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Africa Organizing Manual: Peace with Justice Educational Tour

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AFRICA

ORGANIZING MANUAL

PEACE WITH JUSTICE EDUCATIONAL TOUR



By Prexy Nesbitt

Edited by Imani Countess

Updated November 2005

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**American Friends
Service Committee**

Let me give you a word on the philosophy of reform. The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims have been born of earnest struggle. The conflict has been exciting, agitating, all absorbing, and for the time being putting all other tumults to silence. It must do this or it does nothing. If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightening. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what people will submit to, and you have found the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them; and these will continue until they are resisted with either words or blows, or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress.

✦ *Frederick Douglass* ✦

Letter to an abolitionist associate, 1849

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**AFRICA PEACE WITH JUSTICE
EDUCATIONAL TOUR
ORGANIZING MANUAL**

BY PREXY NESBITT

ATTACHMENTS:

- A. CONCEPTUAL MAP OF AFRICA-INTERESTED CONSTITUENCIES
- B. SAMPLE DATA COLLECTION CARD
- C. EVALUATION OF 2003 AFRICA PEACE WITH JUSTICE
EDUCATIONAL TOURS

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PREFACE

The purpose of this manual is to share some approaches and methodologies for organizing Africa Peace with Justice Educational Tours (APJETs). This manual is not the product of one person's experiences but draws from a collective history of public education on Africa. What is presented here is not the only way to organize Africa Peace Tours but it does represent the distillate of more than 20 years of participating in and organizing Africa Peace with Justice Tours.

For years, the Africa Peace Tours were organized through the combined work of several organizations. Today, it is the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) that organizes the APJET.

Organizing on Africa and Africa-related issues today takes place on radically altered terrain. It is a new situation. The South African apartheid system is demolished and the Cold War no longer functions as a dominant component of U.S. foreign relations, especially U.S. relations with Africa. The contradictions and tensions within U.S. society today - whether they relate to racial, gender, religious, disability or sexual orientation -- make Africa and Africa-related organizing complicated and challenging. The local problems American citizens wrestle with daily often consume what little psychic and emotional energies people possess so that they have little compassion, let alone active empathy, for the problems of "those others." The racialized projection, marginalization and "Tarzanization" of Africa and things African consistently result in the consignment of Africa and African concerns to

remote and exotic chambers of American minds where African people are objectified and dehumanized. As Salih Booker, Executive Director of Africa Action, has recently noted: *it is not accidental that "Africa is 'ground zero' of the global AIDS crisis...Africa has been hit hardest by HIV/AIDS because poverty has left its people most vulnerable, and because racism has impeded an urgent international response."*

Still, there are mobilizational possibilities and openings that have never been present before: First, greater and greater numbers of U.S. citizens are aware of and traveling to Africa; African immigrants in the United States are both more (economically speaking) mobile and more organized; technology and communication enable one remarkable and instantaneous access to current information about Africa. There is a slow but steady growth in a general consciousness amongst the educated U.S. public that events in Africa are related to other world events and dynamics; and lastly, there are cultural openings and spaces where new possibilities are opening up for U.S. citizens to engage with Africa. Many U.S. youth today may never have heard of the late Julius Nyerere, but they know intimate details about African cultural icons, for example Fele and Brenda Fassie.

Key to successfully organizing Africa Peace with Justice Tours is forging relationships. It is listening as much as it is talking. It is learning more than teaching. Ultimately, there is no substitute for relationships based in trust, confidence, and honesty. There are no shortcuts to building long-term relationships, which imbue people with a vision and strength that empowers them to take action.

Key to successfully organizing Africa Peace with Justice Tours is forging relationships. It is listening as much as it is talking.

INTRODUCTION

The AFSC's Africa Peace with Justice Educational Tour (APJET) has taken place since the early 1980s. They grew out of a grassroots educational effort by a network of Africa-focused organizations and programs called the Africa Peace Tour Committee which included the Washington Office on Africa, Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers Africa Program, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), and the Africa Faith and Justice Network, to name a few, which sought to bring authentic African voices directly to the U.S. public.

As part of its work, the Tour Committee developed an annual tour to help strip away the media filters and negative stereotypes about Africa that existed -- and still exist -- within U.S. popular culture. The ultimate goal was to change U.S. policy toward Africa, work on HIV/AIDS, and remove the Cold War lens that blurred the U.S. government's understanding of African efforts to de-colonize and policies that resulted in U.S. support for the racist regimes in southern Africa and brutal dictatorships throughout Africa. To do this, the tour would:

- highlight the common threads that unite all people, whether a person's ancestors left the African continent on foot some 50,000 years ago, were forcibly removed 300 years ago, or are a part of the new wave of immigration from Africa to the United States;
- educate U.S. audiences about how government policies limit and undermine Africa's ability to harness her resources for the development of her peoples; and
- Organize U.S. citizen action in order to influence U.S. policies toward Africa.

The Africa Peace with Justice Tour Today

Each year, the tour concentrates on one to two U.S. cities. Working with U.S. regional offices of the AFSC, the Africa Program creates opportunities for ordinary people from various walks of life to meet with Africans and Americans working in solidarity with Africa. The meetings, forums, and seminars are held in churches, union and assembly halls, living rooms and classrooms, and public squares.

During the tour, speakers try to confront the vacuum of information that dominates the general knowledge about Africa held by most Americans. They de-construct the way that Africa is often represented by U.S. media, linking this pattern to the generalized racism so frequently found in U.S. media coverage.

Speakers talk about the need for greater political and economic autonomy, food security, community development, improved access to health care, and fair trade and commerce. Some of the specific topics that the tour speakers share information about include:

- War and conflict
- Poverty, hunger, and debt
- Arms proliferation and violence
- Militarization of the African continent and the competition for Africa's natural resources.

Additionally, the tour helps U.S. citizens understand how much government economic and political policies weaken African economies, thereby furthering poverty and political instability.

Most importantly, perhaps, is to remind ourselves repeatedly that the Africa Peace with Justice Educational Tour helps achieve the goal of building a large, vibrant, and active U.S.-based constituency that works to change U.S. policy toward Africa.

The tour will include the Washington Office on Africa, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), and the Africa Faith and Justice Network.

During the tour, speakers try to confront the vacuum of information that dominates the general knowledge about Africa held by most Americans. They de-construct the way that Africa is often represented by U.S. media.

to that pattern to the generalized racism so frequently found in U.S. media coverage. The ultimate goal was to change U.S. popular culture.

