

**FACTORS INFLUENCING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL PROCESS
THE CASE OF THE ORANGE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT PARTY, KENYA**

BY:

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a degree in any other University.

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my parents Mr. David Mungai and Mrs. Mercy Mungai and all those who supported in the completion of this thesiswriting. Thank you and God bless you abundantly.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

KANU Kenya African National Union

MP Member of Parliament

IPPG Inter Party Parliamentary Group

NDC National Delegates Congress

NGC National Governing Council

NEC National Executive Committee

ODM Orange Democratic Movement, Kenya

PWD Persons with Disabilities

PR Proportional Representation

CBO Community Based Organizations

CEDAW Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

AGIL Adaptation, Goal attainment, Integration,-Latency/patternmaintenance

SPSS Statistical Package for Social Sciences

ERP Enterprise Resource Planning

ICT Information Communication Technology

IT Information Technology

ISP Institutional Strengthening Project

SCADA Systems Control And Data Acquisition

ABSTRACT

The primary purpose of the study was to study factors influencing women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement, Kenya. This was guided by the following objectives: social factors, economic factors, personal factors and political structure in assess how this factors influence women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement. The study adopted a descriptive survey method. The target population of this study consists of the 222 members of Orange Democratic Movement at Nairobi Head office. The categories of members are; the party leaders, the Strategist, women leagues and think tanks of the party. A sample of 143 respondents were picked using simple stratified random sampling techniques. On the same basis of each constituency, the study population consisted of people who have been, or are actively engaged in electoral politics before, during, or after elections. The results of the study was both qualitative and quantitative. Quantitative data collected using a questionnaire were also analyzed by the use of descriptive statistics using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and presented through percentages, means, standard deviations and frequencies. The information was represented by use of tables. This was done by tallying up responses, computing percentages of variations in response as well as describing and interpreting the data in line with the study objectives through use of SPSS. The study may necessitate the call for the empowerment of women by according them their due status, rights and responsibilities and enabling them to participate actively in decision making activities. Women are a major force behind people's participation in life and society today. Although, women have made great strides forward in obtaining a vote and right to be elected to political offices in many countries, they comprise less than 15 per cent of the Members of Parliament, and less than 5 per cent of heads of state worldwide. Findings of the study indicates that women in political process are in the process of attaining economic, social and political equality; to be well informed; to have access to basic services and achieve maximum representation at all decision making levels. The study concludes that when women stay in politics for long, and especially if they continue to be a minority in a very masculine political climate, they may undergo a process of 'masculinization', where they tend to do things in the traditional, masculine and patriarchal ways. The study recommends women need to be more purposeful about working on the personal factors that hinder them from taking their rightful place in society. They need to work on issues of self-esteem and confidence in relation to politics.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Women's historic exclusion from political structures and processes is the result of multiple structural, functional and personal factors that vary in different social contexts across countries (Randall, 2008). However, beyond these specificities of national and local contexts, there is a generic issue in women's political participation that relates to the wider context of national and international politics, liberal democracy and development. It is, therefore, imperative to critically review these constructs and decode the gendered nature of Democracy as well as Development, which poses limitations on women's effective political participation (Leacock, 2009).

Over the decades, the issues concerning women have taken on new dimensions and received varied treatment by the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The principle of equality of men and women was recognised in the United Nations Charter (1945), and subsequently in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). Women around the world have been under-represented in political leadership. In 2005, women held barely 16% of parliamentary seats around the world (Randall, 2005, p. 33). This has been as a result of culture, socio-economic development, geography and type of political systems that are not favourable to women. This trend has begun changing with several countries embracing women in leadership. In 2005, more than 40 countries introduced electoral quotas by amending the constitution or introducing different types of legislations. In more than 50 other countries, major political parties voluntarily introduced quotas requiring women to comprise a certain percentage of the candidates they nominate for election (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral

Assistance, 2005, p. 145). Because of quotas, countries like, Rwanda and South Africa have made great trends in increasing women political leadership.

