



STUDY GUIDE for Educators and Changemakers

www.nakedoptionmovie.com

Contributor

Global Greengrants Fund

www.greengrants.org

This guide is written for college and university levels with additional study questions and resources appropriate for grades 8 – 12. There are additional interactive exercises for grades 8 – 12.

DIRECTOR'S STATEMENT

"We found that women were paying a high price for the economic power that Nigeria was wielding, for the economic power that others were getting. So as we got into the areas of women's rights, environmental rights, children's rights...we realized they are all linked and you couldn't participate in one without participating in the others." Annkio Briggs, Agape Birthrights

As Malcolm Gladwell has said, "Activism that challenges the status quo—that attacks deeply rooted problems—is not for the faint of heart." Niger Delta women's stories are reflected in the news every day from the far-reaching impact that devastating environmental disasters like the spill in the Gulf of Mexico have on communities, to the endless corporate irresponsibility and greed that allows business as usual despite all costs. They're seen in the myriad human rights atrocities whether in political uprisings or in other places where oil is produced...be it Venezuela or Louisiana. But there is another movement cresting the horizon and the Niger Delta women are already leading. It involves a growing number of women taking on leadership roles from managing households, to taking to the streets in protest, to being elected to political positions! It's an exciting wave of activism that invests in women and transformational change through their leadership, providing them with a powerful voice at the global, regional and local levels. **THE NAKED OPTION** tells some of these incredible stories of women taking the lead. It celebrates the power of an organized group of women.

WHAT SPARKED THE FILM? -The Director's Note

I came across an article in a newspaper titled "Our Weapon is Our Nakedness" and it, of course, peaked my interest! My first thought was "what a great story about culture, about tradition and the roles of women especially in the way they lead this humanist movement." I was amazed by their power. I couldn't think of a comparable traditional "weapon" that we might use in the US to successfully shut down an oil facility for 10 days unarmed. I've thought about it for over 8 years and regardless of our education and any other blessings bestowed upon us, I still haven't come up with anything as powerful as an organized group of women.

On the first night in the Niger Delta I was watching TV and I saw an amazing ad for CARE. A woman emerged from a mist, walking towards the camera and as she approached a mass of women emerged behind her. On the screen it read "The world's most powerful untapped resource". I couldn't wait to get to work.

OUR AUDIENCE

The guide is written with both the grade 8 – 12 audience and college and university level courses in mind. The study guide is tailored to promote discussion and to motivate students to develop innovative and creative models of activism that can be applied in their own communities. Interactive exercises driven by hypothetical situations, incorporating role-playing, research, and problem solving provide opportunities for educators and students to work with an interdisciplinary model that demonstrates what it takes to be effective change-makers in the real world.



ABOUT GLOBAL GREENGRANTS FUND

Global GreenGrants Fund is part of a community of activists working towards social justice and environmental sustainability. From the neighborhood organizer in Ghana's mining region to the Chicago donor advocating for global environmental rights, we are a network of passionate change-makers.

Our belief is that everyone deserves the right to a healthy environment. The reality is that millions of people are denied this right. Toxic contamination; destruction of natural resources; disappearance of water, food, and work; displacement from traditional lands; these are the sad truths for too many communities. Environmental degradation is common, and so are the social injustices that accompany it.

Our strategy is to support local leaders—primarily outside the United States and Western Europe—in fighting these injustices. Through activist-led grantmaking, we find these leaders and provide resources that enable grassroots action on the front lines of social change. Together, we're working towards one vision: A just and sustainable world.

THE STUDY GUIDE

The study guide is designed using film as the foundation of discussion, innovative, action-oriented change-making.

- I. BEYOND WORDS** **pg 4**
Using quotes from the film and out-takes, discuss issues of tradition, women’s rights, environment, social justice, Nigerian history, communities and multinational corporations.
- II. SOCIAL CHANGE FROM THE GROUND UP** **pg 8**
Work with the strategies of change-makers whose mission is to provide opportunities for people around the world to stand up and make a difference in their communities.
- III. DISCUSSION QUESTIONS** **pg 17**
Study questions and links to resources.
- IV. THE CUPCAKE CAMPAIGN** **pg 19**
A hands on project for grade 8 – 12 to study the issues confronting Niger Delta women and their impact worldwide; to learn leadership skills; to be empowered and knowledgeable through development of entrepreneurial skills, while increasing confidence in public speaking.
- V. RESOURCES** **pg 21**

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

- Chapter 1** **Provides a brief backstory of the situation in the Niger Delta**
- Chapters 2– 6** **Describes what Niger Delta women are up against**
 - Irresponsible corporate and government operations
 - The struggle of ND women politically, traditionally, & as women
 - The quality of life in an oil rich area
 - Divide and Rule
 - Toxic environment
- Chapters 7 – 9** **Describes the women’s organization and the risks they face**
 - Women organizing
 - The life-threatening risks they face
 - The power of education
- Chapters 10 - 11** **Describes life before the oil companies arrived**
 - Communities provided for themselves
 - The role of tapioca as a livelihood for women
- Chapters 12 – 14** **Describes women rising up and using tradition as a weapon**
 - Urban women gather to educate and encourage mobilization
 - History of women uprising / the power of tradition as a weapon
 - Taking over the Chevron and Shell oil flow stations
- Chapters 16 - 17** **What constitutes success?**
 - The years following the uprisings
 - The spirit and perseverance of women

I. BEYOND WORDS

CHAPTER 1 NIGER DELTA BACKSTORY

“We (Niger Delta activists) sat down and we studied the way the resistance against the transnational oil companies had been constructed in the past. In 1966, Issac Borro emerged in the Ijaw area of the Niger Delta and declared a 12-day revolution. He was eventually arrested and that was the end of that campaign to stop the oil companies and the government from doing what they were doing (polluting and destroying land). Now from 1967 -70, when the civil war ended until about 1989 there were communal resistance movements.” **Oronto Douglas – Attorney and human rights activist**

“By 1990 ethnic nationality mobilization began with the movement of Ken SaroWiwa and MOSOP. That mobilization totally changed the momentum of mobilization in the Niger Delta. The Ogonis were very organized. It was a peaceful, nonviolent strategies. It was linked to nationality movement. It was then linked to the global resistance movement, especially the environmental movement and the human rights movement.” **Oronto Douglas, Attorney and human rights activist**

