

# Index

- Abuya, Abuya 59n79  
activism xi–xii, xvi, xvii, 4, 7, 32, 190  
    community model 85–6  
    danger xv  
    goals 101  
    growth 136–7  
    as independent variable xix  
    mass public support, theory 159–61  
    non-systemic 80  
    and repression xvii  
    role xv  
    structural constraints 153–5  
    systemic 78, 81  
    *see also* individual activism; organiza-  
    tional activism  
activists xv–xvi, 28  
    changing role 178n2  
    court tactics 91–3  
    human rights 38  
    interviewees, selection 194–6  
    motivation xv–xvi, 81–7, 104–5  
    openings for 14, 29, 98, 133, 136, 144,  
    148, 154, 168, 180  
    political process theory 14  
    rational choices 7–8, 26, 84–5, 93  
    tactics xv, 12, 15, 25, 29, 81, 87–90, 91,  
    93, 98, 100, 102, 118, 119, 129, 133,  
    148, 186, 189, 194, 195  
    *see also* individual activists; organiza-  
    tional activists  
Africa  
    democratization 22–4, 188  
    resistance movement 2  
agency xvii–xviii  
Almond, Gabriel A. 20n59  
American Bar Association 5  
American Embassy 153n12  
Amnesty International xviii, 1, 5, 69, 70,  
    174  
Anderson, Leslie E. 85  
Andrain, Charles F. 7n10, 158n28  
anti-terrorism 136  
Anyona, George 59n79, 62, 63, 77, 122, 167  
Apter, David E. 7n10, 158n28  
associations, formal vs informal 19  
Bamahriz, Ahmed Salim 117n41  
Barkan, Joel D. 20n57, 62n95, 106n14,  
    107n15, 126n58  
Bates, Robert H. 20n59  
    ‘Bearded Sisters’ 59n79  
Benford, Robert 139n15  
Berlin, Isaiah, on methodology 90  
Berman, Bruce 44n23, 46n29, n31, 47n35  
Berman, Sheri 27n83  
*Beyond* magazine 162–3  
Brantley, Cynthia 40n4–8, 41n9–12, 42n13  
Bratton, Michael 17, 22, 23, 24, 62n95,  
    151n5, 152n9–10, 154, 155, 156n24,  
    160, 161n41, 187  
Bright, W. 3n3  
British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)  
    103  
Brown, Stephen 126n58, 127n61, 128,  
    134n2, 141n23, 142n25  
Brownley, Ian 86  
Buber, Martin 85  
Buke, Wafula 82, 94, 193  
Burke, Fred G. 57n73  
Bush, George, W., President 136  
Callaghy, Thomas M. 72n11, 129n64  
Carothers, Thomas 99n1, 129n66  
Carter Commission 43  
Catholic Church, resistance 109, 121  
causation, multiple 33–4  
cell phones 197  
Centre for Law and Research International  
    (CLARION) 136n6  
chain of events 32, 37  
Champion, Arthur 40  
Chazan, Naomi 17n48, 72n10  
Chege, Michael xvnl  
Cheney, Dick, Vice-President 136

- chess game, tactics as 90, 93, 133, 137, 166, 190
- Christian Science Monitor* xi, xiv, 68, 97
- churches, resistance 76, 109–12  
*see also* clergy
- Citizens Coalition for Constitutional Change (4Cs) 123–4, 138
- civil society 151  
 conceptual issues 19  
 definitions 18  
 and democratization 17–18, 99n1  
 resistance by 72–3, 144–5, 158–9  
 weakness 136
- class structure, Kenya 71
- Clayton, Anthony 52n50, 55n62, n65, n67
- clergy, neutralization 141
- Cloward, Richard 8n12, 21
- Cold War, 12, 14, 23n68, 38, 59, 99, 102, 124, 126, 153, 156n23, 184, 190  
 end xviii, 17, 52, 71, 155  
*see also* Communism
- colonialism  
 institutions 57, 58, 59  
 Kenya 55  
 resistance to 38  
 tactics 51, 57
- Communism 175
- community model, activism 85–6
- constitution  
 draft 145  
 new, demand for 139, 140, 173  
 reform 143–4, 146
- Constitution of Kenya Review Commission 145