In the contemporary United States a competitive electoral system, differential group mobilization rates often hold the key to large swings in the balance of women political power. In groups with strong preferences for one candidate or party over the other, relatively small shifts in women group members' political participation rates can be a decisive advantage (or critical blow) to the electoral prospects of the group's preferred candidate. A surge in black voter turnout is often cited as a central factor in Jimmy Carter's 1976 election victory. More recently, heavier-than-usual political participation by certain social groups has dramatically influenced the outcomes of congressional mid-term elections, with evangelical Christians contributing to the Republican tidal wave of 1994 (Rozell and Wilcox 1995; McSweeney and Owens 1998) and high black turnout carrying many Democrats over the top in 1998 (Abramson *et al.* 1999; Busch 1999).

The women level of participation in United Kingdom in the decision-making bodies of the remains low: the percentage of women in the "college" of Commissioners is only 29%. In the Committee of the Regions women account for 16% of all local and regional elected representatives, with 25% in the Economic and Social Committee (Bond 1996). It should be noted that ten of the 25 Union member States have less than 30% of women in their parliamentary delegations to the European Parliament, including Cyprus and Malta (six and five representatives in the European Parliament, respectively), which have no female delegates at all. Where the Secretariat of the organs of the European Union is concerned, women hold 22% of A grade posts in the European Parliament, and 23% of representatives of national governments in the Council of Ministers and 23% of civil servants in the European Commission are women. In

its Resolution on Economic and Financial Issues, Social Affairs and Education, the EMPA calls for the establishment of an ad hoc committee on women's issues, and expresses the wish for women to be more equitably represented in the committees, a proposal which has also been adopted as one of the political priorities for the EP Presidency of the EMP (Rizer, 1992).

South Africa's experience of women in political leadership has improved over years. The number of women in the National Assembly rose from 27.74% in 1994 to 43% in 2009. In 1994, out of 400 members of parliament, 111 were women, in 1999 out of 400 members of parliament, 120 were women; the number of women in 2004 increased to 131 and in 2009 to 172 (Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa, 2009). This was as a result of quota system; though not adequately anchored in the Constitution, women in South Africa have been acknowledged through courts interpretation which included women as disadvantaged persons (Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa, 2009).

Botswana passed a law to guarantee that women are fairly represented in political offices, political parties ensure that women and men are evenly distributed through the party list. Despite the absence of effective quota legislation, political parties have committed themselves to increase of women's representation in the local government level through quotas. This has led to the rise of women's representation from 19% in 1995 elections to 29.6% in 2000 local election and 40% in 2006 elections (Letsholo 2006). The rising levels of women's representation in local government is largely attributed to the ruling Peoples National Congress's (PNC) commitment to a minimal 30% quota for the representation of women at all levels since 1999 (Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa, 2009).

Morocco has a hybrid political system with a relatively strong monarchy coexisting with parliamentary politics. The lower house is elected through a proportional representation system, and the upper house is indirectly elected from local councils, professional organizations and labor unions. There are 18 parties represented in the lower house organized into several parliamentary groupings. Six of these parties have 25 or more seats in the parliament. In 2002, political parties signed a charter that reserved 30 seats in the lower house (10% of the total membership) for women, to be filled from national lists. As a result, women comprised 10.7 percent of the parliamentarians elected in 2002 and 10.5 percent in 2007. This proportion was doubled to 60 seats for women ahead of the 2011 election, and as a result, women now hold 17 percent of seats in the assembly. In the upper house, where no such agreement exists, women comprise just two percent of the membership(Singh and Shahabudin 2000).

Unlike in Rwanda, Kenya has not really worked hard to improve women representation in parliament and other political leadership positions. In political history, the number of women in political leadership has been very minimal. During the early post-independence period, there was a great gender imbalance in political representation. Women were marginalised in policy making positions in political leadership. The then ruling party Kenya African National Union (KANU) made little effort to promote participation of women in party politics leading to very few elected and nominated women in parliament and in leadership positions in the party. KANU did not adequately use nominations to parliament as a means of increasing the participation of women in national affairs. In specific, KANU never appointed more than two women nominees to each parliament (Institute for Education in Democracy, 1998, p. 56).