“They (youth activists) are saying ‘we can’t wait for this region, for our communities, for our country, for our continent to be destroyed the way we have seen in the last 50 years. So rather than sitting down and waiting for power to be entrusted to them when the elders join our ancestors, they are saying ‘we have to work to have that change now’. There is a great degree of power that is being unleashed into society for positive social change.” **Oronto Douglas, Attorney and human rights activist**

CHAPTERS 2 – 6 THE CHALLENGES FACING NIGER DELTA WOMEN

“We are in a struggle within a struggle. We are in the struggle as Niger Delta women. Then we are also in the struggle as women because within that ND struggle there are other challenges for women, tradition especially. You didn’t take part in decision-making. You don’t speak unless you are asked to speak and all the old issues of widowhood practices and all that. So while we are struggling with oil companies and government as Niger Delta people we are also struggling with our tradition and our community elders as women.” **Emem Okon, Executive Director, Kebetkache Women’s Development and Resource Centre**

“All the kidnappings...people will say ok, it is in the best interest of the ND but what psychological impact is it having on the women...fear and violence and the creeks....they might not be going to fish or pick periwinkle to sell.....nobody will think of this aspect. They might not tell you why they don’t go...Those boys might be their sons, their cousins, nephews or whatever. But when that fear is there you know that something is going on and you feel that “if I go to the creeks I don’t know what will happen to me.” By the time people get involved in that kind of activity they are not normal human beings anymore. **Emem Okon, Executive Director, Kebetkache Women’s Development and Resource Centre**

“We found that women were paying a high price for the economic power that Nigeria was wielding, for the economic power that others were getting. So as we got into the areas of women’s rights, environmental rights, children’s rights....we realized they are all linked and you couldn’t participate in one without participating in the others.” **Annkio Briggs, Executive Director, Agape Birthrights**

“There are times we have complained about the pollution and the pain and the suffering and our friends and foes from the north (Abuja) have said that if we don’t like the pollution in our environment then we should relocate. That shows the insensitivity....it is saying to me that if I don’t like the pollution then I can do something about it....and I don’t necessarily have to

relocate....I can choose what to do about it. Part of my own reaction to that is what I am doing now. I definitely want to be part of the resolution of this terrible situation.” **Annkio Briggs, Executive Director, Agape Birthrights**

“I have running water because I have been able to sustain it for myself. I have a borehole outside and I have 2 tanks up there and I have a pump. This is the only way you can have water. The government is not capable of providing running water the way you know it. If you want running water in your home you have to invest in this. Why is that? That is the question that we ask.....why in Nigeria, an oil producing state, that has a lot of money....we want to know why the government is not able to provide running water for its people.” **Annkio Briggs, Executive Director, Agape Birthrights**

CHAPTERS 7-9 THE WOMEN'S ORGANIZING AND THE RISKS THEY FACE

“... it is a big tax working to create awareness of women's rights and at the same time the women you are working with (she hesitates) ... You are trying to make them use that knowledge of their rights to change their condition. But on the other hand there is a challenge of them always looking up to you to change everything in the community. You have so much expectation from your project beneficiaries. And you also have the task of drawing the attention of people who have the direct responsibility of changing this situation (oil companies and government). And these are people who are very insensitive to the plight of people down there in the community. It's actually a big task. AND I DON'T SHRINK FROM IT!!!” **I welcome it!” Emem J. Okon, while visiting Arlington National Cemetery, Washington, DC**

“The people in England can wake up and say the Prime Minister is not doing well, we want him out. The people in America can say the governor is not doing well, we want him out. But in Nigeria if you do that you put your life at risk.” **Annkio Briggs, Executive Director, Agape Birthrights**

“I said I never would want to get involved in political activism again and that is because there is so much violence associated with politics in Nigeria. Here I am ...it's a pull...it's a calling...you're damned if you do and you're damned if you don't. If I don't get involved it's frustrating and if I do get involved it's a risk. It's violent... I've experienced the violence first hand....of being involved politically, of being a political activist. I've been attacked. I've been kidnapped and held against my will for speaking my mind and my beliefs.... I've been beaten up; I've been hospitalized and comatose for my beliefs. Here I am...” **Annkio Briggs, Executive Director, Agape Birthrights**

“Why I like to mobilize women is for awareness because there are things we don't know. I don't know my rights. I don't know that there are things we do that are bad for our health. When we go to the seminar they tell us how we can live, how we can stop violence, how we can implement variances, how we can rule our community. And how we women can have hope of a better Nigeria tomorrow.” **Stella Fyeface, woman activist**

CHAPTERS 10 – 11 LIFE BEFORE THE OIL COMPANIES

“Before Shell came we were fishermen and farmers. We were very, very self-sufficient; so self sufficient that after eating and feeding ourselves we sold the excess to other people and we had enough money to build our own hospitals, our own schools, to send our people to schools and to take care of us. But after Shell came, after all those years, we started getting poorer. We could not afford what we used to afford. We couldn't eat well. Our crops were not yielding very well. Drinking water was a problem. Why was this so?” **Dr. Owens Wiwa, human rights activist**

“What they did in Europe or in America or in Canada when extracting oil was very different from what they were doing in our home and we wanted to stop that. So we complained to them. We

wrote to them to come and clean up so that people can have water to drink. Come and clean up the polluted streams. Come and clean up the oil slick that you leave on our farms so we can't eat. What we heard from Shell was silence..." **Dr. Owens Wiwa, human rights activist**

"I don't think we have to go very far to see what the men are doing because it's a man's world already. It is the men who are in power. They are the governors, the legislators, the commissioners...." **Emem Okon, Executive Director, Kebetkache Women's Development and Resource Centre**

CHAPTERS 12 – 14 DESCRIBES WOMEN'S UPRISINGS, TRADITION AS A WEAPON

"They (Shell) refused to shift their grounds, so we said 'strangers cannot send away the land owners. So you (Shell) have to choose one – if you (Shell) don't want us to enter this place, what can you do to make us happy? We don't benefit anything from you (Shell). You (Shell) don't give us anything. Why would you (Shell) come and rule us in our town?' **Amukpe women, protesting at a Shell facility, waiting for the promise of a community oven**

