

this form of expression to the fore. Consequently, the interweaving of oral and written texts is one of the most unique and praiseworthy qualities of this project. Despite the editors' frustration about their inability to convey the spirit of these texts, the vitriolic qualities of the singers' message in traditional songs such as 'Xaxar' and 'Welcoming the Bride' are clear. Furthermore, the fact that the simple but poignant words of young women's songs such as 'I'd like to stay', in which the singer expresses her fear of marriage, preferring to stay by her mother, demonstrate that the performance of these songs is

not absolutely essential to convey their message.

As the editors write, we have 'a responsibility to set the reality of African women's lives in history and in the present before a world that is just waking up to their importance'. The recent election of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, an interview with whom is pertinently included in the book, as president of Liberia demonstrates the veracity of this quotation. Her election is also proof of the constant evolution of women's place in African society. The editors of this book

have succeeded in restoring the cultural legacy of West African women, indeed the volume itself is a testament to the ability and determination of women to survive in a culture which often subordinates and marginalises them. *Women Writing Africa: West Africa and the Sahel* brings the experience of African women to centre stage and as such forces its readers to redefine and rethink their conception of these women in whose hands, as Ama Ata Aidoo writes, 'lies, perhaps the last possible hope for ourselves and everyone else on this continent'.

And Hens Began to Crow:¹ Young African Women Engage the Public Sphere²

It's 2006 and time again to take stock. Suddenly, one is enveloped by a gripping sense of déjà vu, déjà entendu! Yet turning back the hands of time, one cannot deny that the feminist movement, feminism and women in general have come a long way. A recently released United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) report³ pinpoints many of these gains. Encapsulating issues, for example at the educational, socio-economic, political and reproductive rights level, identified by the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies as those requiring urgent redress and gauging these against the road travelled by many women from Beijing +5 through to Beijing +10, the report identified certain salient successes. Despite these incremental gains, the report concludes that discrepancies in levels of achievements still persist. Sall (2000), Mama (2003), Pereira (2004 a) and Gouws (2004) have analysed some of these discrepancies in various spheres.

A glaring discrepancy, but unfortunately one hardly addressed, is gender relations, equality and justice among young women and men. Bearing in mind that we are now facing a generational change whereby the lower strata in society (mainly the young) are now coming of age and taking their place in crucial social, economic and political sectors and institutions, can we aver that the advance in gender justice and equality in Africa is a viable emancipatory project for all categories in society in the face of the relentless, rigid structures and institutions? Importantly, can we claim

Roseline Achieng'
Department of Research
CODESRIA

that young women as compared to young men are sufficiently equipped for the task at hand? Critically, what room for manoeuvre is available for young women in society?

Gender power relations penny-sized: Talking 20+ and Kenya's lost decades

A critical analysis of the political economy and the socio-cultural structures of the Kenyan society, host to the Third Women's Conference, ironically exposes major caveats of a highly regressive gender relational order that has only recently begun to change amidst continuing resistance. Over twenty years of a highly authoritarian regime that literally undermined women's voices, readily translates to over two lost decades for gender struggles in Kenya. Whereas in the neighbouring countries such as Uganda, great leaps were being made in opening up women's and gender relational issues in the public sphere (Kwesiga and Tripp 2002), in Kenya such debates were either put in a black box, easily dismissed as social welfare issues to be tackled by NGOs offering charity, or utterly ignored. No significant debates at the level of the public sphere on some of the issues addressed by the various women's conferences and which feature as major recommendations for governments to institutionalise have

occurred. It seems to me that this situation still continues amidst the proliferation of civil society groups with gender sensitive approaches. Women's agency, especially in the political and socio-economic sphere, was and still is being excessively misused. Analysis abounds on how women's groups in Kenya still continue to be captured by the national machinery (Maathai 1995; Nzomo 1999), incapacitated despite concerted efforts (Gallo 1998 and Aduol 2002) or outrightly dismissed as yet another elitist group seeking to further regime interests (Kenya Women's Political Alliance⁴). Certainly, these developments when gauged against a World Bank Country report on Kenya (1989) suggest a worsening situation.