Among the factors affecting women participation in politics in Nigeria are: gender and cultural patterns, ideology, pre-determined social roles assigned to women, male dominance and

control, conflicting demands on the time of women candidates due to their domestic and social responsibilities and women's lack of confidence to run elections. Others include women perception of politics as a dirty game, lack of funds and resources as politics is heavily monetized, poverty and unemployment, illiteracy and limited access to education, the dual burden of domestic task and professional obligation, lack of confidence in other women, lack of access to information and the multiple effect of violence against women. Nomination and selection processes of candidates in political parties usually consider women as the second best. In most cases, women are usually considered fit for nomination only if they have powerful men as their pillars. Besides, the processes are usually so heavily monetized that most women with lean financial muscles are elbowed out of the race from the outset (Cassirer and Addati, 2007).

In the 1974 general elections, the number of women Member of Parliament (MP's) rose from one to six; three elected and two nominated. However, in 1979 general elections, the number fell to five through the defeat of one woman MP. In 1983 and 1988 general elections, the number dropped even further to four and three respectively. It was until the reintroduction of multiparty politics in 1991 and the following 1992 general elections, the number of women MPs rose to six elected and one nominated. KANU maintained the disregard of nomination of women in parliament by nominating only one woman out of twelve nomination slots. In 1997 general elections, the number of elected women MPs dropped to four. However, through negotiations of the Inter Party Parliamentary Group (IPPG), all parties were given a form of proportional representation among nominated MPs. KANU nominated two women, Democratic Party (DP) one woman and NDP one woman bringing the total number of women MPs to eight (Institute for Education in Democracy, 1998, p. 58). The historical marginalisation of the women in political

process has results in poor representation of women in parliament and other political spheres and this is as a result of under representation of women in political parties.

Gender representation of men and women in political leadership especially within political parties' structures has been an imbalance. Politics in general and political parties' internal structures in specific have been dominated by men at the expense of women (Women Shadow Parliament-Kenya, 2006). This is a key challenge that has faced women's ascendancy into political leadership positions. With the Constitution of Kenya 2010 and the Political Parties Act, 2011 requiring political parties to observe and implement gender and affirmative action provisions, ultimate change is expected in political parties' leadership. This study seeks to examine the challenges that women in political parties face as well as the steps that political parties are taking to ensure gender balance in their internal structures.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In Kenya, women constitute slightly over half of the total population and form a critical portion of enhancing democratization of political system in the country. However, that it is clear that they are inadequately represented in political positions in the government. The possible explanation for this scenario could be that gender issues in electoral politics have not received due attention and redress. Political leadership in Kenya in particular has been dominated by men. They are the one who hold the resources, have ample time to be in politics throughout, and been mobilized to acquire and retain political power. Very few women are able to get into elected offices due to resources constraints, cultural obstacles and general belief that women cannot become leaders. For instance, out of the current 224 MPs in the Kenya's 10th Parliament, 22 (10%) MPs are women, an improvement from the previous 9th Parliament which had only 18

(8%) women MPs. Out of the 22 women MPs in the 10th Parliament, 16 are elected MPs while 6 are nominated by respective political parties (Federation of Women Lawyers, 2010, p. 16).

Women have been marginalized in the internal leadership of political parties in Kenya. The Constitution of Kenya (1963) did not specifically and comprehensively address the issue of gender equity in political leadership. The only specific provision in Political Parties Act, 2007 10 was article 30(4) which required only political parties' national office bearers to reflect at least a third of either gender. Additionally, though most of the political parties have enshrined gender representation policies in their official documents, these policies have not been implemented (Women Shadow Parliament-Kenya, 2006). This has led to continuous shutting out of women from decision making organs of the party for example National Delegates Congress (NDC), National Governing Council (NGC) and National Executive Committee (NEC).

