in fact, part of a powerful and growing global community of people who care, and who are dedicated to positive change.

We see how real change starts within each of us: by experiencing the powerful connections between personal and planetary health, between healing around our experiences with 'isms' (like racism, classism and sexism) and building a world of social justice, between how we relate one-on-one, and from our diverse cultural and national identities. Because it's all connected. And every step we take in our own lives affects the lives of everyone else.

Our work is constantly evolving. For many years, YES!'s core focus was on empowering young people to work for a healthier environment. More recently, however, we have embraced a broader definition of the environment, as we recognize the connections between social justice, peace, human dignity and environmental sanity. This manual is, in a certain sense, representative of our whole evolution, including exercises from our 20 years of work. Some of these haven't been used at YES! events for years, but they may be of use to your event, and thus they are included. Many will work in certain contexts or age groups, but not in others. Know your community, and use your own best judgment.

Every time we use them, we see how the exercises in this manual can be a portal towards changing lives. It is not just the activity, but also the energy with which it is facilitated and the openness that is held throughout the process. Listening deeply, creating space, going with the flow, letting go of expectations, and just being real, can enable each activity to go a lot further than what is here on paper.

We offer these exercises to you with hope that you will use them as they have been intended. With respect. With care. With reverence for all life. Honor the people you work with and the service to which this work, if it is to be truly effective, must be dedicated. Some of the exercises contained in this manual are not intended for any but a truly experienced facilitator. Some are much easier and safer to lead. All have the capacity to bring more connection, community, compassion, power, consciousness, and joy to our world.

Yours for healthy people and a healthy planet,



Ocean Robbins, Founder & Co-Director



Shilpa Jain, YES! Facilitator & Partner

PS — This manual was produced by YES!'s trained facilitators for their use. We hope it will be of value to others as well, but take no responsibility for the results of using these exercises without prior coaching from YES! This manual is in constant revision, and we welcome your feedback and ideas. If you are interested in hiring trained YES! facilitators, please contact us.

A NOTE OF GRATITUDE

YES!'s work has evolved over many years. Our gratitude is due, first and foremost, to our event participants. They have never ceased to inspire us, challenge us, or fill us with hope for the future. YES! events would be meaningless without the thousands of extraordinary people who have graced our lives and used our work as a springboard from which to deepen their roots and spread their wings. This manual is dedicated to YES! Camp and Jam alumni, who span every inhabited continent and whose spirit is an essential part of every word in this book.

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Thank you to all of the thousands of donors and supporters who have given of their time, their talents, and their dollars in service to our shared work. They have shown us the power of generosity, and their honesty and friendship have taught us so much about the spirit of real partnership. We are forever blessed.

A huge debt of gratitude is also due to all of the people and organizations that have pioneered so many of the exercises contained in this manual, and that have collaborated with us over the years. The activities herein come from a broad range of sources, including our original work, as well as countless organizations and people working with groups nationwide. It would be impossible for us to attribute accurately the source of many of the wonderful activities we are blessed to be able to use, compile, and share. But some we know. We want to thank 21st Century Youth Leadership Movement, Alli Starr and Art & Revolution Convergence, Anytown USA, Bolder Giving, Brotherhood/Sisterhood USA, Cascadia Quest, Challenge Associates, Creating Our Future, the Earthstewards Network, the Gaia Education Outreach Institute, Global Exchange, Paul Kivel and TODOS Institute, the Oakland Men's Project, Open Space Institute, Outward Bound, Resource Generation and Making Money Make Change, Santa Cruz Barrios Unidos, John Seed, Shikshantar, U Can Dance African Healing Arts and World Café. We want to thank all of the people and organizations around the world who are seeking to build community, spread awareness, and help people of all ages to take positive action for a healthy and just future.

A huge THANK YOU to Jazzmen Lee-Johnson for her incredible work and commitment in laying out and designing this book. She has helped transform it into a work of art.

Thank you to the ancestors — to all who have lived, breathed, dreamed, and died that we might have the opportunities we do today. And thank you to all future beings, whose infinite trust is now placed in our care and who call us, from some deep and eternal place, to build a world that is worthy of their dreams.