Speakers talk about the need for greater political and economic autonomy, food security, community development, improved access to health care, and fair trade and commerce. Some of the speakers focus on the regimes in southern Africa and how they have affected the continent.

this, the tour would:

- War and conflict
- Poverty, hunger and debt
- Africa's prohibition and violence
- Militarization of the African continent and the competition for Africa's natural resources.
- highlight the common threads that unite all these issues
- educate U.S. audiences about how government policies have undermined Africa's development
- help U.S. citizens understand how much

government economic and political policies weaken African economies. Organize U.S. citizens to help influence U.S. policy thereby furthering poverty and political instability.

PLANNING

The tour is the primary Africa-related public educational activity of the American Friends Service Committee. Successful tours represent a partnership between the national Africa Program and regional staff. Prior to each tour both regional and national staff must:

1. **Outline goals and objectives for the activity.** While the primary goal for the national office is constituency building, examples of regional objectives have included –
 - a. Connecting with key players in the academic community;
 - b. Developing links with the Latino community with the inclusion of an Afro-Latino tour speaker;
 - c. Developing fair trade links with small businesses; and
 - d. Creating opportunity to consolidate relationships with a local high school.
2. **Clarify the timeline for the activity.** Regional staff have indicated that the timeline for activity must be at least six months in order for them to organize and ensure a successful event.
3. **Establish the division of labor.** National and International Program staff are generally responsible for identifying speakers, as well as organizing their travel and orientation. Regional staff are generally responsible for organizing the speaking engagements, outreach, and media activities.
4. **Establish the budget.** Tour budgets can include fees for local organizers and other costs. While national office staff are responsible for covering all costs, staff need to discuss in advance transfers and prepayments for hotels and ground transportation.

INITIAL EXPLORATORY WORK

One of the first tools for organizing APJETs is a good **detailed map** of the region where the intended tour is headed. Learning the map, besides imparting geographical knowledge about the area, is essential for doing some socio-economic surveying, as well. It is important to make repeated systematic attempts to learn the physical territory thoroughly.

A second item is a series of **demographic profiles** that provide population, race, class, gender, and age. It is also useful to read some studies that depict the historical development of the region and neighboring regions.

Early in the initial period a list of potential constituents should be drawn up. This list can be further refined as organizing continues, the main purpose being to keep track of who is and who is not able to be mobilized.

Where is the constituency? Everywhere!

As you look at the community of potential sites for engagement ignore no sector. We have found that every sector in society (see Attachment A) includes people interested in Africa. Frequently, organizers will approach only those sectors most likely to assist in our local work, or those communities we think are most likely to be interested in Africa, however, potential hosts for the Tour can be found in every sector of your community. For example:

⇒ **GOVERNMENT:** The National Associations of Black Mayors and Black State Legislators have Africa-focused committees.

- ⇒ EDUCATION: Most colleges and universities have staff interested in expanding knowledge of Africa and would be willing to host events in their classrooms or university-wide.
- ⇒ BUSINESS: A wide array of micro- and small businesses can be approached to host or support a tour reception or speaking engagement. It would be natural to approach Ten Thousand Villages, a network of fair trade stores supported by the Mennonites, to host an event. Tour events have been hosted in local bookstores and restaurants.

We encourage you to prioritize networking with the following communities of people, and also encourage you to think outside the box!

Reach out to the vets

It is important to assess carefully whether there are still people around who did anti-apartheid organizing or other types of Africa-related solidarity work. Despite the basic pattern that many people once active in Africa work move on to other types of social justice work, it is important to continually reach out to this group, "the vets," for their participation. Even if, in the end, they do not actively participate, they are usually a good source of sound advice, history, and support.

Mandatory meetings with the African community

Even more important is touching base with the African immigrant or ex-patriot community(ies). Every major population center in the United States is today experiencing a growth in African immigrants. From every point of view, it is mandatory from the earliest days to do outreach with those groupings, even if initial approaches are disappointing.

Black elected officials, clergy, teachers, union and community leaders

Key groups to approach early in the organizing of an APJET are the black clergy, teachers, and elected officials. It is not so much that they will immediately get involved -- most will not. More importantly, it is that you, the organizer, have paid homage; have observed the proper protocol in the approach. (If one is working a region without any entree contacts or guides, two good sources of information about this grouping are the advertisements section of local ethnic newspapers and the yellow pages or business section of the telephone directory.)

Key informants

Frequently, in many areas you will find one or more informal community leaders who are known for Africa work. They may or not be a part of the above categories, however, it is critical to get them on board. Sometimes these people function as gatekeepers -- activities will have less credibility if you don't have their support. More often than not, they will be able to provide you with important information and key contacts that will help enrich the tour. For example, in North Carolina, a key activist organized meetings with trade unionists engaged in both environmental and economic justice activities. Tour participants spoke with union leaders about Africa's external debt and in turn learned how North Carolinians were organizing to address economic justice issues.

THE PRELIMINARY MEETINGS

In the absence of, or in addition to, a local AFSC staff person, a local APJET organizing committee should be formed. It may consist of only 2 to 3 people, but this is a key step for eventually organizing a successful tour. Also essential is the formation of a broad sponsors group. This should consist of 20 to 30 different local organizations that endorse and help mobilize the tour.

This stage of the process assures that there is local ownership and participation. It marks the difference between a successful and concrete partnership between a national body and local bodies, as opposed to a "moment" when a national organization jets into town, does a quick dog-and-pony show, and leaves. The former results in committed activists, the latter, a well-entertained audience returns to their television sets.

For example, prior to the February 2005 Student Tour, meetings were held with professors and directors of African Studies Outreach Centers and Afro-American Studies Departments, as well as, Pan-Hellenic Councils, student government heads, as well as campus media. These meetings, solicited endorsement and co-sponsorship five months before the event, and were critical for laying the groundwork for that successful tour.

MEDIA WORK

That Africa is regularly assaulted, raped, and abandoned by the U.S. media is a truism that scarcely needs placement in these pages. Despite that, media coverage is an important component of any public advocacy or campaigning in the United States. Hence, as soon as a region for an APJET is chosen, a media strategy geared to that particular place should be developed.

The APJET tours provide great historical moments for framing African issues for American audiences and for engaging those audiences into campaigns for just policies towards African countries and peoples.

A key aspect of organizing the APJET tour is getting a (navigational) "fix" on the press and media in the targeted area. Who are possibly friendly press? Radio? TV or newspaper? Who are the hostile press? Are there press with Peace Corps background? Is there more to be gained with a strategy attuned to the alternative/community/black/Latino press than investing in reaching out to the region's mainline media?

