

Editorial

This issue of *Making Waves* focuses on Kenya, and draws, with permission, from material published in *Springs of Change*, the newsletter of the Turning the Tide programme in Kenya. Since 2009, Quaker Peace & Social Witness (QPSW) has been working in areas of Kenya affected by traumatic post-election violence of 2008. With partner organisation, Change Agents for Peace International (CAPI), our vision was to transform the angry, destructive energy so easily manipulated by political elites, into a positive nonviolent force to fight for people's rights and to stand up for a just peace. We believed that if people had effective nonviolent strategies for challenging injustices they would be less likely to resort to direct violence, and more likely to change the oppressive structures that lead to the violence in the first place.

The project was hugely challenging for all involved: adapting to unfamiliar cultures, recognising and undoing internalised conditioning, working together across language barriers and widely differing discomfort zones. It has been successful beyond our expectations. CAPI now has a vigorous Turning the Tide programme that has achieved astonishing local grassroots campaign successes, and a strong pool of skilled Resource People to continue the training and campaigning. With continuing support from the QPSW's East Africa programme, the work is

spreading into other parts of Kenya and beyond.

For us in TTT Britain, one of many things we have learned is the immense value of supporting a group from its formation through to campaign success and facilitation practice. This accompaniment approach to

our training enables us to work with the group at whatever stage they're at and help them to their next stage, where we evaluate, recap and add new things for another step. Until they no longer need us. We are now offering this approach to our work in Britain for groups who want to make a difference - details on the back page.



It's been an extraordinary experience, challenging and hugely rewarding. It has proved the power of our transformative training method. People came to it with widely ranging experiences, understandings and backgrounds and became transformed into confident, powerful and committed nonviolent community activists and leaders. And they are great TTT workshop facilitators!

Our friends in Kenya give us a glimpse of what can happen when we take the decision to make a change: personal transformation, community empowerment and campaign success. May it give joy to all who struggle for justice and peace in a violent world.

Steve Whiting, Turning the Tide

Nonviolence in Kenya: Mama Zepreta's campaign

Benard L Agona and Benson Khamasi

Power and rank in Kenya is often used to oppress the poor. A very powerful government official in the Kenya police illegally acquired a farm belonging to a peasant grandmother, a place she had called home for 20 years. The poor woman had nowhere to put



Mama Zepreta with a notice explaining her situation outside her demolished house

her head or her family of four children and several grandchildren. Her husband, who had deserted his family for 20 years, had sold the piece of land which was their only home and source of livelihood to a senior government officer, without any consultation. Mama Zepreta was ambushed by the buyer asking her to vacate the land with immediate effect. Not knowing where to go or what to do, she decided to report the matter to the local administration – without any success. Her pleas fell on deaf ears. Everyone she turned to was unwilling to support her, saying that the case involved ‘a BIG man’ and that they would lose their jobs if they helped her. She turned to members of her community, who did not know what to do. She was evicted and her 6 brick roomed house demolished. No legal records could be found in the land registry authenticating the powerful man's legality to the farm. The community lived in fear and they could not dare challenge the power holders.

But whoever would want to underrate the power of women? Look at Pamela Masitsa, Mary Shimwenyi and Martha Lumbasi. These women are of great determination. Thank God for the Turning the Tide program in Kenya. When these three trained TTT resource people in Malava heard of the case, they quickly picked it up and pushed the campaign step by step. At long last they can afford a smile but not long ago they were confronted by strong forces from the

‘powers that be’. At first they thought they had invited trouble; they were offered bribes and could not sleep in their own homes due to threats from the opponent. But they persisted.

Together with other social change practitioners and other partner organizations dealing with legal aspects of injustices specifically

for women, the campaign team managed to file a case in Kakamega high court and the court issued orders to allow Mama Zepreta back to her farm. The subsequent days, all parties involved were served with the orders opening up another round of legal battle of the mighty powerful man and the little known grandmother.

The nonviolent activists were determined to see the law applied though duly aware that a dying horse must have final kicks before it dies. The planning of this campaign needed concerted efforts from all like minded organizations and individuals.

