

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	5
FIGURES, CHARTS AND TABLES	8
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	11
ABBREVIATIONS	13
ABSTRACT.....	16
1. RESEARCH FOCUS AND APPROACHES.....	18
1.1. Introduction.....	18
1.2. Research Design	32
2. CONCEPTS AND THEORIES	37
2.1. Defining Democracy/Democratisation	37
2.2. Gender Perspectives on Democracy	39
2.2.1 <i>Liberal Democracy</i>	39
2.2.2 <i>Marxist Socialist Democracy</i>	42
2.2.3 <i>Participatory Democracy/ Representative Democracy</i>	43
2.3. The Concept of Civil Society	46
2.3.1 <i>Gender Perspectives on Civil Society</i>	46
2.3.2 <i>Civil Society and the Public and Private Dichotomy</i>	47
2.3.3 <i>The Issue of Citizenship</i>	51
2.3.3.1 Engendering Citizenship	52
2.3.3.2 Alternative Concepts of Citizenship	55
2.3.4 <i>Women's Organisation as an Integral Part of Civil Society</i>	60
2.4. Defining Women's Organisations	62
2.4.1 <i>Women Interests</i>	65
2.4.2 <i>Women's Organisations and Autonomy</i>	69
2.4.3 <i>Women's Organisations as Analysis of Government/ State</i> <i>Action</i>	71
2.5. Analytical Framework: Participatory/Representative Democracy and Women's Political Effectiveness.....	72

3. WOMEN AND THE STATE IN AFRICA	79
3.1. The Colonial State and Women: The establishment of the colonial state and its' contribution to gender inequality	80
3.2. Post-Colonial States and Women Organisations (1960s-1990s.).....	83
3.2.1 <i>The Creation of Centralised Governments and the Concentration of State Power</i>	85
1.1.1 <i>The Effects of Africanization on Women (1960 - 1980)</i>	86
3.2.2 <i>Women Organisations and the One-Party State</i>	87
3.2.3 <i>The Economic Crisis</i>	89
3.2.4 <i>Women Organisations and the WID/GAD Approach</i>	90
3.3. The Multiparty Era and the Emergent of the 'New' Women Organisations.....	93
3.3.1 <i>The Platform for Action; UN Women's Conference in Beijing '95</i>	93
3.3.2 <i>Impact of Women Organisations on the Electoral System</i>	95
3.3.3 <i>Constitutional Reviews and Women Organisations</i>	99
3.4. Summary	100
4. DEMOCRATISATION IN KENYA: A GENDER PERSPECTIVE.....	103
4.1. Gender and the Politics of Transition from the Moi to the NARC Regime in Kenya (1992-2007).....	103
4.2. Gender and Constitutional Reform in Kenya	111
4.3. Political Parties and Representation in Kenya.....	115
4.4. The Electoral Environment and Women's Political Participation in Kenya	122
4.5. Summary	126
5. CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE STATE IN KENYA.....	129
5.1. The 'Coming Out' of Women's Organisations	129
5.2. The Kenyan State and Gender Equality: Provision of Social and Legal Services	132
5.2.1 <i>Education Sector</i>	136
5.2.2 <i>Health Services: Impact of Health on Women's Political Participation</i>	143
5.2.3 <i>Legal Policy: Property Inheritance & Marriage Rights</i>	149
5.3. Summary	151

6. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN KENYA	152
6.1. Colonial Era: Socio-cultural Institutions and Practices	156
6.1.1 Education.....	158
6.1.2 Early Resistance and Women Participation	160
6.2. Post- independence (1960-90): Co-optation versus Autonomy.....	161
6.3. Multi-Party Era: From Practical to Strategic Issues	166
6.4. Summary	169
7. KENYAN WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS: BETWEEN ACCESS, PRESENCE AND INFLUENCE	171
7.1. Internal Structure and Internal Democracy	172
7.1.1 The Organisation Structure.....	172
7.1.2 Goals and Values.....	176
7.1.3 Approach and Activities	177
7.1.4 Networking and Funding.....	181
7.2. "Democracy Starts at Home"	183
7.3. Promoting and Defending Human Rights Issues.....	190
7.3.1 Participation through Educational Empowerment.....	190
7.3.2 Grassroots Empowerment as a Pathway to Democracy (Civic Education).....	195
7.3.3 Fighting Institutional and Cultural Barriers: Providing Legal Services and Raising Awareness	197
7.3.4 Gender Mainstreaming in Community Development and Local Government.....	203
7.4. Enhancing the Voice of Women in Leadership and Decision-making.....	209
7.4.1 The Crisis of Representation: Campaigning for Affirmative Action and the Constitutional Review Process	209
7.4.2 Women in Public Life: Equality in Citizenship Rights and Opportunities for Participation in Decision-making.....	211
8. CONCLUSIONS	217
REFERENCES.....	226
APPENDIX.....	244