"The Warrant Chief system existed in Nigeria to 1929 when the tax system was introduced. The tax system was resisted in eastern Nigeria and those who championed the resistance were women. Women, who opposed their husbands being taxed. But the British ignored them, feeling that, after all, women were not paying tax. The women resisted by attacking the Warrant Chiefs and members of the council. It started in Umuahia, spread to Aba, from Aba it spread to what is called today Ibibio and from there it spread like wildfire through eastern Nigeria and was...very effective. That forced the British to stop the tax system and abolish the Warrant Chief System." **Dr. David Okwidili, Nigerian Historian**

Re: The Women's War of 1929 - "Women went in all their warfare regalia... in terms of color. When women go to war they paint their bodies, going with their pestles, which are their traditional weapons. If a woman gets angry and gets ready to fight she uses her pestle that she uses in her kitchen. They went to war with all of this." **Dr. Felicia Nwlatu, Nigerian scholar**

"If women were mobilizing (and threatening to strip) in my place now I'm not likely to join them because I'm a Christian and whatever they say is contrary to me, and I'm educated. But my sister who is not well educated and who does not have Christian values would go." **Dr. Felicia Nwlatu, Nigerian scholar**

"When a woman is forced to do that (strip naked) it is the end of the road. And some women do it...some go to that last resort when they have no other means of articulating their anger. ...an injustice been turned against them." **Dr. David Okwidili, Nigerian Historian**

"I joined them because my children are hungry. My husband is hungry. My brothers are hungry." **Felicia, Ogborodo activist**

CHAPTERS 16 - 17 WHAT CONSTITUTES SUCCESS?

"We returned to the village (after the protest) and since then Chevron has done nothing. Now they have brought another MOU. The one they signed before they have not implemented. Now they have brought another one. They call it "global". But we don't want "global" because we don't know the meaning. The undertaking they wrote before.... Let them implement that one first." **Felicia, Ogborodo activist**

"You can see what women in the communities we are working with are facing back home. It means their families are looking at them as rebels; that they are coming to learn something that is alien to the community and trying to introduce this to the traditional system. So it's even a bigger

challenge for them because they have to be permitted to leave their traditional role in the house to come out and be involved in activism and advocacy... it's actually a big challenge. By the time you build up the capacity of a woman to assert her rights, she is seen as being as not obeying tradition and elders.... She's seen as a rebel and she shouldn't be seen that way. Society should learn to appreciate the contribution of women." **Emem Okon, Executive Director, Kebetkache Women's Development and Resource Centre**

"The 2002 protests against Chevron... that protest is actually seen as a mark achievement by women because the Ugborodo women held Chevron to ransom for 10 days. There was no oil production on that oil farm....and they were able to bring the officials of Chevron to the table. It was a landmark achievement." **Emem Okon, Executive Director, Kebetkache Women's Development and Resource Centre**

"Kebetkache is not an ethnic nationality organization. It is a women's organization that works for women across ethnic lines." **Emem Okon, Executive Director, Kebetkache Women's Development and Resource Centre**

"The women have become more organized and the women have been able to interact with Chevron. Some of them are contractors to Chevron. There is a microcredit system that is going on with them and I think it is working well with them." **Emem Okon, Executive Director, Kebetkache Women's Development and Resource Centre**

"The situation has become worse with violence, hostage taking and militancy. The situation is a lot worse and as an organization and as an activist, at times you wonder what angle you are going to approach the issue to get maximum results and that is a result of government insensitivity over the years and also the response of the oil companies has not been in line with the demands of the people." **Emem Okon, Executive Director, Kebetkache Women's Development and Resource Centre**

"Education doesn't reduce the risks but it motivates the women more. They don't shy away from the responsibility to their children and their community. They don't shy away from their role in community development. It empowers them. It provides them with skills and knowledge to confront that risk." **Emem Okon, Executive Director, Kebetkache Women's Development and Resource Centre**

II. SOCIAL CHANGE FROM THE GROUND UP

The goal of **THE NAKED OPTION** is to inspire viewers to take action and make change!! Examine how change happens through the **Global Greengrants Fund campaign for a just and sustainable world**. Through activist-led grantmaking, Global Greengrants Fund works with activist leaders and provides resources that enable grassroots action on the front lines of social change. Examine the Niger Delta and the grassroots organization of women through GGF's strategies of creating awareness, building strong organizations and facilitating action. Use the stories presented in THE NAKED OPTION to connect these strategies to women's leadership, environmental justice, social justice, human rights and corporate responsibility. Create your own programs and strategies for organization and mobilization of any scale.



GLOBAL
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FUND

Social Change from the Ground Up

Lessons on Leadership: How Movements Start

Real and lasting change starts organically. It happens when a collective group seeks to address an injustice. First, they build awareness, then create infrastructure, and eventually they gain enough momentum to create the change they seek. These movements often start small, with a few community organizations or one committed leader, and they spread across and up from the grassroots.

Lasting social and environmental change is the goal of Global Greengrants Fund. With the right amount of funding and an approach that matches local context and culture, we are building and sustaining social movements. This is why we fund at the grassroots—because grassroots funding empowers local people to make decisions, take action, and create change.

A. How We Bring About Change

Examine assumptions and clarify thinking. Using **Global Greengrants Fund** strategy for bringing about change, consider how that organization thinks in depth about their work, their goals, and their grantmaking. Consider how students can apply this to their own efforts as change-makers.

Globalgreengrants Fund uses this model as a catalyst. It changes and grows through experience. They are interested in hearing students' ideas and set them into motion. Contact GGF directly to share student work. info@greengrants.org

THE PROBLEM

Environmental Injustice and Barriers to Funding Environmental Injustice

There is no shortage of environmental problems in the world – climate change, toxic threats to health, deforestation, desertification, pollution of air, water, and soil, biodiversity loss, etc. They have deep roots in the way we make a living and in how our economies are organized. Accelerated expansion of production and consumption depletes natural resources, stresses ecosystems, and produces pollutants and toxics that exacerbate the problem. Poor communities are inordinately affected by both the problems engendered by production and the waste that the system throws off, both by their often greater dependence on natural resources to make a living and their more limited ability to mitigate the negative effects of the system. Poor communities in the Global South are even worse off, since they often live in societies with less ability to regulate these processes and to deal with the negative consequences. In fact, the increasing ability to regulate environmental damage in the Global North often pushes polluting industries to the Global South, exacerbating the problems there.