“We started strategizing the best plan for the campaign. We sought direction from key administrative offices like the area District Commissioner who is in charge of the district Security Council. Though he was categorical that the law must be followed, he admitted to not being in a position to implement the order given that the buyer of the land was his senior in the government. Being a commandant with the police unit, the big man often deployed armed officers to guard the farm whenever he suspected that Mama Zepreta could be planning to go back there”, says Benson Khamasi, the Turning the Tide program field officer for western region.

On the Thursday the campaign team had intended to

take back Mama Zepreta's home, a contingent of armed police officers arrived in the morning in a Government vehicle and stayed waiting the whole day. This confirmed that the powerful man is not ready to respect the law and was ready to use any means available to threaten and intimidate us. As we learned in our TTT workshops, the plan was always to change the plan, hence we didn't go to the farm but spent the day strategizing for an alternative plan. One thing that came out clear was that the team needed to work with only trusted allies who could not let out plans to the opponents. Campaign plans were therefore limited to cluster members and the field officer until everything was ready.

"We intentionally resolved not to involve the authorities directly as it was obvious that the land buyer, being their senior, had threatened them with sacking and transfers hence they would not go against his wishes." adds Khamasi.

With the tentative day of the action set for a Saturday, it was time to do serious ground work. This involved visiting the farm without getting noticed and getting all the campaign materials ready. "I got to the farm late in the evening and disguised to be a neighbour's visitor who was our ally just to get acquainted with the home surroundings, and left to see Mama Zepreta where she was staying in a small church kitchen not so far from her farm. I was really moved to tears to see the conditions this old woman had been pushed to with her grandchildren. Perhaps this was the moment that made me decide to go on with the campaign whatever consequences would come. I could not believe somebody can be subjected to such inhuman acts." Khamasi further reveals.

The Butali Boda boda (motorbike taxi riders) chairman had been briefed about the issue since Mama Zepreta's son was their member and had assured of their support in mobilisation of the campaign. Other key allies were informed of the day's plans. Key were TTT resource people across the clusters, civil society organisation members and human rights and other activists in the region, not forgetting the media.

The morning of the action was like any other normal

day, but in the hearts of the activists it was not an ordinary day. This was a scenario that was between life and death hence determination to push further was paramount. By 9am people had started arriving at the meeting point in Butali market not so far from the farm. All campaign materials were loaded on a pick-up.

"The market was slowly waking up to business not knowing what was about to happen. With many hand bills, newspaper cuttings of the story published in a local daily, the court order and campaign posters, we got to serious mobilisation through the market with a fired up jig and dance and within minutes we had a big crowd that was eager to see what was happening. A short briefing of the plan was done to emphasize our nonviolence campaign discipline and many offered to join in the campaign. The community donated materials to rebuild Mama Zepreta's demolished house, and came together to reclaim the land, We immediately set off in a convoy of motorcycles all beeping and hooting and women sang songs of praise all the way to the home of Mama Zepreta in Makuu village." Khamasi recalls vividly.



Benson Khamasi, TTT Field Coordinator and Resource Person
Pamela Matsitsa, with tear gas canisters

As the procession entered the home, the guard was taken by surprise seeing a big crowd in the home he had been hired to protect and not to allow anyone in. The women danced round and round the big and spacious compound as the entire village came to witness what was happening. Many villagers were happy to receive Mama Zepreta back after many weeks since her eviction. Many too could not believe what they were seeing as they knew the farm had

been taken over by a powerful person in government and it was being guarded by armed police personnel. Many wondered how the old grandmother got back her farm as she was so powerless.



The community starts work building Mama Zepreta's new house next to the shell of the old.

Mary Shimwenyi one of the trained resource people did a prayer before the TTT family and other partner organisations present, backed by community members, embarked on a communal work of ground breaking to start construction of a new small house just in front of the earlier demolished one. The entire crowd was helping in the work and was encouraging to see how a community got united towards a cause to help the grandmother build her mud house afresh. Within an hour the house superstructure was up ready for roofing. The women were busy fetching water for mud walling.

