

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN
ELECTIVE POLITICS IN EMBU COUNTY, KENYA**

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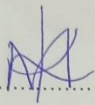
**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
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OF NAIROBI.**

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DECLARATION

DECLARATION

The research project is original and not been presented to another institution of learning or university for academic credit. I have acknowledged all the information from other sources including those whom I have worked with


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Supervisor's declaration

The Project was submitted with our approval as University Supervisor

Signed  Date 8th/09/2021

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DEDICATION

To my dad Lawrence Nyaga, mum Elizabeth Wambui, and my siblings: Grace, Mercy, Dr Virginia, Dan, and Mary for their support, encouragement and patient.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thanks be to God for granting me strength, knowledge, and life gift which allowed me to write the research. Thanks to all those who supported me and whose assistance significantly made this project a success. In the course of writing this project, I benefited from the help of many people. A few deserve a special mention here. To begin with I thank Prof. Wilfred Subbo, my supervisor for his insightful direction, positive criticism, and inspiration which ensured that this work came to success. Secondly, I thank all the lecturers, the staff and classmates for supporting me since I joined the department for postgraduate studies in 2016 up to date. I wish to thank all lectures in the department for their continued encouragement throughout my postgraduate studies.

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ABSTRACT

The issue of women's representation in elective politics is still a challenge in Kenya. Women have fought fiercely to ascend high political offices and represent the national and county assembly properly. The study investigated the socio-economic factors affecting participation of women in elective politics. Specific objectives guiding the study were: To investigate the extent to which women participate in elective politics in Embu County, examine the social-cultural factors impacting women involvement in elective politics in Embu County, and explore the economic factors influencing women's role in elective politics in Embu County. Radical feminist theory by Andrea Working, Clare Chambers and Allan Hunter guided the study (Al Hibri, 1984). Descriptive survey design was used with a target population of 309,468 registered voters by the 2017 general elections in Embu County and 26 key informants in the same county. Purposive sampling and random sampling were used to get the sample size for registered voters which was determined using a formula proposed by Godden (2004). Sample size of registered voters was 385, while the sample size for critical informants was 26. Interview guides and questionnaires were used to collect data. The collected data underwent cleaning, coding, and was analyzed using SPSS version 22. The outcomes of the coded data were tallied, tabulated, analyzed, and summarized. Quantitative data collected from questionnaires went through analysis by descriptive statistics (frequencies, percentages and means), while qualitative data underwent thematic analysis. The study had the following findings; age, education level, and marital status affect involvement of women in politics. Majority of them participate in several activities related to elective politics, but very few vie for particular elective seats in general elections. Furthermore, social-cultural factors such as someone's religious beliefs, culture, women not married, women married outside the tribe or constituency, and voters' attitude towards women politicians affect women's participation in elective politics. Finally, the study found that economic factors such as unemployment-employed women and women doing business impact participation of women in politics that is elective. Therefore, it is recommended that registrar of political parties should adhere to two-third rule during party elections, nomination, and general elections to encourage more women to vie for various elective seats, holistic political empowerment for community leaders to involve the communities in upholding socio-cultural factors which encourage women participation in elective politics and shun the ones which discourage women from participating in elective politics and finally the Kenyan parliament may amend the political parties act to waiver membership and nomination fees for women to encourage them more to participate in elective politics.

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ABBREVIATION S & ACRONYMS

IEBC: Independent Election and Boundaries Commission

IFES: International Foundation for Electoral

System **GBEV** - Gender Based Electoral Violence

KANU: Kenya Africa National Union

KEPPS: Kenya Election and Political Processes Strengthening Program

KEWOPA: Kenya Women Parliamentary Association

KEWOSA: Kenya Women Senators Association

KWPC: Kenya Women's Political Caucus

MCA: Member of County Assembly

M&E: Monitoring and Evaluation

MP: Member of Parliament

MYWO: Maendeleo ya Wanawake

NCWK: National Council of Women of Kenya

NDI: National Democratic Institute

NGEC: National Gender and Equality Commission

WPAK: Women's Political Alliance of Kenya

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Women effective participation into politics is a matter of inclusive growth, human rights, sustainable development, and achievement of gender equality. The lack of equal gender representation in elective politics shows the invisible challenges and obstacles women face on their way to public office (Economic for Africa, 2010). In most democracies worldwide, women remain underrepresented in political decision-making spaces (Ester Boserup's, 1970).

The exclusion of women in elective politics can be backdated at the beginning of human history. During the early democracy of ancient Athens in the 5th century BC, it was evident that the absence and exclusion of women from political participation. The women possessed no rights for voting or participation in any political processes. Likewise, in the 20th century in European countries, women didn't have the right to political participation or active decision-making (Okoth, 2000).

Cornwall & Goetz (2005) highlight a case study of the United States before 1920 – why women did not have the right to vote or participate in political processes. Manfre & Rubin, 2012 concurs with such findings - noting that women lacked rationality or intelligence equal to men; and that their emotions ruled them. Additionally, Manfre & Rubin observed that before the third decade of the 20th century, women did not also have complete potential as political citizens.

Canada is a great case study of evolving women's contribution in politics by policies and commitment by the government to mainstream gender in all sectors. According to (Government of Canada, 2019), in a report on Women and Gender Equality - women elected leaders have increased from 35 % in 2002 to 64%. (Apap, 2019) Also, as of 2014, the European country governments put policies and structures to enhance women's political participation in government

affairs. Thompson et al. (2006) observe that such policies have seen many women leaders emerge in Europe, such as Angel Merkel of Germany.

While talking about Women and politics in Rwanda, Wallace et al. (2008) reported a significant increment in the involvement of women in the political processes of the country. UN Women Report (2016) remarks that Rwanda boasts of having the most amount of women in parliament at 56.3 percent in Africa. Similar important results are also in Senegal, South Africa, Nigeria and Seychelles which had over 40% parliamentary representation by women by 2013, (UN Women Report, 2016).

In Kenya, backing for the empowering women & their participation is witnessed by different government initiatives in Kenya. Looking back on these efforts from 2002, the evident process is seen through respective programmatic and policy initiatives, for example, Political Affirmative action, 2010 Constitution, National Commission on Gender (NGEC), among others.

In assessing how devolution has impacted in participation of women in electoral politics of the Gusii region in Kisii County, Nyakundi (2018) still observed low women participation despite the national government's effort to enhance women's participation in politics. He also noted that cultural, economic and social factors impeded participation of women in Gusii into electoral politics.

In Embu County - the National Democratic Institute (2018), in their Gender Analysis of the 2017 Kenya's national elections, only three women were elected to elective political positions since the 2010 Kenya's Constitution. According to the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC, 2017) report - no woman contested for the member of county assembly seat while only one woman contested for governorship – in the same elections. The Carter Center (2018) attributes the low women and youth participation in Kenya's elective politics to factors such as cultural and societal challenges, financial constraints, and intimidation and violence. Seemingly,

women leaders are left at the mercy of being nominated rather than elected in political seats. According to the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (2017) - ten women were assigned to the county assemblies against none elected. A county assembly is the smallest elective unit under the Constitution of Kenya (Kenya Constitution, 2010). From the background, the study endeavors to look into the social-economic factors affecting the taking part of women in elective politics in Embu County.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The issue of women's representation in elective politics is still a challenge in Kenya. Women have fought fiercely to ascend high political offices and represent the national and county assembly properly. The Two motions of 2/3 gender rule have flopped in the 2013 and 2017 parliament due to the quorum issue. Despite lobbying by women politicians and NGOs, the effort are still fruitless.

They have tried the court/judiciary system, lobbying, and awareness-raising, but this has not increased the numbers. As a result, their involvement in politics is up to now below par despite the constitution enactments, gender empowerment initiatives, and women-friendly policies. However, women have made great strides in participating in political processes and activities, including forming political parties, voting, contesting for a political seat, and participating in the nominations and voter mobilization.

The active women involved in political processes to secure county assembly and parliamentary seats is still very small even though the 1985 resolutions by UN Women's Conference in Nairobi and the Abuja Declaration of 1989 to increase women's representation and consequence UN women follow-up conference in 2014 and 2019 in Ethiopia. social-economic factors affecting women in elective politics in order to bridge knowledge gap .

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This research study was guided by a general objective and four specific objectives

1.3.1 General Objective

To investigate socio-economic factors affecting women participation in elective politics in Embu County.

1.3.2 Specific objective

1. To investigate the extent to which women participate in elective politics in Embu county
2. To examine the socio-cultural factors affecting women participation in elective politics in Embu county
3. To explore the economic factors affecting women's participation in elective politics in Embu county.

1.4 Research questions

The study was guided by the following research questions;

1. What is the extent to which women participate in elective politics in Embu County?
2. What are the social-cultural factors affecting women's participation in elective politics in Embu County?
3. What are the economic factors affecting women's participation in elective politics in Embu County?

1.5 Justification and Significance of the study

Empirical data and literature about factors that affect women's political involvement their participation in Embu County is scanty. The findings necessitate this proposed study and explore the way in which social-economic factors strengthen effective political activity of women in Embu County.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the study

The study covered socio-economic factors that affect women's participation in elective politics in Embu County. However, even if the problem is witnessed countrywide, this proposed study was done in Embu County due to time and limited financial resources. However, this limitation will be taken care of as the study's findings would elaborate and enough to be representative. Finally, the results cannot be generalized to all women and are not the sole issues that affect participation of women into elective politics. However, the findings are valid and can inform policies and similar studies in other counties or nations at large.