Barriers to Funding

But while the ability to protect the environment is often less robust, many citizens of the Global South have organized into community based groups, non-governmental organizations, cooperatives, networks and people's movements in a dizzying array of forms. Yet financial support for these groups is limited. These groups can be ingenious in developing local forms of fundraising and mobilizing people, yet money to support these efforts on a larger scale remains largely concentrated in the Global North. In the United States, for example, less than 2% of all charitable giving supports any international issues. The barriers to giving – both to groups overseas and to grassroots groups -- are too great for many donors in the North: language, legal issues, complicated banking arrangements, inability to track local issues sufficiently, and cost all inhibit even the most enthusiastic Northern donor.

Yet some funding does reach Southern groups, though decisions on who gets what tend to be made in the North. Agendas for funding are defined in the North, even when done by well meaning groups. Most of the accountability for funding is to Northern donors, not Southern constituents. Of the funding that is available for groups in the South, very little goes to grassroots groups and emerging NGOs. Funding tends to support formal organizations working on behalf of affected communities, rather than organizations of people in those communities themselves. Current funding procedures tend to be too slow and formalistic to support activists to take advantage of or to push for political opportunities to achieve change. Finally, most funding supports discrete projects with short term goals, not processes that lead to the social change necessary to sustain program results.

SOLUTION

Funding Social Change in the Global South

How to solve these problems? Two fundamental things must happen:

- 1) Citizens around the globe must increase their capacity
 - a. to improve our current systems of production and consumption to make them more sustainable
 - b. to have a greater say in issues of environmental governance to make these systems work for everyone.
- 2) Funders who want to support citizens in this work must develop systems to finance this organizing and improvement that greatly reduces the cost of doing so and increases accountability to Southern constituents.

In response to these two needs, the overarching goal of **Greengrants** is to increase the amount of money available for grassroots environmental and social justice groups in countries around the

world where funding is scarce. The funding priorities that guide the implementation of this goal follow directly from our understanding of the specific factors and dynamic processes that shape the fate of social movements. This “theory of change” rests on our own experiences as activists and funders, the lived experience of other activists, and a careful reading of the available scholarship on social movements and social change. These sources converge in identifying three general factors as the most important in determining the relative success or failure of movements:

- Resource mobilization and the development of an underlying social infrastructure capable of sustaining movement activity
- Issue framing and consciousness raising work that creates the shared cognitive and emotional basis for movement participation
- “Political opportunities” – that is, change processes that render movement opponents newly vulnerable or receptive to challenge

But this is little more than a check-list of factors. To make our grants program as effective as possible, GGF strives to have a much more sophisticated sense of the dynamic processes that link these factors and ultimately shape the emergence of broad based movements for social change.

ASSIGNMENT: You are a grant maker. Based on what you know now and considering these parameters, build your own model of dynamic processes that will work together to shape new movements for social change. Focus on one of these themes: women’s leadership, environmental justice, social justice, corporate responsibility, human rights

ASSIGNMENT: Taking into consideration the “three general factors important to determining success or failure of a movement, identify a movement in any of the areas of women’s leadership, environmental justice, social justice, corporate responsibility, human rights, and analyze it’s success or failure. Include your insights into these conclusions and further develop the “checklist”.

B. Global Greengrants Fund Theory of Change

To move toward a more dynamic model of social change, it will be useful to describe the above three factors in a bit more detail and to begin to highlight the ways in which these factors are linked.

Change

1. *Political Opportunities* – Under ordinary circumstances, movement groups—let’s call them “challengers”—face enormous obstacles in their efforts to confront entrenched regimes. These challengers are relatively powerless precisely because their bargaining position, relative to established political and economic elites, is so weak. But the particular set of power relationships that define the political environment at any point in time is not some immutable structure of political life. As all-powerful as a given regime may seem, changes— demographic, economic, political, cultural—are always taking place that have the potential to undermine the power and authority of incumbents. Successful movements tend to take advantage of these kinds of destabilizing change processes, even as they expand “political opportunities” through their own actions.

2. *Resource Mobilization and the Development of Movement Infrastructure* – Favorable shifts in the broader political environment only affords challengers the opportunity for successful movement action. It is the resources available to challengers, and the infrastructure needed to sustain movement activities, that enable challengers to exploit emerging “political opportunities.” In the absence of these resources/infrastructures, movement groups are apt to lack the capacity to act even when granted the opportunity to do so. Resources—money in particular—can obviously help sustain infrastructure, but in the absence of infrastructure, monetary resources are never enough to make a movement. What do we mean by infrastructure? We define infrastructure as a sustained capacity for organization substantially out of the social control reach of movement opponents. Very often, movements emerge out of the existing organizations or

institutions controlled by challengers. So Solidarity in Poland was nurtured within both the Catholic Church and established workers associations. The U.S. civil rights movement took root initially in a network of southern black churches. But newly established, self-identified movement organizations can also serve as the critical infrastructure for a emerging movement.

3. *Framing and Consciousness Raising* – While critically important, political opportunities and resources/infrastructure do not, in any simple sense, produce a social movement. Together they only offer challengers a *certain* objective “structural potential” for movement activity. Mediating between opportunity and action are people and the *subjective* meanings they bring to their situation. Movement emergence always implies a certain transformation in consciousness. Before movement activity can really begin in earnest, a critical mass of people must define their situation as unjust and subject to change through group action. Further, these perceptions must have an emotional as well as a cognitive component. It is not enough that people simply perceive injustice or disadvantage. Strong felt emotion is always critical. Anger and hope are the typical affective fuel of movement activity.

These three factors are not discrete. Rather they are linked in ways that begin to suggest a more dynamic model of movement emergence.

- Lots of research has shown that the kind of transformation of consciousness so critical to movement emergence is *much* more likely to take place in the kind of group settings or “free spaces” that here we have simply referred to as “infrastructure.” That is, as people organize into groups, changes in thinking are more likely to happen.
- But there is a reverse effect here too. That is, as more and more people begin to share a new consciousness about some issue, they are far more likely to commit to building the infrastructure needed to sustain collective action.
- Expanding infrastructure and the spread of a new consciousness may, in and of themselves, constitute a new “political opportunity” weakening the power of entrenched political and economic elites.
- The emergence of true “external” political opportunities generally have positive effects on the development of both infrastructure and movement consciousness.

