

## Index

- Adebanwi, Wale, 13  
 Airtel, 145  
 Al Shabaab, 10, 52–4, 184, 189  
 algorithm, 148–9, 154–5, 212–13  
 Al-Islah, 40  
 Ambadiang, Theophile, 13  
 Anderson, Benedict, 17  
 anonymity, 48, 58, 93, 94, 192, 194, 210–11  
 Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (ATPU), 52, 53  
 Arabs, 10, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 128, 129, 131  
 Arendt, Hannah. *See also* judgement, Arendt's view of  
   Jewish Identity, 19, 23, 185  
   methodological approach, 19, 24  
   on Africa, 19, 23, 25, 226  
   on imperialism, 23, 25  
   on mass society, 154  
   on place, 109  
   on plurality, 20, 63  
   on political action, 20, 21  
   on power, 63, 184, 223, 225  
   on publicity, 20, 63  
   on technology, 110–11  
   on violence, 184–5  
   on welfare, 22, 24–5, 112–13, 152, 153  
   race, racism, 23  
   revisions to, 21–5, 224–7  
   Totalitarianism, 19, 23  
 Askew, Kelly, 17, 69  
 Awiti Bollo, Hezron, 75, 163, 207  
  
 Babingida, Ibrahim Khamis, 88, 89  
 Balala, Najib, 50, 89  
*baraza*  
   Swahili, 41–2, 50, 56, 188  
 Barnett, Clive, 143  
  
 Barney, Darin, 154  
 Benhabib, Seyla, 19, 22, 24, 109, 152, 153, 206, 221, 226  
 Berman, Bruce, 221  
 Bickford, Susan, 104, 112, 152  
 Boone, Catherine, 128  
 Brennan, James, 14  
 Brisset-Foucault, Florence, 15  
 Buckler, Steve, 216  
 Bunge la Mwananchi, Nairobi, 133, 138–9  
  
 Calhoun, Craig, 154  
 capitalism, 110, 111, 112, 148, 153, 154, 219, 221, 226  
 censorship, 44, 76, 149, 176  
 Cheeseman, Nic, 224  
 chief's baraza, 44, 56, 69  
 China, 144–5  
 Chome, Ngala, 52  
 Christianity, 9–10, 45, 48, 53, 114, 162, 190–1  
 Church  
   and elections, 173  
 citizen journalists, 7, 55, 93  
 civic education, 4, 69, 77, 166, 173, 177, 180  
 civil society  
   and politics, 160–1, 164, 170–1, 172–3, 174, 222  
   and youth, 176–7  
   funding of, 69, 87, 88, 90, 138, 160, 171, 172, 173, 177, 222  
   registration, 56, 64, 85, 86, 87, 90, 104, 123, 136–40, 170, 178  
 class, 24, 37, 39, 84, 110, 112, 131, 146  
 clientelism, 8, 36, 114–15, 180, 181, 195, 214, 221, 224  
 Coast region, 37, 42–3, 49, 51, 100, 126, 128, 129–30, 162