- convergence of forces 32–3
- corruption 86, 107, 112, 123, 125, 126n58, 136n6, 141, 143, 173, 178
- courtroom drama, individual activism 166–7, 179–80
- covert resistance 39, 183n6
- Crain, Mary 21n63
- crowds, culture of resistance 149–50, 151–2
- culture of resistance xi, 10, 35  
 coordination 148  
 crowds 149–50, 151–2  
 definition 2–3  
 elements 182  
 establishment xii, xv, 2, 21–4, 32, 74, 87, 177  
 evidence of 134–5  
 growth 142–5  
 implications 147–8  
 institutionalization 129–31, 147  
 mass public support 150–75  
 maturity 133, 172  
 model 7  
 music 164  
 normalization 145–7, 173  
 rallies 115–16, 117–18, 120, 143, 149–50, 167  
 survival 180  
 synergy 182
- cycles of contention, Tarrow 15–16, 134, 184, 186
- Dahl, Robert A. 20n59, 154n18
- Daily Nation* 202
- deference, to defiance xviii, 14, 21, 29, 31, 38, 73, 93, 115, 150, 161, 175, 181
- defiance, from deference xviii, 14, 21, 29, 31, 38, 73, 93, 115, 150, 161, 175, 181
- democracy xii  
 African states xi, 156  
 Kenya xviii, 3, 14, 47, 52, 59, 69, 112, 136  
 multiparty 112, 114, 116, 126n58  
 networks 27  
 and regime change 17, 20  
*see also* principle(s), democratic
- democracy activism/activists xi, xv, xix, 2, 4, 6, 9, 69, 85, 91, 104, 156, 173, 181, 189, 192, 193
- democratic freedom(s) xi, xii, xv, xvi, 1, 2, 3, 4, 174, 177, 178, 189, 190  
*see also* human rights
- Democratic Party 121
- democratic transition(s) xi, xvi, 7, 9, 17, 20, 154n20, 155, 155n22, 177, 191, 192  
 literature xi, 186–7
- democratization xi, 136, 153–4  
 Africa 22–4, 188  
 and civil society 17–18, 99n1  
 and economy 154–5  
 and social movement(s) 19  
 demands for 154  
 reforms 127

- Diamond, Larry 17n46, n47, 18, 151n6, 154n18, n20, 187
- Dodd, Lawrence 24–5, 90n53, 191–2
- donors xviii, 99
- funds freeze 27, 71, 119, 121, 124, 125, 126, 126n57–8, 127, 128, 141–2, 142, 156, 181–2
  - human rights, ambivalence on 124–9, 181, 192
  - international 30, 71, 103, 160, 180, 181, 192
  - regime support 156
  - see also* foreign aid
- Downs, Anthony 20n59
- Dworkin, Ronald 86
- East African Association (EAA) 42–3, 56
- economy 70, 84
- and democratization 154–5
  - weakness 135, 153
- Edelman, Murray 168n55
- Elgström, Ole 7n10, 9n17, 22n68
- ethnic clashes 121–2, 164–5
- Etzioni, Amitai 26, 85
- community model 86–7
- Finance* magazine 88, 89, 123
- Flacks, Richard 4n4, 161n38
- Ford, Michael D. 155n21
- foreign aid, Kenya 71, 125–6, 141–2
- Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) 98, 103, 107, 122
- formation 117
- Foweraker, Joe 3n3, 21n62
- freedom fighter(s) 37, 48, 49, 50, 53, 59, 86
- Freedom House xviii, 173–4, 189
- Gachoka, Philip 117n41, 118
- Gama Pinto, Pio da 61
- Gamson, William A. 3n3
- Gatabaki, Njehu 123
- Geddes, Barbara 20n59, 154n18
- Gilbert, S. 14n33
- Giriama, resistance 37, 38, 39–42
- Gitari, David, Bishop 109, 110–11, 112, 193
- Giugni, Marco 151n6
- Goodin, Robert E. 25n76
- Goodwin, Jeff 3n3, 4n4, 6n6, 7n8, 10n19, 11n21, 12, 13n28–30, 14, 140n21, 151n4, 159n30–1, 160n34, 161n38, 183n3, 184
- Gould, Deborah B. 10n19, 159
- Grignon, François 160n36
- Gross National Product, per capita, Kenya 153n15
- Gurr, Ted R. 15n38, 46n31, 183n7
- Gusfield, Joseph R. 21n62, 22n66
- Gutto, Shadrack B. 20n57–8, 63, 64
- Haggard, Stephen 154n18, 155n22
- harambees 48
- Harbeson, John W. 17n48
