INFLUENCE OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION ON GOVERNANCE IN BONDO CONSTITUENCY, SIAYA COUNTY, KENYA

BY

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DECLARATION

This research project report is my original work and has never been presented for a degree or any award in any other university.

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DEDICATION

This research project is inspired by my father Jackson Muliro, my mother Joy Muliro, my brother Joseph Muliro, my sisters Lucy, Lillian, Olivia and Eunice Wanaswa and my lovely daughter Samantha Khakasa; to who I am most sincerely grateful for the sacrifices they have made to enable me to complete this research project. I also dedicate this research project report to Tecla Namachanja, and Pauline Karani, who inspired me by their leadership skills and helped lay the foundation for my career today.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANCEFA	Africa Network Campaign on Education for All
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CREAW	Center for Rights Education and Awareness
CSA	Center for the study of adolescence
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
EFA	Education for All
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FAWE	Forum for Advancement of Women Educationists
FPE	Free Primary Education
GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
GOK	Government of Kenya
GTZ	German Technical Organization
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	International Labor Organization
KIM	Kenya Institute of Management
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SAP	Structural Adjustment programmes
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the rights of the Child
UNDP	United Nations Development programme
UNESCO	United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNPAN	United Nations Public Administration Network
UPE	Universal Primary Education
WHO	World Health Organization

ABSTRACT

Participation of women in politics can be traced back to the 17th century in the United Kingdom when women demanded for property ownership and the vote. Through conventions, such as the Beijing platform for Action, many positive changes have taken place in national legislations in many countries leading to increased participation of women in politics and decision making organs. In Africa, Burundi, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda have achieved the critical 33% representation of women in political decision making organs such as political parties, parliamentary committees and local decision making forums. However, in other parts of Africa and indeed Kenya, participation of women in politics and thus key decision making forums is still low at 17.3%. This makes it difficult for women to influence decision made regarding matters affecting them as the majority of poor people in Kenya. Low participation of women in governance is a hindrance to this realization, thus negatively affecting service delivery in accordance to their felt needs. This study sought to determine the influence of women's political participation on governance in Bondo Constituency. The study sought to answer the following questions: How does women's participation in civic education as a component of political participation influence governance in Bondo Constituency? To what extent does women's participation in the political party leadership as a component of political participation influence governance in Bondo Constituency? To what extent does women's participation in resource mobilization as a component of political participation influence governance in Bondo constituency? How does women's participation in political office as a component of political participation influence governance in Bondo Constituency? Ex Post Facto Research design was used in the study. 100 house-holds were samples and data collected from a total of 173 male and female respondents from 6 county wards in Bondo constituency. The study found human rights rated at 33.7%, the electoral process (17%), devolved governance (13%), and the constitution (15%) as civic education activities implemented by women through churches, village meetings "barazas", women groups and funerals as forums for civic education thus influencing governance. More findings revealed that women participate in political party leadership mostly as party members (52.9%), women leaders (29.7%), treasurers (5.2%), secretaries (2.9%) and chairpersons (1.2%). Through these roles they influenced party policies especially with regard to gender equity and the number of women nominated to contest in electoral politics and conducted resource mobilizers in order to increase the number of political party supporters during political party campaigns. The study revealed that women mostly use Village savings and loan associations to secure loans (32,2%), contributions from other women(10.5%) and loans from other financial loaning services. These resources are used for political campaign activities. 33.3% of the participants thought that having adequate resources gave women self-confidence to participate in politics; 27.4% felt that women gained respect from community members; 18.5% felt that women's participation in resource mobilization would aid in financing of community projects. Women participate in political office mostly as county ward representatives (42.2%) and women's representatives (45.1%). As contribution to governance, they foster gender balance in all political offices (23.1%), resource mobilization and community development (20.2%), development through solidarity groups (19.7%), making the needs of women known (6.4%) and participation in gender budgeting. The study also found that so far, women have influenced governance advocating for good governance, rooting for good leadership and mobilizing more women to join the political arena.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Effective governance entails promotion of institutional frameworks that facilitate efficient governance and accountability (Republic of Kenya, 2010). It identifies the rights of people to determine their choices and influence the direction of change through their ability to control resources and achieve the desired results (Khanal, 2005). Governance entails constitutionalism; justice; security of person and property; electoral and participatory democracy, respect for human rights and basic freedoms; transparency, accountability, ethical conduct and integrity in public and private corporate affairs; gender equity, environment management, health, and debt management and; effective and efficient delivery of public services (DESA, 2003; Republic of Kenya, 2011). Participation of men and women in governance can be traced from the mid-19th century in Finland (Nalis, 2012), with male dominance in most political and executive positions (World Bank, 2010). The fight for involvement of women in decision making started as early as the 1880s when Harriet Martineau wrote theories about women and gender (Sydie, 2002). At this time, women in Europe sought rights to property ownership, and participation in the vote (European Commission, 2007).

The period after the Second World War, formation of the United Nations and ratification of the Bill of Rights formed an important era in the global campaign for women's participation in governance. The 1972, UN General Assembly in Mexico, in its Resolution 3010 (XXVII) explored the role of women in strengthening world peace (United Nations, 1985), through improving conditions for women, in education and training, employment; health, and public life (United Nations, 1975; UNCRC, 1989). The UN Copenhagen conference further emphasized

empowerment of women in conflict, disabilities, violence, elderly women, and family planning (United Nations, 1980). The Beijing Platform for Action (1995) recommended equal access and increased capacity by both men and women to participate in power structures and decision-making (United Nations, 2005); later reiterated by the United Nations (2000) through the millennium development goal number 3: promoting gender equality and empowering women.

Before the launch of the Beijing platform for action, women worldwide accounted for only 10% parliamentarians (European Commission, 2008). This rate rose from 13.1% at the end of 1999 to 18.6% at the end of 2009 (Wollack, 2010); with eight countries within the European Union: Sweden, Finland, the Netherlands, Denmark, Spain, Germany, Austria and Belgium (35%) achieving the 30% gender critical mass in national parliaments (European Commission, 2008). This is attributed to positive legislation enforcing parity amongst candidates and equal visibility on ballot papers (Jahan, 1997; CKRC, 2005; Republic of Kenya, 2011). However, the male dominant committees still make most decisions in resource distribution and service delivery (Morris, 2012).

French women have been eligible to vote and serve in office since 1944, representing 6% of the National Assembly in 1996 although they constituted 53% of the electorate; and 11% in 1997 (Lambert, 2001). This slow progress to parity was attributed to dismissal of eight of the twelve women in Prime Minister Alain Juppé's government, six months after their appointment—an incident that was dubbed "Black Tuesday" in the USA press; thus leaving little hope for advocacy of women in politics (Matumba, 2005). In 1996, ten prominent women politicians from both sides of the political spectrum published a manifesto demanding for enshrinement of political parity in the French constitution. This led to the amendment of articles

3 and 4 of the French Constitution 1999 promoting equal access for men and women to elected positions; and further adoption in June 2000 (Lambert, 2001).

In the United States, while all agreed that women needed to play a more important role in politics (Lambert, 2001), many were skeptical of affirmative action. In February 1999, 14 prominent women, including philosopher Elisabeth Badinter, lawyer Evelyne Pisier and writer Danièle Sallenave, publicly voiced their opposition to forced parity arguing that the reform would undermine the concept of universalism in political representation and therefore open the door to demands from other specific groups based on race, religion, or sexual preference (United States Department of Labor, 2010). Philosophers in the United States advocate for competitive achievement of gender parity in political leadership (Women's Fund of Greater Omaha, 2009).

A study in Germany by Matumba (2005) as cited in DIW, (2010) found institutionalization of female leadership positively affecting organizational excellence, financial performance and increased innovation capacity (McKinsey & Company, 2007) as cited in DIW, (2010). However, despite the existence of party quotas for women in the Social Democratic Party (40%) and the Green Party (50%) (Kim, 2006); gender parity in political leadership is yet to be achieved due to discrimination and failure to address the care-giving responsibilities borne predominately by women leading to male-centered work and political environments (Matumba, 2005). In another study by Cole (2011), the Indian Constitution limits the number of seats in the lower house of parliament to 550, with 545 seats filled at present. Statistics from the 2009 elections show that Indian women won 59 of the 545 seats (10.8%) in the lower house of parliament; and 25 out of the 242 seats (10.3) in the upper house. India's overall representation of women put at just above 10%, it is short of Bangladesh's 15% and Pakistan's 30% (Cole, 2011).

In Africa, among the five countries that had achieved the 30% critical mass, (11% of those with parliamentary systems) are Burundi, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda (European Commission, 2008). Almost all of these have an electoral system based on proportional representation with zipper-style lists being implemented by both political party quota system and quotas applied through legislation. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the number of women in parliaments has risen from 10.9% to 17.3% (Wollack, 2010; OECD, 2010). In South Africa, prior to the 1994 elections, female representation in parliament was 2.7%. This increased to 27% in 1994, 30% in 1999 and 32% in 2004 (Potter, 2009) as cited in Cole (2011). In the 2009 elections, South African women won 178 of the 400 (44.5%) legislative seats in the lower house of parliament and 16 of the 54 seats (29.6%) in the upper house. This transformation is attributed to South Africa's political governance enshrined in its 1996 Constitution in which Article 1, spells out universal suffrage, equality and non-sexism among the fundamental values upon which the country was founded (Republic of South Africa, 1996) as cited in Cole (2011). Even though the constitution does not explicitly provide quotas to increase women's political participation, steps have been taken both by the legislature and political parties to institutionalize women's equitable political participation (Cole, 2011; Kim, 2006).

In Egypt women began to play a more active political role in the late 19th and early 20th century through feminist movements. An example is the Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU), whose main objective was to raise the intellectual and moral level of the Egyptian woman realize political and social equality with men from the legal and moral point of view (Blaydes &Tarouty,2009). The 2005 elections in Egypt increased the ability of women to influence political decisions within parties through their participation as civic activists and mobilizers through home visits to fellow women (Blaydes &Tarouty, 2009). In the 2005 parliamentary

election, vote brokers paid between 20 to 200 LE for a vote depending on the competitiveness of the district. Clientelistically-based voter recruitment tends to empower women economically rather than politically as elections provide an opportunity for disadvantaged women to auction their voice to the highest bidder (Blaydes & Tarouty, 2009) or offer their vote to a local patron in exchange for a future payoff (World Bank, 2010).

While the voter registration in the 2005 elections in Liberia shows an equal split among male and female electoral registrants with the highest number of female voters ever registered (Cole, 2011), women only managed to occupy 13 out of 94 (13.8) seats in the Liberian National Legislature. This is attributed to pleas from women's groups and civil society organizations for political parties to allocate at least 30% of contested seats for female candidates. Few of the 22 parties and coalitions contesting for the elections in 2005, heeded the petitions of advocates for gender equality. The situation was compounded by the fact that there is no law in Liberia to ensure women's equitable political participation (Cole, 2011).

In Tanzania, Meena (2010) reveals that while women strive to participate in politics through the quota system, many of them end up campaigning for male candidates while others lack support to compete against their male counterparts. Another research conducted in Somalia reveals some of the reasons for low women's participation in politics as lack relevant experience in public decision-making, negative attitudes regarding women's ability to lead and govern, lack of role models of women leaders for young women and girls, important decisions reached without women's view-point and lack of interest by most women as political positions have been stereotyped into male roles (Froelich, *et al,* 2012).

Equally, a survey conducted in Uganda by Kasya (2008) reveals that women party chairpersons represent only 1.3% of political leaders while Deputy political party Chairpersons

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represent 71% of political leadership at county level. African, women often take the lead and initiate change in their own local communities yet they remain under-represented in most areas of decision-making (Wollack, 2009). Other hindrances to women's participation include low levels of education, (Woyingi, 2011) and perennial conflicts where women and youth have suffered violence and abuse during civil wars in Congo, Ruanda, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Uganda, and within Kenya during post-election civil conflicts in 1992, 1997 and more recently, 2008 (Brody, 2009).

The government of Kenya is a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (1989), localized through the Children's Act (2001); the Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and the World Conference on Education for All (EFA) (UNESCO, 2005). The Government further enacted the new constitution entrenching the critical 30% rule in all decision-making bodies (Attorney General, 2010) to promote participation of all citizens in all spheres of development. Despite these efforts, female representation in constituency governance is still low at 6% (UNESCO, 2011). While men also undertake family responsibilities (Kariuki, 2005) the gender division of labour accords them fewer responsibilities as compared to women (Onsongo 2002; Bannars, 1993). The biological fact of childbearing and the cultural expectations about childrearing all result in interruptions to women's pathways to leadership (Kariuki, 2005). Despite efforts to improve education among women especially through research (Ominde, 1964), Free Primary and Secondary Education, and improvement of girls' access to education through affirmative action (Koech, 2002; UNDP, 1990) women's access to local political leadership is still wanting. According to the European Commission (2008), for women to competently participate in decision making, they need to be equipped with the skills and experience, through their education and careers.

Gender imbalances in the sharing of development benefits between men and women in Bondo manifests itself in lack accessibility to birth and citizenship registration and low levels of education among women (Plan International, 2009). This situation denies most women an opportunity to own property, access important information, access voter rights and thus political participation and representation in key decision making organs (GOK, CREAW & GTZ, 2011). Siaya County's poverty level is at 57.9% (Soft Kenya, 2012) and an age dependency ratio of 100:96.3. Women form 53% of the total population of 842,304 while men form 47% of the population (Soft Kenya, 2012) hence the need for them to participate in politics and decision making in order to influence poverty reduction (Republic of Kenya, 2002; Kazya, 2009).