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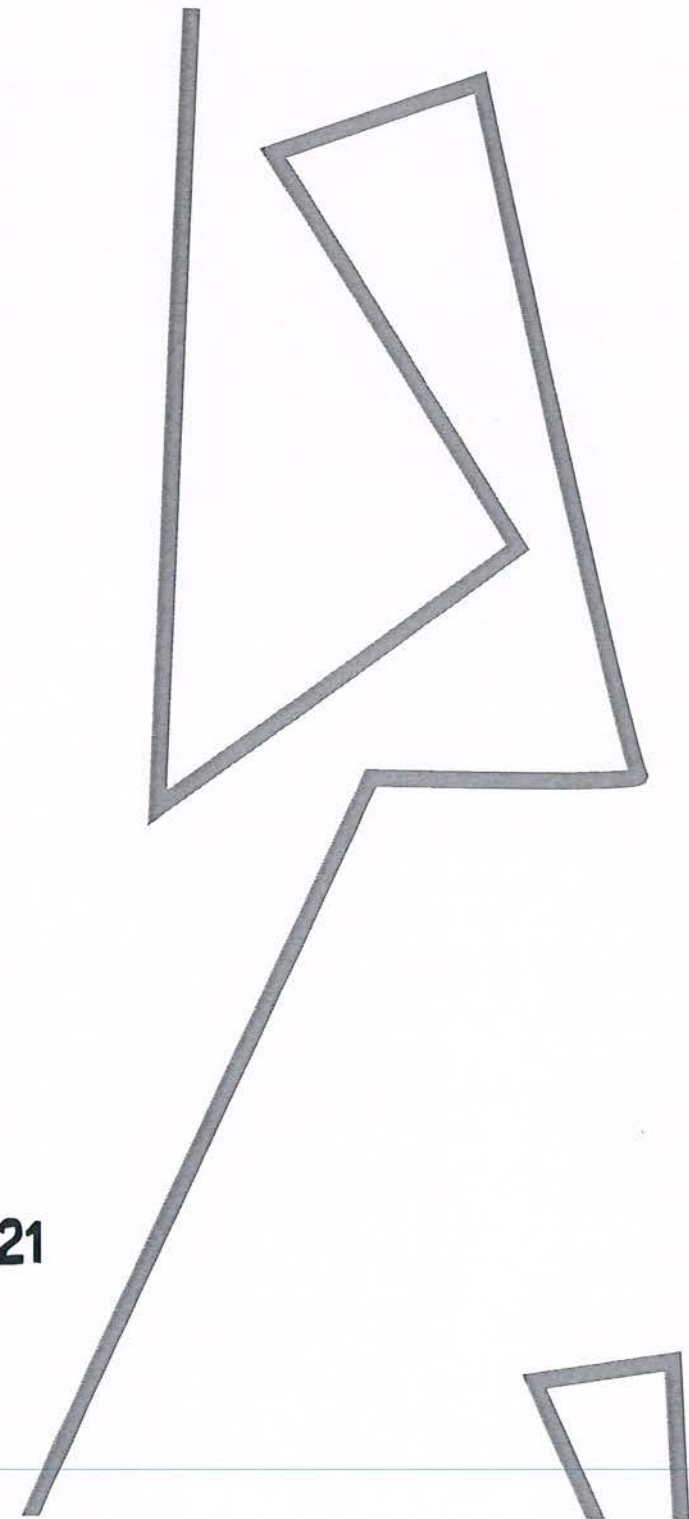
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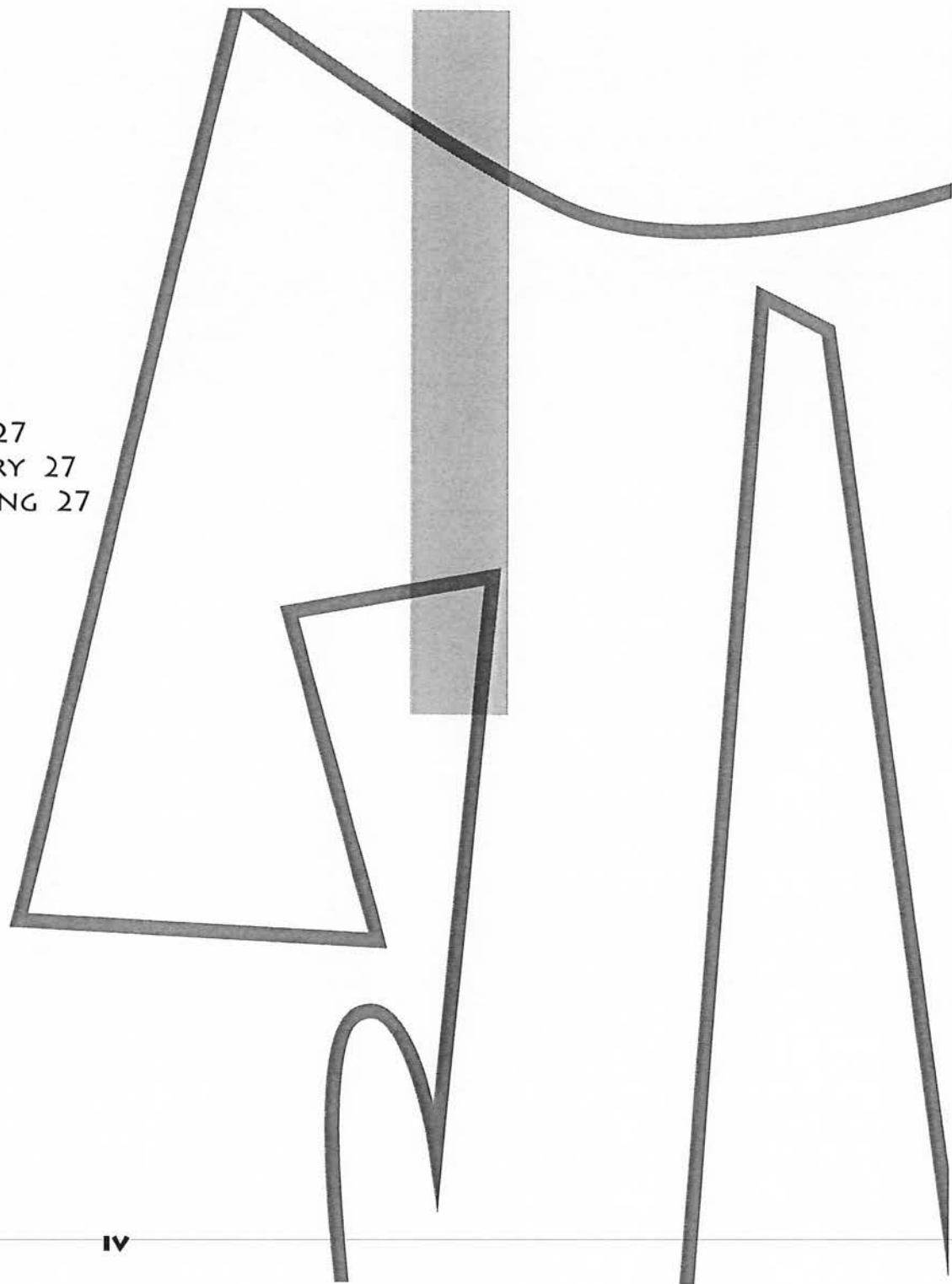
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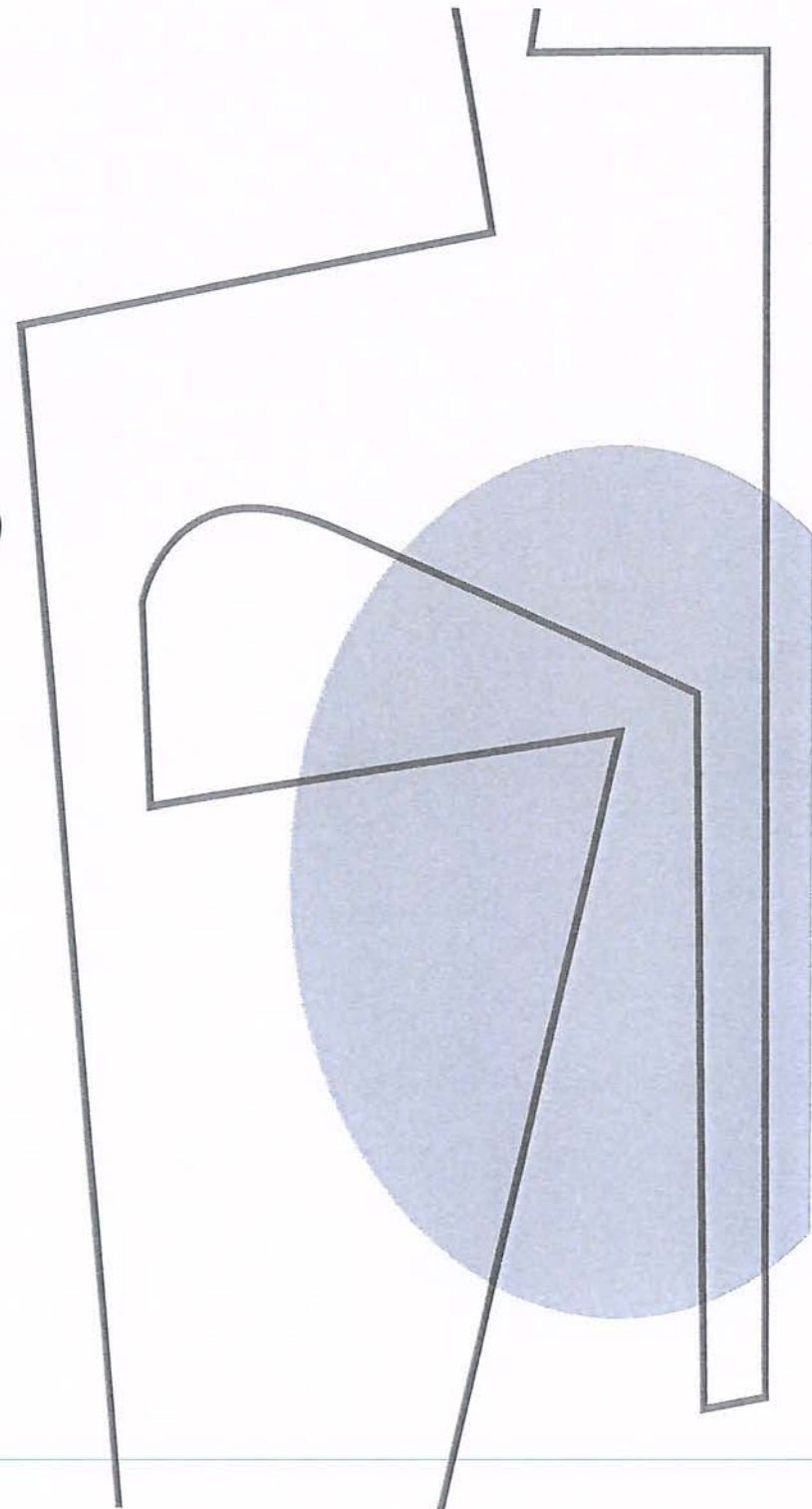
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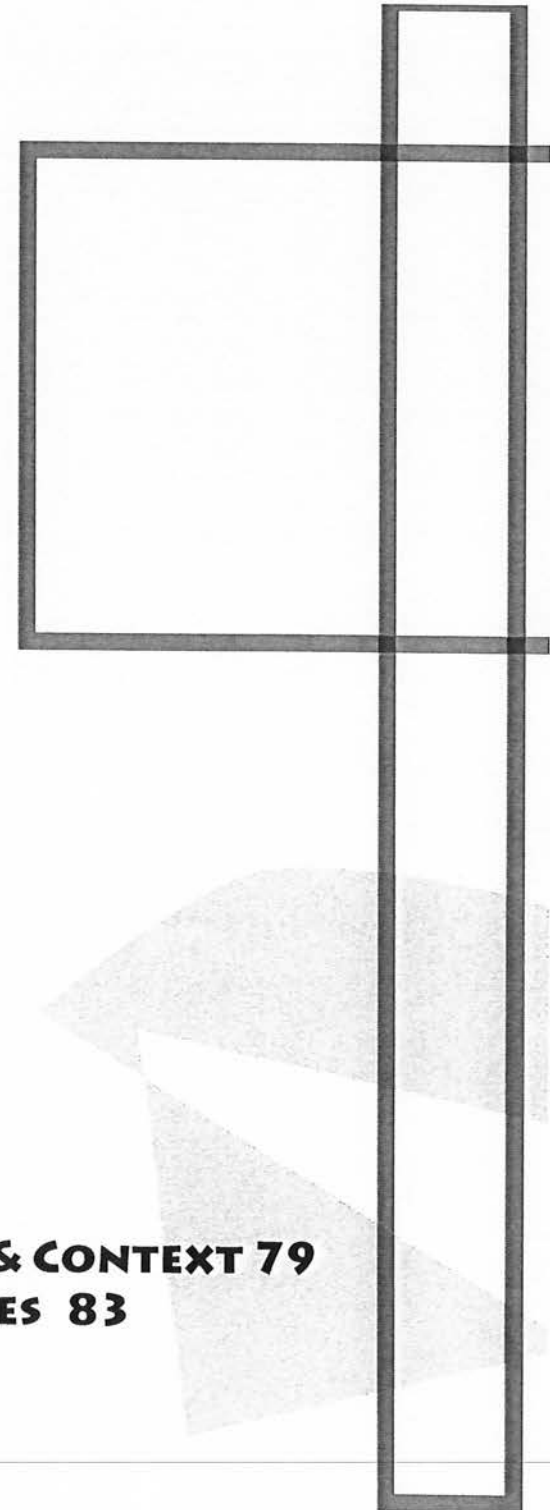
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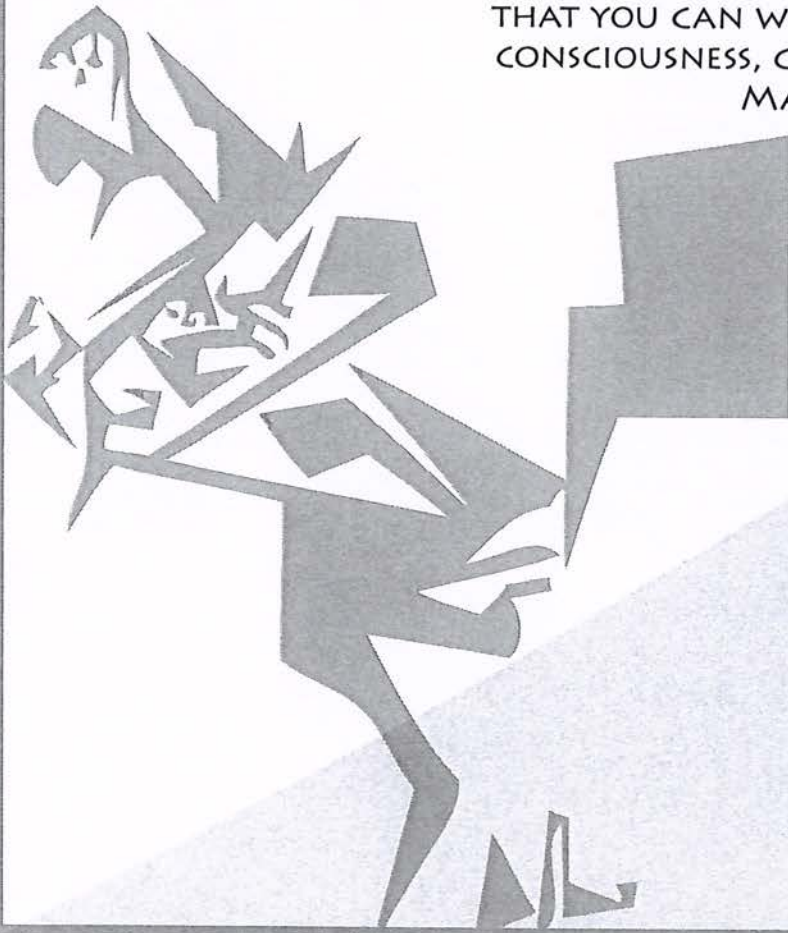
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SETTING CONTEXT