When the house was ready to be roofed with iron sheets the campaign team was alerted that armed police were almost arriving. "We quickly briefed everyone to stay calm and wait for their communication. In less than 5 minutes the police vehicle beaming with full lights at top speed veered into the compound and before it could stop, the armed police officers jumped out with guns blazing and hauling tear gas at the crowd sending them away scampering for safety. The whole village turned into a smoky tear gas area as even small children could be seen choking from the gas. Several people were injured but this did not deter the campaign team from pushing on the campaign to ensure the peasant old woman is in her rightful home. The compound was free from the crowd as officers combed everywhere.

"We quickly regrouped and discussed a way forward where we agreed to have three representatives to seek audience with the armed officers. I led the team with court orders and other legal papers that gave us mandate to be at the home. Even as we went for the dialogue we were categorical that we are not ready to leave unless by a court order. The crowd was getting agitated and some youths wanted to attack the police with stones but we managed to calm everyone to adhere to our agreed principle of nonviolence. I believe this was the time the power of cooperation was at work. Power with!" Khamasi narrates confidently.

After long hours of negotiations with facts and determination not showing any sign to let go, the police officers obliged to go and leave the grandmother peacefully in her home.

The crowd was determined to finish the house before sunset. By 6pm the house had been roofed. Everyone was overjoyed that they had succeeded even after being threatened and intimidated with guns. It was proof of the power of nonviolence.



Women in the community celebrate with Mama Zepreta (in the background hugging a neighbour)

After tireless efforts, justice was delivered on 8 October 2012, when the court ruled against the buyer and ordered that the innocent woman be resettled in her home. And on 27 October, she was escorted back to her home in solidarity by the entire community. On 3 December 2012, the entire community and friends gathered at her home to celebrate the victory. 'Our dawn has come, no more harassment by our arrogant husbands', said Pamela, a TTT resource person.

Benson Khamasi attributes the success to three things; skills, unity and determination. He says: 'What people need is skills on how to do it effectively.'

Benard L Agona is the coordinator for Change Agents For Peace International's (CAPI) Turning the Tide programme in Kenya. Benson Khamasi is CAPI's TTT Field coordinator for Western Kenya.

<http://capiinternational.or.ke/>

Photos: CAPI-TTT

Nonviolence training: the key to sustainable change

Benard L Agona

When the Turning the Tide program was introduced in Kenya in 2010 it was clear that this was going to be the key to social justice in Kenyan communities. Then, it was not clear which direction it would take. Determination, passion and flexibility have been some of the driving forces in steering this program to the far place it has come. Having started in western Kenya with 20 local resource people, TTT has grown to become a much sought-for peace program within the 3 target regions; Western, North Rift and Nairobi. You may be asking, what is unique about the program?



Benard L Agona, Turning the Tide coordinator for Change Agents for Peace International (CAPI)

goal is to develop a better understanding on all aspects of nonviolence; hence empower groups and individuals to take bold actions for social change through nonviolent means. Turning the Tide trainers have a task to ensure participants have a deeper understanding of nonviolence, power and how change happens. Participants are guided to start analysing social injustice issues within their respective communities, with the mind to start thinking of possible solutions that will leave the community peaceful and developed.

Turning the Tide is a nonviolence program that introduces groups and individuals to methods that are creative but simple. Methods that lead participants to start thinking differently about social change and the way to achieve it. TTT thrives on 7 key principles of nonviolence. The last principle emphasizes on the importance of training and preparation to ensure all adhere to nonviolence thinking as part of their day to day life.

Nonviolent people power for social change, takes many forms. Likewise nonviolence training may take different approaches to provide individuals and groups with tools to challenge any social injustice.

Techniques used by nonviolence trainers may include a variety of exercises; brainstorming, working in small groups, role plays, group games, presentations, discussions, audio visuals, the list is endless. The

Advanced training

TTT trained resource people have grown gradually since the inception of the program in 2010. To these once naïve resource people nothing is now impossible. Ezra Kigundu attributes his current ability to three things, patience, persistence and hard work. "To be an excellent and effective TTT facilitator you must have passion and determination, willing to learn new things and unlearn the old". To develop further the skills of TTT resource people, an advanced training was conducted in November 2013 with great success. Participants from the workshop have been able to handle TTT workshops with much greater ease and flexibility.

The Turning the Tide program believes in intensive trainings that produce energetic and knowledgeable individuals and groups. TTT helps people to confront issues and powers that be with unwavering spirit, willingness to suffer for justice for the sake of others.