- Hardin, Blain 5, 6
- Harding, S. 3n3
- Hastings, W.O. 17n48, 20n56
- Haugerud, Angelique 76n18, 155n21, 165n51, 170n64
- Havel, Vaclav 34, 151
- Hay, Colin 6n7, 16n45, 26n80–1
- Hempstone, Smith 118, 124, 125
- Henderson, Katherine 137n10
- Hill, Martin 82, 86, 87
- Hirschman, Albert O. 33
- on methodology 34
  - on paradigms 33–4
- Hobbes, Thomas 85
- Hobley, Charles W. 40
- Holmquist, Frank W. 155n21
- Hornsby, Charles 61n91, 101n4, 112n29, 116n37–8, 117n40, 124n54, 130n68, 160n36, 162n45, 164n49
- Hsiao, Michael 17n47
- Hsin-Huang, Michael H. 17n47
- human rights
- abuses 6, 93, 103, 124, 178
  - activism xii, 20, 26
  - activists xv, xix, 2, 9, 10, 27, 38, 42, 88, 128, 137, 177, 197
  - and democracy xii, 20–21
  - and democratic principles 77
  - and democratization 3, 10, 39
  - and rule of law 88
  - and transition 20
  - case(s) 82–3
  - defense of 109
  - donors' ambivalence 124–9, 181, 192
  - groups 137
  - individual activists 98

- lawyers 82–3, 86, 92
- legal challenges 121
- monitoring 173–4
- movements 30
- networks 27, 103, 174
- norms 27
- organizations (or groups) xi, 27, 95, 88, 113, 126, 136, 137, 174, 191
- post-regime change 178
- principles 7
- professional workers 86
- protecting 104
- protests 67
- reforms 125
- reports 75
- treaties, Kenya 199
- Universal Declaration 63, 188
- see also* democratic freedom; Kenya Human Rights Commission
- Human Rights Watch xviii, 145n33, 167, 178n1
- human spirit, role in resistance 34–5
- Hung-mao Tien 17n47
- hunger strikes 80
- Huntington, Samuel P. 20–1, 153–4
- Huxtable, Philip A. 168n56
- Hyden, Goran 7n10, 9n17, 12n26, 17n48, 18n53, 20n56, 22n68, 23n69, 38n2, 62n95, 160n37
- ideas, Weber on 84
- Imanyara, Gitobu 75, 88, 94, 107, 118, 120, 126, 193
- Imperial British East Africa Company 43n19
- individual activism xi, xv, xix, 4, 5, 6, 29–30, 67–95
  - courtroom drama 166–7, 179–80
  - emergence 93
  - examples 166–9
  - importance of xvii, 185
  - institutional factors 72–3
  - minor actors 76–7
  - mobilized participation 170
  - organizational activism, compared 100–3
  - spontaneous participation 166–9
  - structural factors 70–1
  - see also* organizational activism
- individual activists xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, 3, 9, 13, 28
  - actions 78
  - biographies 75, 94, 193
  - characteristics 74–6
  - informal networks 87–90
  - risks 81
  - role models 83
  - tactics 87–90
- Ingelhart, Ronald 20n59
- institutional factors, individual activism 72–3
- institutional learning 24–5, 90–3
  - meaning 90
- institutionalization
  - culture of resistance 129–31, 147
  - of opposition politics 115
  - of resistance 108–14
- institutions 25
  - colonial 57, 58, 59
  - formal xvii, 25
  - informal 191
  - international 190
  - meaning 25, 72n9
  - political 20, 31
  - public 72
  - resistance 73, 76, 78, 110, 166
  - role 186
  - undemocratic 100
- intellectuals 75
- Inter-Party Parliamentary Group (IPPG) 141
- International Commission of Jurists 104, 145n34
- International Monetary Fund (IMF) xviii, 126, 127, 142, 156
- interviewees
  - ranking 194
  - selection 194–6
  - tracing 197
  - interviewing
    - mechanics 196–8
    - note taking 196–7
    - preparation 197
    - psychology of 194–5
    - taping 196
    - transcriptions 198
- Jasper, James M. 3n3, 4n4, 6n6, 7n8, 10n19, 11n21, 12, 13n28–30, 14, 140n21,

