

FREEDOM FROM CORRUPTION

*A CURRICULUM FOR PEOPLE POWER
MOVEMENTS, CAMPAIGNS, AND CIVIC INITIATIVES*



Shaazka Beyerle

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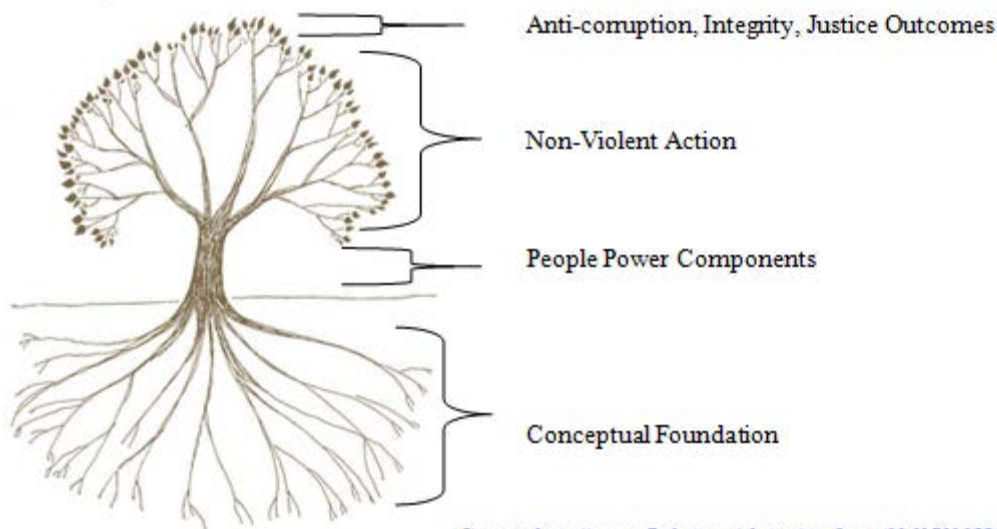
Note from the author: I thank 5th Pillar (India) for permission to use their slogan, “Freedom from Corruption” in the title of this Curriculum.



PREFACE

Hello and welcome! This curriculum is a theoretical, practical and skills-based framework about citizen empowerment and nonviolent strategies and action. It's designed for those who want to learn how people power can curb corruption, impunity, inequality and injustice, and perhaps more importantly, how it can gain accountability, bottom-up democracy, social and economic opportunity, and justice.

The field of people power is ever growing and there are many resources available. This curriculum represents a synthesis of a variety of conceptual sources and practitioner fields, including democracy development, human rights and social justice. What distinguishes it from other educational formats in the people power field is that the content is tailored to the anti-corruption context.



Source: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/imforest/11607011883/sizes/n/>

The first two modules are the “heaviest.” They focus on core concepts, definitions and comparative research. These modules create a solid foundation of understanding that’s necessary to effectively engage in nonviolent action. After that, we get into the nitty-gritty of people power. One can envision a strong tree. In order to bear leaves and fruit (anti-corruption outcomes), we need thick roots consisting of a thorough understanding of a few key concepts and background on nonviolent campaigns and movements. The trunk consists of people power components such as objectives, strategy and planning. The branches consist of nonviolent action, and the leaves/fruit are the potential positive outcomes.

This curriculum is meant to be a work in progress, building upon your constructive input, experiences and new ideas. I encourage you to be in contact.

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GUIDE TO USING THE CURRICULUM

If you see the following format, you can expect the listed information or task:

Group Discussion Questions Section:

Ex.

Group discussion questions

- What are some of the reasons you think drive regular people to fight corruption?
- In your society, is corruption linked to widespread grievances or sources of oppression?
- What compels you or your organization to try to curb graft and abuse?
- Are there other societal currents that suggest the potential for people power campaigns and movements to emerge?
- Can a committed group of citizens or a civil society organization (CSO) catalyze some of these currents?
- Do you agree with Marshall Ganz's quote? How can a group of citizens or a CSO start to break down a pervasive sense of fatalism?



Group Exercises Section:

Ex.

Group Exercise 2
From Specific Tactics to General Lessons for Effective Tactics

Answer suggested from: David Martin, Training for Change, <http://www.davidmartintraining.com/teaching-people-to-change>

Pick a person to be the facilitator to undertake the following actions:

- Break up into small groups. In each group, ask someone to share a story about a very effective tactic in which they participated and/or planned and carried out.
- After sharing this story, ask each group to discuss internally what made the tactic effective and the outcome(s).
- Bring people back together, and make a list of the tactics identified by the groups. Have each group share with everyone what made their tactic effective.
- As each group shares what made its tactic effective, encourage people to go beyond their individual example and distill general lessons learned. The following is a hypothetical example inspired by a CSOP* movement that carried out in 2008. A group reports that they launched a 24-hour stand at a major public space near the City Hall called the "Citizens Exercise for Light." The group demands that the municipal council pass an urgent declaration bill for local elected officials, including the mayor, councilors, and judges. They locked up a light to an exercise bicycle that would turn on when people pedaled and shone towards the City Hall. Citizens, elected officials and municipal officials were invited via social media to ride the bike day or night. In the final municipal council meeting, councilors voted in favor of the urgent declaration bill.

Without any further knowledge, we might mistakenly conclude that the stand pressured the councilors. However, it turns out that the group actually organized multiple actions around that stand - both on the ground and digitally. As it was December and in their country many people celebrate Christmas, they set up a table at the square and also got people to sign a letter to Santa Claus asking him to grant their wish that the bill get passed by the Council. Each person who rode the bike or signed the letter received a "commemorative" souvenir, consisting of a little chocolate Santa Claus taped to a sheet of paper with their demand, and their website and Twitter coordinates. They connected the stand live and people could intervene! Facebook posts and messages that were read out loud to those at the action. A Facebook site was created with a "Join to Stand" where people from all over the country could digitally add their name. A local media outlet came and covered a few minutes of the event, which brought more people to the park. They also contacted businesses for support. As a result, a flower shop loaned them the stationary bike and a local pizzeria sent food and refreshments for people who came to

Definitions Box:

Ex.

"[T]he misuse of entrusted power for private gain."
(Transparency International)

Quote Box:

Ex.

Where corruption is endemic, it is the poorest that pay the highest price.

Data:

Ex.

- *disrupting systems of graft and abuse, that is, interfering in their smooth functioning;*
- *applying nonviolent pressure through the **power of numbers** - people raising their collective voice over shared demands (asks), on corruptors who (up to that point) have been unwilling to change the venal status quo;*

MODULE 1: PEOPLE POWER - IT'S REAL!

1.1 QUIZ TIME:

Who ever thought of taking a quiz before one has even started a course or a training? This is a different kind of quiz. There are no grades and no one will see the answers but yourself. Let's start!

People power evokes a lot of different ideas in our minds. Before we jump into this realm, it's useful to find out what we think about it. **Please mark the box that corresponds with your opinion or experience with the statement.**

	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree
1. Nonviolent struggle has a higher success rate than violent struggle.			
2. People power only succeeds when there are favorable conditions, such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ A degree of economic and social development➤ The presence of a middle class➤ A reasonably well-educated society➤ Some experience with democracy			
3. People power can impact corruption in harsh situations and/or societies with a history of violent conflict.			
4. The support of external actors, such as donors and powerful states, is necessary for the success of nonviolent campaigns targeting corruption and impunity.			

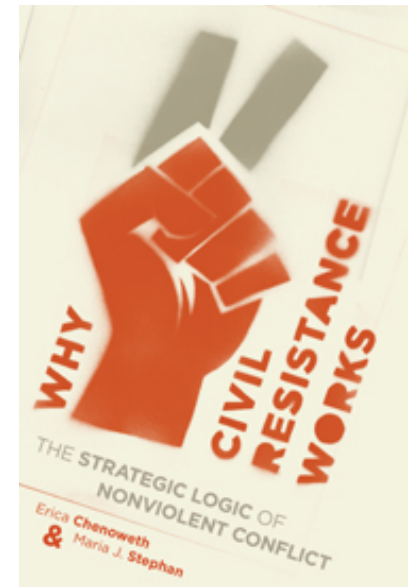
5. People power can impact corruption even when there initially is no political will and governments or institutions are not willing to change policies and practices.			
6. People power and nonviolent action ultimately depend on government benevolence – to allow rather than to suppress dissent.			
7. Nonviolent movements and campaigns targeting corruption do not need a charismatic leader in order to mobilize citizens.			
8. Governments need to give people civic space to make their voices heard, and to express dissent.			
9. Cooperation and dialogue with power-holders are the most important elements of people power success.			
10. People power fails if corruptors resort to intimidation or violence.			

⇒ Keep your results and later on, you'll come back to them.

1.2 THE TRACK RECORD

How effective is people power?

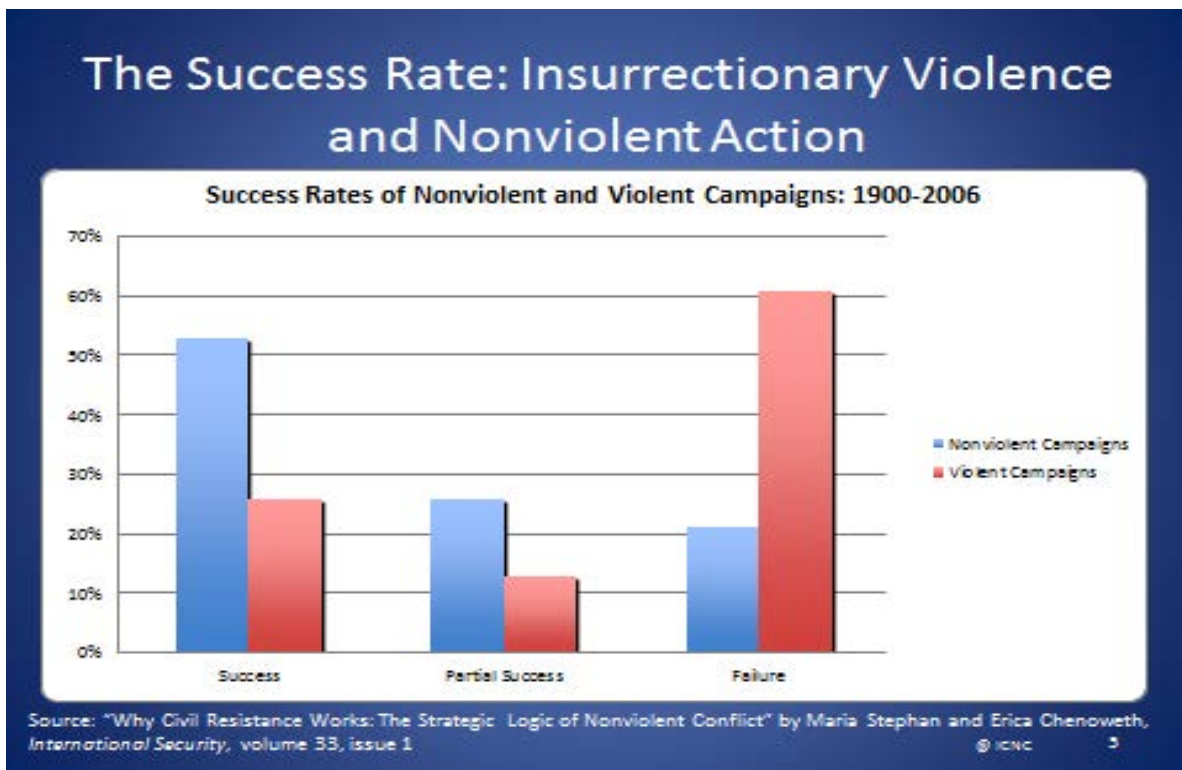
One way to look at this question is to study the historical record. A huge, ongoing research project has been examining the efficacy of nonviolent action, also called civil resistance, during the 20th century. It's studying anti-authoritarian and anti-occupation struggles. The first set of results and analysis are presented in the following, award-winning book: Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).



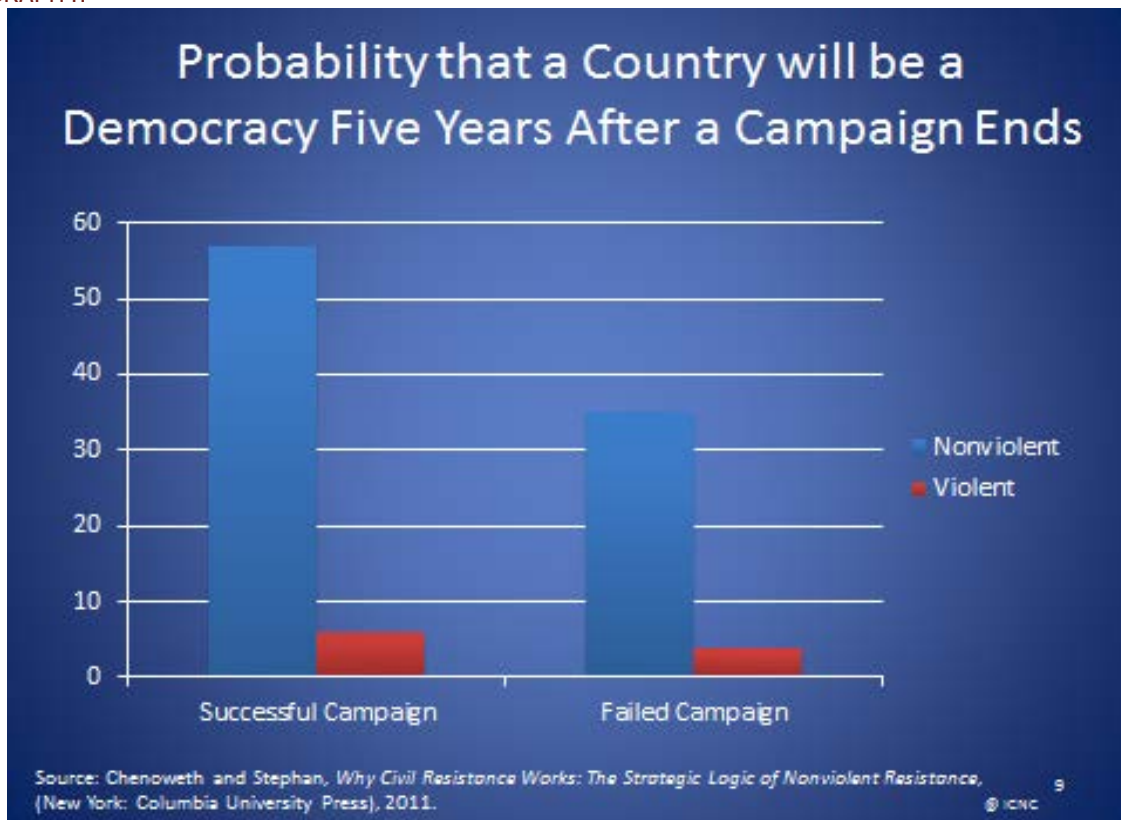
From 1900 to 2006, it found that:

- 53% of nonviolent campaigns and movements succeeded compared to 26% for violent campaigns and movements (Graph I).
- 30% of the nonviolent campaigns took place in countries ranked as autocracies, all experienced severe repression, and 70 percent of them succeeded, which is an even higher success rate than average for nonviolent campaigns facing other types of regimes.¹
- Additional analysis revealed an overall high correlation between nonviolent campaigns and democratic outcomes five years after the transition (Graph II).

GRAPH I



GRAPH II



Two Freedom House studies looked at transitions from authoritarianism to democracy.² In sum, during the 35 years from 1970 – 2005 (the available data set), researchers found that:

- There were a total of 67 transitions to democratic governance.
- Nonviolent civic forces played a central role in 3 out of 4 of these transitions (75 percent of the cases).
- Bottom-up transformations were much more likely to result in civil liberties and democratic reform in the aftermath, in comparison to elite-led or violent transitions. Among the 35 countries subsequently rated “Free” according to the Freedom in the World index, 32 had a significant bottom up component (Karatnycky and Ackerman 2005).
- Based on a regression analysis examining “enabling conditions,” bottom-up civic movements were as likely to succeed in less developed, economically poor countries as in developed, affluent ones. Nor was there significant evidence that religious or ethnic differences reduced possibilities that a unified civic opposition could emerge. They concluded that, “...neither the political nor environmental factors examined in the study had a statistically significant impact on the success or failure of civil resistance movements.”

A 10-year, meta-case study analysis emerging from the development and democracy realms affirms these observations. This research program on citizenship, participation and accountability found that citizen engagement:

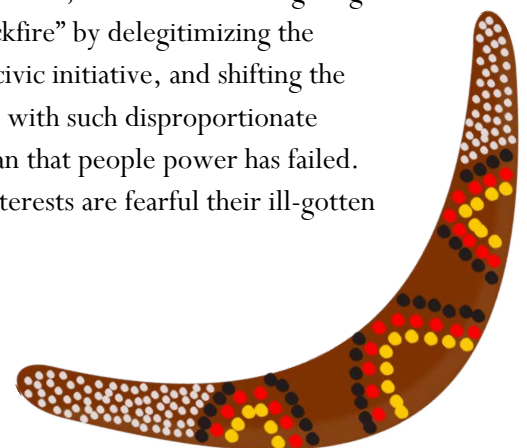
“can make positive differences, even in the least democratic settings – a proposition that challenges the conventional wisdom of an institution and state-oriented approach that relegates opportunities for citizens to engage in a variety of participatory strategies to a more ‘mature’ democratic phase.”³

If you want to delve more into the scholarship, there are plenty of excellent books to read (see the endnote).⁴

Impact of Repression

That’s not to say that many states, and violent non-state actors such as organized crime and paramilitaries, won’t try to limit political and civic space. **They have, they do and they will crack down on civil society and nonviolent dissent.** But the good news is that citizens, through nonviolent action, have the capacity to claim civic and political space, expand it and use it, as witnessed in countless of these nonviolent struggles over the past 110 years. Stephan and Chenoweth’s aforementioned research found that repression isn’t a singular determinant of people power outcomes. In the face of crackdowns, nonviolent campaigns (**that remain nonviolent**) are six times more likely to achieve full **success** than violent campaigns that also faced repression.⁵

At this point, many of you may find these results counterintuitive. But things start to make sense when we consider the phenomenon of “backfire,” which has been extensively studied by Brian Martin, a scholar of nonviolent action and whistleblowing (see **Module 7**). Backfire happens when an attack or reprisal creates more support for or attention to whatever/whoever is attacked – in our context, civic initiatives targeting corruption and abuse.⁶ Repression committed by oppressors can often “backfire” by delegitimizing the perpetrators, transforming public outrage into support for the nonviolent civic initiative, and shifting the loyalties of those within the unjust, corrupt system who are uncomfortable with such disproportionate measures against peaceful citizens. As importantly, such attacks do not mean that people power has failed. They are a sign that the corrupt system is being disrupted and the vested interests are fearful their ill-gotten benefits are being threatened.