EVERY HOME NEEDS A STRONG FOUNDATION IF IT'S GOING TO LAST. SO DOES EVERY GATHERING. HERE ARE SOME KEY PIECES TO BEGINNING AN EVENT, SO THAT YOU CAN WELCOME EVERYONE WITH CLARITY, CONSCIOUSNESS, CONNECTION, AND GOOD FEELING. MAKE A SOLID START.



1. WHAT IS A JAM?

by Shilpa Jain and Tad Hargrave

To understand a jam, maybe it's important first to know what it's not. A Jam is not a week of intellectual rhetoric and debate. It is not a meeting, conference or seminar, or a time to be spoken at through panels and plenary sessions. It's not really about information (though that may be present) or about being primarily in the mind/head space (though, that can be there too). It's definitely not a franchise to be spread around the world (no McJams!), and not THE heart of the global youth movement (we hope that there are many hearts, heads and hands). Nor is it about abstract, internet-based networking. For the folks organizing and facilitating Jams, it's also not about making money, advancing careers, or traveling around the world as 'youth ambassadors'.

A Jam is a chance for young change-makers to share their experiences, ideas, questions, hopes and struggles; to learn and unlearn from each other; and to build relationships that matter to them. It looks different in different contexts, but there are few common aspects.

First, a Jam seeks out and tries to manifest vibrant diversity, both in terms of participants and facilitators, and in terms of processes and issues explored. Moreover, in the course of a week, a Jam attempts to build bridges across diversity. It offers glimpses into a world which can include everyone, wherever they are at in their journeys. The emphasis is on what and who is present, rather than on a pre-set agenda. Process comes first, only then can there be real outcomes. All efforts are geared towards dialogue, friendship and understanding, rather than towards being right or winning arguments. The personal and interpersonal elements are given ample space and time. All of this means that processes are often 'slowed up', that people are invited to speak from their hearts, and that they are invited to listen for understanding (not necessarily agreement or disagreement) and to be present to the space and energy of the community.

Those who participate in a Jam usually come hoping to find their next growing edge. With Leveraging Privilege for Social Change, they are often pushing the envelopes around power and privilege and their relationships to these issues. With World Jams, they are trying to connect the dots of various movements and issues, hoping to attain greater clarity and engagement in their work, while living more full and balanced lives.

