

HANDBOOK FOR BUILDING A NEW UGANDA

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These modules empower participants with practical skills to organize their communities for collective action in favor of the justice and peace they seek. Attention is given to dynamics within a movement itself, as well as various public stakeholders that may or may not align themselves with the movement. *This section should take one day of training to complete.*

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7.

INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose of this handbook

Greetings to all working for a New Uganda,

Imagine a nation where every road is smooth, all children are attending competitive schools for free, and hospitals are fully staffed and their medicines fully stocked. Imagine a Uganda where basic goods are half the cost and pay for your labor is twice as much, a Uganda where public servants are always in their offices during working hours to give you what you need without demanding bribes.

This New Uganda is possible, but not without our belief in it manifesting itself in action. Great personal sacrifices must be made to create the nation we desire, but sacrifice is not enough. Our contributions must be strategic and effective. Fortunately, socio-political change is a well-studied concept. It can be learned and adapted to any context, no matter how repressive the environment, regardless of the financial status of its practitioners.

This handbook is for Ugandans everywhere who are tired of the poverty and oppression endured by the vast majority of their neighbors. It is for those who want to learn how to make change when real transformation seems impossible.

Within this handbook, one will learn the basics –and how to teach the basics – of building movements, organizing communities, and employing nonviolent action for change. This method of change-making has proven itself highly effective, even in the face of militarism, dictatorships, war, and foreign occupations. People power has worked in Uganda, but is yet to be seen working in the long term on a mass scale. Join us in the journey as we build a New Uganda.

B. The people behind it

i. Ugandan contributors (trainers, trainees, organizers, and practitioners)

This handbook was assembled by Ugandans – activists, community organizers, trainers, and trainees. Through much trial and error, they have voiced their concerns about what works, and more importantly, what doesn't work.

ii. International contributors

Guidance on the structure of this handbook has also been given by a wide array of people across six continents – people who have used nonviolent means to end war, oust dictators, resist climate change, chase away land grabbers, and demand fair laws such as civil liberties. Their expertise has been harnessed so that nations like ours might benefit from understanding their successes and failures. Some contributing parties work for organizations whose missions are to train people around the world in the power and dynamics of movement building and strategic nonviolence.

iii. Solidarity Uganda

Solidarity Uganda, or Action Alliance (ActAll), is the only organization in

Uganda primarily devoted to training people in movement building, community organizing, and nonviolent action. Its experienced trainers have overseen the compilation and writing of this handbook, so that it can be a useful resource for their clients and others.

C. Design process

- i. Decisions by Ugandan users concerning which modules were helpful
Feedback has been collected by Solidarity Uganda through a number of trainings over the past four years. Trainees have regularly instructed the organization on how to fine tune its activities for better learning and skills development of clients.

Attention has also been given to how trainees have put their knowledge to use, or not. Where communities have been more active in utilizing their new skills, Solidarity Uganda sought more guidance from them.

- ii. Collecting information from social movements worldwide
A number of international platforms have allowed Solidarity Uganda to glean more insights from pioneers of social movements across the world, especially those in Africa. A social movements gathering exposed those who compiled this handbook to activists and organizers on the front lines in Angola, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Tunisia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and those who resisted apartheid and other injustices in South Africa. Solidarity Uganda is also a part of Beautiful Rising, a global south network (with many allies in the global north as well) determined to engender more creativity and efficacy in social change efforts worldwide, particularly in highly repressive environments.

D. How to use this handbook

- i. As a toolkit for organizers and activists
Ugandans striving for national transformation may read this handbook for insights that can help them hone their efforts. Even where holding trainings may not be feasible, a simple read-through may help agents of change be more effective.

- ii. As a curriculum for trainings on social change
However, this handbook is majorly a curriculum. It can be used as a type of manual when training communities in the content herein. However, having the right facilitators delivering trainings and workshops may be even more important than using the right curriculum. This resource should be considered a supplementary one that merely aids a facilitator who already knows what he or she is doing, preferably someone who has gone through a training of trainers by Solidarity Uganda or another related institution.

PREPARING YOUR TRAINING

IN THIS SECTION, YOU WILL LEARN HOW TO PLAN, ORGANIZE, AND LAUNCH YOUR TRAINING

E. Identifying the problem

Before planning any training, you must answer the question, “What problem are we trying to solve?” The experiences of Solidarity Uganda have shown that most communities organize best around issues affecting them directly, such as land grabbing, displacement, poor sanitation, domestic violence, or lack of medications in public hospitals. Abstract concepts of oppression and liberation may be less helpful in convening a training. Start with the issues that infuriate people on a day to day basis, even if this requires surveying your community prior to organizing a training.

While there is some merit in organizing workshops with people working on a wide variety of social issues, Solidarity Uganda has gotten better results where a community is already trying to address a pressing concern for which they feel marginalized. This allows energy, expertise, and resources to be directed toward fine tuning existing efforts, rather than starting from square one. There are enough frustrated Ugandans at this point that harnessing and evolving current efforts of social change is more strategic than educating stakeholders who have not yet tried to advance social change.

So find an issue that connects with a group of constituents, whether you are working with a specific demographic (union workers, women, etc.) or a specific geographic area (a village or sub-region). Going into a training with general consensus among participants about what you want to achieve will be a step in the right direction which can always be fine tuned during the training itself. Issues that affect the most victimized of stakeholders (landless peasants, unemployed, females, etc.) are the ones to consider.

F. Participant selection

Whoever is planning a training should never treat this phase of preparation lightly. Selecting the right people to be in the room is half of the battle. The other half consists of delivering the content and following up on participants afterward. Participant selection will make or break your training. Take a solid two weeks of preparation for the following:

- 1) Form a selection committee of three or four people. These should be experienced community organizers and/or experienced trainers. The committee should consist of volunteers both within and outside of the community.

- 2) Decide how many people should be trained. Avoid exceeding 25 people. Groups of 10 to 15 people are ideal for the sake of group dynamics and educational impact. These participants will become trainers and organizers in their own right, so more is not necessarily better.
- 3) Discuss which participants should be invited based on their personal track record of attempting to address injustices by organizing people together for common goals. Ideally, they are people directly affected by the issue in question, such as displaced people whose land has been stolen forcefully. Sometimes, however, you will also invite a few allies that have stood in solidarity with such people, such as pro bono lawyers or journalists. Every person invited should be someone who is already trying, however effectively or ineffectively, to do something about the problem you have identified. Avoid inviting formal employees from nonprofit organizations in most cases.
- 4) Consider the diversity of the group. Gender is one very important considerations. In the experiences of Solidarity Uganda, women usually (not always) make better community organizers than men and harbor less egoism and personal ambition which can be toxic in social movements. Humility and a spirit of volunteerism are important traits, as well as determination and concern for the community.
- 5) Avoid all temptation to invite “big people” simply for the clout they bring to the table. Do not invite someone based on position. If you invite a religious, political, or cultural leader, he or she should be someone already actively engaged in the cause as described above. This person should be someone who does not need to wear a suit or gomasi in public, someone who lives modestly and practices self-sacrifice. Choose people you know are already allies. Invite people who put action to their words. Anyone can talk but not everyone will live in accordance with the values they publicize.