1.7 Operational Definition of Terms and Concepts

For this study, the below included definitions that were operationalized as follows:

- **Elective politics participation** is involved in main line politics as political hopefuls or in the political positions at levels of the senate, county and parliament.
- **Cultural factors:** They are attitudes often passed during the socialization process, and they inform life choices such as leadership, marriage, values, norms, among others. They tell broader social structures in a society
- **Social factors:** They are a set of personal attributes, beliefs, experience, skills, and knowledge that affect and inform women participation in politics

- **Economic factors:** They are women monetary base, which affect the ability to participate in politics
- **Patriarchy:** Refers to the domination of males in the process of making decisions, power, and positions of leadership.
- **Representation:** This refers to a situation of speaking, deliberating, and making informed decisions on behalf of parties whereby the choice mandate is binding, either issued through elections, nominations, or direct appointments.
- **Women politicians:** A female having vied or been a parliamentarian, member of a county assembly, or a civic leader.
- **Socio-economic Factors:** In this study, socio-economic factors refer to marital status, education, occupation, property ownership of the community in Embu County.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

The chapter reviewed literature covering socio-economic factors that involve participation of women in elective politics and strategies that can be enhance participation by women in elective politics. The theoretical framework, as well as the conceptual framework, were also explored. Finally, research gaps were identified.

2.1 Overview of women participation in elective politics

Conway (2016) defines political participation as registering political parties, participating in elections to select representatives' government, and assessing government policies and programs. In addition, Rosenstone (2013) defined political participation as a process of citizens choosing their political representatives through the ballot or nominated by political parties as outlined in the constitution. Nonetheless, a huge gender disproportion is still present between women's and men's levels of contribution in elective politics.

SirLeaf (2010) study shows the African continent is raising the flag high to promote women's political participation. Liberia was led by electing the first woman president in Africa in 2005, Sirleaf Helen Johnson. Similarly, Malawi made history by having Joyce Banda's presidency. To add on in 2014, Central Africa Republic's Catherine Samba was the temporary president. From 1993, the African continent has experienced the elevation of a mere nine prime ministers of female gender.

It is worthy to note that Parliamentary seats in the world occupied by women rose from 7 percent to 17 percent in 1990 and 2007 respectively while in 2011 it was 20.4%, which is above the average in the world (IPU 2012). This rise in women's political involvement results from constitutional quotas and amendments providing particular seats for women (Potters, 2009).

Countries like Uganda, Nigeria and South Africa have reached the 30 % plus critical mass in representation by women in parliament. The countries have reached the political participation achievement because they identified the significance of electoral and parliamentary processes by women.

Nzomo (2008), in research on Women's Political leadership in Kenya, argues that from the onset of multiparty democracy in 1992, various strategies have been applied to increase women's political participation in Kenya. These include nurturing and developing a vibrant women's movement for political mobilization; developing specific programs on gender and governance; developing training manuals for women in political leadership; gender awareness training and lobbying of political parties; sensitizing society to women's right to political participation; enacting gender-sensitive legislation; developing context-sensitive policy frameworks and implementation mechanisms. During the colonial period, women in Kenya contributed to the struggle in resisting dehumanizing treatment visited on their male compatriots—including Giriama's women leader Mekatilili, Mangana of Kadem in Western Kenya, Wangu WA Maker of Muranga, Moraa Moka Ngiti of Kisii, and Nyanjiru formed protests and lobbied the community to support their men demanding the return of African land (Kamau, 2010). These women leaders organized and led a protest march in Norfolk Hotel, Nairobi.

Hon. Grace Onyango was elected as the first Kenyan female Member of Parliament. In 1965 KANU went ahead to nominate Mrs. Jemimah Gechaga as a Member of Parliament. In the next election in 1974, two female members were elected Hon. Dr. Julia Auma Ojiambo of Busia Central and Hon. Philomena Chelagat Mutai to represent Eldoret North. Dr Eddah W. Gachukia and the late Mrs Jemimah Gecaga were also nominated as members of parliament, increasing the number to five. These women were appointed as ministers and were active in the political party's politics (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2011). This analysis shows that from independence, very few

women used to participate in elective politics. Even if the numbers have increased, they have not met the threshold required in the constitution (Kenya Constitution 2010).

The empowerment groups for women were formed in 1952 by those left behind by freedom fighters. The welfare groups graduated to a regional movement referred to as Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO). MYWO did not venture to empower women to have an active role to participate in politics and in representation. Instead, it focused on. Instead, it focused on women's welfare and social-economic development.

Thus, since independence, most women were excluded from elective politics due to the culture that is oppressive making them to believe that politics and leadership only belong to men. Oldest Political parties including Kenya African National Union (KANU), noted that inherent power wielded by MYWO and utilized its capacity to marshal women into voting for its candidates (Parliament Records, 2009).

The Association of Media Women of Kenya (AMWK) which was established in 1983 as one of the pioneer independent organizations in Kenya. In 1992, the League of Kenya Women Voters (LKWV) was formed together with the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW). Another earliest independent alliance formed in 1995 was the Coalition on Violence against Women – Kenya (COVAW). During this time, the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize winner, Wangari Mathai was at the helm of Kenya's Greenbelt Movement (GBM), one of the most effective organizations tasked with environment issues in Africa. The movement was involved in many confrontations against government over issues concerned with the environment as well as the organization's efforts to promote human rights and democracy (Mutullah, 2006).

The Kenya Women's Political Caucus (KWPC) was formed in 1997 after the defeat of Affirmative Action Motion by Hon. Phoebe Asiyo. The body played an important role in organizing other women organizations, aiding women's political manifesto through supporting

activities and everyday concerns of women prior to the 2002 elections. The number has been rising after each general election during the 2002 general election; eight members were elected out of the 210 members of parliament while in 2007 the number increased to 17. In the March 2013 elections, there were 88 women in the parliament, including 47 county women representatives. At the county level, there were no women elected as County governors and senators.

The FIDA (2013) survey shows that the political participation of women in post-independent Kenya has been both substantive and descriptive. The survey further revealed that in 2014, Kenya was behind Rwanda, Uganda, and South Sudan in several women in parliament. Kenya constituted 19.1% of women members of parliament behind Uganda's 35 %, South Sudan's 26.5 % and Rwanda's 63.8 %. FIDA further made an estimate to the extent that representation of women in Local Authorities was less than 6 percent which is inadequate. A summary of the women's parliamentary representation in Kenya since 1963 – 2017 is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Situational Analysis of Parliamentary Representation in Kenya, 1963 - 2013.

Period	Aspirants	Elected			Nominated	
	W	Women	Men	Women %	Women	Men
1963-1969	7	0	158	0	0	12
1969-1974	6	1	157	0.63	1	11
1974-1979	13	4	154	2.5	2	10
1979-1983	15	5	153	3.2	1	11
1983-1988	7	2	156	1.3	1	11
1988-1992	6	2	186	1.1	0	12
1992-1997	19	6	182	3.2	1	11
1997-2002	50	4	206	1.9	5	7
2002-2007	44	10	200	4.8	8	4
2007-2013	269	16	194	7.6	6	6

In the 2017 general election number of women elected increased by 21 % (NGEC Report, 2017). The Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA 2014) found a significant improvement in empowerment of women politically. The gap was significantly closed from Between 2006 and 2013, movement from .053 to .116, closed the gap significantly leading to the international ranking for Kenya to jump from 93 to 85.

Formed in 2002, the Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA) mobilizes parliamentarians on a nonpartisan basis. The Center for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) through the women's program which came out in 2004 for promotion efforts in carrying out a gender analysis of national budgets. Over 30 NGOs came met in 2012 to create the National Women's Charter which created a unitary agenda for associations involving women in the period before the elections in 2013. Table 2 outlines female registered voters in the 2013 & 2017 general elections in Kenya.

Table 2

Female registered voters in 2013 & 2017 general election in Kenya.

Year	Gender	Registered voters	Percentage (%)
2013	Female	7,246,307	49%
	Total	14,788,381	100%
	Female	9,142,275	46.6%
2017	Total	19,611,423	100%

Source: FIDA (2013)

Participation in elective politics in Embu County has greatly reinforced the local capacity, offered a voice to women, the marginalized and poor, enhanced sustainability of development

initiatives, and linked county plans and projects to needs of people. Their participation was crucial and valuable in protecting against misuse of resources, corruption, public servants' abuse of office and that by political leaders. This is evidence by numerous impeachment motions in the Embu County assembly by members of county assemblies (FIDA Kenya, 2013).

In a study done by Odhiambo and Taia (2009), the participation of women in elective politics, Embu County made history when it elected one of the eight women in parliament in 2002. Women's participation is still low at the grassroots level. In 2013 and 2017, there were less than 2% of women contested for any political seat. Those contested for various seats didn't go beyond party nomination primaries for any seat. The ten current women in the county assembly were nominated to meet the constitutional requirement of 2/3 gender rule. From the foregoing background, the study aimed to assess patriarchal structures hindering women's participation in Embu County (IEBC Kenya, 2018). Table 3 shows female candidates who contested for an elective seat in the 2013 and 2017 general elections in Embu County.

Table 3

Women candidates in the 2013 and 2017 general elections in Embu County

Year	Gender	governor	Senate	MCA	Mp	Women rep
2013	Female	0	0	2	1	8
	Total	0	0	2	1	8
2017	Female	1	0	0	0	16
	Total	1	0	0	0	16

Source: IEBC (2017)

Cherinet and Mulugeta (2003) studied the input of women in decision-making bodies of local government which was a case study from Ethiopia's Amhara regional state in South wollo zone. The study found that policy formulation on women and ratification of conventions had been made, but implementing has proven to be a challenge. This was because of attitudinal issues regarding equality in gender, with priorities that are competing, which is mostly pushing away of women's issues.

Similarly, Hora (2014) did a study on the opportunities and challenges of Women's political participation in Ethiopia. It was found that participation of women in making decisions, especially in parliament, was meagre even though there was policy formulation on their participation in politics.