To put it simply, a Jam embodies two core principles: uncompromised truth and unconditional love. A Jam is, above all, a place to be real, to take off masks, to speak one's truth, and to be fully oneself. Simultaneously, a Jam is a highly appreciative space, where compliments and love are given freely and received with dignity and gratitude, and where the intention is towards healing, learning and growing honest, healthy relationships.

Some key ingredients of a Jam:

1. Safe, supportive and beautiful physical environment.
2. Solid logistics (for food, accommodation, transportation, etc.).
3. Carefully selected participants, on the grounds of their commitment to internal, interpersonal and systemic change, and whatever other criteria the organizers/facilitators have set.
4. Capable facilitators (more on this in the document, "Qualities of Jam Facilitators").
5. A trusting relationship and good teamwork/ team balance among the facilitators.
6. Relevant and provocative content and processes.
7. A few carefully selected guest presenters/elders based on the criteria the organizers and facilitators have set.

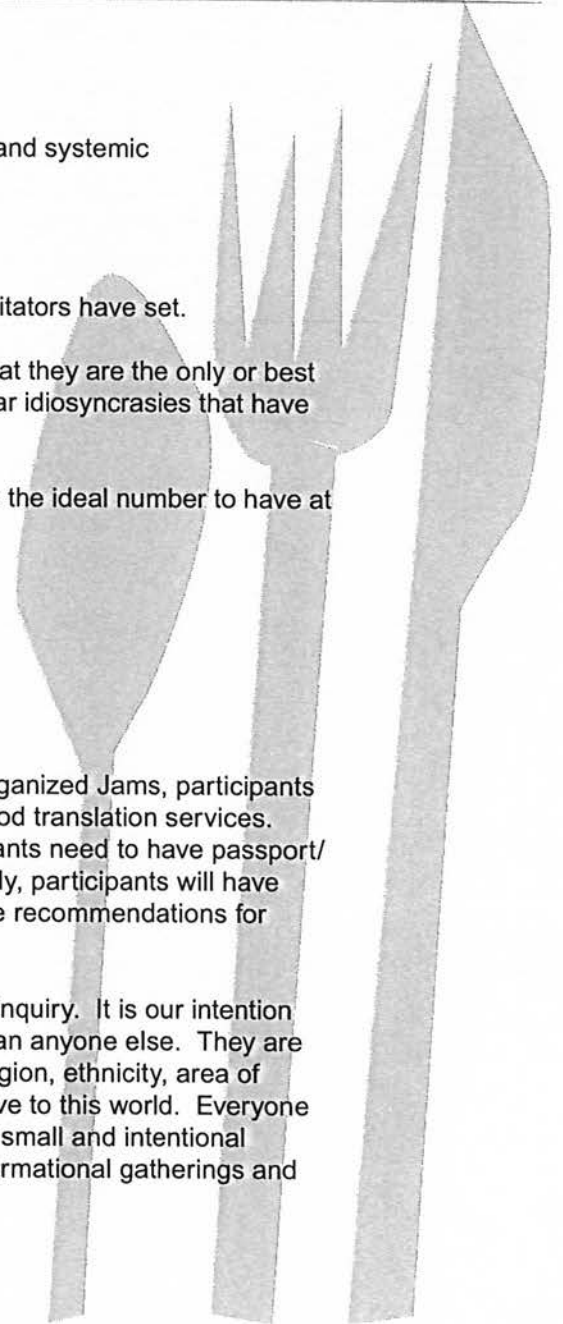
It is also very important to notice that Jams are highly specific kinds of events. We do not suggest that they are the only or best kind of work to happen in the world of social change. A Jam is simply a process, with its own particular idiosyncrasies that have been developed and chosen. It is important to name these specifics.

For example, we have decided that 30 people (inclusive of organizers, facilitators and participants) is the ideal number to have at a Jam. We focus particularly on people who:

- are engaged in their own work in their own community;
- are accountable to a place and rooted in something real and concrete (not abstract ideas or theories or networks);
- are willing and eager to have their perspectives, worldviews and practices challenged;
- are aligned with the above-mentioned Jam principles and values.

There are also certain conventions which further limit who comes to a Jam. For example, in YES-organized Jams, participants need to know English (for LPSC-USA and for the World Jam) or money needs to be available for good translation services. Most participants have access to computers/technology, in order to find out about the Jam. Participants need to have passport/visa capacities and a somewhat secure financial capacity to travel outside of the country. And usually, participants will have had to somehow come into contact with current or former Jam facilitators or participants and receive recommendations for participation. All of this is to say, that, as it stands, Jams have been and are highly selective.

We recognize that Jams can feel exclusionary or elitist, and this is an area of concern and ongoing inquiry. It is our intention to recognize that Jam participants are not inherently better or worse, more accomplished or less, than anyone else. They are just a particular mix of people that helps this particular program to work. Everyone, of every age, region, ethnicity, area of focus, background, relationship to privilege, and depth of activism experience, has unique gifts to give to this world. Everyone deserves a loving, safe and supportive environment to help them grow and thrive. Jams focus on a small and intentional cross-section of people, in the hopes that this work can be of service to the creation of more transformational gatherings and supportive communities for all people everywhere.



2. QUALITIES OF JAM FACILITATORS

by Shilpa Jain and Tad Hargrave

How to decide who will make a good facilitator for a Jam? It's a challenging and exciting task for several reasons. First, because we recognize that each person has their own unique flavor and brings their own special energy. Some are more apt at cooperative games, others with the arts, still others with systemic analysis, etc. Second, because we know that each person also comes with their own particular set of questions, their own particular history and background, their own particular struggles and strengths. Yet, even with this diversity, we have seen that some common qualities are shared among skilled Jam facilitators. By reflecting on the facilitators that have helped to nurture World Jams, Leveraging Privilege for Social Change Jams, and a variety of other Jams along the way, we suggest that what makes a person a Jam facilitator is that she or he:

Has an open heart, mind and spirit and is able to listen without judgment. And, therefore is able to build trust and hold space for the diversity of people gathered.

Has everyone's back. Doesn't take sides or divide/sort/rank people in the group. Committed to being present for all participants (even in difficult circumstances). Makes sure that people's voices get heard and that their needs get met.

Is able to communicate boundaries, concerns, limits, without shaming people. Is able to lift up unhealthy group dynamics or interpersonal interactions in a way that sheds light on them. Is not afraid of conflict and helps to support the group to focus on healing and connecting.

Is able to read group dynamics. Can feel where the group is at and what might be emerging, and can therefore sense what is a good next step.


Can support and lead without controlling the outcomes of the space. Has a good sense of different dialogue processes and tools and can work in a team to come up with new processes and activities as needed on the spot.

Is in touch with their own emotional/spiritual/intellectual process and can choose how and when to share that process. Can stay centered, grounded and facilitate even in the midst of strong emotions.

Has a belief in the necessity of authenticity, and is committed to creating an environment that combines unconditional love and uncompromised truth.

Is willing to put themselves out there and consistently speaks from their own experience. Can take risks in front of the group.

Is genuinely seeking to make the Jam a space of personal growth. Asks tough questions of themselves and therefore nurtures the space for others to ask tough questions too. Makes their own learning process transparent and part of the conversation, and in a way, serves as one of the group's reference point. Is a source of energy, integration and motivation to the group to participate, learn and share.




Can move through a variety of roles fairly fluidly: between facilitator, participant, peer, friend, co-learner (sometimes also parent, partner, etc.).