The wholesale embrace – albeit much debated and opposed – of economic liberalisation programmes has led to unprecedented effects in the two most important sectors: health and education. The overall political economic development has not made matters any easier. The continued political ethnicisation of relations coupled with high level corrupt practices has led to stalemates in progressive and equitable natural resource redistribution programmes. Negatively affected are entitlements to land, forests, grazing and water (Kanyinga 2000). The latter practices have led to an increase in ethnic conflict and the mass displacement of groups. The continuing unequal regional development and the rise of anomie in society evidenced in the high levels of criminality have not made matters any

easier. Coupled with these is the increase in sale and utilisation of small arms, and the exacerbation of violent urban youth cultures like Mungiki, which seek some sort of justice. The upsurge of fundamentalist religious groups as offering a third space between the state and society and the state and markets and which are uncritically embraced is a phenomenon that can no longer be ignored.

Unquestioningly, Kenyan women are again being made to bear the brunt as gender struggles and the minimal gains achieved are put aside as 'more' pressing issues of human security and protection take centre stage. Indeed, it is a case of gender power relational struggles penny-sized in exactly two senses. On the one hand, gender relational struggles have been reduced and demoted to non-priorities or not linked to the search for overall social transformation. On the other hand, the gains made have been captured and camouflaged in newly imposed masculine norms and structures (Ouendji 2000; Pereira 2004b; Tamale 2004) or face moralising discourses (Awosom 2005) stemming from masculine-type normative structures perpetuated by both women and men.

At the socio-economic level, the lack of recognition of newly forming identities such as single unmarried women or divorced women further compounds the problem. Despite this category contributing significantly to both the production and reproduction of society, especially in the face of depreciating livelihood options and the loss of social security and social provisioning, it has not been recognised as such. This category is relegated to a dismal position or bombarded with moralising discourses as forms of social control which rob the former of their agency to bring about necessary societal change. The various discussions in the CODESRIA Gender Institute 2004 intensively explored this phenomenon. A look at the public sphere further distorts the picture. In countries such as Kenya, Democratic Republic of Congo and Côte d'Ivoire, where we have young *Turks*⁵ in the form of young men congregating in the public space, vying for posts and representing their communities in various capacities, we hardly witness women in the same age group engaged in similar political actions. An analysis provided by African Woman and Child Features (AWC Features 2004) shows the hard road faced by women seeking entry into the public political sphere.

Given the above scenarios, one can rightly argue that young women today face a multiplicity of 'new' obstacles in the wake of their advancement brought about by the unprecedented consequences of the political and social economic changes. These are paradoxically perpetuating hegemonic masculine structures with a new face. A case of nails sealing the coffin occurs as the gains made are relegated to non-priorities in the face of new insecurities like the rising religious fundamentalism, armed conflicts, terrorism and emphasis on security issues. As we witness the situation where no concerted efforts are made to sustain the gains or new dynamisms evolved to expand them, young women are left either to go it alone or to appeal to previous masculine structures. The result might be that with the unfolding generational change, no marked social and gender order transformation will occur and thus gender justice and social equity will continue to be elusive agendas.

In my opinion, young women face newly emerging structural discrepancies which they are either unaware of or are ill-equipped to challenge. This is partly due to their continued lack of engagement in critical issues and partly because of the restriction imposed on their agency to act otherwise. The latter arises through being cut off by their 'older'⁶ counterparts, the diminished voice in society, or denied leeway to move forward major transformations (non-transformative alliances/lack of alliances). This makes young women susceptible and incapacitated to bring forth new dynamics or to institutionalise the advances already gained by their 'older' counterparts. This lacuna in social relations at different levels calls for an adept excavation of the 'spirit of the times' through mechanisms being explored in the newly emerging socio-economic and political spaces.

To this end, I explore three mechanisms that have already been excavated but need more rigour to harness the potential they harbour.

Capitalising on windows of opportunity: Engaging the public sphere

(a) Trans-local networking among female movements

Global geopolitics, especially women's mobilisation at the international level, has had positive effects on the course of

women's regional networking (Tripp 2005). Marking this development is the relaxation on the part of governments of coercive means of governance. There is also the renewed interest in bringing the state back in on developmental and governance issues and holding it accountable through global and regional checks. Various social groups have viewed this trend as a window of opportunity for reinstating previous modes of articulation in new and interconnected ways. For instance, there is renewed interest in studying and researching social movements; especially female social movements (UNRISD 2005; Lachenmann 2004) and third sector groups (Obadare 2004). Social movements cover spaces where women have a relatively greater presence and play a more important role than in the polity. Such movements manifest a more communal spirit, participatory democracy, mutual support and networking, instead of hierarchical relations (Lachenmann 1993:72). Above all, they offer new visions of society (Mamdani, Mkandawire and Wamba dia Wamba 1988). One interest in studying female movements or third sector groups is to see their modes of action, and through these try to understand how they manage to overcome the structural deficiencies in society, especially in their interaction with the state in order to awaken new visions of society or alternative paradigms of development.