TTT facilitates the voiceless of many in the community to find their voice.

Change is possible through groups

It is now evident that change is only possible if people are helped to start thinking and doing things differently. It is amazing to see how in a period of only three years TTT has supported groups to start challenging social injustices within their communities. The secret has been doing small actions that will grow to become a big movement. Movements that germinate from grassroots communities spreading gradually to affect regions and eventually build up to national movements. To ensure sustainable nonviolence movements, a group approach training

was designed last year and is being implemented with initial successes. The program intends to train 45 groups in one year that will spearhead change in their respective communities by owning of issues and coming up with local sustainable initiatives and solutions.

The journey of 1000 miles has already started with one step- training, the other steps are sure to follow and the destination is clear – sustainable peace and development.

Benard L Agona is the coordinator of Change Agents for Peace International's (CAPI) Turning the Tide programme in Kenya.

<http://capiinternational.or.ke>

Turning the Tide Kenya touching lives

Wilson Yator, North Rift

I am a 30 year- old youth. I grew up in a Christian family at Burnt Forest, North Rift, a conflict zone. It is an area where tribal land clashes, domestic and political violence are the order of the day, so I was surrounded by a community full of all forms of injustices. After my post secondary education, the urge to see a just society that had culminated in my mind for years told me I must do something.



Wilson Yator: TTT has a unique approach to solving issues in society - it's actually the process

While at the university, I found myself searching for means to end social injustices in my locality. I began to volunteer in community and social work. After my graduation from Moi University in 2008 my voluntary services extended to peace building, reconciliation, livelihood restoration, human rights and social audit programmes with various organizations. I held various positions as a team leader, reporting, training and evaluation.

At one of my lowest points when I was afraid of the extent of social injustices and having done several activities with several organizations, I received a phone call from CAPI (Change Agents for Peace International) inviting me to a TTT training in March 2012. Up to date I still don't know who forwarded my name.

Since knowing CAPI-TTT in early 2012, my life has taken a different direction. Having received TTT tools through vigorous first and second trainings, I got more knowledge and new skills to bring social justice. Unlike other organizations, TTT has a unique approach on how to solve issues in the society - it's actually the process. This has helped me personally and the community because I can now use nonviolence as a means to social justice. The

third training was awesome in improving my facilitation skills since I can now facilitate with less challenges.

Through CAPI I've planned campaigns, done civic education, done TTT training, consultancy and personal growth. Besides these I was lucky to be the deputy returning officer in Soy constituency during the 2013 general elections and resourceful in Independent Electoral Boundary Commission voter education as well as facilitating in various likeminded organizations- all these I owe to CAPI. To me, CAPI's Turning the Tide program is an eye opener. It has changed my life and those I've reached. It is my expectation that CAPI expands its territories by expanding its programmes to other areas not yet reached.

Margaret Achitsa Mukulo, Western

I am a trained classroom teacher but since I joined the TTT program, where we were taken through various facilitation and campaign tools and techniques, the mode of



Margaret Mukulo: Everybody has something he/ she can do

learning has never been the same. This is because transformational learning goes deeper and is more effective when participants discover their own wisdom and power, and figure out things for themselves. Now I always use elective questions over lectures or telling participants the answers, owing to the reason that everybody has something he/she can do. We use our 'power-with' to collectively move towards achieving our campaign goal and also in the facilitation/training team where we employ the co-facilitation model, while maintaining constant communication to make decisions by consensus. The participatory and experiential methods, the unwavering power-analysis, continuous assessment of the group dynamics and commitment to pushing the group to take risks and grow, opening and closing rituals (affirming, unifying and reinforces the group's identity, power and commitment to nonviolent action), stretching participants to the discomfort and back to their comfort zones, plays/games during the sessions to change the energy (games with a purpose, usually related to the theme), brings in the beauty of this model. Consequently, social change is realised because people have since discovered their power to do things for themselves. I have known how to separate process from content and believe that in TTT facilitation every moment is a learning moment and everything in the workshop should contribute towards moving the group closer to the goals.