As external events or change processes increase the power of challengers and/or weaken movement opponents, the credibility of movement frames is enhanced, encouraging additional resource mobilization and infrastructure building. In other words, as movements gain in strength, their ideas do not seem so impractical or unrealistic, and the movement may grow in a snowball effect.

The basic model of movement-based social change should, by now, be fairly clear. While most successful social movements benefit from favorable shifts in the broader political environment, “political opportunities” alone do not make movements successful. In the absence of sufficient resources/infrastructure, linked to an emerging radical new social/political consciousness, objective political opportunities rarely produce successful movements. It is when political opportunities emerge *in the context of sufficient infrastructure and consciousness* that movements develop most rapidly and successfully. Indeed, when infrastructure and consciousness already exist to some significant degree, it is not impossible that the movement itself can begin to create its own opportunities for successful action.

ASSIGNMENT: How is this approach to change making different from other models of grassroots organizing? Highlight a campaign for change that you believe was successful and measure the success based on your understanding of “the three factors”.

ASSIGNMENT: Identify a campaign for change that seemed very unlikely or even far-fetched when first brought to public attention. Describe how that campaign snowballed in relation to the “three factors”. What changed as the movement gained strength? How was that reflected in the news?

ASSIGNMENT: Identify a campaign for change that you support. Describe the success or failure of that campaign and provide suggestions, based on the GGF Theory of Change, which you would propose to strengthen the campaign.

Funding Priorities

- Our desire to fashion a theory of change—however provisional—is intensely practical. We mean to use it to aid in choosing funding priorities for our program and to continue to use the results of the program to refine our understanding of how movements make change. Based on our current understanding of this process—as articulated in the previous section—we are especially interested in funding projects that attempt to do one of three things:
- *Resource Mobilization and the Development of Movement Infrastructure* - build and sustain movement infrastructure, either locally, or by linking groups together in more elaborated “networks of struggle”
- *Framing and Consciousness Raising* - engage in creative framing, educational, or educational efforts designed to bring about the cognitive/affective shifts so critical to collective action
- *Political Opportunities* - engage in actions—locally, regionally, nationally—that have the potential to render movement opponents newly vulnerable or receptive to change on environmental and/or social justice issues.

We can be still more specific in this regard. Global Greengrants Fund's current grant program favors eight specific movement supporting activities. What follows is a list of these activities grouped under the three general categories noted above.

- 1. Resource Mobilization and the Development of Movement Infrastructure**
 - **Growing and supporting civil society groups**
 - **Supporting effective networks**
- 2. Framing and Consciousness Raising**
 - **Creating solid technical documentation of concerns and alternatives**
 - **Supporting alternative media and culture**
 - **Promoting alternative production and distribution**
- 3. Political Opportunities**
 - **Creating economic leverage**
 - **Changing policy**
 - **Dealing effectively with external events**

The remainder of this section is given over to brief descriptions of each of these eight priority activities, tying each back to the theory of change sketched above.

1. Resource Mobilization and the Development of Movement Infrastructure **Growing and supporting civil society groups**

Successful social movements amplify the voices of individuals and communities. Activists need to build social capacity to analyze issues, frame alternatives, and organize people to act. Organizing communities, creating formal and informal organizations, and building the skills of the organizations that do exist are all essential to increasing this social capacity. Since most donor funding is only for larger groups with track records, it can be very difficult for new groups to get a foot in the door. Small grants are crucial for groups with little experience who are not ready to mount major programs, but who need some money to have an impact. In the final analysis, even if the immediate balance of political and economic power in society is not challenged in the short term, the development of civil society groups represents a major social transformation in and of

itself. The existence of a stronger set of citizen groups creates a situation where development decisions are more likely to take the public interest into account. It is this social infrastructure that maintains momentum and allows movements to get their messages across at the right times. There is a wide variety of groups that need support, but they can be roughly grouped as follows:

- Community-based groups, which are made up of people directly affected by an issue. While they may all live near each other, communities also arise out of common cause, such as people with cancer, fishermen threatened by corporate overfishing, students, communities from different countries affected by the same mining company, etc.
- Non-governmental Organizations, which here refers to formally organized groups, often with paid staff, that work on issues beyond their own community at any level from local to international
- Professional or production organizations, such as cooperatives, unions, and artisanal associations
- Networks, which are coalitions of organizations drawn together in common cause, often with a formal affiliation
- Movements, which are wide collections of formal and informal organizations working toward the same general goals, often with widely different tactics and strategies, and most often not in tight coordination.

Funders are normally set up to fund only a few of these types of organizations, but there is a role for funding all of them.

Supporting effective networks

The power of these groups is further strengthened by the increased networking of civil society groups, media, and sometimes business and government. The greater the scope of change proposed, the more important cross-sectoral alliances are. This means that local, regional, national and international networking must occur—the latter especially where the issues at hand move across borders. Getting the small amounts of money it takes to support this kind of networking can be very difficult, especially funds that allow smaller, more community based groups to participate in networks of their larger, more established counterparts. Linking local groups with allies in other parts of their region or the world strengthens their work. Networks can multiply the influence of their members. What we also see during such a process is a “frame extension” – a linking of issues -- among local groups, where activists articulate issues and themes that underlie one struggle (for example, pesticides or incineration in Mozambique) and connect them to another, seemingly unrelated struggle (hydroelectric dams and health care in Mozambique and Southern Africa). That is what movement building is all about.

There is a cost to this wider linking, in that the time and resources devoted to connecting with wider networks take away from local organizing. Local leaders may open themselves to accusations of being coopted by outsiders. And issues are often framed differently by wider networks than they are by local groups. So groups need to weigh the benefits of collaborating with a wider network against the costs of a reduced focus on local issues.