2.2 Socio-Cultural Factors Affecting Women Participation in Elective Politics

Nyakundi (2018) discuss that customs in many communities in Africa tend to contradict women's role in the main political leadership. These communities considered them as only homemakers hence restricting them to such roles. In addition, cultural factors are connected to beliefs that stereotype on the capacity and ability of women in a large number of communities.

The cultural perceptions fail to encourage women to get involved into active political participation. Nyakundi (2018) further states that religions, it is men who have power which is equated to divine subjugation of women. As such, women are expected to fit into roles that are subsidiary as their position belongs in kitchens while men make decisions. Many African communities do not allow women to talk to men publicly and regard it as taboo. Many women still consider their status in marriage can only be strengthened by giving birth to a boy. This may have an effect that is psychological thus consigning women to lower roles for development issues within communities. Customary laws of inheritance in Kenya are inclined to be in men's favour. The family's resources and property are shared and controlled by men. Rarely do women get to inherit

any of their parents' property. As such women are disadvantaged economically. Where communities practice retrogressive cultures like forced and early/planned marriages and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), those who have not gone through the FGM rite of passage are considered as "children" and may not be supported to participate in elections (Okoth, 2000).

Among communities that are pastoralists, lives follow clan lines under the control of a council of elders which determine political candidates for different offices. Such councils are most time hesitant to approve or offer backing to candidates who are women. Therefore, female candidates with potential for better leadership abilities and skills are locked out. Notably, over 30% of Kenyans hold the belief that women leaders are regarded to be weaker among the two genders leading them not to treat women equally. This negatively influences the electorate not to support women due to this belief that is retrogressive (FIDA 2013). In some Kenyan communities, women who are divorced or single are not able to contest for political office and if they do, they face public ridicule and insults. Socialization and societal norms are harsh to women. Divorced men do not face similar contempt that women experience. The stems from the patriarchy that exists in many communities in Kenya.

Chafetz and Dworkin (1986) state that women normally need to contest and contend with old beliefs that politics is a field for men. Stereotypes on women may influence their levels of political representation in the entire process. This runs from a woman's individual decision to join politics to party preliminaries to the electorate's patterns of voting. Religion also produces cultural beliefs that are anachronistic in many communities which fail to consider women for leadership that is mainstream. All the main religions hold a position that consider women as inferior to men. Worldwide, traditional religion has laid the foundation for exclusion of women from political, religious or social life aspects (Paxton and Hughes 2007).

Women who are politically active are considered to be irresponsible and not suitable for marriage as they are considered to be “loose”. Similarly, across most African communities, men are socialized into being aggressive, autocratic, brave, independent and dominant, while women get the label of being emotional, fragile and sentimental. On many occasions, stereotypes are harmful and have been a source of marginalization of women seeking political offices.

Many cultures worldwide, especially in Africa, expect women to move into a man's house after marriage. Marital is a construct of patriarchy that hinders women or discourages them from participating in their home local politics, which poses the dilemma of election constituency. The marriage dilemma creates a basis on which women cannot effectively participate in politics despite the constitution allowing them to contest where they qualify (Burns, 2007).

Generally, marriage impedes women's political participation due to the triple gender role (Oluwole, 2014). Marriage norms confine women to the private realm of family and expect women to put more effort into the reproductive function. Society believes women have inborn skills for home management and nurturing children. Also, being married in a patriarchal society is a plus for women interested in politics. Unfortunately, this discriminates against young women, widows, and not married for different reasons. A woman who does not wish to get married or otherwise is often accused of being immoral, among other things. As a result, people are socialized not to pay much attention to single women and see them as failures; therefore, they cannot be trusted with leadership (Burns, 2007). This point was reiterated sometime in 2014 when a Kenyan Governor suggested that single women should not hold leadership positions.

Many women were told off and inhibited by their close family male rivals, elders, clan members to step down if the race was unbecoming and unacceptable for a woman to run or lead men. Women who were single experienced attacks for being single while some others remained blocked because they married outside the home, they are divorces or old. Unfortunately, men have the same traits but were not criticized during the election. There was a lot of misinformation and

rivalry from close family members who opposed the women during campaigns. Also, in a family situation where a male and female family member wants to contest for political seats, the patriarchal structure dictates men to go for the seat despite being more qualified. Over the decade's family unit has been a significant stumbling block to women participating in politics (Fridkin & Kenney 2004).

Islam and Christianity faith dominate Africa. These two religions have very similar constructs and inform people's relations and day-to-day activities. Both religions have been criticized for advancing a patriarchal system by encouraging women to take subordinate roles. According to Islam, Men are the protectors and maintenance of women because Allah has given one more (strength) than the other and supports them from their means. There are, however, some excerpts that reinforce the subordination of women. In the Bible, for example, Eve was created to be Adam's helper. This in itself subordinates the woman, and whoever subscribes to the letter will always see the woman inferior to the man.

Kenya being a state which is secular is guided by the constitution and not the Bible or Quran. Despite the body saying so, Kenyans have openly held prayers for their leaders and the nation. A significant majority are Christians and informed by Christian values; they believe that the man is the head and the woman is inferior. This may be a reason why most women are not openly challenging their leaders. Also, religion threatens women with curses and misfortunes if they go against their faith teaching or disobey their male counterparts. Religions encourage women to seek and follow their husbands or father figure decisions in all aspects of life, including political decisions. There is also a belief that religion and politics cannot merge. This is derived from Christians who believe that one cannot serve two masters. This was mainly an issue for Margaret Wanjiru, a church bishop and vied for Member of Parliament, Starehe Constituency in the Kenya general elections in 2007(Awour,2015).

True to George & Parashar (2014) researched the participation of women in politics in the Pacific and in Asia. The study found that the region shares traits that strongly forbid women from participating in public life. They further found that customary, religious and cultural discourses are regularly utilised to make it moral that politics is not the “rightful” place of women. They concluded that women were portrayed as weak and not incapable of holding political offices.

Steel (2015) conducted a study on traditional community attitudes towards women in politics in Kenya. The study found that the community attitudes towards women in politics were negative. Further, the study found that female parliamentarians are generally regarded as ineffective by among others peers who are more open-minded. This argument was that most female parliamentarians hold their seats due to the current system of top-up, in which women are not directly elected as MPs but hold 'County Representative' seats.

In addition, Kamau (2008) found that the idea that women in Kenya don't make better leaders than men remains a common phenomenon. This is so even when numbers of leaders holding elective positions and are female has risen as laid out in the Constitution.

2.3 Economic factors affecting women participation in elective politics

The status of women economically plays to a greater extent an important role in improving their representation and role in bodies involved in decision-making. It follows that access to finances and means of production have a direct influence to women involvement in institutions of electoral politics including County Assemblies, the National assembly and Senate.

Most Kenyan communities do not grant women neither property rights nor access to land. As a result, women are economically incapacitated despite the constitution guaranteeing them property rights. Hence they are not able to stand for election and even hold effective campaigns since these are expensive. Consequently, discrimination in accessing production means, more so property and land rights to women acutely leads to the low levels in active involvement in

governance and politics. Additionally, while underlining the numerous levels in which women are disadvantaged, Wanjala and Odongo (2010) explain that only 23% of Kenyan cooperative societies which are sources of credit cover women thus further marginalizing women's empowerment economically.

Afifu (2008) notes that the biggest hurdle for women from rural areas trying to join elective politics is the poverty that faces them. The Census Report (2009) reveals a wide economic gap between communities in Kenya's rural and urban areas. The rural population in Kenya is 63% while the urban one is 37% (Ibid). Additionally, many women stay in rural areas leading to limited access to economic resources in comparison to those in urban areas. As such, it is difficult for them to compete with men in elective politics at either national or regional levels. Thus, the economic empowerment of women strengthened by access to information and education may ensure complete involvement of women in politics. Empowerment of women economically leads to ownership of resources among which is finance necessary for the process of elections including publicity, nomination fees and campaign meetings at both the nominations stage by political parties and by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC, 2017). Those women who are empowered politically may be able to hold sway in critical policy decisions made by government's legislative and executive arms. Empowerment of women economically and through education and also provision of information will remove constraints placed on women by the household and lead to complete participation in politics and elections.

Women are more predisposed to poverty compared to men. This has led to what is called the feminization of poverty (Manfre & Rubin). The feminization of poverty refers to women's vulnerability to poverty. The priorities for a woman who is the head of her household and has minimal skills are not participating in politics but feeding her family. Political aspirants in Kenya

often take advantage of the general election. The politicians entice the electorate with money and foodstuff during the election, thus making the electioneering era is very expensive.

As has been mentioned, more women than men are poor and are susceptible to poverty. This means very few can vie for elective positions leave alone buy votes, as has been the trend in Kenya. This means that even though the female candidates would get money to pay their nomination fee, they still lose because they are not as popular as their male counterparts. As mentioned above, this popularity depends on how much you can give the electorate (Kamau, 2007).

Olufemi (2006) did a study in Northern Uganda on the barriers to women's political participation. The study found that Poverty and lack of economic security are always barriers to political involvement by women. In addition, the study reported that when women's income levels increase, they can take part in a more dominant position for making decisions in the household and gain more mobility and impact within the community's decision-making bodies. This, in turn, leads them to participate in politics. But, the research also noted that economic gains by women in this region are insufficient as politics is very expensive to maintain. Thus this political participation is still low.

Maeri (2014) studied participation of women in parliamentary elective politics in Nyamira County between 1992 and 2013. The study revealed that age and marital status play an important part in affecting involvement of women as parliamentarians. Karuru (2001) examined factors that influence women's political participation in the Kibra division in Nairobi, Kenya. The sample size comprised 154 respondents who were purposively selected and interviewed for this study. The study found that, though women have achieved big strides in several areas including education, but still lag in terms of political participation, where they largely occupy subordinate positions. Further, the study found that the most obstructing factors that affect women's political involvement were rooted in cultural issues, including economic inequities, inadequate incomes, social attitudes

and access to education. The majority of respondents reported that active political involvement is usually associated with high expenditure.

