

Non-Violent Struggle

The 1992 Kenyan Case Study of the Protective Power and the Curse of Female Nakedness

Peter Karari*

Abstract

Non-violent struggle is a technique by which the population can restrict and sever the sources of power of their oppressors while mobilizing their own potentials into effective power. Female nakedness is one type of non-violent action that can be mobilized to facilitate women's emancipation from gendered-cum-patriarchal oppression, violence and marginalization. A literature review indicates that female nakedness has been used for many centuries around the world to stop wars, ward off enemies, agitate for rights, prevent pests and increase harvests. Studies show that the effectiveness of non-violent struggle requires strategic planning and understanding of the dynamics involved. This article analyses the 1992 women's nude protest in Kenya aimed at pushing for the release of political prisoners. This study investigates three questions: (1) In what ways was the 1992 women's nude protest in Kenya a success? (2) What were the struggle's flaws? (3) What strategic plans and/or dynamics of non-violent struggle could have been employed to make this protest more effective? The findings of this research indicate that: (1) The

* Dr. Peter Karari will be joining Karatina University, Kenya in September 2015 as a faculty member in the school of education and social sciences where he plans to start a department in Peace and Conflict Studies. He is a PhD graduate in peace and conflict studies from the Arthur Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice, University of Manitoba. He also has a Bachelor in Social-Work from the University of Nairobi in Kenya and a Masters in Peace and Conflicts Research from Otto-von Guericke University in Magdeburg Germany. His areas of focus includes; ethnopolitical violence, transitional justice, peacebuilding, conflict-management, conflict-resolution, conflict-transformation, and human rights. His doctoral research was on ethnopolitical violence, transitional justice, and peacebuilding in Kenya. He has diverse field and work experience with Non-governmental and community based organizations. He was the Country Program Manager of Drug Abuse Education Program Kenya, Project Coordinator Compassion International Kenya, and Chief Executive Officer Kibera Slum Education Program, an Oxfam GB assisted project in Kenya. Peter has served in various capacities as a student leader, community leader, and as a member of the University of Manitoba senate. He has a great passion for the marginalized and the vulnerable people in the society and has greatly been recognized for his community leadership and human rights activism. He is the winner of the 2010 Nahlah Ayed Prize for Student Leadership and Global Citizenship, University of Manitoba; 2010 Paul Fortier Award in Student Activism, University of Manitoba Faculty Association; 2011 University of Manitoba Alumni Award; 2012 University of Manitoba Dean of Graduate Studies Student Achievement Award; and 2014 University of Manitoba Emerging Leaders Award. Apart from mentoring his students to explore new perspectives and ideas that address their inquisitiveness as human beings, Dr. Karari envisions to actively participate in peacebuilding initiatives to make the world a better place for all to live in. He envisions Perpetual Peace in the World!

Peter Karari

nude protest was partially a success because it secured the release of all political prisoners and nurtured democratization; (2) the struggle failed to embrace some strategic planning and/or the dynamics of non-violent struggle in addition to hunger strike and female nakedness; and (3) the protest could have been more successful if it embraced particular strategic plans and/or dynamics of non-violent struggle such as negotiation, power relations, prioritization of tactics and methods of non-violent struggle, access to critical material resources and clear monitoring and evaluation strategies.

Keywords: non-violent struggle, dynamics of non-violent struggle, strategic planning in non-violent struggle, protective power of the vulva, curse of female nakedness.

1 Introduction

This article focuses on the place and space of female nude protest in non-violent struggle. Exposing female genitalia has been used since ancient times as a means of stopping war, warding off the enemy, increasing harvests and agitating for women rights (Brownhill and Turner, 2002; Conrad, 1999; Dexter and Mair, 2005; Nash, 1978). This article discusses a 1992 Kenyan case study when mothers staged a nude protest to force the ruling regime to release their sons who had been detained unlawfully as political prisoners. While the women's nude protest succeeded in securing the release of political prisoners and in nurturing a democratic space in Kenya, it took a great deal of time and faced extreme repression from the ruling regime. This study argues that the effectiveness of female nude protest as a method of non-violent struggle could be enhanced by embracing strategic planning and/or dynamics of non-violent struggle. Against a background of various literature materials on non-violent struggle, the article analyses the gaps in strategic planning and dynamics of non-violent struggle that the Kenyan mothers could have bridged to make their hunger strike and nude protest more effective.

The structure of this article is as follows: First is the literature review, which is divided into three sub-parts. Sub-part one reviews the literature on ancient and current examples in which female nakedness has been mobilized as a tool for women's emancipation, ceasefire, fertility and protection from evil spirits and wild animals. Sub-parts two and three discuss strategic planning and the dynamics of non-violent struggle as key components of non-violent action, respectively. The second part discusses the case study in which the mothers bared their nakedness in a bid to secure the release of their detained sons from prison. In the third part, methodology is discussed, while in the fourth part, findings and discussion are used to connect theory and the case study. Fifth is the conclusion including questions that could inform future research.

2 Literature Review

Non-violent struggle is a method of action by which the population severs the sources of power from their oppressors while mobilizing their own power in agitation for rights, freedoms, inclusion, equity, equality and fairness (Helvey, 2004; Heyne *et al.*, 2005; Sharp, 2005). Effective non-violent struggle must invest in appropriate tactics, methods and strategies to meet the desired goals (Sharp, 2005; Shock, 2005). It must also embrace strategic planning and/or dynamics of non-violent struggle (Ackerman and Du Vall, 2000; King, 2002; Nan, 2003). In this discussion, we focus on *female nakedness* as a method of non-violent struggle.

2.1 *The Protective Power of the Vulva and the Curse of Female Nakedness*

Studies indicate that the 'protective power of the vulva' has been used since ancient times around the world (Dexter and Mair, 2005). The Greeks referred to it as *anasyrma*, *i.e.* 'exposing the genitals', believing that it warded off dangers and enemies. In Italy, war chariots had drawings of exposed female vulvas to frighten enemies and evade evil eyes (Oppitz, 1992). In Anatolia, Turkey, Lycian women enabled the defeat of the warrior Bellerophon by pulling up their clothes and exposing their vulvas (Dexter and Mair, 2005). In New Guinea and Australia, women could signal peace, war or protection of a prisoner by removing their garments (Lepowsky, 1993). In central Australia, for example, women bared their breasts in order to be spared for their role as mothers, while in Kalahari, girls mocked and dared the white men by lifting their skirts (Suetterlin, 1989). The women of Tlatelolco, Mexico, exposed their nakedness to Tenocha visitors, leading to the collapse of the Tenochtitlan alliance that had taken away their sons and husbands (Nash, 1978). In Ireland the defeat of Cúchullain in the *Táin Bo Cuailnge* was enabled by 150 women who exposed their nakedness to him: "The famous warrior of Uster lowered his eyes to avoid seeing these bold women and overcome by their power" (Dexter and Mair, 2005). Stories from Catalunya, Russia, Maghreb and Saameland indicate that women stripped naked to ward off dangerous wild animals (Blackledge, 2003, 2009; Dexter and Mair, 2005).