Once your list is formed, invite the participants. Where someone is unavailable, have a back up plan to invite another person who can participate. You want a variety of strategic thinkers and grassroots community organizers in the room. Ensure that participants confirm their attendance at least 48 hours in advance, especially if you are booking a formal venue that will charge you for people who do not show up.

G. Venue security

In selecting a venue, there are many security considerations to make, as you will be discussing sensitive matters. Solidarity Uganda has had trainings disrupted by police, soldiers, spies, and those who oppose the communities being trained. A risk management plan must be set, with lawyers, media contacts, human rights organizations, and community members on call in the event of undesired circumstances. An important piece of a security plan is the selection of an

appropriate venue.

i. Physical security

The venue selected should have adequate provisions for safe spaces and multiple emergency exits. Outdoor locations are sometimes preferable to indoor locations. A space with trusted neighbors who can respond rapidly to any crisis is favorable.

ii. Political security

Some formal venues have staff members who are paid to spy on participants of meetings. Take precaution not to support such businesses. This can sometimes be done by ascertaining the owner of a particular venue, though it is also possible for individual staff members to be bribed by an opposing individual or group. You should convene in a space where you are not skeptical of one another, especially if sensitive information is to be shared that could compromise another person's safety.

iii. Psychological security

Even where a venue has been carefully selected by the planners, participants may still be wary and afraid. Make all considerations necessary to provide a space that *is* safe and *feels* safe. This will allow participants to share opinions, stories, information, and insights more openly with one another.

iv. Educational security

Sometimes in the pursuit for a secure environment, planners forget that they are not only trying to protect participants, but to educate them as well. Informal venues are best for people to grasp the concepts they will encounter during your training. Keeping them in their own context – perhaps under a mango tree or in their own homes or markets – can strengthen the learning environment. Taking participants to distant and expensive hotels can be toxic for the learning environment. Even when groups are taken to such formal venues, you should spend as much time as you can outside of the classroom. Guest houses, houses of worship, or convents with spacious outdoor areas are preferred to high end hotels congested with parking lots and very little green space.

H. A startling welcome to popular education

Now you are about to open your training, but rather than doing so in the traditional formalized manner, we recommend doing so with a bang – something that gets participants thinking outside the box. After all, nonviolence relies on counterintuitive ideas and lots of creativity and participation. We suggest adjusting the mindsets of participants right from the beginning, even before introducing yourself. Thus will increase their curiosity and make them eager to go forward with the program.

To set the tone and vision for the kind of training you want to have, we recommend using an activity popularized by Thai trainer Ouyporn Khuankew, as follows.

i. Unequal glasses of water

TIME:

15 minutes

GOAL:

Adjust participants to the idea of popular education, a form of education that is more dialogical, allows for more openness, and blurs the lines between teachers and students.

MATERIALS:

A jug of water

Enough empty cups or glasses for each person

ACTIVITY:

As participants take their seats, the facilitator picks up a jug of water, pouring differing amounts of water into each glass while saying things like, "I am the teacher. I am going to deposit my expertise in your empty minds."

The statements may be slightly offensive. The facilitator may also give more water to men than women. When the water is finally distributed, he asks participants to take note of their feelings. Then he tells them to get up and move around, pouring water into one another's glasses. The facilitator may ask for water and distribute water too. After a few minutes, ask participants to sit and note their feelings. Facilitate a dialogue on the discussion points.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

What does the water represent?

Does everyone have knowledge and skills to share, or is the facilitator the only one who can give knowledge and skills to participants? Should we have lectures or dialogues?

Participants should collaboratively arrange the room in such a way that is conducive for the learning environment they want.

I. Personal introductions

After setting the mood, take a step back for introductions. Have your own introduction already prepared with a co-facilitator. Rather than introducing yourselves, introduce one another. Answer the following questions about the person you are introducing:

How did he or she get here? (Answer this in whatever way the person interprets the question.)

What is one value that defines him or her?

What is one expectation this person has from this training?

What is one fear this person has about this training?

TIME:

45 minutes

GOAL:

To entice participants to want to know more about one another, and to strengthen group dynamics for the remaining duration of the training.

MATERIALS:

Paper

Markers

ACTIVITY:

Ask participants to find someone they know least and stand next to that person. There may be a group of three if there is an odd number of people. When the groups are formed, explain that they are going to introduce one another in the same fashion, though they will do so with images as well. The pairs are free to move to any area to answer the above questions about one another. They will draw on paper to symbolize their partners' responses to the questions. After 15 minutes, all participants reconvene. Ask them to position themselves in a line in alphabetical order by first name without talking. (This strengthens name retention.) When they have succeeded, ask the first person in the line to use his or her drawing to introduce his or her partner. Continue to do this until the last person has presented. Then facilitate a brief reflection using the below discussion points.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

What is the common thread that runs through all of our stories?

What kinds of information do you want to know about your fellow participants which you have not yet learned?

J. Housekeeping

Ask participants to have a seat, and introduce to them the following training tools and concerns that will be important throughout the course of the training.

i. Energizers

Energizers are simple exercises – either with or without a lesson to be learned – that get participants physically engaged and energetic. This is especially useful after lunch or tea breaks when participants are tempted to doze off or get unfocused.

Have a chart on a wall with slots available for people to sign up to facilitate an energizer. It may be a game, a song, a dance, or another interactive experience, but it should involve some measure of physical movement.

ii. Boda stage

Sometimes conversations go down an interesting road, though it may not be the right road at that time. When a topic is being debated extensively but is not the main point of discussion, ask participants to pause the conversation and write the issue in contention on the boda stage wall. These topics can be revisited at the end of the day, if time permits and morale is high enough to discuss them.

(GREAT DEBATE GAME: Solidarity Uganda has invented a game for unleashing the topics in the bike rack that encourages all to participate,

however silently or loudly they wish to do so. Demarcate two lines on the ground with three or four meters in between them. Those who strongly believe in one side of an argument stand behind one of the lines, and those who strongly oppose them stand behind the other. Undecided people stand in between. The facilitator opens the debate, and anyone may speak – even shout – to get his or her point across. As the undecided parties are increasingly persuaded, they may move closer and closer to one side, perhaps eventually crossing the line after being fully convinced. After a minute or two, the facilitator raises his or her hand to signal ten more seconds to make points, after which everyone must be quiet and stand behind a line. The side with the most people behind its line wins.)

iii. Quote wall

A flipchart sheet taped to the wall is designated for quotes. Anyone at any time during the course of the training may get up and write a quote on the wall as a source of inspiration. The quotes may come from another participant, a famous person, an author, a movie, etc.

iv. Hand signals

Hand signals aid communication without a lot of verbal interruption. This allows the training to run smoothly. Ask participants to decide upon hand signals with the following meanings:

“I agree.”

“I disagree.”