Further, the study found that poor educational achievements among most women were a critical contributory factor to their low participation in political processes. Low income was also cited as another significant factor hindering the involvement of women in politics. This is because active political involvement is usually associated with high expenditure and therefore requires one to have a good income in addition (Karuru 2001). Awour (2012) investigated those factors that influence the participation of women in political leadership in Rongo Constituency of Migori County in Kenya. The study found that women in that area are disadvantaged economically hence their chances of rising to political office are obstructed.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Radical feminist theory guided the study to highlight the issue of under-representation of women in politics. It was an outstanding feminist theory that was popular around 1967-1975. The approach focused mainly on how patriarchy hinders the involvement of women into public roles. The theory was developed by Allan Hunter, Andrea Working and Clare Chambers (Al Hibri, 1984). This group regarded it as essential to deal with women's oppression to address other forms of oppression in society (Jaggar & Rothenberg, 1984).

Feminism theory dates back to the 16th century, intending to examine experiences by both genders, interests, and social roles. This movement began as a resistance to the denial of rights to suffrage and women's oppression at their workplaces. It notes how women are marginalized and oppressed. Therefore, it aims to act as protection against being marginalized by enlightening women to be recognized and participate in social economic activities in society. The main aim of Feminism theory is to enhance the emancipating of women by advocating and pushing for the exclusion of all restrictions on women by the law which prevent them from being free in their actions within the society and ensuring women have a voice and are recognized in economic and social spheres in the creation of a perfect society.

The feminist theory entails creating spaces for women, overcoming challenges in the past, and advocating for women as active agents of change in society. Thus, the approach recognizes women as critical components in the community who cannot be ignored and have numbers to push their agenda. The feminist theory highlights various themes, including the objectification of women, patriarchy, inequality, and stereotyping. These are the main issues hindering women from participating in elective politics. They give minority seats, political seats as tokens', and 'flower girls' in political spheres, including parliament. The feminist theory is associated with fighting for rights which are natural and defining the role of women in the society. The variance in women and men's political participation is regarded not to be natural but influenced by social environment. Kenya's women organizations for example, Maendeleo ya Wanawake, Kewopa, emerged to enhance women's participation and socio-economic position and improve their engagement in electoral politics.

This therefore makes emphasis on the inherent similarities that exist between the two groups instead of any differences. The differences and public opinions are used to pin down and discourage women from participating in politics. At the same time, the same narrative is used by opponents to brainwash voters, not to elect women. Feminist theory advocate focusing on potential similarities between the two genders to give them equal and fair participation in elective politics. They emphasize ending the male prejudice, negative masculinity, and male domination in the social-economic aspect of society. The theory recognizes women are not a homogenous group, but they shared oppression experiences as women due to socialization, patriarchal structure, and historical domination by men.

There are three different components in Feminist theory with the primary place for divergence being the origin of subordination of women and the way to stop it from society. First, feminist theory, irrespective of the various strands, highlights that: (a) there is an existing

relationship between male and female which is structured in a way that women are subordinated to men and this has to change; (b) the paternal status of society perceives that it is the subordination of women is expected, the notion has to be challenged too and finally it recognizes all humans as being equal and with equal potential.

This theory spotlights well the lack of balance in participation in politics as it inquires on all power relations that exist between the two genders. Differences in involvement in elective politics are described by gender. In this spirit, the theory is appropriate and timely in looking into the association between social-economic factors and participation of women in elective politics. First, it informs and assist to explain the lagging of women in participating in politics as compared to men despite campaigns and constitutional provisions. It also helps examine the presence and process of oppression, inequality, objectification, and patriarchy in various platforms that oppress women and hinder women from actively participating in politics in comparison to men.

To understand how the extent of participation in politics is being redressed, the study looks at social-economic factors being a bridge or a stumbling block to influential women's participation in elective politics. Policies, laws, and addressing negative patriarchy structures can be a way of reestablishing justice to correct injustices from history and marginalization of women in politics. In this view, the study aims at how organizations run by women have addressed marginalization and the approach to end such injustice.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

The study was guided by the following conceptual framework Independent Variables (IV) Dependent Variables (DV). The dependent variable is women's participation in elective politics, while the independent variables are: social-cultural factors and economic factors. Intervening variables include the level of education, political party affiliations, and age.

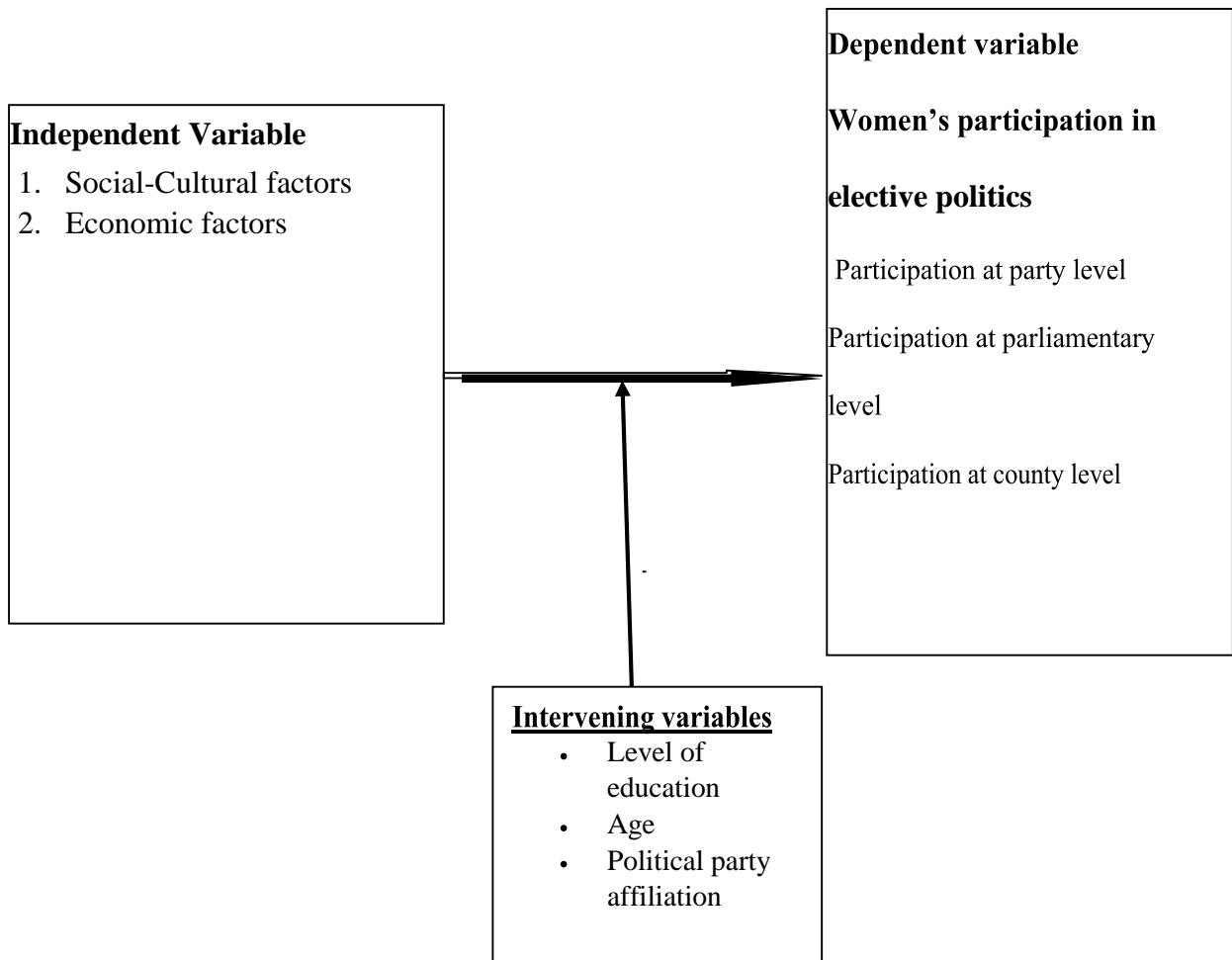


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

Source: Author (2020)

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the way assessment was done on socio-economic factors affecting women's participation in elective politics in Embu County. It describes the location of the study, sampling techniques, research design, target population, sample size, pilot study, research instruments, data collection procedures, validity and reliability of research instruments, ethical considerations and data analysis.

3.1 Research Site

This study was conducted in Embu County. It is located in the Eastern part of Kenya. The county borders Tharaka Nithi County to the North, Machakos to the south, Kitui to the East, and Kirinyaga to the west. The county is divided into four sub-counties and nine electoral constituencies: Manyatta, Runyenjes, Mbeere North, and Mbeere South. The County covers an estimated area of 2818 square kilometres (KBNS, 2009). Most parts of the county are characterized by a hilly topography with several ridges and valleys and high and reliable rainfall ranging from 1200-1500mm per annum, making the county suitable for rained agriculture.

People in Embu County are mainly farmers growing cash crops like coffee and tea. However, they also produce food crops such as maize, beans, dairy keeping, among others. Embu women and children usually do most agricultural and housework, including cooking, fetching water, and performing other socio-economic activities. The Embu community is patriarchal, and decision-making powers are bestowed upon men. Hence the reason it was chosen to participate in this study. This site was also selected for this study because few women have been found to contest for elective and civic positions at the county and national levels despite equal opportunities for both genders and constitution reforms and affirmative political action.