Has a clear understanding of how power works in groups, movements and institutions.

Is a person of tremendous integrity. Is invested in growing themselves. Feels responsible to and invested in a community of peers.

Has attended a Jam (or similar events) before. Understands the space she/he is trying to create, and is attuned to the dynamic balance of internal, interpersonal, and systemic issues.

All of the above is foremost in figuring out who could be a facilitator for the Jam. But, to be transparent, there is also a 'business side' to the Jam. This means that we also want a group of facilitators who are representative of the constituency we hope to gather for the Jam itself. Therefore, in putting together a facilitation team, organizers also consider:



gender balance: an even-ish number of women and men;

geographic distribution: coming from different parts of the participants' geography – around the US for LPSC, around the world for a World Jam;

age balance: some younger, some older, roughly between 18-35;

ethnic/racial balance;

areas of focus (i.e. social justice, sustainability, peace, locally-based work, global connections, philanthropy, policy, etc.);

diversity in terms of levels of physical ability and in sexual orientation.

In a World Jam, we seek to have a team of folks working on a range of different issues around social justice and also in varying levels of leadership. In Leveraging Privilege for Social Change, we seek to have a team of folks with a variety of different privileges (fame, monetary, networks, time, skills, position, access, etc.). At all Jams, we have found that another form of diversity is 'career stage', including some folks who are seasoned social change movement veterans, and others who are also deeply committed but may be somewhat newer to many of the conversations and issues.

In the past, YES! has worked with the idea of a facilitation 'training'. Yet, it hasn't quite worked out, in part because there is something wrong with the idea that we can train people to be Jam facilitators. We have to first find people with some of the basic aptitudes — people who care to understand one other and are not afraid to grow. These qualities are nurtured through working in one's communities, listening, dialoguing and holding space. They really emerge from a daily practice.

3. FACILITATOR'S SELF-EXPLORATION

Time: 30 minutes

This exercise is geared towards facilitators evaluating themselves before or after an event. Have them share answers, in pairs (possibly switching partners for each of the three sets of questions). After pair and share time, the whole group of facilitators can be reconvened for discussion. These questions can also be answered in writing. Your organizing committee can also use these questions to interview potential facilitators for your event, in order to help you make a decision.

- 1) What do you feel are your greatest facilitation strengths? Describe an important moment when you felt them needed.
- 2) What is your growing edge as a facilitator? What are areas in which you still have more learning to do? Describe a time when you felt this “room for improvement” came to light.
- 3) In your interactions with your co-facilitator(s), what did you appreciate about yourself? How do you think you could have supported or befriended or worked with them better? What are some things you appreciate about them?

4. OPENING ANNOUNCEMENTS

Time: 120 minutes

At the start of a gathering, we like to frame what we're up to. It is important to plan this opening really well, or it can drag on and leave participants feeling bored. It should be crisp and involve the voices of all the facilitators.

What might appear in your opening:

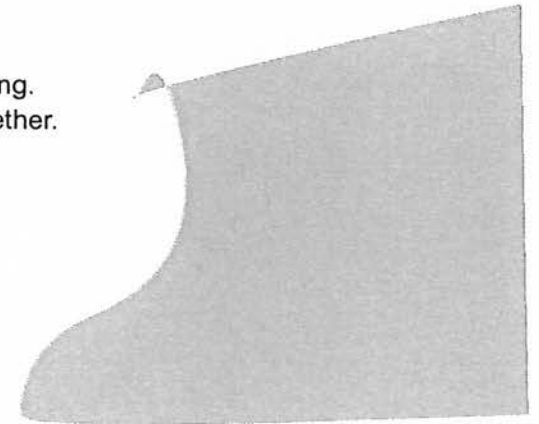
- **Your Vision and Purpose:** Internal, interpersonal and systemic transformation; connecting the dots between people, issues and movements; building connection and trust between diverse social change movement leaders; bringing to each day some time for the body, mind, emotions and spirit, and giving participants support and skills to help them be more healthy and effective in their lives and work.
- **Personal Introductions** and brief biographical sketches from the facilitators.
- **Group Agreements:** We typically have three agreements for a gathering. Confidentiality is the first agreement. We want to create safe space where people can be themselves, speak their minds, and not have to worry about where it might show up later. We honor each person's confidence and agree to not share things about them that could compromise them in any way. The second agreement is around no drugs or alcohol for the duration of the workshop. We want to approach each other with clear minds and hearts, and we do not know peoples' own individual histories with these substances or with substance abuse. So, we honor everyone by agreeing to not partake in these substances for the week. The third agreement is simply respect — for our host site, for each other, for our meeting time. This can be further elaborated, depending on the needs/requirements of your particular group, such as: cleaning up after yourselves, not keeping other people up late at night, not using cell phones, computers or ipods during sessions, not leaving the site without permission from the facilitators, not engaging in sexual activity, not breaking laws, not bring shoes into the meeting space, etc. Whichever of these agreements you make, make sure you take time to explain why and to answer any concerns or questions. Remember, they are not agreements, unless everyone agrees to them.

- **Site Rules:** Hazards, rules, housekeeping, safety and other issues specific to the site.
- **Themes and Highlights** of each day, and brief descriptions of the gathering's guest presenters.
- **Event-Long Activities:** Explain Secret Angels, Appreciation Posters, and/or Meal Crews (if applicable).
- **Site Host Announcements:** Allow time for the event hosts to make announcements or statements they need.
- **Meal Crews:** These will be teams of perhaps 4-6 people who will clean up after meals, on a rotating basis. For a gathering of 30, we find it good to have four meal crews, and so on any given day each of three crews has a meal, and one crew has the day off (or can be assigned to help gather participants on time for each session).

You can use the Barnyard game to convene the small groups. Then, when people have gathered into their respective meal crews, you can invite them to introduce themselves to each other while standing in a circle. Have them all raise their right hands in the air: "Repeat after me. I, <state name>, do hereby solemnly swear that I will arrive promptly for all meal clean-up and preparation times to which I am assigned. And what is more, should I not show up promptly and stay until the entire job is fully complete and there is nothing more for me to do, I give my crew full permission to use whatever means necessary to rectify the situation. In return, my team also gives me permission to do whatever it takes to ensure their reliability. This is both a promise and a very real threat... now hug your crew!"

Another option with meal crews is to give each group five minutes to come up with a new group name, and develop a group cheer, which they then perform for the other groups.

Here are the details for an opening session from a recent gathering. It may give you a sense of how to put all these different pieces together.



OPENING SESSION DETAIL FROM AN ACTUAL JAM

4 PM-6:25 PM

- 15** *The Systems Game*
- 5** *Welcome/Attunement (welcome everyone, we're here in a context together, cell phones off, deep breath, no holding hands)*
- 5** *Introduction to the site*
- 15** *Name Tag Game*
- 30** *Go-around: name, age, geography, organizational affiliation / area of focus*
- 15** *Facilitation Team Intro: Why we're here and how we're connected to this work (2 minutes each)*
- 10** *Setting Intentions*
- 5** *Agreements (no illegal substance use, confidentiality, cell phones, respectful of people's needs for quiet)*
- 15** *Logistics*
 - Children as part of the community*
 - Introduce the support team (childcare, cooks, YES! staff, site staff)*
 - Internet, water conservation, poison ivy, fire safety, late noise spots, hot tub, sauna, pond, smoking area, ant problem, be conscious of cups, no food or drinks outside the eating and kitchen area*
- 5** *Any questions?*
- 10** *Site hosts to tell their story*
- 5** *Secret Angels and Appreciation Posters*
- 15** *Meal Teams – formation and explanation*
- 5** *Intro to food and meal blessing*

Here are some additional frames for your opening. These were developed in programs for participants in their late teens and early 20s, but you might find them useful in your event.