“Hurry up and make your point.”

There may be other hand signals the group decides it needs as well.

v. Group agreements and norms

Ask participants to list agreements and norms to which they can adhere throughout the training. These may be things like, “Respect all opinions,” “Put phones on silent,” “Know where your roommate is at all times,” and “Keep time.” Emphasize the importance of self discipline and accountability in building a social movement. If we are making our own laws, we should abide by them. Some facilitators wish to make these agreements and norms after the first day, when participants have had a chance to observe what annoys them about the behaviors of other participants.

vi. Logistical concerns

Logistics are important in every training. Participants need to know how to locate the loo, who to approach if they are ill or injured, times for meals, and if you are in a place like a hotel, when to turn in keys for housekeeping. Ensure that you inform participants of all they need to know, or include a sheet in their information packets detailing logistical matters that they can receive upon arrival. Provide space here for questions and concerns to be raised so that the group can resolve any problems before they actually occur.

3.

FRAMING OUR STORY

In this section, we not only look at our past, but at the narrative we are writing and how it subverts the narratives handed through us – those of colonial masters, dictators, bush rebels, corporate land seizures, rule by male elders, and the deliberate repression of political space. We will also explore the role of storytelling as it relates to our own stories and those of our communities.

K. Sankofa – rediscovering the self in relation to the whole

TIME:

60 minutes

GOAL:

To enable participants to discover for themselves their personal identity in relation to the larger community, and to deepen group solidarity among participants.

MATERIALS:

Markers

Flip charts

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Explain that “sankofa” is a Twi word (Ghana) meaning “go back and get it” derived from the proverb, “It is not wrong to go back and get that which you have forgotten.” It has become known around the world as a distinctly Africa practice of remembering the past (ancestors, history, cultures and customs, language, etc) in order to build a better future.
- 2) Explain that the telling of both personal and collective stories is what often inspires and drives people to act. It builds solidarity around a common narrative. Therefore, we must become storytellers if we wish to succeed in our social change ventures.
- 3) Form a line based on the heights of participants. Count off to form groups of no more than four people per group. Instruct participants to find a thread of the past that makes them who they are today, something that has contributed to making them determined people striving for social change. This thing of the past may be a part of their personal past or a story of an ancestor.
- 4) Have participants take a moment to meditate on how this thread of the past has called them to action, and why it is important in light of the problem or issue you have convened at this training to solve.
- 5) The participants should share with each other their stories in less than five minutes each, explaining the thread of their past, how it caused them

to make a decision and act, and why this is important right now for the community at large.

- 6) Once all members in each group have shared, they should take a flipchart sheet and draw something that relates to all of their stories. When all participants reconvene, one member from each group should explain why they drew the figures they drew. Hang the figures on the wall as inspiration for the rest of the training.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

What are the common experiences that call people to action and to make risky decisions?

What is the common story we all share?

Were participants inspired by stories? Why or why not?

What is the role of storytelling in community organizing?

FACILITATOR NOTES:

You may want to screen the film *Taking Root: The Vision of Wangari Maathai* in the evening as an optional session for participants. Solidarity Uganda has a partnership with the filmmakers who allow use of the film. Request a copy from Solidarity Uganda. The film is inspirational, as it documents rural women who plant trees and end up overthrowing President Moi in Kenya. It is very good at showing how one person's story inspires a whole population to act, and many examples of community organizing and nonviolence are found in the film, leading to deep discussion among viewers. Our trainees have reported in surveys that films are often the most helpful ways of learning about strategic nonviolent action.

- L. Undoing ideology – undermining the narratives handed to us

TIME:

15 minutes

GOAL:

To understand that false narratives have been created for us, causing us to behave in certain ways that benefit our opponents.

MATERIALS:

None

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Invite participants to identify some of the narratives given to them that are harmful. Examples may include the so-called “liberation” of the country through bush wars, the story of “development” done at the expense of people, propaganda about various tribes, the colonial history, the promise of abundant jobs in Kampala or with multinational

corporations, etc.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

Who creates these narratives and what are their goals in doing so?

How can we encourage fellow Ugandans to recognize the falsehoods of these narratives?

- i. Understanding violence as a system (politically, economically, ecologically, culturally), not merely a physical act

TIME:

20 minutes

GOAL:

To understand violence as a system, not isolated acts of physical aggression.

MATERIALS:

None

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Ask participants to close their eyes. Tell them to picture “violence.”
- 2) Ask participants to share what they saw when they were picturing violence. Most will say things like war, bloodshed, fist fights, weapons, etc.
- 3) Share this quote from Gandhi: “Poverty is the worst form of violence.”
- 4) Ask participants that if poverty is the worst form of violence, who is exerting violence upon those in poverty?
- 5) Explain that there may be different forms of violence, like cultural violence (destroying cultural practices and values through something like IDP camps or colonialism), physical violence (the kinds of things most participants pictured), etc. But the worst form of violence is systemic violence, which is when a system is created that perpetually exploits poor and marginalized people for the gain of a few wealthy and privileged individuals.
- 6) Ask participants to identify manifestations of systemic violence in their context (may include reflections on climate change, corruption causing lack of medications in health facilities, poor education due to an oppressive tax regime, potholes due to embezzlement of infrastructure funds, etc).

DISCUSSION POINTS:

How can we redefine violence?

If we understand violence as primarily systemic violence, how does this

influence our understanding of nonviolence?

M. Intersectionality – the forms of oppression that have left us feeling powerless

TIME:

30 minutes

GOAL:

To know and feel how various systems of oppression and privilege overlap and appreciate the need to build movements championed by the most marginalized in society.

MATERIALS:

None

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Go outdoors and have participants form a line shoulder to shoulder in an open area.
- 2) Tell participants to take a step forward every time they answer “yes” to the following questions. If the answer for the participant is “no,” he or she remains:
 - a. Are you a male?
 - b. Do you have at least one male child?
 - c. Are you above the age of 35?
 - d. Are you employed?
 - e. Do you earn more than 500,000 UGX in a month?
 - f. Have you completed S-6?
 - g. Do you own more than two acres of land in your name?
 - h. Do you speak fluent English?
 - i. Do you speak fluent Luganda?
 - j. Are you a Christian?
 - k. Are you primarily sexually attracted to people of the opposite gender?
 - l. Do you have a passport?
 - m. Have you traveled outside of East Africa?
 - n. Do you own a vehicle that consumes fuel?
 - o. Is at least one of your parents considered a “big person?”
 - p. In addition to other income, do you own a business that earns at least 500,000 UGX per month?

- q. Do you identify as a member of the National Resistance Movement?
 - r. Do you have close family members who can send you money during emergencies?
 - s. Are you a Muganda or Munyankole?
 - t. Do you work for the government or hold any political office?
- 3) Ask participants to observe the distance between one another for ten seconds, then ask them to reconvene.
- 4) Facilitate a discussion around the following questions.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

How do those who stepped far feel and why?

How do those who lagged behind feel and why?

What factors influence our ability to “succeed” in life?