- 151n4, 159n30–1, 160n34, 161n38,  
183n3, 184
- Jillson, Calvin 24n71
- Johnston, Hank 21n62, 22n66
- Joseph, Richard A. 71n7, 72n12
- Kababere, Njeri 94, 193
- Kabira, Wanjiku Mukabi 48n38–9, 49n40–2,  
50n43–4
- Kakwenzire, Joan 20n56
- Kamau, Gibson 75
- Kamba, resistance 45
- Kanogo, Tabitha 45n24, n27, 53n53, n55
- Kantz, Matt 188n23
- Kariuki, G.B.M. 111, 113, 193
- Kariuki, Gladys 67
- Kariuki, J.M. 62, 64
- Kariuki, Mirugi 5, 67, 75, 88n48, 94, 104,  
123n48, 193
- Kariuki, Ngoto 167n52
- Karklins, Rasma 151n8, 161n40
- Karua, Martha 77, 83, 87, 89, 90, 94, 193
- Kasfir, Nelson 18, 19n54
- Kassimir, Ronald 129n64
- Kathangu, Njeru 92, 167n52
- Kaufman, Robert R. 154n18, 155n22
- Kaya 40, 41
- Keck, Margaret E. 10, 15n34, 26, 27, 30
- Kenya  
class structure 71  
colonial legacy 55–62  
foreign aid 71, 125–6  
GNP per capita 153n15  
human rights treaties 199  
independence 38, 58  
legal system 137  
poverty 153  
resistance, history 37–65  
socioeconomic data 200
- Kenya African National Union (KANU) 49,  
56, 60, 76, 101, 136
- Kenya African Union (KAU) 44, 48, 53, 56
- Kenya Human Rights Commission 88, 105,  
123, 137, 143, 174, 202, 203
- Kenya Land and Freedom Army (KLFA) 53
- Kenya People's Union (KPU) 60–1
- Kenyatta, Jomo 38, 43, 44, 53, 54, 56  
arrest 47–8  
authoritarianism 61–2  
death 58, 62  
regime, resistance to 59–62
- Kenyatta, Uhuru 145
- Kershaw, Greet 42n14, 43n15–16, n18,  
44n22, 45n25, 47n33–4, n36–7,  
52n51  
*Mau Mau From Below* 46, 47  
methodology 38n1
- Khaminwa, John 82, 94, 193
- Kiai, Maina 73n13, 142–3, 174, 193
- Kibaki, Mwai 94, 121, 145, 147, 148, 173,  
178n2
- Kibara, Gichira 59n79
- Kibwana, Kivutha 94, 105, 134n2, 138, 148,  
193
- Kihoro, Wanyiri 5, 6, 32, 77  
torture of 1–2
- Kikuyu 42
- Kikuyu Association (KA) 42
- Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) 43, 44
- Kimathi, Dedan 50, 51, 53, 54
- Kinuthia, Milcah Wanjiku 67, 68, 168n57
- Kinuthia, Rumba 67, 77, 82, 168n57  
motivation 86
- Kinyatti, Maina wa 39n3, 50, 51, 52n52, 53,  
54n57, 64, 193
- Kirigia, Joyce, Rev. 111n24
- Kirk–Greene, A.H.M. 55n64
- Klingemann, Hans-Dieter 25n76
- Kloop, Jacqueline M. 111n26
- Koo, Hagen 17n47
- Koome, Martha 92–3, 146
- Krasner, Stephen D. 16
- Kuria, Gibson Kamau 5, 70n4, 83, 88n48,  
94, 156n23, 164n50, 193, 195  
motivation 86
- Kurzman, Charles 151n4, 159n33, 160n34,  
161n39
- Lamba, Davinder 115n35, 193
- land grabbing, resistance to 42–5, 111, 137
- Laraña, Enrique 21n62, 22n66
- Latham, Robert 129n64
- Latin America xv
- Law Society of Kenya (LSK) 65, 70n4, 73,  
105, 137  
resistance 112–13, 114, 146
- lawyers, human rights 82–3, 86, 92
- Lawyers Committee for Human Rights 5

- legal system, Kenya 137
- Limongi, Fernando 154n18
- Lindberg, Staffan 9n17, 22n68, 23, 24
- Linz, Juan 154n20
- Lipset, Martin S. 20n59, 154n18
- Lonsdale, John 37–8, 44n23, 45, 46–7, 51, 53, 54, 55
- ‘lost causes’, Olson on 84–5
- Maathai, Wangari, Dr 67, 69, 88n48, 94, 163, 168n58, 169n59, 193
- McAdam, Doug 3n3, 6n6, 11–12, 13n28–9, n31, 22n65, 28n88–9, 31, 151n6, 182, 183–5
- Dynamics of Contention* (co-author) 13
- McCarthy, John D. 3n3, 184n12
- Macrae, Donald G. 84n33, n35–6
- Makali, David 129
- Mandela, Nelson 156, 167
- Mansbridge, Jane J. xvi, 25, 26n78, 85
- Marx, Karl 84
- mass actions 139
- mass participation xviii, 10, 28, 31, 181