- colonial legacy, 10, 12, 13, 24, 25, 225
  - limits of, 39
- colonial rule. *See also* land, under colonial rule
  - and ethnicity, 39, *See also* ethnicity, and colonial rule
- Arab, 35–7
- British, 10, 18, 37–42, 124, 127, 183
- economic accumulation, 114, 152, 153
- economic exploitation, 113
- Portuguese, 35
- Constitution of Kenya
  - 2010, 8, 51–2, 55, 65, 68–9
  - 85, 120, 125, 128–9, 159, 164
  - review process, 46, 49–50, 89
- counterterrorism, 52, 53–4, 58, 194
- County Assembly of Mombasa, 96, 139, 210
- Dean, Jodi, 111, 148, 154
- democracy, 18
  - and participation, 17
  - and publics, 15, 224
- democratisation, 18
- devolution, 51–2, 128–9, 159, 161
- digital divide, 142–6
- donors
  - foreign, 27, 69, 88, 113, 138, 160, 170–1, 177, 182
- educational status
  - in publics, 4, 68, 74, 75, 79, 100, 118, 205
  - statistics, 114
- Ekeh, Peter, 12–13, 225
- elections
  - 1963, 43
  - 1990s, 48–9, 127
  - 2002, 49, 89, 130
  - 2007, 51, 71, 134, 160, 173
  - 2013, 133, 160–6, 170, 181
  - and civil society, 170, 173, 178–9
  - and internet shutdowns, 149
  - and violence, 127, 183
  - and youth, 171–2, 178–9
  - campaigns, 164–6, 167–8
  - in Mombasa, 161–4
- irregularities, 3, 51, 138, 162–3, 164–6
  - voting, 120, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164–6, 167, 169
- electricity
  - access to, 76, 143–4
- emotion
  - and violence, 194
  - in publics, 75, 77, 103, 186, 190–1, 192, 193, 194, *See also* Facebook, and emotion
- employment. *See also* unemployment and identity, 39
  - and participation in publics, 74
  - and publics, 11
  - politicisation of, 114, 162
- English (language), 26, 28, 54, 71, 93, 100–1
- Englund, Harri, 15
- equality
  - in publics, 20, 72, 73, 82, 84, 105, 184
- ethnicity, 8–11, 42, 43, 49, 58, 131–2, 138, 161, 221, 223
  - and colonial rule, 37, 38, 39, 40, *See also* colonial rule, and ethnicity
  - and elections, 49, 165, 181
  - and land, 38, 125, 127–8, 129
  - and publics, 69–71, 73, 78, 81, 192
- Facebook, 25, 57, 84, 149, 187, 191
  - and emotion, 103, 190–1, 193, 194
  - and hate speech, 186, 191–3, 194
  - and publics, 100
  - as a corporation, 147, 148–9, 153–4
  - controls, 98, 146–7, 150, 153–4, 193, 222
  - politicians' use of, 82, 174–6
  - social norms, 98–9, 106, 193, 216, 222
  - structures, 92–3, 94, 112, 146–7, 207, 212–13
  - use patterns, 7, 54–5, 98, 100, 143–6, 148
- Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (Ford), 48
- Free Basics, 145
- freedom
  - and publics, 96, 104, 197, 223

- of expression/debate, 46, 55, 150, 211
- gated communities, 24, 112, 125, 152
- General Service Unit (GSU), 132
- Glassman, Jonathan, 39
- Governor of Mombasa, 5, 82, 93, 103, 139, 163, 169, 188, 209, 210, *See also* Joho, Ali Hassan
- Habermas, Jürgen, 110, 224
- Harambee*, 44, 123
- hashtag, 7, 55, 142, 207
- Hassan Sarai, Hassan Omar, 164, 165
- hate speech, 54, 55, 103–4, 150, 186, 193
- Haugerud, Angelique, 69
- hawkers, 30, 65, 69, 185
  - in conflict with government, 131–3, 183, 186
- Hirschkind, Charles, 17, 19, 24
- historical injustices, 33, 42–3, 119, 125, 126, 132, 162, 194
- Holmquist, Frank, 160
- Huawei, 144
- human rights, 54, 126, 129, 164, 188
- Hunter, Emma, 14
- idleness, 39, 113, 117, 164, 172
  - and publics, 22, 30, 79, 115–16, 117–19, 120, 152–3, 221, 226
  - as gendered, 120, 121, 124
- inequality, 31
  - gender, 220
  - global, 18, 141
  - in publics, 31, 220
  - infrastructural, 144, 150
  - land, 127
  - socio-economic, 142, 144, 164, 181, 198
- Information and Communications Act (2012), 149
- International Criminal Court (ICC), 28, 81, 187
- Internet, 7, 54–55, 144, 145, 149, 205
- Iran, 45
- Islam, 9–10, 16–17, 36–7, 38, 40–1, 42–3, 45–6, 47, 50, 55, 190–1
- Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK), 47, 48
- Joho, Ali Hassan, 75, 103, 139, 163, 164, 169, 175–6, 199, 201, *See also* Governor of Mombasa
- Jubilee Coalition, 4, 73, 169, 202
- judgement
  - and publics, 198, 203, 205–6, 213, 215
  - Arendt's view of, 21, 197–8, 215
  - on Facebook, 215, 216
- KADU, 42, 43–4, 127
- Kaggia, Bildad, 171
- KANU, 43–4, 46, 47, 48, 49, 66
- Karama street parliament, 72–8, 80, 81, 99, 105, 117, 123, 134, 136, 137, 187, 188, 199, 200, 201, 202, 204
- Karlström, Mikael, 13
- Kenya Broadcasting Services, 41
- Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR), 54, 177
- Kenyatta, Jomo, 10, 43, 44–5, 123, 127, 128, 132, 171
- Kenyatta, Uhuru, 28, 33, 49, 76, 129, 130, 134, 162, 190, 202
- Kibaki, Mwai, 49, 51, 76, 89, 128
- Kisauni Youth Parliament (KYP), 86, 171–3, *See also* Mombasa Youth Assembly (MYA)
- Kiswahili (language), 26, 28, 40, 41, 45, 71, 93, 100
- Kresse, Kai, 16–17, 50, 188, 195, 225
- labour
  - Arendt's view of, 21, 111
  - working class, 25, 39, 40
- Lamu, 189, 190
- land
  - allocation, 33, 43, 129, 162
  - conflict, 47, 126, 127–30, 135, 155, 162, 184, 190
  - private, 4, 128, 135–6, 147
  - public, 128, 131, 132
  - settlement schemes, 127, 130, 132
  - under colonial rule, 37–8, 125, 127
- Land Adjudication Act (1968), 127
- Land Titles Ordinance (1908), 38
- Lands Act (2012), 128, 129
- Lawuyi, Olatunde Bayo, 13
- leaflets, 48, 51, 58
- Lefebvre, Henri, 126