What do gender, sexual orientation, class, tribe, religion, age, academic achievement, employment, marital status, childbearing, etc. have to do with building a movement?

Should those on the front lines of fighting oppression be people of privilege or people who are most oppressed?

Do people always have control over the factors that determine how “successful” they will be in life?

Are the people that stepped the farthest always happier than those who have not stepped far? Why or why not?

What ways can movements address the intersecting forms of oppression internally?

N. Storytelling for social change – calling people to action through public narrative

TIME:

20 minutes

GOAL:

To refine our stories in such a way that equips us to call people to action, and to continue deepening positive group dynamics.

MATERIALS:

None

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Participants should self-select small groups of about four participants each, including people in the group they know least,

whenever possible.

- 2) Ask participants to tell their stories to one another in three minutes or less. Each group should have a time keeper.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

Were storytellers able to tell their stories within the allocated time? Were those stories inspirational?

O. Power Analysis

Explain to participants that in this section, they will learn more about how power is structured. Transforming the way power is structure is the most essential component of social change.

i. Pillars of support

TIME:

45 minutes

GOAL:

To understand how our opponents' power is structure and how we can cripple their power through points of intervention.

MATERIALS:

Flip charts

Marker

Mattress

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Introduce participants to the concepts of the pillars of support by drawing it on a flip chart and explaining how the various pillars (education systems, courts, greed, specific individuals and institutions, cultural norms, etc) enable the problem you are trying to address to thrive. Have participants identify pillars of support to the problem you are trying to address at your training. (If you are not familiar with the pillars of support, do some online research prior to facilitating this session.)
- 2) Ask participants to circle the most important pillars of support to the problem.
- 3) Divide into pairs. Each pair should be assigned one of the pillars of support and plan a strategy that will disintegrate that pillar of support.
- 4) After ten minutes of discussions in pairs, tell each pair to assign themselves person A and person B.
- 5) Ask all person A's to step forward and with one hand, grab part of the

mattress and raise it above their heads.

- 6) Ask person B's to present their strategies to everyone about how they plan to cripple their assigned pillar. If the participants agree their strategy can make some kind of impact, person B grabs the hand of his or her partner person A and removes person A from holding the mattress. Each time a pillar is removed, those holding the mattress get tired and start shaking more. Eventually the mattress will crash to the ground, even if there are a few pillars remaining. (Avoid long discussions during this step, as the arms of those holding the mattress will tire.)

- 7) Facilitate a discussion based on the following points.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

Is it necessary to intervene at every pillar of support to bring the problem you are addressing to the ground?

When one pillar is removed, what happens to the others?

Which pillars must be the first to address in our cause?

ii. Pluralistic advocacy

TIME:

30 minutes

GOAL:

To understand that the best forms of advocacy do not beg from oppressors or even pay much mind to them.

MATERIALS:

A good climbing tree

30 crumbled up paper balls

Rope or something to demarcate a box on the ground

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Ask one good tree climber to climb a tree. The taller, the better, but ensure safety above all else. If safety cannot be guaranteed, explain this exercise rather than doing it. Equip this person with 25 paper balls.
- 2) Demarcate a confined area with a rope or other objects at the foot of the tree. Ask all remaining participants to stand inside this space.
- 3) Tell participants to throw their 5 balls at the one in the tree. The tree climber should throw his or her balls down at the group. Tell the ground dwellers that they can only move outside the demarcation to collect balls, but not to throw them. Do *not* tell them they will be

penalized for throwing balls outside the demarcation.

4) When participants seem to be no longer having fun, stop the game and the tree climber can climb down.

5) Facilitate a reflection on the game based on the following points.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

What does the person in the tree represent? (An opponent?)

What does the tree itself represent? (The system?)

Who do the people below represent? (Community members?)

What do the demarcations below represent? (Laws, cultural norms, etc?)

What would happen if you threw a ball from outside the demarcation? Nothing? Then why did you obey the facilitator?

What role does obedience to the system play? Shouldn't we refuse to play on the system's terms?

If we displaced the one in the tree, would the tree still exist?

How can we uproot the tree? (Turn our backs to it and go outward to organize more people to return and uproot the tree.)

Why do we focus our advocacy on our opponents (those in the tree)?

Explain the difference between monolithic advocacy (begging our oppressors to give us justice on a silver platter when he/she/they/it has no interest in climbing down from the tree where they are well equipped and comfortably situated) and pluralistic advocacy (organizing more stakeholders who can bring the tree to the ground without even looking up to the one sitting in its branches).

iii. Spectrum of allies

The natural question that follows the previous exercise is, "Who are these stakeholders?" Research on nonviolence through hundreds of case studies of nonviolent movements from 1900 to date shows that communities who can organize and activate at least 3.5% of their constituents with nonviolent means will inevitably achieve their goals (particularly ousting a dictatorship, facilitating secession from a host nation, or dismissing an occupying government/military). So how do we bring on board potential stakeholders in that 3.5%? Research "spectrum of allies" at www.beautifulrising.org before facilitating this session.

TIME:

30 minutes

GOAL:

To understand that allies and opponents exist on a spectrum and how shifting each segment of a population one step closer to your movement ostracizes your

opponent.

MATERIALS:

Image of the spectrum of allies for reference

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Arrange participants according to the spectrum of allies. Stand in an open area. On the far left put one or two people to represent the movement. One step nearer to the center, place two active allies. One step nearer to the center place two passive allies. Place the majority in the neutral area in the center. Place a few people on the near and far right sides in passive opponent and active opponent categories.
- 2) Explain that society isn't so polarized that there are only allies and opponents. Everywhere exists somewhere on the spectrum, and social change is achieved when you shift each category of people in society one step closer to the movement and away from the active opponents.
- 3) The active allies are those who are likely to do something about an issue. Ask participants to identify an action that can bring them on board in the movement, such as invite them to a meeting or ask them to take responsibility for a certain task, such as media relations. Those in the active allies category step over to the movement category.
- 4) The passive allies are those unlikely to join the movement, usually due to a reason such as fear. Ask participants to come up with a tactic that can enable the, to overcome fear (such as a safe action) to become active allies, even if they do not join the movement directly. Passive allies step over into the active allies category.
- 5) The neutral people are those who generally abstain from community matters, politics, etc. They are unlikely to do anything about the cause, but are not against the cause. Ask participants to identify a method of educating neutrals so they can at least become passive allies who can offer prayer, morale, or something small like social media help or a modest financial contribution. Those in the neutrals step over to the passive allies category.
- 6) Passive opponents are those who benefit from the system and generally oppose you, but do not necessarily do so by their own will. Maybe they are the children of politicians or policemen carrying out the orders of their bosses. Find a tactic to neutralize them. You don't need them as allies, but you just need them not to harm you. Have the, step over into the neutrals category.
- 7) Take a look at the picture now. Observe how people have shifted closer to the movement. Facilitate a discussion based on this and the

following points.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

What has happened to the active opponents, even though you never created any tactics to deal with them?

How has power in society shifted closer to your movement?