Given the complexity of socio-environmental problems, many perspectives are needed to generate ideas and tactics for experimentation. Solutions are uncertain, and unlikely to occur in single steps over a short period of time. Successful movements tend to be large, diverse, internally inconsistent, and often in conflict, but pushing roughly in the same direction. For a community like Greengrants that wants to grow environmental movements, it is important to have a diversity of members and approaches. The danger of diversity is that different parts of the network will unintentionally undermine the work of other parts, so coordination and communication is important to avoid that. Having said that, not everyone in the network will always agree with every other part, which is fine as long as they are not contradicting each other's work.

One specific effect of diversity within a movement bears mention. The presence of more threatening “outsider” groups within a broad array of organizations tends to benefit the movement for at least two reasons. More specifically, these groups:

1. Tend to encourage elites to bargain in good faith with more moderate movement groups;
2. Are often repressed, which has the effect of generating more support from the general public in sympathy.

These groups are often seen as marginal or radical in the beginning, but as movement gain strength and social agendas shift, their points of view can come to be mainstream.

2. Framing and Consciousness Raising

Creating technical documentation of concerns and alternatives

Technical and scientific documentation deepens understanding of problems and alternatives. Citizens need to analyze problems technically, as well as analyze alternatives. Good, sound information is essential to diagnosing problems and presenting solutions. Also important are qualitative documentation practices—where people’s testimonies, stories, and oral histories complement and enrich technical sources. This is a point where the diagnosis and prognosis of the problem can emerge in a way that moves activists, allies, and funders to support an initiative or organization. Creating and documenting these alternative understandings – that dams have high social and environmental costs that the Green Revolution also brought about a revolution in social relations, with clear winners and losers – are essential to gaining wider public support for a movement’s point of view. There is very little funding available to support the work of technically oriented people with a social orientation, so grants for this category are crucial.

Supporting alternative media and culture

Groups need to have access to information (through media and communication technologies and social networks) and produce their own information (via newsletters, Internet, newspapers, radio and research reports). Understanding issues is crucial for citizen groups, so information must be available not from of generally accepted viewpoints, but from alternative perspectives as well. And if groups hope to reframe debates, to shift discussions to their priorities and point of view, then they must be able to get their views out in mass media. Media technologies facilitate a public engagement with problems that may not be widely recognized or acknowledged, and presents alternatives for consideration. Media and culture come together as groups use symbols, stories, and oral traditions to communicate concerns and solutions through web, print, visual, and audio technologies. Often getting the word out does not cost much money, and small grants with the right timing are important for groups to influence public debate.

A critical tool in this struggle to control the debate is the power of moral persuasion, of being “right.” The power of struggling for nature and for the poor can sometimes overcome million dollar campaigns mounted in opposition. Social movements use the power of moral persuasion to reach and convince wide audiences far beyond the power of money.

Promoting alternative production and distribution

More sustainable production and distribution techniques are necessary for consumers and businesses to survive and thrive. Fisheries must be limited to allow continued production; farmers must not poison the land that produces crops, extractive industries must work without destroying surrounding communities and environments. And societies must create governance systems that encourage sustainable production and discourage short term profit at the expense of long term production. This is a key basis underlying any path toward sustainability.

It is important for movements to get beyond what might appear to be an exclusively oppositional orientation toward one that is focused on embracing something positive and transformational (instead of a “just say no to X” we insist that we are “saying yes to Y”). Social movements must be better at articulating to potential adherents what it is they stand for in a way that is consistent with their vision.

3. Political Opportunities

Creating economic leverage

Boycotts and economic pressure tactics directed at institutions can have wide ranging effects. It becomes much more difficult to ignore alternative points of view if movements can have an impact on business as usual. Economic leverage must go hand in hand with political leverage.

Economic pressures can create opportunities for movements: they can draw public attention to a previously ignored group, they can raise the cost of ignoring the movement, and they can open up avenues for dialogue and negotiation that would otherwise never become available. There is very little funding for more confrontational tactics such as these, and small grants are often all that is needed to support these efforts. This is fully compatible with the notion – discussed above – that more threatening “outsider” groups generally increase the leverage available to the movement as a whole.

Changing policy

Policy changes (often as a result of the above activities) – can be legislative, administrative, judicial, or corporate, and can occur at the local, regional, national, or transnational scales. For many movements, achieving change in policy is a watershed moment in the struggle. At this moment, the new policy begins to codify the underlying social change taking place. While policy changes do not guarantee social justice, they do indicate a fundamental change in the social agenda which recognizes the perspective of the movement. Achieving policy change requires funding for the whole range of groups necessary to make it happen: community based groups directly affected by the policies in question, local NGO groups that support them and help articulate their views, groups based in the capital with contacts with policy makers. Just as important, funding must be readily available when the time is ripe for policy changes, not when a funder has a funding cycle approaching. Policy changes often come when opportunities for a break through present themselves, after long preparation by movement groups. Movements must take advantage of those openings to get the policy change they want. These changes are important, not simply for whatever substantive effects follow from the policy shift, but also for the powerful signal they send indicating that the system may be newly vulnerable and/or receptive to change.

Increasing resilience to deal effectively with external events

External events— those beyond the control of activists—must be conducive to change, or at least not hinder it. Activists need to be able to take advantage of unforeseen events quickly and flexibly. Activists must also be able to create those events—*making* political opportunities happen, not just waiting for them to open up. Making opportunities happen can take years of practicing the strategies listed above, waiting for the right time. When the opportunity finally arrives, movement building and networking externally to build pressure on domestic regimes can have a major impact.

There are circumstances where movement leaders set up everything quite well, but wider events outside their control make success impossible under current conditions. So even with the best designed and led movement, external events must not undermine that work for movements to be successful. Movements that are resilient can weather a change in circumstances and choose a more propitious time to press their case.

C. And How to Do It

Social movement activists know all these strategies. They are constrained most often by a lack of resources. Since the majority of finance for these movements exists in the north and goes to large NGOs, a mechanism is necessary that makes small resources available to social movement activists in a way that citizen groups can actually use them. This mechanism must:

- Make grants in a timely fashion with minimal bureaucracy
- Provide funding that is unrestrictive to promote creativity and freedom of action
- Make grants in amounts to do the most good, without overwhelming the capacity of the grassroots groups or create undue burdens for financial management
- Put decision making power in the hands of social movement leaders who have the vision, networks, and timing to know where to direct grants when. The mechanism must minimize the risk of:
 - Orienting groups to grant getting rather than effective action;
 - Creating a funding dependence that jeopardizes group survival should funding be withdrawn.