Jenny Shields, AFSC Director of Media Relations suggests the following framework for staff developing a local medial strategy:

THINK LIKE A REPORTER....

WBAL, the NBC affiliate in Baltimore, Maryland, describes their newscast as *LIVE, LOCAL, LATE BREAKING*. Let's use these three watchwords when we think about how to position the APWJET in the best news light possible.

MAKE IT LIVE: Tell personal stories. Reporters respond to conflict and controversy, but break it down into real terms. Expressing outrage about an issue like world trade is rhetorical. *Showing* how real people are hurt by world trade illustrates the impact. Who is touched by the issues you're focusing on? Does this story have wider appeal?

MAKE IT LOCAL: Make it relevant to your local community. *Example* (not real statistics): Thousands in Philadelphia know the horrors of living with AIDS. Many more understand what life is like living without health care. But imagine our community if we tripled these statistics. In Somalia...

MAKE IT LATE-BREAKING. Is it new? Does it tie in to a new development or new political event? Relate your event it to something currently in the news. Tie into something current -- a national headline, event or activity.

... AND MAKE THINGS EASY FOR THEM

Specialize your outreach to particular reporters and cater to their style. Don't leave out columnists, who might also be interested in the issues you raise.

UNDERSTAND THE DIFFERENT ROLES AND NEEDS OF THE NEWS MEDIA.

With broadcast television or cable, you need to play up the visual aspect of your event (what will the camera's see?) With radio audio is important (what will the radio listeners hear?). Weekly newspapers have different needs from dailies. Find out what they are.

NEED NATIONAL LISTS? WE HAVE THEM! In the beginning you'll probably need city or metro editors. When you know more about the reporters in your area you might want to target specific journalists who cover a specific beat.

We'll get you started. Localize it with the issues and information local to your community.

On your questions below I think the biggest tip would be to figure out **what makes your event news**. The check list below might help to identify what makes news people sit up and take notice of an event or activity. Thinking like a reporter will get you far.

FIND THE LOCAL ANGLE: Make the Tour special for each community in which it travels. The truth is, in each place you go, there will be something different that makes it news in that community. They need to find the local connection and play the local angle to garner press coverage.

UNDERSTAND THE DIFFERENT ROLES AND NEEDS OF THE NEWS MEDIA. I can pull media lists for you certainly. But I don't have one be-all-end-all media list that works for all. I normally pull different lists for different audiences, with a release targeted to each audience...depending on the "hook" we use in that community and the varying needs of the press.

The reality is when sending a release to broadcast, you need to play up the visual aspect of your event (what will the camera's see?) or the audio (what will the radio listeners hear?). Weekly press have different needs than dailies. Find out what they are.

For example, I'd send a basic advisory on the APT to city and calendar editors to dailies to make sure your event is listed in upcoming events. But that won't get you a feature article. You need to send more in depth information to weekly papers.

DO YOUR HOMEWORK. Researching who's writing on your issue in that community. Get all the background information you can on the APT speakers, and figure out what about them makes what they have to say news. Then figure out whom in your community writes about those issues. I'd figure out what reporters are covering the issues your speakers are addressing (or that you want to raise) and make sure they know about your event.

Finally, one of the hardest things to explain about media relations is that there is no "cookie-cutter" approach that gets results. Good media relations is a combination of good timing, clear message and a *lot of persistence*.

The nature of the media is they want *news*. Our job, then, becomes trying to make sure we speak their language.

The nature of news is that it happens *now*, so watch your tense in the materials you write. Passive tense reads as *old news* to a reporter - they'll pass

it by. Pay attention to their deadlines. Provide as much information as possible, but be accurate. Leave out jargon or information not easily understood. Do most of the work for them rather than expect them to search here and there for more details. Don't assume they know your issue or understand the terms you use.

Finally, consult the AFSC Communication Guide which provides a step-by-step guide to media outreach.

WHO ARE WE TRYING TO REACH WITH THE APJETS?

For a brief period the APJETs largely contacted campuses, speaking to and meeting with those largely transient, impermanent audiences. With the defeat of apartheid and the subsequent need to rebuild a stronger Africa solidarity constituency, it has become apparent that our ultimate target community is those people who are able and ready to engage in a sustained way the challenge of building a strong and organized U.S. solidarity base for Africa.

Imani Countess puts it succinctly in her insightful 2001 Report, "Weaving the Ties that Bind." Discussing the need for national Africa-focused groups to "increase targeted outreach activity," she notes:

National groups reach thousands of supporters around the country through their existing efforts. These efforts can be expanded. However, they will be most successful if they are also targeted in a sustained way, in particular local settings, and combined with sustained building of relationships with local networks.

The APJET is an excellent vehicle for this type of targeted outreach, particularly if the organizers of the APJET, working with the local organizers, clearly identify the groups and individuals they are attempting to reach.

...the APJET organizer must always think strategically about the whole schedule of speaking appearances, film showings, union breakfasts and pulpit visitations.

This is not to argue that the APJET should reject appearances at local colleges and high schools. Rather, the targeted outreach approach entails that such appearances are related to the specific goal(s) of gaining audiences at particular churches, unions, or localities. *For example, if the goal is to create a beachhead among Richmond's black medical professionals with information on Africa's HIV/AIDS pandemic, then it is strategic that the group speaks to the Old Dominican University's Black Students Pan African Festival and to the two local high schools where a lot of Richmond's black medical elite have their children.*

In short, the APJET organizer must always think strategically about the whole schedule of speaking appearances, film showings, union breakfasts, and pulpit visitations.

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The APJET is an excellent vehicle for this type of targeted outreach, particularly if the organizers of the APJET, working with the local organizers, clearly identify the groups and individuals they are attempting to reach.

HOLDING THE FIRST FORMAL ORGANIZING MEETING FOR THE TOUR: SOME "DO'S AND DON'T'S"

1. It is critical that the people who attend get to know you, the organizer, and the local organizing committee members who may be new to them. Additionally, it is important that they feel comfortable at the meeting and have a good time. (Food, music, and a living room venue always help.)
2. It is important to distribute something about the history of the tours. But do not overload people with information about Africa or how much you know about Africa. Remember, the key to long-term organizing and leadership is listening.
3. Organize the meeting around concrete goals that are manageable.
4. Before the meeting, ask people to do things at the meeting and to bring things to the meeting. Both of these activities endow people with more ownership of the meeting and organizing the tour.

*Remember, the key to
long-term organizing
and leadership is
listening.*

5. Make sure people leave the meeting clear about two critical things:
 - A. A sense of their own power and a feeling they can do the tour
 - B. That the meeting they ran empowers them to believe they can do the tour
6. At the meeting remind people that the tour is part of a process of gaining more U.S. support and solidarity for Africa and its problems.