Identify some groups and individuals in each of the categories as they relate to the problem participants are trying to solve at this training.

P. A brief and interactive history of nonviolence

This module follows the steps below listed in blue.

TIME:

120 minutes

GOAL:

To learn from the history of nonviolence and appreciate where we are coming from and where we are going.

MATERIALS:

Any books, photos, videos, or other resources the facilitator wishes to share. (Much prior research should be done in order to adequately facilitate this session.) Flip charts, markers, paper, or pens may be needed at various points.

ACTIVITIES:

- i. Participant identification of key figures
Divide participants into three or four teams. Give the teams two minutes to write down on a piece of paper as many war heroes, villains, and violent historical figures they can call to mind. The people may come from East Africa or elsewhere. Observe which team was able to list the most. Then ask the teams to do the same for nonviolent figures. They are likely not to list as many of such people. See which team was able to list the most. Explain that history is told through the lens of violence, but as Gandhi said, the fact that we are still here is evidence that history should be written through the lens of peace.
- ii. Ancient historical concepts
Share stories of ancient historical figures in nonviolent social change: the Buddha, the Hebrew prophets, Jesus, Sheiks, Egyptian labor strikes, etc. If you want to create a timeline using flip charts, you can do so. Do not spend more than 10 minutes discussing ancient nonviolence.
- iii. Emergence of modern nonviolence
Explain that nonviolent resistance is largely a modern concept, and while some may think the world is becoming more selfish and individualistic, the 20th century saw far more peaceful people power movements than ever before in global history. Introduce figures such as Tolstoy, Gandhi, immigrant worker and labor union movements around the world, the rise of women's rights, etc. Focus on efforts between the late 19th century and 1950.
- iv. Movements against war, against dictatorships, for labor rights, civil rights, etc.
Ask participants to identify modern nonviolent movements between the year

1950 and the turn of the 21st century. These may include the Congolese independence movement, the anti-apartheid movement, the Civil Rights movement, popular resistance movements to end dictatorships or foreign occupations, etc. Ask participants what they know about these movements. Place them on a timeline if you have one. Participants may use phones or computers to look up dates.

v. Contemporary movements

Ask participants to identify movements that have taken off during their lifetimes, especially those in recent years. Emphasize widely decentralized movements such as Occupy Wall St, the environmental justice movement, movements for LGBT+ rights, etc. Ask participants what is new about these movements and their opinions about them.

vi. Black concepts in social change

Ask participants to identify individuals and movements that have emphasized the rights of black people. Those mentioned may include the likes of Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Patrice Lumumba, Stephen Bike, Desmond Tutu, Wangari Maathai, and social movements like #BlackLivesMatter.

vii. Collaborative rewriting of Ugandan history

Ask participants to step back and look at the long history of nonviolence. Have them prepare a timeline of rewritten Ugandan history, highlighting individual heroes and groups that you believe have contributed to the nonviolent history of Uganda. These may be farmers, cooperatives, writers, thinkers, activists, clergy, tribes, communities, etc. Begin before colonial days, moving on to colonial days, then to the post-independence era, and finally to the most recent thirty years.

Q. Strategic nonviolent action

- i. Film from one of our partners: Taking Root, Otpur, ICNC network, Our Feet Are Rooted, etc

TIME:

100 minutes

GOAL:

To expose people to examples of nonviolent people power victories.

MATERIALS:

Projector

Laptop

DVD film

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Screen a film about nonviolent resistance and people power. Bringing Down A Dictator is one film available on Youtube which past trainees noted they truly appreciated. Also available from Solidarity Uganda upon request is Taking Root: The Vision of

Wangari Maathai. *Our Feet Are Rooted* will be released in 2017, a film *Solidarity Uganda* created about the Amuru people's peaceful resistance to land grabs.

2) After the film, facilitate a discussion on the following points.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

Why did nonviolent action work in the film?

What challenges did people face and how did they mitigate them?

What inspires you about the film?

What parallels do you see between the film's context and your own context?

What ideas do you have after watching the film?

ii. Roleplays of police encounters

TIME:

30 minutes

GOAL:

To allow participants to process their own fears and feelings about engaging in nonviolent action.

MATERIALS:

None

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Separate participants into police, drivers, and activists.
- 2) Direct the activists to pretend they are blocking a road. They may choose to link arms or block the road in any way they wish.
- 3) Now discretely direct the drivers to approach the human roadblock. Some may be cooperative while others are frustrated. Let the dynamics of the encounter play out naturally to see whether the activists handle the situation well and maintain composure.
- 4) Discretely tell police to approach the scene without using violence, but they are allowed to be arrogant, demand that activists report to the police station, etc. They may yell or even get modestly physical with the activists.
- 5) Ask activists to share how they felt during the experience. What was going through their minds? Did they have a plan in place in case of emergency? What might they have done differently if they were to do it again? Did their feelings surprise them?
- 6) Repeat the exercise, giving everyone a chance to be activists.

iii. Political Jiu-Jitsu

TIME:

20 minutes

GOAL:

To understand how to leverage an opponent's own recklessness and repression against that very opponent.

MATERIALS:

Something narrow (less than the width of your foot) on which two participants can stand. (It should be roughly 200 cm high. A metal bar to balance upon is ideal.)

Two soft pillows

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Ask for two volunteers of the same gender and roughly the same size.
- 2) These participants will stand facing one another on the bar or similar object, trying to balance.
- 3) Give each of them a pillow. Tell them the objective is to balance on the bar for longer than their opponent. Allow them to strike one another with the pillows.
- 4) Repeat the exercise many times with different volunteers. Ask onlookers to take note of the most effective strategy.
- 5) At some point, someone wielding a pillow will become too confident and strike too hard at the opponent, losing his or her own balance because of the strength with which he or she attacked.
- 6) Use this to illustrate the point that often political opponents become too reckless and zealous. Perhaps they use tear gas or start arresting many innocent people. Explain that one of the tricks of nonviolence is to use your opponent's recklessness against that opponent. Provoke your opponent to attack wildly when you are fully prepared. Perhaps you have media and lawyers ready to document the scene, or you have placed a local population on high alert so that the opponent's credibility is diminished. Perhaps you tempt your opponent to break the law in the presence of human rights lawyers. Whatever the case may be, the idea is to provoke your opponent into doing something that will harm the opponent more than it harms you.

R. Movement visioning game

TIME:

150 minutes

GOAL:

To expose people to the process of conceptualizing a movement

MATERIALS:

Sticky notes or index cards

Markers and pens

Print-outs of the Beautiful Rising game (from www.beautifulrising.org) - enough for each team of four to five players

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Ask participants to list examples of people who are marginalized in their community (such as a displaced person, peasant farmer, widow,

unemployed youth, homosexual Muslim, prisoner on remand who cannot afford bail, disabled person, etc). List half the number of examples as the number of participants.