This Event Is Experiential: Encourage everyone to be actively involved.

Take Responsibility: We're going to give you 100% of everything we have. You get out of it what you put into it. No more, no less.

Step out of Your Comfort Zone: This camp will definitely invite you to do some things that you have never done before. But many of the rewards in life are outside of what is comfortable for us. Sometimes the sweetest fruits on the tree are out on a limb.

Be Four Years Old: When do many of us have the most fun in our lives? When we're four years old! An older person will come to a puddle and just walk around it, while a child may jump in and splash around. Bring out the curiosity, openness, freedom and attention that you had as a child. You'll enjoy the experience a whole lot more!

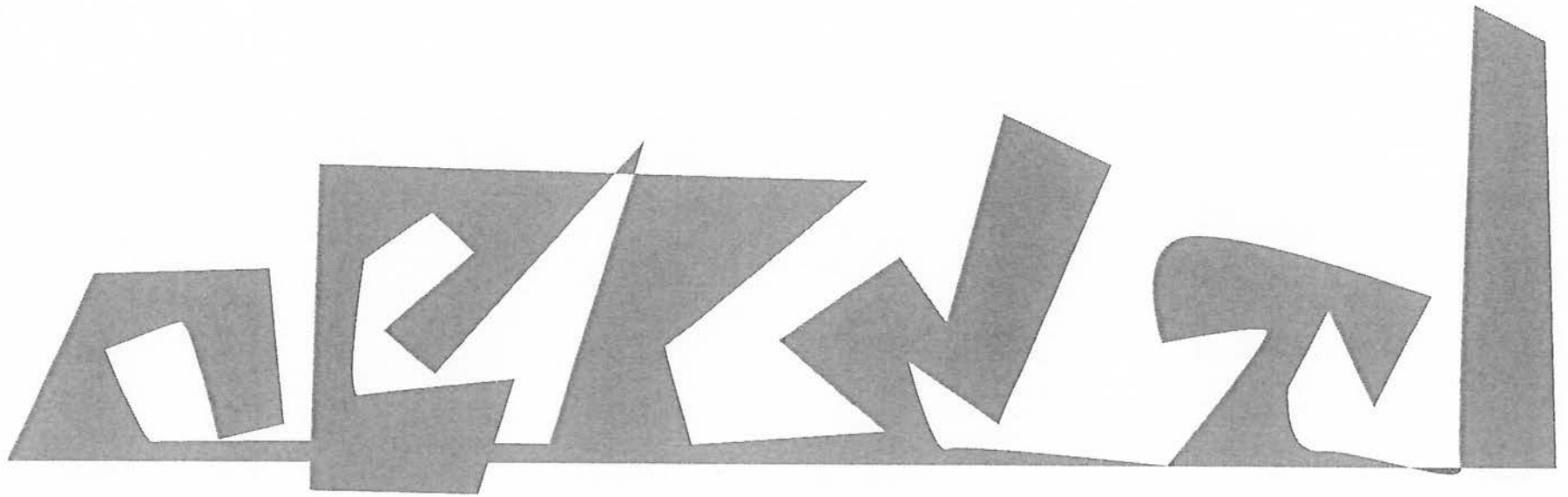
Please, No Put Downs: This is a place where demeaning people is not okay. Teasing is fine if it's in good humor, and the other person doesn't mind. But no actively putting others down. In a recent poll, it was found that in the United States, there are 20 put-downs for every positive thing people said to each other. But, how it feels to be put down? Sure, sometimes it's in good humor, but sometimes, even when you laugh, doesn't it hurt a bit? And over the course of time, when people are being put down and called names, don't they start to believe it just a little? So, for this camp, we're going to change that ratio! Let's have 20 put-UPS for every put down! I'm going to ask that if someone says something you feel hurt by, you say "Ouch." That is not a sign of weakness, but a sign of strength. So if someone says "Ouch," I want to invite whoever is talking to pause for a moment and hear that your friend, someone in this circle, just felt hurt. It doesn't mean you were right or wrong, but it is an opportunity to get that feedback, and maybe to apologize or respond in some supportive way. Let's try it all together. "You're all a bunch of crummy weaklings!" (They should respond with "Ouch!") Good job!

Be Yourself: It's a danger if people start to believe that at this gathering, everyone needs to be happy and hug all the time! Peer pressure of any kind is no good. Be sure to clarify that you are valuable and respected no matter what. Don't try to fit in, but just be yourself, because then you WILL fit in.

Time for Questions and Answers: Invite any questions people might have, and do your best to answer them.

BUILDING COMMUNITY

NOW THAT WE'VE SET THE STAGE, IT'S TIME TO KNOW WHO IS HERE AND HOW WE ALL FIT TOGETHER. WE BELIEVE THAT MOVEMENTS ARE BUILT BY FRIENDSHIPS AND COMMUNITY. THIS NEXT SET OF TOOLS WILL HELP IN DEVELOPING CONNECTIONS AMONG PEOPLE, SO THAT THEY FEEL THEMSELVES AS A PART OF A WHOLE. EACH VOICE IS HEARD; EACH PERSON IS WELCOMED FOR WHO THEY ARE. WEAVING TOGETHER THESE THREADS CREATES A STRONG FABRIC THAT CAN WITHSTAND THE TRIALS TO COME.




11. CHECK-IN

This is a great activity for the beginning and ending of a gathering. Introduce or re-introduce the concept of safe space. Don't be afraid to let this go deep. Encourage people to share what's real for them, and let people know that creating safe space takes a group that gives its undivided loving attention, and a speaker who is willing to 'take of the mask' and share what is real for them.

Participants go around in a circle, each having a turn to share. If you have a small group or abundant time, you can leave the time open-ended, but if there are more than 15 people you may want to suggest a time for each sharing (for example, four minutes per person). We often pass a watch. The person seated next to the speaker can keep time, touching the speaker's knee when they have 30 seconds left, their shoulder when time is up, and giving them a hug if they keep going more than 30 seconds over. If there are more than 15 people in the circle, it can be good to take a stretch break every 8-10 people.

You can invite people to re-state their name, ages, hometowns and organizations before they dive into their sharing. Possible guiding questions include:



What's something you love about this planet, and what have you experienced or learned recently that has touched into your pain for our world?

What are your fears and hopes for this week?

Where are you struggling, and where are you growing, in your life right now?

What is a threshold you are currently on?

What has been a defining pain or struggle in your life journey, and how has your response to it helped you to grow in wisdom, faith or compassion?

What's your work in the world, what's up in your life, and what questions are you grappling with?

What is something you want to share with this community, that may be important for us to know about you?

There are also other kinds of check-ins, if you are short on time, or to intersperse throughout the gathering to get a pulse on the group. For example, you can have a 1-word or 3-word check-in, where people use that number of words to describe how they are feeling right now. You can also do a movement check-in, where each person does a movement and utters a sound to express how they are feeling.

**Time: Depends on
group size**

**Suggested Group
Size: 2-35**

12. CHECK-IN GROUPS

(recommended when a whole group check-in will take too long, so perhaps for groups of 35+)

Smaller groups can meet each night to share and reflect on the day. They should each have one facilitator. Check-in groups can go-around with open space for anyone to share. They can also have a theme, which can be explained and also written up on a large sheet of paper. Suggested themes include:

**Time: 30 minutes,
every night**

**Suggested Group
Size: groups of 6-8**



What is your family like? What is your background? Your community?