1.3 PEOPLE POWER TO CURB CORRUPTION

As many of you know, even from first-hand experience, people power has also been successful against corruption and impunity. Over the past few years, I conducted a qualitative, international research project to identify, document, and analyze a variety of nonviolent social movements, campaigns and civic initiatives fighting graft and abuse, demanding accountability, and winning rights and justice. It resulted in a new book entitled, *Curtailing Corruption: People Power for Accountability and Justice* (2014). Sixteen cases cumulatively involving millions of people were documented and analyzed from among the following countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil, Egypt, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Italy, Kenya, Mexico, Philippines, Russia, South Korea, Turkey, and Uganda. Table 1 presents an overview of these cases and Table 2 provides short descriptions of them. Another source of recent documentation of bottom-up anti-corruption and accountability projects is *Citizens Against Corruption: Report from the Front Line* (Landell Mills, 2013).

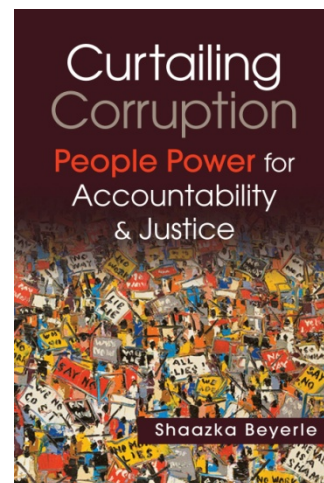


TABLE 1: OVERVIEW OF CASE STUDIES FROM AUTHOR'S RESEARCH

FORM OF CORRUPTION	TYPE OF COLLECTIVE ACTION	COUNTRY	ORGANISERS
Reconstruction and development projects	Civic initiative/social accountability	Afghanistan	Integrity Watch Afghanistan (CSO)
Public health care	Civic initiative/social accountability	Bangladesh	Transparency International – Bangladesh chapter (CSO)
Overall endemic corruption	Campaign within broader social movement	Bosnia-Herzegovina	DOSTA! (Enough) nonviolent youth movement
Political corruption	<i>Ficha Limpa</i> (Clean Slate/Record) - social movement	Brazil	MCCE (Movement to Combat Electoral Corruption) and Avaaz
Overall endemic corruption/impunity	<i>shayfeen.com</i> (we're watching you)/Egyptians Against Corruption – social movement	Egypt	Egyptians Against Corruption SMO
Organised crime (narco-traffickers)/local state capture/ impunity	Social movement	Guatemala	Community
Overall endemic corruption/bribery	5 th Pillar - social movement	India	5th Pillar (SMO)
Efforts to neutralize the anti-corruption commission	CICAK (Love Indonesia, Love Anti-Corruption Commission) campaign	Indonesia	Informal network of civic leaders, activists and CSOs

<i>Cosa Nostra</i> mafia	<i>Addiopizzo</i> (Good-bye extortion money) social movement	Italy	<i>Addiopizzo</i> SMO
Parliament Constituency Development Funds	Civic initiative/social accountability	Kenya	MUHURI (Muslims for Human Rights) CSO-CBO
Overall endemic corruption	DHP* (<i>Dejemos Hacernos Pendejos/Quit Playing Dumb</i>) - social movement	Mexico	Informal network of civic leaders and activists
Primary school corruption/textbooks	Textbook Count/Textbook Walk campaigns/social accountability	Philippines	G-Watch, PSLINK (Public Services Labour Independent Confederation), Boy Scouts/Girl Scouts, citizen groups, communities
Environment, illegal development	Movement to Defend Khimki Forest	Russia	Informal network of civic leaders and activists
Political corruption	CAGE (Citizens Alliance for the General Election) 2000 campaign	South Korea	Coalition (1104 NGOs, CSOs, citizen groups, YMCA/YWCA, religious organizations)
State-organized crime-paramilitary groups linkages	One Minute of Darkness for Constant Light campaign	Turkey	Informal network of civic leaders and activists
Police	Civic initiative/social accountability	Uganda	NAFODU (National Foundation for Democracy and Human Rights in Uganda) CSO-CBO

Note: SMO=Social Movement Organization; CBO=Community-Based Organization

TABLE 2: CASE STUDY DESCRIPTIONS

Afghanistan: Integrity Watch Afghanistan is empowering villagers in community monitoring of internationally and domestically funded projects, in order to curb corruption and improve reconstruction and development.
Bangladesh: The Social Movement against Corruption, launched by Transparency International-Bangladesh, empowers citizens to hold public officials accountable for health, education and local government services through citizen committees and a variety of nonviolent actions, such as information tables outside hospitals.
Bosnia-Herzegovina: <i>Dosta!</i> (Enough!), a nonviolent, youth movement, promotes accountability and government responsibility to the people, and seeks to “spark civic participation of all Bosnian citizens, no matter what religious or ethnic group.” In 2009 it launched a digital and on-the ground campaign pressuring Prime Minister Brankovic to resign over his acquisition of an upscale, state-owned apartment for approximately EUR 500.
Brazil: The Movement against Electoral Corruption coalition (MCCE) collected 1.6 million signatures to introduce the <i>Ficha Limpa</i> (Clean Slate/Record) legislation to Congress, followed by massive digital civil resistance, coordinated by Avaaz, to get it approved by the Congress.
Egypt: Shayfeen.com (“we see you”) increased public awareness about corruption, fostered citizen participation (often through low-risk dilemma actions, such as using tea glasses and shopping bags with shayfeen.com messages and logo), monitored the government, broadcast election fraud in real time via the internet, and proved their activities were valid under the UNCAC (United Nations Convention Against Corruption).
Guatemala: A local citizen’s movement emerged in Santa Lucia Cotzumalguapa after the civil war to recover the community from drug lords and organized crime, prevent electoral fraud, maintain resilience in the face of violent repression, and foster development.
India: 5 th Pillar targets bribery with innovative low-risk actions such as passing out “anti-corruption” Zero-Rupee Notes, Right to Information petitioning, anti-bribery pledges, and outreach to rural populations, post-secondary students, and the business community.
Indonesia: The 2009 CICA (Love Indonesia Love Anti-Corruption Commission) campaign mobilized citizens around the country, digitally and on-the-ground, to defend the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) and release two falsely imprisoned deputy commissioners
Italy: <i>Addiopizzo</i> (Good-bye Protection Money) is a youth anti-mafia movement in Palermo that is building a growing group of over 1000 businesses publicly refusing to pay <i>pizzo</i> , educating schoolchildren, and mobilizing citizens to resist through simple, everyday acts, such as patronizing <i>pizzo</i> -free stores and businesses (reverse boycott).
Kenya: MUHURI (Muslims for Human Rights) is empowering communities to conduct comprehensive social audits of Constituency Development Funds and projects, in order to fight poverty and curb misuse of these resources.
Mexico: DHP* (Dejemos de Hacernos Pendejos/Let’s quit being an ass/Quit playing dumb) is an emerging civic movement that seeks to alter the apathy of people, foster civic responsibility, and win accountability, using humor (evident from their name), street actions, stunts, and social networking.
Philippines: The Textbook Count/Textbook Walk campaigns annually organized about one million boy and girl

scouts to count textbooks and conduct quality inspections. Corruption was drastically reduced, the state's cost for the books reduced by 50 percent and "ghost deliveries" were eliminated.

Russia: The Movement to Defend Khimki Forest is targeting corruption and impunity, and is fighting to prevent the bisection of an old-growth, protected woodland outside Moscow for a large highway and illegal development involving the multinational firm, Vinci. It has been connecting with and supporting other civic initiatives around Russia, including the post-December 2011 parliamentary election demonstrations.

South Korea: The CAGE 2000 (Civil Action for the General Election) campaign identified corrupt and ineligible candidates in the general election. They held street rallies, petitions, phone and email campaigns, and launched youth websites that included celebrity endorsements. Sixty-nine percent of blacklisted candidates lost the election.

Turkey: The 1997 One Minute of Darkness for Constant Light campaign mobilized approximately 30 million people through synchronized low-risk mass actions to pressure the government to take specific measures to combat state-organized crime links and systemic corruption.

Uganda: The NAFODU (National Foundation for Democracy and Human Rights in Uganda)-Police-Community Partnership Forum initiated a community-monitoring mobilization that targeted local police intimidation and extortion. Marginalized people exposed police graft through radio call-ins and SMS texts, while efforts were made to win elements of law enforcement towards the community, for example, through local integrity trainings and mediated community meetings.



Source : MUHURI

(http://192.185.143.58/~futurepr/muhuri/modules/mod_btslideshow/images/109/slideshow/banner6.jpg)

In summary, across countries, societies, contexts, and types of corruption, citizens demonstrated that they have agency and the capacity to wield power against corruption and impunity and achieve visible outcomes. What does this look like in reality? (See **Box 1**).

BOX 1

In 2010, Muslims for Human Rights (MUHURI) and a civic initiative in a slum learned that a dispensary in Kisauni, Kenya for HIV patients had been indefinitely closed. The Constituency Development Fund committee claimed it was to be upgraded. The reality, as the citizen-activists discovered, was entirely different. They found that no money had been allocated for this renovation and the land on which the clinic was built had been illegally sold. Due to the social audit process led by these locals, the land transaction was cancelled, funds were budgeted for the clinic, improvements were made, and it finally re-opened.⁷

People power was also found to create political will where it didn't exist, put pressure on governments and institutions to take action, and even support authorities, civil servants and politicians trying to fight the corrupt system who also faced intimidation and obstacles. A legislative victory in Brazil illuminates this process (Box 2).

BOX 2

In 2008, a coalition of 44 civic groups, including grass-roots and church organizations, unions and professional associations, founded the Movement against Electoral Corruption (MCCE). It drafted legislation designed to disqualify candidates from taking office if they have been convicted of the following crimes by more than one judge: misuse of public funds, drug trafficking, rape, murder and racism. The Ficha Limpa (Clean Slate/Record) bill was introduced to Congress through a clause in the Brazilian constitution, requiring a massive drive to get over 1.6 million handwritten signatures from across the country. The odds were stacked against the bill. The saying around the Congress was, "It is easier for a cow to fly than this initiative to get approved in Brazil." (*É mais fácil uma vaca voar do que esse projeto ser aprovado no Brasil*)⁸. Digital and real-world actions, coordinated by Avaaz, pushed the legislation through Congress in the face of intense obstruction.* At the time, it was estimated that approximately one third of legislators voting on the bill would themselves be ineligible in the future. As a result of massive people power pressure, it was approved in June, 2010, and after several legal challenges launched in the Supreme Court, it was ruled to be constitutional in 2012.⁹

* According to *Congresso em Foco*, a watchdog website, in 2010, 147 of the 513 members of the Chamber of Deputies of Congress, (29 percent) and 21 out of 81 senators (26 percent) faced criminal charges in the Supreme Court or were under investigation.

1.4 WHY AND WHEN DO PEOPLE RISE UP AGAINST CORRUPTION?

Why do people rise up against corruption?

There's no simple, standard answer or a single root cause. A more helpful way to think about the "why" of people power is to consider that there may be a constellation of related grievances that a group of people, a community, or country share.

When do people rise up against corruption?

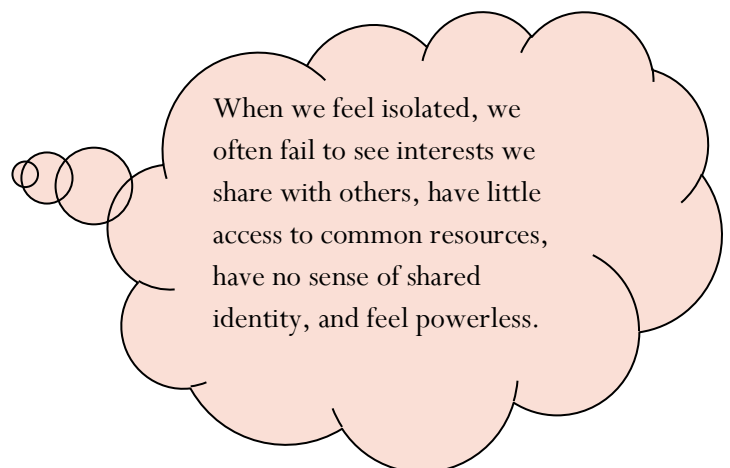
Once again, there's no simple, standard answer. Predictions are a game and a diversion. For those wanting to curb corruption - both non-state actors and state reformers - a more useful track is to ascertain the potential for citizens to mobilize.

Five (if not more) underlying societal currents together suggest the potential for citizen empowerment and organized collective action:

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



Source: New Organizing Institute, March 2, 2009, Creative Commons, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/2.0/>.



Source: Marshall Ganz.¹⁰

Group Discussion Questions

- ➡ What are some of the reasons you think drive regular people to fight corruption?
- ➡ In your society, is corruption linked to widespread grievances or sources of oppression?
- ➡ What compels you or your organization to try to curb graft and abuse?
- ➡ Are there other societal currents that point to the potential for people power campaigns and movements to emerge?
- ➡ Can a committed group of citizens or a civil society organization (CSO) catalyze some of these currents?
- ➡ Do you agree with Marshall Ganz's quote on the previous page? How can a group of citizens or a CSO start to break down a pervasive sense of isolation?



MODULE II: BASIC CONCEPTS

2.1 CORRUPTION IS ...

How we define a problem can impact how we try to overcome it. Here are three different ways to think about corruption.

- A good, basic definition is:

“[T]he misuse of entrusted power for private gain.”
(Transparency International)



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

* * *

- Thus, we can conceptualize **corruption** in a systemic manner:

“[A] system of abuse of entrusted power for private, collective, or political gain – often involving a complex, intertwined set of relationships, some obvious, others hidden, with established vested interests, that can operate vertically within an institution or horizontally cut across political, economic and social spheres in a society or transnationally”.¹¹



When we view corruption this way, a new strategic dimension opens up to fight it - that transcends the traditional dichotomy of carrot (engagement/ collaboration/ incentives) versus stick (sanctions/punishment), and incorporates the vital roles that citizens can and do play.

* * *

- Finally, what about a bottom-up view of corruption? For regular people, corruption is not an abstract evil. We can experience it.

Where corruption is endemic, it is the poorest that pay the highest price.

Source: Laurence Cockcroft.¹²

Thus, corruption is a form of oppression and a loss of freedom. *Aruna Roy*, one of the founders of the Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan / Union for the Empowerment of Peasants and Laborers (MKSS) and the Right-to-Information movement referred to **corruption** as:

The external manifestation of the denial of a right, an entitlement, a wage, a medicine...¹³

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

2.2 WHAT IS POWER?

We all know what power is - we've exercised it and we've felt it being exercised or imposed on us. Here's an easy, all-around definition from Brian Martin, the aforementioned nonviolent action scholar:

Power is most commonly said to be the ability of a person, group, or system to influence someone's behavior.¹⁴

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



Source: Some rights reserved by Neil Cummings
<http://www.flickr.com/photos/chanceprojects/5712587069/sizes/q/>

The really good news is that isn't the reality! There are **three** general points to remember about power:

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

Group Discussion Questions

- ➔ What kind of power is reflected in the following statements? Monolithic, Pluralistic, or Power-from-within?



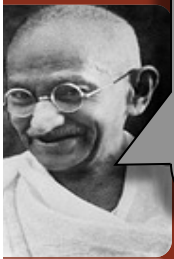
"We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntary given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed"

Source: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Letter from a Birmingham Jail, 1963.

Picture Source: Wikimedia Commons, <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/ba/USMC-09611.jpg>

"For even the most powerful cannot rule without the cooperation of the people."

Source: Mohandas Ghandi, Johannesburg, November 6, 1906, 8. <http://www.gandhiserve.org/cwmg/VO1005.htm>



"Be the change you want to see in the world"(Mohandas Gandhi.)"

Source
:http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/m/mahatmagandhi109075.html.

"If you have confidence in what you are doing and you are shored up by the belief that what you are doing is right, that in itself constitutes power, and this power is very important when you are trying to achieve something." (Daw Aung San Suu Kyi)

Source: Alan Clements. *The Voice of Hope: Aung San Suu Kyi Conversations with Alan Clements* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 1997, p. 159).

Picture Source: Jolie, May 30, 2010, Creative Commons, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/2.0/>



"Thus, the predisposition of the state to citizen engagement in governance is a central determining factor for the success of social accountability."

Source: United Nations Development Programme. *Reflections on Social Accountability: Catalyzing democratic governance to accelerate progress towards the Millennium Development Goals* (New York: United Nations Development Programme, 2013), 9.

"Countries where technological advancement and rising voices of citizens are more tolerated have greater civic participation and a more vibrant civil society."

Source: David Sasaki, "The role of technology and citizen media in promoting transparency, accountability and civic participation," *Technology for transparency network*, May 27, 2010, 13.

"The Republic of Korea is a democratic republic, and all state authority emanates from the people..."

Source: Article 1, Constitution of the Republic of Korea.

"When elections are corrupt, we're watching you. When you rig votes, we're watching you. When you torture prisoners, we're watching you."

Source: Bothaina Kamel, *Shayfeen.com: We're Watching You*. Independent Television Service International. 2007, Retrieved from <http://www.itvs.org/films/shayfeencom>.

Picture Source: Hossam el-Hamalawy, Creative Commons, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/2.0/>.



"To be a citizen does not mean merely to live in society, but to transform it. If I transform the clay into a statue, become a Sculptor; if I transform the stones into a house, I become an architect; if I transform our society into something better for us all, I become a citizen."

Source: Augusto Boal, Rio de Janeiro, 2004, <http://www.theatreoftheoppressed.org/en/index.php?nodeID=80>.



2.3 WHAT IS PEOPLE POWER AND HOW DOES IT WORK?

People power:

➤ refers to the social, economic, political and psychological pressure that is exerted on state and non-state power-holders by significant numbers of individuals, organized around shared grievances and goals, engaging in a variety of nonviolent tactics, such as civil disobedience, non-cooperation, monitoring, information gathering, face-the-public forums, petition drives (offline and online), strikes, boycotts, low-risk mass actions, and demonstrations. Gene Sharp documented over 198 types of tactics (2005). New ones are constantly generated by movements and campaigns, including those targeting corruption (see **Module 3**).

Nonviolent Action:

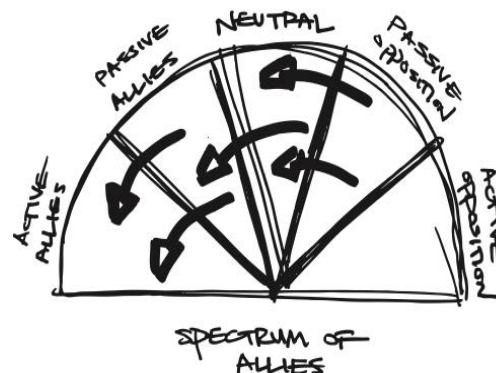
➤ also called civil resistance, nonviolent struggle, and nonviolent conflict - is the bottom-up method to fight oppression and injustice through which people power is wielded. It involves strategy, planning, organization, communications, and tactical selection and sequencing.

There are three main dynamics to people power in the corruption context:

- *disrupting systems of graft and abuse, that is, interfering in their smooth functioning;*
- *applying nonviolent pressure through the **power of numbers** - people raising their collective voice over shared demands (asks), on corruptors who (up to that point) have been unwilling to change the venal status quo;*
- *engaging with power-holders and the public, “pulling” them towards the civic initiative and anti-corruption/accountability struggle.*

The engagement dynamic is based on the reality that not everyone is equally loyal, equally corruptible and equally wedded to the malfeasant system. Nor are such stances etched in stone; they can change or shift as a result of people power. Figure 1 illustrates the spectrum of allies, a tool to conceptualize such shifts and develop strategies and tactics to produce them.¹⁵

Source: This illustration by Joshua Kahn Russell was originally published in Beautiful Trouble and appears here courtesy of a Creative Commons license.