7. Always posit the obstacles and challenges as surmountable. Do this in a way that lets people know that all this work is difficult but critical -- it is all part of larger, longer projects, like the struggle worldwide to help people gain more justice and security in their daily lives.

Remember, the key to
long-term organizing
and leadership is
listening.

EVALUATION AND FOLLOW-UP

In 2003, after 20 years of tours, the Service Committee conducted the first evaluation. While quantitative information on the number of events and people met, as well as anecdotal stories regarding the impact of the tour, have been collected and included in tour reports, prior to 2004 no comprehensive assessment of tour impact had been attempted. The assessment findings were more positive than expected. The summary of findings follows:

- Reaction to the Peace Tour events was overwhelmingly positive. A vast majority said they would attend a future AFSC event, and many made unprompted positive comments about the speakers and organization of the event. There is a strong belief that AFSC can be effective in influencing U.S. policy, and a strong percentage reported having made an effort to find out more about the AFSC after the Peace Tour. Respondents placed highest priority on the HIV/ AIDS crisis in Africa when asked what issue the AFSC should be working on.
- The Peace Tours appear to have been quite successful in educating people about issues of concern to Africa, as well as in prompting them to follow those issues more closely than they had before. This is particularly true for those with lower levels of education, younger people, blacks and men.
- People who have interacted with the AFSC reflect overwhelming optimism about making a difference for Africa. A strong percentage said they were even more active on African issues after the event than they were before, even though about half reported being already active. A majority reported engaging in at least 4 of the 7 action items we asked about. African respondents and those with advanced degrees were most likely to report high and increased levels of activism.
- The AFSC Peace Tour constituency can be characterized as having a high level of education, made up of college age people and people over 50, mostly of African or African American background, politically to

the left and with a high percentage of charitable or advocacy organization donors.

Trendline Research, January 2004

The PBU Africa Program plans to conduct the next evaluation at the conclusion of the Africa Initiative. As funding permits, evaluations should be conducted every two or three years in order to understand the extent to which individuals met are moved to act. During the off-years, planners should use every effort to integrate an evaluation process into the tour planning. Minimally, the following activities should be included:

Data collection: For each tour the Africa Program office will print a data collection card (see Attachment B). The card is distributed throughout the tour and collected at every event, as appropriate. The card will be a self-mailer, so it can be mailed after events. Contact information should be immediately entered into the Program's Access Database and once entered, the database will be shared with regional staff.

The cards also include a few questions designed to assess the impact of the tour. Specifically, what was the quality of the speakers, and if participants feel that they learned something new. The Africa Program compiles the responses and produces a brief report outlining and analyzing responses.

National Africa Network: Each card invites the participant to join the National Africa Network (NAN). The NAN is a segment of the full database and should consist of those individuals who are interested in receiving extra information from the Service Committee and who are willing to act to change U.S. policy toward Africa.

What We Know About Our Network

Based on the Trendline 2004 evaluation (see Attachment C for full report), we understand that our growing constituency is diverse, and that reflects "logical representations of certain groups, given event venues and subject matter." Our constituents generally exhibit the following characteristics:

- Highly educated – 62% percent reported having a college education, including 26% with an advanced degree. These are about double the general population figures.
- Primarily either college age or in older age groups – 21% were under the age of 24 and 46% were aged 50 or over, representing an age distribution skewed toward the extremes, rather than a normal bell-shaped distribution.
- Heavily black – 34% were African American; 22% were of African origin; 39% were white. Only about 10% of Americans are black.
- Politically to the left – 50% were Democrats; 6% Green; 25% independent; just 2% Republican. The public at large is divided almost evenly between Democrats, Republicans and Independents.
- Advocacy donors – 73% had donated money to a charity or advocacy organization in the last two years, far higher than the national average.

Given these characteristics, it is worth noting again that AFSC reached a fairly nice mix of those who consider themselves active on African issues and those who were not active prior to the Tour (about half and half). The same is true for some of the demographic characteristics we asked about.

There was a fairly proportional mix of men and women and of those with modest and higher income levels."

Based on the Trendline 2004 evaluation (see Attachment C for full report), we understand that our growing constituency is diverse, and that the PBU Africa Program plans to conduct the next evaluation at the end of the tour. The evaluation will include a survey of participants and a focus group of certain groups, given event venues and subject matter. Our constituents generally exhibit the following characteristics:

- **Age:** Participants are generally in the 25-45 age range, with a slight skew toward the younger end. The age of 25 and 45 were the most common ages, representing 21% and 22% of the total, respectively.
- **Gender:** The gender distribution is fairly even, with 48% of participants being women and 52% being men.
- **Ethnicity:** Participants are predominantly African American (65%), followed by White (25%), Black (8%), and other ethnicities (2%).
- **Political Affiliation:** Participants are politically diverse, with 45% identifying as Democrats, 35% as Republicans, and 20% as Independents.
- **Income:** Participants have a wide range of income levels, with 30% reporting an annual income of \$10,000 or less, and 30% reporting an annual income of \$50,000 or more.
- **Education:** Participants are highly educated, with 75% having a college degree or higher.
- **Travel Experience:** 40% of participants have traveled internationally, and 60% have traveled to Africa.

U.S. policy toward Africa.

CONCLUSION

This manual is a work in progress. We invite organizers and staff to contribute to developing the document by sharing your observations and experiences. Please send your stories and comments to:

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ATTACHMENTS

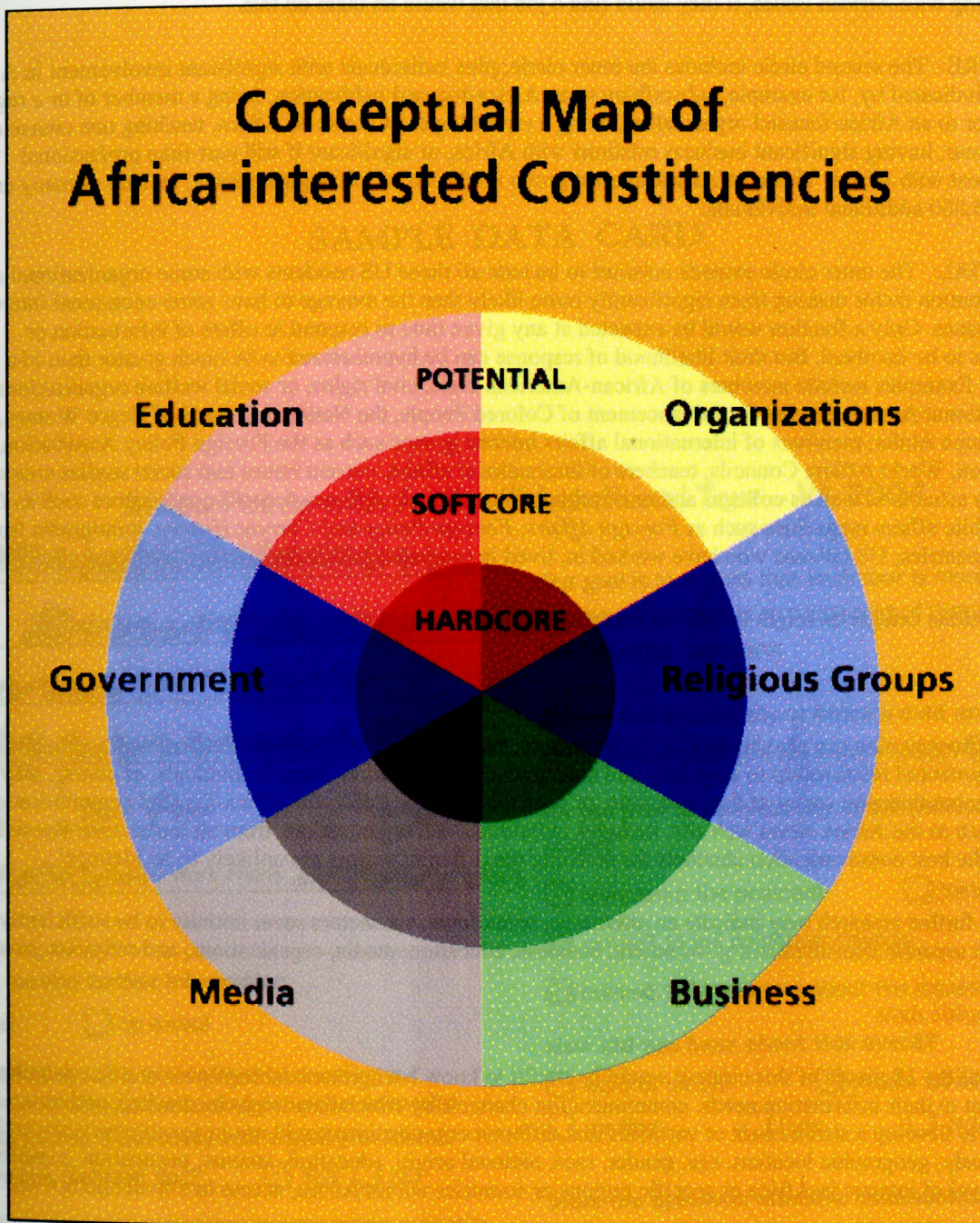
A conceptual map of a three-dimensional Cartesian coordinate system.

The map of a three-dimensional coordinate system can be viewed as a three-dimensional coordinate system divided into six octants. The octants are defined by the three coordinate axes. The octants are numbered 1 through 8, starting from the octant where all three coordinates are positive and moving in a counter-clockwise direction around the origin.

ATTACHMENTS

Conceptual Map of Africa-interested Constituencies

The map of Africa-interested constituencies can be envisaged as three concentric circles, each divided into six sectors. The operational definitions are only suggestive--illustrating how one might begin to put numbers to these divisions, if data were available.



Circles

HARDCORE : The inner circle consists primarily of people having jobs with Africa-focused organizational responsibilities. It could be operationally defined as people spending more than half their working time dealing with African issues, whether employed by Africa-focused organizations or as staff with Africa responsibilities within broader organizational structures. An initial guesstimate is that there may be as many as 3,000-5,000 such individuals resident in the US, including, for example, staff of non-governmental organizations such as African American Institute, Africare, staff of US and multilateral agencies and embassies, teachers of African studies. A broader definition of the HARDCORE would include people who would like to spend more than half their working time dealing with African issues, if they could find a job that would let them do this.

SOFTCORE: The second circle includes the inner circle, plus individuals with significant involvement in African issues as indicated by, for example, subscribing to an Africa-focused publication, being a member of or a regular contributor to an Africa-focused organization, being a repeat buyer of books on Africa, teaching one course on Africa a year, having significant business relations with Africa, or significant if still part-time professional involvement with Africa. This core Africa-interest group might, on an initial guesstimate, include as many as 20,000-25,000 additional individuals.

POTENTIAL: The outer circle extends outward to include all those US residents with some organizational or media-attention factor making them significantly more likely than the average to have some occasional interest in African issues. Only a fraction would be expected at any given time to respond to offers of information or challenges to be involved. But their likelihood of response can be hypothesized to be much greater than of a general audience. Examples include members of African-American civic, civil rights, or social welfare organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Council of Negro Women, or Alpha Kappa Alpha; members of international affairs interest groups such as the Foreign Policy Association, UN Association, World Affairs Councils; teachers of international affairs, current issues and social studies courses in secondary schools as well as colleges and universities; subscribers to African-American magazines such as *Emerge* and to public affairs magazines such as *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy* and *Current History*; immigrants from African countries; US citizens who have worked in, lived in or visited African countries.

Together these categories might include as many as 10-20 million additional individuals.

Sectors

The constituency map can also be divided up by sectors, each of which has different information needs, and a different potential relationship to advocacy and constituency mobilization. Some individuals, of course, may be active in more than one sector at the same time, or over time. The audience for Africa-focused communication media, such as the Africa News web site, includes individuals and organizations from all the sectors. But despite overlap, the best communication channels for reaching the different sectors are unlikely to be identical.

Although further research may indicate an alternative breakdown, six sectors seem initially to be sufficiently distinct to warrant separate consideration: government, business, education, media, organizations, and religious groups.

Demographic data

For each of the 18 pieces of this circle it would be useful to know background demographic or other data that might be relevant to their information needs, communication channels by which they might be reached, and so on. It might be useful to develop a standard set of variables that different organizations could use in constituency research, such as, obviously, geographic location, age, gender, race, national origin, education, income, occupation, experience in Africa, level of interest in Africa or specific regions or countries within Africa, access to e-mail and fax and so on.