- Ligaga, Dina, 97  
 Lonsdale, John, 10, 14, 221
- Majimbo, 42, 43, 49  
*matatu* (public transport service), 64, 69, 116–17, 187  
 material insecurity, 111, 112, 113, 114, 119, 121, 152, 155, 163, 195, 220, 221, 223  
 Mazrui, Sheikh Al-Amin bin Ali, 40, 45  
 Mbembe, Achille, 13  
 Mboya, Tom, 171, 189  
 Mbura, Emma, 96  
 Member of Parliament (MP), 5, 50, 76, 133, 163, 166, 210  
 Meyer, Birgit, 17  
 Microsoft, 144  
 Mijikenda, 10, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 51  
 misinformation, 65–6  
 mobile phones, 5, 7, 54, 87, 112, 142, 144–6, 164, 175, 187, 201–2, 204  
 Moi, Daniel arap, 46, 47–8, 49, 76, 113, 127, 128, 134, 171, 183  
 Mombasa Youth Assembly (MYA), 56, 85–90, 91, 104, 106, 174, 176–7  
 Mombasa Youth Parliament (MYP), 170, 178–80, 182  
 Mombasa Youth Senate (MYS), 57, 90–104, 106, 142, 146, 147, 150–1, 153, 154, 174–5, 189–92, 193, 206–15, 216  
 money, 27, 76, 113, 114, 121, 122, 123–4, 163, 167, 168, 169, 172–3, 207, 221  
 Mungiki, 171, 183  
 Musyoka, Kalonzo, 71  
*mwambao*, 42, 43  
*mwananchi*, *wananchi*, 66–67, 68, 71
- Nairobi, 3, 33, 45, 46, 56, 89, 91, 98, 100, 122, 133–4, 137, 138–9, 142, 172, 184, 188, 189  
 Nakuru, 142  
 Nassir, Abdulswamad Shariff, 50, 210  
 Nassir, Sharif, 47  
 National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), 48  
 National Land Commission, 129
- National Rainbow Coalition, NARC, 49–50, 130  
 Ndegwa, Stephen, 10  
 Ndung'u Report (2004), 128  
 newspapers, 16, 34, 44, 45, 149, 200–1, 204, 217  
 Nyabola, Nanjala, 65, 142–3, 155, 191
- Odhiambo, Tom, 74  
 Odinga, Raila, 51, 71, 199  
 Ogola, George, 146  
 Omanga, Duncan, 16, 142  
 Onuoha, Browne, 13  
 Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), 3–4, 9, 51, 67, 78, 139, 162–3, 164–5, 169, 187, 202–3  
 Osaghae, Eghosa E., 13  
 Ouko, Robert, 189  
 Owens, Patricia, 184–5, 194
- Paget, Dan, 145  
 palaver tree, 14, 219  
 Party of National Unity (PNU), 51  
 patronage. *See also* clientelism  
   in politics, 43, 52, 124, 159, 160, 161, 176  
 performance, 6, 12, 13, 17, 36–7, 44, 67, 69–70, 78, 160, 168, 174  
 Peterson, Derek, 14, 17–18  
 Pitkin, Hanna, 19, 22, 24, 110, 112–13, 152, 181, 221, 226  
 plurality, 20–1, 63, 84–5, 91, 104–6, 152, 197, 216, 217  
 Polana street parliament, 58, 63, 64–71, 80–1, 106, 115, 122, 169, 201, 202, 203  
 political agency, 78, 160, 161, 163, 166, 169, 180–1, 190, 220, 221–2, 224  
 popular culture, 12, 15, 24, 25, 67, 160  
 positionality  
   in research, 24, 27–9, 80–2, 106, 119, 203  
 pre-colonial, 14  
 Prevention of Terrorism Act (2012), 52  
 propaganda, 55, 150, 187, 203–4, 209, 216  
 protests, 46, 47, 131, 186  
 public and private, 12, 21, 22, 110, 212, 216