Similar examples exist also in Asia. In the Philippines, women successfully protested against the construction of a hydroelectric dam by removing and throwing their clothes to the men (Lubell, 1994). In Iran, the women challenged the Persians from retreating in their battle against the Medes by raising their dresses (Lubell, 1994). The Chinese women influenced the success of the 1774 Wang Lun rebellion in China by standing in rows on city walls and uncovering their vulvas (Dexter and Mair, 2005). In the Manchu dynasty, the most effective deterrent against besiegers was menstrual blood dropped on them from above (Dexter and Mair, 2005). In Yuan China, the battle of Nujiang Valley ended after a woman climbed on a cliff, took off her skirt, waved it and implored for armistice (Dexter and Mair, 2005). In India, clay pots representing vulvas were made and placed in the fields and on rooftops to ward off evil eyes (Dexter and Mair, 2005). In Ireland, France and England, stone sculptures representing vulvas were placed in the church and at doorsteps for fertility, healing and blessings (Dexter and Mair, 2005). During the traditional festivals among the Italian and French, loaves

of bread were split and cakes molded into vulval shapes to affirm life and give thanks (Blackledge, 2003, 2009).

Similar stories also exist in Africa. In Mali, women caused ceasefires or collapse of dynasties by exposing their nakedness (Conrad, 1999). Dictator Musa Taoure was overthrown after a grandmother whose grandsons had been killed by his soldiers stripped naked by the side of their graves (Ibid). In colonial Africa, women in Nigeria, Kenya, Senegal, Cameroon and Ivory Coast resisted the colonial oppression by performing ritual nudity (Foucher, 2002). Using ritual performances, women bared their breasts, buttocks and vulvas demanding their rights and freedoms, the release of political prisoners and an end to taxation (Vidrovitch, 1997). In 2004 in Benin, West Africa, women protested bare-breasted against the governor's seizure of their market, which they got back (Blackledge, 2003). In an effort to 'clean the city' during the 1999 World Cup Youth Tournament in Lagos, Nigeria, the government prevented the prostitutes from 'working', prompting the Women of the Association of Practicing Prostitutes to threaten to strip naked; they were allowed to 'work' (Blackledge, 2003: 21). In India, nakedness was used to disperse evil spirits, and the vagina was seen as a source of safety and security (Blackledge, 2003: 21). In ancient Egypt, nakedness was used to increase the harvest and control pests (Blackledge, 2009).

A documentary, entitled the *Naked Option: A Last Resort*, describes a nude protest that was carried out in July 2002 for 10 days against oil giants Chevron and Shell by a parade of 600 women in Nigeria's Niger Delta (Snag Films, 2011). The women held 700 male workers hostage and stopped the daily production of 500,000 barrels of oil (Snag Films, 2011). This protest emanated from structural injustices and violence such as corruption, murder and assassinations, environmental pollution and degradation, brutality, corruption and loss of livelihood (Snag Films, 2011). Using nakedness as a weapon of last resort, the women forced the oil companies to build schools and hospitals, install electricity and water systems and provide employment to the local population (Snag Films, 2011).

In her doctoral thesis entitled *(Dis) articulating Bodies and Genders: Pussy Politics and Performing Vaginas*, Pelle (2008) indicates that despite the traumas inflicted on the female body such as rape, incest and female genital mutilation, it should be reconstructed, represented and repositioned in order to transcend intergenerational humiliation, fight injustices and reclaim the position of women in society (Pelle, 2008: 49). Women's empowerment can be instituted by looking at the Vagina not only as a source of pleasure but also as a signifier of women's worth, power, voice, space and place in the human society (Pelle, 2008: 49). To facilitate empowerment, transformation and development of women, we must address patriarchal injustices and cease to commodify, regulate or structure the Vagina (Pelle, 2008: 42). The politics of recrimination that inflict injury and social powerlessness must be challenged in order to give women an opportunity to achieve freedom, re-birth, self-actualization and fulfilment in our male-dominated society (Pelle, 2008: 43).

In her journal article *The 'Grotesque' Pussy: 'Transformational Shame'* (Pelle, 2010) describes Margaret Cho's stand-up performances as indicating that transformational shame is the foundation for positive change; that while the exhibi-

tionism of female genitalia may be shameful, it does not matter so long as it is used to positively transform the life of the gendered self. The negative ideological constructions of female genitalia should be reconstructed in order to reposition the welfare of women in the society (Cho, 2002: 166; Pelle, 2010). Vagina monologues that nurture 'Pussy-pride' and veneration dismiss constructions of shame and help in self-transformations and reclamation of women's worth (Cho, 2002: 166; Pelle, 2010). Nakedness is a sacred weapon for civil coups in which the fear of curse motivates the oppressors to give in to the demands of the oppressed (Blackledge, 2003: 21). The gendered identity of women as mothers, givers of life and peacemakers nurtures respect, veneration and a sacred space to agitate for the rights of their families and communities (Blackledge, 2003: 23).

In his *The Politics of Non-violent Action*, Sharp (1973) discusses *Protest Disrobing* as a rare, old, but newly emerging form of non-violent protest. Disrobing constitutes the removal of clothes in a bid to air religious and/or political grievances (Roger *et al.*, 2012). The Members of the Sons of Freedom Sect of the Doukhobors in British Columbia used nude parades to protest against unlawful imprisonment, terrorism allegations, unfair treatment, demolitions of their properties and prosecutions of their members (Sharp, 1973). During the Quaker invasion of Massachusetts Bay Colony in the Seventeenth century, Lydia Wardel stripped naked and entered the Newbury Church (Sharp, 1973). In February 1969 at Grinnell College, in Grinnell, Iowa, USA, students stripped naked, protesting against Playboy magazine's exaggerations of their sexuality (Roger *et al.*, 2012). In her *Story of V: Opening Pandora Box*, and *Story of V: A Natural History of Female Sexuality*, Blackledge (2003, 2009) observes that while the vagina is profiled as a dirty, filthy, culturally obscure, problematic and taboo subject, it is also seen as divine, life affirming and redemptive. In her *Velvet Revolution* (Blackledge, 2003, 2009), the vagina is seen as a tool that can be mobilized to nurture women's self-affirmation, justice, rights and resistance to vulnerability and marginalization. In sum, this discussion indicates that nakedness is a powerful tool for self-protection, fertility, productivity and agitation for human rights (Blackledge, 2003; Pelle, 2008, 2010). While female genitalia and/or nakedness has been wounded, this discussion shows that it can be reclaimed and used for transformation and emancipation of those on the periphery of society (Blackledge, 2003; Dexter and Mair, 2005; Snag Films, 2011). The agitation for rights and freedoms using nakedness as a method of non-violent struggle has had a lot of structural challenges emanating from our gendered and patriarchal society (Blackledge, 2003; Dexter and Mair, 2005; Snag Films, 2011). Further research could be key in devising ways and means of dealing with such challenges. Strategic planning, discussed in what follows, could be one way in which nakedness as a method of non-violent struggle could be improved.