- 2) Randomly assign participants to act as these listed community members. Assign people as far from their realities as possible. For example, an elderly male cultural leader could act as a female student.
- 3) Two assigned characters should pair up with two unassigned participants in groups of four. The two unassigned participants must interview those characters, asking them what they would like to see change in their lives in the next five years. A peasant farmer, for example, might say that he would like to have enough income from his gardens to buy a truck to transport his goods.
- 4) Facilitate reflection with the whole group to determine the common ground for what all characters would like to see change about their lives in five years.
- 5) Distribute Beautiful Rising game boards and cards to each of the groups of four. Each team should also receive a flow chart for the game.

i. Vision

Instruct teams to use the common ground ascertained in step 4 above to draft a vision. Write it on a sticky note and place it on the vision part of the game board.

ii. Mission

Instruct teams to draft a mission and place it on the mission part of the game board. Tell them to be mindful that a mission considers what you are going to do to fulfill the vision. It may be something to the effect of “organize communities with nonviolent strategies to prevent corporate land grabs.”

iii. Strategic Objectives

The strategic objective gets even more specific than the mission. Instruct teams to draft one and place it on the game board. Remind them to use the guidance of the tips at the margins of the board when they need clarity.

iv. Campaigns

Tell participants to determine which campaigns they are going to employ to achieve their strategic objective. Draft and place those campaigns on the board.

v. Tactics

Explain that tactics are one of the last considerations in social change, not the first. That is why we have started with the big picture only to work our way down to the details. Have participants use the cards to determine which one or two tactics they want to use. They can also create their own tactic.

vi. Risks and resources

Tell teams to analyze the risks of their campaigns using the appropriate cards. They should draft a mitigation plan for each identified risk. They may also select which resources will help them in these campaigns.

vii. Principles, big ideas, and theories

Use the appropriate cards to select which principles, big ideas, and theories will be most important to their efforts.

6) After completing this game, give participants five minutes to plan how they are going to creatively present their tactic to the other participants. This might be a roleplay of their tactic, a radio interview, or something else. (Give only two minutes because a soundbite is often the only time a movement is given to sell their cause to the public or articulate what they are doing. This is why it is important to decide upon tactics that articulate themselves without further explanation.

7) Decide using democratic means which team's effort was best.

8) Facilitate a discussion on the following points.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

Why is it important not to jump straight into tactics when building a movement?

What did you learn during this exercise that could help fine tune your efforts for social change?

S. Internal structuring for optimal power sharing and decision making

i. Movement DNA

TIME:

45 minutes

GOAL:

To understand the basic elements that comprise a successful movement and generate ideas for how to follow these basic principles in our context.

MATERIALS:

Flip charts

Markers

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Ask participants to arrange themselves in a line according to calendar date of birth (ignoring year of birth).
- 2) Participants count off, forming seven groups.
- 3) Each group is assigned one of the seven principles of the movement DNA: *common goal* (many different stakeholders working together to achieve the same thing), *strategic nonviolent action* (exclusive use of peaceful means), *unity and cooperation* (emphasis on collaboration among diverse kinds of stakeholders), *decentralization* (autonomy of groups far and wide rather than concentration of power in the hands of a few), *inclusivity* (very inviting to the most oppressed people, accepting of all marginalized people), *servant leadership* (participation is voluntary and self-sacrifice is valued), or *open source* (anyone who ascribes to these principles may use the movement's name, colors, logo, etc).
- 4) Each group draws a picture on a flip chart sheet to describe how their principle will look when practiced in their community.
- 5) Participants reconvene and present their pictures, explaining why they drew whatever they drew.
- 6) Facilitate a discussion on the following points.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

Would you add any other principles to this movement DNA?

Which principles do you find most essential for us and why?

ii. Formation of working groups

TIME:

30 minutes

GOAL:

To understand the movements are meant to move, so they need some kind of structure (a non-hierarchical one) that gives members responsibilities and tasks.

MATERIALS:

Flip Charts

Markers

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Ask participants about the kinds of tasks that are necessary if we are to achieve our common goal.
- 2) Categorize the kinds of duties they list. You will likely end up with those relating to communication (internally in terms of organizing and externally in terms of marketing), strategy and campaigns, training, and administrative duties. The categories of tasks will determine working groups. Solidarity Uganda encourages the formation of a working group for morale which is responsible for making the movement fun and enticing, and supporting and appreciating those who are taking risks.
- 3) Identify who among the participants should join which groups. Participants may self-select a group based on their interests and skill sets. There is no need to balance the number of people in each group.
- 4) Have these groups break out to decide on what they need to do first to ensure their responsibilities are fulfilled. Ask the groups to identify a time and place they can meet after the training and three useful community members not present at the training who could be invited to join the movement via that working group.
- 5) Have the groups report their plans to the other groups.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

Is everyone aware of the next steps? Have they committed themselves to the working groups of which they are a member?

T. Public relations

i. Traditional media

TIME:

30 minutes

GOAL:

To learn how to market your movement and work with allies in the traditional media sector.

MATERIALS:

ICNC online video about media relations (downloaded or streamed online through an internet connection on www.nonviolent-conflict.org)

Laptop

Projector

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Screen the video.
- 2) Facilitate a discussion based on the following points.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

What does it take to give the media a good story they will want to cover?

How do we overcome the culture of money-minded media personnel in Uganda?

Which allies do we have in the traditional media that can work with us to publicize our movement whenever we hold public actions?

ii. Social media

TIME:

30 minutes

GOAL:

To understand the strengths and limitations of using social media to organize.

MATERIALS:

Internet connection

Participants' phones or computers

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Come prepared for this module with some research on social media as it relates to nonviolent movements. Gather insights from participants on how social media has both helped and limited their effectivity in terms of calling people to action.
- 2) Take a video of one of the participants talking for one minute about a cause he or she believes in and why he or she is making a pledge to do something about it. Ensure the video does not reveal your location or put anyone at risk. When the group is satisfied with the video, have everyone share it across various social media platforms, such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter. Feel free to tag Solidarity Uganda if you so desire or use any relevant hashtags.
- 3) Take a photo of someone or something that carries meaning for your movement, and have one participant post it on social media, perhaps with a brief description. Other members should then share the post.
- 4) A few hours later, return to this activity and facilitate a discussion on the following points.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

Are people on social media sharing and interacting with your posts? Why or why not?

Did the video or the photo get more exposure? Why?

What percentage of users in your social media networks do you think are actively organizing their communities? Social media has been considered a

cutting edge organizing tool, but many believe it is just a distraction from effective organizing. How do we utilize its strengths while not complying with its weaknesses?

U. Recruitment

TIME:

20 minutes

GOAL:

To improve participants' ability to pull more important stakeholders into a movement, and to challenge the professionalistic and hierarchical cultures that characterize organizing in Uganda.