1.2 Statement of the problem

Participation of women in politics can promote women's ability to negotiate and influence policy in favour of women's and possibly children's needs thus reducing poverty. Civic education is one of the means through which women can communicate to the general public and influence other women to participate in the voting process, party leadership and political office. Without civic education, citizens will not know how they can influence the direction of the changes they would like to see in their localities. Without engagement of women in civic education it is difficult for women to influence other women to participate in political activities as a platform for policy engagement.

For women to get elected to parliament they need to pass three crucial barriers: first, they need to select themselves; second, they need to be selected as candidates by the parties; and, third, they need to be selected by the voters. Without being in political party leadership, women cannot influence nomination of female candidates to run for political office. Lack of adequate

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representation in party leadership also prevents women from acquiring adequate delegates to elect fellow women who can influence party policies in favor of women.

Women experience challenges in making it to political party leadership, political office and participation in electoral process because of lack of financial resources among other factors. This is ironical given that through women groups and Village savings and Loans associations, women mobilize both human and financial resources which are used to meet domestic needs, community development needs and financing of husbands' and male relatives' political aspirations as stated by reviewed literature. However, women themselves seldom support themselves or each other in their political aspirations. Those who succeed engage in high debts in order to "buy" support within their constituency or gifts to influential people in the community, such as customary leaders. Failure of proper channeling of resources mobilized by women may lead to failure of women's realization of their participation in the political process hence inadequate representation in decision making organs at party, county and parliamentary leadership levels.

Political office leadership at parliamentary level and below enables women to articulate their views and influence policy and decision making. Low participation of women in political leadership positions such as parliamentary positions leaves gaps in representation of women's issues; which also influence children's and youth issues in the long run. Women in Kenya form 50% of the population. Siaya County accounts for 2.2% of this population; out of which 53% are women and 47% men. However women form the largest population of citizens with low literacy levels, low income levels, and least participants in political decision making. This questions the decisions made at these levels and proposed interventions, leading to poor service delivery.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The study sought to establish the influence of women's political participation on governance in Bondo constituency, Siaya County in Kenya.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study sought to achieve the following objectives:

1. To assess how women's participation in civic education as a component of political participation influences governance in Bondo Constituency.

2. To determine the extent to which women's participation in political party leadership as a component of political participation influences governance in Bondo constituency.

3. To establish how women's participation in resource mobilization as a component of political participation influences governance in Bondo Constituency.

4. To examine the extent to which women's participation in political office as a component of political participation influences governance in Bondo Constituency

1.5 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following questions:

1. How does women's participation in civic education as a component of political participation, influence governance in Bondo Constituency?

2. To what extent does women's participation in the political party leadership as a component of political participation, influence governance in Bondo Constituency?

3. How does women's participation in resource mobilization as a component of political participation influence governance in Bondo constituency?

4. How does women's participation in political office as a component of political participation influence governance in Bondo Constituency?

1.6 Significance of the study

The Kenya government has made great strides in promulgation of a new constitution thus providing opportunities for both men and women to influence achievement of human rights through effective service delivery. The participation of women in development activities is evident through initiatives such as Village savings and loans associations, civic education activities, resource mobilization and collaboration with entities such as Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), private companies, citizens and other government agencies. Despite these efforts, low participation of women in politics has made it difficult for them to adequately influence policy in favor of effective and efficient service delivery. It is hoped that this study is going to facilitate governments' and CSOs understanding of the benefits of facilitating participation of women in politics in order to promote effective governance as a means to poverty reduction in line with the millennium development Goal No. 1, 3 and 8; Kenyan Constitution (2010) and Kenya's Vision 2030. It is hoped that this study is going to facilitate identification of better strategies for inclusion of women in politics and governance at constituency level order to achieve the 33% critical mass as demonstrated by other developing countries in Africa.

1.7 Basic Assumptions of the study

The study assumed that mobilization of participants would be well done, and that all respondents would be available and willing to participate in the study. The study also assumed that the weather patterns would be favorable, and resources would be available allowing for timely data collection and analysis. Finally, the study assumed a peaceful political environment giving ample opportunity for the researcher to complete the study.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

The study was limited by inadequate financial resources leading to limited human resource to cover a larger sample size thus limiting the geographical coverage of the study. This limitation was overcome through the researcher's corporation with Non-government organizations already having structures and presence in the area under research and gaining their permission to utilize their structures to conduct the study. Focus groups discussions were used for triangulation of the information gathered from questionnaires during study thus getting more reliable data that was used for generalization.

1.9 Delimitations of the study

The study was delimited to Bondo Constituency Siaya County which was chosen as the best location owing to the high poverty index of 57.9% despite the resources the County is endowed with. Since the population of women (53%) is higher than that of men (47%) (Soft Kenya, 2012), it was important to understand why their participation in governance is limited hence sustained poverty levels among them and their dependents. Given the limited resources, the study could only be delimited to Bondo Constituency, a smaller geographical area. The study was delimited to households within Bondo constituency where only women and men participated in individual interviews and focus group discussions.

1.10   Definitions of significant terms used in the study

Governance: Governance is a compound situation of institutions, systems, structures, processes, procedures, practices, relationships, and leadership behaviour in the exercise of social, political, economic, and managerial/administrative authority in the running of public or

private affairs with the participation, interest, and livelihood of the governed as the driving force.

Women's political participation: Participation of women in political activities including civic education, political party leadership, Resource mobilization and holding of political offices such as member of parliament and county representative.

Civic education: Ability of women to mobilize, dialogue, and educate the public on their human rights, governance issues, political processes, party registration, recruitment of membership, party elections, campaigns and vying for electoral positions service delivery and development outcomes.

Political party leadership: Women heading political parties as chairpersons and being able to influence party nominations to enable other women to participate.

Resource mobilization: The participation of women in pooling resources in cash and kind in order to support development initiatives.

Participation in political office leadership: The participation of women in political offices such as county representatives and members of parliament.

1.11 Organization of the study

The study has been organized in five chapters. The first chapter focuses on the background of the problem, the problem statement which gets in-depth into the nature of the problem and why it is worth investigation, the purpose of the study, the significance of the study, research objectives and research questions which define the various variables being investigated; and the definition of key terms. The second chapter focuses on the literature review, the

theoretical framework and the conceptual framework of the study. This chapter also identifies the gaps that still exist in the available literature in the area of study. The third chapter gives a detailed account of the Research Methodology including the study population, sample size, sampling procedure, research instruments, their validity and reliability, data collection methods, data presentation, interpretation, analysis and discussion and ethical issues in the study. The fourth chapter includes the study findings and discussions. Chapter five contains the summary, conclusions and recommendations from the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITEATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Vigilant participation of communities in politics and governance exerts greater pressure on governments to become transparent, accountable and responsive to the rights of citizens (Shamim & Kumari, 2002; Kauzya, 2003). This section explores the influence of participation of women in civic education, political party leadership, resource mobilization, and political office leadership as components of women's political participation; on governance in Bondo Constituency, Siaya County.

2.2 Women's participation in civic education and its influence on governance

Civic empowerment is a process of equipping citizens with knowledge and skills on acquisition of their human rights as means of poverty alleviation (OECD, 2007). Civic education is one of the means through which this can be done. Gender inequalities account for sustained poverty in communities worldwide (UNIFEM, 1995) and are known to play a key role in both enabling and preventing civic education activities (Mathebula, 2010). This empowerment process starts with the ability of citizens to participate in voting (United Nations, 2004; CIDA, 2001). The voting right was first realized by women during the 1880s when Harriet Martineau wrote theories about women and gender (Sydie, 2002); causing women in Europe to seek for rights to property ownership, and participation in the vote (European Commission, 2007).

A research conducted by Castillo (2009) on women's participation in party and electoral politics in the United Kingdom reveals that women are significantly less likely than men to participate in campaign-oriented activities, fundraising, and membership to political parties (United Nations, 2004). In general, those in paid employment are more likely to be politically

active (Electoral Commission 2004). Churches are used as political campaign vehicles and more women are involved as they seem to be more religiously inclined than men (Electoral Commission, 2004). This notwithstanding, political participation of women at parliamentary level is at 18% worldwide, 10% in Europe (European Commission, 2008; Byanyima, 2008); with Belgium recording 35% representation in the year 2008, this being the highest worldwide (Wollack, 2010). This is attributed to positive legislation enforcing parity amongst candidates and equal visibility on ballot papers (European Commission, 2008; Morris, 2012).

In Asia, women account for 16.9% of parliamentary seats (Byanyima, 2008; Ara, 2006). The elite women's political presence in India emanates from relations with male politicians such as husbands, brothers, fathers, uncle and father-in-laws (Patel, 2004; Bari, 2005). Women face opposition from family, community and the male political leaders once they decide to enter electoral politics (Scherer & Raaber, 2009; Patel, 2004). Increasing criminalization, corruption and compromises required to sustain one's political career also deter women from entering mainstream politics (Bari, 2005). Indian women have become more aware of their rights but the level of political information of women voters is low (Government of India, 2007). Many women's groups in Ahmedabad, Pune and Bangalore locality have prepared women's manifesto, educational campaigns and created awareness on women's issues (Patel, 2004). They expose candidates with criminal backgrounds and support 30% seats for women (United Nations, 2004).

Both international and national organizations have provided support for women's participation in national and local elections in Sierra Leone, through capacity building, finances and campaign materials (Castillejo, 2009). What appears to be lacking is support to women once they are elected to enable them to perform effectively, take leadership positions and influence policy (IDEA, 2003). There have been civil society campaigns to educate voters about their role,

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the importance of choosing candidates based on policy and the value of voting for women. However, such voter education campaigns only happen around election time (Castillejo, 2009).

In a research conducted by Uganda Women's Network (2007) women participate in civic engagement through fundraising, promoting their political ideology, visiting homes and public places to talk to people about their candidate, organizing the campaign schedule, creating and delivering the campaign message and securing votes for the particular candidate or political party. In Uganda women's political activists have contributed to the development of the Women's Manifesto (Grisps, 2012) and presented their minimum demands to political parties and organizations through UWONET (Kalita, 2012). The Women's Manifesto is a compilation of the needs of women throughout the country and these are used as a tool to influence politicians and the general public about women's concerns and hold those running for political office accountable (Lindberg, 2004). The Women's Manifesto allows women to have a yardstick against which they can measure the gender sensitivity of political candidates (Uganda Women's Network, 2007).

Many women in Kenya participate in civic education through activities by women groups, NGOs and human rights activists (UNPAN, 2012). Through women groups' activities, women have acquired training as community health workers, child protectors and paralegals (Kellsal, 2009) voters and politicians, thus being able to influence changes in health, gender attitudes and education for women and girls at grassroots level (United Nations, 2012). However, this background does not-provide enough capacity for women to competently participate in decision making alongside their male counterparts (UNESCO, 2006; CSA, 2008). Empowerment of women for political participation includes community mobilization towards the 4Ps (Priority,

Planning, Producing, and paying) and C (Consumption) of effective participation (UNESCO, 2005; Kauzya, 2003).

According to DESA report (2003) and OECD (2007), political leaders concentrate on mobilization of communities for the 4Ps, but do not provide for participation in consumption, which guarantees their livelihood. Consequently, the poor see little change in their livelihood despite their participation in the 4Ps (Kauzya, 2003; UNDP, 2000), this affecting mostly women, children and youth (UNESCO, 2011; Murphy & Carr, 2007). To be able to succeed in their efforts in political leadership at constituency level, women will need to be empowered to influence tradition/culture, and higher level decision making. Action Aid Kenya (2009) has been working with citizens through mobilization of Bunge La Wananchi, and the Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (World Bank, 2005). Transforming citizens' ideas on what they should expect from politicians, how to hold politicians to account and how to make choices based on policy is a long-term process that involves transforming attitudes and beliefs (United Nations, 2005; CIIR, 2003 & The league of Kenya Women Voters, 2005).

2.3 Women's participation in party leadership and its influence on governance

For women to get elected to parliament they need to pass three crucial barriers: first, they need to select themselves; second, they need to be selected as candidates by the parties; and, third, they need to be selected by the voters (Matland, 2006). Some countries such as the USA and Canada (Blaydes & Tarouty, 2009) use party primary elections to select contestants for the general elections. Other countries like Japan use party faction leaders to select candidates to contest within one particular party before candidates are fronted for general elections (Kalita, 2012). In Norway, women party member organized local female party members to maximize turnout at the local party organization meetings where delegates were selected thus guaranteeing

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that delegates vote for more women on to the country convention (Lindsberg, 2004; Scherer & Raaber, 2009).

Although women in Africa have made great strides in obtaining a right to vote and be elected to political offices, they comprise only 17.3% of the Members of Parliament (Byanyima, 2008), and less than 5% of heads of state worldwide (Kasomo, 2012). Many global conferences, including the Cairo Conference on Population and Development (1994), the Fourth World Conference on Women (1995), and the World Summit for Social Development (1995) have recognized that, despite the progress made globally in improving status of women, gender disparities still exist, especially in regard to participation in electoral politics (Oduol, 2003). Based on an examination of voting behavior in Egypt (Blaydes &Tarouty,2009), clientelist voter recruitment provides an opportunity for disadvantaged women to sell their vote to local vote brokers or offer their vote to a local patron in exchange for a future payoff (World Bank, 2010).