Immediately, the question that comes to the fore is whether with the 'NGOization' of self organisation, bringing in social movements as renewed fields of interest is a viable path. I am of the opinion that it is exactly at the intersection of the two, the NGO world and social movements and third sector groups, that our analysis ought to be geared. This is with the aim of understanding the different and similar modes of action and eventually the transformation that the two bring about either through common forms or through divergent actions.

For young women, especially in the rural areas, these different forms of socially embedded movements offer avenues for self organisation and arenas for interaction, discussion, and information-sharing on critical social and political issues, especially with 'older' women's movements. However, in my view, the link still missing is a consideration of what I conceptualise as trans-local networking among female movements across contexts. In Africa, it is crucial to look at this kind of

networking and inter-linkages between rural and urban female movements. The objective is to rate the potentialities of inter-linkages, the common agendas being explored or how the oscillations of agendas across contexts occur or ought to occur. Furthermore, the collective action that emerges from such cooperation and the eventual change in the social order that such alliances and collective action bring about, especially at the level of the public sphere, is of analytical interest. An example of such an agenda and its oscillation would be interlinking the political to the economic and the social. For rural groups and especially for young women in rural areas, the issue of access to markets is of crucial importance. How this process could proceed, which social policies female advocacy networks ought to handle, and the changes in structural inequality they bring about, are dialogues that ought to occur at different levels. An example of such a debate that could occur in this space is redistributive justice, forms of redistributive alliances and levels of solidarity.

For young women such an exposure at a regional and continental level could facilitate early professionalism and the power of articulation. This early experience could help them avoid the pitfalls faced by previous activists, and indicate how these have been overcome.

(b) The strategic use of places as spaces for critical reflection: The newly emerging public spaces

Currently, we are witnessing a proliferation of churches coming in to offer not only spiritual recourse, but providing their followers room for both socio-economic and political action. For the purposes of this paper, the interesting bit is how religious space is now being transformed into a political space. The church has acquired the quality of a public space where pertinent political issues are exposed, debated upon and concerted efforts engaged in. Some analyses have shown how the church in different contexts has played a critical role in offering different groups political room for manoeuvre.

However, inasmuch as churches are offering a space for critical reflection, they are 'traditionally' known to be conservative places where masculine structures dominate. The paradox is that churches are also known to be women's places,

where women congregate at various levels. In the rural areas, it is one avenue for encounter for young women. Hence, the question that comes to the fore is how to secularise this space without endangering its place in society. This is of urgency as this space provides a harbour and a room for manoeuvre for women, especially where none or very few exist. I posit that the oscillation of agendas through networking could contribute immensely. Women in the secular world could take up agendas being driven by women in the churches or mosques, formulating the words in different forms but maintaining the agenda.

(c) The articulation of voice through the inter-linkage of agendas at different levels

The latter point on the oscillation of agendas in the articulation of voice reminds me of a recent conference on Muslim women negotiating development that I attended.⁷ A 'whither rights' debate ensued. The critical question was: whereas at an international level a discourse of rights is the buzz-word, can we comfortably claim the same of local contexts? In critically analysing women's life worlds and their lived experiences, and more especially young women's everyday experience, can one argue on the basis of a rights discourse?

Tripp (2005: 2) has argued that the rights-based consensus adopted by African women's movements, combining development and human rights interests, has been very much a product of global dialogue and interaction. Chanock (2000) writing on culture and human rights has articulated arguments in favour of a universalised interpretation of a rights regime. Inasmuch as the rights-based discourse holds currency, I posit that conceptually it is still too far removed from women's life worlds and from the reality that they live on a day-to-day basis. Adopting the discourse of rights without a critical appraisal of everyday realities paradoxically puts women in what I term 'societal strait jackets', and in this way robs them of spaces for manoeuvre, especially those tied to access of societal common goods.