2.2 Strategic Planning

Strategic planning as a key component of non-violent struggle constitutes the ability to act skilfully against opponents (Popovic *et al.*, 2006, 2007; Sharp, 2005: 443). It involves the use of available resources and actions in ways that increase their effectiveness towards realizing the desired goals in a conflict (Heyne *et al.*, 2005; Nan, 2003; Sharp, 2005). Effective non-violent action requires strategies,

tactics and methods to guide the conduct of the conflict (Sharp, 2005: 447). Developing a strategic estimate requires understanding of the entire conflict context and examining the issues at stake such as identities, beliefs and political convictions of both opponents and protesters (Helvey, 2004; Sharp, 2005: 449). Strategic planning in non-violent action also takes into consideration the general conflict environment, *i.e.* demographics of opponent, terrain, transportation and communication networks, sources of power including institutions that serve as pillars of support and social, political and economic systems (Sharp, 2005: 450). Inaccurate assessment of the opponents' capabilities results in uninformed strategies and hence defeat (Heyne *et al.*, 2005; Nan, 2003). Unrealistic plans of action derived from the underestimation of the opponent or overestimation of the protesters' strengths could compromise non-violent struggles (Lammers, 1977; Minford, 2002). To avoid making mistakes, an effective assessment of capabilities by the protesters can be facilitated by doing an evaluation of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT analysis) (Nan, 2003). SWOT analysis can help in discovering opportunities, understanding weaknesses and alleviating threats (Nan, 2003).

Adequate investigation is key to strategic planning. The resisters should determine the causes of conflict and the desired changes in order to generate cause consciousness' and the worthiness of the struggle (Sharp, 2005: 365). Effective non-violent struggle requires a clear definition of the protester's mission and means of executing the mission (Helvey, 2004). The objectives of the struggle need to be formulated in clear, understandable and widely accepted terms (Sharp, 2005: 474). Connecting with people's values and expressed needs motivates them to embrace and own up the action process (Axelrod, 1984). Strategic estimates help to sharpen the focus of the attack, targeting the opponents' vulnerabilities and investing on resisters' strengths (Helvey, 2004; Heyne *et al.*, 2005; Sharp, 2005: 366). Access to critical material resources is key to successful non-violent struggle. Securing critical material resources requires knowledge about resources needed, availability and maintenance of supplies and alternative sources of supplies (Sharp, 1973, 2002, 2005). Monitoring is also vital in non-violent struggle due to the shifting trends that characterize the struggles. Monitoring facilitates knowledge about favourable/unfavourable developments, opponents' status, existing gaps and the way forward (Helvey, 2004; Nan, 2003; Sharp, 2005: 479). In sum, we have learnt that effective strategic planning in non-violent struggle requires appropriate tactics, methods and strategies; understanding the opponent's demographics and context; understanding the population's values, expressed needs and belief systems; access to critical resources; monitoring, evaluation and assessment of the opponent's capabilities; targeted communication and cause consciousness. We have learnt that strategic planning constitutes the operational guide for action – it is the concrete blueprint for the implementation of a strategy; it answers the questions who, what, when, where and how for the strategic components of each campaign. However, strategic planning alone is not enough. Effective non-violent struggles also require an understanding of the dynamics of non-violent struggle, discussed in the following section.

2.3 *The Dynamics of Non-Violent Struggle*

Effective non-violent struggle invests in 'tapping the roots of power', which involves acquiring the source's power including authority, critical resources, skills and knowledge and sanctions (Sharp, 2005: 25-29). Sources of power depend on the degree and quality of support and participation from the general population and third-party support (Sharp, 2005: 362). Therefore, non-violent struggle must invest in people – the source of political power that requires nurturing, maintaining and sustaining their continued obedience and consent (Popovic *et al.*, 2006, 2007). Such obedience and consent is motivated by embracing people's values, expressed needs, wishes and hopes (Popovic *et al.*, 2006, 2007). Negotiation is also an important dynamic in non-violent struggle, and should be pursued before launching direct action (Sharp, 2005: 370). Negotiation increases the resisters' moral position and helps to pool the population's sympathy while discrediting the opponents (Ackerman and Kruegler, 1994; Sharp, 2005: 370). Giving an ultimatum as part of negotiation is key in non-violent struggle; it demonstrates efforts of securing peaceful conflict resolutions (Sharp, 2005: 372). In non-violent struggle, opponents create fear among the protesters through propaganda, repressive actions, siege mentality and by severing activities perceived as threatening to the status quo (Bill and Meyer, 2000; Randy, 2001). Non-violent actions should therefore invest in making repression ineffective through civic education, training and good leadership (Sharp, 2005: 379). Non-violent actions can resist repression by creating a culture of security designed to deter or minimize the opponent's infiltration and counter-intelligence (Bill and Meyer, 2000; King, 2002). Persistence is also key to non-violent struggle; resisters must overcome by refusing to submit or retreat (Randy, 2001). Quality persistence is nurtured by fearlessness, courage, leadership, discipline, solidarity and wisdom in the choice of methods of action (Sharp, 2005: 387). Morale in non-violent struggle is nurtured by maintaining rapport and solidarity, generating incentives and reducing grounds for capitulation. (Bobo *et al.*, 2001: 388). Effective non-violent action depends also on organization, efficiency, honesty, discipline and targeted communication (Sharp, 2005: 368). Targeted communication, for example, persuades people to maintain the struggle's momentum (Good, 2002). Non-cooperation consisting of deliberate restriction, discontinuance or withholding of social, economic or political cooperation is also key in non-violent struggle (Sharp, 2005: 399). Non-cooperation may be boosted by 'political ju-jitsu', which involves increasing support and participation from the grievance group and arousing dissent and opposition in the opponents' group (Sharp, 2005: 405-407). Important in political ju-jitsu is the third party's indignation and consequent actions such as withdrawal of credit, severance of supplies or the imposition of diplomatic sanctions (Shock, 2005: 411).