From a research in Sierra Leone, conducted by Castillejo (2009), for women in Sierra Leone the biggest hurdles appear to be gaining social space and acceptance to play a role in the public sphere, and getting selected and supported to run for office. Women's participation within the parties in Sierra Leone appears to be mostly through the women's wing, which is a relatively powerless branch of the party whose role is to mobilize women for meetings and elections (Kalita, 2012; Castillejo, 2009). Resistance is felt less at Ward level, manifested as violence against the female candidate or her supporters and attack on the candidate's character and morality (United Nations, 2004; Connell, 2003). Very few party leadership roles are played by women and civil society organizations point out that key policy setting roles such as chairperson or secretary general are never taken by women, (Castillejo, 2009;UNPAN, 2007) who are mostly

made leaders of the women's wing or given administrative positions such as treasurer (Castillo, 2009).

A research conducted by Mensah (2005) in Ghana documents ability of women to be more inclined to winning elections if nominated from the ruling political party. From year 2000, almost all the parties in Ghana have had women wings, which are meant to take care of women's issues (Mensah, 2004). 47 million Nigerians registered as eligible voters in the 1999 elections, 27 million of them women, representing 57.4% of registered voters. Yet, women held only 4% of political party executive positions. According to Emaka &Ikenna, (2009), this has been a major cause of marginalization of women in party nominations. Out of the 631 female contestants, only 180 (143 of whom were elected as ward councilors) managed to win, representing 1.6% of the electable positions. Only 5.4% of the population representing women made it to parliament during the 2007 elections in Nigeria (INEC, 2007; Emaka &Ikenna, 2009).

Similarly, women's participation in Kenyan electoral politics since 1963 has been limited to providing support to male politicians (Kasomo, 2012). In Kenya, clientelism is a challenge; World Bank, (2010) as a situation in which citizens as forced to give loyalties to political parties in exchange for basic services. This is further reiterated by Meena, (2003) and the UN General Assembly, (2005) who argue that political parties act as 'gate keepers' deciding on who gets what resources and at what time. Although Kenya is currently a multi-party state, (World Bank, 2012; Kasomo, 2012), men and women are still dependent on political parties for popularity, nomination, and further election to parliament and local electable positions (Mulwa, 2004; The league of Kenya Women Voters, 2005). Although both men and women are bribed in exchange for their votes (Annasi, 2004), paradoxically political parties use women in mobilizing membership, fundraising, and during campaigns to profile male candidates (Mohamed &Yasin, 2011). This is however not reciprocated in terms of supporting women to winning stages in

electoral processes (Meena, 2003). The benefits are short-term and do not address the root causes of gender based poverty (World Bank, 2010; Mohamed & Yasin, 2011).

The 2002 general election results (ECK, 2002; CKRC), showed more women participated in electoral politics than at any other time (IDEA, 2003). As a result, 97 women candidates were elected as councilors compared to 2043 men, while 9 women were elected to parliament compared to 201 men and 8 women were subsequently nominated to the parliament. The multi-party era has not led to an automatic concern for women's issues and their participation in electoral politics (Kasomo, 2012). The more women are associated in numbers in political decision making process in governments, the more they can change the modalities and outcomes of policies (UN HABITAT, 2008; Byanyima, 2008).

2.4 Women's participation in resources mobilization and its influence on governance

Poverty as defined by the UN refers to the state of being vulnerable and struggling to meet the minimum basic needs (Morris, 2001; World Bank, 2012) or living below the rate of $1 (Ksh. 85) per day (World Development Report, 2001, UNDP, 2000). Wars and civil conflicts in Congo, Ruanda and Burundi in the late 1990s (World Bank, 2009), and in Kenya in 2007/2008 are viewed as causes of sustained poverty in Africa (Dasgupta & Sudarshan, 2011; United Nations, 2004). Other causes include poor rural infrastructure causing poverty in time spent accessing water for domestic, agricultural, processing and marketing food and non-farm products, collecting firewood and reaching health services (FAO, IFAD, ILO, 2010); and land ownership (UNDP Tanzania, 2010).

While the aim of formation of women groups is to mobilize resources through the solidarity of women to alleviate poverty, most non-governmental organizations have not succeeded in this (Micro Save, 2004). This is attributed to gender power relations at household

level which allow women to only access resources but not control them (UNIFEM, 1995; Oshewolo, 2011). A study of 20 savings and credit groups by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) in Bangladesh found women using their loans and income to gain access to agricultural land, lack of which contributes to increasing unpaid and unrecorded work of men and women thus losing control over their own labour (FAO, IFAD, ILO, 2010; Morris, 2006).

Without secure land rights, women have little or no access to credit, rural organizations, irrigation systems and other agricultural infrastructure and services (FAO, IFAD, ILO, 2010). According to Micro Save Africa (2004), women form the largest population of the poor and vulnerable, hence most targeted by Micro-finance institutions and politicians. The need for collateral (Morris, 2006), high registration fees, high minimum requirements for saving and borrowing, and high interest rates (30%) are prohibitive, leaving borrowers at the same level or poorer (Micro Save 2001; Micro Save, 2004); hence vulnerable to manipulation through handouts during electioneering seasons (Meena, 2003; Norad, 2009). Lack of information and knowledge concerning acquisition of credit and mutual distrust between banking institutions and agricultural producers constitute additional obstacles (Dasgupta & Sudarshan, 2011).

Both men and women participate in formal employment (Dasgupta & Sudarshan, 2011; UN General Assembly, 2005) but women are take on more responsibilities than men including house hold jobs, child rearing, educating children and working in the field (Mulikita, 2006); (Karuiki, 2005) & (World Bank report (2004). UNDP human development report, (2008) indicates that there is an increase in female headed households, the situation being aggravated by the spread of HIV/AIDS. A research by Micro Save (2001) and World Bank (1990) in Uganda confirms that women build their leadership confidence from owning property, sharing in

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decision-making in the household, making financial contributions, and taking on some responsibilities without prohibitions. A similar study in Bangladesh reiterates these findings (UN General Assembly, 2005) confirming that men either significantly or partially controlled the credit acquired by women through the use of loans for purposes different from the ones applied for (FAO, IFAD, ILO, 2010; UN General Assembly, 2005).

In most African countries political candidates are effectively expected to "buy" support within their constituency by giving small amounts of money and food to supporters, as well as larger amounts of money or gifts to important people in the community, such as customary leaders (Castillejo, 2009). A research by Castillejo (2009) in Sierra Leone indicates that one barrier to participation of women in politics in Sierra Leone is lack of financial resources, as those running in national or local elections receive very little financial support from the political parties and must use personal funds for developing campaign materials, travel within the constituency, and host campaigning events (McNeil & Mumvuma, 2006). Male candidates on the other hand use their own and their wives' personal money for their campaign, as well as funds accessed through patronage networks and from male supporters (FAO, IFAD, ILO, 2010).

A study conducted by Meena (2003) in Tanzania linking women's participation in resource mobilization to politics reveals that women participate in resource mobilization during political campaigns to front male candidates yet women themselves are not supported to prosper while seeking for electoral positions. There are over 50 women's NGOs in Kenya (Gok, 2001). They include social welfare organizations, professional organizations, political organizations, religious organizations, and co-operatives (Kasomo, 2009). These groups serve as vehicles for fundraising, development initiatives, social mobilization and civic education (CCGD, 2009);

mostly through women groups, self-help groups, Community based organizations and Village Savings and Loaning Associations (VSLA) (Republic of Kenya, 2010).

Proper channeling of resources raised by women has caused sustained poverty among women, hence the lack of resources for supporting household food security, development in communities and participation in politics (World Bank, 2004) despite government efforts through Women Enterprise Development Fund (WEDF) and the Youth Enterprise development fund (YEDF) (World Bank, 2004, Mulwa 2001). Due to their low education levels, most women also face challenges in acquisition of managerial skills for finances and human resources within their groups and also at higher managerial levels.

2.5 Women's participation in political office and its influence governance

Few women can be cited as political leaders including: Queen Elizabeth of the United Kingdom, Margaret Thatcher, former prime minister of England (1979 – 1990) (Spartacus Educational, 2012) Benazir Butto, former prime Minister of Pakistan (1988 – 1996) (Achievements.org, 2012), Graca Mashelle of South Africa who also participated in mediation for formation of Kenya's Government of National Unity after post-election violence in 2008 (SmartCape, 2010), Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, current president of Liberia (Nobelprize.org, 2011), and late Prof. Wangari Maathai, who influenced the world on the importance of environmental conservation in global governance through the Green Belt Movement. As a result, she received the Nobel Peace Prize of 2004 (Greenbelt.org, 2012), for her contribution to sustainable development, democracy and peace.

According to UNPD (2010), women's large-scale entry in politics will bring about a desirable shift in their participation in local political economy including effective use of human and financial resources. A study by the UN maintains that the feeble presence of women in

politics questions the decisions taken in the political arena and the legitimacy of democratic systems (Cagatay, 2001). The report argues that women are directly aware of their basic problems and needs, but are denied the opportunity to articulate and safeguard their interests due to low representation in politics (Kasya, 2008). While a research conducted by the UN on the state of women's leadership in post war countries indicates a 49% representation of women in parliament (Powly, 2004); women's representation globally remained low at 17% by 2007 (European Union, 2007; Eagly, & Carli, 2007).

In Europe, women's representation in the lower house rose from 16% in 1997 to 24% in 2007, though this is still well below the critical mass of 30%, deemed to be the minimum necessary for women to exert meaningful influence on politics (Kauzya, 2003; World Bank, 2010). A research conducted by LIBRA (2003) in Finland, United Kingdom, Hungary, Italy and Spain, all with different sociopolitical and cultural traditions find low representation of women in key decision making organs such as parliaments (17%), local councils, municipalities (20%) and in leadership of organizations (23%). This is attributed to low educational levels whose roots stem from educational choices made by women and men. It is also attributed to masculinization of leadership in all sectors, locking our women aspirants (LIBRA, 2003; Morris, 2006).

Much progress has been made in participation of women in influencing international conventions and national laws leading to constitutional reforms and enactment of policies as an affirmative action for increasing women's participation in decision making (European Commission, 2003). Yet, despite the existence of international covenants, regional treaties and domestic laws intended to codify and realize people's rights; communities are not able to claim their basic rights; this being attributed to gender disparities in leadership thus encouraging poor governance (Oak Foundation, 2012). In a paper presented at the Expert Group Meeting on Equal

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participation of women in decision-making processes, Miranda, (2005) declares that, many women repute politics as dirty, employing illegal and unethical methods to win elections. Other reasons include corruption of public service for personal and narrow group interests and intimidation of women by these dark sides of politics which they are likely to be pressured into as their entrance fee into mainstream politics (Morris, 2006; UN General Assembly, 2005).

In a study conducted in Dhaka and Narayanganj in India (Zaman, 2007), all the women respondents complained of being given fewer responsibilities; facing financial constraint (92%) and immorality of chairmen in distribution of corporation activities (92%). About 96% of women reported being vested with unimportant tasks. They also complained that male commissioners laughed at them while participating in committee meeting discussions, were ignored in financial affairs (71%), got less information about corporation activities (58%), indirect threats by the male colleagues (46%), restrictions to get involved in work (42%), lacked security (38%), social obligation (33%), very poor honorarium (29%), lack of peoples interests in paying tax (29%), and high rate of corruption (21%). On the other hand, 79% of men ward commissioners did not face any problem in performing their duties; 25% of men face constraints due to partiality of the chairmen, lack of security (8%), social obligation (4%) and less allocation of work (4%) (Zaman,2007). Political parties are not required by law to practice internal democracy or institute affirmative actions for historically excluded groups such as women in decision making organs (Meena, 2003). A research conducted in Nepal (Mohamed &Yasin 2011) indicates a 49% representation of women in local political institutions, attributed to engendered politics from planning to representation.

By the year 2008 (Rao, 2006, Beall, 2005), African women represented 17.3% of parliamentarians (Byanyima, 2008, Kariuki, 2010). This is attributed to more women acquiring

formal education (Kariuki, 2005), and participating in activities such as community health education, activism, education campaigns (Beall, 2005), funds drives and religious movements (Mulwa, 2004; Mulwa, 2001). Studies conducted by the Republic of Uganda (1997) for the Lira District Development Plan 1997 – 2000, and Somalia (Warsame, 2000) reveal that, men do not allow their wives to attend political meetings, for fear of them having relationships with other male leaders. The report further confirms women's heavy workload leading to poor time-keeping, lack of respect for women as leaders by both women and men; lack of transport to far off meetings and low educational levels, shyness, lack of confidence, low self-esteem, divorce and marriage causing relocation among prohibitions to women's participation in politics (Republic of Uganda, 1997).

A research conducted in Kenya (Republic of Kenya, 2002 & Mulwa (2001) finds low levels of education, retrogressive cultural practices such as too much work load for girl children, and FGM, forcing girls into early marriage, thus denying them opportunities for further academic and personal development; and consequently little opportunity for participation in decision making organs (Onsongo, 2002) & World Bank (2011). According to Plan International (2009), CSA (2008) and Annassi (2004), poverty, teenage pregnancy, care giving, insecurity, and cultural practices are some of the causes for low education completion rates for girls in Nyanza. This is reiterated by Dunn & Mays, (2004); WHO (2004) and Plan International (2009) in various studies. Another research by Aguda (2010), reveals that girls in Rweya zone in Kisumu District were perceived with servitude while boys are perceived in leadership and proactive roles (Green, Miranda, Daroowalla, & Siddique, 2005).

2.6 Theoretical Framework

The empowerment of women involves bringing change to enable them to become partners in solving the complex socio-political and economic issues facing the society (Mohamed & Yasin, 2011); through identification of the powerless, the degree of domination by others over them and their capacity to increase self-reliance and internal strength (Khanal, 2005). This study contributes to the Theory of Patriarchy by Walby (2009).