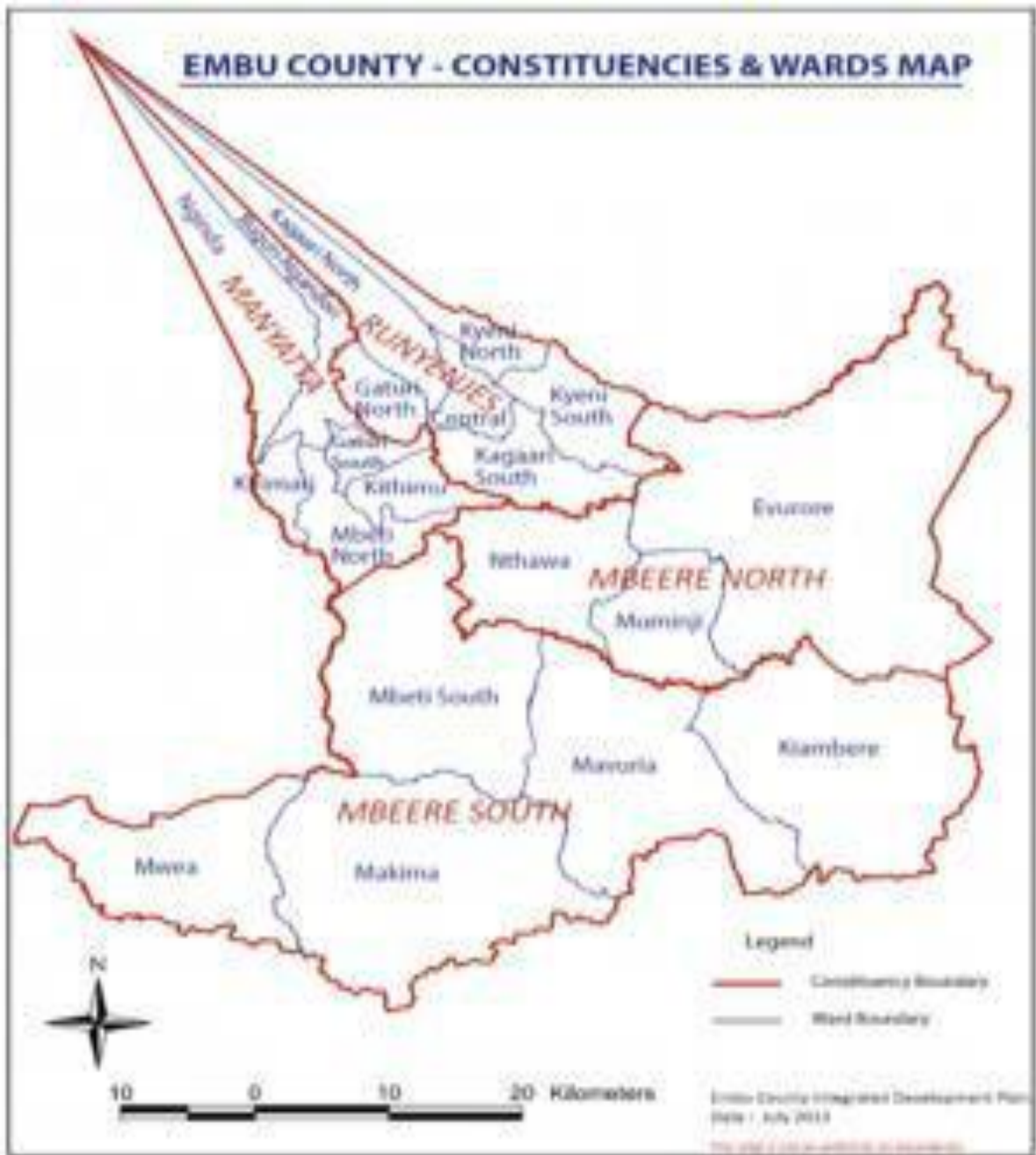


Figure 2: Map of Embu County

3.3 Research Design

This research project used descriptive survey design. This involved both quantitative and qualitative approaches. According to Taylor (2008), this research design allows collecting information about items from a large population; hence, it will be chosen for this proposed study because many variables are collected. Similarly, this design was picked for being an efficient method to collection of information from a big number of respondents, which this study had targeted.

3.4 Target population

According to KNBS (2009) report, Embu County has 516,212 (51% females and 49% males). However, the target population for the research project was the registered voters in Embu County and key informants from the same county. Embu County had 309,468 registered voters by the 2017 general elections who were targeted in this study. The critical informants targeted were 26 and included individuals holding political offices, present office bearers, those who had took part in elections but did not win or held campaigns for candidates.

3.5 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

This section entails both sampling method used and how the sample size was obtained

3.5.1 Sampling Technique

The study used different sampling techniques to get the sample size. Non-probability and probability techniques of sampling were used at different stages. Under probability sampling, a stratified sampling technique was used where Embu county was classified into four strata: Manyatta, Runyenjes, Mbeere North, and Mbeere South. Then, from each of the four strata (constituencies), to determine the sample size of the respondents participating in the research, the sampling formula suggested by Godden (2004) was utilized as shown in sample size.

After the sample size was obtained, the researcher employed a snowballing method of nonprobability sampling to reach t Snowballing is a method of nonprobability sampling in which present subjects give referrals to bring in samples needed for a study, the researcher employed snowballing. Finally, under nonprobability sampling, purposive sampling technique was used to get the 26 key informants who participated in the research.

3.5.2 Sample size

Since the target population of the registered voters in Embu County is more than 10,000, the sample size determination formula for infinite populations as proposed by Godden (2004) was adopted to decide on the sample size as shown below.

N= Where:

n = Sample Size for infinite population

Z = Confidence level at 95% (Standard value 1.96)

P = Population proportion assumed to be 0.5 (50%)

E= Margin of Error at 5% (0.05)

$$n = \frac{1.96^2 \times 0.5(1-0.5)}{0.05^2} = 385$$

$$n = 385$$

Table 4

Sampling Matrix for Registered Voters in Embu County

Constituency	Target population	Sample Size	Percentage sample size
Manyatta	99339	114	29.6
Runyenjes	86977	108	28
Mbeer North	51009	63	16.4
Mbeere South	72143	100	26
Total	309468	385	100

Source: IEBC (2017)

3.6 Research instruments

Tools used for collecting data were questionnaires and interview guides. Questionnaires are preferred because they gather data over a large sample (Orodho, 2003). The questionnaires were used for data collection from the students. Every item from the questionnaire was made to tackle each specific objective and research question in the study. Thus, the researcher maintained the literacy level of the respondents. The questionnaires had two sections: section A and B. Section A mainly comprised background information of the respondent. Section B contained questions regarding the topic in question. The questions were both open and closed-ended. The questionnaire collected data from the registered voters, while interview guides collected data from the key informants.

3.9 Data collection Techniques and Procedure

In preparation for field work, the researcher first obtained a letter of introduction from the university to seek permission from the office of the National Commission for Science and Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). The researcher used letters of identification from the university and NACOSTI to introduce herself to the study participants. The researcher then explained the significance of doing the study to the respondents to obtain their consent. Collection of data was done using interview guides and questionnaires.

These tools were administered with help from assistants to collect data. The respondent filled the questionnaires; the researcher acknowledged the participants for taking part in the study by word of mouth.

3.10 Data analysis

Data collected was systematically organized and cleaned by checking whether all the questions had been filled to carry out the analysis. Data were coded, and entries into SPSS version 22 were done. The outcomes of the coded data were tallied, tabulated, analyzed, and summarized.

Descriptive statistics were used to analyze quantitative data from questionnaires in terms of percentages and frequencies. Qualitative data from the open-ended items from the questionnaires and qualitative data from key informants were put in categories to determine the frequencies from every response. The respondents providing comparable answers was organized into themes and patterns to establish relationships in answering research questions. After which every category was changed into percentages for illustrating related levels in opinion and numbers assigned to allow for analysis. This analysis was then used to find trends, relationships and patterns in the population of study.

3.11 Logistical and ethical considerations

Prior to data collection, the researcher received a research permit from the NACOSTI certifying that the researcher had the approval to study in various universities. The researcher also trained research assistants on the procedure of collecting data. Once in the field, the researcher and research assistants thoroughly explained the study to obtain the respondents' informed consent. While carrying out the study, the researcher was also sensitive to issues of ethics including respondents' privacy and confidentiality. The researcher made sure that there was no abuse of the privilege and that respondents understood that the responses were for research and nothing else. The study adhered to Covid-19 health precautions when engaging in research, including social distance, wearing masks, and sanitizing hands.

Furthermore, the researcher was honest and open in dealing with respondents. Finally, ethical principle (justice) was observed by selecting respondents from the general population. The principle requires that participant equitable selection avoids populations that may through unfair means be coerced into taking part, including institutionalized children and prisoners.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings on socio-economic factors affecting women's participation in elective politics in Embu County, Kenya. The results are presented in six sections focusing on response rate, demographic characteristics, and the extent to which women participate in elective politics, social-cultural factors impacting on women's involvement in politics, and economic issues involving their partaking in elective politics.

4.2 Response Rate

The sample size for the study was 411 respondents comprising 385 voters and 26 key informants. Out of 385 questionnaires issued to the respondents, 201 questionnaires were returned duly filled, making a response rate of 52.21%. On the other hand, out of the 26 respondents sampled to be interviewed, only 14 were available and participated in the interview, making a response rate of 53.85%, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5

Response Rate

Category	Questionnaires administered/ interviews	Questionnaires Returned	Response rate
Voters	385	201	52.21%
Key informants	26	14	53.85 %

Source: Author (2020)

This response rate was adequate for statistical reporting because Mugenda and Mugenda (2012) hold that a response rate of 50% and above is sufficient for data analysis to proceed.