ASSIGNMENT: Many social movement leaders have vision but lack leadership. Based on what you understand about the Theory of Change and How to Do It, describe the qualities you would be looking for in a social movement leader who is asking you for funding.

ASSIGNMENTS: Resources are not a problem or a limitation. You have the funding and support you need but your organization is not successful. Describe at least 5 good reasons why based on the information above.

Results: Transformations, Sustainability, and Accountability

It is critical to know how our funding impacts the communities we support. In other words, what kinds of broader changes do we expect as a result of the above actions?

Shifted agendas

We seek to enable sustainable cultural shifts, not just temporary political compromises. This is also a shift in the way that problems and solutions are defined and by whom. That is, a number of problems or concerns are now connected when before they may have been seen as unrelated. Now solutions can be forged when previously few were in evidence. This constitutes a transformation not only in the culture or practices, but a change in the worldviews that guide these practices. This is the context in which social justice and sustainability can emerge.

Redistributed power

We want citizens to increase their ability to participate meaningfully in the decisions that affect their lives and their environment, around the world, not just in one or two countries. In this way, we can facilitate local citizens' efforts to transform civil society and impact systems of governance that shape their communities and their destinies. This is social justice.

Sustainability

We support and encourage the development of sustainable communities globally. Sustainability requires an integration of economic and ecological functions. Sustainable economies must exhibit a balance of local and non-local market links, living/fair wages, and minimal negative (if not positive) impacts on ecosystems.

Accountability

Greengrants has a built in system of peer review and accountability, in that we are committed to supporting movements for social and environmental justice for the long term and our reputation must withstand the scrutiny of citizen groups who are increasingly networked globally and sharing information among each other. Word travels fast in such networks and if we make mistakes—or are perceived as having made mistakes—people and organizations will know soon enough. It is imperative, therefore, that our work is as “above board” and respectful as possible, particularly in a world where southern organizations often experience mistrust and misunderstanding with northern organizations and funders. We must also continue to integrate lessons learned along the way, and adapt our work accordingly. Greengrants must operate as a global network that listens and learns directly from the people in the communities where they live, work, play, and struggle for a better world.

ASSIGNMENT:

- a. **Create realistic scenario within your community dealing with a social or environmental justice issue. Address how city officials currently plan to deal with these issues. Based on the steps described above in the Theory of Change, build your own community actions plan and determine fundability.**
- b. **For the next level of the assignment send students out to bring together the stakeholders to actually start an action plan for their community. Students will gain hand-on experience.**
 - i. **Identify and approach stakeholders**
 1. **Municipalities**

- a. Staff
 - b. Elected officials
 - 2. Community groups
 - 3. NGO's associated with environment and social issues
 - 4. Home & Business owners, etc... (however applicable)
 - 5. Chamber of commerce
- ii. Key issues
 - 1. Impacts on individuals in community
 - 2. Impacts on community infrastructure
- c. Learning objectives
 - 1. Basic assessment skills
 - 2. Evidence of need for change
 - 3. Evidence of resistance to change
 - 4. Connection between global issues and impact to local communities
- d. Understanding of issues
 - i. What is (i.e. sustainability)?
 - ii. What do we do about (it)?
- e. Skill set necessary to organize meeting of stakeholders and start process to develop action plan

III. DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

Questions are organized by topic. Use them to inspire discussion, critical thinking and further research.

Backstory and History

- What is the impact of oil extraction?
 - Environment, livelihoods, prostitution, Utilities, self-sufficiency, crime and violence
- What is the relationship between the Nigerian government and corporations operating in the Niger Delta?
 - Discuss The Petroleum Act, giving the Federal Government the exclusive ownership of oil resources in Nigeria;
 - Discuss The Land Use Act which vests the ownership of lands on state governments
 - Discuss the exclusive Economic Zone Act by which the federal government has exclusive right over all resources within 200 nautical miles from the coast to the sea, thus the dichotomy between on-shore and off-shore oil, etc. These laws and their operation are perceived by the ethnic group owners of their territories to be oppressive, derivational, and alienating. These views and experiences form the basis of agitation for demand for resource ownership and control by the peoples of the Niger Delta.
- Discuss the impact of the following topics on Niger Delta communities:
 - Poverty
 - Violence
 - Oil extraction
 - Divide and Rule
 - Oil Wealth – where does the wealth of the country come from? How is that wealth distributed in Nigeria?
 - Corruption
 - Gas Flares
 - Oil Spills
 - Militarization

Gas Flares

- What is a gas flare and what is the controversy around them in Nigeria or internationally?
- Are the Amukpe women advocating for gas flares?
- Do you think the Amukpe women understand the irony of the situation with the gas flares?
- How did the women see the role of the gas flares?
- Did communities adapt to the flares? Did the women adapt to the flares?
- If the flares were extinguished tomorrow, how do you think the Amukpe women would respond?

Shutting down oil flow stations

- What are the risks of women challenging oil companies?
- What do the people in the communities have to lose in standing up for their rights?
- What is the relationship between oil producing communities and non-oil producing communities?
- How is divide and rule implemented here?

Women's Mobilization

- Women protest on behalf of their communities, on behalf of everyone. How is this different from a women's movement?
- What strategies do women undertake to make change in the Niger Delta?
- What are the risks of challenging government? of challenging oil companies?
- What is the role of women in their households and how does that relate to their activism?
- Nigeria is a patriarchal society. Discuss women's rights in Nigeria?
- How does the cultural and political classification of women conflict with tradition?
- Discuss the contradictions around women and tradition in Nigeria.
 - Women are sacred and can't be seen naked out of wedlock.
 - Women are mothers. Mothers are sacred.
 - No land ownership, no rights to kids, or property, no representation in town meetings
- How do men respond to women activists?
- How have women's resistance movements around the world used stripping naked as a weapon or a tool? US, Turkey, Nigeria

Women's Uprisings in Nigeria

- Who are the women's leaders throughout Niger Delta history? Who is Margaret Ekpo?
- Discuss the 1929 Women's War – the role of women, the power motherhood, sacredness of women's bodies, taboo, cultural implications of naked protest, contradictions of tradition and the current militarization and violence as seen in the Niger Delta
- Women rose up in the following years over taxes, sugar prices, education and destruction of their land and communities. Trace the rise of women's voices through protests:
 - 1929
 - 1945
 - 1956
 - 1958
 - 1985
 - 2002 protests swept the Niger Delta that summer
 - current ongoing protests
- How has women's mobilization changed over the last 10 years?