Conversion, in which the opponent embraces the cause of the aggrieved party, is also a key dynamic in non-violent struggle. Conversion is influenced by the degree of conflict of interest, shared or contrasting values, belief systems, the role of third parties, refraining from violence and hostility, opponents' trust, genuine intentions and mutual contact with the opponents (Sharp, 2005: 417). Linked to conversion is accommodation, in which the opponent resolves to grant

some of the demands of the non-violent resisters (Sharp, 2005: 417). Lastly, successful non-violent struggle can be facilitated through non-violent coercion or disintegration. In coercion, shifts of social forces and power relationships produce the changes sought by the resisters against the will of the opponents, while in disintegration, non-violent coercion results in the collapse of the opponents' regime (Sharp, 2005: 419-420). Coercion and/or disintegration depend on withholding or withdrawal of the opponents' source of power such as authority, third party, opposition, ineffective repression, resources, skills and knowledge, sanctions and intangible factors such as obedience (Sharp, 2005: 419-420).

In this section, we have learnt that the embracement of the dynamics of non-violent struggle may require tapping the roots of power, leadership, communication, third-party support, negotiation, persistence, resilience, non-cooperation, political ju-jitsu, conversion and disintegration (Bill and Meyer, 2000; Good, 2002; King, 2002; Randy, 2001; Sharp, 2005). The dynamics of non-violent struggle depend on the context in which the conflict exists and the trends of the conflict. Key in the dynamics of non-violent struggle is continued investment in people's power. From the three literature subsections we learn three broad lessons: From subsection one, we learn that while female nakedness could be associated with shame, trauma, taboo and filthiness, it is also a powerful tool for safety, security, productivity, freedom, transformation and emancipation from oppression and structural injustices (Blackledge, 2003; Dexter and Mair, 2005; Pelle, 2008, 2010; Snag Films, 2011). In subsection two, we learn that effective strategic planning in non-violent struggle depends on the use of appropriate methods; understanding the context of the conflict; understanding the opponent's demographics and resources; addressing people's needs and values; targeted communication; monitoring, evaluation and cause consciousness (Helvey, 2004; Heyne *et al.*, 2005; Nan, 2003; Sharp, 2005: 479). In subsection three we learn that effective non-violent struggle depends on understanding and coping with the dynamics of non-violent struggle including power relationships, access to resources and third-party support (Bill and Meyer, 2000; Good, 2002; King, 2002; Randy, 2001; Sharp, 2005). We also learn that the effectiveness of female nakedness as a method of non-violent struggle could be nurtured by embracing relevant strategic planning and dynamics of non-violent struggle.

To conclude the literature review, one of the gaps found in the literature that further research could immensely help to bridge is the explanation of how female nakedness can be effectively mobilized to meet the expressed needs of women amidst our patriarchal and gendered society. How do we balance nakedness as a method of non-violent struggle with culture, taboo, shame, indignity, politics and value systems, on the one hand, and the need for freedom, emancipation and space for women, on the other hand? Do we have strategic planning and/or dynamics of non-violent struggle specific for female nakedness as a method of non-violent struggle? These inquiries connect with the three questions that inform this study: In what ways was the 1992 women nude protest in Kenya a success? What were the flaws of the 1992 women nude protest in Kenya? What strategic plans and/or dynamics of non-violent struggle could have been employed to make the women's nude protest more effective? In the following sec-

tion, we discuss the Kenyan political context that led to the women's nude protest.

3 The Political Context – Dictatorship in Kenya

To understand the precipitating factors of the 1992 women's nude protest in Kenya, it is important to shed some light on the country's political history. As the 'Waki Report' (2008) indicates, the political landscape in Kenya has been characterized by over two decades of ethnic conflict and violence. Major ethnic violence occurred in 1992, 2001 and 2008 (Republic of Kenya, 2008). The worst ethnic violence, however, occurred in 2008 after the disputed presidential elections in which 1,500 people died and 500,000 got displaced (Republic of Kenya, 2008). Studies indicate that ethnic violence in Kenya emanates from historical and structural injustices relating to land distribution, impunity, exclusion, socio-economic inequality, weak public institutions, corruption and a skewed electoral system (Cheeseman, 2008; Human Rights Watch, 2008; Kenya Land Alliance, 2004). The root causes of ethnic violence in Kenya can be traced back to the colonial era, in which the divide-and-rule policy instituted preferential administration of privileges that benefitted the loyalists and marginalized the opponent (Cheeseman, 2008; Human Rights Watch, 2008; Kenya Land Alliance, 2004). The African elites inherited the colonial legacy and used ethnic mobilization to ascend to power (Cheeseman, 2008). Ascendancy of a kinsman to power benefitted his own ethnic group in terms of access to resources, jobs and positions, while marginalizing other ethnic groups (Karari, 2014).

To maintain and sustain ethnic leadership and to ward off opposition, political elites sponsored ethnic violence to scare away people from other ethnic groups (Africa Watch, 1993). The birth of multiparty politics in Kenya was a threat to the political survival of former president Moi. Therefore, the proponents of multipartyism who lived in the Rift valley province, his home turf, had to be displaced to avoid opposition (Republic of Kenya, 1999). Moi invoked the colonial divide and rule as a means of consolidating his own power to the disgruntlement of other ethnic groups (Gimode, 2007; Oyugi, 2002; Wamwere, 2008). Moi's era was characterized by massive ethnic displacement, dispossession, pillaging, impunity, corruption and ethnopolitical patronage, leading to escalated ethnic hatred, animosity and violence (Karanja, 2003; Rice, 2007). The regime's brutality repressed any form of opposition through terror, torture, unlawful detention and political assassinations of multiparty activists, student leaders, human rights activists, journalists, lawyers and other anti-government crusaders (Karari, 2014; Merton and Dater, 2008; Tibbetts, 1994; Wamwere, 2008). It is in this context that the mothers carried out a nude protest seeking the release of their sons who were political detainees of the Moi regime. The following section discusses the 1992 mothers' nude protest.