Produced by the Africa Policy Information Center now Africa Action (www.africaaction.org)

SAMPLE DATA CARD

REPORT OF FINDINGS:

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
Africa Peace with Justice Educational Tour - VA 2004

TOUR FOLLOW UP SURVEY

Name [Redacted]
Organization (if any) [Redacted]
Address [Redacted]
City [Redacted] State VA Zip 2304
Home Phone [Redacted] Work Phone [Redacted]

Would you like to receive further information
 by mail by e-mail

American Friends Service Committee National Africa Network is committed to creating a nationwide community of grassroots supporters to advocate policies promoting peace, democracy and equality in Africa.
Should we add you to the Network list? YES NO

AFSC WILL NOT PROVIDE YOUR PERSONAL INFORMATION TO ANY OTHER ORGANIZATION; IT WILL BE USED ONLY FOR PURPOSES OF KEEPING YOU INFORMED ABOUT AFSC AND OBTAINING YOUR FEEDBACK ON OUR ACTIVITIES.

Our goal is to ensure that each tour is more successful than the last and your feedback is a crucial part of that process. Please answer the following questions:

Do you know more about Africa's debt and the need for debt cancellation than you did before today? YES NO

Do you plan to carryout any of the political actions suggested today?

- completed the postcard joined the debt campaign
- commit to tell neighbors/friends
- commit to learn more about the issues

How did you hear about this event?

- word of mouth media advertisement
- mailing flyer organizational bulletin

Were the speakers effective communicators?

- Not effective Somewhat effective
- Effective Very Effective

Most _____ Least _____



Summary of Findings

- Reaction to the Peace Tour events was overwhelmingly positive. A vast majority said they would attend a future AFSC event, and many made unprompted positive comments about the speakers and organization of the event. There is a strong belief that AFSC can be effective in influencing US policy, and a strong percentage reported having made an effort to find out more about the AFSC after the Peace Tour. Respondents placed highest priority on the HIV/AIDS crisis in Africa when asked what issue the AFSC should be working on.

- The Peace Tours appear to have been quite successful in educating people about issues of concern to Africa, as well as in prompting them to follow those issues more closely than they had before. This was true for all levels of education, younger people, blacks and non-

REPORT OF FINDINGS:

- People who attended the Peace Tour were more likely to report being involved in making a difference in Africa than those who did not attend. They were also more likely to have an opinion on African issues after the event than they were before, even though about half reported being already active in Africa-related issues. African residents and those with advanced degrees were most likely to report high and increased levels of activism.

**AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
AFRICA PEACE TOUR FOLLOW UP SURVEY**

- The AFSC Peace Tour consisted of people with a high level of education, made up of college age people and people over 30, mostly of African or African American background, politically to the left and with a high percentage of charitable or advocacy organization donors.

JANUARY 30, 2004

These are the results of a survey of 100 respondents drawn from Africa Peace Tour contact lists compiled over the past two years. The survey was administered by professional telephone interviewers and has a margin of error of +/- 9% when extrapolating to all people who attended or were associated with the 2002-2003 Peace Tour events. A more detailed explanation of survey methodology is on page 11 of this report.

I. Evaluation of the Peace Tour and AFSC

Summary Of Findings

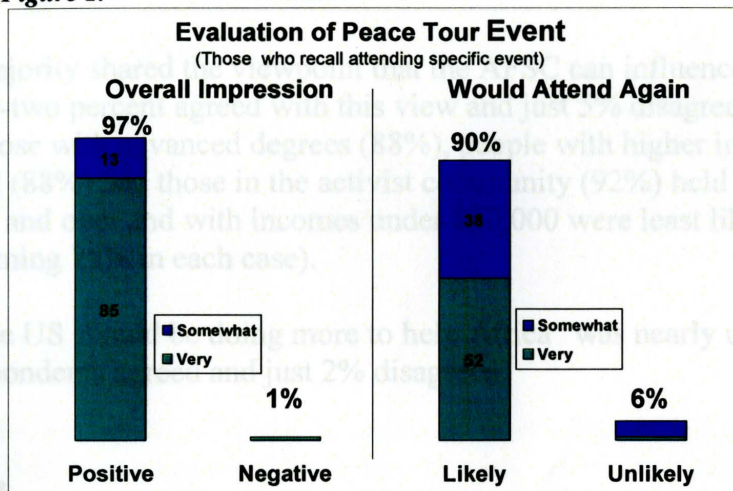
- Reaction to the Peace Tour events was overwhelmingly positive. A vast majority said they would attend a future AFSC event, and many made unprompted positive comments about the speakers and organization of the event. There is a strong belief that AFSC can be effective in influencing US policy, and a strong percentage reported having made an effort to find out more about the AFSC after the Peace Tour. Respondents placed highest priority on the HIV/AIDS crisis in Africa when asked what issue the AFSC should be working on.
- The Peace Tours appear to have been quite successful in educating people about issues of concern to Africa, as well as in prompting them to follow those issues more closely than they had before. This is particularly true for those with lower levels of education, younger people, blacks and men.
- People who have interacted with the AFSC reflect overwhelming optimism about making a difference for Africa. A strong percentage said they were even more active on African issues after the event than they were before, even though about half reported being already active. A majority reported engaging in at least 4 of the 7 action items we asked about. African respondents and those with advanced degrees were most likely to report high and increased levels of activism.
- The AFSC Peace Tour constituency can be characterized as having a high level of education, made up of college age people and people over 50, mostly of African or African American background, politically to the left and with a high percentage of charitable or advocacy organization donors.

These are the results of a survey of 100 respondents drawn from Africa Peace Tour contact lists compiled over the past two years. The survey was administered by professional telephone interviewers and has a margin of error of +/- 9% when extrapolating to all people who attended or were associated with the 2002-2003 Peace Tour events. A more detailed explanation of survey methodology is on page 11 of this report.

I. Evaluation of the Peace Tour and AFSC

Those who attended a Peace Tour event (85% of respondents) gave an overwhelmingly positive evaluation of the event. A near-unanimous 97% gave it a positive rating, with 85% rating it as very positive. Asked of the likelihood they would attend another Peace Tour event if one were held in their community, 90% said it was likely (52% very likely). Just 6% said it was unlikely they would attend again. In open-ended responses, a positive comment about the speakers and presenters, or the quality of the organization of the event, was the second most frequent reaction (23%) when asked what they took away from the tour event (see below).

Figure 1.