4.3. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Presentation of respondents' demographic characteristics were classified into two: demographic characteristics of the respondents that filled the questionnaire and demographic characteristics of the interviewed sample.

4.3.1 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents who provided the Quantitative Data

The study analyzed the demographic characteristics of the respondents who took part in the survey. This was analyzed in terms of respondents' age, gender, marital status, and constituency.

4.3.1.1 Age of Respondents

The respondents were asked to indicate their age in years. Age was classified into 20-30 years, 31-40 years, 41- 50 years, and above 50 years. The findings were as shown in Table 6

Table 6

Age of Respondents

	Age in Years	Frequency	Per cent
Valid	20-30	70	34.83
	31-40	63	31.34
	41-50	42	20.90
	Above 50	26	12.94
	Total	201	100.0

Source: SPSS output (2020)

Table 6 show that most (34.83%) of participants were between 20 to 30 years. This was followed by those aged 31-40 years (31.34%) and respondents 41-50 years (20.90%). The least (12.94%) number of respondents were aged above 50 years. The findings implied that most respondents were young and are in the prime stage of their lives that they would like to participate in decisions made in the country through voting their preferred leaders.

4.3.1.2 Gender of Respondents

The study sought to understand the gender for respondents. Therefore, respondents were required to specify the gender in the questionnaire. As a result, gender was classified as either male or female. Table 7 shows the findings of the gender of respondents.

Table 7

Gender of Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Per cent
Male	96	47.76
Female	105	52.24
Total	201	100.0

Source: SPSS output (2020)

Table 7 show that 47.76% of the respondents were males while 52.24 % were females. These findings were like this because from the IEBC statistics on voters who participated in the 2017 elections, women were more than men. Hence replica on the number of respondents in this study in terms of gender.

4.3.1.3 Marital Status of Respondents

Respondents also indicated the marital status whose findings were presented in **Table 8**.

Table 8

Marital Status of Respondents

Marital Status of Respondents	Frequency	Percent
Married	93	46.27
Single	86	42.79
Divorced	11	5.47
Separated	11	5.47
Total	201	100.0

The study found that most (46.27%) of the respondents were married, followed by a single (42.79%). Interestingly, the study established that 5.47% of the respondents were divorced and separated, respectively. This implies that the family institution is a critical pillar in Embu. It should

be involved in political education to support women who uncounted marriage as a hindrance to participating in elective politics.

4.3.1.4 Constituency of Respondents

Respondents were asked to indicate the constituency they hailed from. The findings of respondents' constituency were presented in **Table 9**.

Table 9

Marital Status of Respondents

Constituency of Respondents	Frequency	Per cent
Manyatta	62	30.85
Runyenjes	63	31.34
Mbeere North	42	20.90
Mbeere South	34	16.92
Total	102	100.0

Source: SPSS output (2020)

Table 9 shows that most (30.85%) respondents came from the Manyatta constituency, followed by those who came from the Runyenjes constituency (31.34%) and the respondents who from Mbeere North constituency (20.90%). Further, the study established that respondents who came from Mbeere South were the least (16.92). These findings were like this because from the IEBC statistics on voters who participated in the 2017 elections, the majority of registered voters were from Manyatta, followed by those who came from Runyenjes, Mbeere North, and Mbeere South. Hence replica on the number of respondents in this study in terms of gender.

4.3.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents who provided Qualitative Data

Characteristics in demography of the sample interviewed were analyzed according to ward gender and occupation. The interviews were conducted to obtain qualitative data for explaining the patterns that emerged from the quantitative data analysis and get more information on factors affecting participation of women in elective politics. The demographic characteristics of the interviewed sample were analyzed and presented in Table 10.

Table 10*Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents who provided Qualitative Data*

Respondent	Gender	Occupation
P001	F	Ward Administrator
P004	M	MCA from Mbeere South
P005	F	Voter Mobilizer
P009	F	Jubilee party women representative
P010	M	Ward administrator
P012	M	CDF Manager Mbeere North
P014	M	Religious Leader
P016	F	IEBC officer in Embu County
P019	M	CDF Committee Member Runyenjes Constituency
P020	M	Ward Administrator
P021	M	Ward Administrator
P024	M	P.A For member of parliament Mbeere South
P025	F	Nominated female MCA
P026	M	Ward administrator

Source: Author (2020)

Table 10 shows that the interviewed sample comprised 14 respondents. Out of which 5 were women, and 9 were men. Further, table 10 indicates that the critical informants consisting ward administrators, county assembly members, constituency development fund officers from the constituencies, and voter mobilizers and religious leaders.

4.4 Extent to Which Women Participate in Elective Politics in Embu County

The study sought to understand to what extent women participate in elective politics in Embu County. First, demographic factors that influence women's role in elective politics such as age, education level, and marital status were sought. Secondly, the political seats women vied in during the last general elections were sought. Lastly, the extent to which women participate in elective politics was investigated by looking at how women participate in various political activities in Embu County.

4.4.1 Demographic Factors Influencing Women Participation in Elective Politics in Embu County.

Demographic factors influencing women's participation in elective politics such as age, education level, and marital status were sought. The respondents were provided with questions rated on a five-point Likert scale ranging from; strongly agree (SA), Agree (A), neutral (N), disagree (D), and strongly disagree (SD). Finally, the respondents were requested to tick the most appropriate response concerning demographic factors affecting women's participation in elective politics in Embu County.

During scoring, Means were computed with the lowest possible mean being one and the highest possible mean 5. The findings were interpreted that if any demographic factors scored a compromise above 2.5, the demographic characteristics presented influenced how women participate in elective politics. On the other hand, if the findings of the demographic characteristics scored a mean below 2.5, the demographic elements including age, marital status and education level, did not influence the extent to which women participate in elective politics. The findings were presented in table 11.

Table 11

Demographic Factors Influencing Women Participation in Elective Politics in Embu County

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Age	201	1	5	3.96	.964
Level of Education	201	1	5	3.86	1.046
Marital Status	201	1	5	3.83	1.001

Source: SPSS output (2020)

Table 11 shows all the demographic factors scored a mean above 2.5, with age having the highest standard (mean= 3.96; SD= 0.964 and marital status had the lowest standard (mean=3.83; SD= 1.001). These findings imply that age, level of education, and marital status affect how women participate in elective politics in Embu County. Further, these findings were like these because some elective seats, such as governor, need a degree to qualify to vie.

These findings agree with Maeri's (2014) study on participation of women in elective parliamentary politics in Nyamira County in the period 1992-2013. The study noted that factors such as marital status and age play an important role in affecting participation of women in contesting for parliamentary positions.

Additionally, these findings were supported by Karuru's (2001) study findings on the the factors that affect political involvement of women in the Kibra division, Nairobi, Kenya. The study found that poor educational achievements among most women were a key contributory factor to their low participation in political processes.

4.4.2 Activities Women Participate in Elective Politics in Embu County

Women participate in elective politics such as participation in voters education, party nomination primaries, political party agents, election observers, membership of political parties, voters mobilization, and participation in elections were sought. The respondents were provided with questions rated on a five-point Likert scale ranging from; strongly agree (SA), Agree (A), neutral (N), disagree (D), and strongly disagree (SD). The respondents were requested to tick the most appropriate response concerning women's activities in elective politics in Embu County.

During scoring, means were computed with the lowest possible mean being one and the highest possible compromise is 5. The findings were interpreted that if any of the activities presented scored a mean above 2.5, it indicated that women in Embu County participate in elective politics extensively. On the other hand, if any of the activities presented scored a mean below 2.5, it meant there was an indication that women in Embu County do not participate in elective politics extensively. The findings were presented in table 12

Table 12*Activities Women Participate in Elective Politics in Embu County*

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Voters Education	201	1	5	3.72	1.114
Party Nomination Primaries	201	1	5	3.94	.970
Political part Agents	201	1	5	4.00	.980
Election Observers	201	1	5	3.99	.914
Membership Of Political parties	201	1	5	3.78	1.150
Voters Mobilization	201	1	5	3.97	1.115
Participation in Elections	201	1	5	4.39	.848

Table 12 shows all the activities women participate in elective politics scored a mean above 2.5, with participation in elections having the highest mean (mean= 4.39; SD= 0.848) followed by women participation as political party agents (mean= 4.00; SD= .980). Similarly, involvement of women in voters' education had the lowest mean (mean=3.72; SD= 1.114).

These findings imply that women participate extensively in activities involved in elective politics. Secondly, the score for participation in the election had the highest mean. This could have been attributed to the fact that it is a constitutional requirement for people to vote for their leaders. Women participating in voters' education being low could have been due to voters' beliefs that voter education is for contestants and the institutions charged with conducting elections. Secondly, voting training is only done during the general election, which encompasses voting procedures. Therefore, there is no training to enlighten people on party ideologies, the constitution, and holding leaders accountable.

There was no literature to back up the findings on the activities women engage in elective politics. Therefore, this study added a body of knowledge in this area.

4.4.3 Political Seats Women Vied For During Last General Election in Embu County

Political seat women vied for during last general elections such as governor's seat, senator's seat, MP seat, and MCA seat was sought. The respondents were provided with a list of political

centers (governor's headquarters, senator's seat, MP seat, and MCA seat) and requested to indicate yes or no whether women vied for any of the seats. During scoring, summation of the frequencies was done and the percentages were computed as shown in table 13.