## Index

269

- publicity, 20, 63, 84–5, 91, 96–7, 99, 104–6, 140
- publics, public sphere  
 definition of, 8, 20
- radio, 33, 34, 41, 45, 46, 50, 54, 55, 58, 141, 149, 187, 188, 195, 209, 217
- religion, 38, 41, 49, 52, 58, 162, 195,  
*See* Islam, Christianity, *See also*  
 violence, and religion
- representation, 17, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 198
- Republican Congress (RC), 88, 171
- right to the city, 125–6, 140, 152, 155
- rumour, 28, 33–4, 48, 81, 96, 134, 164, 204, 205
- Ruto, William, 28, 202
- Safaricom, 145
- Saudi Arabia, 45
- Sauti ya Cairo, 41
- Sauti ya Haki, 45
- Sauti ya Mvita, 41, 45
- Scott, James, 138
- Shahbal, Suleiman, 5, 89, 163, 200
- shared imaginaries, 14, 17–18, 31, 159, 161, 169, 170, 197, 198, 217, 221, 223–4
- shared repertoires, 8, 20, 83, 105, 159, 197, 211, 212, 213–15, 226
- slavery, 35–6, 37, 38
- social media, 7–8, 11, 25, 26, 54–5, 76, 84, 91, 93, 102, 111, 112, 141–3, 145–6, 153, 154, 186, 191, 201, 206, 218, 219, 222  
 government shutdown of, 149  
 regulation of, 150
- Somalia, 10, 52, 141
- Splendid street parliament, 28, 58, 63, 64–71, 81, 106, 169, 202
- street vendors. *See* hawkers
- surveillance, 75–6, 112  
 of social media, 8, 142, 143, 149–50  
 under Moi, 46, 75
- surveillance capitalism, 111
- Swahili (people), 10, 35–6, 38, 39, 41, 42, 128, 129
- Tanzania, 17, 122, 145
- terrorism, 50, 52, 53, 58, 184, 188, *See also* counterterrorism
- The National Alliance Party (TNA), 78
- Truth, Justice and Reconciliation  
 Commission report 2013, 128, 129–30
- Twitter, 7, 25, 55, 57, 100, 142, 146, 149, 187, 191
- unemployment, 85, 113–14, 181, *See also* employment  
 and participation in publics, 22, 79, 110, 115, 116, 118, 122, 123, 124, 226  
 politicisation of, 163, 172
- United Muslims of Africa (UMA), 47
- unpredictability  
 in politics, 30, 64, 69, 71, 72, 78, 80, 83, 143, 223–4
- violence, 23, 48, 58, 120, 182, 183–6, 194, *See also* hate speech  
 and elections, 3, 48, 51, 54, 160, 163, 170, 172  
 and publics, 4, 6, 81, 185–6, 188–9, 190–1, 194–5, 196  
 and religion, 186–7, 188–9, 190–1  
 and youth, 85, 86, 104, 171, 172  
 under Jomo Kenyatta, 171  
 under Moi, 47, 48, 75, 127, 171
- wabara, 43, 48, 128, 129, 131, 133, 135, 162
- wapwani, 10, 70, 128, 131, 133, 135, 162
- war on terror, 10, 52, 54, 159, 182
- Warner, Michael, 111
- welfare, 112  
 and publics, 22, 24–5, 77, 78, 112, 121, 123–4, 152, 221, 226
- WhatsApp, 7, 25, 55, 142, 145
- Whispers  
 a satirist, 48
- Wiper Democratic Movement, 163, 165, 172
- women  
 in public, 4, 41, 80–1, 96–7, 106, 119–21, 184, 216–17  
 on social media, 96–7, 191
- Young, Iris Marion, 198, 217

youth. <i>See also</i> violence, and youth, elections, and youth and gender, 119 and politics, 85–6, 171–2 and social media, 91 definition, 85–6	KANU youth wing, 46, 47 protests, 30 unemployment, 85  Zerilli, Linda, 197–8 Zuboff, Shoshana, 111, 148
---	--