There are various marginalized groups notably women, youth and persons with disabilities (PWDs) who are underrepresented in political leadership positions. The Constitution of Kenya (2010), seeks to change this through introducing affirmative action measures that deliberately take into consideration historical imbalances. The Constitution of Kenya (2010) requires political parties and other public institutions to adhere to the requirements of article 81(b) that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender. Furthermore, The Political Parties Act, 2011 in article 7(2) (d) requires political parties to have not more than two-thirds of the members of the governing body belonging to the same gender in order to qualify for full registration. These provisions therefore forces political parties to engender their internal governing organs which is not a simple task. .In light of these progressive legal provisions. This study aims at investigating women's social, political personal and economy appropriate approach which is relatively more important is enhance women's

developmental ability approach. Women will be accepted for administrating roles in such a society if they have proven, or at least have potential, that they are able to increase economic growth. Enlarge women's network approach was proposed because of the fact that women would have more opportunity to get access to resources and information needed for election campaign if they joined up or build up networks.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The study identifies factors influencing women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), Kenya.

1.4 Research Objectives

1. To establish how socio-cultural factors influence women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement
2. To determine how economic factors influence women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement
3. To examine how personal factors influence women participation in political Process in Orange Democratic Movement
4. To assess how political policies influence women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement

1.5 Research Questions

1. How do socio-cultural factors influence women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement?
2. How do economic factors influence women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement?

3. How do personal factors influence on women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement?
4. How are the political policies influences on women participation in political process at Orange Democratic Movement?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study may benefit the society in analyzing the various forms of women in politics in Kenya, this may enable woman participation in the electoral process. The significance of this study derives not only from its ability to determine the level of participation of women in electoral politics but also its examination of the factors that affect women's effective participation. The fact that the study analysis's of women's participation in the last general elections, which ushered in a new political dispensation Kenya, further substantiates its significance. It is expected that the data gathered from this study would lead to new affirmative action policies that may enhance gender mainstreaming and equal participation in all leadership and development processes. The data was also resourceful to scholars and policy makers as well as contribute to the inadequate literature on woman participation in the electoral process in Africa and Kenya in particular. The result from the study aims to encourage women to attain social-economic and political groups approach is relatively more important in society that obstructs women, which only women's personal factors are not sufficient to win an election. Rather, they need to join social group in order to gain supports.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

This study was limited to only one political party – Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). The reason behind the choice of this party is has been presents in two electoral cycles; it is a registered political party and has the largest representation in parliament as a single party and has

the second largest registered members with the registrar of political parties. Some of the respondents may not be available for the interviews. Some targeted respondents may be unwilling to co-operate and read the questionnaire due to lack of interest.

The study concentrated on the implementation of gender provisions within political parties' structures. This is because political parties are one of the major stakeholders in constitutional making process and in this case the implementation of the constitution.

It specifically examined gender provisions in the implementation process. This is because the issue has raised a situation of constitutional dilemma in the way the country handles the gender and affirmative action provisions in the Constitution to an extent of contemplating for a constitutional change.

The study concentrates on the challenges that women face within political parties' structures. This is because political parties are a key vehicle to political leadership and elective positions as well as implementation of political party relates laws.

1.8 Delimitation of the Study

The study was confined to Orange Democratic Movement and involved women registered as Orange Democratic Movement members only and this offered an opportunity for a rich source of data. The researcher had significant knowledge of the Orange Democratic Movement and is known to some of the members making it easier to collect the necessary information.

1.9 Basic Assumptions of the Study

The researcher made the assumption that the respondents provided correct and valid information during the study. The other assumption was that the selected sample was not be biased and was

representative of the population.

1.10 Definition of Significant terms used in the Study

The definitions of significant terms used in the study are given below.

Orange Democratic Movement.ODM is a leading political party in Kenya, and a successor of a former grassroots people's movement bringing together different parties to oppose the 2005 Kenyan constitutional referendum

Personal factors.This are characteristic of a person such as age, sex, sociocultural identity, organic systems, capabilities, etc.

Political Efficacy.It can be defined as the individual's perception of the effectiveness of his/her political participation in the community.

Political influence.The extent to which one's political participation achieves its desired results, or the amount of power a political actor has to achieve his or her will.

Political Participation Experience.It can be defined as the individual's evaluation of different results obtained from his/her political activity.

Political Participation Process.Is a political behavior which affects or has the intention of affecting the government's results. To Panahi, political participation is any kind of voluntary political activity of women in connection with obtaining, choosing, and being chosen for political posts, influencing in shaping public programs and political institutions and system of the society.

