

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	vii
<i>About the Author</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
<i>Introduction</i>	xv
1. Establishing a Culture of Resistance: Theoretical Perspectives	1
African Resistance	2
Theoretical Perspectives	6
Varied Literature on the Dynamics of Resistance	11
A Model of Resistance	28
Explanation, Uncertainty, Prediction and Causation	31
Implications	35
2. Repression and Resistance in Kenya: Historical Perspectives	37
The Giriama: Coastal Resistance with Echoes in the 1990s	39
The Path to Mau Mau	42
Mau Mau Resistance	45
A Repressive Colonial Legacy	56
Inheriting and Using Repressive Colonial Laws and Practices	58
Early Resistance to Kenya's Second President	62
3. Knocking at the Door: Individual Activism	67
Individual Activism: Defying the Odds	69
Characteristics of Individual Activists	74
Unpredictability of Individual Activism: The Role of Minor Actors	76
What Individual Activists Did	77
Motivational Issues	81
Tactics of Individual Activists	87
Institutional Learning: A Chess Game of Tactics	90
Implications of Individual Resistance	93
4. Opening the Door: Organizational Activism	97
Organizational Activism Builds on Individual Activism	98
Comparing Individual and Organizational Activism	100
Motivational Issues	104
Identifying Organizational Activists	105
Institutionalization of Resistance	108

Resistance by Nongovernmental Organizations	114
Accumulating Resistance	119
Resistance: Peaks and Valleys	121
Donors' Mixed Signals on Human Rights and Democracy	124
Implications of Organizational Activism	129
5. Entering the Bastille (Peacefully): From Resistance to Elected Power	133
Overcoming Barriers	135
Synergy in the Resistance Movement	137
Cycles of Resistance, Repression, and Reform	140
Further Growth of a Culture of Resistance	142
Resistance Becomes Normal	145
Implications of a Culture of Resistance	147
6. Mass Public Support: A Key Element in a Culture of Resistance	149
Constraints that did not Constrain	152
Mass Support for Activism: Theoretical Perspectives	159
Laying the Groundwork for Mass Participation	161
Different Kinds of Mass Support for Resistance	165
Human Rights Watchdogs Become the Watched in a New Regime	173
Implications of Public Support for a Resistance Movement	174
7. Conclusion	177
Study Questions Answered	179
Political Synergy Achieved	182
Contribution to Social Movement Literature	182
Contribution to Democratic Transition Literature	186
Beyond Kenya	187
Summary of Findings and Implications for Future Research	189
<i>Appendix</i>	
A Methodology	193
B Human Rights Treaties in Kenya	199
C Socio-economic Profiles of Kenya	200
D Repression and Torture in Kenya	201
<i>Select Bibliography</i>	205
<i>Index</i>	217