Table 13

Political Seats Women Vied For During Last General Election in Embu County

Political Seat Vied For		Frequency	Percentage
Governor's seat	Yes	28	11.7
	No	173	84.3
	Total	201	100
Senator's seat	Yes	28	11.7
	No	173	84.3
	Total	201	100
Member of Parliament	Yes	29	15.4
	No	172	84.6
	Total	201	100
Member of County Assembly	Yes	56	27.5
	No	145	72.5
	Total	201	100

Source: SPSS Output (2020)

According to Table 13, respondents reported that 11.7% of women vied for governor's and senator's seats while 84.3% did not, respectively. Further, respondents reported that 15.4% of women vied for the Member of Parliament seat while 84.6% did not. Lastly, Table 12 shows that participants in the research reported that 25.7% of women vied for county Assembly seats while 72.5% did not.

From these findings, it implies that the number of women vying for political seats was low. First, this could be because some women who participated in party primaries nominations did not qualify at the political party nomination stage; hence they could not vie on the political seats without getting nominated by the party. Secondly, there is a political culture among electorates. If you do not use a popular political party vehicle to vie, they will not vote for you even when competing as an independent candidate. As a result, this makes women shy off from contesting.

The findings of the majority of key informants corroborated these findings. Regarding the political seats, women vie for. For instance, one participant said, '*most women participate as*

voters, but few take up elective seats or positions in political parties' (Participant 010, personal communication, November 2020). However, the majority also acknowledged that since the promulgation of the 2010 constitution, there is an increase in women vying for various political seats even if some do not succeed.

On the contrary, another critical informant said,

It is not that the number of women who vied for the last general election was few, but they were only eliminated at the party primaries nominations. So since they are not in parliament or county assemblies, it does not mean they did not vie. (Participant 008, personal communication, November 2020).

These findings were corroborated by the study of Hora (2014) in Ethiopia which revealed that participation of women in decision-making, especially in parliament, was meager. Similarly, Cherinet and Mulugeta (2003) also conducted in Ethiopia revealed that involvement of women in decision-making at local governments was low due to the implementation of the ratified policies.

Similarly, a study by Karuru (2001), when examining some of the factors that influenced political activities by women found that women have made great strides in education but they still lagged in terms of political participation. Where they largely participated, they occupied subordinate positions.

4.4 Socio-Cultural Factors Affecting Women Participation in Elective Politics in Embu County

The socio-cultural factors affecting women's participation in elective politics in Embu County were sought. First, the respondents were provided with questions rated on a five-point Likert scale ranging from; strongly agree (SA), Agree (A), neutral (N), disagree (D), and strongly disagree (SD). Then, the respondents were requested to tick the most appropriate response concerning factors within the socio-cultural milieu impacting women's involvement in elective politics in Embu County.

During scoring, Means were computed with the lowest possible mean being one and the highest possible mean being 5. The findings were interpreted that if any of the activities presented scored a mean above 2.5, it indicated that women in Embu County participate in elective politics extensively. On the other hand, if any of the factors presented scored a mean below 2.5, it meant there was an indication that social-cultural factors don't affect women participation in elective politics extensively. The findings were presented in table 14

Table 14

Socio-Cultural Factors Affecting Women Participation in Elective Politics in Embu County

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Someone's Religious Beliefs	201	1	5	3.76	.857
Culture Allows Women To Participate in Politics	201	1	5	3.52	1.082
Women not married are not allowed to Participate In Politics	201	1	5	3.16	1.177
Women Married Outside the Tribe or Constituency	201	1	5	3.55	1.086
Voters Altitude Towards Women Politicians	201	1	5	3.66	1.042

Source: SPSS Output (2020)

Table 14 shows all the social-cultural factors that affect women participation in elective politics, such as someone's religious beliefs, culture allowing women to participate in politics, women not married not being allowed to participate in politics, women married outside the tribe or constituency not being allowed to participate. Voters' altitude towards women politicians scored a mean above 2.5. Further, table 14 shows the social-cultural factor that affects women's participation in elective politics with the highest mean (mean= 3.76; SD= .857) was someone's religious beliefs followed by voters altitude towards women politicians (mean= 3.66; SD= 1.042). On the other hand, women not married cannot participate in politics had the lowest mean (mean=3.16; SD= 1.177).

These findings can be interpreted that most of the teachings and training on religious beliefs in most religious institutions within the county teach women about submission & sending good examples in church and home. This way, women tend to shy away from participating in elective politics to fear doing what their religious beliefs dictate or talk against. Secondly, as much as culture allowed women to participate in elective politics, the number of women vying for elective seats was low. This could have been contributed by the fact that it 'still seems ok' women not to participate in politics as they are reserved for men. Some people also say that women need to consult their spouse and male figures regarding any political decision or move.

The majority of key informants also supported voter's attitudes towards women politicians affecting their participation. For instance, one participant said, *'you know our community view women as homemakers and therefore should not actively participate in politics as this will make them neglect their families. I have heard these arguments from male voters, and for sure it makes some women shy off from participating in elective politics'* (Participant 001, personal communication, November 2020)

Another key informant said,

You know I have a friend of mine who is married outside our tribe, and she had a hard time convincing voters to vote for her, especially men. So they told her to go and vie where she is married. Lastly, another participant said, you know men in this community do not want to see women vying for political seats. Imagine they call a woman vying a 'karinda', which means a skirt. This makes us feel bad because it shows that they do not believe in women's leadership (Participant 025, personal communication, November 2020).

These findings agree with True, George, Niner, and Parashar (2014) research on the political participation of women in Asia and the Pacific. The research found that the region shares

traits that strongly forbid women from participating in public life. They further found that customary, cultural and religious issues are often made to provide as a moral that the appropriate place for women is not in politics. Finally, they concluded that women were portrayed as weak and not incapable of holding political offices.

Similarly, Cherinet and Mulugeta (2003) a study on Women's taking part in decision making bodies for local government bodies in Ethiopia, found that implementation of policy formulation on women participation in decision making bodies was poor due to the problem of attitude in regard to equality in gender. There were often competing priorities hence it appeared that most often issues of women were pushed away.

Steel's (2015) study on traditional community attitudes towards women in politics in Kenya. Also have similar findings. The study found that the community attitudes towards women in politics negative. Further, the study found that female parliamentarians are generally seen as ineffective including by the more open-minded peers. This argument was that most female parliamentarians hold their seats courtesy of the top-up system.

Lastly, Kamau (2008) study also supports these findings. This study found that men make better leaders than women which is a notion still common in Kenya. This is despite the increase by the constitution of female leaders in elective leadership positions.

4.5 Economic Factors Affecting Women Participation in Elective Politics in Embu County

The economic factors affecting women's participation in elective politics in Embu County were sought. First, the respondents were provided with questions rated on a five-point Likert scale ranging from; strongly agree (SA), Agree (A), neutral (N), disagree (D), and strongly disagree (SD). Then, the respondents were requested to tick the most appropriate response concerning economic factors affecting women's participation in elective politics in Embu County.

During scoring, means were computed with the lowest possible mean being one and the highest possible mean 5. The findings were interpreted that if any of the factors presented scored

a mean above 2.5, it meant there was an indication that economic factors affected women's role in elective politics extensively. Similarly, if any of the elements presented scored a mean below 2.5, it meant there was an indication that social-cultural factors don't affect women participation in elective politics extensively. The findings were presented in table 15 below

Table 15

Economic Factors Affecting Women Participation in Elective Politics in Embu County

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Unemployment	201	1	5	4.07	1.095
Employed Women	201	1	5	3.74	.987
Women Doing Business	201	1	5	3.51	1.087

Source: SPSS Output (2020)

Table 15 shows that all economic factors such as unemployment, employed women, and women doing business affect women's participation in elective politics, scoring a mean above 2.5. Further, respondents who reported that unemployed women affect women's participation in elective politics had the highest mean (mean= 4.07; SD= 1.095), followed respondents who reported that employed women affect women's participation in elective politics (mean= 3.74; SD= .987). Lastly, respondents who reported that women who do business affect women's participation in elective politics had the lowest mean (mean=3.51; SD= 1.087).

The findings can be interpreted as lack of income can hinder many women from participating in politics. This is because they cannot raise nomination fees and cater to other political activities during campaigns. Women in business scored low since they run a small business that hardly supports their economic needs, leaving alone the cost of political movements. Men own most financial resources. Women don't have access and control over family resources. They have to consult while most are denied the opportunity to vie being accused of wasting family resources.

These findings were also supported by the answers given by the key informants on economic factors affecting women's participation in elective politics in Embu County. The respondents were asked to explain in their opinion how the economic status of women affects their involvement in elective political activities. The majority of the respondents reported that most women lack the financial base to participate in elective politics. For instance, one participant said, *'elections are costly because one needs to pay the nomination fee to a certain party to vie for a certain elective seat and the majority of women who would like to vie for any elective seat are barred by this fact'* (Participant 009, personal communication, November 2020).

Another participant said, *'you know elections are about financial muscle. So if you do not have it, you can't pull through in the political world'*. (Participant 025, personal communication, November 2020). Participant 025 (personal communication, November 2020) continued to say

In some cases, the parties considered 'the bigwigs ' always demand ungodly amounts of money to secure a ticket with them. So if one is financially stable, they will be able to participate. And on the other hand, if one doesn't have that money, they will shy off from participating. (Participant 025, personal communication, November 2020).

Lastly, another key informant said

You know elections are not about paying nomination fees to the party and the IEBC; it also involves running an organized campaign that needs funds for posters, agents among others, and these campaigns are not only done at the party level to win nominations but also at the general elections to outwit the opponents. So if a woman has good financial strength, they will succeed. But if they are not well financially, this can affect their participation in elective politics (Participant 004, personal communication, November 2020)

These findings agree with Olufemi (2006) study on obstacles to political participation by women in Northern Uganda. The study found that Poverty and lack of economic security always inhibit participation of women in politics. However, the study reported that when women's income levels increase, they can have a more key role in making decisions in the household and gain superior influence and mobility in community decision-making bodies. This, in turn, leads them to participate in politics. Further, the study also noted that women's economic gains in this region are still insufficient as politics is very expensive to maintain. Hence political participation of this group remains below par.