Group Exercise

Pick one of the following scenarios.

Scenario 1: Right to Education

Adapted from: Philippe Duhamel, *Move Your Allies: A New Group Exercise on Strategy*, New Tactics in Human Rights, 2008.

You live in a country that underwent a nonviolent political transition a decade ago. In spite of 10 years of democracy, corruption is endemic. Human rights activists, whistle-blowers and investigative journalists have been “disappeared,” or even murdered in public places. There is no Right to Information law in your country, though legislation is languishing in the parliament. Last year the President pledged that it would enact the “every child at a desk with a book” policy, which won praise from international development and child advocacy actors. With big fanfare, the Ministry of Education opened 100 new schools, generously funded by a multilateral development institution.

As the school year progresses, parents’ initial happiness is replaced with disappointment when they learn that there are not enough textbooks, desks and chairs for the children, and those that are supplied are of poor quality. A group of mothers joined together, overcame their fear to approach authority figures, and tried to speak to the head of the Department of Education. They were rudely turned away. However, some officials in the Department of Education are angry by this incident; genuinely concerned about corruption in the education system; and want to do something about it but feel scared to challenge the corrupt status quo. These officials informally shared their feelings with a few teachers who informally passed this on to: one of the mothers in the mothers group; a representative of the teachers trade union; a lawyer who does pro bono work for human rights activists; and a popular religious leader who works in poor communities. These people decide to meet and form a small group to discuss the situation. Meanwhile, some of the older children in the schools set up a Facebook group called “Where are our textbooks,” and there are already 2000 members!

Q: You are this new informal group. You decide you want to explore what you can do to support or magnify the mothers’ and children’s efforts and fight the underlying corruption that had led to this situation. You and your friends want to brainstorm the situation and identify key constituencies on which to focus your limited resources and time. You want this analysis to help you develop a strategy to activate the engagement dynamic. You decide to do a “Spectrum of Allies” analysis. You decide to address the following questions.

Who else and which other groups in society could potentially be interested in challenging corruption in the education system? Are they presently “neutral” or “passive allies.” What are some convincing arguments that you can use to appeal to them and shift them over one wedge closer to your side?

Is everyone in the Department of Education unfriendly to the mothers group, that is, in the active opposition part of the spectrum of allies? If not, where do officials fall on the spectrum? What are some convincing arguments that you can use to appeal to them and shift them over one wedge closer to your side?

Come up with one small request to engage someone or some people from the Department of Education that will help your side and possibly move that person or group of persons towards your side.

Scenario 2: Protecting Government Integrity Champions



A new, independent anti-corruption commission (ACC) was created in your country a year ago. The Commissioners and staff of the ACC are integrity champions, genuinely seeking to dismantle endemic corruption and foster new patterns of transparency and accountability in the state. The ACC has uncovered horizontal and vertical corruption, and prosecuted many power-holders, including the nephew of the President, as well as corrupt institutions, such as the police. As a result, it now has many enemies. Two weeks ago a Commissioner was arrested on trumped-up charges of corruption. However, a whistle-blower within the Attorney General's office supplied a group of civic leaders a secret recording proving a concerted plan was under way to permanently weaken the ACC that involved key figures in the Attorney General's Office, Police, President's cabinet and Parliament. The civic leaders released the recording on social media from Twitter to Facebook to YouTube. It went viral, which then made the headlines on a regional satellite TV channel watched across the country. A graduate student independently started a Facebook site called: People Protect ACC (PPAC), which also is a play on the word "pak", which means "patriots" in your country's language. The daughter of the arrested Commissioner issued a public appeal to fellow citizens to call for his release.

You are a group of civic leaders from the anti-corruption, human rights, anti-poverty and women's rights realms, as well as a few retired senior civil servants and legal scholars. You have all been cooperating informally over the past several years to fight impunity and strengthen power-holder accountability, and few of you have established channels of communication and friendly, mutually respectful relationships with officials in the ACC, some of whom are originally from civil society. You urgently call together an informal emergency meeting to plan and launch a civic campaign to save the ACC. For citizens, the ACC is seen as "the last hope to save our country from the ruin of corruption." You want to analyze the situation in order to best activate the engagement dynamic. You decide to do a "Spectrum of Allies" analysis. You discuss the following questions.

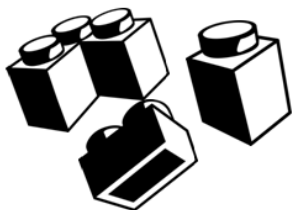
Q: *What groups should be contacted to join a citizen's coalition?*

Are there particular public figures that should be contacted? Where do they fall on the spectrum of allies? Come up with one small request to engage one of them that will help your side and possibly move that person or group of persons towards your side.

Are there any sympathetic parts of the government that support the ACC who could informally be contacted for information, support or could act as intermediaries with power-holders?

Is everyone equally hostile towards the ACC in the Executive Branches, that is, are they all in the active opposition part in the 'Spectrum of Allies' diagram? If not, are there any particular officials and/or any particular institutions that are ambivalent or neutral? What are some convincing arguments that you can use to appeal to them and shift them over one wedge closer to your side?

MODULE III: PEOPLE POWER BUILDING BLOCKS – PART I



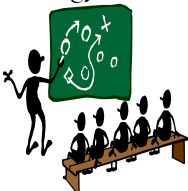



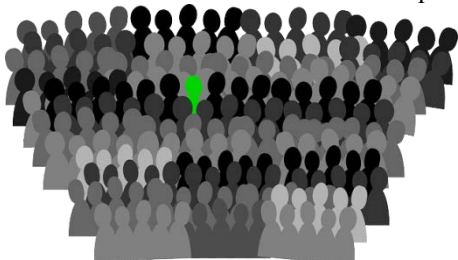
Examples of people power are inspiring, but when we consider our own situations, it may seem daunting to imagine how we can achieve people power victories. One effective way to approach citizen empowerment and civic mobilization is to break it down into its components. The next two modules are designed to work through the essential people power building blocks for curtailing corruption.

3.1 Nonviolent Action

In **Module 2.3**, nonviolent action was defined as the bottom-up method to fight oppression and injustice through which regular citizens can wield people power to achieve positive change.

In other words, when people engage in nonviolent action, they have the capacity to wield power.

Nonviolent action has many elements, including:

<p>→ Strategy</p> 	<p>→ Organization</p> 
<p>→ Planning</p> 	<p>→ Communication</p> 
<p>→ Tactics and their creation, selection, execution and sequencing, and communications</p> 	

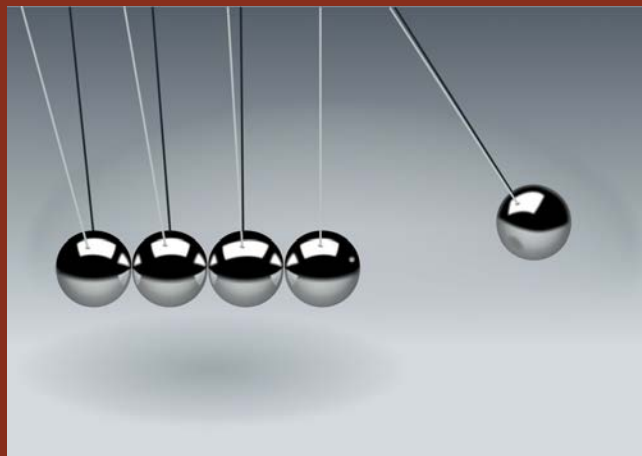
Nonviolent action is sustained over a period of time, which can be weeks, months and even years.

Nonviolent action is often confused with advocacy. They can complement each other, but they are different. Civil society advocacy consists of civic entities, such as NGOs, CSOs, and INGOs, *acting on behalf*

of citizens, by organizing campaigns and engaging with power-holders to overcome injustices and oppression, including corruption. In nonviolent action, citizens are active protagonists in the struggle and the campaign is designed to wield people power.

Group Discussion Questions

- ➡ What other elements can you think of that go into nonviolent action campaigns and movements? Can you give examples from your own experience or other cases?
- ➡ How is nonviolent action different from a spontaneous protest or a single, planned demonstration?
- ➡ What are the similarities between nonviolent action and advocacy?
- ➡ Can both occur at the same time over the same issue?
- ➡ Can advocacy be a part of a nonviolent campaign or movement?



3.2 Strategy

Just like riots, spontaneous acts of defiance and improvised string of actions are mere brush fires: quickly ignited, quickly extinguished. When you're always reacting, you end up disempowered.

Source: Philippe Duhamel, Canadian nonviolent action educator and social justice activist.¹⁶

What is strategy?

There are a lot of definitions out there, but here is a simple one designed for people who want to engage in citizen mobilization.

The campaign or movement's course of action to get from the present to a desired outcome or situation in the future.¹⁷ In other words, **strategy** is about taking you from where you are to where you want to be.

3.3 Tactics

What are tactics?

Tactics are specific actions taken in order to implement a strategy.¹⁸

We can picture tactics along a variety of spectrums from simple to complex, low-risk to high-risk, involving one person to millions. Tactics can require few or no resources or many resources such as money, time, expertise and planning.



Source: William Bakker.¹⁹

Some people are focused on doing. Strategy to them looks nebulous and intangible. It doesn't contain specific tasks. But random tactics without a strategy leads to short term actions with unpredictable long-term results. It's like driving a car around without knowing how to reach your destination. And everybody on your team is driving their cars around in all directions hoping to eventually get there. That's why every tactic needs to deliver on a strategy.

Group Discussion Question



➡ If someone asks you what is the difference between strategy and tactics, how can you explain it to them using this picture of where the man is and where he wants to be (the mountain off in the distance across the abyss)?



No cheating by saying he gets back the same way he got there... Let's say he climbed up this mountain, and now needs to go down it the other way to get to the next valley...

Group Exercise

Strategy versus Tactics



Q. It's common to confuse strategy and tactics. Are these cases examples of strategic thinking? Why or why not?

- Some successful people power campaigns targeting corruption have created Facebook groups, even with millions of members. A colleague in your CSO proposes a campaign in which your organization would create a Facebook group called “Stop corruption now!” and try to get as many people to join as possible.
- A group of civic leaders learned that villages in another region of their country engaged in civic initiatives whereby regular citizens inspected public works projects. They decided to visit some of these villages and meet with the locals in order to decide if this could be something done with citizens in their own villages. There were many questions, such as: how did they pick the public work to inspect; how often were the inspections done; who did the inspections and how were they chosen; was there resistance from local officials and how was this overcome; what other activities did they carry out in order to prepare for the inspections; how were other villagers involved; what did they do with the information, etc.?
- Your local CSO recently conducted a successful campaign targeting police corruption. One of the tactics was holding a weekly radio program each featuring a local police officer. Citizens could anonymously call the show and report instances of corruption to him/her live on the air. An international donor is excited by the radio program and told your CSO, “If we could scale this up to have 5000 similar radio programs all over the country, we could make a huge dent in police corruption!”

MODULE IV: PEOPLE POWER BUILDING BLOCKS – PART II



We've come quite a way. We understand that people have power, it's expressed through nonviolent action (civic mobilization) in movements, campaigns and civic initiatives. Strategy and tactics are two key building blocks. Now, where do we go from here?

4.1 Vision

Social movements, including those targeting corruption and impunity, often have an overall vision that is linked to nonviolent action.

A **movement's vision** is what their community or country or society will be like at the end of the struggle.

Group Discussion Questions

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

➤ 5th PILLAR – INDIA:



➤ ADDIOPIZZO (Goodbye, protection money) – ITALY



Source:

<http://www.islandshake.com/en/addiopizzo/>

Translation: 'An entire people who pays *pizzo* is a people without dignity.'

➤ FICHA LIMPA (CLEAN RECORD/SLATE) - BRAZIL



Translation: 'For a Better Brazil.'

➤ ONE MINUTE OF DARKNESS FOR CONSTANT LIGHT, SECOND CAMPAIGN – TURKEY



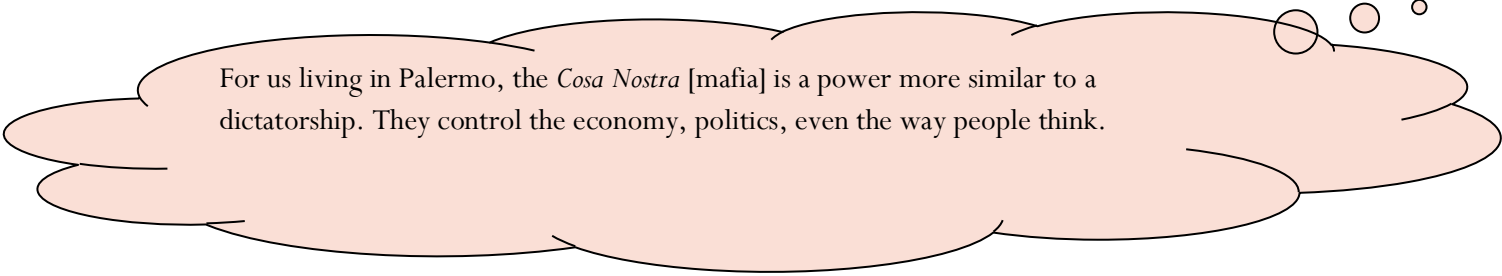
LEADING NEWS SOURCE FOR TURKEY AND THE REGION

At the resumption of "One Minute of Darkness for Permanent Light" on April 6, participants will wear white ribbons to signify their longing for a clean government, and the slogan of the campaign condemns not only the "mafia- police-politician" triangle, but proposes a third way, where people are not merely forced to choose between de-secularization of society and a secularist military takeover: "Neither the Shadow of the Sharia nor the Roar of the Tanks: For Democracy Only."²⁰ Zafer Yoruk

4.2 Identifying the Problem

Grass-roots movements and campaigns don't target corruption in the abstract. They focus on a problem that is:

- about widely-held public grievances about corruption that provoke anger or outrage;
- about widely-experienced injustices and oppression stemming from corruption that impact people in their everyday lives;
- public outrage over powerholder impunity and/or contempt/disregard for citizens.



For us living in Palermo, the *Cosa Nostra* [mafia] is a power more similar to a dictatorship. They control the economy, politics, even the way people think.

Source: Edoardo Zaffuto.²¹

Bill Moyer, a social movement theorist and social justice activist, identified three ways in which social movements need to win the majority of the public:

- (1) awareness of the problem;
- (2) opposition to present conditions and policies;
- (3) support for alternatives.²²

Group Discussion Questions

- ➡ What are some widely-held grievances about corruption and impunity in your society?
- ➡ Are there any widely-experienced forms of corruption in your society that negatively impact citizens in their everyday lives?

4.3 Anti-corruption goals (objectives)

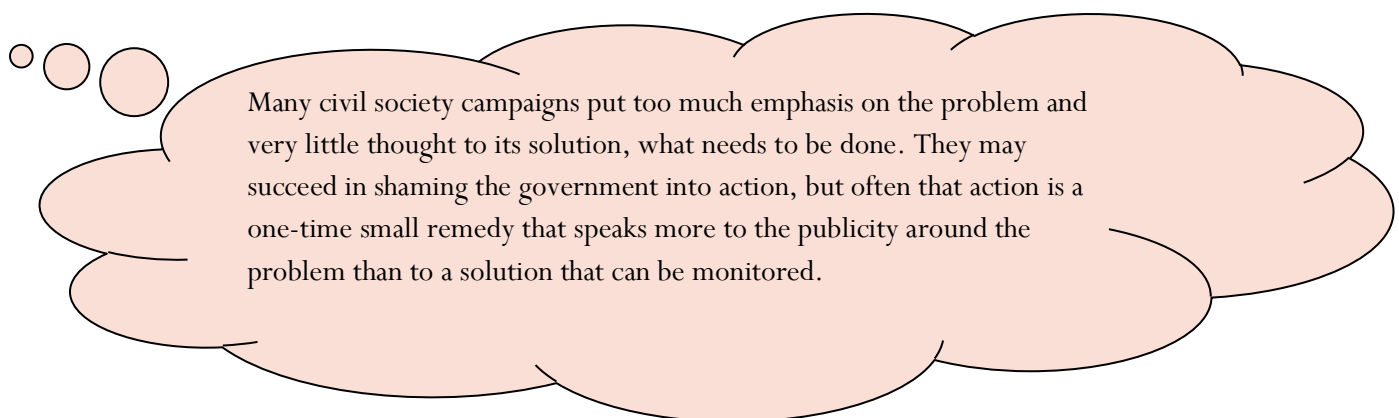
Once we've identified the problem, the next step is to come up with the goal(s) (in other words, the objectives). This is not an easy task! Sometimes, people confuse the problem with the goals. The goals are what you want to accomplish in order to address the corruption-related problem.

Some important questions to ask are:

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

Why do we need more tangible goals? They help us to focus on the actions we must take in order to achieve these goals and eliminate those activities that are distracting and unrelated to our desired outcomes. "Without measurable outcome goals," explains social movement scholar Marshall Ganz, "it is easy for a group to lose focus, to be unclear about its goals and therefore, unclear about what actions it must take."²³

4.4. Demands on power-holders



Source: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.²⁴

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

Group Discussion Questions

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

- Mexico: We want legislators to pay taxes on their Christmas bonuses, just like every other citizen who gets the bonus.
- Italy: We want to weaken the mafia in Palermo by encouraging businesses to refuse to pay pizzo (extortion money).
- Afghanistan: We want reconstruction and development projects intended to benefit marginalized communities to be carried out according to their plans and specifications.
- Brazil: We want Members of the Congress (both House and Senate) to pass the Ficha Limpa (Clean Record) bill that bans individuals with particular types of criminal records from holding public office.
- Kenya: We want the authorities to invalidate the sale of a public plot of land on which an HIV clinic stands, and for it to be repaired and reopened, according to the Constituency Development plan.
- Mexico: We want to begin to challenge the corruption and impunity in the political system.
- Afghanistan: We want the implementing authorities to rectify problems found by our volunteer monitors in the local reconstruction and development project.

Vague demands versus specific demands

Often, campaigns and movements will make vague demands. In some situations, there can be disadvantages to this.

- 1) By making vague demands, movements and campaigns therefore allow corruptors to set the agenda for change, take superficial action or implement measures that are useless, easily circumvented, or do not change the overall status quo.

Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/anndouglas/6287606851>



- 2) Concrete demands (asks) on corruptors and/or power-holders can allow a campaign or movement to measure whether or not they have been met and thus, whether or not the goals have been achieved. It's a pathway to identify a people power victory.



Support for the Jan Lokpal anti-corruption legislation on the highway from Ahmedabad to Gandhidham on the day when Anna Hazare was arrested and sent to jail (India, August 16, 2011)

Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/joeathialy/6051925132>



The birth of the UK UNKUT campaign (October 27, 2010)

Source: <http://ukuncut.wordpress.com/2010/10/27/photos-of-todays-action/>



Group Exercises

Pick one of the following case studies and identify the problem, goals (objectives), and demands.

1. Indonesia: Save KPK, save Indonesia



Source:

<amisboersma.blogspot.com/2009_11_01_archive.html>



Source: “Aksi Damai Tolak Kriminalisasi KPK 2.” November 20, 2011.