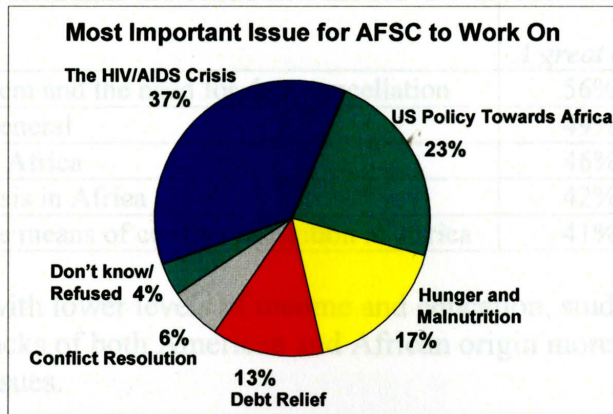


The Peace Tours seem to have sparked substantial interest in AFSC. Forty-six percent of all respondents said that as a result of the event, they had made an effort to “learn more about the American Friends Service Committee” in recent months.

When asked about the issues AFSC should be working on in the future, the clear priority was the HIV/AIDS crisis on the African continent. Thirty-seven percent said this was the most important issue AFSC should be working on. The issue was of particular importance to women (42%), students (48%) those with less than a college degree (51%), African Americans (59%) and those who do not currently give to charitable organizations (56%). Working to influence overall US foreign policy toward Africa was seen as most important by 23%, and was the top priority for men (33%), those 55 and over (36%), and whites (28%). Among all respondents, hunger and malnutrition (17%), debt relief (13%) and alternatives for conflict resolution (6%) rounded out the list (see figure 2 on next page).

The fact that debt relief for Africa was fairly far down the list of priorities is perhaps surprising, given that it was a substantial focus of the Peace Tour. It is well known from other research that Americans vastly overestimate the amount the US gives in foreign aid, and Americans do not resonate to a more abstract concern like debt forgiveness than they do to issues and images that elicit an emotional response, like the problems of poverty and disease.

Figure 2.



A very strong majority shared the viewpoint that the AFSC can influence US foreign policy on Africa. Eighty-two percent agreed with this view and just 5% disagreed. Thirteen percent were unsure. Those with advanced degrees (88%), people with higher incomes (90%), those under 35 years old (88%) and those in the activist community (92%) held this view most strongly, while those 55 and over and with incomes under \$50,000 were least likely to agree (though a still overwhelming 75% in each case).

The idea that “the US should be doing more to help Africa” was nearly unanimously supported – 96% of respondents agreed and just 2% disagreed.

II. Educational Success

The biggest impact of the Peace Tour appears to be its ability to educate those in attendance about issues important to Africa. In the open-ended responses expressing the main thing participants took away from the Tour event, a plurality (30%) referred to a getting a greater understanding of African issues or of Africa in general, or the general quality of the event’s information content. Another combined 22% referred to specific issues, especially Africa’s debt crisis and need for debt relief (15%).

The success of the Peace Tours in educating the public extends beyond the events themselves. Not only was the tour quite successful in informing people about issues of concern to Africa, in most cases it prompted them to follow those issues more closely than they had before.

If we look at responses among those who attended an event *and* who said they heard about a particular issue there, large majorities (76% to 94%) said the Peace Tour increased their understanding of the issues they heard discussed. More strikingly, more than 40% said their understanding increased “a great deal” on each of the issues discussed. Of particular significance, 56% of respondents who heard information about debt cancellation for African countries said their knowledge of the issue increased a great deal (see figure 3 below). This indicates strong success in informing participants of the key issue of the recent tour.

Figure 3. Increased understanding of issues.

Issue	A great deal	A great deal or somewhat
Africa's debt problem and the need for debt cancellation	56%	86%
African issues in general	49%	94%
US policy towards Africa	46%	82%
The HIV/AIDS crisis in Africa	42%	82%
War and alternative means of conflict resolution in Africa	41%	76%

In general, those with lower levels of income and education, students and younger respondents, men, and blacks of both American and African origin more often reported learning a great deal about these issues.

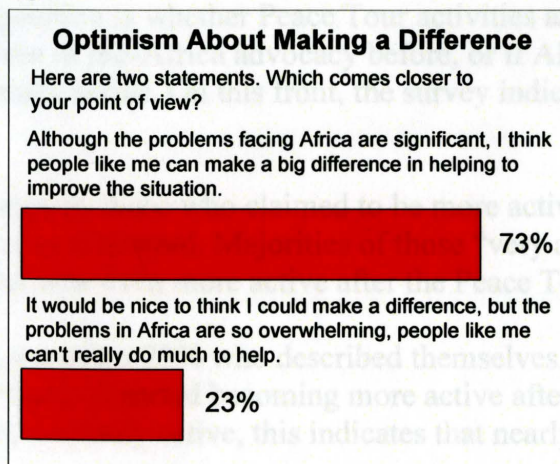
Similarly, large majorities who heard about an issue reported following the issue more closely after the Peace Tour event. Between 29% and 42% of respondents began to follow each issue "much more closely", and 74% to 85% said they began following the issues raised at the Peace Tour at least somewhat more closely. Men, those with less education, older participants and black respondents were more likely to report following issues more closely after the Peace Tour.

III. Empowerment and Activism

People who interacted with AFSC over the past two years reflected a strong optimism about making a difference for Africa and indicated that they engaged in fairly high levels of activism on African issues since that time.

Peace Tour participants expressed a strong sense of empowerment. Asked to choose between two statements, 73% chose the one that said, "Although the problems facing Africa are significant, I think people like me can make a big difference in helping to improve the situation." Just 23% chose the statement, "It would be nice to think I could make a difference, but the problems in Africa are so overwhelming, people like me can't really do much to help." Among African Americans, 82% shared the more optimistic view (figure 4).

Figure 4.



Those self-described as “not very active” reported lower levels of engagement in specific activities, though their reported activism was encouraging. Though only 14% engaged in 5 or more of the activities, another 49% reported having done 3 or 4 of them. More than 80% discussed African issues with friends and family or sought out further information on Africa. Forty percent made an effort to find out more about the AFSC. The large differences between those previously active and those previously inactive are seen on exactly the measures one would expect: majorities of those who were previously active gave money, volunteered their time, and contacted officials, but fewer than a quarter of the previously inactive respondents reported doing such things.

IV. The Peace Tour constituency

The makeup of respondents to the survey reflected a constituency of event participants that does not reflect the public at large, but does reflect logical representations of certain groups, given event venues and subject matter. Those attending AFSC events had the following characteristics:

- Highly educated – 62% percent reported having a college education, including 26% with an advanced degree. These are about double the general population figures.
- Primarily either college age or in older age groups – 21% were under the age of 24 and 46% were aged 50 or over, representing an age distribution skewed toward the extremes, rather than a normal bell-shaped distribution.
- Heavily black – 34% were African American; 22% were of African origin; 39% were white. Only about 10% of Americans are black.
- Politically to the left – 50% were Democrats; 6% Green; 25% independent; just 2% Republican. The public at large is divided almost evenly between Democrats, Republicans and Independents.
- Advocacy donors – 73% had donated money to a charity or advocacy organization in the last two years, far higher than the national average.