2.6.1   The Theory of Patriarchy

Gender is defined by Reeves & Sally (2000) and Esplen, & Jolly, (2006) as how a person's biology is socially constructed and culturally valued and interpreted into locally accepted ideas of being male or female. Gendered power relations permeate social institutions so that gender is never absent (Reeves and Sally, 2000; UNIFEM, 1995; CIDA (2001). Connell (1987) and Connell (2001) as cited in Connell (2005) stress that masculinity and femininity are integral parts of gender; and that social power is held by men and sustains gender inequality; exercised through a cultural dynamics which extends into private life and social realms as illustrated in Figure 1.
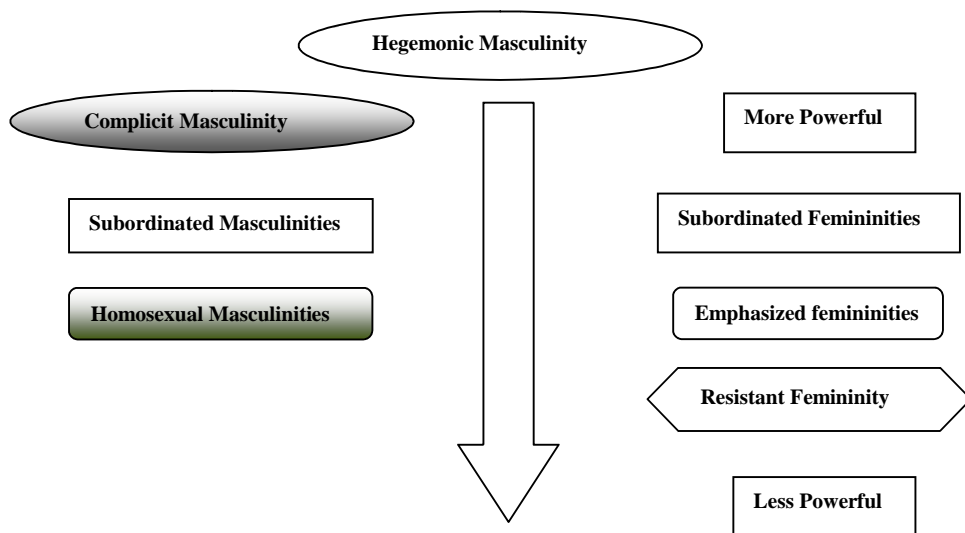
Figure 1: The gender Hierarchy: Adopted from Connell (2005)

UNIFEM (1995) classifies gender roles as reproductive, family care, productive including income generating activities, paid work, subsistence agriculture or food growing for household use, and community roles including church, traditional obligations, parents meetings, and women's groups and; decision-making/political roles and social and leadership/membership roles of men and women in larger public organisations. According to Walby (1990) as cited in Giddens, (2009), patriarchy is a social system where the male is the primary authority figure central to social organization, political leadership, moral authority, and control of property. It implies the institutions of male rule and privilege, and entails female subordination. Historically, patriarchy has manifested itself in the social, legal, political, and economic organization of a range of different cultures. Walby (1990) as cited in Giddens (2009) identifies household production, paid work, the state, male violence, sexuality and culture as the six structures where patriarchy thrives; working together to capture the depth, pervasiveness, interconnectedness and subordination of women.

Walby (1990) argues that women's exploitation has shifted from the household level where women are viewed as house wives who should contribute to procreation and labor to nurture the family with limited participation in public life; to the public where women are not necessarily excluded from public life, but face inequality and discrimination within it. The feminist movement was key to causing change from private patriarchy to public patriarchy through women's struggle for the vote, access to education, professional employment, and property ownership (Giddens, 2004; Giddens, 2009). A rigid and universal concept of patriarchy denies women space for resistance and strategies for change (Giddens, 2009). However, Moore (1994) argues that generalizing the cause of poverty among women through the theory of

Patriarchy would be unfair. Moore (1994) proposes a keen look at the unique gender issues from each community context separately (UWOMET, 2011).

2.7 The Conceptual Framework

Independent Variables
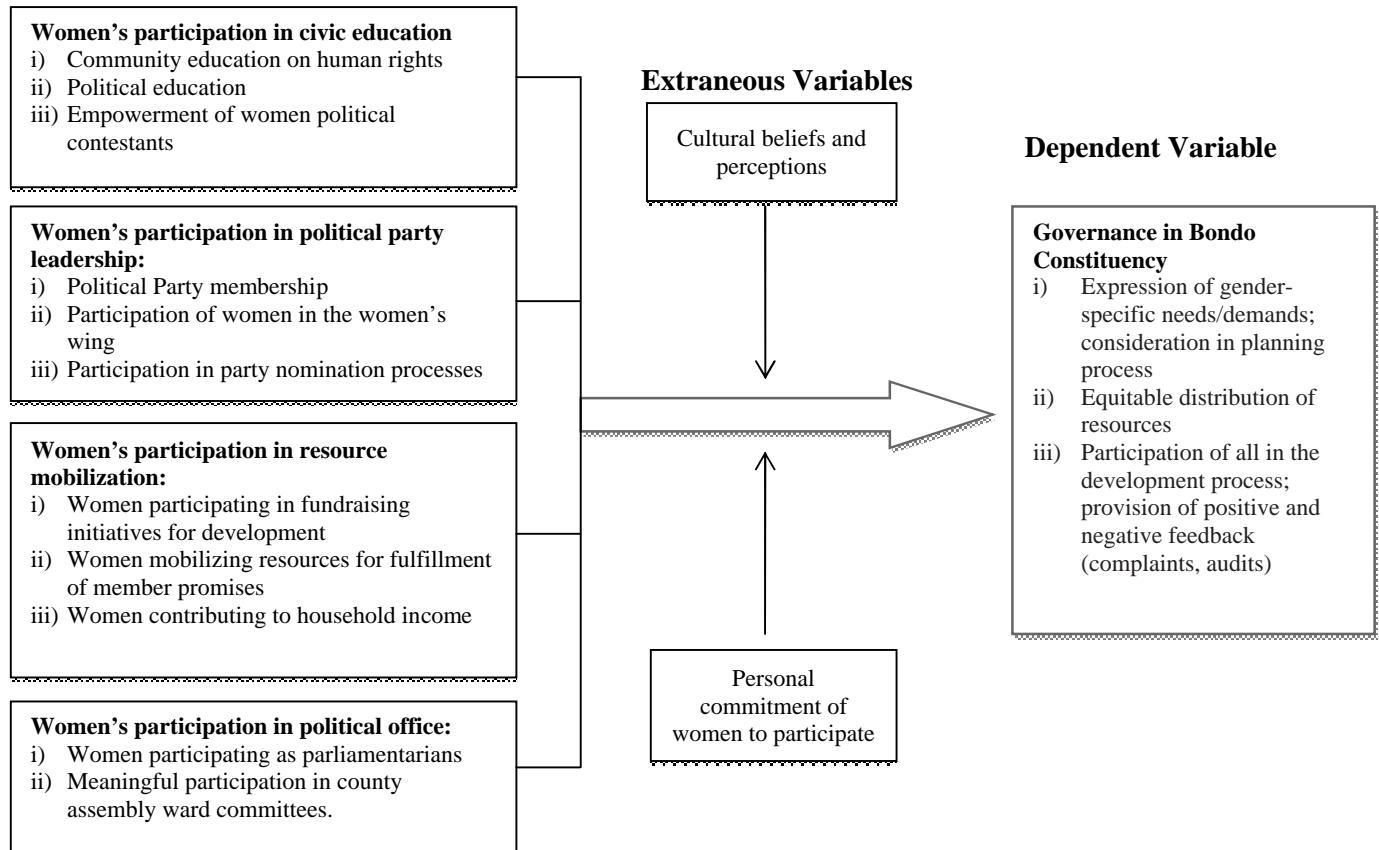
Figure 2: The Conceptual Framework for the influence of women's political participation on governance in Bondo constituency.

The conceptual framework brings out the relationship between the variables being investigated. The independent variables that have been selected by the researcher include: civic education, political party leadership, resource mobilization and political office leadership. The dependent variable is governance of Bondo Constituency. Extraneous variables also affecting women's political participation include their personal commitment to participation as well as cultural factors that prohibit them from competing equally with their male counterparts. As

illustrated in Figure 2. above, both the independent variables and the extraneous variables work together to influence the dependent variable which is governance of Bondo Constituency. From this illustration, it is assumed that the positive influence of the independent variables on governance should lead to gender equity in the distribution of resources through equal participation of men and women in decision making.

2.8 Gaps in the Literature

Despite the fact that the Kenya constitution (2010), the MDGs and CEDAW(1989) all advocate for at least 33% of men and women's participation in decision making organs, the Kenya constitution (2010) does not commit political parties and the political system in Kenya to effectively create equal opportunities for men and women to participate in politics within the 33% quota. This leaves gaps that can be easily manipulated at the disadvantage of minority groups such as women. Most of the literature presumes that the existence of gender disaggregated data will facilitate participation of men and women in decision-making, a gender-aware and gender-responsive political system that is fair, just, sensitive to corruption thus providing an ample environment for effective and efficient service delivery.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents detailed description of the research methodology target population, sample size and selection, research instruments analyzing their validity and reliability, data collection procedure, data analysis techniques, and ethical considerations in this study.

3.2 Research Design

The study adopted an Ex Post Facto Research Design, defined by KIM (2009) as one that presumes that a cause and effect have already occurred, and the study is carried out retrospectively; while striving to determine reasons or causes for existing conditions (KIM, 2009) without manipulating the variables. The researcher identified four independent variables to be investigated namely: Women's participation in civic education, women's participation in political party leadership, women's participation in resource mobilization and women's participation in political office. The researcher has also identified one dependent variable which is governance of Bondo constituency.

In the study, the researcher explored information from secondary sources such as reports on studies by scholars/institutions, books, journals, newspapers and, magazines. Field data was obtained through household interviews with men and women using questionnaires and focus group discussions on political events within the past three years. Data collected was edited to ensure accuracy and uniformity and to acquire maximum information from the data. The researcher prepared summaries of data in the questionnaires and focus group discussion guides. These was entered into computer aided packages for social studies (SPSS), analyzed using descriptive statistics and presented using frequency tables and graphs for quantitative data. For

quantitative data, findings were organized per thematic area, summarized, trends identified and conclusions drawn.

3.3 Target Population

The target population in the proposed study was 37,296 households from Bondo constituency (Soft Kenya, 2012; Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2012), forming the sample population universe.

3.4 Sample size and Sample selection

Households within Bondo constituency were purposively selected as the target population, since this made it easier to reach both men and women for interviews. In each sampled household, one man and one woman were interviewed. The sample size was calculated using Glen Israel's formula for sample size determination.

3.4.1   Sample Size

The sample size for the proposed study consisted of 100 households (20 household drawn from each of the five County Assembly Wards) in Bondo constituency, drawn from the target population.

Table 3.1: Sample selection within Bondo constituency

County Assembly Ward	Number of households sampled
Central Sakwa County Assembly Ward	17
South Sakwa County Assembly Ward	17
Southwest Sakwa county Assembly ward	17
North Saka County Assembly Ward	17
Northwest Sakwa County Assembly Ward	16
West Sakwa County Assembly Ward	16
Total number of samples households	**100**

Source: Survey findings (2013)

3.4.2 Sample selection

According to KIM (2009) and Israel (1992) for one to get a sample size, three factors have to be considered: the level of precision, confidence level and the level of variability. To achieve a sample size that allowed for generalization of research results, the researcher chose to adopt the following formula (Israel, 1992) for calculation of the sample size for population proportions at ±10% precision level and 90% confidence level.

$$? = \frac{?}{1 + ? \ (e)^2}$$

Where: n = Sample Size

N = Population Size

e = Level of precision

Using this formula to determine the sample size, the sample size in the study was 100 households; as illustrated in the table below adopted from Israel, (1992).

3.5 Research Instruments

The Research instruments to be used in data collection included household survey questionnaires and Focus group discussion guides. The male and female household members' questionnaire was used in the study. The questionnaire was designed in five sections. The demographics section explored the background information of each of the respondents in terms of age, sex, marital status, number of dependents and location. This was meant to help the researcher understand the respondents' social environment in relation to the study. Section A of the questionnaire contained a set of questions investigating women's participation in civic education and sought to answer the first research question: How does women's participation in civic education as a component of political participation, influence governance in Bondo Constituency?

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Section B of the questionnaire addressed women's participation in political party leadership and sought to answer the question: To what extent does women's participation in the political party leadership as a component of political participation, influence governance in Bondo Constituency? Section C of the questionnaire explored women's participation in resource mobilization as a component of political participation and sought to answer the following question: To what extent does women's participation in resource mobilization as a component of political participation influence governance in Bondo constituency? Section D of the Research questionnaire sought to explore women's participation in political office. It sought to answer the research question: How does women's participation in political office as a component of political participation influence governance in Bondo Constituency?

The second research instrument to be used in the study was the focus group discussion guide. This instrument contained a set of topics arranged per thematic area for areas such as civic education, political party leadership, resource mobilization and political leadership. This was administered to groups of men and women who participated in focus groups discussions. This was used to collect qualitative data which was analyzed and reported per variable (thematic area).

3.5.1 Piloting of the study

The research instruments were pre-tested using10% of the sample population which is 10 households. This was done in Rarieda constituency, a separate population from the sampled population to determine the reliability of the research instruments. This also helped the researcher to make corrections on the research instruments based on the reality on the ground, as well as prepare for the research based on the working environment at that time.