<<http://www.antikorupsi.org/id/content/aksi-damai-tolak-kriminalisasi-kpk-2-november-2009>>.

Since its creation in 2003, the Indonesian Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) has won the public’s respect and admiration. KPK has not hesitated to confront power-holders, and expose corrupt behavior and relationships among the local and national governments, Parliament, Administration, private sector, and police. It has convicted politicians, governors, judicial figures, and in 2008, the Deputy Governor of the Central Bank, who was also the father-in-law of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono’s son.²⁵

Since early 2009 efforts to weaken, if not destroy it, have intensified, including police criminalization of some of its activities, the arrest of its Chairman for murder, investigations of deputy commissioners, and parliamentary attempts to cut its budget and authority.

By July 2009, a group of civil society leaders decided it was necessary to proactively develop a strategy to protect KPK—the institution, its mandate and authority. One activist said, “We realized that what we faced was so big and so strong and has so much authority, we needed to come together.” They launched the CICA campaign, which had a dual meaning. It’s an acronym for “Love Indonesia, Love Anti-Corruption,” but also is a gecko lizard, referring to a derogatory wiretapped comment by the Chief of the Police’s Criminal Department, who compared KPK to a gecko fighting the crocodile (police). One hundred civic organizations soon joined CICA, a graduate student independently created a Facebook group, local groups formed in 20 of the country’s 33 provinces, and well-known public figures came on board.

The campaign’s overall strategy was to generate firm political will to safeguard the KPK, through overwhelming “power of numbers” pressure on President Yudhoyono, who had won a second term in office based on an anti-corruption platform. Organizers first demanded that the President publicly take a stand in

support of the Commission, and force those intent to destroy it within the police, Attorney General's Office, and Parliament to back down.

On October 29, the police arrested two KPK Deputy Chairmen, Chandra Hamzah and Bibit Samad Rianto, on charges of abuse of power. The arrests came a day after President Yudhoyono ordered an investigation into wiretapped telephone conversations involving a senior Attorney General's Office official, in which the president was said to support efforts to quell KPK. This repression backfired; CICAk was ready to channel popular anger into civic mobilization. The Facebook group reached 1.3 million, and became a key tool through which to communicate with and rally citizens. CICAk organized actions in Jakarta, while local chapters and high school and university students spontaneously initiated events throughout the country. CICAk demanded an immediate independent investigation to examine the arrests of the KPK Deputy Commissioners and quickly produce recommendations, and it called on the President to save the KPK.

Tactics included demonstrations, marches to the Presidential palace, petitions, wearing a black ribbon, CICAk clothing and accessories, banners reading "Say no to crocodiles," street murals, sit-ins, gathering in front of police stations, a hunger strike, street theatre, concerts, and humorous stunts that garnered media attention, for example, jumping off the KPK building with parachutes. Popular singers composed an anti-corruption song, which people used for ringtones. Citizens of all ages, social-economic groups, and religions participated. Senior clerics of Indonesia's five religions paid solidarity visits to KPK.

As people power escalated, President Yudhoyono agreed to the investigation. The Commission recommended the charges against the KPK officials be dropped. Bibit and Chandra were released. Senior figures in the police and attorney general's office resigned and investigations were launched.



2. Turkey: One Minute of Darkness for Constant Light

In 1996, Turkey was plagued by a nationwide crime syndicate that involved paramilitary entities, drug traffickers, the mafia, businesses, government officials, Members of Parliament and parts of the judiciary and media. That November a speeding car crashed into a truck on a highway late at night.

Source: 1 Dakika Karanlık.”

<<http://www.gecetreni.com/1dkk.html>>.

Among the passengers were a police chief and police academy director, a member of parliament, and an escaped criminal and paramilitary member (wanted by the Turkish courts, Swiss police and Interpol) who possessed a fake ID signed by the minister of internal affairs. The car contained cash, cocaine, and weapons. The next day students held unplanned protests throughout the country, but were harshly repressed.

A small, diverse group of professionals decided that this scandal provided an opportunity to tap public disgust, mobilize people to action against this entrenched corruption and impunity, and push for definable changes.²⁶ Their demands were to remove parliamentary immunity, prosecute the founders of the criminal groups; protect judges trying such cases; and reveal the crime syndicate relationships. They formed the Citizen Initiative for Constant Light. They made strategic choices from the outset - citizens should feel a sense of ownership in the effort and the campaign would be apolitical - in order to build a broad alliance, protect against smear attacks, and attract the widest possible base of people. Prior to taking action they defined goals, analyzed the media's views on corruption, and developed a publicity strategy. Because the mafia had recently been taking control of a major broadcasting corporation through manipulating legislation and business links, parts of the media were concerned about its image, which increased its responsiveness.

The Citizens Initiative systematically built a coalition by reaching out to non-political groups, including the Istanbul Coordination of Chambers of Professions, the Bar Association, unions, nongovernmental organizations, and the professional associations of pharmacists, dentists, civil engineers and electrical engineers. The organizers sought to create an innovative nonviolent action that would overcome real obstacles, such as violent crackdowns, imprisonment, and public fear and feelings of powerlessness. The teenage daughter of one of leaders came up with the idea to synchronized turning off of lights, and the campaign was called “One Minute of Darkness for Constant Light.” A chain of mass faxes and press releases signed by “an anonymous aunt” got the word out. In today's terminology, the fax chain went viral.

On February 1, 1997, citizens began to turn off their lights at 9:00 p.m. for one minute. After two weeks, approximately 30 million people participated throughout the country. They added their own flourishes, such as banging pots and pans and staging street actions. Neighborhood squares took on a festive character as people overcame their fear and gathered together. The campaign lasted six weeks. In the short-term, it broke the strong taboo over confronting corruption. Although it did not succeed to remove parliamentary immunity, it nonetheless empowered citizens to fight impunity, forced the government to launch judicial investigations which resulted in verdicts, and exposed crime syndicate figures and relationships.

MODULE V: CATALYSTS FOR CITIZEN MOBILIZATION AND ACTION

5.1. Nonviolent action “structures”

Nonviolent action is not random. It takes place through peaceful campaigns, social movements and local civil initiatives. Marshall Ganz describes **campaigns** as:

highly energized, intensely focused, concentrated streams of activity with specific goals and deadlines.²⁷

They have a relatively clear beginning and end. They mobilize time, resources and energy to achieve these goals.



Citizen's Alliance for the General Elections (CAGE) 2000 campaign (South Korea)

Source: Photographs provided by Taeho Lee.

Social movements consist of ongoing civic efforts with short and long-term goals and demands, involving multiple campaigns and interim victories along the way. They can last for years.



5th Pillar movement (India)

Source: 5th Pillar.

Local civic initiatives are a common type of campaign found in the anti-corruption world. They are built around a core activity and involve local communities, for example, monitoring institutions, powerholders, programs and development projects.



Monitoring of Qoryan Road, Zendajan District, Herat Province, Afghanistan, March 20, 2013.

Source: Photographs provided by Integrity Watch, Afghanistan.

Group Discussion Questions

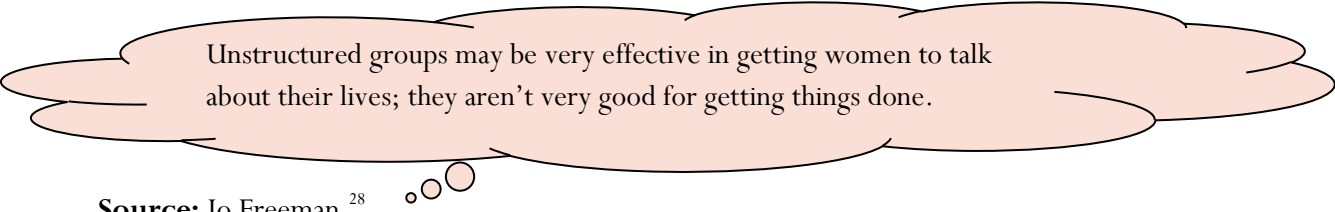
- ➔ Are there examples that come to your mind of social movements, campaigns and civic initiatives that directly or indirectly target corruption?
- ➔ Is a formal organization, like an NGO or CSO, always necessary for a nonviolent movement or campaign?

Structure or informality?

Sometimes when a group of citizens or civic entities want to work together to wield people power, a few individuals will question the need for getting organized, such as developing clear decision-making modes, designating responsibilities, identifying and distributing tasks, sharing information, and building accountability into the collaboration. Sociologist and women's rights activist, Jo Freeman, wrote back in 1970 about how the "tyranny of structurelessness" prevents movements from going beyond criticizing injustice and oppression to changing them.

Structurelessness will inhibit the development of strategy and effective tactics, waste talent and resources, and ultimately lead to a budding movement's demise, even if its vision, the problem being addressed, and goals resonate with a significant number of people in a community or society.

In the end, every group ends up having a structure; the difference is that in "unstructured" groups the structure is informal or covert, while in structured groups, it is transparent and thus, can be understood and openly changed by members of the group.



Unstructured groups may be very effective in getting women to talk about their lives; they aren't very good for getting things done.

Source: Jo Freeman.²⁸

5.2 Nonviolent Action Catalysts and Players

Catalysts

Nonviolent campaigns and movements targeting corruption have been started by groups of concerned citizens, civic actors, or various types of CSOs, community-based organizations (CBOs), professional associations, unions, and even educational institutions.

There are **five** general qualities characterizing effective civic organizations that catalyze campaigns and movements and engage in nonviolent action.²⁹

- 1) They are united and are able to manage their differences.
- 2) They share an understanding of the situation, the challenges, and what they want to do.
- 3) People in the organization actively participate and are not elitist. To use a colloquial phrase, they are willing to go out and get mud on their shoes, and not just work in an office and associate with power-holders.
- 4) The organization takes initiative and its people take action. They are proactive rather than consistently reactive.
- 5) People in the organization share a common sense of purpose.

Protagonists

Nonviolent campaigns and movements can be made up of a variety of protagonists, for example: civic leaders, public figures, citizens (including women and youth!), educators, grassroots groups, and many other non-state actors committed to nonviolent methods. Sometimes they can form coalitions or alliances.

Group Discussion Question

- ➡ What other non-state actors can be part of such campaigns and movements?

Organizers

They are the people in the core of the movement or campaign, who strategize, plan, develop and carry out nonviolent tactics, mobilize fellow-citizens, communicate, and make critical decisions.

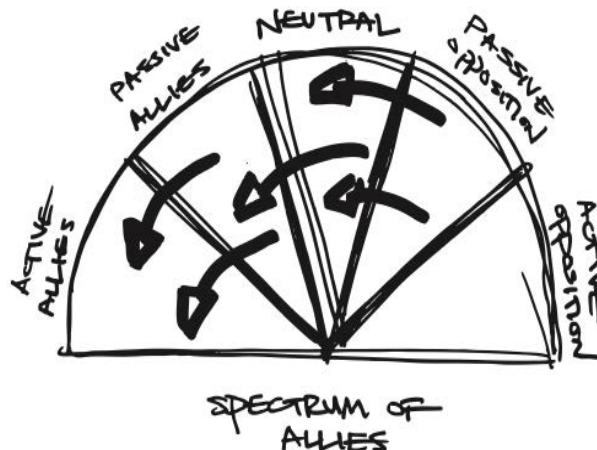
Organizers bring people together, challenging them to act on behalf of their shared values and interests... Organizers engage people in discerning *why* they should act to change their world – their **values** – and *how* they can act to change it – their **strategy**... Organizers challenge people to take the responsibility to act.

Source: Marshall Ganz.³⁰

In my research documenting grass-roots campaigns and movements targeting corruption around the world, when individuals came together to launch the initiatives (rather than an established civil society organization) they tended to be organized into a small core or team of about 10-14 people. Others have noticed the same phenomenon. “The most successful organizers are those who form a leadership team with whom to work early on in their campaign,” observed Ganz.³¹

Nonviolent action targets

There are even more players in nonviolent action! We can’t forget about corruptors, power-holders, and entities in the state, private sector and other parts of society (such as state institutions, corporations, unions, religious institutions). Another way of thinking about targets is to go back to the Spectrum of Allies, and identify people, groups and entities in the various categories.



Source: This illustration by Joshua Kahn Russell was originally published in Beautiful Trouble and appears here courtesy of a Creative Commons license.

5.3 Discourse, Arguments and Stories

Nonviolent theorist and educator, Hardy Merriman defines **discourse** as:

the narratives, cognitive frames, meanings and language of people power campaigns, movements and civic initiatives³²

It encompasses what we think and how we communicate about the corruption problem we are directly or indirectly targeting, our vision, objectives, goals demands (asks), obstacles, threats, and triumphs.³³ There are **three** elements of effective anti-corruption discourse.

1) *Defining the problem by:*

- reframing grievances to show how they are related to the particular system of corruption;
- basing the problem on the (social, economic, political, cultural) realities of regular people, rather than on abstract appeals against corruption or legalistic and technical jargon that doesn't relate to everyday life;
- linking personal experiences to the overall problem .

Korean political parties have remained unchanged and politicians do not represent the people's interests.

Source: Taeho Lee, Korean civic leader and democracy movement veteran.³⁴

2) *Defining the anti-corruption struggle by:*

- articulating what the struggle is against – and as importantly – what the struggle is for;

1 Minute of Darkness for Constant Light! To show my determination to bring to justice the ones who assembled crime organizations and the ones who hired their services; to support the persons and authorities who investigate the events in questions; to make my yearning for a democratic, contemporary, and transparent state of law be heard... This is a call from CITIZEN TO CITIZEN.

Source: One Minute of Darkness for Constant Light Campaign, Turkey.³⁵



Source: Kivanc, Umit. "1 Minute Darkness for Constant Light." 2010. <<http://vimeo.com/8105654>>.

3) Defining the movement or campaign's values by:

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

You are the freedom fighters of India. We were slaves to the British for 190 years and we are now slaves to corruption.



Source: Vijay Anand, 5th Pillar.³⁶

Source: 5th Pillar.

Arguments and stories

Arguments and stories are part of people power discourse. They help to reach our various audiences, connect with people, win them over to our side, and shift positions and loyalties. **Arguments** are based on evidence, data and logic.³⁷ **Stories** are based on identification and connection with the struggle.

Story telling is action speech.

Source: Marshall Ganz.³⁸

We can tell stories about people power to curb corruption. Like any story, our movement or campaign story has a plot – composed of a problem/grievance to overcome, a choice, and an outcome. As a campaign or movement grows, so can the stories. The plot “thickens” as the struggle unfolds with the challenges we face, how we overcome them, how we become empowered, and how we succeed. *The story can become what Ganz calls a “story of now”. Our anti-corruption stories involve a challenge that the movement or campaign faces; a choice we must make; and hope if we make the right choice.*

A story in stickers:



“I’m a CICAk not afraid to face crocodile.”



“Small CICAks! Let’s attack crocodile!”

Together, the CICAk campaign’s name and acronym brilliantly tell the story of a bottom-up struggle to save the Indonesian Anti-Corruption Commission. As mentioned earlier, *cicak* means gecko in Indonesian – in this case the little lizards fighting the mighty crocodile (police). It’s also an acronym for Cintai Indonesia Cintai KPK (Love Indonesia, Love Anti-Corruption Commission). It brilliantly encapsulated the struggle:

- the problem – power-holder efforts to destroy the anti-corruption commission;
- the target – police (crocodiles);
- the objective - save KPK;
- the protagonists – *cicaks*, symbolizing regular citizens who can overcome the big crocodile through the power of numbers;
- motivation - love of country.

Group Discussion Questions

The following is an excerpt from a radio broadcast with Hussein Khalid, who at the time was with MUHURI. The previous night, the CSO's office had been ransacked by a gang of nine men, just two days before a public hearing about the Likoni constituency social audit, in which evidence and data about malfeasance would be presented. A guard was stabbed in the neck.³⁹



Source: Likoni social audit public forum, 2009 .

But when the people of Likoni arrived this morning, they said, 'We are determined to stay and protect this work, so that tomorrow we can present our findings at the public hearing.' This support is one of the things that gives us great encouragement...And until the citizens emerge and participate completely in the process, like coming to the meeting tomorrow at the Bomani grounds at 2:00 p.m., until they emerge and show their purpose, and their desire to see changes brought forward, we the people will continue to hurt while the politicians continue to profit.

- ➔ Is this a "story of now" (see p. 44).
- ➔ What are the elements in this plot (problem, choice, outcome)?
- ➔ How does the story frame obstacles?
- ➔ Who are the protagonists in this story and who are the intended targets of it?
- ➔ How is the campaign's story and argument linked?
- ➔ What is the action in this story?



1. Civic mobilization considerations

If you and other colleagues in a CSO are thinking about civic mobilization and people power, answer the following questions, and then discuss them together.⁴⁰

- 1) What motivates you to want to address this anti-corruption problem (injustice, grievance/oppression)?
- 2) What motivates other people in your organization to address this anti-corruption problem?
- 3) What do people in your situation (community, city, country) think and feel about this problem?
- 4) How does your CSO talk about this problem?

2. What is your anti-corruption story?

As we saw with MUHURI, people power civic initiatives – through their discourse - can tell an anti-corruption story. Each story has a plot – composed of a problem/grievance to overcome, a choice, and an outcome

Whether you are in a bottom-up movement or campaign, or a more formal NGO or CSO, do you and your colleagues have a people power story? Or if you don't, how would you envision a people power story? Outline your anti-corruption plot, including:

- the problem/grievance to overcome?
- the choice?
- a desired outcome?

MODULE VI: THE ROLE OF INTANGIBLES

6.1. Intangible People Power Qualities

So far, we've looked at the conceptual underpinnings of people power and nonviolent action, their building blocks, and catalysts for citizen mobilization and action. In my research of people power versus corruption and impunity, I found that nonviolent campaigns and movements had several key intangible qualities. We can learn from these cases and strategically cultivate these essential intangibles.

1) Honest image

The civic initiative is associated with individuals or groups in society that are viewed as being untainted and/or incorruptible.

- builds credibility and can help mobilize people.

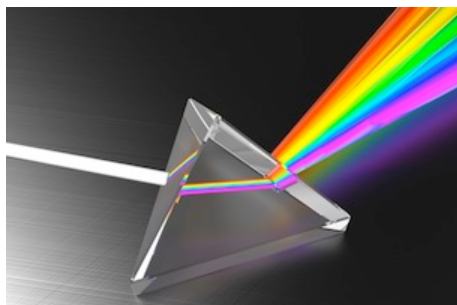
2) Credibility

The leaders/organizers of a nonviolent movement or campaign are viewed as not having self-serving motives, interests or gains.

- builds trust among regular people and helps to overcome cynicism, wariness and apathy.

3) The Three "Collectives"

Collective identity, collective responsibility and collective ownership are three sides of the same citizen engagement and mobilization prism.



Collective identity – a shared sense of “we-ness” that sociologist Lee Smithey says comes from shared cognitions, beliefs and emotions among a group of people seeking positive change.⁴¹

Collective responsibility – the personal sense individuals have that the anti-corruption problem is their concern and unless they are a part of a joint effort to fight it, things will not change. It's the opposite of the notions: “It's not my battle” or “This is best left for others to deal with, not me.”

Collective ownership – the personal sense individuals have that, “I am needed, and my own efforts will contribute to achieving our shared goals and success.”