Adrian Wangatia, Nairobi

I first participated in a Turning the Tide training in December 2011. This was the training for the Nairobi

group after the program had been introduced in western parts of Kenya. I gained knowledge on how to organize peaceful campaigns and fighting social injustice in the community using nonviolent ways. As a member of the EMBALA group (Embakasi and Lang'ata) we mobilized, trained and planned for a campaign in Kayole with a group of youths who had a much deteriorated basketball playing field in the area and hence could not be able to be safe using it. We involved different stakeholders and other youths from different sports, eg football and athletics. Although the campaign has taken time to be fulfilled at last there is a positive response and soon the basketball court will be renovated.

The program has also made me to interact with different other like minded youth in Nairobi and other parts of the country. This has been of great encouragement to find that the youth can stand up and fight social injustices using non violent ways. The information and skills learnt from TTT has been of great help as I continue with other peace initiatives in the community.

Grace Chirchir, North Rift

TTT program as a whole has been vital to me. I don't think I was in a position to have courage and act/do things the way I do now after joining this family. It feels like a foundation on which I can build my future work. I have been empowered in that I am able to support myself and those around me.

I entered into marriage immediately after high school. My marriage lasted for three years and things changed. For all these years I have been going through ups and downs but after going through this course and further more basing on TTT principle which says "respect and care for everyone involved in the conflict including your opponent" I decided to change my way of thinking and rights from my matrimonial home. This brought success because as now things are resolved. I sincerely pour out my appreciation to TTT program and its stake holders.

In my locality TTT has enabled us to analyse issues and come out with strategies/ ways of solving them. People who have come across this program are now doing things differently from their initial ways. I

remember a scene where an election was being conducted on one community facility whereby a conflict arose due to misunderstandings. Tension followed but fortunately one of the administrators called me to talk to the crowd after calming the situation. I had to contact a colleague who

Coming of Age

Carolyne Jendeka

Every time I talk about TTT I cannot forget that I purely got to be trained by chance. I was lucky to replace a friend who was not able to attend the first training in August 2011. I had just finished campus and awaiting graduation. I was so excited and looked forward to the training for it provided the opportunity for me to be away from home for awhile and also meet new friends. I did not know anything on the topic but today I can comfortably say TTT has changed me. I am never turning back.

Many times I used to look at the injustices in the community and a feeling of defeat would wash over me. Not anymore. The introduction of the TTT program in Nairobi opened my field of options in terms of approaching injustices at home with family and friends, in the community and in all facets of my daily interactions. TTT program has honed my nonviolent skills to the extent that my life revolves around it. I am able to start a campaign and follow it through despite the challenges involved. Facilitation in the community has been my favorite experience. Being able to localize the content has been quite refreshing.

I was not sure if I was going to attend the advanced training for trainers but I strongly hoped I would, so I submitted my name.

This training was going to be my third and final TTT training. This training would bring together TTT community resource persons from all the three regions; Nairobi, North Rift and Western. This would mean people from different ethnic groups, ages, gender, family backgrounds and varied statuses

accompanied me to the scene. We had talks on nonviolent ways of doing things and solving issues touching on some of the TTT principles. This gave the group a turning point and learnt that everybody is capable of change.



Carolyne Jendeka: TTT has changed me. I am never turning back

coming together for one purpose. I did not clearly understand what it meant by Final. Did it mean seeing Laura and Steve for the last time? What now? New beginnings? I started imagining that it's going to be a graduation of sorts. This mounted my excitement, anxiety and anticipation. I

started counting days to Kisumu. Yes it felt like it was going to be a cultural rite of sorts. Rites of passage in African society are a sign of individual and community development. I was not going to take this one for granted. How often do you attend a TTT advanced training? Just once! I mean it's a great joy to pass from one phase to the next mature phase.

Months became days and finally the Advanced Training Month of November 2013 arrived. It was here. I was ready. The long wait was finally over. I took a night bus to Kisumu and arrived early in time. I was eager to meet the other men and women called to social activism. We were going to be friends. One week away from home, family and friends, it's a sacrifice, an act of selflessness. Since I was early I had the opportunity to watch as the other participants filed in one by one. I did think about them and realised that everyone believed that in their own small way they had a purpose to bring change in their communities and the world at large. I felt honoured to be part of this great team. I was ready to 'come of age' alongside them.