4 The Case of Women's Nakedness Struggle in Kenya

Across the Kenyan ethnic groups, women, especially mothers, are regarded with great respect. One of the greatest curses would be to see the nakedness of one's mother or the age mates of one's mother. It is believed that seeing the nakedness of elderly women can cause blindness, sickness or even the death of an individual or the collapse and defeat of a nation (Carwile, 2007). Female nakedness is considered sacred and can be used to invoke a curse upon the perpetrators of violence against women (Carwile, 2007). The term *Guturamira Ngani* is derived from the Kikuyu ethnic tribe of Kenya, and it means 'the curse of nakedness' (Brownhill and Turner, 2002). One of the first nude protests in British colonial records was invoked by Muthoni Nyanjiru, a Kenyan female freedom fighter in 1922, against the imprisonment of Harry Thuku, another freedom fighter. While men, including the late President Jomo Kenyatta, were afraid of confronting the colonial oppressors, Muthoni undressed and challenged the men in the crowd, including Kenyatta himself: "You take my dress and give me your trousers. You men are cowards. What are you waiting for? Our leader is in there. Let's get him!" (Brownhill and Turner, 2002) That day alone, 150 Kenyans were shot dead, including Muthoni. However, it was a catalyst for colonial resistance, which culminated in the independence of Kenya in 1963.

Returning to the prisoners held by the Moi regime, in 1992, when the mothers' demands to release their sons were not met, Professor Wangari Maathai, the Nobel laureate, environmentalist and human rights activist, and the affected mothers camped at Uhuru (Freedom) Park and staged a hunger strike to push for the release of their sons (Merton and Dater, 2008; Tibbetts, 1994). This was part of the Release Political Prisoners (RPP) campaign. The women started with a hunger strike, and they were joined by thousands of sympathizers. On the fourth day the gathering was declared a threat to security, and women were ordered to disperse, but they declined. The police first descended on the thousands of sympathizers, who formed a security barrier around the fasting and fatigued women. Having dispersed the sympathizers, the police threw tear gas, whipped and clobbered the defenceless women. Wangari Maathai, the leader, was beaten unconscious and lay in a pool of blood. Then the drama unfolded – a fellow woman stripped naked, and all the others followed suit. The police were taken aback and withdrew. One of the women narrates:

After all this, I tried to think what I would do next. I then stripped my clothes and remained stark naked and started fighting with the policemen because I saw a young man called Kanene, who was one of us in RPP, struggling with a policeman who wanted to shoot him. I came in between them and stripped off my clothes. When the young people saw me naked, they stopped fighting with the police. They ran away...We fought with them and God helped...there were many motorists who had a chance to pick up the unconscious people and rush them to various hospitals...We stayed and at last calmness prevailed. We then put on our clothes and stayed there even as the police pulled

down our tent and took it with them plus our other belongings. (The Independent, 28 September 2009)

The nude protest by the Kenyan mothers and the brutality of the police made headlines both locally and internationally (Merton and Dater, 2008; Tibbetts, 1994). In Kenya, groups of people and various institutions staged riots in support of the mothers; internationally, the Moi regime was criticized for violence against the defenceless mothers and for the abuse of human rights (Merton and Dater, 2008; Tibbetts, 1994). Having been banned from Uhuru Park by the government, the protesting mothers assembled at the All Saints Cathedral, where they continued with their vigil for another eleven months. The mothers used the church sanctuary to conduct civic education, distribute information leaflets, facilitate discussion forums and meet with supporters from all backgrounds, including opposition groups, women groups and religious organizations, among others (Merton and Dater, 2008). Efforts by the police to disperse the mothers from the church were unsuccessful.

In Kikuyu tradition, when a woman displayed her nakedness she was indeed cursing thus: "I have no respect for you. I wish I had never given birth to you" (Merton and Dater, 2008). This is the strongest form of political protest that was at the disposal of women and that was used as a last resort. They resorted to something they knew traditionally would act on the men: "It is a curse to see your mother naked." (Merton and Dater, 2008). It can bring catastrophe in political leadership, and it is stronger than the machine guns, the tear gas and other sources of power of the oppressors. Exposing nakedness has a strong meaning – the mothers tend to say that they had given life to their sons and they can symbolically revoke the lives of the renegade sons. The curse of the nakedness denies the life to oppressors and gives it to the oppressed. The police dispersed after instructions from the state house – even the head of state was afraid of the curse of nakedness because it could lead to the end of his era.

5 Methodology

The data used in this article was collected from secondary sources including online journal articles, films, google books, online newspaper articles and text books. In addition, being a citizen of the country in which the case study is situated and having experienced first-hand the events that the article discusses, the author has the advantage of confirming most of the information from the secondary sources.

6 Findings and Discussion

In this section, findings and discussion will follow the three questions that guide this study. As for *question one*, the 1992 women's nude protest in Kenya can partially be termed a success for the following reasons: The mothers' nude protest was an effective non-violent action because it made repression ineffective. By expos-

Peter Karari

ing their nakedness, mothers effectively warded off the police and changed the government's hard stance against the opposition and multipartyism. The mothers' persistence and resilience was a great dynamic that gave them a new space to voice their grievances and fight for their rights. The 1992 embracement of multipartyism, the 2007 promulgation of the new constitution, affirmative action and the empowerment of women heralded a new era for gender equality (Godwin and Shadrack, 2007). Studies indicate that the success of the women's fight for freedom and emancipation can be nurtured if special women's spaces are divorced from ethnic and gendered identities and framed instead within human rights perspectives (Kamau-Rutenberg, 2008). Looking at women's nude protest, therefore, within a human rights framework rather than as shameful, obscene and archaic can help facilitate effective women's rights struggles (Kamau-Rutenberg, 2008).

After their dismissal from Uhuru Park the mothers continued their Vigil in All Saints Cathedral (Wamwere, 2008). The mothers' tactic of non-cooperation was key in drawing national and international support. The protesting mothers distributed leaflets and erected banners to publicize their cause. This concurs with Sharp's cause consciousness, a dynamic that the mothers seems to have used effectively (2005: 365). Targeted communication is key in pulling, sustaining and maintaining popular support in non-violent struggle (Good, 2002). The increased local support nurtured *political ju-jitsu*, characterized by internal criticism of the Moi (Sharp, 2005: 405). Third-party indignation resulted in diplomatic and economic sanctions that nearly grounded the Moi regime. Another dynamic that favoured the mothers is non-violent coercion (Sharp, 2005: 420). Third parties withholding or withdrawal of socio-economic and political resources coerced the Moi regime to give in to the demand for release of political prisoners and multiparty democracy (Africa Watch, 1993; Mutua, 2001).