- cultivated through shared grievances and goals, nonviolent tactics, symbols, and discourse;
- builds unity, solidarity, fosters a sense of urgency and hope, validates feelings of outrage over the corruption/impunity being targeted, overcomes



Textbook Count campaign (Philippines)

Source: Annie Enriquez-Geron, PPT Presentation, 14th IACC, Athens, Greece.



Source: Ivanatman, November 2, 2009. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>.

feelings of isolation, self-doubt and low confidence that change is possible, and can help to overcome fear.

4) Unity

Unity - of people and goals – is critical to citizen mobilization and successful nonviolent campaigns and movements.⁴² Anti-corruption civic initiatives expand our understanding of unity by revealing its linkages to other people power intangibles. Unity is:

- built upon widely-held grievances, and the “collectives” (collective responsibility, collective ownership, and collective identity);
- stoked by a shared sense of outrage, and sometimes, a commonly perceived source of the injustice or oppression, for example, from Table I, the mafia (Italy), police (Uganda), political parties/parliament (Brazil, Mexico, South Korea), public sector (India), or the overall government (Egypt).

5) Legitimacy

Legitimacy of the civic initiative – the cause, protagonists (citizens) and nonviolent tactics both in the eyes of regular people, power-holders and/or corruptors – *is vital for people power*. It can: prevent or thwart repression; make attacks backfire; counter efforts to discredit the movement or campaign; embolden and empower honest officials within corrupt systems; weaken the resolve of corruptors to maintain the status quo; increase prospects to constructively engage with power-holders; and shift positions and support towards the civic initiative both from the public and from within corrupt systems.

Legitimacy stems from:

Unity – of people, grievances and objectives

Credibility – of the civic initiative, campaign or movement, including the people associated with it (such as leaders, organizers, and individuals who are the public “face” of it); the people who take part in nonviolent tactics (that is, the civilians); and sources of support and resources.

Collective ownership – of the civic initiative, campaign or movement by regular people.

Source: Movement to Defend Khimki Forest, Russia,
<http://wagingnonviolence.org/feature/russias-forest-defenders-a-campaign-to-save-moscows-khimki-forest-heats-up/>

This is our homeland, we like our way of life and don't want to lose it because of some officials and their corrupt interests.

Source: Evgenia Chirikova, Movement to Defend Khimki Forest, Russia.



5th Pillar. A People's Movement against corruption



5th Pillar
Corruption Killer



Come, Let's Change!

the myth that nothing happens without paying bribe...
the myth that nothing happens by taking bribe...

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Group Exercise



Below are the five intangible barriers. Using the following list, which of the intangible motivators best match up with each intangible barrier? Fill in the blanks.

INTANGIBLE MOTIVATORS

Confidence and collective ownership
Collective identity
Outrage and shared grievances
Urgency and collective responsibility
Outrage and hope

INTANGIBLE BARRIERS TO ACTION

Inertia (habit)



Fear (repression, failure)



Apathy/cynicism



Self-doubt



Isolation



INTANGIBLE MOTIVATORS OF ACTION

Group Discussion Questions

In the following statements, what is the intangible barrier(s) that the nonviolent movement or campaign seeks to overcome?

- ➡ A people that refuses to pay extortion money is a free people. (Addiopizzo, Italy)
- ➡ Every citizen can rise to be part of the 5th Pillar to make sure the other four pillars of democracy are working properly for people. (Vijay Anand, 5th Pillar)
- ➡ They were part of the partnership and had power and the will to curb police corruption as they are the real victims with experience in their daily encounters with the police. (Joseline Korugyendo, NAFODU-Police-Community Partnership Forum, Uganda)
- ➡ People are excited that they can exercise their civic duty, that they can be engaged with their democracy. (Gabriela Tanaka, Ficha Limpa movement, Brazil)
- ➡ It's time to fight the 'good fight.' Time to forget the ideological differences and to shine in a new era of national politics.⁴⁵ (Ficha Limpa movement)
- ➡ Let's put pressure on the deputies reaching two million signatures to show that if they don't vote for 'Ficha Limpa,' we won't vote for them.⁴⁶ (Avaaz)
- ➡ When elections are corrupt, we're watching you. When you rig votes, we're watching you. When you torture prisoners, we're watching you.⁴⁷ (Bothaina Kamel, shayfeen.com, Egypt)
- ➡ Our first step was to open our eyes, to see where we are now and where we are going next, to see where what our government is doing to us, and to understand what we are doing to our country.⁴⁸ (Bothaina Kamel, shayfeen.com)
- ➡ We see you, and at the elections we are observing you.⁴⁹ (shayfeen.com)
- ➡ Let's stop fooling ourselves. (DHP* movement, Mexico)
- ➡ While the deputies take public money, the citizens lose it. (DHP* movement)
- ➡ KPK in my heart. (CICAK campaign, Indonesia)
- ➡ I am a gecko and am not afraid to fight a crocodile.⁵⁰ (CICAK campaign)

6.3 Hope

We must accept finite disappointment, but never lose infinite hope.

Source: Martin Luther King, Jr.⁵¹

Source: <http://tbn0.google.com/images?q=tbn:5qDTUrcq0o1RVM>



Hope is not usually something directly factored into nonviolent action, but it's a crucial emotion at the heart of citizen mobilization. Thus, it's important to acknowledge its role in people power.

Hope can be a source of inspiration to: envision a better future; contemplate fighting corruption, impunity and injustice; decide to take action, work together with others to lead, strategize and plan a campaign, movement or civic initiative; join a campaign, movement or civic initiative; and as importantly, to participate in nonviolent tactics. For some, such as civic leaders, a glimmer of hope may exist at the outset. For others, such as regular people, hope is something that grows over time through their exposure to the civic initiative and participation in it.

When it comes to overcoming corruption, impunity and injustice through people power, hope is not abstract. Hope is specific because it's tied our movement and campaign discourse and our anti-corruption story – involving shared grievances distilled into the problem; a choice to engage in nonviolent action and not to acquiesce to the status quo; and shared goals and a desired outcome(s).

Hope and strategy

Hope and strategy are inherently linked because a key element of both hope and strategy is a **credible** story and plan of how we will get from where we are to where we want to be at the end of the struggle.⁵²

Hope and fear

People can fear repression, harassment, rejection, ridicule, and failure. They may personally be fearful or be concerned about their loved ones and community. Hope can be an antidote to fear.

A decision to act in spite of fear is the meaning of courage. And of all the emotions that can help us find courage, perhaps the most important is 'hope'.

Source: Marshall Ganz.⁵³



Sources: (1) www.khimkiforest.com

Movement to Defend Khimki Forest, Russia

(2) Daniel Beilinson

(3) Daniel Beilinson

Our human compassion binds us the one to the other - not in pity or patronizingly, but as human beings who have learnt how to turn our common suffering into hope for the future.

Source: Nelson Mandela.⁵⁴

Source: Hitesh Malani, Creative Commons noncommercial reuse.



Group Discussion Questions

- ➡ Do you think it's possible for a committed group of people, a civic or other non-state entity (such as a CSO, professional organization, union), or a non-state coalition or alliance to decide to tackle some form of corruption through nonviolent action if they don't have hope that positive change is possible?
- ➡ Do you think it's possible to mobilize large numbers of citizens in a nonviolent campaign or movement if they don't have hope – even if it's only a small glimmer – that their efforts and people power can bring forth some kind of positive change?

MODULE VII: THREATS AND REPRESSION: RISK ANALYSIS AND BACKFIRE



Source: CCO Public Domain.

From government reformers to civic actors to journalists, those who fight corruption know there can be risks and repression. It's not only because we want to impact corruption. There's another reason. If we go back to the systemic definition of corruption on page 18, we remember that corruptors have vested interests to perpetuate their systems of power abuse because they are reaping private, collective or political gains. Therefore, they have vested interests to perpetuate the malfeasant status quo. Thus, it's not surprising that many who are benefitting from corruption will try to thwart or stop the efforts, measures and individuals jeopardizing these venal systems.

If one thinks about it, organized, strategic civic initiatives - in which an overall strategy is linked to planning and tactical selection - constitute the foundation for minimizing risk and repression. This is because risk and repression are factored into the strategic assessments. But we can do more! In this module, we focus on an analytical tool that can be used to conduct a risk analysis. We also will look at backfire, the common phenomenon first raised in **Module 1**, where repression by oppressors is counterproductive for them and can lead to increased citizen mobilization for the movement or campaign targeting corruption.

7.1 SWOT Analysis

Some of you may already be familiar with the SWOT Analysis. It stands for **Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats**. It was developed by Albert Humphrey, a business and management consultant, during his work with the Stanford Research Institute during the 1960s and 1970s.⁵⁵ It's become a tool used in many fields beyond business, including civil society.

We can conduct a SWOT analysis for our group, campaign, movement or civic initiative. We can even attempt a SWOT analysis of oppressors and corrupt entities. While we obviously can't know everything about them, it can be very helpful to try to understand their strengths, weaknesses, opportunities (to engage in corruption, repression, etc.) and threats to their corrupt system (which can include nonviolent movements, campaigns and civic initiatives, whistleblowing and investigative journalism)!

Through the SWOT analysis, we can examine our overall situation along **two** dimensions:

1. **Internal factors** (strengths/weaknesses) – **External factors** (opportunities/threats);
2. **Positive factors** (strengths/opportunities) – **Negative factors** (weaknesses/threats).⁵⁶

SWOT Matrix

<p>Strengths → (<i>internal/positive</i>)</p> <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + What are we doing well? + What are our advantages? + What relevant skills and resources do we have? + What do others see as our strengths? <p>Q: HOW DO WE MAKE THE MOST OF OUR STRENGTHS?</p>	<p>Weaknesses → (<i>internal/negative</i>)</p> <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What can improve? - What are we doing badly? - What should we avoid? - What relevant/needed resources and skills do we not presently have? - Can our internal weaknesses turn into serious threats that would put our group, campaign, movement, civic initiative, activists, citizens at risk? <p>Q: HOW DO WE CIRCUMVENT OR OVERCOME OUR WEAKNESSES?</p>
<p>Opportunities → (<i>external/positive</i>)</p> <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + What positive opportunities are available to us to use? + What positive trends can we take advantage of? + Are there potential allies we can engage with? + How can we turn our strengths into opportunities? <p>Q: HOW DO WE MAKE THE MOST OF THESE OPPORTUNITIES?</p>	<p>Threats → (<i>external/negative</i>)</p> <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What obstacles do we face? - What are the corruptors/oppressors doing? - What serious external threats do we face and can they harm us and/or our group, campaign, movement, civic initiative, activists, citizens? <p>Q: HOW DO WE MANAGE, MINIMIZE OR OVERCOME OUR THREATS?</p>

Source - Adapted from:

“Tools for organizers and activists: SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) analysis,” Organizing for Change, accessed January 27, 2015, <http://organizing4change.net/tools/swot-strengths-weaknesses-opportunities-threats-analysis>.

“SWOT Analysis Worksheet,” Mind Tools, Assessed January 27, 2015, <http://www.mindtools.com/pages/article/worksheets/SWOTAnalysisDownload.htm>.

“Using the TOWS Matrix: Developing Strategic Options From an External-Internal Analysis,” Mind Tools, Assessed January 27, 2015, http://www.mindtools.com/pages/article/newSTR_89.htm.

Group Exercise 1 : Our SWOT Analysis Worksheet⁵⁷



(Adapted from Mind Tools)

If you are doing this exercise as a group, pick one person to be the facilitator. If the group is small (under 6 people), you can have each person do the following worksheet and then discuss the answers or you can fill in the worksheet together. If you have a large group, break up into groups of 4-5, with each choosing one person in the group as the facilitator. Have each group complete the following worksheet, and then bring everyone together and have each facilitator report back her/his group's answers. Discuss the findings.

Group Exercise 2 : Corruptor/Oppressor SWOT Analysis Worksheet⁵⁸



Put yourself in the place of the corruptors/oppressors/targets of your campaign, movement or civic initiative and do the SWOT Analysis from their perspective(s). If you are doing this exercise as a group, pick one person to be the facilitator. If the group is small (under 6 people), you can have each person complete the following worksheet and then discuss the answers, or you can fill in the worksheet together. If you have a large group, break up into groups of 4-5, with each choosing one person in the group as the facilitator. Have each group complete the worksheet, and then bring everyone together and have each facilitator report back his/her group's answers. Discuss the findings and how this process can help your campaign, movement or civic initiative analyze and prepare for risks and repression?

Strengths → <i>(internal/positive)</i>	Weaknesses → <i>(internal/negative)</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + What are we doing well? + What are our advantages? + What relevant skills and resources do we have? + What do others see as our strengths? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What can improve? - What are we doing badly? - What should we avoid? - What relevant/needed resources and skills do we not presently have? - Can our internal weaknesses turn into serious threats that would put our group, campaign, movement, civic initiative, activists, citizens at risk?
HOW DO WE MAKE THE MOST OF OUR STRENGTHS?	HOW DO WE CIRCUMVENT OR OVERCOME OUR WEAKNESSES?
Opportunities → <i>(external/positive)</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + What positive opportunities are available to us to use? + What positive trends can we take advantage of? + Are there potential allies we can engage with? + How can we turn our strengths into opportunities? 	Threats → <i>(external/negative)</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What obstacles do we face? - What are the corruptors/oppressors doing? - What serious external threats do we face and can they harm us and/or our group, campaign, movement, civic initiative, activists, citizens?

HOW TO WE MAKE THE MOST OF THESE OPPORTUNITIES?	HOW DO WE MANAGE, MINIMIZE OR OVERCOME OUR THREATS?

7.2 What is Backfire?

Back in **Module 1**, the phenomenon of backfire was introduced to explain why repression is often counterproductive for oppressors and can lead to increased citizen mobilization. To recap, Brian Martin explains that backfire happens when an attack or reprisal recoils against the perpetrators and creates more support for or attention to whatever/whoever is attacked. In our context, this would be civic initiatives and citizens targeting corruption and impunity.

If they came to rob the documents we are having, it seems that there is something so big that they are hiding. In fact they are giving us more motivation for us to go for more information.

Source: Muepe Khalfan, citizen-activist, Likoni constituency, Kenya.⁵⁹

7.2 Igniting Backfire

Activists often believe that injustice automatically creates outrage. For example, if police beat protesters or the government breaks the law, activists think everyone will see how unfair this is. The model shows that powerful perpetrators can use a wide range of techniques that reduce outrage.

Source: Brian Martin.⁶⁰

Corruptor behaviour must be perceived as unjust, unfair, excessive or disproportional – therefore creating public outrage.

Public outrage can result from:

- injustice, impunity, and power-holder contempt and disregard for regular people;
- the violation of societal norms concerning: violence; treatment of people in general or particular social groups (such as women, youth, the elderly, clergy); fairness and integrity; civil liberties (for example, free speech, free and fair elections); provision of services (such as education, rule of law, public health and safety); the environment; human dignity; and peaceful citizen mobilization.⁶¹

Based on years of research, Martin has developed a model for civic actors to understand and generate backfire when they face intimidation, repression and impunity. Table 3 outlines a set of predictable methods corruptors use to avoid or minimize negative consequences, public outrage and action. It also indicates the five corresponding methods for civic initiatives to increase outrage and activate backfire.

TABLE 3

Corruptor methods to reduce outrage over the repression, injustice, impunity	People power methods to increase outrage over the repression, injustice, impunity
Cover up - the action	Reveal - expose the action (through information, images, credible accounts)
Devalue – the target (person, organization, group)	Redeem - validate the target
Reinterpret - what happened	Reframe - emphasize the injustice, counter reinterpretation of it
Use official channels - to give the appearance of justice	Mobilize - public concern
Intimidate or reward - the people involved	Resist and expose - intimidation (to subdue outrage) and rewards (benefits, incentives, bribes that make people less likely to express outrage)

Source: Adapted from Brian Martin, Backfire Basics, Accessed Hanuary 28, 2014, www.brianmartin.cc/pubs.bf/bfbasics.pdf.

7.3 Backfire Case Study

The CICAk campaign in Indonesia illustrates how an injustice can be made to backfire. A quick glance at Group Exercise 1 in **Module 4** will refresh your memory of the case.⁶² The attackers were corruptors in the police, Attorney General's Office and the Judiciary, nicknamed the "judicial mafia." The target was the KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission/*Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi*).

The police used all five methods to reduce public outrage over its corruption and efforts to devastate the KPK.

- 1) **Cover up**: They tried to keep their plotting out of the public eye.

- 2) **Devalue:** They devalued their target by attempting to discredit the KPK through charging and arresting its senior officials.
- 3) **Reinterpret:** They reinterpreted their foul deeds by lying, blaming others and reframing the narrative. The state's narrative - its reinterpretation of events – was about an unaccountable KPK rife with corrupt officials.
- 4) **Official channels:** The perpetrators of injustice used official channels to give an appearance of justice. They justified the arrests of the KPK Deputy Commissioners as the delivery of justice through administrative and legal measures.
- 5) **Intimidate or reward:** The police attempted to intimidate the KPK and its supporters.

We realized that no government institution would protect KPK, so the people had to protect it.



CICAK campaign organizers.

Source: Illian Deta Arta Sari, CICAK campaign organizer.⁶³

Source: <http://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2012/08/06/ini-yang-akan-disampaikan-kpk-ke-polri>

Their efforts were unsuccessful because campaign organizers intuitively thwarted each of the police's **five** outrage-reduction tactics.

- 1) **Reveal:** With the aid of KPK wiretaps, they exposed the action, countering a cover-up.
- 2) **Redeem:** They validated the KPK targets, countering devaluation.
- 3) **Reframe:** They interpreted the attack on KPK and its senior officials as an injustice, thereby countering reinterpretation.
- 4) **Mobilize:** They mobilized public support and avoided ineffectual and time-wasting official channels that the corruptors could control.
- 5) **Resist:** They nonviolently resisted in the face of intimidation.

The result was that the attack on the KPK backfired on the police. Their plot was thwarted, the two falsely accused and imprisoned Deputy Commissioners were released, and two senior officials were forced to resign.

Source: Lukas, Edi. Flickr Image "Free Bibit Chandra." November 3, 2009.
<<https://www.flickr.com/photos/25400100@N02/4069403926/in/photostream/>>.



Group Exercise⁶⁴



The most important message from the model is to think about options and to take into account what the other side is likely to do. This is obvious enough when stated this way, but in practice activists often do the things they've always done and think mainly about what they want to achieve and what they plan to do, not what opponents will do.

Source: Brian Martin.⁶⁵

1. Identify an anti-corruption problem (**Module 4.2**) from your own context OR you and other citizens in a nonviolent civic initiative are seeking to change that is related to:
 - widely-held public grievances about corruption that provoke anger or outrage;
 - widely-experienced injustices and oppression stemming from corruption that impact people in their everyday lives;
 - public outrage over power-holder impunity, repression and/or contempt/disregard for citizens.
2. Write down the methods used by corruptors to reduce outrage, under the five backfire categories of:
 - cover-up;
 - devaluation;
 - reinterpretation;
 - official channels;
 - intimidation or reward.
3. a) Using the Backfire Model, if you are examining a real case, identify the methods being used by civic actors and citizens to increase outrage, constructively channel it through nonviolent tactics, and make the corruptor actions backfire. **OR...**
b) If you are involved in nonviolent action targeting corruption, write down what:
 - corruptors might do to discredit, thwart or destroy your overall nonviolent campaign or movement and contain outrage over their actions;
 - what corruptors might do to avoid or reduce outrage over their attack.
4. Use the Backfire Model framework to identify a “story of now” (**Module 5.3**) and specific nonviolent tactics that could be used to:
 - reveal (expose the attack/action);
 - redeem (validate the target);
 - reframe (interpret the events as an injustice);
 - mobilize (gather support and avoid official channels when under the control of corruptors);
 - resist (resist corruptor intimidation and rewards).