- groundwork, examples 161–5
  - mobilized 165
  - spontaneous 165
- mass public support xix, 2
- activism, theory 159–61
  - culture of resistance 150–75
  - model 165–73, 179–81
- Matiba, Kenneth 75, 79, 94, 99, 113, 116, 119n44, 193
- Mau Mau
- meaning of term 45
  - motivation 53–4
  - oath taking 47, 48, 49, 52
  - tactics 75
- Mau Mau resistance 37, 38, 45–56
- deaths 54
  - features 45–6
  - grassroots view 46–8
  - Marxist view 51
  - outcomes 54–5
  - violence 51–2
  - women’s role 48–50
- Mazrui, Alamin 160n36
- Mboya, Tom 61
- Mbugua, Bedan 123n48, 162, 163, 193
- Mekatalili 37, 40–1
- Melucci, Alberto 21n62, 22
- Merrills, J.G. 188n22
- methodology *see* research methodology
- Meyer, David S. 3, 7n8, 16
- Midika, Onyano 59n79
- Miller, Norman 43n17, n19, 44n20–1, 45, 46n28, 54n60
- minor actors 8, 32, 76–7
- M’Inoti, Kathurima 137, 193
- mobilized participation
- individual activism 170
  - organizational activism 170–3
- model, mass public support 165–73, 179–81
- model of resistance xix, 8, 28–34, 72, 133, 179, 180, 189
- Moi, Daniel arap 1, 5, 6, 39, 48, 91
- challenges to 163–4
  - election defeat 6, 134
  - regime, resistance to 62–5, 97–8
  - violence, attitude to 52
- Moore, Barrington, Jr 20n59, 74, 154n18
- Morris, Aldon 139n15
- Mortimer, Robert 17n48, 72n10
- Morton, Andrew 142n26
- mothers
- of detainees 1, 67, 121, 149
  - striking 42, 50, 67–9, 80, 122, 168–9
- motivation
- activists xv–xvi, 81–7, 104–5
  - Kinuthia 86
  - Kuria 86
  - see also* self-interest
- movement, permits requirement 56–7
- Mueller, Carol McClurg 139n15
- Mueller, Susanne D. 55n61, 56n69–70, 57n72, 58n75–6, n78, 60n82, n85–6, 61n87–9
- Muge, Alexander, Bishop 109, 112, 120, 193
- Mugunyi, Esther Njeri 37, 49–50
- Muia, Alois Mwaiwa 137
- Muite, Paul 73, 83, 92, 94, 101n3, 112, 113, 114, 117n41, 118, 144, 149, 162n42, 173n70, 193
- Muliro, Masinde 117n41, 118
- multi-party system, vs one-party system 2, 35, 63, 64
- multi-partyism 2, 81, 98, 102, 110, 116, 119, 121, 127, 171

- multiparty elections 133, 144, 150, 157, 167  
 Munene, Macharia 56n68, 60n84, 86–7,  
     63n96, 87n44, 152n11, 162n43–4,  
     170n63  
 Murphy, John F. 55n63, 57n74, 58n77  
 Murungi, Kiraitu 5, 88n48, 94, 159n29, 193  
 music, culture of resistance 164  
 Muthoga, Lee 113  
 Mutuku, Nicodemus 137  
 Mutunga, Willy 82, 88, 113, 123, 138n12,  
     n14, 140, 149n2, 172, 193, 202  
 Mwachofi, Moshengu wa 59n79  
 Mwakenya 39, 52, 64, 69, 82, 86, 99, 104,  
     156  
 Mwana, Ndingi, Bishop 109  
 Mwangi, Paul 113n31–3, 114n34  
  
*Nairobi Law Monthly* 75, 88  
 National Alliance Rainbow Coalition  
     (NARC) 105n13  
 National Christian Council of Kenya  
     (NCCK) 121  
 National Convention Assembly (NCA) 139  
 National Convention Executive Committee  
     (NCEC) 139  
 National Council of Churches of Kenya  
     (NCCK) 110, 162  
 National Democratic Party (NDP) 113  
     merger with KANU 144  
 Ndwiga, Peter 202  
 Nelson, Harold D. 44n21, 71n8  
 networks  
     formal 116  
     human rights 27  
     informal 87–90  
     transnational 187, 192  
 Ng'ang'a, Mukaru 5  
 NGOs 30, 100, 101, 103, 104, 105–6  
 National Council 110  
     regime's strategy against 123, 133, 136  
     resistance 114–19, 138  
 Ngurukie, Patricia 48n38–9, 49n40–2,  
     50n43–4  
 Njenga, Peter 110  