What are your greatest hopes and fears for the week?

What did you learn today and how does it affect you?

How do you think the world will change in your lifetime? What will it take to turn things around?

What are the scariest and most exciting things facing you in the next few months?

Describe a time when you experienced a miracle.

What brought you here?

How are you going to apply what you've learned here in your life?

What lies at your crossroads right now?

What are your roots?

I am a person who ... (reflect on how you see yourself).

You are a person who ... (others reflect on how they see you).

What color are you right now? Why?

13. COMMON GROUND

Time: 20-30 minutes

Suggested Group
Size: any

When the group has been separated into pairs or small groups, and people have had the chance to share some of their individual stories, it can be good to bring the group back together to find some common ground. This activity enables people to reconnect and see how they are similar to each other. It also allows for a variety of sharing, to bring out things that haven't had a chance to come up yet.

All the participants stand in a circle. Anyone may begin by stepping into the circle and stating something that is both true for them, and that they want to share with the group. For example, "I am very close to my family", or "I struggle with some of my co-workers". It can be anything really. It only needs to be true, come in the form of an "I" statement, and be something the person wants to bring into the space. After stepping into the circle with a statement, the person waits for a few seconds. Anyone else who feels that the statement is also true for them, then also steps in. The inner circle holds for few seconds, as everyone looks around the circle and acknowledges who is there. Then everyone steps back to the whole circle, and another person takes a turn.

Common Ground gets even more interesting, when people build on each other and try to include nuances in the conversation. For example, someone might say, "I am very religious," the next person might say, "I am spiritual but I don't believe in any religion," and the next person might say, "I am spiritual and comfortable with all religions," etc. It does not need to follow a particular theme, but sometimes does, which can be rich and exciting. Facilitators can model what is possible through their own sharing.

Occasionally, someone may find themselves as the only person in the circle. Sometimes, we are the only ones with our experience, and our diversity is beautiful too. Facilitators can let people know before the activity begins that there are no right or wrong statements, only what is true for you. We are creating an atmosphere of safety, where people can be themselves and share themselves openly and honestly. Encourage people to take risks and be vulnerable. They may be surprised at what they have in common with a group of strangers.

Common Ground can go on for as long as needed – just check the energy of the group. Bring it to a close by asking for two or three last comments.

14. LISTENING EXERCISE

This activity emphasizes the importance of listening, which is incredibly important in your gathering. It also gives people the opportunity to evaluate themselves as a listener.

Have the group divide into pairs. Ask one person to be designated as person A; the other as person B. A will have about three minutes to share a story with B. It could be the story of their first kiss, the story of their birth -- any concrete story with a beginning, middle and end. B will listen as A is talking; they will not talk, ask questions, comment, but only listen. When A is finished, B will tell A's story back to him/her, as though it is their story. That is, they will speak in the "I". For example, "I went to the game, and I met my friend there..."

When B has finished re-telling A's story, then A has the opportunity to give feedback on how it felt to have their story re-told to them. They may also make observations about B's listening skills, whether they felt heard, or they felt assumptions were made, or whatever else.

When the whole process is complete, then the partners switch. Now, it is B's chance to tell their own story to A, and for Person A to listen closely. When B has completed, then A will re-tell their story in the "I". Lastly, B has a chance to comment on the experience of hearing their story retold and on A's listening skills.

Typically, the facilitator explains one part of the exercise at a time, so as not to confuse people. The facilitator should also let them know upfront that it is a listening exercise, so that they practice listening and can then learn more about themselves and each other as listeners.

The whole exercise takes about 20 minutes total (three minutes for A to tell; three minutes for B to re-tell; four minutes for conversation on the experience; and then three minutes for B to tell; three minutes for A to re-tell; four minutes for conversation on the experience). However, you may also want to reconvene the whole group for a short conversation on what they learned about themselves as listeners and any other insights they had from the exercise.

Time: 20-30 minutes

Suggested Group Size: any

15. COMMUNITY LABOR

Oftentimes, the site of your gathering provides an opportunity for the group to do a small service or labor project. It is a way of contributing back to the community that has hosted and held them for their days together. It also brings together the body with the mind, hands with the heart, thereby re-affirming the dignity of labor. In addition, it can be a creative group expression, which enables different peoples' strengths to shine in another setting and allows the group to feel even more bonded together.

Important things to remember for your labor project:

- 1) Make sure it's something that the host site and/or community needs. It should come out of their guidance or direction.
- 2) Ask ahead of time to see what might be a way to contribute back, and let them know your time constraints (if any). Plan ahead, so that you can be sure to find the right activity that fits your gathering.
- 3) Frame the activity as an opportunity to give back and take care. Leaving a site even better than you found it is a great gift for future groups, including yours.
- 4) Try to pick an activity that can include everyone in different capacities. Not everyone may be up for 'hard' labor, so have a variety of tasks so that people can be involved in ways that are comfortable for their physique and health. At many gatherings, we try to make sure there is a daily opportunity for labor/service, usually in the form of cleaning or doing dishes, which can be done in small groups, each taking turns for a particular meal or space.

Time: 2-3 hours

Suggested Group Size: any number

Materials: whatever might be needed for the project

16. TWO MINUTE INTRODUCTIONS

This is a great exercise to use early on in a gathering. The first morning or afternoon are perfect for it.

People pair up with someone they don't know well and have ten minutes to learn as much as possible about each other, focusing particularly on one another's gifts, talents, skills and unique qualities. Note-taking is advised and encouraged. Then, they have 5 minutes on their own to prepare a commercial that will tell the world how great their partner is. Finally, each person makes a two minute presentation to the group, sharing what s/he has learned about her/his partner's life, dreams, struggles, and gifts.

**Time: 20 minutes +
2 minutes/person**

**Suggested Group
Size: 6-50**

17. SELF INTRODUCTIONS

This exercise is designed for activists and people actively engaged in social change work. It gives participants the opportunity to learn more about each other's lives and work. Each person receives input on a specific problem or challenge they're dealing with. And, it facilitates connections through the rest of the week, because it lets them know who is there.

The whole group is given ten minutes of quiet time. Each person must think about what they want to share about themselves and draft a presentation outline that focuses on:

- 1 — THE PAST: Why do you do this work? What brought you to it?
- 2 — THE PRESENT: What projects are you currently engaged in?
- 3 — THE FUTURE: What are your goals and visions for the future?

When everyone is ready, convert the room into a theater, with a 'stage' and an 'audience'. Each participant is then given five minutes in front of the group to present themselves. Time is strictly kept; people are given a signal at two minutes and 30 seconds. If they go over time, they are hugged off stage. After each presentation, there's a huge standing ovation. Practice this before you begin the presentations.

Every time we do this, we hear, either before or after, "That wasn't enough time!" Of course, it's not enough to share your life story. But it's exactly the right amount of time to give each other an introduction to who we are. You have the whole gathering to find out more details. This is just a chance to learn who's in the room and who you might want to connect with more. Also, every time we do this, people also say (after they are done), "Oh! I forgot to say the most important thing!" So, knowing that, please take your ten minutes of preparation seriously. You have exactly the right amount of time to share what is most important to you.

**Time: Most likely
2-3 hours**

**Suggested Group
Size: 10-35**

**Materials: paper
and pens for
preparation, a
watch or clock for
timing**

71. POSTURE

Time: 15-30 minutes
Suggested Group Size: 10+

This works especially well after Show & Go's

Explain that the way we stand or sit affects how we feel and how we come across. Have everyone stand up and walk around the room, noticing their posture and other people's posture. Ask them to walk around the room, expressing the following beliefs through their posture:

- I'm not good enough.
- Things are bad and getting worse and it's all my fault.

