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Acknowledgments

This book foremost is about brave individuals who stepped out of the relative safety of anonymity and challenged repressive regimes in sub-Saharan Africa. They had no guarantee that their efforts would make a difference, though eventually their nonviolent actions helped bring political change. Protesting was often dangerous. Some activists were killed, some were tortured, others were detained then released unharmed. Still others were injured while protesting. Of course some activists sought political advantage; but all those who stepped forward took a risk. The author of this book is deeply grateful to the activists who not only challenged their regime but took time to give me their account of how and why they did it. For many of those interviewed, this was their first (and perhaps only) opportunity to recount in detail those heady and dangerous times when they stood up for change.

As for the theories presented in this book about social movements and nonviolent resistance and my critique of some of them, I want to express my sincere appreciation for those scholars whose thoughtful works over the years have opened the door to a better understanding of how people protest and why. There are far too many to name here (many more are cited in the book), but I am grateful especially to those scholars who took the time to read my writings, including before publication. They include James Jasper, Cliff Bob, and Doug McAdam, who patiently read and commented on drafts of my theory chapter in this book. Sidney Tarrow and David S. Meyer have been academic mentors in my development of revisions of social movement theory and commented on drafts of numerous journal articles that have since been published. Scholars Michael Chege and Goran Hyden, especially, and Nelson Kasfir, have patiently supported my work in this field from the inception. In brief contact, two other scholars, now deceased, gave me encouragement to pursue new approaches: Robert Dahl, who liked my idea of paying more attention to individuals in politics and not just organizations; and Charles Tilly, who in his office at Columbia University, only months before he died, patiently watched me diagram my new concepts of social movement analysis and said he found it “interesting.”

Since this book includes a great deal of history of each of the three countries in a way not previously presented, I asked scholars from each country to help make sure I got it right. They include: Sierra Leone historians Joe Alie and Ismael Rashid; and Lansana Gberie; Kenya historian Macharia Munene; and on Liberia, political scientist Elwood Dunn, Aaron Weah, Sayndee T. Debey, and James Gray.

This book's theoretical structure is built from the bottom up, based on findings from the interviews and archival materials. I started in Kenya, where many scholars and others there and abroad helped me explore how that country transformed from torturing dissidents to regime change in an open election. They include political scientists Peter Anyang' Nyong'o, Jackie Klopp, and Stephen Ndegwa, as well as Binaifer Nowrojee, Pheroze Nowrojee, Nguyi Mutahi, Mutuma Ruteere, Willy Mutunga. Personal friends living in Kenya encouraged my work and provided the friendship that is so important in doing research outside one's own country. They include, among others, Chiuri Ngugi, Michael Ochoro, Donald and Ruth Thomas, Harold and Annetta Miller, Damien and Elizabeth Cook, and Hadija Ernst.

I next went to Liberia to see if the concepts I had developed in Kenya would apply under even more repressive conditions. As in all three countries, I got help from activists and others in analyzing that country's resistance politics. I also got help from a range of scholars including Verlon Stone, Amos Sawyer, Mary H. Moran, and others in the Liberian Studies Association. Elwood Dunn, Joseph Young, Todd Landman, Jeff Goodwin, and methodologist Charles Ragin helped me develop my analysis and some read my early drafts of journal articles on Liberia.

In Sierra Leone, while on a nine-month Fulbright Fellowship teaching at Fourah Bay College and doing research, activists and many others helped me piece together what amounted to some thirty years of nonviolent resistance that had never been assembled in a coherent way. Among those who provided assistance were historian Joe Alie and Desmond George-Williams at Fourah Bay, Ambrose James, Abdulai Bayraytay, the late journalist Olu Gordon, Beresford Davis, Julius Spencer, Sallieu Kamara, Brima Sheriff, Kenneth Best, Yasmin Jusu-Sheriff, and many others.

By their own work and conference presentations, Peregrine Schwartz-Shea and Dvora Yanow helped me broaden my analytical spotlight to be more receptive of unexpected findings and interpreting new ideas. Political scientist Philip Williams at the University of Florida first introduced me to the social movement literature, including its gaps; Larry Dodd, also at UF, helped me think more creatively, to question theories and the way we acquire knowledge.

Editors, publishers, and reviewers obviously play a key role in development of a book like this. Scholar James Jasper, (co-editor of this series with Jan Willem Duyvendak) at Amsterdam University Press, and senior acquisitions editor Marjolijn Voogel were supportive of this project from the start. The two reviewers provided valuable suggestions to improve the manuscript. Editor Jaap Wagenaar, Kristi Prins, and others ably helped

move the manuscript to publication. In published works leading up to this book, journal editors were most helpful. Richard Hiskes, for example, former editor of the *Journal of Human Rights*, heard me present some of the ideas for this book at a national conference and encouraged me to submit it to his journal where it eventually was published. Editors at the *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, *Africa Today*, the *Journal of Human Rights Practise*, *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, and *Theory in Action*, all helped me clarify ideas that now come together in the current book.

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Finally, a word of appreciation is due to my father and mother, both deceased, for nurturing in me a spirit of curiosity and compassion for others anywhere in the world and for giving me the freedom to try new adventures. And even though this book is dedicated in part to my wife, Betty Press, an international photographer and a professor of photography, I want to express my deep love for her and her passionate concern for the human rights of all people, everywhere – and for her endless patience with me in completing the years of work behind this book.