 Njonjo, Charles 62, 94  
 Njoya, Timothy, Rev 70n4, 77, 88n48, 94,  
     109, 110, 112, 119, 123n48, 149,  
     193, 202  
 non-violence, tactics 51, 52  
 non-violent resistance 3, 140, 169, 177, 189  
 norm, definition 145n35  
 norms 2, 33  
     human rights 27, 187  
     international 27, 38, 192  
     political 58  
     public 31, 167  
     shift of xviii, 21, 22, 31, 38, 160–1, 171  
     social 25  
     societal 73  
 Nottingham, John 54n58  
 Nowrojee, Pheroze 83, 88n48, 91, 94,  
     141n22, 193  
 Nthenge, George 117n41  
 Nyamwamu, Cyprien 139, 172n68  
 Nyayo, meaning 63  
 Nyong'o, Peter Anyang' 109, 145–6, 193  
 Nzeki, Ndingi 109, 193  
 Nzomo, Maria 168n56  
  
 oath taking 40, 42  
     Mau Mau 47, 48, 49, 52  
 O'Brien, F.S., 71n6, 126n58, 128n62  
 Ochieng', W.R. 53n54, 59n81, 60n83,  
     61n90, 62n92–4  
 Odinga, Oginga 60, 94, 105, 113, 118, 193  
 Odinga, Raila 94, 105, 116, 117n40,  
     124n53, 143, 144, 145, 147, 193  
 O'Donnell, Guillermo 9, 15n36, 20, 154n18,  
     n20, 186n16  
 Ogot, B.A. 53n54, 63n97–100, 64n101,  
     65n103  
 Ojiambo, Fred 113  
 Okondo, Peter 112  
 Okoth Ogendo, Hastings W.O. 17n48,  
     20n56  
 Okullu, Henry, Bishop 109, 110, 111–12  
 Olowu, Dele 17n48, 20n56  
 Olson, Mancur, on 'lost causes' 84–5, 159  
 one-party system 89, 98  
     vs multi-party system 2, 35, 63, 64  
 Ong'wen, Oduor 110  
 openings, for activists 14, 29, 98, 133, 136,  
     144, 148, 154, 168, 180  
 opposition parties, divided 122–3, 135, 150  
 opposition politics, institutionalization 115  
 Orengo, James 59n79, 88n48, 94, 100,  
     117n40, 143, 149, 171n66, 193, 202  
 organizational activism xi, 30, 97–131

- implications 129–31
- individual activism, compared 100–3
- mobilized participation 170–3
- structural factors 99–100
- see also* individual activism
- organizational activists xvi, xviii, 14, 20, 26, 28
  - biographies 105–7
  - profile 106–7
  - risks 81
- Ouko, Robert 120
- overt resistance xi, xviii, 3, 6, 68, 69, 79, 183n6
- Oyugi, Edward 90, 104, 167n52
- paradigms, Hirschman on 33–4
- Payne, James L. 34
- Peters, Ralph-Michael 140n20
- Petersen, Roger 151n8, 161n40
- Philippines xii, xv, 17
- Piven, Frances F. 8n12, 21
- Plattner, Marc F. 17n47
- pluralism 101, 115, 117
- political change xvi, xvii, xviii, 6, 8, 10, 18, 23, 28, 31, 34, 46, 70, 76, 79, 91, 105, 115, 158, 161, 184, 185, 187, 190, 191, 192
- political learning 133, 140, 182
  - see also* regime learning
- political opportunity 183
  - structure 6n6, 183n3, 185
  - theory 190
- political parties, opposition 19
- political process model 11–12, 183–4, 185
- political process theory 6, 11, 12–13, 28n89, 185n14
- political process theory
  - activists' role 14
  - application 7
- Polsby, Nelson 24
- poverty, Kenya 153
- Press, Betty xi, xiv, 69
- Press, Robert 13n31, 119n45
  - The New Africa* xi
- principled ideas xvi, 10, 26, 86
- principle(s) xvi, 6, 10, 26, 82, 86, 93, 104, 113
  - democratic 7n11, 77, 110, 130, 157, 167, 188
- professionals, resistance 112–14, 172
- Przeworski, Adam 20n59, 154n18
- punctuated evolution, meaning 16
- Putnam, Robert D. 18, 20n59
- rallies, culture of resistance 115–16, 117–18, 120, 143, 149–50, 167
- rational choice(s) 24, 25, 179, 180, 191
  - activists 7–8, 26, 84–5, 93
- Ravenhill, John 17n48, 72n10