MODULE VIII: A STRATEGIC APPROACH TO CHOOSING TACTICS

Tactics are specific actions taken in order to implement a strategy.⁶⁶

[Tactics] build on your strength and your opponent's weaknesses. They fall within the experience of your constituency, but outside the experience of your opposition. They unify your constituency, but divide the opposition.

Source: Marshall Ganz.⁶⁷

8.1 Types of Tactics

There are different ways to classify tactics. When fighting corruption, it's useful to look at their function in terms of people power.

Disruption – tactics that disrupt the corrupt status quo, that is, systems of corruption (horizontal or vertical).

Engagement – tactics that engage people (including power-holders, the public, potential allies); tactics that “pull” them towards the movement/campaign/civic initiative; tactics that shift positions and loyalties.

Empowerment – tactics that empower:

- the movement/campaign/civic initiative;
- more generally the grass roots (including regular citizens!);
- honest power-holders inside the corrupt system, such as integrity champions, reformers, officials, and businesses.

BOX 3: An Unusual Tactic - Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed⁶⁸

Many of you are familiar with street theater and may have designed and participated in it. Participatory theater involves the “audience.” It breaks down the divide between it, and the actors and director. In Theatre of the Oppressed, explains Rebecca Sargent, “actors simulate common oppressive behavior and then provide the audience with a chance to suggest actions for the actors to carry out in the scene in an attempt to change the outcome, overcoming the oppression. The hope is that the modeled behavior will help spectators become empowered to act and change their thinking towards oppression in their own lives...”⁶⁹ Boal went on to develop a new form of street theater called Invisible Theatre. It consists of what Sargent describes as a “scripted core” whereby an episode of social injustice is played out to the public who are unaware that they are witnessing a drama. The actors assume the roles of oppressors, the oppressed, and outspoken citizens who encourage bystanders to also take similar action. The goal is to foster citizen empowerment.⁷⁰

Group Discussion Questions

- ➡ Have you or your group ever done anything similar to Theatre of the Oppressed or Invisible Theatre? How did it turn out?
- ➡ Can you envision using either of these tactics? Given that corruption is a form of oppression, is there a particular kind of corruption that could be addressed in your context through either of these participatory theatre tactics?

8.2 Special Tactics

There are **two** special kinds of tactics that have been used by movements, campaigns and civic initiatives targeting corruption.

Dilemma action:

a nonviolent tactic that puts the corruptor in a situation whereby the choices of responses it can take will result in negative outcomes for it and positive outcomes for the grass-roots initiative. Dilemma actions are often designed around humor, everyday activities, or social and cultural practices, for example, holidays and celebrations. In other types of nonviolent struggles, dilemma actions have been designed around mourning rituals, such as funerals. Dilemma actions are used in many different kinds of contexts, including under repressive conditions. In the latter case, successful dilemma actions can carve out civic space where it's threatened or very limited.

Group Discussion Questions

Scenario 1:

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Dosta! (Enough!) movement launched a campaign against systemic corruption in the country by targeting the Prime Minister (see **Module 1**, Table 2). After the Prime Minister demanded retribution for graffiti on the building where he lived, that said “Give back the apartment you thief,” people could be seen wearing this T-shirt. As you can guess, it said, “I wrote the graffiti.”



Source: Darko Brkan, DOSTA!

- 1) What was the dilemma that these clever youth created for powerholders?
- 2) What were two main choices the police had in reaction to people wearing the T-shirt.
- 3) How did it put them in a lose-lose situation, that is, either course of action was not in their favor.
- 4) How did it put the campaign in a win-win situation, that is, either course of action the police could take benefitted the campaign?

Scenario 2:

In Raichur, India, a favorite tactic created by Dalit women is described as follows:

Typically, at these events, 20 or 30 women sit in front of a government office, singing songs about the corrupt practices they encounter in the operation of anti-poverty programmes intended to benefit them.

Source: Vinay Bhargava, Indira Sandilya, Alexander Varghese, and Harish Poovaiah.⁷¹

- 1) What was the dilemma that these women created to target corrupt officials?
- 2) What were two main choices that officials had in reaction to the singing women?
- 3) How did it put them in a lose-lose situation, that is, either course of action was not in their favor?
- 4) How did it put the civic initiative in a win-win situation, that is, either course of action the officials could take benefitted the women?

Defining method⁷²:

a series of sequenced nonviolent actions that together wield people power. It consists of a principle tactic around which other nonviolent tactics revolve.

Examples from grass-roots initiatives targeting corruption and impunity include:

- Community monitoring – IWA, Afghanistan;
- Social audits – MUHURI, Kenya;
- Zero-Rupee Note empowerment – 5th Pillar, India;
- Parliamentary monitoring – DHP*, Mexico
- Refusing to pay mafia extortion money + reverse boycotts – Addipizzo, Italy;
- Not voting for blacklisted candidates – CAGE 2000, South Korea;
- Synchronized mass turning on and off of lights – One Minute of Darkness for Constant Light, Turkey.



Translation: “I pay who doesn’t pay.”

Source: www.addipizzo.org

CAGE 2000 symbol – soccer foul card for blacklisted candidates

Source: Tacho Lee, “CAGE 2000” (PPT presentation provided to author, n.d.)



8.3 Tactical Dimensions

We can think about tactics over a variety of dimensions. Some of the ways in which nonviolent tactics/actions can vary are:

- **Simplicity** – to organize and/or to conduct the action. Some tactics are easy to organize or carry out, while others can be more complicated or difficult.
- **Resources** – needed to carry out the action (people, money, expertise, time, equipment, supplies, etc.).
- **Risk** – from low to high risk of crackdowns, harassment, and violence from the opponent.
- **Exposure** – from complete anonymity (e.g. monitoring police through anonymous texting to report bribe demands to a CSO or civic initiative) to overt, prolonged exposure (e.g., protest camps).
- **Size** – from small flash actions to huge mass actions involving tens of thousands of people (not only demonstrations but T-shirt/ribbon campaigns, synchronized turning off of lights for a specified period of time, honking/flashing at intersections at specific times, banging on pots and pans from windows, coordinated blowing of whistles, etc.).
- **Extra-institutional versus institutional** – most people power tactics are extra-institutional in nature because they apply political, economic, social or psychological pressure from the outside in - onto power-holders inside the political system, government, state institutions, private sector, other societal institutions and non-state entities.

Some nonviolent movements and campaigns have also used institutional tactics based on institutional mechanism and laws. The Ficha Limpa (Clean Slate/Record) movement succeeded in using the Popular Initiative legal instrument to submit a bill to the Brazilian Congress that would render candidates ineligible to take office if they have been convicted by more than one judge of certain crimes (see **Module 1, Table 2**).

Bottom-up civic initiatives can even use anti-corruption instruments. For example, in 2007 the Mubarak regime in Egypt cracked down on the shayfeen.com movement. In response, movement organizers sued the government by demonstrating that their activities were legal under the UNCAC (United Nations Convention Against Corruption), which Egypt had signed. They won in court, and as a result, the government had to publish UNCAC in Egypt's official legal chronicle, which then made it binding in the country's courts of law (see **Module 1, Table 2**).⁷³

Electoral tactics can blur the boundaries between extra-institutional and institutional tactics. They include candidate blacklists, candidate evaluations, and candidate shadowing (a citizen with credibility in the eyes of the public who follows a corrupt candidate during campaigning time), and not voting for a blacklisted candidate. The CAGE 2000 campaign was adept at using electoral tactics (see **Module 1, Table 2**).

It's helpful to consider these tactical dimensions when strategically creating and choosing tactics.

8.4 Strategic Deliberations

Identifying the Target

In order to strategically design and choose a tactic, it's important to consider who/what is the target. In the anti-corruption context, this can include:

- an overall system of graft and abuse (vertical or horizontal);
- corrupt practices (such as bribe demands, extortion demands);
- endemic power-holder corruption and impunity;
- particular institutions and organizations (for example, government ministries, police, municipalities, corporations, unions, external actors, GONGOs, NGOs, and religious institutions)*;
- particular power-holders (such as government ministers, parliamentarians, state officials, local officials, and non-state power-holders).

* GONGO: Government “NGOs”.

Group Discussion Question

➡ In your experience, are there other targets of civic initiatives seeking to curb corruption?

Sometimes, movements seek larger transformative change. In the short run, the challenge is to identify interim goals (and often demands) and targets that help build momentum and incremental victories along the way to long-term goals. Targets can include corrupt power-holders, corruptees, honest power-holders (that need citizen solidarity for their efforts), regular citizens, and particular groups in society, such as youth.

Context

There is no such thing as a universally effective tactic! *A tactic may be effective in one context but a failure in another context.* Research from the development and anti-corruption realms are also coming to similar conclusions. A global review of citizen voice initiatives stated:

Where we find positive evidence in one setting, this is often not corroborated – and sometimes even contradicted – by findings in another setting where different, or even, similar methods have been used.⁷⁴

A 2013 World Bank paper discussed, in part:

...the increasing realization that there are significant challenges associated with transplanting a successful SAcc [demand-side governance/social accountability] model from one context to another, and a “tools-based” approach to SAcc risks obscuring the underlying social and political processes that really explain why a given model is, or is not, effective.⁷⁵

Group Discussion Question

- ⇒ Can you think of an example where a tactic was effective in one situation but not in another. Why do you think this was the case?

Risk

Risk, first discussed in **Module 7.1**, is not static in a given context. It not only can change with circumstances, but also as a movement or campaign gains civic space and allies. Thus, it's essential to always assess risk for a given tactic at a given point in time.

Risk also varies across different contexts. A tactic that may not be risky in one setting can potentially be very risky in another setting. *This is an important reason why tactics should not be copied without a careful strategic analysis.*

Group Discussion Question

- ⇒ Can you think of an example where a tactic was risky in one situation but not in another. Why do you think this was the case?

Low-risk mass actions are often critical to mobilizing citizens, particularly in contexts where there is limited civic space and repression against citizen dissent is a concern. But, as just discussed, context is essential.

Group Discussion Questions

- 1) What do these diverse, innovative tactics have in common and what can we learn from them?
 - Synchronized turning on and off of lights (One Minute of Darkness for Constant Light campaign, Turkey);
 - Radio call-in programs (NAFODU-Police-Community Partnership Forum, Uganda);
 - Anonymous monitoring, for example, through SMS (shayfeen.com, Egypt; NAFODU-Police-Community Partnership Forum);
 - Using thousands of shopping bags and tea glasses with campaign messages and movement name (shayfeen.com movement, Egypt);
 - Using reusable water bottles with image of zero-rupee note (5th Pillar, India).



Source: shayfeen.com.

The shopping bag says, “We see you and at the elections we are observing you.” 250,000 bags and 100,000 tea glasses were distributed. The bags were so visible that the Minister of Trade called those who used them the “supermarket activists.”⁷⁶

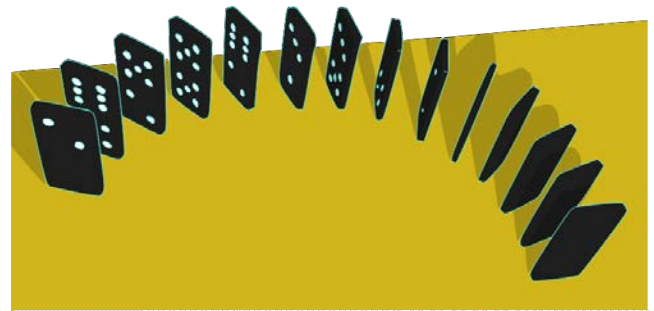
- 2) Can you think of a context where synchronized turning on and off of lights would not be effective (see endnote for an answer)?⁷⁷ What might be an alternative, low-risk, easy-to-do tactic?
- 3) All of these tactics were low-risk in their context. But does that mean that they will be low-risk in all contexts?
- 4) If it's not wise to simply copy a tactic without a strategic assessment of it, what are 1 - 2 general lessons learned we can extract from these “low-risk” mass actions (see endnote for some thoughts)?⁷⁸
- 5) Taking these lessons learned, can you think of different tactics that may not be identical but are inspired by one of these low-risk mass actions?

Tactical ingenuity and sequencing

Tactical creativity is an essential element for movements, campaigns and civic initiatives targeting corruption for at least five reasons! You may already be thinking of more...

- 1) Help to establish a strategic advantage vis-à-vis corruptors by not engaging in nonviolent actions they expect.
- 2) Creating dilemmas for oppressors, that is, dilemma actions that put them in a lose-lose situation and the civic initiative in a win-win situation.
- 3) Encourage public participation by overcoming tough situations, apathy, cynicism or fear of challenging power-holders.
- 4) Make corruptor attacks backfire.
- 5) Maintain resilience when faced with repression.

During the trajectory of a movement, campaign or civic initiative, numerous tactics are carried out. Many of them are strategically sequenced, so that the tactics complement, reinforce and build upon one another. Defining methods are a prime example of tactical creativity and sequencing. There is often a key action, such as monitoring, around which several other actions are sequenced or conducted concurrently (see **Box 4**).



Source: [http:// openclipart.org/detail/193063/standing-dominoes-by-mazeo-193063](http://openclipart.org/detail/193063/standing-dominoes-by-mazeo-193063)



Source : MUHURI's Facebook site.

BOX 4: MUHURI's Defining Method: The Six-Step Social Audit

1. **Information gathering** - records from the local CDF office. Trained MUHURI representatives are sent, because it's daunting for ordinary citizens to approach officials and obtain tightly guarded information.
2. **Training local people** - men and women, to become community activists. They learn how to decipher documents and budgets, monitor expenditures and physically inspect public works.
3. **Educating and mobilizing fellow citizens** - about the CDF and their right to information and accountability. Concurrently with the second step, community activists and MUHURI attract attention, directly engage people, and encourage them to attend a "public hearing" through creative, context-specific, nonviolent tactics such as street theatre, trumpet and drum processions, community radio, and leafleting by volunteers. Information about CDF misuse and graft is shared, and people's reactions and input are gathered.
4. **Inspecting the CDF project site** - Citizen-activists conduct systematic, meticulous documentation, comparing records to the reality on the ground. They also use site visits to speak with residents, in order to share CDF project records, generate interest in the social audit, encourage them to attend the public hearing, and gather additional information about corruption and abuse. For instance, an inspection of a market center built with CDF money revealed that inferior roof sheeting was utilized in contrast to what was recorded in CDF documents. Moreover, by talking with people in the area, activists learned that materials from the old market center were re-used in the new structure, although the records stated that all new materials had been purchased.⁷⁹
5. **Holding the public hearing** - Local CDF officials, members of the CDF Committee, the MP, district administrators, and the media are invited. In order to encourage citizen participation, once again, MUHURI developed imaginative nonviolent actions that resonate with citizens. Its theatre team first leads a procession through the community, complete with slogans, chanting and a youth band. It gathers adults and dancing, singing children as it goes along. "What do we want? We want our money!" they exclaim. A ten-foot tall masked man in traditional attire garnered attention, generated enthusiasm and helped citizens to overcome their fear to face power-holders and speak out. Various MUHURI representatives open the forum by pointing out that the audit was done by local residents, that everyone there shares the responsibility of ensuring that CDF money is benefitting "our" communities, and that the goals of the audit are not political.⁸⁰ Once the session begins, local citizen-activists present the results of their investigations, CDF officials are questioned by both the activists and attendees, and the community demands accountability of them. In full view of citizens, MUHURI first secures promises from the officials to address the problems, and then obtains their signatures on an "accountability charter" outlining their commitments.
6. **Following-up with officials** - MUHURI prepares a report of the community's findings and recommendations to members of the local CDF committee, and then checks on their implementation.⁸¹

This box summarizes much of this module through a set of questions that help to strategically decide on designing and selecting tactics. Not every question will be relevant to your context and struggle at a particular point in time, but overall they give us a sense of how much strategic analysis and planning goes into tactical selection.

BOX 5: Strategic Questions to Evaluate Tactics for your Campaign/Movement/Civic Initiative

- Have we ever seen or used a tactic like this before?
- How can this tactic help us achieve our goals (objectives) and/or help us strengthen our movement/campaign/civic initiative?
- What people power dynamic(s) will this tactic activate if successful:
 - (1) disruption;
 - (2) empowerment ;
 - (3) engagement/winning people over/shifting positions or loyalties?
- Is this tactic part of a defining method?
- How risky is this tactic for those who carry it out?
 - Are we ready to accept this level of risk?
 - How can we minimize these risks?
 - If there is retaliation, how can we prepare in advance to make it backfire on the corruptors (see **Module 7**)?
- Is the timing of the tactic important, for example, a culturally, historically or socially important day or commemoration, recent scandal or exposure of powerholder impunity, holiday (public, religious, etc.), elections?
- What resources do we need to carry out this tactic?
 - Do we already have them?
 - If not, can we get these resources?
- What/who are the targets for this tactic?
 - Has this tactic been used before on this target? What was the outcome?
 - How might those who are opposed to our objectives and demands react to it?
- How does this tactic fit in terms of other tactics in our campaign/movement/civic initiative? How can it be sequenced with other tactics?
- What is our back-up plan if the tactic doesn't achieve our intended outcome?

Source: Adapted from - New Tactics in Human Rights, <https://www.newtactics.org/resource/evaluating-tactics-your-organization>.



Below are some tactics that have been used by bottom-up civic initiatives impacting corruption. Check all the boxes that apply for each tactic.

	Disruption dynamic	Engagement dynamic	Empowerment dynamic	Is this a dilemma action?
Blacklisting candidates				
Grass-roots led surveys				
Monitoring powerholders or anti- poverty projects				
Youth-led integrity classes				
Solidarity with threatened government integrity champions				
Joining Facebook group				
Training citizens in monitoring				
Radio call-in programs featuring a powerholder from a corrupt system (e.g. police)				
Anti-corruption awareness booths				
Flooding local police station with calls declaring, “Arrest me, I wrote the graffiti”				
Digital click-and-call tool to directly contact an elected official’s office				
Supporting businesses that behave with integrity				

Group Exercise 1:

"Action Storming" for Tactical Creativity



Source: Adapted from - Daniel Hunter, Training for Change, and Jethro Heiko, Action Mill,
<https://www.trainingforchange.org/tools/action-storming-0>.

Break up into groups (no more than 10 people per group). Each group should pick a person to be the facilitator to guide the following actions in their group.

- 1) If everyone in the group is part of the same campaign, they can focus on their own situation. If the group consists of people with different situations, they can pick one of the two scenarios in the group exercise in **Module 2**.
- 2) If the group is focusing on its own campaign, the group facilitator then writes down briefly a summary of the situation (including objectives, allies, adversaries). If the group is using one of the **Module 2** scenarios, the group facilitator asks everyone to re-read the scenario.
- 3) The group facilitator takes a piece of paper and writes "Tactics" at the top. The facilitator then starts with one person, asking him/her to write down one tactic they can think of for the campaign.
- 4) The facilitator then asks him/her to pass the paper to the next person on their left. This person then adds another tactic.
- 5) Continue this until everyone has had a turn.
- 6) Facilitate a discussion about the list of tactics that the group created. Did anything stand out? Were there any surprises or new ideas for tactics? Did any of the tactics complement one another? Could they be sequenced?