Given these characteristics, it is worth noting again that AFSC reached a fairly nice mix of those who consider themselves active on African issues and those who were not active prior to the Tour (about half and half). The same is true for some of the demographic characteristics we asked about. There was a fairly proportional mix of men and women and of those with modest and higher income levels.

OPEN-END VERBATIM RESPONSES (Q.5)

Q. When you think back on it, what is the ONE most important thing that stuck with you or that you took away from the Peace Tour event?

- Helping people
- The amount of debt that Africa has that it owes to the industrial countries
- International solidarity
- Meeting different people
- Genuineness of the people that were the presenters
- Some of the situations in Africa
- Important to have the prince of peace prevail
- The Chicago presentation was not very good
- Video was excellent
- Can't remember
- Good speakers/very mature
- Refresher information
- Importance of AIDS crisis help
- No idea, it was a year ago
- Learned a lot from the meeting
- Beneficial for student body
- Interested in the woman in emerging countries
- National debt relief, the fact that they owe a huge amount/also the AIDS crisis
- Very positive and educational to learn about other cultures
- Will not release the debt for a lot of African nations
- Resourcefulness of the leaders
- Martin Luther King. The topic was about race relations
- The conditions in Africa
- Famine issues, hunger relief, and war issues
- Meeting the people involved - Wilhelmina Trout
- Coltan [?] and its uses
- Idea that people have a dialogue with other people
- The US-Africa connection
- Respecting the dedication and the preservation of the quality of life. Not only the doer but the inviters
- Economic issues/justice
- Debt cancellation
- Genuineness of speakers and familiarity with issue
- Unity amongst everybody
- Africa is so much larger and more complicated/300 billion in debt and not even considering canceling it
- Deeper understanding of the problems in Africa
- Information that happened at the meeting
- Reoriented you to events

- Information from female speaker from South Africa, gender issues
- Unity of everybody
- People were very amazing and positive
- Opportunity for students to go there
- General knowledge of African situation
- African members explained that they were being taken advantage of
- Helping people
- Individual conference speakers
- Support medical initiatives in Africa
- Debt reduction
- American involvement and disparity of aid
- United States – Africa relations
- Information given
- Don't remember
- Chaos in Liberia
- Liberian war issues and horrors ignored by media
- General problems in debt and wars
- Very well coordinated
- Don't know
- Better understanding of general issues
- Testimony of people who had experience of the events in Africa
- Information facts and figures
- Solidarity between South America [American South?] and Africa
- Message that young people be pro active
- Journalist gave talk on personal experiences
- Awareness of African struggles
- Came to school location
- How poor it is
- Debt problem
- Statistics regarding HIV
- Understanding of the people & country
- African issues in general
- People
- General participation
- Don't remember
- Audience response
- Knowing the information
- Could not recollect any specifics
- Personal stories
- Don't remember
- Debt cancellation
- Volume of violence
- Women issues, economic allocation of time

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Trendline Research designed and administered this telephone survey, which was conducted by professional interviewers at DataUSA, Inc. The survey reached 100 respondents drawn from Africa Peace Tour contact lists compiled over the past two years. The survey was conducted January 9-28, 2004. Margin of error is +/-9% for full sample questions.

AFSC provided a list of 1076 potential respondents who attended Peace Tour events or were involved in the Peace Tours in 2002 and 2003. These lists contained name and address contact information, which was in turn provided to Scientific Telephone Samples and Telematch, Inc., for comparison with telephone databases and the most up-to-date operator information files. Ultimately, we obtained 586 telephone matches made up of approximately 400 residential and 200 business listings. These 586 contact numbers provided the sample for the survey.

In many cases, sample is stratified to reflect known probabilities within the sample (regional breakdowns, for example) and after data is collected the results are weighted by demographic variables such as age, race, or education, to ensure an accurate reflection of the population being studied. For this survey, stratification and weighting were not necessary since precise population parameters were unknown.

In interpreting survey results, all sample surveys are subject to possible sampling error; that is, the results of a survey may differ from those that would be obtained if the entire population were interviewed. The size of the sampling error depends upon both the total number of respondents in the survey and the percentage distribution of responses to a particular question. For example, if sampling error was 5% and a response to a given question to which all respondents answered was 50%, we could be 95% confident that the true percentage would fall within plus or minus 5% of this percentage or between 45% and 55%.

Sampling error in the range of 3% to 6% is typical for most random surveys of large populations. In this instance, sampling error was higher due to the small population under study and less than expected success in obtaining current telephone contact information for much of the population. Many potential contacts were students, who move frequently; were businesses at which targeted respondents may no longer be employed. Many telephone numbers were unlisted, disconnected without forwarding information or otherwise unobtainable. Also, as a statistical rule, the smaller the population under study the higher the percentage of the population that must be contacted to obtain low sampling error. Ultimately, we were able to contact about 10% of the total population, which would have yielded quite a robust sample given a larger population, but did not yield our goal of 5% in this case. While we must be careful in extrapolating survey results to the entire population, even with the slightly higher sampling error obtained here the results remain highly instructive and useful for evaluative purposes, particularly given the large majorities in many of the questions.

ABOUT THE RESEARCHERS

Phillip S. Warf is President of Trendline Research, a public opinion research consultancy located in Tucson, Arizona. Mr. Warf has been designing, implementing and analyzing opinion surveys for nearly a decade, with substantial experience advising political campaigns, companies, non-profit organizations and legal teams. Prior to founding Trendline Research, he was Senior Research Associate at the Center on Policy Attitudes (COPA), a public opinion think tank in Washington, DC, and the Program on International Policy Attitudes, a joint program of COPA and the University of Maryland's Center for International and Security Studies. Mr. Warf has also worked as an Analyst for Greenberg Research, Inc., one of the premier polling firms in the world. He has contributed articles on public opinion to academic texts and scholarly journals and has appeared as a commentator on television and radio. Mr. Warf is an Adjunct Instructor of Political Science at the University of Arizona and a member of the American Political Science Association. He holds a master's degree in International Studies from the University of South Carolina.

DataUSA, Inc. is a public opinion research organization located in Guilford, Connecticut. Its resources for market research include a state of the art polling center with 50 Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI) workstations; a highly trained interviewing staff; professionals in research, data collection and data management; and expertise in quantitative research methods. DataUSA has extensive practical experience conducting surveys for political candidates, corporations, foundations, advocacy organizations, and other clients at all levels.