- Reagan, Ronald, President 5, 32
- reforms 141–2
- regime
  - change 137, 142, 143–4
  - and democracy 17, 20
  - learning 141
  - predisposition against 160
  - repression xix, 7, 8, 72, 103, 133, 137, 118–119, 144, 148, 188n20
  - tactics 90, 91, 99, 137, 141, 166, 175
- Release Political Prisoners (RPP), 69, 80, 149, 169n60
- repression xvi, xix, 7, 8, 72, 103, 133, 137, 118–119, 144, 148, 156–8, 188n20
  - and activism xvii
  - limits to xvii
- research design 9–10
  - interviews 9
- research findings 189–92
- research methodology xvii, xix, 8, 193–8
  - applicability 187–9
  - Berlin on 90
  - Hirschman on 34
  - Kershaw's 38n1
  - see also* interviewees; interviewing
- research questions 10–11
  - and answers 179–80
- resistance
  - accumulated 148
  - barriers 134–7
  - Catholic Church 109, 121
  - chronology 146–7
  - churches 76, 109–12
  - civil society 72–3, 144–5, 158–9
  - definition 3n2
  - dynamics of 28
  - foreign diplomatic help 118
  - formal 78–9
  - Giriama 37, 38, 39–42

- high and low points 121–4, 135–7  
 human spirit, role 34–5  
 hunger strikes 80  
 informal 79–80  
 institutionalization of 108–14  
 institutions 73, 76, 78, 110, 166  
 Kamba 45  
 Kenya 37–65  
 Law Society of Kenya (LSK) 112–13,  
   114  
 legal defense 78  
 literature 11–27  
 Mau Mau 37, 38, 45–56  
 model of xix, 8, 28–34, 72, 133, 179,  
   180, 189  
 NGOs 114–19, 138  
 norms shift 160–1  
 professionals 112–14, 172  
 public remarks 78, 79  
 tactics of xvii, xix, 42, 144, 181, 182  
 to colonial rule 38  
 to colonialism 38  
 to Kenyatta regime 59–62  
 to land grabbing 42–5, 111, 137  
 to Moi regime 62–5, 97–8  
 women, role 38, 39, 42, 50  
*see also* covert resistance; non-violent  
   resistance; culture of resistance;  
   overt resistance
- resistance movement xv, xvii, xviii, 4, 6,  
   9, 14  
   Africa 2  
   beginnings 15  
   concept 19–20  
   coordination, lack of 138  
   definition 3n2  
   synergy 137–40  
 resisters, early 9, 10  
 resource mobilization model 11  
 Rienner, Lynne 17n48  
 riots 24, 64, 108, 111, 120, 169, 170, 180  
 Risse, Thomas 15n34, n39, 27, 187n19  
 Robertson, A.H. 188n22  
 Rochford, Burke 139n15  
 Rockman, Bert A. 25  
 role models, individual activists 83  
 Ropp, Stephen C. 15n34, n39, 27, 187n19  
 Rosberg, Carl G. 54n58  
 Rothchild, Donald 17n48, 72n10  
 Rothstein, Bo 25  
 Rubia, Charles 75, 79, 94, 99, 113, 116,  
   119n44, 193  
 Rueschemeyer, Dietrich 20n59, 154n18  
 Rule, James 11n23  
 rule of law xvi, 58, 75, 78, 79, 88, 91, 92,  
   93, 95, 113, 137, 156, 157, 180, 188,  
   189  
 Rustow, Dankwart 20, 130  
 Ruteere, Mutuma 103n7, 107n16, 137  
 Rutten, Marcel 160n36  
 Rwanda xi, 32  
 Ryan, Terry C.I. 71n6, 128n62
- Salman, Ton 21n63  
 Schmidt, Siegmund 59n79  
 Schmitter, Philippe C. 9, 15n36, 20, 154n20,  
   186n16  
 Schmitz, Hans Peter 129n64  
 Schneider, Cathy 7n9, 21n63  
 Schulz, William F. 188n23  
 self-interest xvi, 8, 12, 25, 26, 85, 86, 191,  
   192  
   *see also* motivation
- September 11 (2001) events 136  
 Shamalla, Japheth 87, 113  
 Shamalla, Njoke 113  
 Shamsh, Gerald 137n10  
 Shikuku, Martin 62, 63, 97, 117n40–1,  
   118–19, 126, 149  
 Sifuna, Lawrence 59n79  
 Sikkink, Kathryn 8n13, 10, 15n34, n39, 26,  
   27, 30, 187n19  
 Skocpol, Theda 15n35  
 Snow, David E. 139  
 social insurgency 11  