The main purpose of the training of trainers was to create a strong movement of TTT facilitators. This particular training was unique as most exercises were majorly participant oriented/initiated. During this very

challenging week I made new friends through sharing and intense group work. We were able to recognize our strengths and weaknesses as teams and individuals. This training also provided a platform for me to be able to learn great lessons in life. It's always easy to assume that as facilitators we know it all but I learnt that every workshop is an opportunity to learn new things from participants too. This training also provided a great opportunity for me to know how far my creativity can go and how critical it is to make decisions fast and within the set time-lines. One of the best things I learnt was how to plan a workshop from start to end, how to plan the activities, how to diagnose a group and how to handle group dynamics.

Group dynamics came up as a strong concept. We were from various regions, tribes and localities and that came up as an issue. It is good that this diversity was harnessed and it led to a greater understanding of the nature of groups we deal with in the community. There exists variations in social relationships and the roles we play in our daily life. We were able to navigate through our differences and we combined efforts to support each other to wean off successfully and 'come of age'.

The ultimate goal was to produce TTT ambassadors and the goal was surpassed. We created networks, friendships and everlasting bonds of comradeship. In

this work there are moments when things get thick and it is important to have people to turn to. The advanced training was a marathon that left me yearning for more challenging activities. The games, the activities thought and the strengths and capabilities we never knew we had all came out. If there could be more trainings of the same kind it would be great, for learning opportunities never end. The world is dynamic and it is always good to keep abreast with the demands of the changing world. The Advanced training was just the beginning.

Having come of age it was time to deliver on the promises. I actually was looking forward to this moment. I felt equipped and undefeatable. I was on fire. I was charged. What the training does to you is unbelievable. The levels of confidence exhibited were higher than ever before. My first training to tackle was, I can say, very interesting as well as challenging. I was to train a group of physically 'disabled' people. Well, that I had not foreseen. All activities that I felt were inclusive seemed to include movement and all sorts of uncomfortable things for physically disabled people. Yet thanks to the advanced training we were able to come up with friendly activities and we also got to learn from the group. That is a training I would never have thought of going through without the TTT Advanced Training. Many thanks to Steve, Laura, Betty, Agona and everyone else who made it possible. I sure did 'come of age'.

Third eye experience! Disability is not inability

Carolyne Jendeka

Recently I happened to facilitate a Turning The Tide (TTT) training for the Disabled in Shauri Moyo—Nairobi. It challenged my beliefs, my actions, my spirit and my resilience. It changed me. My perceptions and attitudes were on trial. This was surely an awakening to constantly using nonviolence means to turn the tide of exploitation, subordination, marginalization and all ills in society.

When Betty the Field Officer asked me if I would be available to train a certain group in Shauri Moyo I was more than excited to hone my new skills after the advanced training last year in Kisumu. My excitement did not last long when I started asking about the nature of the group and the dynamics around their

issues. Immediately Betty said the group consisted of the physically disabled and that very moment I felt challenged and ill prepared. I could not see how we would conduct our activities that required physical movement without inconveniencing them. I could only think of everything that would go wrong.

The Day came and since we had anticipated challenges our planning had been thorough and we revelled in the fact that, as we had learned in our training, 'The Plan is to change the Plan'. The training went on well and though plans kept changing we achieved our goals. The experience was phenomenal.

The training provided a chance to see things with a

third eye. This was such a mind opening experience. One of the participants who was excited about the training said in all honesty, “...as disabled people nonviolence is the only language we can use to fight social injustices that are rooted in our society ...we can’t run....we can’t hear gunshots...we cannot see our opponents...we can hardly coordinate our movements, but we are empowered...”

I had never thought of it this way. I felt so encouraged. It had never occurred to me what happens to disabled people during riots, violent demonstrations and when there is a stampede.

It slowly dawned on me how selfish and un-empathetic and ignorant we are. I was charged to forever embrace nonviolent solutions and nonviolent approaches. It dawned on me how physically able people are disabled and handicapped in their thoughts, actions and in their words when they choose violence to solve social injustices. We do not denounce disagreement or a conflict of opinions and ideas. I kindly urge us to challenge ills nonviolently. People with disabilities know that “nonviolence is the only way”. Do you?