Social capital. Social capital is the existence of different social organizations such as confidence, norms and networks that improve the society's efficiency by facilitating coordinated activities.

Socio-cultural factors. These are the elements that are related to or pertaining to the combination or interactions of women social and cultural habits. Some of these factors are; social taboos, gender roles, religious conservatism etc.

Economic factors. Is an economic measure of a women's work experience and of an individual's or family's economic and social position in relation to others, based on income, education, and occupation. When analyzing a family's SES, the household income, earners' education, and occupation are examined, as well as combined income, versus with an individual, when their own attributes are assessed.

Woman. Means an adult female human belonging to a specified occupation, group, nationality

Women participation in political process. the women freedom to speak out, assemble and associate; the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs; and the opportunity to register as a candidate, to campaign, to be elected and to hold office at all levels of government.

1.11 Organization of the Study

Chapter one of the study contains introduction, giving a background of the study while putting the topic of study in perspective. It gives the statement of the problem and the purpose of study.

This chapter outlines the objectives, limitations, delimitations and the assumptions of the study.

Chapter two gives scholars' work on the factors influencing women participation in political process in Kenya. The first section focuses on Political participation, the concept of Women Participation in Political Process, factors influence women participation in political process economic influence, socio-cultural, personal factor and political influence dimensions on Women Participation in Political. The last sub-topic consisting of theoretical framework where the study was guided by three theories, namely; theory of patriarchy and Psychological Approaches to Political Participation theory and lastly the conceptual framework that guided the study

Chapter three consists of research methodology which was used in the study. It covers the research design, target population, sample design, data collection, validity and reliability of data collection instruments, data analysis techniques, and ethical considerations.

Chapter four presents data analysis, presentation and interpretation and Chapter five presents a summary of the study findings discussion, conclusions and recommendations. The findings were summarized in line with the objectives of the study. References and appendices are at the end.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter shall review the literature available on factors influencing women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement, Kenya. The first section focuses on political participation process, women political influence on women participation in political process the other sections focuses on economic factors, socio-cultural factors, personal factors and political policies in Orange Democratic Movement Party. The chapter finalizes with a discussion of the theoretical framework and conceptual framework.

2.2 Political Participation Process

Participation in electoral processes involves much more than just voting. Political participation derives from the freedom to speak out, assemble and associate; the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs; and the opportunity to register as a candidate, to campaign, to be elected and to hold office at all levels of government. Under international standards, men and women have an equal right to participate fully in all aspects of the political process. In practice, however, it is often harder for women to exercise this right. In post-conflict countries there are frequently extra barriers to women's participation, and special care is required to ensure their rights are respected in this regard.

According to Odetola and Ademola (1985) (deals with the level, nature and extent to) which each citizen takes part or becomes involved in politics - power to take decisions, allocate resources and distribute them. The above implies that every qualified adult in a society is expected to participate directly or indirectly to influence political decisions that affect the individual and others.

Simbine(2006) cited in George-Genyi (2010) sees political participation as those voluntary activities by which members of the society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy. He thus opines that political participation is a civic right of all citizens. In considering its relevance to national development, George-Genyi (2010) describes political participation as the ability of an individual citizen to initiate and participate in legislative policies and laws that are germane to national development.

However, not everyone participates to the same degree in politics. That is, there are different levels of participation. Some seek and achieve the highest political office; some are active and are official members of political organizations, some are only generally interested in politics while some are totally apathetic and will not even vote (Odetola and Ademola, 1985). Citizen's participation in politics at every level can be taken as an index of the level of democracy and development in a country like Nigeria (George-Genyi, 2010). However, the absence or under-representation of women in the very process of decision-making and implementation undermines the fundamental concept of a democratic form of governance which assumes that participation and representation in all areas and levels of public life should be equally available to women and men (Aluko, 2011).