MATERIALS:

Index cards or small sheets of paper

Tape

Markers

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Instruct participants to write down a title or position they would like to have (e.g. Kabaka, President, CEO, Executive Director, MP, Archbishop, Pope).
- 2) Tell participants to attach these titles and positions to their clothing or foreheads.
- 3) Participants circulate the room, talking to one another. The goal is to convince others to abandon their posts and come and work for you. Where you are successful, you can then merge into a group that follows your leader as you try to convince other individuals and groups to join you. This task is likely to be difficult because people are inclined to cling to their power.
- 4) After a few minutes, tell participants to remove their titles and on the reverse side, write down a collective action that you would like your movement to plan and implement (e.g. suing the I.G.P., boycotting a company's products, striking from work, convening a public prayer). Participants again circulate the room, this time trying to convince others to set aside their own ideas for actions for awhile and support them with theirs. As groups organize around a particular action, they attempt to persuade other individuals and groups to merge with them.
- 5) Facilitate a discussion on the following points.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

Was it easier to organize people by offering them positions or offices or by inviting them to collaborate on a task?

How did you feel when someone asked you to abandon your title? How did you feel when someone invited you to help them?

What are some of the simple tasks we can ask others to do that will make them perceive themselves as owners of a movement without having formal titles?

V. Communication, coordination, and trust

TIME:

90 minutes

GOAL:

To understand that communication, coordination, and trust are important to a successful movement, and that when one is lacking, the others should compensate.

MATERIALS:

An outdoor area with an interesting variety of terrain, obstacles, etc.

Two brightly colored cloths

Ropes or something to make demarcations on the ground

Drinking water

First aid kit

Phones with FireChat downloaded for offline texting communication

Whistle

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Arrive in an outdoor area such as a valley, forest, hill, or farm where you have permission to be. The game is especially enjoyable to play at night.
- 2) Divide the terrain roughly into two halves using something to demarcate the boundary.
- 3) Divide into two teams somewhat evenly according to physical ability and even gender distribution when applicable.
- 4) Explain the rules of capture the flag. The teams must occupy either side of the boundary. The goal is to seize the flag on the other team's side, which they have put in an open place. The first team to bring the enemy's flag back to their side wins. If an enemy touches you when you have crossed over the boundary into their territory, they escort you to their prison. There are two ways of being released from prison. A "surety" (a fellow teammate who has risked coming over and has not been caught) touches your hand, allowing you to run out of the demarcated prison with free passage for both of you back to your own side, or convincing the jail keeper to let you go (by bribery, an appeal to the conscience, etc).
- 5) Play the game. As a facilitator, be a neutral party who wanders around the area observing. Try to negotiate any standoffs at the boundary as a third party. Also offer yourself as a surety every now and then if you are near a prison. Each team uses its own strategy to

win. Some are defensive. Others are aggressive. Others rely on deception or good communication.

- 6) Blow the whistle when the game ends. Once the group reconvenes, facilitate a discussion on the following points?

DISCUSSION POINTS:

Why did the winning team win?

What role did trust play? This may refer to trusting teammates or trusting opponents.

What role did communication play?

What role did coordination play?

Did you win or lose because of internal factors (among your own team) or external factors (the environment, the other team, etc)?

Did anyone break the rules? What were the opportunities and consequences that came with doing so?

W. Holding productive meetings

TIME:

30 minutes

GOAL:

To identify and implement best practices in planning and executing meetings.

MATERIALS:

None

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Arrange a table and chairs in a place where all participants can easily see.
- 2) Tell participants there will be a number of meetings roleplayed. Their job is to take notes on best practices and mistakes during these roleplays.
- 3) Privately tell four participants to carry out a roleplay meeting in which one person is late and then begs the other members to start the meeting afresh for his sake.
- 4) After the roleplay in step 3 concludes, privately tell four new participants to carry out a meeting in which one person situates himself opposite the other three in a lecture-style arrangement. This person keeps asserting himself as if he is the boss, even when the other three agree on something he does not like.
- 5) Do a final roleplay involving much discussion that goes off topic, especially with people complaining about the government without offering solutions.
- 6) Facilitate group reflection on the following points.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

Personal discipline is highly important in a movement, as is collective accountability for one another. Why is it important to keep time?
What behaviors did meeting participants demonstrate that were productive?
What behaviors did they demonstrate that harmed morale or effectivity?
How should the movement agree to plan and carry out meetings?

X. Managing internal conflict

TIME:

30 minutes

GOAL:

To engender a culture of direct communication, interpersonal conflict resolution, and openness.

MATERIALS:

None

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Arrange two chairs facing one another. Then arrange other chairs in a circle around the two chairs in the center.
- 2) Participants sit in the chairs positioned in a circle. The two center chairs begin empty.
- 3) Explain that the two chairs are open for whoever wants to go and speak honestly with the one opposite them. They may discuss anything that frustrates them. It may be as trivial as today's weather or as serious as a problem they have with the person opposite them. They are to talk as freely as they can. Those watching from the outer circle cannot talk. When someone wants to speak to one of the two dialoguing, he or she taps the shoulder of the opposite person, which signals that the chair must be handed over.
- 4) Continue this until every person has participated. Then facilitate a discussion on the following points.

DISCUSSION POINTS:

Why is it so important to communicate directly to someone?

Would you rather an interpersonal conflict be ignored or addressed?

How can the movement create space to cultivate this kind of openness in dialogue?

Y. Building a security culture

TIME:

30 minutes

GOAL:

To debate various common points of contention concerning security of participants in a movement and develop a culture of being mindful of one another's concerns.

MATERIALS:

2 ropes

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Find a fairly open space outdoors.
- 2) Place two ropes on the ground parallel to one another with sufficient space in between.
- 3) This game involves “voting with your feet.” Behind the rope on the left, those who answer “no” to a topic being discussed stand. Behind the rope on the right, those who answer “yes” stand. Those who are undecided or leaning toward no or yes shift around somewhere in the middle. It is possible for people to switch sides entirely if they are convinced at some point. The atmosphere is uncontrolled, open debate. Anyone may say anything at any time, provided it is respectful and does not attack individuals. When the facilitator raises his or her hand, participants have ten seconds to conclude their arguments, and the side which has more people wins.
- 4) Use this game (which can also be used to unpack boda stage topics at the end of a day) to discuss the following statements:
 - Being open makes us more safe than being secret in our movement.
 - We should be specific about names and places when organizing our meetings over the phone, Facebook, or SMS.
 - The police are our enemies.
 - We should always seek permission before meeting with one another or organizing a public action.

Z. Charting the way forward

TIME:

20 minutes

GOAL:

To develop an action plan to which participants have the will and excitement to adhere.

MATERIALS:

None

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Reconvene into working groups as were created earlier in the training.
- 2) Ask working groups to confirm with one another the time and place set for their next meeting. They can also discuss what must be done between now and then.
- 3) Determine a time and place that the whole movement can meet to discuss next steps. This could be before or after the working group meetings depending on what participants feel could be most useful.
- 4) Decide how communication will be done within the movement, and how resources will be managed.

AA. Concluding with hope

TIME:

30 minutes

GOAL:

To conclude the training with appreciation, positivity, affirmation, and encouragement.