Carolyn Jendeka is a TTT Kenya Resource Person based in Nairobi

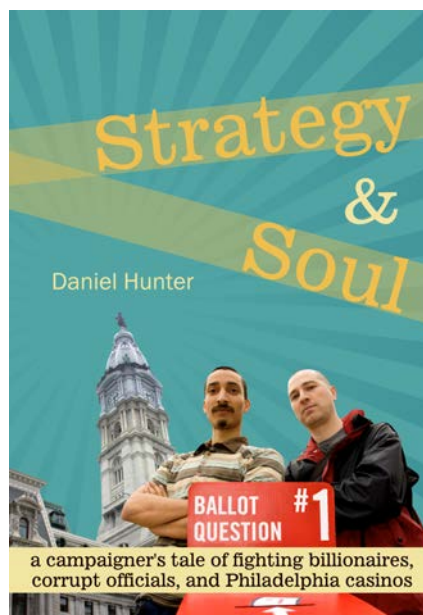
Book review

Strategy & Soul
a campaigner's tale of
fighting billionaires,
corrupt officials, and
Philadelphia casinos
by Daniel Hunter

Reviewed by Steve Whiting

Don't make the mistake I made. I saw all that small print crammed together into a dense 332 pages and thought I would need some quality time and space to do the book justice. I was wrong: it's such a page-turner that I looked forward to my next reading opportunity, usually a train journey, so I could get back to it.

Strategy & Soul is Daniel Hunter's story of Casino Free Philadelphia or, as the subtitle says “a campaigner's tale of fighting billionaires, corrupt officials, and Philadelphia casinos.” His involvement started with a phone call from his friend, Jethro Heiko, asking him to join a campaigning group trying to stop two multi-million-dollar casinos being built in residential areas in Philadelphia where they both lived. These lucrative mega-casinos, Sugarhouse and Foxwoods, were backed by billionaires, and the political and legal establishment that did their bidding. The licensing was just a few months away and universally considered “a done deal”.



Daniel admits that he was not at that time opposed to gambling or casinos: ‘It was not an issue I cared about.’ But he joined Casino-Free Philadelphia (CFP) anyway, just a few people who had not yet got organised, and played a critical role in its success: cutting the Sugarhouse casino complex from a high-rise 21-acre site down to a supermarket-sized box; and stopping the \$670m Foxwoods casino entirely.

It is an inspirational story of community organising and nonviolent direct action defeating powerful economic and political forces and bringing a little bit of people power into urban planning. Daniel brought strategic thinking, direct action experience, group work and media skills. Jethro brought people skills, a talent for relationship-building, delegating/involving/persuading people, together with his ability to think from a range of different perspectives. Many others were drawn in with other gifts and talents - legal skills, logistical, mobilising, research and the rest. All brought high levels of commitment.

Casino-Free Philadelphia (CFP) made an important rule early on: that it would not hold a march or a rally, seeing these as tired and ineffective rituals that get ignored. This freed them up to think creatively and organise new activities like a shadow election, a document search and a public filibuster – a drawn-out action from the public gallery using questions, speeches and heckling.

This book is powerful on many levels: a comprehensive and pacy narrative of a “hopeless” campaign, offering a wealth of learning about strategy, choosing your targets, movement building, working with difference, being intuitive, creative and flexible, seizing the moment(s), pushing home advantage, keeping on keeping on even when you think you’re done. Each chapter starts helpfully with a list of key learning points. It also shines light on the murkiness of politics: secret deals, gross abuse of process, cover-ups, lies, deceit, threats. Things that we know are not exclusive to Philadelphia or US political-corporate complex.

Above all, it shows that even the smallest community groups can achieve the seemingly impossible through the discipline of retaining the high ground, setting its own agenda and not giving up. Their simple message was that the people should have a say in issues that affect their livelihoods, neighbourhoods and quality of life, and the decision-making process on these casinos was denying them that. Instead of asking those in power, CFP asked the people and took their demands to those in power. Instead of adhering to official agendas and timetables, CFP set their own agenda and timetables. They took seriously the view that the powerholders in a democracy were there to serve the people, so they told these politicians what people expected of them. The entire campaign provided everything required to create the conditions for change even if, as always, the power elites take the credit in the end.