A subversive voice: Of rights and entitlements but not culture talk⁸

Conceptual discussion on rights and entitlements à la Sen (1981) presupposes

among other things a civil justice system (the rule of law) that protects the rights of an individual in society. It presupposes that each individual in society takes responsibility for their own actions (the principle of individual responsibility) and that the law of the land should be universal and protect each individual without discrimination (Nussbaum 2000).

However, in many African contexts we are working with two sets of dynamics. On the one hand, we have the civil rule of law as laid down by the constitution. On the other, we have group rights as laid down by customary law. For a current exploration of these issues see Mamdani (2000), Nyamnjoh (2004) and Gouws (2005). We are also operating in an environment where there is only a semi-functional rule of law and many other justice systems are in operation (see the defenders of legal pluralism). Sociologically, the debate that is still very much with us is the conceptual understanding of individual versus community and community versus society.

In my view, for young women, a slightly modified entitlement discourse as opposed to the rights discourse provides a much wider conceptual framework with which they could begin to articulate their voices at different levels. My definition of entitlements is at two levels. At one level I view entitlements as resources. At another level I take entitlements to mean access and especially how access to resources in a society by different social groups proceeds. Access, in my opinion, stems from, and is defined by, social relations. In this sense it is socially embedded as it emerges and appeals to culture (Shivji 2000) but is not necessarily limited by it (my own addition). To this end, the view of entitlement that I advance is access to resources through social relations but on the basis of achievement.

In many contexts, entitlement viewed as access to resources through social relations has proceeded on the basis of ascription or belonging to a group by virtue of respecting certain institutions of cultural legitimacy – for example, marriage, motherhood or seniority. Looking at the social structure in many communities, young women 'normally' do not have rights nor are they entitled to any societal goods. One starts to claim that they are entitled once they are married, on the basis of seniority, or if they have children (usually male children).

For young women, entitlement defined on the basis of achievement has the transformative potential to change the existing gender and social order as the concept appreciates competencies and the abilities of individuals. It challenges in the sense of instilling a need to be an achiever in society. It further offers room for manoeuvre for young women by recognising capacities, capabilities and agency and thus removes them from the frame of 'what culture expects of young women'.

However, I advance the idea that at an international level, an oscillation of discourses without losing the *raison d'être* of the argument ought to occur. Whereas at the local level the argument that could be advanced is that of entitlements, at a global level a discourse of rights could be maintained. However, the question at large is how such an oscillation can occur and on which basis it could proceed. The issue is how the different translations from context-specific to generalised areas – and vice versa – can occur. Certainly, at a conceptual level, current debates on the kinds of citizenship identity (Olukoshi and Laakso 1996; Pereira 2004b) could aid in advancing thoughts in this direction.

Conclusions: Wrestling the phallus or the possibility of cooperation

Definitely, young women cannot go it alone. There is a need for cooperation on several fronts. In addition, there is the need for the formation of transformative alliances. Of equal importance is capitalising on pro-feminist men in addressing some of the structural inequalities perpetuated by hegemonic masculinities. Already some female networks – for example FEMNET⁹ – are working with 'Men to Men' agendas. Nonetheless, cooperation and alliances do not mean that women are not better placed to address structures that oppress them and bring about significant changes. It rather means the negotiation with men about changing structures that perpetuate inequality by using some windows of opportunity provided by pro-feminist men. Conceptually, it culminates to exercising women's agency through appealing to social relations in a gendered manner.

Moreover, the quality of cooperation and alliances ought to be critically analysed. Some of the questions that could be asked in negotiating cooperation are: Is it pos-

sible to talk about cooperation as a mechanism for realising gender equality and justice? If yes, how should it proceed? If no, why can cooperation not exist, which structures stand as obstacles to it, how are these structures perpetuated, and why do we think that they cannot be transformed?