3.5.2 Validity of the instruments

Joppe (2000) defines validity of a research instrument as the extent to which the instrument actually measures that which it was intended to measure. According to Golafshani (2003), validity of an instrument is determined by whether the means of measurement are accurate, rigorous, and trustworthy and guarantee quality. In this study, construct validity of the research instruments was be determined through the definition of variables being measured and development of key questions that target each of the independent variables. The use of triangulation was employed to bridge the gaps left by each of the data collection instruments and methods. This was achieved through desk survey, individual household interviews and focus group discussions. Content validity (KIM, 2009) determines if the content of the instrument is adequate enough to measure what the researcher intends to measure. This was determined through assessment of the instruments by the course supervisors from the University of Nairobi.

3.5.3 Reliability of research instruments

According to Joppe (2000), reliability refers to the extent to which a research instrument is consistent, produces similar results over time and gives an accurate representation of the total population under study and can give similar results if the study is carried out under a similar methodology after a period of time. Kirk & Miller (1986) as cited in Golafshani (2003) identify three types of reliability relating to: (1) the degree to which a measurement, given repeatedly, remains the same (equivalence) (2), the stability of a measurement over time; and (3) the similarity of measurements within a given time period (internal consistency). In this study, the test retest method was used to measure the reliability of the research instruments. This was done through administration of the instruments to 10% of the sample population selected from Rarieda constituency. This exercise was repeated after two weeks of the first administration.

The reliability of the instruments was estimated by examining the consistency of the responses between the two tests. This was determined through the use of Karl Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient given by:

$$r = \frac{n\sum xy - \sum x \sum y}{\sqrt{[n\sum x^2 - (\sum x)^2][n\sum y^2 - (\sum y)^2]}}$$

Where: r = reliability coefficient

n = Number of respondents

x = Total score of the test administration

y = Total score of the retest administration

The researcher obtained the same results from 18 respondents and slightly different results from two of the respondents on the two administrations of the instrument; yielding a reliability coefficient of 0.8. This meant that the research instruments were reliable given that a good research instrument would yield a coefficient of between 0.6 (good), 0.8 (very good) and 1.00 (perfect) (KIM, 2009). The coefficient was not perfect due to the nature of the in investigation which was highly reliant on the different experiences and attitudes of respondents, which might have influenced the responses between the first administration and the second.

3.6 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher acquired a letter of authority from the University of Nairobi after examination and approval of the research project report. This letter was presented to the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology who issued a letter of authority and research permit for data collection, allowing the researcher to conduct the research. This was followed by the identification of research assistants to aid in data collection. Research assistants were trained on research ethics such as informed consent of the respondent, confidentiality, non-disclosure of research information outside the research confines, and sharing of information with the

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respondents about how the study findings would affect them. Research assistants were also trained on interview techniques such as probing, procedures for the pilot data collection and actual data collection processes.

Questionnaires were administered to male and female respondents from each of 100 households randomly selected from Bondo constituency. One male and one female respondent were selected from each of the households. Data collection through questionnaires was done within one week. Filled in questionnaires were collected every evening and examined for accuracy, call backs and completeness. Focus groups discussions took place with one group purposively samples from Central Sakwa County Assembly Ward. The focus groups discussion participants included two groups of 7 women and 8 men. Responses were recorded verbatim, analyzed summarized and reported per thematic area.

3.7 Data analysis Techniques

The researcher adopted both qualitative and qualitative data analysis techniques. Quantitative data from responses to questions from questionnaires were coded for ease of recording responses. The data collected was edited to ensure accuracy, uniformity and relevance to the research questions. Editing helped to check for inconsistencies, mistakes, lack of uniformity illegibility, and blank or missing responses that were disregarded. The researcher prepared summaries of data in the questionnaires, interview schedules and observation guides by: i) tabulating the number of responses received from the instruments for each item by variable; ii) preparing a summary master questionnaire into which totals of responses were recorded and iii) entering the data into the Statistical Packages for Social Scientists (SPSS), analyzing the data using descriptive statistics and presenting them on frequency tables.

Qualitative data was recorded from focus group discussions per thematic area; then reduced to a simplified format that could be understood in the context of the research questions. The data was then reviewed for patterns exhibited through thematic analysis. Data was then compressed and displayed through text; followed by conclusion drawing with confirmation from the data.

3.8 Ethical considerations in the study

Research ethics refer to the appropriateness of the researcher's behaviour in relation to the rights of the informants, and research work itself (KIM, 2009. According to Trochim, (2006) ethics emerge from value conflicts which are expressed in many ways: individuals' rights to privacy versus the undesirability of manipulation, openness and replication versus confidentiality, future welfare versus immediate relief, and others. In this study, the principle of voluntary participation was observed through informed interviewee consent of the risks and benefits of the research. Research assistants were trained to strictly observe this principle in order to ensure that respondents were not coerced into participating in the study. In turn, the researcher ensured that confidentiality was observed for each of the respondents through non-disclosure of information and identities of respondents to any other party. To do this, all respondents remained anonymous throughout the study. The identity of those respondents participating in the test and retest procedures were coded for this purpose. To ensure that these ethical considerations were observed, the proposal was tabled and validated by the University of Nairobi Institutional Review Board (IRB), consisting of a panel of experts in research and other thematic subjects.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study, discussed under the following thematic sub-sections in view of the study objectives: Questionnaire return rate, Demographic characteristics of respondents, Women's participation in civic education, women's participation in political party leadership, women's participation in resource mobilization and women's participation in political office leadership. The strength of the percentages, frequencies and triangulated information from the focus group discussions constitute the strength of discussion and interpretation.

4.2 Questionnaire return rate

The total number of questionnaires was 200 administered to 100 men and 100 women from 100 households. Out of these, a total of 173 questionnaires (86.5%) were returned, collected by the researcher with the aid of research assistants. This return rate was tabulated by sex as shown in Table 2 below:

Table 4.1: Questionnaire return rate by sex

	Category	Frequency	Percent
Valid	Male	78	39.0
	Female	95	47.5
	Total	173	86.5
Missing	System	27	13.5
Total		200	100.0

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

A response rate of 50% is considered adequate for analysis and reporting, 60% is good and that of 70% and above is very good (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). The questionnaire return rate was very good at 86.5% and enabled the researcher to continue with the data analysis. The researcher and research assistants were involved in administering and collection of the questionnaires hence the possibility of the 86.5% return rate. The missing questionnaires are as a result of respondents who could not answer most of the questions hence rendering the questionnaires spoilt.

4.3 Demographic Characteristics

During the survey, the respondents were grouped into two; male and female respondents from each of 100 households. The demographic characteristics considered for the study were age, highest level of education, years of living in the community and number of dependents. These were considered on their strength of being able to influence the respondents' perceptions of women's political participation.

4.3.1 Distribution of respondents by age

The study sought to understand the distribution of the respondents by age in order to establish the link between the respondent's age and their views on women's participation in politics. For this purpose, the respondents were asked to state their age. Table 3 shows the distribution of respondents by age.

Table 4.2: Distribution of respondents by age

Category	Frequency	Percent
18 - 25 years	28	16.2
25 - 35 years	76	43.9
35 - 45 years	54	31.2
45 - 55 years	13	7.5
55 - 65 years	1	0.6
75 and above	1	0.6
Total	173	100.0

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

Out of the 200 respondents, 16.2% fell between 18-25 years; 43.9% between 25-35 years; 31.2% between 35-45 years; 7.5% between 45-55 years and 0.6% are 55 year and above. This indicates that majority of participants were within 25 to 45 years of age; and are eligible to both vote and be elected to any political office. The researcher also found out that 53.8% of the respondents were married, 26% single and 17.9% widowed. 50.9% of the respondents have lived in Bondo constituency for more than 20 years while 38.2% have lived in the constituency for between ten to twenty years; making the information gathered reliable for reflection into the past three years.

4.3.2 Distribution of respondents by level of education

To enable the researcher to understand the relationship between the sex of the respondents and their level of education, respondents were asked to state their level of education. Table 4 shows the relationship between the respondent's sex and the respondents' level of education.

Table 4.3: Comparison between respondents' sex and level of education

		Primary level	%	Secondary level	%	College	%	University level	%	Other (never attended school)	%
						Level of education					
Sex	Male	17	22	48	62	13	17	0	0	0	0
	Female	29	31	48	51	14	15	2	2	2	2
	Total	46	27	96	56	27	16	2	1	2	1

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

As indicated in table 4, most of the respondents have attained up to secondary education. However, more men (61.5%) have attained secondary education as compared to 50.5% of women respondents. The researcher also found out that while 14% and 2% of women have attained College and University education respectively as compared to 13% and 0% men; 0% men and 2% women have never attended school. This implies that though most women in Bondo constituency have attained the same level of education as their male counterparts; they can compete for most political and economic opportunities. This is in line with findings from a research conducted by Ominde (2002); Koech (2002) and UNDP (1990) indicating that despite efforts to improve education among women especially through research, Free Primary and Secondary Education, and improvement of girls' access to education through affirmative action women's access to local political leadership is still wanting.

4.3.3 Number of dependants per household

It was important for the researcher to establish the number of dependants per household in order to relate this to resource mobilization and utilization per household. The respondents were

asked: How many people live and depend on you in your household? Table 4.5 presents the responses.

Table 4.5: Number of dependants per respondent

		Dependants per household						
		0	1 – 3	4 – 6	7 – 9	10 – 12	12 – 15	16 and above
Sex	Male	9	22	25	12	7	2	1
	Female	14	26	35	11	5	3	1
Total		23	48	60	23	12	5	2

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

The researcher found that 34.7% of the respondents had between 4 – 6 dependents, with 20.2% of these being women while 14.5% were men. This implies that while women are expected to participate in public leadership especially politics, domestic responsibilities also eat up their time thus hindering their participation. This agrees with statistics from Soft Kenya (2012) which indicate that Siaya County's poverty level at 57.9% (Soft Kenya, 2012) with an age dependency ratio of 100:96.3; women forming 53% of the total population while men formed 47%.

4.4 Women's participation in Civic Education

The first objective of the study was to assess how women's participation in civic education as a component of political participation influences governance in Bondo Constituency. This was crucial to this study as it was a means of establishing the extent to women's political participation influenced governance. There were various questions to this under the following sub-themes: Civic education activities taking place in Bondo constituency; Women's participation in civic education activities, Constraints to women's participation in civic education; Influence of women's participation in civic education on governance.

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4.4.1 Civic education activities in Bondo constituency

In order to understand civic education activities which took place in Bondo constituency, respondents were asked to mention the ones that took place in their community. Responses from the study were recorded and presented in a frequency table as shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Civic education activities in Bondo constituency

Category	Frequency	Percent
Constitutional education	15	8.7
The electoral process	17	9.9
Devolved governance	13	7.6
Devolved funds management	13	7.6
Citizen participation in political processes	2	1.2
Human rights	58	33.7
Government policies	4	2.3
Other (A combination of the above)	50	29.1
Total	172	100

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

The study found that human rights education was the most common type of civic education in Bondo Constituency as rated by 33.7% of the respondents; while 29.1% felt that a combination of all categories listed in table 6 below, took place in Bondo constituency. Although the statistics indicate that education on constitutional education, the electoral process, devolved governance, management of devolved funds are rated low at 15%, 17%, 13% and 13% respectively, this is an indication that they are aware that these activities take place within their community. The low rating however also indicates low awareness of these subject matters in Bondo constituency and the ability of the people to recognize and question poor governance. This is in line with findings from by Castillejio (2009); indicating that there have been civil society campaigns to educate voters about their role, the importance of choosing candidates based on

policy and the value of voting for women. However, such voter education campaigns only happen around election time.

4.4.2 Women's participation in civic education activities

It was vital for the researcher to understand the level at which women participated in civic education in Bondo constituency. In order to do this, the researcher asked the respondents to give their opinions on if women participated in civic education activities. Results of this interview are as presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Women's participation in civic education

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	133	77.3
No	40	22.7
Total	173	100.0

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

From the results, 77.3% of them agreed that women participated in civic education activities while 22.7% did not share this opinion. Discussions with men and women revealed that women participated in civic education through churches, women group meetings, funerals, and community meetings known as 'barazas'. These finding are supported by other findings from UNPAN (2012); United Nations (2012) and Kellsal (2009) indicating that through women groups' activities, women in Kenya have acquired training as community health workers, child protectors, paralegals, voters, and politicians, thus being able to influence changes in health, gender attitudes and education for women and girls at grassroots level.

4.4.3 Constraints to women's participation in civic education

The researcher deemed it best to investigate further reasons that caused the respondents to give a negative opinion on whether women participated in civic education or not. In order to

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achieve this, the researcher asked: If your answer is NO, what do you think prevents women from participating in civic education? These results are as presented in Table 4.8 below.

Table 4.8: Constraints to women's participation in civic education

Category	Frequency	Percent
Too many domestic responsibilities	6	15.0
Culture does not allow women to participate	11	27.5
Husband does not give permission	12	30.0
Other (a combination of the above)	3	7.5
Timidity due to low levels of education	8	20.0
Total	40	100

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

Of the 22.7% respondents who felt that women did not participate in civic education activities, 30% acknowledged that women did not get permission from their husbands to participate, 27.5% felt that culture did not allow women to participate, 20% felt that women were timid due to low levels of education while 15% felt that women had too many domestic responsibilities. This implies that although there has been civic education on human rights, cultural and gender factors still prohibited women from participating in civic education. It also implies that even though there has been affirmative action to promote women's education, low levels of education still affect women's ability to adequately influence community members through civic education. Though these perceptions represent views of a minority of the respondents, they represent a strong indicator that culture, low levels of education and gender power relations still influence the ability of women to participate in civic education and politics. This corresponds with findings from Murphy & Carr, (2007) who states that to be able to succeed in their efforts in political leadership at constituency level, women will need to be empowered to influence tradition/culture, and higher level decision making.