While the mothers' nude protest did not get immediate success because of repression from the ruling regime, it had a positive impact in the mid-term run. Four political prisoners were released on 24 June 1992, followed by the release of all the remaining political prisoners by 19 January 1993 (Merton and Dater, 2008; Wamwere, 2008). This simple but powerful act led to the collapse of one-party dictatorship in Kenya. This act changed the attitude of the people – they began to believe that change is possible:

If one little woman of no significance except her stubbornness can do this, surely the government can be changed... There was a sense of shock in the country – the women had won against the Big Man, using only peaceful political pressure. (The Independent, 2009)

The one-party era regime collapsed and saw the birth of multiparty democracy, and Moi was defeated after 24 years of dictatorship. This success was based on a simple but powerful act of non-violence – *Guturamira Ngani*, 'the curse of nakedness'.

As for *question two*, various flaws that made the mother's nude protest less effective can be identified: This article indicates that effective non-violent struggle requires significant changes in power relationships geared towards empower-

ing the weaker group and severing the sources of power of the dominant group (Sharp, 2005). However, from a critical perspective, there is no way a small group of mothers could have severed the power of a dictator who had the military, the police, the prisons and other resources at his disposal. As studies indicate, while the women's struggle in Kenya's political trajectory is key in their emancipation and freedom, the powerful security agencies have been an impediment to structural adjustment policies and the democratization process (Godwin and Shadrack, 2007). However, this discussion shows that with time, persistence, resilience and quality support from the third party and the general population, non-violent struggle is possible. It took the Kenyan mothers more than one year to get their sons released from prisons.

This article also indicates that effective non-violent action requires clear objectives to guide the conduct of the conflict (Sharp, 2005: 447). However, the mothers seems to have used nakedness as an afterthought. The initial tactic was hunger strike, and not stripping naked. If the women had initially used nude protest rather than hunger strike, perhaps they could not have been repressed by the police. Therefore, the mothers failed to choose an appropriate method that could have worked better on the opponent's vulnerabilities. Studies indicate that assessment of the capabilities of both the opponent and the protesters is central to effective strategic planning of non-violent action because it facilitates informed intervention (Heyne *et al.*, 2005). Strategic planning requires examining issues at stake and how such issues relate to the impending conflict (Sharp, 2005). The mothers knew that Moi was not ready to accommodate opposition or multipartyism. Understanding the nature and structure of political power is key to strategic planning of non-violent actions (Ackerman and Kruegler, 1994; Popovic *et al.*, 2006; Shock, 2005). Strategic planning helps in understanding the general conflict environment and the right timing for launching non-violent actions (Ackerman and Du Vall, 2000; Sharp, 2005). The mothers erred in using an open park, where they were easily besieged and clobbered by the police. The latter choice of the All Saints Cathedral could have been more safe and secure.

Access to critical material resources is key to successful non-violent struggle (Helvey, 2004; Sharp, 1973, 2005). The mothers seemed to have no supplies of their own. While at Uhuru Park, they were given sleeping tents by sympathizers, which indicates a gap in strategic planning. The mothers' nude protest could also be faulted for lack of clear monitoring and evaluation strategies. Monitoring and evaluation in non-violent struggle facilitates adjustment to the shifting trends that characterize the struggle (Helvey, 2004; Nan, 2003; Sharp, 2005). When the women realized that the police were planning to strike, they could have changed tactics or altered the original plan. As has already been mentioned, while the women used nude protest, neither was it a part of their plan B nor was it motivated by any monitoring or evaluation. The mothers also failed in using negotiation, a very key dynamic in non-violent struggle. Instead of constantly reaching out and giving ultimatums to the regime, the mothers chose to use demands. Negotiation nurtures the resisters' moral position and helps them to mobilize sympathy from the population and the third parties (Ackerman and Kruegler, 1994; Sharp, 2005).

As for *question three*, the mothers' nude protest could have been more effective if particular strategic plans and/or dynamics of non-violent struggle were employed. Strategic planning in non-violent struggle involves the effective use of available resources and tactics to meet the desired goals (Helvey, 2004; Heyne *et al.*, 2005; Nan, 2003; Popovic *et al.*, 2007; Sharp, 2005). The mothers' nude protest partially failed in their strategic planning and mobilization of the dynamics of non-violence. The general conflict environment, especially the open venue, made the women more vulnerable to the regime's security forces. The mothers needed to accurately assess the opponents' capabilities and derive their action from an informed background (Heyne *et al.*, 2005; Minford, 2002; Nan, 2003; Lammers, 1977). The mothers could also have carried out adequate investigations in order to negotiate and engage with the regime more effectively (Helvey, 2004; Karatnycky and Ackerman, 2005). This discussion indicates that among those who visited the women were curious onlookers, meaning that they were unaware of the protest. While the mothers tried to publicize their cause on site, they should have invested more in cause consciousness through the media, civic education and training (Sharp, 2005: 365). Non-violent movement must invest in people as a source of political power (Popovic *et al.*, 2007). The launching of the mothers' protest should have been more timely and focused on the opponent's vulnerability (Helvey, 2004; Heyne *et al.*, 2005; Sharp, 2005: 44). However, the women first went on a hunger strike, only to resort to nakedness after they were repressed by the police. The mothers should also have ensured that they had enough resources that were critical for their non-violent struggle. But as this discussion shows, the mothers depended on sympathizers for resources. Strategic monitoring and evaluation should have been central in the women's non-violent action. The vulnerable mothers were caught unawares and clobbered mercilessly by security agents. Looking at the dynamics of the non-violent struggle, the women could have invested more in 'tapping the roots of power' through negotiation with the more liberal government leaders and with support from the opposition. In sum, this discussion shows that the 1992 mothers' nude protest in Kenya was a partial success despite the length of time it took and the challenges it faced. The mothers' nude protest made the regime's repression ineffective and created a space for freedom and democracy. At the same time there were various flaws in the mothers' nude protest that arose from lack of adequate strategic planning and/or effective use of the dynamics of non-violent struggle. This discussion also indicates various strategic plans and/or dynamics of non-violent struggle that could have been used to make the mothers' nude protest more effective.