Group Exercise 2

From Specific Tactics to General Lessons for Effective Tactics



Source: Adapted from - Daniel Hunter, Training for Change, <https://www.trainingforchange.org/tools/finding-tactics-matter-0>.

Pick a person to be the facilitator to undertake the following actions.

- 1) Break up into small groups. In each group, ask someone to share a story about a very effective tactic in which they participated and/or planned and carried out.
- 2) After sharing this story, ask each group to discuss internally what made the tactic effective and the outcome(s).
- 3) Bring people back together, and make a list of the tactics identified by the groups. Have each group share with everyone what made their tactic effective.
- 4) As each group shares what made its tactic effective, encourage people to go beyond their individual example and distill general lessons learned. To help you carry out this exercise, here is a hypothetical example inspired by a DHP* movement stunt carried out in 2009. A group reports that they launched a 24-hour stunt at a major public space near the City Hall called the “Citizens Exercise for Light.” The group demands that the municipal council pass an asset declaration bill for local elected officials, including the mayor, councilors, and judges.⁸² They hooked up a light to an exercise bicycle that would turn on when people pedaled and shine towards the City Hall. Citizens, elected officials and municipal officials were invited via social media to ride the bike day or night. In the final municipal council meeting, councilors voted in favor of the asset declaration bill.

Without any further knowledge, we might erroneously conclude that the stunt pressured the councilors. However, it turns out that the group actually organized multiple actions around that stunt – both on the ground and digitally. As it was December and in their country many people celebrate Christmas, they set up a table at the square and also got people to sign a letter to Santa Claus asking him to grant their wish that the bill get passed by the Council. Each person who rode the bike or signed the letter received a “commemorative” souvenir, consisting of a little chocolate Santa Claus taped to a sheet of paper with their demand, and their website and Twitter coordinates. They streamed the stunt live and people could tweet/email/Facebook post/text in messages that were read out loud to those at the action. A Facebook site was created with a “letter to Santa” where people from all over the country could digitally add their name. A local media outlet came and covered a few minutes of the event, which brought more people to the park. They also contacted businesses for support. As a result, a fitness shop loaned them the stationary bike and a local pizzeria sent food and refreshments for people who came to ride the bike between midnight and 6:00 a.m. – which was publicized in advance through social media in order to attract university students who are used to being awake at this late hour. One thousand paper signatures and 10,000 digital signatures were collected.

In this hypothetical example, elicitive questions could include the following.

- Did you engage in any other actions in conjunction with the stunt – before, during or after?
- Did you try to gain allies (win support) through the action? Who?
- Why did the municipality not call the police to break it up, given that it has arrested protesters in the past?
- Why did so many people come ride the bike and/or sign the letter to Santa Claus, when people are generally apathetic (or cynical or fearful) in your city?
- What was the atmosphere or mood at the square?
- Why did this stunt include multiple tactics?
- Did the tactics counteract or complement one another?
- What made the timing effective?
- What would you have done if rain/snow was forecast during the 24 hours of the stunt.
- Are there any general lessons we can learn from this?

The facilitator could then summarize some of the general lessons, for example:

- The stunt was funny and humor can help to overcome cynicism or fear, and sometimes can attract media attention and overcome potential repression.
- The stunt encouraged people to take part in a fun activity and anyone could participate, including power-holders.
- Multiple tactics were used to engage people and harness the power of numbers (through the petition).
- Our climate is warm, so it's possible to carry out a 24-hour outdoor stunt in December when it's not cold or raining.
- We used the stunt to engage with potential allies and win them over to the campaign, for example, local businesses.
- It's not necessary to exactly copy this stunt but to think about what kinds of stunts we can create in our own context that are considered humorous, can be combined with other tactics, can involve people in a fun activity, can collectively harness their voice and demands, and can attract attention without creating a high risk of retaliation.

MODULE IX: PEOPLE POWER AND EXTERNAL SUPPORT

While people power is part of the overall anti-corruption equation, it's a bottom-up, home-grown phenomenon. On the one hand, international actors have come to appreciate the essential role of citizens in furthering such social change. On the other hand, while external support can sometimes help grass-roots civic initiatives, it can potentially have (unintended) negative consequences. In this module, we'll look at various types of external actors, the kinds of beneficial support they can provide, and funding pros and cons.

9.1 Types of External Actors

In general, there are seven types of external actors:

- 1) States - bilateral development agencies; foreign ministries; parliaments; state-funded democracy/human rights organizations; diplomats; consular staff.
- 2) Multilateral state-based entities – United Nations, Council of Europe; African Union; Arab League; European Union; Organization of American States; Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); NATO; etc.
- 3) Multilateral development institutions – United Nations agencies (such as UNDP); World Bank; Asian Development Bank; European Investment Bank; Inter-American Development Bank; etc.
- 4) Transnational and multinational businesses – private and state-owned companies; international media (broadcast, print, digital); private and state-owned contractors.
- 5) Non-state actors – diaspora groups; international NGOs (for example, anti-corruption/accountability, human rights, anti-poverty, environment); labor unions; religious organizations; and university/student groups focusing on social justice, human rights, democracy, and potentially, corruption.
- 6) Individuals – celebrities; moral and political champions; philanthropists; activists from third-party countries.
- 7) Transnational solidarity groups, campaigns and networks – for example, the IF (Enough Food for Everyone) campaign against tax evasion in the Global South; Avaaz G8 2013 global tax evasion campaign; GYAC (Global Youth Against Corruption network); UNCAC (United Nations Convention Against Corruption) Civil Society Coalition; FLARE (International Network for the Social Fight Against Organised Crime and Corruption).

Source: avaaz.org, Stopping the Global Tax Scam, June 2013, Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Unported License. Used with permission of Avaaz.org.



Group Discussion Questions

- ➡ Have you or your group interacted with any external actors? How were these experiences (for example, positive, negative, productive, unproductive, etc.)?
- ➡ Among the above categories, are there international actors with whom you or your group would like to connect? Why?

9.2 Support from External Non-State Actors

When we think of external actors, we often think of donors and development agencies. But as the above list shows, non-state actors can also provide support to grass-roots civic initiatives targeting corruption and impunity. Here is a typology that summarizes their possible roles, adapted from one by Robert Burrows.⁸³

1) *Nonviolent actions and campaigns in support of a struggle*

Intention: to take nonviolent action in an external country, in support of a struggle in another country.

Example: Movement to Defend Khimki Forest street actions in England, France and Germany

2) *Mobilization actions*

Intention: to draw attention to a grievance of international concern and to mobilize people to act in response to that concern.

Example: On March 12-13, 2009, a group of European social and environmental NGOs carried out a series of actions on the British island of Jersey – from a protest to public seminar – to draw attention to global tax avoidance and tax havens.



Source (above) : Solidarity concert, Boulogne, France, August 22, 2010 ; Movement to Defend Khimki Forest Facebook site, <http://bb-mos.livejournal.com/313444.html>

Source (left): Ryan Morrison, Tax Haven Walk in Jersey, March 13, 2009, Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 Generic. Used with permission of author.

Western leaders look at Africa and blame their leaders for corruption but they don't recognise that the systems we've put in place – above all the tax havens jurisdiction economy – are an open invitation to criminal behaviour, fraud, tax evasion, embezzlement, and non-disclosure.

Source: John Christensen, Director, Tax Justice Network.⁸⁴

3) *Technical, legal, investigative assistance*

Intention: to provide professional assistance that is difficult, dangerous or impossible for activists to access or carry-out in their countries.

Example: CEE Bankwatch is an INGO with member organizations in countries across central and eastern Europe. It monitors international financial institutions operating in the region. In 2011 it conducted an investigation into the opaque public-private partnership behind the Moscow-St. Petersburg motorway that is slated to cut through Khimki forest, which involves Vinci, a French company. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and the European Investment Bank (EIB) initially considered financing for the project but pulled out. CEE Bankwatch also wrote to the United Nations Social Compact, where it presented its case that Vinci failed to respect its Global Compact commitments on human rights and the environment.⁸⁵

4) *Nonviolent witness and accompaniment*

Intention: to be present in a zone of oppression or violence in order to share the danger with local people; highlight the suffering; generate awareness and support for the grass-roots civic initiatives targeting corruption and impunity; and generate solidarity actions by external actors, including activists, organizations and civil society networks in other parts of the world.

Example: An innovative community-led, social movement has been undermining the corruption-organized crime-violence nexus at the community level, and maintaining resilience in the face of brutal repression in Santa Lucia Cotzumalguapa, a town in Guatemala. Their progress – which began threatening the corrupt system and drug cartel impunity -- sparked vicious reprisals, including murders. Electoral fraud was orchestrated, corruptors lodged defamation cases, and the police, prosecutors and judges favored the drug cartels. A security plan was developed, bolstered by human rights organizations that networked to bring international observers and nonviolent accompaniment to protect people at risk.

5) *Providing access to information, know-how and technical skills, peer-to-peer exchanges and networking*

Intention: To provide useful information that is difficult to acquire or not available in the home country; to provide opportunities for peer-to-peer exchanges and networking.

Examples: The International Budget Partnership has developed tool-kits, an online learning game, and case studies (including the documentary, “It’s our money, where’s it gone”). It also enabled MUHURI in Kenya to conduct a workshop with activists from the Indian Right to Information movement. USHAHIDI.com is a global, non-profit tech company with origins in Kenya. It develops free and open source software for information collection, visualization and interactive mapping to empower people. The Tactical Technology Cooperative develops films, toolkits and guides, and hosts trainings and events to empower rights advocates to use digital tools effectively and safely.



Source: Info-Activism Camp, June 2013, Tactical Technology Collective
<https://www.tacticaltech.org/info-activism-camp-june-2013>


Group Discussion Questions

- ➡ Have you or your group sought or received any of these types of support from non-state actors? What was the outcome?
- ➡ Are there other types of support that non-state actors provide to nonviolent movements, campaigns and civic initiatives?
- ➡ Are there other types of support that non-state actors could potentially provide to nonviolent movements, campaigns and civic initiatives that could be beneficial?

9.3 Overall Risks of External Support (state and non-state)

Whether or not to engage with external actors and accept their support are decisions that each nonviolent movement, campaign and civic initiative must make based on strategic and practical considerations. **Box 6** summarizes some of the key risks associated with external support:

BOX 6: Risks of External Support

- Loss of civic initiative's legitimacy
- Excuse for adversary repression, crackdown, and/or legal action
- Direct interference on strategic and tactical choices and civic initiative trajectory
- Indirect influence on civic initiative
- Provision of poor advice or technical assistance
- Divisions within the civic initiative
- Excessive identification of civic initiative with external actor(s) and consequent alienation from citizens
- Dependency on external support
- Loss of collective ownership and social identity
-  Overall citizen disempowerment and weakening of movement/campaign/civic initiative

Group Discussion Questions

- ➡ Are there other risks?
- ➡ Have you or your group experienced any negative consequences from external actor contact or support? How did you deal with them?

9.4 External Sources of Funding: A Double-Edged Sword

Of all the types of international support, funding is a double-edged sword. It can be used by corruptors to crack down on CSOs and civic initiatives, and to try to publicly discredit them through false accusations, for example, of being agents or for foreign governments or entities. Yet CSOs and civic initiatives often need some kind of financial support and have legitimate reasons to seek it. **Box 7** summarizes sources of support.

Box 7: General Sources of Support

Resources

Source		Type		
		Money	People	Other
	Inside			
	Outside			

Source: Marshall Ganz, Organizing Course (2006), Topic 6: Action,
<http://isites.harvard.edu/icb/icb.do?keyword=k2139&pageid=icb.page60816>.

If [an organization's] center of gravity is in the inside/people box, then it empowers the constituency, and limits the use of resources to the constituency's interest... On the other hand, if the center of gravity is in the outside/money box, then it can disempower the constituency (unless it is outside), make the organization accountable to its funders, and limit its tactics to those consistent with the interests of its funders.

Source: Marshall Ganz.⁸⁶

Grant-based action programs, in contrast, often fail to generate new resources from the work they do – and keep themselves in a state of perpetual dependency.

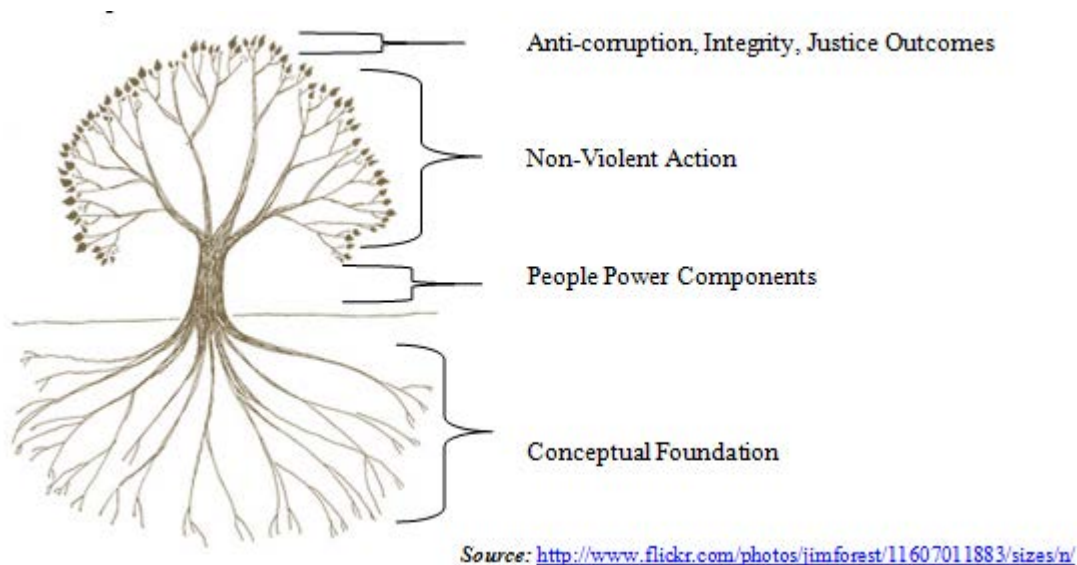
Action entails costs – time, effort, risk and hard work. Sacrifice can also be widely shared. The more widely it is shared, the more people have a stake in the outcome... The flip side of shared sacrifice is shared success. When many people have an opportunity to contribute to the effort, they also share in its success. It is “their” victory, not someone else's victory. This in turn creates motivation and a sense of entitlement that facilitates accountability.

Group Discussion Questions

- ➔ Based on these the previous section, what are some of the specific cons of reliance of external sources of funding?
- ➔ Were you surprised by any of them?
- ➔ Are there other possible negative outcomes?
- ➔ Have you or your group experienced any of these cons? How did you deal with them?
- ➔ What are some pros to external sources of funding?

MODULE X: TIME FOR ACTION

Our people power tree is growing. We've built a conceptual foundation and considered the various components that go into nonviolent action. The time has come to put this all together into an action framework in order to bring forth accountability, rights and social justice. Below are two valuable approaches: the Strategic Effectiveness Method and the Six Steps of Kingian Nonviolence developed by Martin Luther King, Jr. and fellow leaders of the U.S. Civil Rights movement. As you'll see, the content is similar but the frameworks are different. You may find one is a closer match to your context and struggle than the other. Or, you may find both useful and create your own framework that is inspired by them!



10.1 Strategic Effectiveness Method to Impact Corruption

The New Tactics in Human Rights program at the Center for Victims of Torture developed the Strategic Effectiveness Method to help human rights defenders bring forth change in their communities.⁸⁷ The following six steps are adapted from it but are not completely identical.

1. **Identify the problem:** What form(s) of corruption do you or your group want to address? Is it widespread, does it arouse public outrage/indignation or is it particularly harmful for regular people?
2. **Build a shared vision** in order to determine goals (objectives). How will your country, society or community be different at the end of the struggle?
3. **Define the context:** How do you or your group evaluate your situation? By understanding your context, you can better:
 - identify your allies, corruptors, goals and demands (asks);
 - develop a strategy, create nonviolent tactics, and plan a civic initiative.

4. **Identify goals (objectives) and demands (asks):** What goals do you and your group want to achieve in order to impact the corruption problem that is relevant to citizens? Can you identify tangible demands that can result in clear outcomes?
5. **Explore and select tactics and targets:** Which tactics can potentially help you and your group achieve your goals? Who/what are the targets of the tactics?
6. **Timing:** How will you sequence your tactics to take the initiative, hold on to it, build momentum and incremental victories along the way, and take advantage of opportunities that arise?⁸⁸ How will you put them together into a plan, so you can achieve your goals?
7. **Develop a plan of action:** How will you organize for action? How will you engage with citizens and powerholders. See Box 8.

BOX 8 : Marshall Ganz Strategy Chart, 2006⁸⁹



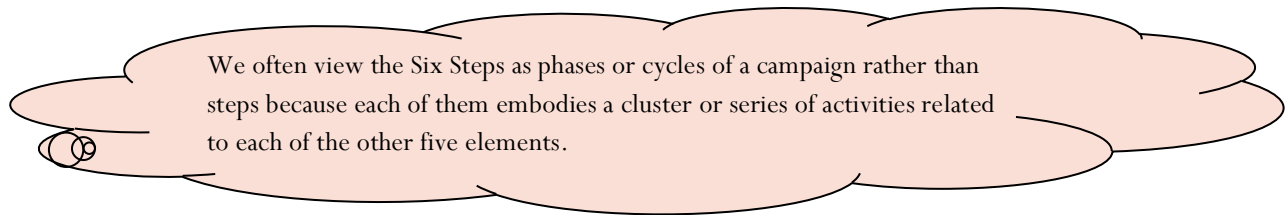
⇒ See the Strategic Effectiveness Method workbook at the end of this module for group exercises and worksheets.

Source: Yishay More, February 11, 2009,
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/2.0/>.

10.2 Kingian Nonviolent Social Change

Martin Luther King, Jr. and the collective leadership of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement from 1954 – 1968 developed a philosophy of nonviolent social change, six guiding principles for nonviolent action and reconciliation, and a strategic framework for developing nonviolent campaigns and movements called the *Six Steps of Kingian Nonviolence*.⁹⁰

According to Bernard Lafayette, Jr., one of the leaders of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement, and David Jehnsen, a social change activist and educator for democracy, the six steps are not sequential but coterminous. They can function simultaneously and can continue throughout the campaign or movement. Below is an adaptation of the Six Steps for anti-corruption struggles.



Source: Bernard Lafayette, Jr. and David Jehnsen.⁹¹

✓ Step 1: Information Gathering

...the collective process of determining the facts, the options for change, and the timing of nonviolent pressure (people power) about the problem.