Political parties are among the most important institutions affecting women's political participation. In most countries, parties determine which candidates are nominated and elected and which issues achieve national prominence. The role of women in political parties is therefore a key determinant of their prospects for political empowerment, particularly at the national level. Because political parties are so influential in shaping women's political prospects, Governments and international organizations seeking to advance the participation of women in elections

justifiably tend to focus on the role of political parties. Political participation extends beyond parties, however. Women can also become involved in certain aspects of the electoral process through independent action particularly at the local level and by joining civil society organizations. Some women in post-conflict countries have gained political experience by participating in non-elected transitional assemblies. Women's networks, trade unions, non-governmental organizations, and the media can all provide avenues for women's political participation (Addati and Cassirer, 2008).

In many countries the rights of women are enshrined in law, and there are no formal legal barriers to women's political participation in election processes. In practice, however, there are often formidable obstacles to women's active participation in politics. The hurdles to be overcome can be particularly daunting for women considering running for office, and may be overwhelming for women in post-conflict countries. Politics has traditionally been a male domain that many women have found unwelcoming or even hostile. Societies in which traditional or patriarchal values remain strong may frown on women entering politics. In addition to dealing with unfavourable cultural predilections, women are often more likely than men to face practical barriers to entering politics, including a paucity of financial resources, lower levels of education, less access to information, greater family responsibilities, and a deprivation of rights that has left them with fewer opportunities to acquire political experience. With the exception of the close relatives of male politicians, women generally lack the political networks necessary for electoral success (Hein C. and N. Cassirer, 2009).

2.3 The Concept of Women Participation in Political Process

In countries in which there is no legislation requiring that women be included on party lists, political parties may adopt voluntary targets or quotas for women candidates. This strategy has

been implemented successfully in many areas. Such measures are most effective when linked to a specific time frame and accompanied by training and resources for women party members and candidates. Parties may also adopt a code of conduct that includes requirements regarding participation by women and gender equality. These approaches require a serious commitment; voluntary actions that are half-hearted or insincere may lead to gender “tokenism” that can actually undermine prospects for women’s empowerment. As mentioned in chapter 1, in 2005, women hold barely 16 percent of parliamentary seats around the world. Research indicates that political structures can play a significant role in women’s recruitment to parliament. The system of elections based on proportional representation (PR), for example, has resulted in three to four times more women being elected in countries with similar political cultures, for example, Germany and Australia. Generalizations such as this are valid so long as there are cultural similarities that are similar levels of social and economic development, between countries. In Russia, this generalization is not applicable because of the different and evolving political culture specifically, the weakly developed party system, the existence of many parties and blocs. Rai,(2000), argues that the lack of confidence many women have to contend with, and the tendency of political parties to marginalize women’s interests.

However, women attempting to enter both national parliament and district councils faced significant hostility and obstruction. Women seeking leadership appeared to have faced the most difficulties in getting a party nomination, and were the group that most frequently reported experiencing hostility from local men while campaigning (United Nation Development, 2005). In majority systems, the options for advancing women’s participation as candidates may be more limited, but there are still a number of useful steps that might be taken. For example, political party laws could stipulate that a certain number or proportion of party candidates in elections at

various levels must be women, though this would be harder to implement fairly in majority systems than in proportional systems. Political party constitutions could require that a specific number or proportion of women be put forward as candidates, or parties could set voluntary targets to this end. Governments could also adopt measures to encourage parties to field more women as candidates in majority systems, perhaps by offering benefits such as additional campaign financing to parties nominating greater numbers of women (Rai, 2000).

2.4 Socio-Cultural factors on Women Participation in Political Process

Culture and tradition were noted to have great impact on women's political participation. The negative attitudes towards women's involvement in politics were noted to be deeply entrenched, leading to problems of marginalisation and isolation. In the DRC and Rwanda, the Catholic Church contributed to discrediting and marginalising women's participation in politics. While it is important for women to compete with men for political positions, lack of education is a big hindrance in many countries. Cultural and religious socialisation that considers women as subordinates and men as their superiors. For instance, some religions do not allow women to go out in public and they can only communicate through the men (Dowerje, 1982).