 social movement(s)  
   beginnings 8–9  
   change of consciousness 21–2  
   definition 3n3  
   and democratization 19  
   literature xi, 6, 8, 70, 154, 182–6, 187,  
   190  
   model 13  
   studies, lack of 4  
   theory xv, xvii, 4, 11, 190  
   and visible action 22  
   *see also* resistance movement
- Society* magazine 88, 89

- socioeconomic data, Kenya 200
- Somalia xi, 91, 124, 136, 156
- South America xii
- South Korea xii, xv, 17
- Soviet Union xv
- spontaneous participation, individual activism 166–9
- Steinmo, Sven H. 20n59
- Stepan, Alfred 154n20
- Stephens, Evelyne H 20n49
- Stephens, John D. 20n49
- structural approach xvi
- structural barriers 38, 159
- structural bias 133, 135, 159, 183, 184
- structural conditions xvii, 8, 20, 37, 46, 133
- activism 136
- social movements 35, 184–5
- structural constraints 7, 13, 160
- activism xi, 12, 14, 68, 70, 74, 135, 148, 153–5
  - examples 14
- structural factors
- activism 20, 70–1, 99
  - external 6
  - individual activism 70–1
  - influence 7, 11
  - organizational activism 99–100
  - xvii, 13, 46n31, 47
- Sudan 136
- symbolic politics 168
- tactics 33
- activists xv, 12, 15, 25, 29, 81, 87–90, 91, 93, 98, 100, 102, 118, 119, 129, 133, 148, 186, 189, 194, 195
  - as chess game 90, 93, 133, 137, 166, 190
  - colonialism 51, 57
  - Mau Mau 75
  - non-violent 51, 52
  - regime 90, 91, 99, 137, 141, 166, 175
  - repressive xi
  - of resistance xvii, xix, 42, 144, 181, 182
- Tarrow, Sidney 3n3, 6n6, 7n10, 8–9, 11, 13n30, n31, 15n34, n40, 16n41, n42–3, 151n6, 182, 183, 185
- cycles of contention 15–16, 134, 183n5, n7, 184, 185n14–15, 186
- Dynamics of Contention* (co-author) 13
- Thiele, Leslie 145n35
- Thiong'o, Ngugi wa 39n3, 50–1, 62, 63, 83
- Throup, David 61n91, 101n4, 112n29, 116n37–8, 117n40, 124n54, 130n68, 136n7, 144n31, 153n16, 162n45, 164n49
- Thuku, Harry 42, 43
- Tilly, Charles 3n3, 6n6, 11b23, 13n31, 140n21, 151n6 182, 183
- Dynamics of Contention* (co-author) 13
- Tocqueville, Alexis de 14, 20n59, 99n1
- Togo 2, 122, 188
- torture xv, 5, 6, 32, 35, 37, 39, 49–50, 65, 67, 69, 130, 138, 173, 188
- of criminals 203–4
  - example 1–2
  - UN Convention Against Torture 201
  - UN Report 201–3
- Tsuma, Chibule wa 59n79
- Ufungamano initiative 145n32
- Ukamba Members Association (UMA) 45
- Ukraine xii, 152
- Unger, Andy 137n10
- van de Walle, Nicolas 17, 22, 23, 24, 151n5, 152n9–10, 154, 155, 156n24, 160, 161n41, 187
- Villalón, Leonardo A. 168n56
- violence, Mau Mau resistance 51–2
- visible action, and social movement(s) 22
- voting fraud 162
- Wabici, Rahab 48, 49
- Wallerstein, Immanuel 57n71
- Wamwere, Koigi wa 59n79, 63, 67, 75, 94, 123n48, 193
- Wamwere, Monica 67, 68
- Washington Post* 5
- Weaver, Frederick S. 155n21
- Weaver, R. Kent 25
- Weber, Max 27, 32–3
- ideas 84
  - The Protestant Ethic* 84
  - The Weekly Review* 167, 194
- White Highlands 44
- Wiseman, John A. 2n1, 156n26, 188n21
- Wolf, Eric R. 46n31
- Womack, John 34

- women
  - in Mau Mau resistance 48–50
  - in resistance 38, 39, 42, 50
- Worden, Steven 139n15
- World Bank xviii, 125-6, 128, 128n62, 142n26-7, 153n13-14,
- Yeager, Rodger 43n17, n19, 44n20–1, 46n28, 54n60
- Young Kikuyu Association (YKA) 42
  - see also* East African Association
- Yun Han Chu 17n47
- Zald, Mayer N. 3n3, 13n28, 184n12
- Zamosc, Leon 7n9, 21n63
- Zimbabwe xviii, 2, 179