4.4.4 Women's participation in civic education and governance

In order to understand the influence that women's participation in civic education influenced governance in Bondo constituency, the researcher asked respondents to give their opinion on women's participation in civic education and its influence on governance. The responses were cross-tabulated as shown in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Influence of women's participation in civic education on governance

| | | Participation in civic education activities | | | |
| | | Yes | | No | |
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
	Yes	146	84.4	5	2.9
Governance	No	10	5.8	10	5.8
	Don't know	2	1.2	0	0
	Total	158	91.3	15	8.7

Source: Survey findings (2013)

In this study, 84.4% of the respondents felt that women made a difference in the way Bondo constituency was governed. The respondents indicated that women had a higher level of integrity thus were able to positively influence the way public resources were managed. 'More women are joining political parties without fear. This is creating competition between them and their male counterparts' (*female participant during Focus group discussion*). Most of the women felt that women's participation in civic education motivated other women to participate in political activities by vying for positions at constituency level.

From the results presented in Table 4.9 the respondents felt that women's participation in civic education influenced governance especially in terms of human rights education (36.2%) and a combination of education on the electoral process, devolved governance, and management of devolved funds (27.7%). While this is so, 84.4% felt that women's participation in civic

education had a strong influence on governance. This implies that women influence governance in Bondo constituency through Civic education activities and that increased participation of women in civic education can contribute to increased participation of the citizenry in questioning inequity and misappropriation of both human and financial resources in the public sector.

This agrees with Action Aid Kenya (2009) who have worked with citizens through mobilization of Bunge La Wananchi, and the Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (World Bank, 2005) to transform citizens' ideas on what they should expect from politicians, how to hold politicians to account and how to make choices based on policy is a long-term process that involves transforming attitudes and beliefs (United Nations, 2005; CIIR, 2003 & The league of Kenya Women Voters, 2005). Other findings from India by Patel (2004) indicate that many women's groups in Ahmedabad, Pune and Bangalore localities have prepared women's manifesto, educational campaigns and created awareness on women's issues (Patel, 2004), expose candidates with criminal backgrounds and support 30% seats for women.

Of those who answered "No" to question 5 (5.8%), further discussions with them revealed that women did not influence governance because most of the time they did not participate in civic education due to their timidity; "Most women did not participate due to fear". These views also agree with a similar research conducted in India, which found that women face opposition from family, community and the male political leaders once they decide to enter electoral politics (Scherer & Raaber, 2009; Patel, 2004). Increasing criminalization, corruption and compromises required to sustain one's political career also deter women from entering mainstream politics (Bari, 2005).

4.5 Participation of women in political party leadership

The second objective of the study was to determine the extent to which women's participation in political party leadership as a component of political participation influences governance in Bondo constituency. It was important to discuss this component as political parties for an integral part of women's political participation. Various questions were asked under the following sub-themes: The role of women in political party leadership; Influence of women's part leadership roles on women's participation in contests; Women's participation in political party leadership and its influence on governance.

4.5.1 The role of women in political party leadership

In order to understand the nature of women's participation in political party leadership, the respondents were asked to state the role of women in political party leadership. Responses by were recorded and presented in a frequency table as shown in 4.10 below.

Table 4.10: The role of women in political party leadership

Category	Frequency	Percent
Party chairperson	2	1.2
Party secretary	5	2.9
Party treasurer	9	5.2
Party member	91	52.9
Women's leader	51	29.7
A combination of the above)	13	7.6
None of the above	1	0.6
Total	172	100

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

Responses from 52.9% of respondents indicated that women in Bondo constituency participate in political parties as party members while 29.7% of respondents indicated that women mostly participated as women's leaders. While 5.2% felt that women served as party

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treasurers, 2.9% and 1.2% of respondents felt that women served more as party secretaries and chair persons respectively. The respondents indicated that although these positions increase women's participation within political parties, their participation is rarely felt as the positions occupied by women are insignificant and do not allow them to influence decision making. This tends to affect their ability to influence party policies especially with regard to gender equity and the number of women nominated to contest in electoral politics. As a result, women serve to increase the number of political party supporters and mobilizers during political party campaigns. These findings correspond with a study by Kalita, (2012) on women's participation within the parties in Sierra Leone appears to be mostly through the women's wing, which is a relatively powerless branch of the party whose role is to mobilize women for meetings and elections. This is also reiterated by Castillejio, (2009).

4.5.2 Women's party leadership roles and participation in contests

It was important for the researcher to understand the role that women political party leaders played in enabling women to contest political positions. To do this, the researcher asked: Do these positions enable women to influence female participation in political contests? Responses were tabulated in a frequency table and presented in table 4.11 below.

Table 4.11: Women's party roles and influence on political office contests

Category	Frequency	Percent
Yes	107	62.6
No	62	36.3
Don't know	2	1.2
Total	171	100

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

Of the 171 respondents who answered this question, 62.6% affirmed that women party leadership roles influenced women's ability to contest for political office while 36.3% felt that it did not. However, as illustrated in Table 4.10 above, women in Bondo constituency do not occupy significant political party leadership positions hence are mostly able to influence women's nomination through community mobilization for support of their political parties. These results reiterate findings by Castilejio (2009).

4.5.3 Participation of women in political party leadership and governance

It was important for the study to investigate the participation of women in civic education and how this influenced governance. To do this, the researcher asked the respondents to give their opinion on whether women's participation in civic education influenced governance. Responses to the role of women in political party leadership were tabulated against governance and presented in table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Influence of women's party participation on governance

| | | Governance | | | | | |
| | | Yes | | No | | Don't know | |
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
	Party chairperson	2	1.2	0	0	0	0
	Party secretary	5	2.9	0	0	0	0
	Party treasurer	7	4.1	2	1.2	0	0
Role in political party	Party member	76	44.4	12	7	0	0
	Women's leader	46	26.9	6	3.5	2	1.2
	A combination of the above)	10	5.8	2	1.2	0	0
	None of the above	0	0	1	0.6	0	0

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

The responses revealed that 44.4% of the respondents felt that women had an influence on governance through their participation as party members while 26.9% felt that women influenced

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governance in Bondo through their role as women's leaders. This indicates that both men and women shared this opinion. Through focus group discussions, respondents argued that though these positions increased women's membership in political parties and support community mobilization for support of party manifestos, they were not influential positions for party policy engagement. This situation made it less possible for female contestants to acquire clearance during party candidate nominations thus influencing the number of women participating in political office contests. The participants recommended that "more women should come out to participate in political party activities by registering more as party members. Women should stop being the enemies of themselves and support each other".

Among respondents who answered negatively, male respondents felt that women failed to influence political party activities because most of them occupied less influential positions (19.4%), while those who were already in office were timid (14.9%) and could not express themselves due to lack of experience and low levels of education. 22.4% of women held the same opinion. The role of culture and attitudes of men and women on women's leadership was rated low by the respondents. These findings agree with similar findings by UNPAN (2007) and Castillo (2009) revealing that key policy setting roles such as chairperson or secretary general are never taken by women, who are mostly made leaders of the women's wing or given administrative positions such as treasurer. This is reiterated by Emaka & Ikenna (2009).

These findings are also supported by various studies in Kenya by World Bank (2012 and Kasomo (2012), indicating that although Kenya is currently a multi-party state, men and women are still dependent on political parties for popularity, nomination, and further election to parliament and local electable positions Mulwa (2004) and The league of Kenya Women Voters (2005) also reiterate that although both men and women are bribed in exchange for their votes,

paradoxically political parties use women in mobilizing membership, fundraising, and during campaigns to profile male candidates. This is however not reciprocated in terms of supporting women to winning stages in electoral processes (Meena, 2003). The benefits are short-term and do not address the root causes of gender based poverty.

4.6 Women's participation in resource mobilization

The third objective of the study was to establish how women's participation in resource mobilization as a component of political participation influences governance in Bondo Constituency. Resource mobilization was deemed as a great determinant of women's ability to participate in politics a therefore a variable to be measured. In this study, this objective was investigated though questions covering the following sub-themes: Mobilization of resources for political campaigns; The nature of women's participation in resource mobilization; Motivation for women's participation in resource mobilization; Gains of women's participation in resource mobilization; Influence of Women's participation in resource mobilization on governance.

4.6.1 Mobilization of resources for political campaigns

The researcher felt it necessary to investigate if women participated in resource mobilization for political reasons. In order to do this, the researcher asked the respondents to provide their opinions on women's participation in resource mobilization for political campaigns. The results were tabulated on a frequency table as presented in 4.13 below.

Table 4.13: Women in resource mobilization for political campaigns

Response	Male	%	Female	%
Yes	55	32.2	63	36.8
No	22	12.9	31	18.1
Total	77	45	94	55

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

From the responses, the study revealed that 69% of the respondents (32.2% male and 36.8% female) felt that women participated in resource mobilization for political campaigns. According to the focus group participants, "Some of these resources are used for politics. They are used for activities such as paying for the campaign team, paying for vehicles used for transporting the supporters, buying food for the campaigners, paying for the levies required at the offices and producing IEC materials".

On the other hand, 31% respondents (12.1% of men and 18.1% women) felt that women did not participate in resource mobilization. Focused group discussions with 8 men and 7 women revealed that Women do not participate in resource mobilization since they do not have sources of money. "The educated women fear leaving their jobs for politics. Some women secure loans from their groups and other financial loaning services to facilitate the exercise. Women do not own property so they cannot even use their title deeds to secure bigger loans".

These results have a strong implication that women participate in resource mobilization to finance political activities. Participation of women in resource mobilization has a great implication of the household livelihoods, education financing for children as well as contribution to community development projects. These findings are reiterated by Kasomo (2012) indicating that there are over 50 women's NGOs in Kenya. They include social welfare organizations, professional organizations, political organizations, religious organizations, and co-operatives (Kasomo, 2009). According to CCGD (2009), these groups serve as vehicles for fundraising, development initiatives, social mobilization and civic education; mostly through women groups, self-help groups, Community based organizations and Village Savings and Loaning Associations (VSLA) (Republic of Kenya, 2010).

4.6.2 The nature of women's participation in resource mobilization

The researcher felt it necessary to investigate the nature of women's participation in resource mobilization; men and women were asked to explain how they have observed women participating in resource mobilization in Bondo constituency. These results were recorded and corss-tabulated against whether women participate in resource mobilization.

Table 4.14: Women's participation in resource mobilization

		Participation in resource mobilization			
		Yes		No	
	Category	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
	Returns from property ownership	8	4.7	42	24.6
	Shares from village savings and loans associations	55	32.2	0	0
Mode of resource mobilization	Loans from other lenders	10	5.8	0	0
	Assistance from NGOs	10	5.8	0	0
	Contributions from other women	18	10.5	0	0
	Other(a combination of some of the above)	18	10.5	10	5.8
Total		119	69.6	52	30.4

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

Out of the 119 respondents who answered in the affirmative, 32.2% acknowledged that women acquired funds from shares from Village Savings and loans associations while 10.5% thought that women secure funds through contributions from other women. 10.5% still felt that women mobilized resources from a combination of returns from sales of property, loans from other lenders, share from savings associations, and contributions from other women. These findings are reiterated by Kasomo (2012), CCGD, (2009) and Republic of Kenya (2010).

These findings have an implication on the ability of women to not only contribute to household income, but also to education for children, their own education and community

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development projects. It can be considered one of the reasons for sustained poverty among women and families in general as statistics from Soft Kenya (2012) confirm that in Bondo constituency, women form the largest proportion of the poor. It can also be considered one of the reasons for low participation of women in politics as women need funds to support political campaigns.

4.6.3 Motivation for women's participation in resource mobilization

It was important for the researcher to understand the driving force behind women's participation in resource mobilization for politics. To achieve this, the researcher asked the respondents: What drives women to participate in resource mobilization for political campaigns? The answers to this question were recorded and cross-tabulated against the sex of the respondents as presented on table 4.15.

Table 4.15: Motivation for women to mobilize resources

	Male		Female	
Response	**Frequency**	**%**	**Frequency**	**%**
Female candidate contesting	31	22.3	40	28.8
Male candidate contesting	4	2.9	2	1.4
Political party responsibility	22	15.8	30	21.6
Self-conviction	1	0.7	1	0.7
Other (a combination of the above)	4	2.9	4	2.9
Total	62	44.6	77	55.4

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

From the responses, 22.3% of the respondents (male) said women were motivated by female candidates contesting and 28.8% (female) held the same opinion. While 15.8% of the respondents (men) felt that women also participated as a result of responsibility given to them by the political parties they represented. This opinion was shared by 21.6% female respondents; and implies that while female candidates received very little support from their political parties and

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did not own property, they utilized resources from their savings and daily earnings to contribute to fellow women's political activities. This also implies that female participation in politics is not widely accepted within political parties and the community at large. These findings are supported by a research by McNeil & Mumvuma (2006) revealing that women in politics in Sierra Leone lack financial resources, as those running in national or local elections receive very little financial support from the political parties and must use personal funds for developing campaign materials, travel within the constituency, and host campaigning events.