The subordinate status of women vis-à-vis men is a universal phenomenon, though with a difference in the nature and extent of subordination across countries. Gender role ideology does not only create duality of femininity and masculinity, it also places them in hierarchal fashion in which female sex is generally valued less than male sex because of their socially ascribed roles in reproductive sphere. The gender status quo is maintained through low resource allocation to women's human development by the state, society and the family (Rizer, 1992). This is reflected in the social indicators which reflect varying degrees of gender disparities in education, health,

employment, ownership of productive resources and politics in all countries. Additionally gender is mediated through class, caste and ethnicity that structure access to resources and opportunities.

The socio-cultural dependence of women is one of the key detrimental factors to their political participation in public political domain. Women also find it hard to participate in politics due to limited time available to them because of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres. With their primary roles as mothers and wives and competing domestic responsibilities and care work, they are left with little time to participate in politics (Simbine,2006).

Studies on Socio-cultural factors on Women Participation in Political process. According to (Dowerje, 1982) Culture mostly influences the frame in which we operate in, but for development to take place, we need to transcend the cultural barriers and limitations. In most African societies, women are not expected to speak before men, a thing that has kept many women's potential untapped or even unrealized at all. Women are also not expected to own property or even share in the inheritance of their parents. This therefore limits them from contributing to economic activities that are meant to bring about development of the whole society. So if women are to participate in community based organizations (CBOs,) there is a need to alter mindsets fundamentally in order to change practices in ways that result in greater equity between men and women, as well as the integration of work and personal life., Stuart and Kelleher, when they say that, "given the stereotypic gender roles, the heroes tend to be men, as the organizational culture they have created has been unfriendly and uninviting to women. As such, women's interests are underrepresented; and therefore, there is no pressure or constituency for challenging existing gender-biased relations and ideologies" (1999:11).

2.5 Economic factors on Women Participation in Political Process

Economic conditions play a significant role in the recruitment of women to legislatures in both long-standing and new democracies. The social and economic status of women in society has a direct influence on their participation in political institutions and elected bodies. For example, researchers point to the correlation between women's legislative recruitment and the proportion of women working outside the home, as well as the percentage of women college graduates. According to some researchers, economic conditions take second place to electoral systems in women's legislative recruitment within established democracies (Fraser, Arvonne and Irene, 2004).

Women's historical experience of discrimination puts them at a disadvantage economically. Political campaigns are expensive and require solid financial backing for success. Over the years, sexual division of labour and job opportunities offered on sex basis has given men productive gender roles, enabling them to possess more purchasing power over their female counterparts. As an implication, the Nigerian labour market has about 75% of labour being supplied by men. This economic disparity favour men to the disadvantage of women. Only few women that are affluent possess the economic power to bankroll political campaigns Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU, 2009).

Societal value assumes that political activities are masculine and this makes it worse as financiers and sponsors of politicians prefer male candidates over female ones, since they believe they stand a better chance. Most success achieved by women in politics has been through women movements that sponsor women political aspirations financially and otherwise. Women dependence on men financially made manifest through wife's dependence on their husbands in families reveals the extent of financial incapacitation of women in politics. As a result, women

political aspirations have been grossly hampered by lack of financial bedrock to subsist their endeavor. Women's socio-economic condition is another factor identified by Fisher (1997). Women according to Fisher constitute the majority of the poor and the illiterate in both urban and rural areas in Africa and many young women between the ages of 15 and 25 have been pushed into sex work and face the risk of HIV/AIDS infection. The problem is exacerbated by the current trend towards institutionalizing money-politics as well as high registration and nomination fees. Although waivers are granted to women with regard to nomination fees, the absence of a ceiling on campaign expenditure, however, undermines the efficacy of such gesture (Cassirer and Addati, 2007).

Poverty and lack of economic security are often regarded as some of the major barriers to women's political participation. However, in northern Uganda, the advances made by women in the economic sphere have not given them a more prominent position in political decision making. Indeed, women have played a key role in the region's economic recovery after the war, enabling them to increase their income significantly; however, not at a level which would allow them to achieve economic security, and break free from the cycle of economic survival and merely meeting practical needs (Rai, 2000).