Notes

1. This title is reframed from Sylvia Tamale's 1999 book, *When Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*, Westview Press, Boulder. In explicating the meaning of the metaphor, Tamale (1999: 1) elucidates that in her observation of the Ugandan 1996 general elections, a woman candidate was admonished with the words 'wali owulide ensera ekokolima' ('Have you ever heard a hen crow?'). Female chickens do not normally crow. A crowing hen is considered a bad omen which must be done away with before it brings ill luck. In short, a woman's place is not in the public space.
2. I thank Julius Kikooma of Makerere University for his tireless editorial work and critical observation on most of my pieces and Henry Arika of Maseno University for his continued assistance in archival data collection.
3. See <http://www.unrisd.org/publication/>
4. Kenya Women's Political Alliance, <http://www.nationaudio.com/news/dailynation/01102002/new87>
5. The 'Young Turks' was a popular formulation in Kenya used to describe a group of professional young men politically oriented, offering oppositional voices to the then dictatorial regime and the rightist Youth KANU '92. Currently, Young Turks is a formulation generally used to describe young men in Kenyan politics as opposed to the old league of Kenyan politicians. A further revealing case of this unfolding phenomenon is the recent Liberian presidential elections, which contrasted the political powers of young men against young women.
6. I have put 'older' in quotation marks to denote a longer involvement in gender power struggles and not necessarily a question of age.
7. 'Negotiating Development: Trans-local Gendered Spaces in Muslim Societies', Workshop held 13-15 October 2005, University of Bielefeld, Germany.
8. Given the space here, I cannot do justice to the depth and extent that the discussion of rights, entitlements but not culture talk calls for. I will only telegraphically pinpoint some overarching concerns.

9. African Women's Development and Communications Network (FEMNET) and the Education Centre for Women in Democracy (ECWD) are two women's networking groups in Kenya with which I am currently carrying out background fact-finding research on female movements and their trans-local networking in negotiating a new regime of social security at different levels. See <http://www.femnet.or.ke> and <http://ecwd.org.ke> respectively.

References

- Adhiambo, Aduol, 2001, 'Gender, Civil Society and Leadership: a Case Study of the Kenya Women's Political Caucus (KWPC)', Paper prepared for civil society and leadership in the democratisation process in Africa, Multi-national research project by the Development Policy Forum, Nairobi.
- African Woman and Child Features, 2004, 'A Journey of Courage: Kenyan Women's Experiences of the 2002 General Elections', Nairobi, AWC Features.
- Awasom, Yene, Susanna, 2005, 'Hegemonic Masculinity as a Distorted Development Paradigm for Africa', *CODESRIA Bulletin*, Nos.3 & 4, Special Issue, 'Rethinking African Development: Beyond Impasse, Towards Alternatives', pp. 26-28.
- Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), 2004, Gender Institute 2004: 'Gender in the Economy of Care: Epistemological and Theoretical Frameworks', 17 June to 13 July, Dakar, Senegal.
- Chanock, Martin, 2000, 'Culture and Human Rights: Orientalising, Occidentalising and Authenticity', in Mahmood Mamdani, ed., pp. 15-36.
- Galloy, Martine-Renee, 1998, 'Kenyan Women and Electoral Processes: the Vagaries of the Long road to Leadership', *SAFERE*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 3-18.
- Gouws, Amanda, 2004, 'Establishing Gender Studies Programmes in South Africa: The Role of Gender Activism', in *Gender Activism and Studies in Africa*, Dakar, CODESRIA Gender Series 3, pp. 41-53.
- Gouws, Amanda, 2005, 'Rethinking Development from a Gender Perspective', *CODESRIA Bulletin*, Nos. 3 & 4, Special Issue on 'Rethinking African Development: Beyond Impasse, towards Alternatives', pp. 25-26.
- Kanyinga, Karuti, 2000, 'Redistribution from Above: the Politics of Land Rights and Squatting in Coastal Kenya', Research report No.115, Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute.