7 Conclusion

To conclude this discussion, it is important to revisit the three research questions that inform this study. As for the first question, the 1992 mothers' nude protest can partially be seen as a success. Studies indicate that women's non-violent actions constitute a unique gendered role that women have played in the Kenyan democratization process since pre-colonial times (Kihiu, 2010). This discussion

indicates that nakedness constitutes a specific, simple but powerful non-violent tactic that has been used and could be used in oppressive situations. This discussion presents an empowering imagery, mythology and language that elevate the status of women as central to the redemption of the vulnerable and marginalized populations. It signifies the need to actively involve women as key actors in peacemaking not only because of their nakedness but also because of their special role in society. The case of the women's nude protest in Kenya indicates the importance of persistence and resilience in non-violent struggle. While non-violent action can be repressed by the opponents, its snowballing effect proves critical for the mobilization of third-party support. Although the mothers were initially brutalized, the publicity of their non-violent action was key for the eventual severing of the regime's sources of power through diplomatic sanctions and the postponement of donor funding. The women's non-violent action led to the embracement of multiparty democracy, affirmative action and a new space for freedom.

The 1992 women's nude protest had its flaws too. For example, the environment in which the non-violent action was carried out was unsafe and insecure, making the women vulnerable to the opponent's brutality. The choice of a space in a church later on was a good idea because it was inaccessible to the regime's brutality. Another flaw that affected the women's nude protest was the lack of resources critically important for the non-violent. Rather than depending on sympathizers for their supplies, the mothers could have made prior arrangements for supplies before staging the hunger strike. Effective non-violent action should start with the most effective method or tactic. If the mothers had started with nude protest rather than the hunger strike they could not have been beaten up and/or dispersed, since the exposure of nakedness would have scared away the police. The mothers' action of stripping was actually an instantaneous action occasioned by one woman who undressed first. Rather than bumping into a plan B, strategic planning should have a plan B in place. The women also failed to use negotiation and ultimatums as means of reaching out to the Moi regime; instead, they used confrontation that was brutally repressed by the police. Studies attribute the success or failures of women's fight for their rights to gendered approaches of ethnic politics (Kamau-Rutenberg, 2008). Therefore, the fight for women's emancipation using their unique cultural spaces, faces incredible challenge due to their gendered nature and allegiance to ethnic backgrounds (Kamau-Rutenberg, 2008).

There are various strategic plans and/or dynamics of non-violent struggle that could have been employed to make the women nude protest more effective. While nude protest is a special tool for non-violent struggle, this article shows that the effectiveness in its mobilization depends on strategic planning and proper embracement of the dynamics of non-violent struggle (Sharp, 2005). This discussion indicates that the 1992 mothers' nude protest could have been more effective if it had embraced some strategic planning and dynamics of non-violent struggle such as access to critical material resources, choice of the environment, negotiation, timing of the protest, focus on the opponent's vulnerability and monitoring. Studies show that effective women's non-violent action can be

Peter Karari

enhanced through global networking, collaboration and exchanges between women, particularly feminist thinkers, to facilitate bridging the gaps in their fight for inclusion, equality and participation in matters that affect their life (Gatua, 2007; Rodriguez *et al.*, 2015). Key in such connections include women's political leadership, identity and representation in the fight against marginalization, discrimination and oppression (Rodriguez *et al.*, 2015). From this article, we learn that the sustainability and success of non-violence is founded on strategic planning. Central to strategic planning are the key questions, namely who, what, when, where, and how, that form the basis of the implementation process. The pillars of strategic planning constitute sound grand strategy, individual strategies, tactics and methods. These are reinforced by good leadership, access to critical material resources, research, monitoring and targeted communication. While most women in the developing countries remain invisible due to illiteracy, poverty and powerlessness, studies indicate that they can come together to form national and international spaces in which they can network, collaborate and disseminate information to support women's emancipation and empowerment around the world (Gatua, 2007). This discussion has demonstrated that non-violence can be an alternative to violence in conflict situations. Non-violence is a critical source of change and a powerful weapon for the oppressed. However, studies indicate that while women have continued to actively participate in civil activism, the gendered approach of their place and space in civil society has not been fully recognized (Howell and Diane, 2004). Therefore, it is important to streamline the political environment in order to nurture women's capacity to influence state policies that affect their life (Howell and Diane, 2004). There is a need to conduct research on available and upcoming spaces for gendered struggle in Africa and to explore how such spaces can be nurtured, expanded and refined to effectively promote the marginalized voices of women (Cornwall, 2005). This requires promotion of unbiased inquiry into gendered approaches in order to deconstruct and demystify the existing gendered constructions, identities, contestations and representations (Cornwall, 2005). This article ends with a couple of questions that could inform future research in nude protest:

- 1 How can we balance nudity, civilization, shame and freedom? Is it worth trading shame for freedom in our modern and civilized world?
- 2 While nudity is described as a weapon of last resort, what happens when it is repressed? Do the protesters become obsolete?

The answer to these questions could be important in understanding the place and the future of nude protest in our globalized world.

References

Ackerman, P. & Du Vall, J. (2000). *A force more powerful: A century of nonviolent conflict*. New York: St. Martins Press.

Ackerman, P. & Kruegler, C. (1994). *Strategic nonviolent conflict: The dynamics of people power in twentieth century*. Westport: Paeger.

Africa Watch. (1993). *Divide and rule: State-sponsored ethnic violence in Kenya*. New York: Human Rights Watch.

Axelrod, R. (1984). *The evolution of cooperation*. New York: Basic Books.

Bill, S. & Meyer, M. (2000). *Guns and Gandhi in Africa: Pan-African insights on nonviolence, armed struggle and liberation*. Trenton: Africa World Press.

Blackledge, C. (2003). *The story of V: Opening Pandora's box*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Blackledge, C. (2009). *The story of V: A natural history of female sexuality*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Bobo, K., Kendall, J. & Steve, M. (2001). *Organizing for social change: Midwest academy manual for activists*. 3rd ed. Santa Ana: Seven Locks Press.

Brownhill, L. & Turner, T. (2002). Subsistence trade vs world trade: Gendered class struggle in Kenya, 1992-2002. *Canadian Woman Studies/les cahiers de la femme*, 21/22(4/1), 169-177.

Carwile, C. (2007). *Feminine forms of power in Nigeria*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University.

Cheeseman, N. (2008). The Kenya elections of 2007: An introduction. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 2(2), 166-184.

Cho, M. (2002). *I'm the one I want*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Conrad, D. (1999). Mooning armies and mothering heroes: Female power in Mande epic tradition. In R.A. Austen (Ed.), *In search of Sunjata: The Mande oral epic as history, literature and performance* (pp. 189-230). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Cornwall, A. (2005). *Readings in gender in Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Dexter, M. & Mair, V. (2005). Apotropaia and fecundity in Eurasian myth and iconography: Erotic female display figures. In *Proceedings of the sixteenth annual UCLA Indo-European conference*. Los Angeles, November 5-6, 2004, *Journal of the Indo-European Monograph Series*, No. 50. Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Man, 97-121.