4.6.4 Gains of women's participation in resource mobilization

In order to understand if there is a relationship between resources and women's participation in politics and governance, the researcher asked the respondents to give their views on the gains of women's participation in resource mobilization. The responses are presented in Table 4.16 below.

Table 4. 16: Gains of women's participation in resource mobilization

Category	Frequency	Percent
Self confidence	56	33.3
Respect by other community members	46	27.4
Availability of political financing for women	8	4.8
Availability of political financing for men	6	3.6
Financing of political projects	31	18.5
Other (a combination of the above options)	21	12.5
Total	168	100

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

The researcher found out that 33.3% of the participants thought that having adequate resources gave women self-confidence to participate in politics; 27.4% felt that women gained respect from community members; 18.5% felt that women's participation in resource mobilization would aid in financing of community projects while 12.5% were of the view that

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women's ownership of resources would lead to a combination of all of the aspects named in Table 4.16, and implies that lack of power to own and control property by women also has serious implications on their ability to participate in public decision making. These findings correspond to a research conducted by Micro Save (2001) and World Bank (1990) in Uganda confirms that women build their leadership confidence from owning property, sharing in decision-making in the household, making financial contributions, and taking on some responsibilities without prohibitions.

4.6.5 Women's participation in resource mobilization and governance

It was important for the researcher to establish the influence that women's participation in resource mobilization had on governance of Bondo constituency. In order to achieve this, the researcher asked the respondents to give their opinion on the influence of women's participation in resource mobilization on governance in Bondo. The results were cross tabulated against governance and presented in table 4.17.

Table 4.17: Influence of resource mobilization on governance

		Resource mobilization			
		Yes		No	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Influence on Governance	Yes	115	66.5	36	20.8
	No	7	4	13	7.5
	Don't know	2	1.2	0	0
	Total	124	71.7	49	28.3

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

The results demonstrate that 66.5% of the respondents believe that women make a difference in the way Bondo is governed through resource mobilization. Through focus group discussions, participants reiterated that "if the resources are effectively used for political

campaigns in matters such as paying for office levies, paying for political party offices, paying for expenses incurred during campaigns, and educating citizens, more women can be elected into office and thus they can influence decision making".

4.7 Women's participation in political office

The fourth objective of the study was to examine the extent to which women's participation in political office as a component of political participation influenced governance in Bondo Constituency. To enable the researcher to investigate this objective, questions were asked according to the following sub-themes: Election of women in political office; Positions held by women in political office; Reasons why women fail to be elected into political office; Contributions made by women towards governance; Strategies for improvement of women's chances of election into political office.

4.7.1 Election of women in political office

It was important for the researcher to understand whether women were elected into political office in Bondo so as to relate this to their participation in governance at that level. In order to this, the researcher asked: Have women in Bondo constituency ever been elected into political office. The results are shown in Table 4.18

Table 4.18: Election of women into political office

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	157	91.8
No	14	8.2
Total	171	100

Source: Survey results (2013)

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Of the 171 respondents who answered this question, 91.8% responded in the affirmative while 8.2% responded in the negative. As stated by the participants of focus group discussions, "They are elected as party members, treasurer, women leaders, some are nominated into parliament". This strong agreement also implies that there is a change in the mind set of community members about election and participation of women into the political arena and that women have an opportunity to influence governance as politicians.

4.7.2 Positions occupied by women in political office

The researcher thought it needful to investigate the positions occupied by elected women into political office, in order to understand what level of influence they had on governance. In order understand the opportunities that women have to influence governance, the researcher asked the participants to give their opinions on the positions commonly occupied by women elected in political office. The results were cross- tabulated with responses on whether women elected into political office and presented on Table 4.19.

Table 4.19: Positions occupied by women in political office

	Election into political Office		
		Yes	
	Category	**Frequency**	**%**
	Women's representative	73	42.2
	County ward representative	78	45.1
Electoral positions	Member of parliament	1	0.6
	Party Official	2	1.2
	Other (a combination of the above)	3	1.7
	Total	157	90.8

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

From the responses, 42.2% of the respondents confirmed that women were elected as county ward representatives while 45.1% confirmed that women were mostly elected as women's

representatives. This implies that women have made great strides in the acquisition of education in order to be able to complete on the same arena as their male counterparts. It also implies that civic education activities, political party influence and resource mobilization initiatives have borne fruit. These results are supported by a research conducted by IDEA (2003) reiterating that the 2002 general election results in Kenya showed more women participated in electoral politics than at any other time, resulting in 97 women candidates being elected as councilors compared to 2043 men, while 9 women were elected to parliament compared to 201 men. 8 women were subsequently nominated to the parliament (ECK, 2002; CKRC).

4.7.3 Constraints to women's election to political office

The researcher felt it necessary to probe into the reasons why women were not elected into political office. In order to do this, respondents who answered in the negative to whether women have been elected into political office were asked to explain why they thought women were not elected. The reasons were cross-tabulated against election into political office and presented in table 4.20.

Table 4.20: Constraints to women's election to political office

		Election into political office			
		Yes		No	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Reason for non-election	Women do not participate in politics due to cultural factors	0	0	6	3.5
	Voters prefer male leaders to female	0	0	4	2.3
	Other (low levels of education among women)	0	0	3	1.7
	Were undermined by male counterparts	0	0	3	1.5
	Total	0	0	16	9.2

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

From the responses, 3.5% of the respondents felt that women did not participate adequately in politics due to cultural factors; while 2.3% felt that citizens preferred male leaders to female ones. Male participants felt that participation of women in politics is new thus many people are yet to accept the new concept. This implies that although there has been awareness and acceptance of female participation in politics, there are still gaps regarding women's participation in parliamentary politics and they still have to be nominated in order to occupy these positions. These findings are supported by finding of a research conducted in Kenya by the Kenya Government (2002) and world Bank (2011) which found low levels of education, retrogressive cultural practices such as too much work load for girl children, and FGM, forcing girls into early marriage, as factors that deny them opportunities for further academic and personal development; and consequently little opportunity for participation in decision making organs.

4.7.4   Contributions made by women towards governance

It was important for the researcher to understand the participation of women in political electoral positions and how they used these positions to influence governance in Bondo constituency. In order to achieve this, the researcher asked the respondents: What contributions have women political leaders made in influencing governance in Bondo constituency? The responses were cross-tabulated with the kind of contribution made and presented in Table 4.21.

Table 4.21: Contributions made by women political leaders towards governance

		Participation in political office					
		Yes		No		Don't know	
	Category	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Contribution to governance	Participation in gender budgeting	8	4.6	0	0	0	0
	Making the needs of women known	11	6.4	1	0.6	0	0
	Contributing to development through solidarity groups	34	19.7	4	2.3	22	12.7
	Contributing resource mobilization and fostering community development and good governance	35	20.2	1	0.6	0	0
	Fostering gender balance in all political offices	40	23.1	6	3.5	0	0
	No contributions made by women leaders	6	3.5	5	2.9	0	0
	Total	134	77.5	17	9.8	22	12.7

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

The respondents indicated that women have contributed to governance by fostering gender balance in all political offices (23.1%), contributing resource mobilization and fostering community development and good governance (20.2%), contributing to development through solidarity groups (19.7%), making the needs of women known (6.4%), participation in gender budgeting (4.6%) and no contributions made by women leaders (3.5%). According to the respondents, "Women influence governance while in political office by advocating for good governance, rooting for good leadership and mobilizing more women to join the political arena". These findings further confirm that women have contributed to governance as occupants of political offices. In a report from a research by Byanyima (2008), African women represented 17.3% of parliamentarians this being attributed to more women acquiring formal education and participating in activities such as community health education, activism, education campaigns,

funds drives and religious movements. These activities are conducted mostly tough Barazas and women's meetings (Kariuki, 2005).

4.7.5 Strategies for women to influence other women to political leadership

The researcher deemed it best to investigate the strategies women can use to improve their chances of participation in electoral politics more and influence governance more. In order to achieve this, the respondents were asked to give their opinions on what women can do to improve their chances to be elected into political office. The responses were tabulated in frequency table and presented as shown in 4.22

Table 4.22: Strategies for women to influence other women to political leadership

Response	Male		Female	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Register more in party membership	18	10.6	16	9.4
Participate more in more influential party leadership positions	22	12.9	21	12
Support other women contesting for party leadership positions through solidarity groups	16	9.4	23	13.5
Create awareness for inclusion of women's quota in party leadership	13	7.6	16	9.4
Advocate for the government to include quotas for women in all political offices	2	1.2	8	4.7
Demonstrate effectiveness in their work when in office	4	2.4	7	4.1
Improve their levels of education and support other women and girls to do the same	2	1.2	2	1.2

Source: Survey Findings (2013)

From the table, 12.9% of men and 12.0 of women felt that women should participate more in political party leadership positions. However, while 13.5% of women respondents felt that women should also support other women aspiring for leadership positions, only 9.4% of men had the same opinion. Other strategies include: creation of awareness for inclusion of women's quota

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in party leadership (7.6% men, 9.4%, female); advocate for the government to include quotas for women in all political offices (1.2% male, 4.7% female); Demonstrate effectiveness in their work when in office (2.4% male, 4.1% female) and Improve their levels of education and support other women and girls to do the same (1.2%) as illustrated in Table 4.22.

This opinion was held by 39.8% of the respondents and also implies a positive disposition of the community as regards, women's participation in politics and governance. 31.2% of male participants and 28.7% of female respondents (29.8% of respondents) felt that women could improve their chances to influence governance through supporting other female contestants. This implies that even though the community in Bondo has a positive attitude towards women's political participation, women themselves are not participating enough to be able to influence governance at national level, but are able to foster development initiatives at local level. These results are presented in table 23 above. These findings are correspond to findings of a research conducted in five African countries by UNPD (2010) which concludes that women's large-scale entry in politics will bring about a desirable shift in their participation in local political economy including effective use of human and financial resources.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This research on "Influence of women's political participation on governance of Bondo constituency" was to determine the role that women have played in influencing service delivery within Bondo constituency through their involvement in politics. The research was organized into four Objectives and research questions in order to investigate women's participation in civic education, political party leadership, resource mobilization, and political office as components of women's political participation and how this influence governance in Bondo Constituency. The study used Ex Post Facto research design and the population was chosen through the simple random sampling method. The results of the study have been discussed in Chapter four of this report. The following is a summary of the findings as they relate to the objectives.

5.2 Summary of the Study

On women's participation in civic education and its influence on governance, it was discovered that women participate in civic education within the confines of community forums such as funerals, community meetings popularly known as 'barazas', church meetings and women's group meetings. Subjects such as human rights rated at 33.7%, the electoral process (17%), devolved governance (13%), and the constitution (15%) have been discussed. Although the statistics indicate that education on constitutional education, the electoral process, devolved governance, management of devolved funds are rated low at 15%, 17%, 13% and 13% respectively, this is an indication that they are aware that these activities take place within their community. 30% of the respondents acknowledged that women experienced constraint due to lack of permission from their husbands to participate, while 27.5% felt that culture did not allow

women to participate, 20% felt that women were timid due to low levels of education and 15% felt that women had too many domestic responsibilities. The research has revealed that women's participation in civic education influenced governance especially in terms of human rights education (36.2%) and a combination of education on the electoral process, devolved governance, and management of devolved funds (27.7%). 84.4% of the respondents acknowledged that women's participation in civic education has positively influenced governance in Bondo Constituency.

As regards women's participation in political party leadership, the research findings revealed that women participate in political party leadership mostly as party members (52.9%), women leaders (29.7%), treasurers (5.2%), secretaries (2.9%) and chairpersons (1.2%). These trends affect their ability to influence party policies especially with regard to gender equity and the number of women nominated to contest in electoral politics; but also enable women to as community and resource mobilizers in order to increase the number of political party supporters during political party campaigns. 44.4% of the respondents felt that women had an influence on governance through their participation as party members while 26.9% felt that women influenced governance in Bondo through their role as women's leaders.

Regarding women's participation in resource mobilization, the researcher discovered that 69% of the respondents (32.2% male and 36.8% female) felt that women participated in resource mobilization for political campaigns. While the educated women fear leaving their jobs for politics. Some women secure loans from their groups and other financial loaning services to facilitate the exercise. Some of these resources are used for political activities such as paying for the campaign team, paying for vehicles used for transporting the supporters, buying food for the campaigners, paying for the levies required at the offices and producing IEC materials. On the

other hand, 31% respondents (12.1% of men and 18.1% women) felt that women did not participate in resource mobilization due to lack of property ownership by women, thus hindering them from using property as collateral for bigger loans. 33.3% of the participants thought that having adequate resources gave women self-confidence to participate in politics; 27.4% felt that women gained respect from community members; 18.5% felt that women's participation in resource mobilization would aid in financing of community projects. The study demonstrates that 66.5% of the respondents believe that women make a difference in the way Bondo is governed through resource mobilization through financing political campaigns in matters such as paying for office levies, paying for political party offices, paying for expenses incurred during campaigns, and educating citizens, more women can be elected into office and thus they can influence decision making.