- Kwesiga, Joy, C., and Aili Mari Tripp, 2002, 'Introduction: a New Generation of Women's Mobilization in Uganda', in Joy C. Kwesiga and Aili Mari Tripp, eds., *The Women's Movement in Uganda: History, Challenges and Prospects*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, pp.1-22.
- Lachenmann, Gudrun, 1993, 'Civil Society and Social Movements in Africa: the Case of the Peasant Movement in Senegal', *European Journal of Development Research*, Vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 68-100.
- Lachenmann, Gudrun and Petra Dannecker, 2004, 'Negotiating Development: Trans-local Gendered Spaces in Muslim Societies', Volkswagen Foundation funded Project, University of Bielefeld, Sociology of Development Research Centre.
- Maathai, Wangari, 1995, 'Bottle-necks of Development in Africa: On the Occasion of the 4th UN World Women's Conference in Beijing, China, 15-30 September'.
- Mama, Amina, 2003, 'Restore, Reform but do not Transform: the Gender Politics of Higher Education in Africa', *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*, vol. 1, no. 1.
- Mamdani, Mahmood, Thandika Mkandawire and Ernest Wamba dia Wamba, 1988, 'Social Movements, Social Transformation and the Struggle for Democracy in Africa', Working Paper No.1, Dakar: CODESRIA.
- Mamdani, Mahmood, ed., 2000, *Beyond Rights Talk and Culture Talk: Comparative Essays on the Politics of Rights and Culture*, New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Mamdani, Mahmood, 2000, 'Introduction', in idem, ed., *Beyond Rights Talk and Culture Talk*, pp. 1-15.
- Nussbaum, Martha, C., 2000, *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nyamnjoh, Francis, 2004, 'Reconciling the Rhetoric of Rights with Competing Notions of Personhood and Agency in Botswana', in Englund, H., and Nyamnjoh, F. (eds.), *Rights and the Politics of Recognition in Africa*, London: Zed Books.
- Nzomo, Maria, 1998, 'Kenya: the Women's Movement and Democratic Change', in Leonardo A. Villalón and Phillip A. Huxtable, eds., *The African State at a Critical Juncture: between Disintegration and Reconfiguration*, Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp.167-184.
- Obadare, Ebenezer, 2004, 'Obstacles, Bridge or Promised-land? The Role of Civil Society in Challenges Confronting Africa', International Society for Third-Sector Research (ISTR), Report, July.
- Olukoshi, Adebayo and Liisa Laakso (eds.), 1996, *Challenges to the Nation-state in Africa*, Uppsala, Nordic Africa Institute, Helsinki, Institute of Development Studies, University of Helsinki.
- Ouendji, N., Norbert, 2000, 'Academic Freedom and the Position of Women in Cameroon', in Ebrima Sall, (ed.), pp. 128-154.
- Pearson, Ruth and Cecil Jackson, 1998, 'Introduction', in idem, eds., *Feminist Visions of Development: Gender Analysis and Policy*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 1-16.
- Pereira, Charmaine, 2004a, 'Locating Gender and Women's studies in Nigeria: What Trajectory for the Future?', in *Gender Activism and Studies in Africa*, CODESRIA, Gender Series 3, Dakar: CODESRIA, pp. 1-26.
- Pereira, Charmaine, 2004b, 'Understanding Women's Experiences of Citizenship in Nigeria', in *Gender, Economies and Entitlements in Africa*, CODESRIA Gender Series 2, Dakar: CODESRIA, pp. 87-110.
- Rioba, Naomi, 2005, 'The Women Behind the Beautiful Roses: Solving Occupational Health Hazards in Cut Flower Farming in Naivasha, Kenya', Paper presented at CODESRIA 11th General Assembly, 'Rethinking African Development: Beyond Impasse, Towards Alternatives', Maputo, Mozambique, 6-10 December.
- Sall, Ebrima, ed., 2000, *Women in Academia: Gender and Academic Freedom in Africa*, Dakar: CODESRIA Book Series.
- Sen, Amartya, 1981, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlements and Deprivation*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Shivji, Issa, G., 2000, 'Contradictory Perspectives on Rights and Justice in the Context of Land Tenure Reforms in Tanzania', in Mahmood Mamdani (ed.), pp.37-60.
- Tamale, Sylvia, 1999, *When Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*, Boulder: Westview Press.
- Tamale, Sylvia, 2004, 'Gender Tauma in Africa: Enhancing Women's Links to Resources', in *Gender, Economies and Entitlements in Africa*, CODESRIA Gender Series 2, Dakar: CODESRIA, pp.18-31.
- Tripp, Aili Mari, 2005, 'Regional Networking as Trans-national Feminists: African Experiences', *Feminist Africa*, Issue No. 4, pp. 1-12, <http://www.feministafrica.org/04-2005/tripp.html>
- UNRISD, 2005, 'After Beijing: Uneven Progress in an Unequal world', in *Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World*, Geneva: UNRISD, pp. 1-19.
- UNRISD, 2005, 'Towards a "Critical Mass"', in *Women in Public Office: A Rising Tide*, Geneva: UNRISD, pp. 147-149.
- World Bank, 1989, 'Kenya: the Role of Women in Economic Development: A World Bank Country Study', Washington DC: World Bank.