MATERIALS:

Sheets of paper

ACTIVITY:

- 1) Have every participant write his or her name on the top of a sheet of paper.
- 2) Place all the sheets name side down on a table. Participants select a sheet at random. If they draw their own names, they should return the sheets to pick new names.

- 3) Tell participants to close their eyes and imagine life 30 years from now, after their movement has achieved all of its goals. Write a letter to the person whose name was selected, praising him or her for the contributions he or she made to the movement. One example reads, "Carol, do you remember the difficulties we faced in 2016 when we had no clean water in the whole village? Every time I use my sink I recall how we once carried our old jerry cans 5five kilometers just to fetch water. These days, the water comes to us. Thank you for you spirit of humility as you moved village to village explaining the importance of our cause, and the bravery you demonstrated when you were harassed by police. Thank you for building this new Uganda we now enjoy."
- 4) Ask a participant to read his or her letter aloud before the group. When finished, the letter is passed on to the recipient as a token of encouragement. That recipient then reads his or her letter to the next person. Continue until all letters are read.
- 5) Present your own letter to the entire movement you have trained and dismiss them.

BB. Post-training follow up

Now that the training is finished, there are a number of things you will want to keep in mind to get the most out of the movement. These require your attention and commitment. While you must distance yourself for the movement to give it space to breathe, people will also look to you for guidance and consultation.

i. Recruit, train, act

Many movements develop a cycle of "recruit, train, act." New members are recruited, then they are trained by those who received training from you (usually informally, like in their homes), and then they take some kind of action. A handful of risk takers is necessary, but most new members should take actions that are safe to create an inviting atmosphere for broader participation. This grassroots organizing is most important. Dramas, fun events, door to door solicitations, prayers, etc can engender an environment favorable for social change.

After taking action, those participating will also recruit, train, act. The cycle continues as the movement builds.

ii. Peer to peer mentoring

One of the most important elements of following through relies on you, the facilitator, to follow through. Have one on one meetings with those who have volunteered more of their time and energy. What successes have they had? What challenges have they faced. Encourage them to "fail forward," meaning they should fail fast and often to keep learning from the experiences and adapting. Social change is hard and requires persistence and patience as many can be frustrated along the way and give up. Not all training participants will stick to the plan. Ensure that your relationships remain

strong with those who have committed themselves. Make yourself available to them at any time. Help them mitigate risks and think strategically.

Often concerns arise over money. Sometimes people feel under-resourced. Remind them that no angel will descend from heaven to come and save them, and that human resources locally are the most important resource in social change. Perhaps local fundraising can be one of the safer actions to increase participation. Encourage them to accept any donations from the poor: time, energy, beans, soap, chickens, etc. This will allow the sense of ownership of the movement to rest in the hands of those most oppressed, which is very important for the success of any movement.

As you engage in peer to peer mentoring, try to connect movement members to committed participants of other movements. Also reach out to Solidarity Uganda for any advice or networking needs along the way. Solidarity Uganda has a solid network of lawyers, media contacts, and consultants that may be available in their own capacities.

iii. Community support visits

The comradeship of external actors can be a serious morale boost for marginalized communities. While you do not want to create the impression that you have come as a messiah figure to liberate them as they wait patiently, it is important to show that you stand with communities you have trained, even if you are a member of those communities yourself. Humility is one of the highest virtues here. You should be able to sleep in a hut, spend time with the poor at their places of meeting, and wear modest clothes. As much as you can, help people to discover the answers to their challenges within themselves. If you are not a member of a particular community, visit them every few months as you are able, and keep in touch over the phone and social media otherwise.

CC. Subsequent trainings

As trainees go about their work in the community, identify who among them should receive additional training. Send these recommendations to Solidarity Uganda, as the organization is always trying to identify the most determined and committed volunteers for social change around the country. An opportunity may open up for them to receive more training.

DD. Niche trainings

Solidarity Uganda has partner organizations and colleagues that train in the following topics, which may be useful for your movement. Reach out to Solidarity Uganda for any inquiries on the following types of trainings.

i. Legal rights and human rights

Understanding one's legal and human rights is very important for social change work. Uganda's constitution is not terrible, but the country lacks a culture of rule of law. Understanding this gives confidence to people that they are operating within the law, and should anyone come to bully them

about their activities, they will be more prepared to handle the situation effectively.

ii. Media

Understanding how to tell your story and work with media is an important skill for those engaged in public relations and marketing in your movement. Uganda's media culture is a unique brand. Media trainings may be very helpful for thinking about your outreach approach.

iii. Emergency response teams

Sometimes a movement is engaged in very risky activities that require strong contingency plans to be in place. Rapid response is necessary to ensure participants are safe. Convening a meeting to put such a risk management plan in place is a great start for those who must be conscious of security, which includes most people in your movement. In addition to rapid response teams that play defense, you may want frontlines activists who can confront oppressors and expose their wrongdoers. This is part of rapid response to injustices, but an entirely different type of training from a typical "first responders" training.

iv. Technological security

Security institutions such as the police in Uganda have partnered with private firms in places like the U.K. and Italy to spy on activists and human rights defenders. While security agencies invest in quite a number of informal spies on the ground, they also have been known to use technology to track conversations, obtain information, and frame innocent people for crimes not committed. Some have called surveillance technology the new arms trade.

A number of organizations have taken note of this increasing trend and offer consulting and training services to those at risk. However, the technology landscape is always changing, so keeping in touch with the right people and organizations about how to adapt to new situations is also important.

EE. Assessment tools

It is very important to assess the progress of your movement on a monthly basis. Here are just a few tools that can help you track your progress or lack thereof.

i. NVA database timeline tool

The Nonviolent Action Database is a database of nonviolent movements around the world throughout history. Success of those movements is tracked based on a scoring system. Up to six points is given depending on the extent to which the movement achieved its goals. Up to three points is given depending on the extent to which the movement grew. Up to one point is given depending on whether people survived or were killed/brutalized beyond repair.

Use is scoring system each month to chart a movement's progress on a graph-style timeline.

ii. Spectrum of allies graph

Tracking your progress of shifting stakeholders closer to your movement and further away from your opponent is also important. Draw the spectrum of allies graph on a flip chart. Each month, write in pencil the position where various stakeholders find themselves. As they move across the spectrum, erase them and write their new position. This spectrum will eventually look messy. After all, social change is a messy process. Some may have been bought off by your opponents, jumping all the way from active ally to active opponent. Maybe you educated shop owners about your cause, forcing them to move from the neutral category to the passive ally category. Keep shifting people around so you know where stakeholders are, but also be mindful of the security of these individuals as you do this. Use initials or fake names if need be.

Solidarity Uganda is a U.S.-based nonprofit organization partnering with various individuals and groups in East Africa in an effort to liberate the region from oppression. The organization is fully dedicated to nonviolent social change. This is not the only resource of its kind. In fact, Solidarity Uganda has a large online folder full of additional curricula, worksheets, books, and other resources. To get connected to these materials, email your inquiry to info@solidarityuganda.com. We would love to hear how you are using this handbook and what challenges you are facing in the process. All the best in your journey.