Peter Karari

Foucher, V. (2002). *Cheated pilgrims: Education, migration and the birth of Casamançais nationalism (Senegal)*. Ph.D. Dissertation, SOAS, London.

Gatua, M. (2007). Giving Voice to Invisible Women in Developing Countries: Rhetorical Criticism of "FIRE" as Model of a Successful Women Community Radio. Conference Papers. National Communication Association. Available at: <<http://comm4002careproject.wikispaces.com/Giving+Voice+to+Invisible+women+in+Developing+Countries>> (last accessed 17 April 2015).

Gimode, E. (2007). The role of the police in Kenya's democratization process. In M. Godwin & N. Shadrack (Eds.), *Kenya: The struggle for democracy*. Dakar: Codesria.

Godwin, M. & Shadrack, N. (Eds.). (2007). *Kenya: The struggle for democracy*. Dakar: Codesria.

Good, D. (2002). *Message development*. Material presented at a National Democratic Initiative conference, The Political Camping School, Zlatibor, Serbia.

Helvey, R. (2004). *On strategic nonviolent conflict: Thinking about the fundamentals*. Boston: The Albert Einstein Institution.

Heyne, P., Boettke, P. & Prychitko, D. (2005). *The economic way of thinking*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.

Howell, J. & Diane, M. (2004). *Gender and civil society: Transcending boundaries*. London: Routledge.

Human Rights Watch. (2008). *Ballots to bullets: Organized political violence and Kenya's crisis of governance*. New York: Human Rights Watch.

The Independent. (2009). Can one woman save Africa? *UK News* (London). Available at <www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/can-one-woman-save-africa-1794103.html> (last accessed 9 July 2015).

Kamau-Rutenberg, W.N. (2008). *Feuding in the family: Ethnic politics and the struggle for women's rights legislation*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Karanja, W. (2003, October 2). Kenya: Corruption scandal. *World Press Review*, 50(10). Available at: <www.worldpress.org/africa/1499.cfm> (last accessed 2 May 2015).

Karari, P. (2014). *Ethnopolitical violence, transitional justice and peacebuilding in Kenya: Nurturing a tripartite hybridity*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

Kenya Land Alliance. (2004). *National land policy in Kenya: Addressing historical injustices* (Issues Paper No. 2).

Kihui, F. (2010). *Women as agents of democratization: The role of women's organizations in Kenya (1990-2007)*. Muenster: LIT Verlag.

King, M. (2002). *Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.: The power of nonviolent action*. New Delhi: Mehta Publishers.

Lammers, C. (1977). Tactics and strategies adopted by university authorities to counter student opposition. In L. Donald & J. Spiegel (Eds.), *The dynamics of university protest* (pp. 171-198). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Lepowsky, M. (1993). *Fruit of the motherland: Gender in an Egalitarian society*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Lubell, W. (1994). *Metamorphosis of Baubo: Myths of women's sexual energy*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizens and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

Merton, L. and Dater, A. (2008). *Taking root: The vision of Wangari Maathai*. Harriman, NY: New Day Films.

Minford, J. (2002). *Sun Tzu. The art of war* (John Minford, Trans.). New York: Viking.

Mutua, M. (2001). Justice under siege: The rule of law and judicial subservience in Kenya. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 23(1), 96-118.

Nan, S. (2003). Formative Evaluation. In G. Burgess & H. Burgess (Eds.). *Beyond Intractability*. Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder. Available at: <www.beyondintractability.org/essay/formative_evaluation/> (last accessed 7 April 2015).

Nash, J. (1978). The Aztecs and the ideology of male dominance. *Signs*, 4(2), 358.

National Council of Churches of Kenya. (1992). *The cursed arrow: A report on organized violence against democracy in Kenya*. Nairobi: NCKK.

Oppitz, M. (1992). Drawings on shamanic drums. *Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 22, 78.

Oyugi, W. (2002). *Conflict in Kenya: A periodic phenomenon*. Nairobi: Government of Kenya.

Pelle, S. (2008). *Dis-articulating bodies and genders: Pussy politics and performing vaginas*. Oxford, OH: Miami University.

Pelle, S. (2010). The 'Grotesque' Pussy: 'Transformational Shame' in Margaret Cho's stand-up performances. *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 30(1), 21-37.

Popovic, S., Djinic, S., Milivojevic, A., Merriman, H. & Marovic, I. (2007). *A guide to effective nonviolent struggle*. Serbia: CANVAS.

Popovic, S., Milivojevic, A. & Djinic, S. (2006). *Nonviolent struggle 50 crucial points: A strategic approach to everyday tactics*. Belgrade: CANVAS.

Peter Karari

Randy, S. (2001). *Inciting democracy: A practical proposal for creating a good society*. Cleveland: Spring Forward Press.

Republic of Kenya. (1999). *Report of the judicial commission appointed to inquire into the tribal clashes in Kenya*. Nairobi: Republic of Kenya.

Republic of Kenya. (2008). *Waki report on post-election violence in Kenya*. Nairobi: Republic of Kenya.

Rice, X. (2007). The looting of Kenya. *The Guardian*. Available at: <www.theguardian.com/world/2007/aug/31/kenya.topstories3> (last accessed 7 May 2015).

Rodriguez, C., Dzodzi, T. & Akosua, A. (2015). *Transatlantic feminisms: Women and gender studies in Africa and the Diaspora*. New York: Lexington Books.

Roger, P., Roger, S. & William, B. (2012). *Protest, power, and change. An encyclopedia of non-violent action from ACT-UP to women suffrage*. New York: Routledge.

Sharp, G. (1973). *The politics of non-violent action*. Boston: Porter Sargent.

Sharp, G. (2002). *From dictatorship to democracy: A conceptual framework for liberation*. Boston: Albert Einstein Institution.

Sharp, G. (2005). *Waging non-violent struggle: 20th century practice and 21st century potential*. Boston: Extending Horizons.

Shock, K. (2005). *Unarmed insurrections: People power movements in non-democracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Snag Films. (2011). *The naked option* [Documentary]. Available at: <www.snagfilms.com/films/title/the_naked_option> (last accessed 17 April 2015).

Suetterlin, C. (1989). Universals in apotropaic symbolism. *Leonardo*, 22(1), 65-74.

Tibbetts, A. (1994). Mamas fighting for freedom in Kenya. *Africa Today*, 41(4), 27-48.

Vidrovitch, C. (1997). *African women: A modern history*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Wamwere, K. (2008). *Towards genocide in Kenya. The curse of negative ethnicity*. Nairobi: Mvule.