Militarization and Rebellion

- How do the Niger Delta rebels impact the price of oil and the profile of the Nigerian people?
- What is MEND? Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
- How does the media play into the corporate agenda?
- Discuss the role of the military in the Niger Delta
- Who is Ken Saro Wiwa and what was the significance of his leadership?

Measuring Success

- What is the measurement of a successful campaign? Are the Niger Delta women successful? -
- By whose standards are you measuring success?

- What role does perseverance play in their continued efforts to make change?
- If things in the Niger Delta have become worse over recent years, do you feel their efforts were successful?
- Is success a relative term?
- Are our expectations of what success looks like reasonable or applicable everywhere in the world?

IV. THE CUPCAKE CAMPAIGN

A hands on project for grade 8 – 12. Study the issues confronting Niger Delta women and their impact worldwide; learn leadership skills; be empowered and knowledgeable through development of entrepreneurial skills, while increasing confidence in public speaking.



THE CUPCAKE CAMPAIGN is a non-profit undertaking to empower students with leadership skills and set them in action in grassroots campaigns for social, environmental and political change.

The Cupcake Campaign is a grassroots project fostering leadership, resourcefulness, entrepreneurship, and activism. Designed to provide a focus for students interested in making the world a better place, this youth leadership action educates participants about violence against women, human rights, environmental rights, social justice and corporate responsibility. The Niger Delta region is an example of the confluence of all of these important issues and provides fertile ground for understanding their relationship on a local level.

The goals of The Cupcake Campaign are to bring young people (grades 8 - 12) together to learn about the importance of the Niger Delta and the actions Niger Delta women are taking to save their communities. Students discover how young people in their own community can participate in a vision for a cleaner global environment and to work in solidarity with Niger Delta women for peace and justice.

Bake and Make a difference; Bake Your Way to Leadership

Students put on their entrepreneurial hats and become part of a small but organized group who bake and make a difference through cupcake sales! They find locations for their cupcake sales, generate community excitement through their advertising campaigns, educate customers about environment and social justice through their knowledge and expertise gained through their studies, while learning first hand how to organize and mobilize action for change! Dozens of glorious little cakes on their tables will represent the destruction of our world's largest mangrove forest in deep chocolate cupcakes with deep chocolate frosting labeled 'Oil Spill'. Then the

recovery and awareness raising in bright vanilla cakes with white frosting and multicolored sprinkles to represent a tropical 'Clean Up'! Students create and manage cupcake-selling events to raise awareness and hone entrepreneurial skills.

How it works:

Middle school students with interests in activism and social justice hold a bake sale selling "oil spill" and "clean up" cupcakes. High school and college level students can build their own campaigns or act as mentors for younger students, providing transportation, helping manage budgets, advising on purchases, assisting with social media and digital marketing strategies.

Participants map out their business plan and budget, research location, purchase ingredients (research the social responsibility of the companies providing ingredients such as cake mix, frosting mix, milk, eggs, sprinkles/decoration, baking tins.) Mentors, mothers and guardians provide transportation. Marketing strategies are designed and posted via social media and posters. Vanilla cupcakes with white frosting and colorful decorations are labeled "Clean up" and chocolate cupcakes with chocolate frosting are labeled "Oil Spill". Cupcakes are priced according to the collective decision.

Each participant watches THE NAKED OPTION and goes through the associated study guide and becomes a knowledgeable spokesperson on the issues and can answer questions while manning the cupcake stand. Students answer questions raised as to the significance of the cupcake names and the mission behind the stand. Information one-sheets with bulleted topics related to the situation in the Niger Delta and the impact on women in the Niger Delta is compiled and handed out with each purchase. Small signs on the table indicate what companies were involved in the production materials for the bake sale.

Proceeds go a local charity or are invested for the next cupcake sale.

1. Meet with students to organize produce the budget to determine start up money needed. Each student can raise money based on the final number. For example, students raise \$20 for start up funds.
2. Assign tasks and the work with students regarding the responsibilities attached to each task: Purchasing; Finding a location and negotiating time, date and fees; Producing marketing materials; Determine bakers; Determine timeline and schedules; Maintaining budget; Transportation; Work shifts; Production of one-sheet; Making signs for the table describing companies involved; Clean up

Skills Required or to be Acquired

- Enthusiasm for environmental justice, social justice, human rights, corporate responsibility and violence against women.
- Organization skills
- Responsibility
- Baking and decorating cupcakes! Producing product with quality control and pride
- Administrative skills, leadership skills
- Confidence and efficiency behind the scenes in making things happen
- Confidence and effectiveness in working with the public
- Overall improvement of skills

Educational Benefits

- Grow student knowledge base in areas of national and international importance and identifying areas of interest
- Hone research, production, administrative, advertising, conflict resolution, management and troubleshooting skills
- Learn Digital Marketing skills through designing Web banners for email blasts

- Develop critical thinking skills
- Develop entrepreneurial skills
- Develop confidence and skill in community outreach
- Learn leadership skills that build trust and establish credibility
- Understand keys to developing rapport and creating strong alliances
- Gain understanding of how others perceive you

CUPCAKE CAMPAIGN LEADERSHIP KIT: (provided upon request)

1. A complete line item budget that covers all expenses (transportation costs, ingredients, poster and marker costs, advertising, printing, location fee.)
2. A dvd copy of the film with study guide
3. Digital logos provided

V. RESOURCES

Kebetkache Women's Development and Resource Centre - <http://kebetkachewomen.org/>

Action Aid - <http://www.actionaid.org/nigeria>

Center for Development and Democracy - <http://www.cddwestafrica.org/>

Environmental Rights Action - <http://www.eraction.org/>

National Endowment for Democracy – <http://www.ned.org/>

Remember Ken Saro Wiwa - <http://remembersarowiwa.com>

Environmental Rights Action - <http://www.eraction.org/>

If you would like to host a screening or need further information please visit our website:
www.nakedoptionmovie.com