In addition, Karuru (2001) study on factors that influence political participation by women in the Kibra division, Nairobi Kenya low income was a significant factor hindering the involvement of women in politics this is because active political involvement is usually associated with high expenditure and therefore requires one to have a good income. Similarly, Awour (2012) investigated factors impacting involvement of women in leadership in Rongo Constituency, Migori County, Kenya. The study found that women in that area are disadvantaged economically hence are hindered in their chances of rise into political office.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study aimed to investigate factors affecting food security among households in informal urban settlements: a case of Kibra constituency, Nairobi- Kenya. Empirical studies were reviewed, and the methodology was carried out. This section covers a summary of findings, conclusions, recommendations, and suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary of Findings

5.2.1 Extent to Which Women Participate in Elective Politics in Embu County

The study found that women's age, education level, and marital status affect their participation in elective politics. Age had the highest mean (mean= 3.96; SD= 0.964 while marital status had the lowest mean (mean=3.83; SD= 1.001). further, the study found that women participate in various activities related to elective politics. Out of these activities, women's participation in elections had the highest mean (mean= 4.39; SD= 0.848) while women's participation in voters' education had the lowest mean (mean=3.72; SD= 1.114). Lastly, concerning seats women vied for during general elections, there was a low number of women who vied for governor's seat (11.7%), senator's seat (11.7%), Member of Parliament seat (15.4%), and Member of County Assembly seat (25.7%).

5.2.2 Socio-Cultural Factors Affecting Women Participation in Elective Politics in Embu County

The study found that various social-cultural factors such as someone's religious beliefs, culture allowing women to participate in politics, women not married not being permitted to participate in politics, women married outside the tribe or constituency not allowed to participate, and voters' altitude towards women politicians affects women participation in elective politics. Further, someone's religious beliefs had the highest mean (mean= 3.76; SD= .857) was followed

by voters' altitude towards women politicians (mean= 3.66; SD= 1.042) while women not married and not allowed to participate in politics had the lowest mean (mean=3.16; SD= 1.177).

5.2.3 Economic Factors Affecting Women Participation in Elective Politics in Embu County

The study found that economic factors such as unemployment, employed women, and women doing business affect women participation in elective politics; further, unemployment had the highest mean (mean= 4.07; SD= 1.095), followed by employed women (mean= 3.74; SD= .987) while women doing business had the lowest mean (mean=3.51; SD= 1.087) concerning women participation in elective politics.

5.3 Conclusion

The conclusion was that irrespective of level of education, marital status and age affecting the extent to which women participate in elective politics in Embu County and women found to participate in various activities connected to elective politics, the number of women vying for political seats during the general election was low.

Secondly, the study concluded that various social-cultural factors such as someone's religious beliefs, culture allowing women to participate in politics, women married are not allowed to participate in politics, women married outside the tribe or constituency not allowed to participate. Voters' altitude towards women politicians affects women's participation in elective politics either positively or negatively.

Lastly, the study concluded that income is a significant factor affecting women participating in elective politics. This means that if one has enough income, they can participate in elective politics, and if they do not have, they will not be able to participate in elective politics.

5.4 Recommendations

Drawing on findings from the study, the recommendations were made as follows:

1. The registrar of political parties & IEBC should ensure political parties in Embu County adhere to two-third rule during political party internal elections, nomination, and general elections to encourage more women to vie for various elective seats.
2. The study recommends holistic political empowerment for community leaders to involve the communities in interrogate socio-cultural factors which discourage women from participating in elective politics.
3. The Kenyan parliament may amend the political parties act to waiver membership and nomination fees for women to reassure them to be involved in participation in elective politics.
4. The political parties should reduce membership and nomination fees to encourage more women to contest for political seats.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

Further research may investigate why women participate extensively in activities connected to elective politics but shy away from vying for elective seats.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Consent letter for Participants

The University of Nairobi

P.O. Box 30197- 00100

Nairobi, Kenya

Dear Respondent,

I am a postgraduate student at the University of Nairobi, pursuing a master’s degree in gender development. I am carrying out a study on social-economic factors hindering women's participation in elective politics. You are kindly requested to participate in this research study by filling the attached questionnaire. The shared information will be treated with utmost confidentiality and anonymity since it is meant for research purposes only. You have the freedom to accept or decline to participate in this research. If you voluntarily accept to participate in the study, kindly append your signature.

Participants Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher’s Signature _____ Date _____

Thank you for your availability to participate in this study.

Monica M. Nyaga

Cell phone: 0724736814

Email: monicnyaga@gmail.com

Appendix B: Questionnaire for Respondents

Section A: Background Information of the Respondent

Instructions: Please fill the blank space in question one and then put across in the brackets (×) against appropriate answer for question 1, 2, 3, and 4. For questions with options, choose the option that best suits you and put across (×) in it. For open-ended questions, write your answer in the space provided.

1. Age

20-30 [] 31-40 yrs. [] 41-50yrs [] 51yrs and above []

2. Gender

Male () female ()

3. Marital status

Married [] Single [] Divorced [] Widowed [] Separated []

4. Highest level of education

None [] Primary [] Secondary [] Tertiary college [] University []

5. Constituency

Manyatta [] Runyenjes [] Mbeere North [] Mbeere South []

SECTION B: Extent to Which Women Participate in Elective Politics in Embu County

6. Below are statements showing the extent to which the following factors influence women's participation in elective politics in Embu County. Kindly read each expression carefully and put X for the expression you deem the most correct for you. Do not skip any item and mark each statement, please.

KEY: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neutral (N), Disagree (D), and Strongly Disagree (SD)

Factor	SA	A	N	D	SD
Age					
Level of Education					
Marital Status					

7. In the last general election, indicate whether there was any woman who vied for the political seats listed below in Embu County

Political Seat	Yes	No
Governor		
Senator		
Member of Parliament		
Women Representative		
Member of County Assembly		

8. Below are statements showing the extent to which women participate in various political activities in Embu County. Kindly read each expression carefully and put (X) for the expression you deem the most correct for you. Do not skip any item and mark each statement please.

KEY: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neutral (N), Disagree (D) and Strongly Disagree (SD)

Political Activity	SAANDSD				
Voters Education					
Nomination primaries					
Political Parties Agents					
Election Observers					
Membership of Political Parties					
Voters Mobilization					
Participating in Elections					

Section C: Economic factors affecting women participation in elective politics in Embu County

9. Below are statements showing the economic status of women in Embu County. Kindly read each expression carefully and put (X) for the expression you deem the most correct for you. Do not skip any item and mark each statement please.

KEY: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neutral (N), Disagree (D) and Strongly Disagree (SD)

Women's economic status	SAANDSD				
Low					
Moderate					
High					
Cannot tell					

10. In your opinion, how does the economic status of women affect their participation in elective political.....

.....
.....
.....

11. a) In your opinion, does nomination fees deter women from seeking political elective seats.

Explain

.....
.....
.....
.....

Section D: Socio-cultural factors affect women participation in elective politics in Embu County

12. In your opinion, does your culture encourage women to participate in elective politics?

Explain

.....
.....
.....

13. In your opinion, would you vote for a woman who is vying for a civic or parliamentary seat?

Explain.....

14. Would you trust a woman to hold a political seat?

No [] Yes []

Explain your answer

15. In your opinion, do negative comments made by women affect women's participation in elective politics? Explain

16. In your opinion, do negative comments made by men affect women's participation in elective politics? Explain

17. Below are statements showing cultural factors affecting women's participation in politics in Embu County. Kindly read each expression carefully and put (X) for the expression you deem the most correct for you. Do not skip any item and mark each statement, please.

KEY: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neutral (N), Disagree (D) and Strongly Disagree (SD)

Cultural Factors Hindering Women's Participation In Politics	SA	A	N	D	SD
Someone religious beliefs					
Our Cultural allows women to participate in elective politics					
women who are not married are not allowed to participate in elective politics					
women married outside our tribe or constituency are not allowed to participate in elective politics					
Voters attitudes towards women politicians affect women their participation in elective politics					

Electorate attitudes

11. In your opinion, explain how culture affects women participation in elective politics

.....

Thank you for your cooperation

Appendix C: Interview Guide for Key Informants

1. In your opinion, looking at the past elections, were women candidates given equal chances for nomination in political parties. Explain.
2. Are there quotas in political parties that promote women's participation in elective politics? Explain.
3. Do nomination fees deter women from seeking elective seats? Explain
4. In Kenya, some political positions require an individual to attain a certain level of education. For instance, a governor must attain education to be allowed to view. In your own opinion, do you think the level of education hinders women's participation in elective politics? Explain.
5. In your own opinion, does age, level of education, and marital status hinder women's participation in elective politics? Explain
6. In your own opinion, does the economic status of women hinder them from participating in elective politics? Explain

Thank you for your cooperation

Appendix D: University Permit



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
INSTITUTE OF ANTHROPOLOGY, GENDER AND AFRICAN STUDIES
P.O. Box 30197 00100
Nairobi, Kenya
Telephone 0204908230
Email: director-iagas@uonbi.ac.ke
24th, September, 2020

REF: UON/CHSS/IAGAS/7

Dear Sir/Madam,

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

MS. MONICA M. NYAGA – N69/88008/2016


This is to confirm that the above mentioned is a student at the Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African Studies, University of Nairobi enrolled in the Master of Arts in Gender and Development Studies Degree programme. She is required to carry out a research project as a requirement for her studies. Her research topic is: "Social-economic factors affecting women participation in elective politics in Embu County."


Any assistance accorded to her will be highly appreciated.

W. onyango-ouma

PROF. W. ONYANGO-OUMA, PhD
DIRECTOR
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