Women are elected in political office mostly as county ward representatives (42.2%) and women's representatives (45.1%). Contributions made by women in politica office include fostering gender balance in all political offices (23.1%), contributing resource mobilization and fostering community development and good governance (20.2%), contributing to development through solidarity groups (19.7%), making the needs of women known (6.4%), participation in gender budgeting (4.6%) and no contributions made by women leaders (3.5%). The study found that strategies suggested for increasing participation of women in politics include; 12.9% of men and 12.0 of women felt that women should participate more in political party leadership positions. However, while 13.5% of women respondents felt that women should also support other women aspiring for leadership positions, only 9.4% of men had the same opinion. Other strategies include: creation of awareness for inclusion of women's quota in party leadership (7.6% men, 9.4%, female); advocate for the government to include quotas for women in all political

offices (1.2% male, 4.7% female); Demonstrate effectiveness in their work when in office (2.4% male, 4.1% female) and Improve their levels of education and support other women and girls to do the same (1.2%). The study also found that so far, women have influenced governance while in political office by advocating for good governance, rooting for good leadership and mobilizing more women to join the political arena. These findings further confirm that women have contributed to governance as occupants of political offices.

5.3 Conclusion

While political participation is not a new thing to women in Bondo and by extension Kenya, this participation has increased within the past three years due to increased civic education especially by women themselves. Because of these changes, women's participation in civic education has influenced support for popular political parties. This implies that increased participation of women in civic education can contribute to increased participation of the citizenry in questioning inequity and misappropriation of both human and financial resources in the public sector; influence women to participate in politics as this will enable them to influence policy development; and influence governance as women use peer education as a means for passing on information and education. However, low levels of awareness on governance issues may hamper this process.

Political parties have and still are the main vehicle for political participation for both men and women in Kenya. Party membership and loyalty are the guarantors for political nomination. In this study, it was discovered that a number of women have benefitted from political party nominations and contested as political party leaders, women's leaders and county ward representatives. In order to influence political party policies, women need to occupy more influential party leadership positions. Since women occupy more membership positions, they can

use their numbers to influence party politics and quotas for women and influence the way political parties are run in Kenya. Through their ability to mobilize communities for party support, women have the ability to influence the direction of change in Kenya's political economy both at constituency and national level.

Without resources, it is not possible for political contestants to finance political campaigns. In this study, it was found that women participate in resource mobilization through shares from village savings and loans associations and contributions from other women. These resources have been used on supporting political campaign activities. On the other hand, the educated women fear leaving their jobs for politics. A low resource base for women also hinders their participation in politics. On the other hand, lack of proper channeling of resources mobilized by women will also keep women from supporting family income thus perpetrating poverty which is already high among women, interfere with family projects and other community projects being supported by women and women groups as well as hinder women's political participation.

Being elected to political office is one of the ways in which women can be able to influence policy within political parties and even at county and parliamentary level. This study found that women have been elected as women's representatives and county ward representatives. In this manner, they have been able to influence governance by vouching for integrity in party leadership and management of resources in public offices. By participating in political office, they have increased the number of women in politics thus fostering gender equality in governance. Participation of women on political office can be used as a means of influencing governance and Kenya's political economy through influencing resource distribution, development activities and integrity in the public sector.

5.4 Recommendations of the study

The following are the recommendations of the study based mainly on findings. The recommendations should be useful to the government of Kenya, political party leaders and all of Kenyan citizens especially women. This study recommends that:

Women are already organized into solidarity groups through which they share information on politics, health, human rights, constitution and governance. This study found out that women do not participate in politics due to lack of information. The electoral commission, human rights activists and government ministries should use these forums to reach women, and share vital information to their participation in governance.

The Government of Kenya should compel political parties and the electoral commission to give equal opportunities to both men and women in political contests. This includes equal opportunities for nominations and equal visibility on ballot papers. This will give more women an opportunity to contest political positions and therefore participate more in influencing governance activities.

There is need for the government and communities to not only build a resource base for poverty alleviation, but also take advantage of women's ability to mobilize resources as a means for building this resource base especially for women. Proper channeling of these resources can ensure that women start initiatives that would alleviate poverty at family level and nature local level leadership.

Women themselves should rise above cultural and social prejudice and take advantage of opportunities that are open to them to prove their worth to be elected as leaders. This will build their confidence, experience and prove to the public that they are capable of governing.

5.5 Recommendations for further research

The report highlights the influence of civic education on the ability of women to participate in politics. This is need for further research on other means of sharing information and breaking the apathy to women's participation in governance.

There needs to be further research on why women are shy of participating in politics despite enhanced education among women in Kenya.

Thus study found out that some of the resources mobilized by women are actually used by their husbands for politics and other reasons other than those intended for. Additional research is recommended to determine how resources mobilized by women can be actually translated into resources controlled by women and utilized for the intended purposes for effective poverty reduction strategies.

5.6 Contribution to body of Knowledge

Objectives of the study	Contribution to the body of knowledge
1. To assess how women's participation in civic education as a component of political participation influences governance in Bondo Constituency.	It was found out that civic education determines the extent to which women participate in politics. This is because this is the means through which information is passed thus enabling women to make informed choices. Efforts should therefore be made to increase participation of women in civic education.
2. To determine the extent to which women's participation in political party leadership as a component of political participation influences governance in Bondo	The study has found political parties being a vehicle for entry into political contests. It has also been discovered that women occupy very few influential party leadership positions but mostly occupy membership and women's leadership positions. The positions women occupy currently should be utilized as a foundation upon which

constituency.	future party leadership can be established in order to influence policies for more female nominations.
3. To establish how women's participation in resource mobilization as a component of political participation influences governance in Bondo Constituency.	The study has found women participating actively in resource mobilization in order to support political activities. However, most resources that end up in the political arena are usually meant to support both men's and women's political activities at the expense of family livelihood as some of it is borrowed resources. It is important to strive to enable women to appreciate the need for property ownership, overcome cultural and social barriers, and facilitate proper channeling of resources towards poverty reduction and participation in governance.
4. To examine the extent to which women's participation in political office as a component of political participation influences governance in Bondo Constituency	The study found out that women have been participating actively in political office leadership in the past three years. This is also about the same time that the Kenyan constitution entrenched the 30% rule for participation of men and women in leadership. According to the respondents, women have been able to influence gender balance, foster integrity in leadership and contribute towards community development through use of solidarity groups at community level. This is one tool that needs to be enhanced in order to promote good governance at local political level.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Sample Size for ±3%, ±5%, ±7%, and ±10% Precision

Levels where Confidence Level Is 95% and P=.5.				
Size of population	Sample size (a) for precision (e)of:			
	±3%	±5%	±7%	±10%
500	a	222	145	83
600	a	240	152	86
700	a	255	158	88
800	a	267	163	89
900	a	277	166	90
1,000	a	286	169	91
2,000	714	333	185	95
3,000	811	353	191	97
4,000	870	364	194	98
5,000	909	370	196	98
6,000	938	375	197	98
7,000	959	378	198	99
8,000	976	381	199	99
9,000	989	383	200	99
10,000	1,000	385	200	99
15,000	1,034	390	201	99
20,000	1,053	392	204	100
25,000	1,064	394	204	100
50,000	1,087	397	204	100
100,000	1,099	398	204	100
>100,000	1,111	400	204	100
a = Assumption of normal population is poor (Yamane, 1967). The entire population should be sampled.				

Source: Israel G. (1992). *Sampling the Evidence of Extension Program Impact*.

Appendix 1: Letter of Transmittal

University of Nairobi,

Department of Extramural Studies

P.O. Box 30197

Nairobi.

4th April 2013

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: RESEARCH ON THE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION ON GOVERNANCE IN BONDO CONSTITUENCY, SIAYA COUNTY, KENYA

I am post graduate student at the University of Nairobi, Kisumu Campus. I am interested in carrying out a research on the above topic and I have sampled your community to help me get necessary data.

Information gathered will be used for academic purpose and not any other purpose. All personal information disclosed to me in the process of conducting this research will remain known by only me the researcher and will not be disclosed to any other person. I am kindly asking for your cooperation to allow me collect information from your locality.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

Zipporah Wanaswa

Appendix 2: Household Questionnaire for Men and Women

INTRODUCTION

Hello, my name is Zipporah Wanaswa and I am student at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a research in order to understand how women in your community participate in politics and how their participation influences governance of Bondo Constituency. I would like to ask you some questions about this topic. The information that you share will only be used for purposes of this research, and is not expected to cause you, your children, and family any harm or discomfort. The results of this study will be shared with the University of Nairobi and other stakeholders in governance as our contribution to improvement of governance in Bondo and Kenya as a whole. If you feel uncomfortable with certain questions you can choose not to answer them. However I hope you will be able to participate in answering all the questions since your views are important.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

(Please provide the following information)

1. Please indicate your age...

2. What is your highest level of education? (Please choose from these options).
   Primary Level [01]   Secondary level [02]   College [03]   University [04]
   level Other (specify) [05]

3. What is your marital status? (Please tick one)
   Married [01]   Single/Never married [ ]   Divorced [ ]   Widowed [ ]

4. How many people live and depend on you in your household? (Indicate number in these boxes) [ ]

5. How long have you lived in this community? (Indicate number in these boxes) [ ]

SECTION A: PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN CIVIC EDUCATION

1. What are some of the civic education activities that take place in this community? (Please tick any that applies) Constitutional educat[ ]   The electoral process [ ]
   Devolved governance [ ]   Devolved funds management [ ]   Citizen participation
   in political processes [ ]   Human rights [ ]   Government policies [ ]

   (Move to question 2)
2. Do women in this community participate in any of the civic education activities? (Please tick one appropriate answer) [ ]   (Move to question 3)

If the answer to question 2 is YES, please answer question 3 below:
3. How long have women participated in civic education activities? (Tick one) Less than one year ☐   One to two ☐   One to two years ☐   One to two years ☐
Other (Specify) ☐
(Please move to question 5)

If the answer to question 2 is NO, please answer question 4 below
4. If no, what are the reasons why women do not participate in civic education activities?

…..………………………………………………………………………………………

(Please move to question 5).
5. In your opinion, does women's participation make a difference on the way Bondo constituency is governed? ☐ ☐

SECTION B: PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTY LEADERSHIP

6. What role do women play in political parties (Please select any). Party chairpersons ☐
Party secretary ☐   Party treasurer ☐   Party member ☐   Women's ☐
leader Other (Specify) ☐

(Please move to question 7)
7. Do these positions enable them to influence female participation in political contests? (Please select one) ☐ ☐

If the answer to question 7 is YES, please answer question 8 below
8. If yes, please explain how. ……………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

If the answer to question 7 is NO, please answer question 9 below
9. What could possibly prevent women from influencing promotion of women's participation as party political nominees? …………………………………………………….

………………………………………………………………………….

(Move to question 10).
10. In your opinion, what can women do to influence chances of other women to succeed in

political leadership?.......................……………………………………………………………

SECTION C: PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN RESOURCE MOBILIZATION

11. Do women in your community participated in mobilization of resources for political campaigns? (Please tick one) ☐☐

If the answer to question 11 is YES please answer question 12 below and move to question 14

12. How do women participate in resource mobilization? (Tick one) Returns from property ownership ☐ Shares from Village savings and loans associations ☐ Loans from other lenders ☐ Assistance from NGOs ☐ Contributions from other ☐ women   Other (Specify) ☐

(If the answer to question 2 is NO, please answer question 13 below and move to question 15)

13. If no, why? (Please explain) …………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………………………….

14. What drives women to participate in resource mobilization for political campaigns? (Please tick one) Female candidate contesting ☐ Male candidate contesting ☐ Political party responsibility ☐ Other (Specify) ☐

15. In your opinion, what are the gains of women's participation in resource mobilization? (Please tick one)   Self-confidence ☐ Respect by other community members ☐ Availability of political financing for women ☐ Availability of political financing for men ☐ Financing of Community projects ☐ Other (Specify) ☐

SECTION D: PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL OFFICE

16. Have women in this community ever been elected in political office? (Please tick one) ☐☐

(If the answer to question 16 is YES, please answer question 17 below and move to question 19)

17. If yes, at what were they elected? (select one) Women's representative ☐ County Ward representative ☐ Member of Parliament ☐ Other (Specify) ☐

(If the answer to question 16 is NO, please answer question 18 below and move to question 20)

18. If no, please explain why. ....

…………………………………………………………………………………………………….

19. What contributions have women political leaders made in influencing governance in

Bondo constituency? ………..………………………………………………………………….

20. What do you think women should do to increase their chances in political leadership?.............

Appendix 3: Focus Group discussions with women and men

Two focus group discussions will be held in Bondo Constituency with men and women respectively. Each group will have 6- 8 participants and two moderators. Focus group discussions will take the form of exercises and open questions that require probing. Please avoid asking questions requiring **Yes** and **No** answers only.

Objectives of the discussions:
The objectives are as follows:
1. To understand the experiences of women as political participants and how they have been able to influence governance in Bondo Constituency.
2. To understand the perceptions of men regarding women's political participation and governance in Bondo Constituency.
3. To understand the Challenges faced by women political leaders in their attempt to influence governance in Bondo constituency.
4. To incorporate strategies that can be used by women politicians to influence governance in Bondo constituency.

Discussion Topics: Please discuss the following topics with participants. Please do not ask leading questions. Kindly record verbatim each of the responses given.

   I.   <u>Influence of women's participation in civic education</u>

1. How women participate in civic education in the community
2. How women's participation in civic education and its influence on governance in Bondo
3. What women can do to influence political participation of fellow women through civic education.

   II.   <u>Influence of women's participation in political party leadership</u>

4. The key role of women in political parties
5. How women influence politics within political parties
6. How do these politics influence governance in Bondo

   III.   <u>Influence of women's participation in resource mobilization</u>

7. How women mobilize resources within Bondo constituency
8. How are these resources utilized
9. How availability of resources influences women's political participation
10. How availability of resources influences governance in Bondo constituency.

   IV.   <u>Influence of women's participation in political office</u>

11. How women participate in political leadership
12. How women office holders influence governance in Bondo