Along the way we learn something of the training approaches used, in-the-moment planning, as well as a “plan two actions ahead” approach to keep momentum. Daniel takes us into the real and messy dynamics of activist culture: the anger, frustration, mistrust and disappointment we often feel with others in the group who have a different outlook and ideas to our own. He also shares the opposite experience of joy, inspiration and wisdom we can gain from working with those very same people.

Daniel's writing, like his workshop style, invites the reader in and takes them on the journey. The energy of the narrative followed his own, I think – high paced, fizzing and popping at the start, slowing to a trudge

towards the end, which seemed to match his own exhaustion. But others were there to take it up - often the case when people find themselves able to let go.

For me, this story is above all one of empowerment and hope. It's what training groups like Turning the Tide are there for: to accompany people in their empowerment journeys. We can shape our future.

In his final email to supporters Daniel wrote:

"The power started with us. We know it and will model what we've always done: when the politicians and elites won't do it, we'll do it ourselves. Foxwoods says you can't have their plans? Go take them. Supreme Court says you can't vote? Vote anyway. PGCB (Philadelphia Gaming Control Board) says you can't speak at their hearings? Speak anyway. Governor Rendell says you can't have a public debate on casinos? Have one anyway. And now: Philadelphia Inquirer (newspaper) says you aren't part of the history? Make yourself part of the history anyway.

Here's how: hold and treasure the victory. Did you sign a petition or participate in Philly's Ballot Box, get kicked out of a meeting, or write a letter or email to your representative? Then you are a casino slayer too. Don't say it was Casino-Free Philadelphia's win. Or the anti-casino movement's win. Or the PGCB's “handing” us a victory. And don't follow (Councilman) DiCicco who's now idiotically saying it was “luck”. No, no. Say it was your victory. Your win. Tell your friends. Write a note of congratulations to yourself. (Seriously). Most importantly: own the title. Today you are officially a Casino Slayer."

Together with a new reader's guide containing photos and original campaign resources and materials - great to use as case study, *Strategy & Soul* is a wonderful contribution to the grassroots change movement and a huge resource for learning and motivation for all social change organisers, trainers and activists. You really should read it.

Strategy & Soul is self-published by Daniel Hunter.
www.strategyandsoul.org www.danielhunter.org
Available from the Quaker Centre price £13 + p&p:
quakercentre@quaker.org.uk; 020 7663 1030/1031

Turning the Tide's Campaigning Support

Are you keen to get more active on issues important to you, but not sure where to start?

Are you part of a group that could benefit from starting or refreshing your campaigning approach?

Are you part of a group that could benefit from exploring and finding new ways to work effectively together?



Social change work is hard and slow, and we've found that support and accompaniment can help give groups the edge and energy they need to keep on keeping on in sustainable and empowering ways. What kind of support and accompaniment? That entirely depends on the needs and situation of each group.

Campaigning Support helps groups over a period of time to work more effectively together to turn the tide of injustice facing us now and build the world we are dreaming of - now. It's about people power, and the things we can accomplish when we work together.

Turning the Tide has always offered bespoke trainings and, with Campaigning Support, we are going another mile... Join us?

Contact us to know more:
denised@quaker.org.uk or stevew@quaker.org.uk

Making Waves has been produced using open source software developed by people who believe in the principles of freely shared software for all.

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turningthetide

NONVIOLENT POWER FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

About Turning the Tide

Turning the Tide aims to advance the understanding and practice of nonviolence and its use for positive social change, using the experience of contemporary and previous nonviolence movements.

Turning the Tide provides

- introductory experiential workshops exploring active nonviolence
- tailor-made workshops for groups: themes can include campaign strategy, effective group working, empowerment, spirituality and activism, facilitation, group process and preparing for nonviolent action
- campaign support series of workshops to start you off and keep you effective
- resource materials, a journal *Making Waves*, a website www.turning-the-tide.org and a nonviolence resource library

Views expressed in *Making Waves* and any leaflets enclosed are those of the authors and are not necessarily endorsed by Turning the Tide, Quaker Peace & Social Witness or Quakers in Britain.

Text available in large print

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