- Not all information is equally valuable. It's useful when it's related to the civic initiative's strategy and goals, and provides facts from both sides of the struggle.
- Information includes understanding your side's context and positions, as well as those of corruptors and the corrupt system

✓ Step 2: Education

...is a multi-faceted, ongoing process that is part of movement-building and communication efforts. It's directed to the public, powerholders and corruptors through all forms of communication. It involves:

- knowledge about the corruption issue;
- developing leadership and skills for the civic initiative;
- taking information you've gathered and reframing it to relate to your goals and the human consequences of an unjust situation, in this case, a system of corruption and impunity;
- developing discourse based in part on information that connects the problem to regular people, so that they understand why it's relevant to them, how it affects them, and why they should be a part of the civic initiative.

✓ Step 3: Personal Commitment

...refers to each of us looking at our internal and external involvement in the campaign or movement, and preparing ourselves to take short-term and even long-term action and maintain nonviolent discipline.

Group Discussion Questions

- ➔ Why do you think personal commitment is important?
- ➔ How is it related to the "three collectives" - collective responsibility, collective ownership and collective identity?

✓ Step 4: Negotiation

...can bring together the views of citizens and the civic initiative and those of power-holders in order to clarify positions and unresolved issues or to arrive at a just conclusion that addresses peoples' anti-corruption goals and demands.



President Lyndon B. Johnson meets with civil rights leaders Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Whitney Young and James Farmer, January, 1964.

Source: Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum. Image Serial Number: W425-21.

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lyndon_Johnson_meeting_with_civil_rights_leaders.jpg

✓ Step 5: Direct Action (nonviolent tactics)

...follows unsuccessful negotiations when:

- power-holders/corruptors refuse to negotiate or don't participate in good faith;
- these deliberations break down or fail to bring out the civic initiative's goals, demands or a change to the problem.

Negotiations are not usually productive when one side (in this case, powerholders and/or corruptors) are more powerful at the outset. Direct action (nonviolent tactics) can wield people power that creates a balance of power and urgency to negotiate.



Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue...

Source: Martin Luther King, Jr. ⁹²

Selma to Montgomery March, 1965

Source:http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abernathy_Children_on_front_line_leading_the_SELMA_TO_MONTGOMERY_MARCH_for_the_RIGHT_TO_VOTE.JPG

✓ Step 6: Reconciliation

...is the closing step of the campaign or movement, when the nonviolent protagonists and power-holders acknowledge the civic initiative's victory and jointly act to meet the civic initiative's demands (asks) and implement the desired change.

Civil rights, labor leaders, President John F. Kennedy, and politicians celebrate after the August, 1963 March on Washington.

Source: National Archives and Records Administration, JFK-WHP, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Photograph_of_Meeting_with_Leaders_of_the_March_on_Washington_August_28,_1963_-_NARA_-_194276.jpg



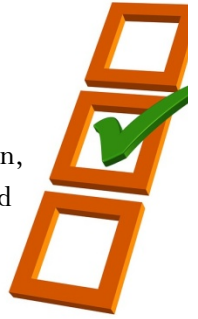
Group Discussion Question

Reconciliation can take a variety of forms in the anti-corruption context. For example, in Italy, as a result of the Addiopizzo youth anti-mafia movement in Palermo, in 2010, the Sicilian branch of Confindustria (employers' association) expelled all members who had contacts with the Mafia and publicly apologized to the widow of Libero Grassi, for their abandonment of her husband when he stood up to the mafia and was murdered.⁹³

- ➡ Have you experienced or can you give other examples of reconciliation following a civic initiative targeting corruption and impunity?

10.3 How Are We Doing? A People Power Checklist

When we are in the midst of a nonviolent campaign, movement or civic initiative, it's often hard to step back and see the big picture. Civil resistance theorists and scholars, Peter Ackerman and Hardy Merriman, developed a checklist to help civic leaders and organizers assess how things are going. Below is a modified checklist for citizen empowerment and nonviolent action targeting corruption.⁹⁴



1. **Unity of people and purpose:** Is there unity around grievances, goals and leaders possessing legitimacy in the eyes of the public and power-holders? Is there a concerted effort to build a sense of collective identity and collective ownership of the struggle? Is the campaign or movement's discourse, framing of the issues and call to action meaningful to a large part of the community, town, region or general public?
2. **Nonviolent discipline:** Is the civic initiative committed to strict nonviolent discipline?
3. **Operational plan and strategy:** Does the civic initiative have an operational plan of action based on a strategy that includes incremental victories (towards long-term change if it is an ongoing movement)? Are nonviolent tactics connected to this strategy?
4. **Diversity of citizen participation and tactics:** Is the civic initiative bringing in or pulling towards it a variety of groups and parts of society, including power-holders and decision-makers? Is civilian participation increasing? Is there enough diversity among the tactics to accommodate different types of people, their capabilities, zones of comfort, and varying levels of time and resource commitment? Are tactics designed to activate the people power dynamics of:
 - disruption of the corrupt system?
 - engagement to win support for the struggle, alter policies and practices (shift loyalties), and empower those on the inside to change the corrupt system as well as to refuse to go along with the venal status quo (defections)?
 - Power of numbers – the participation of people (relative to the struggle context) raising their collective voice over shared demands (power of numbers)?
5. **Suppression:** Is the campaign or movement prepared for possible corruptor intimidation, repression or efforts to weaken it by attacks on its legitimacy, credibility of leaders and activists, validity of arguments and research, etc.? Are such attacks starting to backfire on the corruptors and their enablers?

10.4 Revisiting Our Quiz (Module 1.1)

It's time to revisit our Quiz in **Module 1.1**. Do you want to revise any of your answers now? How has this learning process changed your ideas about curbing corruption? I hope that this curriculum and any group work done in the modules have contributed to a deeper understanding of people power - its dynamics and application to impacting corruption. I also hope that the grass-roots campaigns, movements and civic initiatives mentioned in the curriculum serve as an inspiration that citizens have an option beyond suffering from corruption or taking part in it. When we raise our collective voices together through strategic nonviolent action, we have the possibility of gaining freedom from corruption and positive change for accountability, justice, and human development and dignity.

Do not hesitate to be in touch, provide input, and share the results from the group discussion questions and exercises. Shaaзка Beyerle, curtailingcorruption@gmail.com.

STRATEGIC EFFECTIVENESS METHOD WORKBOOK⁹⁵

(Adapted from the New Tactics in Human Rights program)

✓ Step 1: From Issue to Problem

It's difficult to build a civic initiative and mobilize citizens around corruption as an issue – it's too abstract and removed from people's grievances and daily lives. The issue needs to be translated into a problem involving corruption that either provokes public outrage or is harmful to a significant number of people in your struggle context. The following worksheet is designed to help you and your group move from an issue to a problem that is summarized in a problem statement. Here is an example:

Issue	Problem Statement
Municipal Corruption	Citizens and civic organizations are denied their right to information about the content and implementation of national anti-poverty programs in their municipality.

Worksheet

- a) What is the broad corruption issue you and your group are addressing, for example, overall endemic corruption in the country, civil servant/policy bribery, political corruption, organized crime, impunity?

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b) In the following section, list at least 2 – 3 problems related to your overall issue and analyze them.

	Problem related to your broad corruption issue	Explain why it's a problem. Please be specific.	Try to identify the main cause(s) of each of these problems.	Rank the problems, with 1 being the most harmful or offensive to citizens	Rank the problems, with 1 being the most urgent.	Rank the problems, with 1 for the problem that you and your group can best tackle.
Example	Municipal corruption	The new national anti-poverty program is being thwarted in our community by corruption and those in need are not benefiting from it. Local power-holders are unaccountable, act with impunity, and refuse to disclose information about how they are implementing it.	Municipal officials and local officials who are part of the national anti-poverty program.			

- c) What does the ranking tell you? Is there a particular problem that stands out and could be the focus of a grass-roots civic initiative?

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- d) Based on this problem, try to write a 1-2 sentence problem statement that encapsulates this problem in a way that is relevant to regular citizens.

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✓ STEP 2: BUILD A SHARED VISION

Successful civic initiatives often articulate a vision that is shared by many in their community or broader society. In Step 1, you identified the issue and problem. Now it's time to think about your overall vision. What will your community, country or society be like at the end of the struggle?

Worksheet

	Issue	Problem Statement	Vision
Example	Municipal corruption	The new national anti-poverty program is being thwarted in our community by corruption and those in need are not benefiting from it. Local power-holders are unaccountable, act with impunity, and refuse to disclose information about how they are implementing it.	Is the following a possible vision? What do you think? Social programs launched by the government are properly implemented and reach our fellow citizens who need them so they may rise out of poverty and live with dignity and socio-economic opportunities.
Your situation			

✓ STEP 3: ASSESSING THE CONTEXT

Worksheet

a) What do you know about your side?

List some of the resources you have (for example, financial, human, allies, stories, intangibles).

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List some of the resources you need (for example, financial, human, allies, stories, intangibles).

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b) What do you know about your opponents' side - the system of corruption or particular corruptors you are seeking to impact? Some possible questions to consider:

- Is this system of corruption vertical or horizontal?
- What could potentially disrupt this system of corruption so that it doesn't function smoothly?
- Is everyone within that system equally corrupt or wedded to perpetuating the corrupt status quo?
- Are there potential allies (neutral or active) in the system, such as honest people caught in it and want to get out of it, or honest people who want to engage in noncooperation with corruption?

Fill in some of your answers.

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✓ STEP 4: GOALS (OBJECTIVES) AND DEMANDS (ASKS)

- a) Given the anti-corruption problem and overall vision you and your group identified, what are the SMART goals (objectives) that will bring you closer to your shared vision?

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SMART GOALS

- ➔ Specific/strategic;
- ➔ Measurable;
- ➔ Achievable;
- ➔ Relevant/Realistic;
- ➔ Time-bound.

- b) Are there any specific demands (asks) you and your group want to make on a target(s) that can help your civic initiative achieve its goals and produce clear outcomes (victories)?

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✓ STEP 5: EXPLORE AND SELECT TACTICS AND TARGETS

Each civic initiative functioning in its particular context needs its own set of tactics, not a set of prescribed actions that are copied without any strategic assessment. The tactics should spring from your goals and possible demands (asks), and they should be linked to relevant targets of the civic initiative.

Worksheet

- a) List some of the tactics you and your group have carried out in the past.

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To assess these tactics, here are some helpful questions to consider:

- How has this tactic helped our organization or civic initiative move closer to achieving our goals (objectives)?
- In what types of situations was this tactic most effective?
- When was this tactic not effective? What are the limitations of using this tactic?
- Are there other tactics that should be used before, during or after this tactic to help it be most effective or have the greatest impact?

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- b) List some tactics you have heard about, have not carried out before, but think could be relevant to your anti-corruption struggle.

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To assess these tactics, here are some helpful questions to consider:

- What do we know about this tactic and its uses?
- How can this tactic potentially help our civic initiative achieve its goals?
- How risky would this tactic be for me? For our group? Are we ready to accept the risk involved in carrying out this tactic?
- How risky is this tactic for regular citizens? How can we communicate this risk to them so they can make an informed decision about their involvement? How can we minimize the risk or limit participation to experienced activists?
- What other tactics should be used with this tactic before, during or after to help it be most effective or have the greatest impact?

- c) Can you think of any new tactics?

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- d) Of all the tactics you and your group have listed above, fill in the Tactic Box below with the tactics that are:

- most likely to help your civic initiative achieve its goals (objectives).
- the most realistic to carry out, given your resources, capacities, and the overall situation.

Which people power dynamic(s) might each tactic activate? For each tactic, check one or more of the applicable boxes.

TACTIC BOX

Tactic	Disruption dynamic	Engagement dynamic	Empowerment dynamic	Is this a dilemma action?	Target(s)

- e) List some potential targets for your selected tactics. It's helpful to remember the Spectrum of Allies in **Module 5**.

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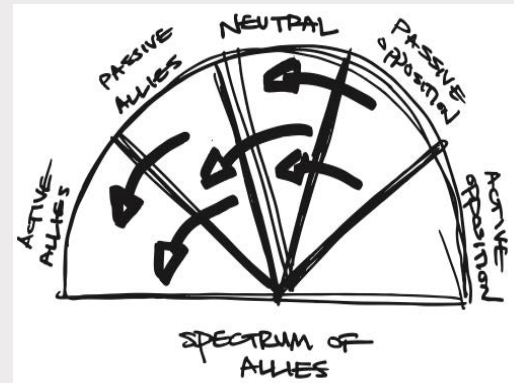
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- f) Add these targets to the above Tactic Box.

Source: This illustration by Joshua Kahn Russell was originally published in Beautiful Trouble and appears here courtesy of a Creative Commons license.

✓ STEP 6: DEVELOPING A PLAN OF ACTION

As some of you already know, developing a plan of action doesn't happen overnight. It can take weeks and even months! Below are the main components that go into a strategic plan of action. Have you and your group considered all these components?

WHAT	WHO
Problem	Nonviolent action catalysts, organizers, protagonists (including citizens!)
Vision	Targets (both allies and opponents) – state/non-state powerholders, groups, institutions, entities
Context	
SMART goals (objectives)	
Demands (asks)	



HOW
Discourse, arguments, stories
Intangibles
Tactical development and selection
Plan of action, including specific tasks to carry out your strategy and tactics



DURING
Ongoing cultivation of discourse, arguments, stories and intangibles
Implementation of tactics
Ongoing tactical development and selection
Revised plan of action, including specific tasks to carry out your strategy and tactics
Activate backfire mechanism against repression



Endnotes

- ¹ Autocracies were ranked between -7 and -10 on the Polity IV scale. The Polity IV is a conceptual scheme that examines “concomitant qualities of democratic and autocratic authority in governing institutions, rather than discreet and mutually exclusive forms of governance.” It outlines a spectrum of governance systems, on the one end, those
- ² Adrian Karatnycky and Peter Ackerman, *How Freedom is Won: From Civic Resistance to Durable Democracy* (New York: Freedom House, 2005).
- Eleanor Marchant, *Enabling Environments for Civic Movements and the Dynamics of Democratic Transition*, Freedom House, 2008, www.freedomhouse.org.
- ³ John Gaventa and Gregory Barrett, “So What Difference Does It Make? Mapping the Outcomes of Citizen Engagement” (Institute of Development Studies, Working Paper 2010, no. 347, October 2010, 54).
- ⁴ For additional scholarship on nonviolent action and nonviolent social movements, see the following: Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York: Palgrave, 2000)
- Maciej Bartkowski, *Recovering Nonviolent History: Civil Resistance in Liberation Struggles* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2013)
- Sir Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: From Gandhi to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Gene Sharp, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential* (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 2005)
- Maria Stephan, ed., *Civilian Jihad: Nonviolent Struggle, Democratization and Governance in the Middle East* (New York: Palgrave, 2009).
- ⁵ Maria Stephan and Erica Chenoweth. “Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict.” *International Security* 33, no. 1 (Summer 2008): 7-44.
- ⁶ For information about backfire, see: www.bmartin.cc/pubs/backfire.html.
- ⁷ Rocio Campos, “Kenya’s Muslims for Human Rights (MUHURI) Takes Its Success With Social Audits to the Next Level,” International Budget Partnership newsletter, no. 58, January-February 2011.
- ⁸ Chico Whitewater, “Lula la novella da Ficha Limpa,” *CartaCapital*, November 11, 2010.
- ⁹ “Cleaning up: A campaign against corruption. Brazil’s congress.” 2010. The Economist, July 8. <http://www.economist.com/node/16542611>
- ¹⁰ Marshall Ganz, “Organizing Course,” Topic Four: Motivation, Story and Celebration, 2006, 18.
- ¹¹ This systemic definition was developed by the author, who wishes to credit for inspiration, points made by Maria Gonzalez de Asis, World Bank, in an unpublished, working paper.
- ¹² Laurence Cockcroft, *Global Corruption: Money, Power, and Ethics in the Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012) 3.
- ¹³ Aruna Roy, “Survival and Right to Information” (Gulam Rasoon Third Memorial Lecture, Forum for Freedom of Expression, Hyderabad, India, n.d.), 11.
- ¹⁴ Brian Martin, “Power in nonviolence theory,” in *Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace*, ed. Nigel Young (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- ¹⁵ Martin Oppenheimer and George Lakey, *A Manual for Direct Action* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965).
- ¹⁶ Philippe Duhamel, “Invest in Strategy,” *New Tactics in Human Rights*, accessed January 26, 2010, www.newtactics.org
- ¹⁷ Gene Sharp, *There Are Realistic Alternatives* (Boston: Albert Einstein Institution, 2003), 17.
- ¹⁸ Marshall Ganz, “Organizing Course,” *Learning Practice*, 2006, 9, <http://isites.harvard.edu/icb/icb.do?keyword=k2139&pageid=icb.page60816>.
- ¹⁹ William Bakker, “Strategy Versus Tactics,” Think@ Social Media blog, March 7, 2013, accessed May 13, 2014, <http://www.wilhelmus.ca/2013/03/strategy-vs-tactics.html>
- ²⁰ Zafer Yoruk, “One Minute of Darkness Back for Democracy,” *Hurriyet Daily News*, April 4, 1997, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/one-minute-of-darkness---back-for-democracy.aspx?pageID=438&n=one-minute-of-darkness---back-for-democracy-1997-04-04>.
- ²¹ Shaazka Beyerle. *Curtailing Corruption: People Power for Accountability and Justice* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2014), 118.
- ²² Bill Moyer, *The Movement Action Plan*, 14.
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- ⁶⁸ Augusto Boal was a Brazilian theater director, writer, activist and later on, a city councilor. He developed many forms of participatory theater designed to empower regular people and foster social change. In 1971 he was arrested, tortured and exiled to Argentina by the military dictatorship in power at that time. He then went into self-exile in Europe, returning to Brazil after its downfall following the 1983 Diretas Ja (Direct elections now) nonviolent social movement.
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- ⁷² The term “defining method” was developed by Kyrt Schock.
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- ⁷⁴ Rosemary McGee, John Gaventa with Gregg Barrett, Richard Calland, Ruth Carlitz, Anuradha Joshi and Andrés Mejía Acosta, “Review of Impact and Effectiveness of Transparency and Accountability Initiatives: Synthesis Report,” Transparency and Accountability Initiative Workshop, Institute of Development Studies, October 14-15, 2010, 3.
- ⁷⁵ Simon O’Meally, “Is It Time for a New Paradigm for ‘Citizen Engagement’? The Role of Context and What the Evidence Tells Us,” World Bank People, Spaces, Deliberation blog, April 29, ix. Assessed January 15, 2014, <http://blogs.worldbank.org/publicsphere/it-time-new-paradigm-citizen-engagement-role-context-and-what-evidence-tells-us>.
- ⁷⁶ Beyerle and Hassan, Ibid., 271.
- ⁷⁷ Synchronized turning on and off of lights would not work in places where people don’t have electricity or there are frequent power cuts.
- ⁷⁸ These tactics have to do with daily activities (for example, shopping, drinking tea, turning lights on and off) and in many contexts, it’s more difficult to control or suppress them in comparison to traditional street actions such as protests. Other tactics (for example, radio call-ins, SMS monitoring) can be done with anonymity in some contexts.
- ⁷⁹ Vivek Ramkumar and Sowmya Kidambi, “Twataka Pesa Zetu (We Want Our Money): A Public Budget Hearing in Kenya,” International Budget Partnership, n.d., internationalbudgetpartnership.org.
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- ⁸² This example was inspired by (but not identical to) a stunt created by DHP* in Mexico. You can read about it in my book, *Curtailing Corruption: People Power for Accountability and Justice* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner 2014), 236.
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