Have them take a few deep breathes, and then try postures for the following beliefs:

- I am self-confident and successful.
- I am a gift to the world.

Then have a discussion of which postures portray which emotions, and of how we can create our emotions through our postures, too. Ask everyone to slouch, look down at the ground, and put a depressed look on their faces. Then ask everyone to look at the ceiling with a smile on their face for 10 seconds, and see if it changes the way they feel. Have them look up and smile while feeling depressed, and down with a frown while feeling happy. Is it hard? Discuss it a little more. Are we going to create our environment, or be created by it?!

Then have people pair up to talk about what they just experienced. Have them each take a turn answering the following questions: Is there any level at which feeling bad is a choice? What do you get out of it? What is your "recipe" for feeling bad? How do you sit, stand or walk? How do you put yourself in that state if you decide to? Is there any level at which feeling good is a choice? What do you get out of it? What is your "recipe" for feeling good? How do you do it? What does it look like?

Come back together and ask how that was for people, and if there's anything they take from it that might be useful or applicable for themselves in the future.

A NOTE ON PARTNER SHARING

The next few exercises, as well as many others in this manual, use the format of partner sharing, in which "Person A" and "Person B" take turns answering specific questions, while the other listens.

There is great power in questions. Some enhance comfort and trust. Others bring up challenging issues. Some empower, while others inspire. As important as the speaker is the listener. It is vital to explain the power and importance of the listener's role in partner-sharing. They show with their body language and their attention that they care about the speaker. They can create a safe and supportive space, so the speaker can as deep as feels comfortable. It is also important to support and encourage the speaker to really use the safe space if it's there. Try to take a few risks and share things that might be challenging and uncomfortable. Everyone should also know that there is no need to share anything that doesn't feel right to them.

This activities manual includes many questions that can be used in partner sharing as part of a series, and that is how they are generally intended. But some of the questions can also stand on their own, or in combination with other questions, in a variety of other formats, including: whole circle sharing (especially with a small group), where the question is passed around the circle with each person answering it; personal writing time (where participants answer one or a series of questions on their own in writing); and sharing with a partner who writes down your answers and gives them to you at the end.

Remember that you can also invent new questions, as well as cut out questions that seem excessive or inappropriate.

72. HOPES AND INTENTIONS



Time: 30 minutes
Suggested Group Size: In pairs

Note: This works well early in a camp or workshop.

Everyone finds a partner. The pair decides who will be "A" and who will be "B." The facilitator must ask each question twice, first prefacing it with "A, ask B...", and the second time, "Now, B's ask the A's..." (the same question). Allow 1-3 minutes for each answer.

1. What is your name and your age, and where are you from?
2. What got you interested in working for change?
3. What have you done, and do you want to do, to work for positive change in the world?
4. What are your deepest fears for this (day, week, or whatever)?
5. What are your deepest hopes for this (day, week, or whatever)?
6. What patterns of interaction do you carry, that you would like to let go of? How do they bring pain or difficulty into your life?
7. What direction do you want to move in as a person? What qualities do you want to grow in? As you move out of old patterns, what do you want to move into?
8. If you were to make a commitment that would help you get more out of this (day, week, or whatever), what would it be?
9. What are some gifts you see or things you appreciate about your partner?

73. SELF IMAGE



Time: 30-45 minutes
Suggested Group Size: In pairs

Everyone finds a partner they don't already know well. The pair decides who will be "A" and who will be "B". The facilitator must ask each question twice, first prefacing it with "A, ask B...", and the second time, "Now, B's ask the A's..." (the same question). Allow 1-4 minutes for each answer; increase the time allotment if people have more to say as you go along.

- 1) What is your name, where are you from, and how old are you?
- 2) What do you like about yourself? What do you not like about yourself?
- 3) What do your parents and friends like and not like about you?
- 4) What is there about you that other people fail to see?
- 5) How do you fear being judged or stereotyped? Or, What do you never want anyone else to say, do or think about you again?
- 6) What would you like your friends to say to you or remind you of that would help you or that you'd appreciate?

74. DEEP SHARING WITH A GOOD FRIEND

Time: 45 minutes
Suggested Group Size: In pairs

Note: This exercise is intended to facilitate deepened sharing between close friends or family members. Most of these questions are probably only appropriate between people who already know and trust one another fairly deeply.

Sentences to Complete and Hear Completed:

- 1) *One thing I appreciate, respect, and love about you is...*
- 2) *One gift you've given me is...*
- 3) *One time I felt especially close to you was...*
- 4) *One time I felt especially far away from you was...*
- 5) *One place I've pulled back in our relationship is...*
- 6) *One time I felt hurt in our relationship was...*
- 7) *One time I may have hurt you was...*
- 8) *One piece of baggage or clutter I've brought to our relationship is...*
- 9) *One thing I want you to know is...*
- 10) *One (or more) thing I want from you is...*

75. HOW THEN SHALL WE SERVE?

Time: 20 minutes
Suggested Group Size: In pairs or small groups

In pairs or small groups, ask participants to share their answers to these questions:

- 1) What has been a defining pain or struggle in your life's journey, and how has your response to it helped you to grow in wisdom, faith or compassion?
- 2) What might be intersection points between your gifts (what you're good at doing), your passions (what you love doing), and what the world needs?
- 3) What do you love about the planet and its people? How does your life-work connect to this love?
- 4) What's something that puts you in touch with the pain of our times? What is your work around healing this pain?

129. CLOSING CHECK-IN

Time: Depends on group size
Suggested Group Size: 2-35

As you began, so should you end. The closing check-in gives every person one last opportunity to share their thoughts with the whole group. Ideally, it should be done before you pass out evaluations and before an Appreciation Circle.

Participants go around in a circle, each having a turn to share. If you have a small group or abundant time, you can leave the time open-ended, but if there are more than 15 people you may want to suggest a time for each sharing (for example, four minutes per person). We often pass a watch. The person seated next to the speaker can keep time, touching the speaker's knee when they have 30 seconds left, their shoulder when time is up, and giving them a hug if they keep going more than 30 seconds over. If there are more than 15 people in the circle, it can be good to take a stretch break every 8-10 people.

For the end of your gathering, you may want to ask:

- What do you need to say to feel complete with this group?
- What might you be taking away?
- Is there anything you want to ask for or to offer?

130. APPRECIATION CIRCLE

Time: 1-2 minutes/person
Suggested Group Size: 8-50
Materials: none

This is great on the last night of a gathering, to end the time on a high note. Everyone sits in a circle. One person is appreciated at a time, going around the circle. Depending on the time available, the facilitator can call on 2-4 people who raise their hands to appreciate each person (it should be the same number of appreciations for each person). The facilitator can call on different people, to ensure that everyone has a chance to give an appreciation.

To appreciate someone, address him or her by name and say one or two specific things you appreciate about them. For example:

"Fred, I appreciate your honesty in the last discussion and your ability to make me laugh just when I needed it most."

Facilitators must make sure that everyone uses first person when appreciating someone, i.e., "I appreciate you, Cindy ...", not "I appreciate her," or "I appreciate Cindy".

Variation: Each person has two minutes for anyone in the group to appreciate them. The person to the left keeps time, and the watch is passed around the circle. The benefit of this approach is that more people can get a chance to state their appreciation. The drawback is the time stress, which encourages people to jump in fast.