According to Olufemi (2006) Poverty and lack of economic security are often regarded as some of the major barriers to women's political participation. In northern Uganda, increased income has allowed many women to play a more central role in decision making within the household and to acquire greater mobility and influence in decision-making bodies in communities. However, women's economic gains have not been sufficient to allow them to achieve economic security, and their participation in politics remains low. Further, women continue to be marginalized from the major development plans set up by the government and

international development agencies at the end of the war. Women are still viewed as a vulnerable group instead of as economic agents, and little attention has been given to the high levels of sexual violence against women and the way in which unequal gender relations continue to affect the economic recovery. Various studies on Socio-economic factors on women participation in political process have been carried out from time to time viz Women in Panchayat Raj : grassroots democracy in India , experiences from Malgudi , Purnima and Vinod Vyasulu (1999), Women's political participation : issues and challenges, (2005) Farzana Bari , Baseline report women and political participation in India (Shanta Mohan et all) and Bihar still classify as virgin territory for to the best of my knowledge not many meaningful ventures along similar lines have been carried out in these states and considering the pathetically glaring gender divide coupled with innumerable gross instances of women rights violation of all kinds and intensities in these states , the need for the present study becomes even more marked.

In addition, development and reconstruction policies in northern Uganda have not taken into account the important contribution made by women in the building of a peace economy. Despite the commitment made by most development agencies operational on the ground to mainstream gender into their programmes, women are still viewed as a vulnerable group instead of fully fledged economic agents. They continue to be marginalised from the major development plans set up by the government and international development agencies at the end of the war. Furthermore, very little attention has been paid by development planners to the high levels of sexual violence against women and the way in which unequal gender relations continue to affect the economic recovery. All this explains, to a large extent, women's poor participation in politics in northern Uganda, even though their increased income has allowed many of them to play a

more central role in decision making within the household and to acquire greater mobility and influence in decision making bodies in communities(Federation of Women Lawyers, 2010).

The lack of party support for women candidates can be seen in the events of the 2007 party elections in Kenya in which five women were nominated for the KANU, of which two were pressured by the party to stand down just days before the election in favour of male candidates. The political party representatives interviewed all reported that the parties do not discriminate against women and that women are welcome to stand, but also that the parties do not have any particular measures to support women candidates as this itself would be “discriminatory”. This is apart from the notable exception of the ODM initiative to charge women only 30 percent of the candidacy fee in the most recent national and local elections. The role of women within the party seems to be equally problematic. Women’s participation within the parties 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 (United Nations Population Fund, 2009).

According to Leacock, (1977), Contribution to the social and economic development of societies is also more than half as compared to that of men by virtue of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres. Yet their participation in formal political structures and processes, where decisions regarding the use of societal resources generated by both men and women are made, remains insignificant. Presently, women’s representation in legislatures around the world is 15percent. Despite the pronounced commitment of the international community to gender equality and to the bridging the gender gap in the formal political arena, reinforced by the

Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform of Action, there are only twelve countries where women hold 33% or more seats in the parliaments.

2.6 Personal factors on Women Participation in Political Process

The Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, drew attention to the persisting inequality between men and women in decision-making. The Beijing Platform for Action reaffirmed that women's persistent exclusion from formal politics, in particular, raises a number of specific questions regarding the achievement of effective democratic transformations, in practice. It undermines the concept of democracy, which, by its nature, assumes that the right to vote and to be elected should be equally applied to all citizens, both women and men. The absence of women from political decision-making has a negative impact on the entire process of democratization. In addition, democratic institutions, including parliament, do not automatically achieve gender equality in terms of representation, or in terms of policy agenda setting and accountability (Cassirer and Addati, 2007).

The experts' analyses revealed that both the experience and the critical mass arguments were problematic. Quality leadership presented by women is high since they understand society social issues, since women bear the heavy burden of managing family problems. The experience argument tends to treat women as a homogenous group without acknowledging the economic, social and cultural diversity among them. The critical mass argument often views the 30 percent representation of women as a panacea and denies the evidence of contexts where women do achieve effective representation in smaller numbers transparency, continuing commitment to women's interests especially by the government is well demonstrated in Kenya where the new constitution introduce women legislators representatives will connection with constituents their

counties directly(Kenya New Constistution, 2010). The Constitution of Kenya (2010) further recognizes women's social, economic, cultural and political rights in all institutions of governance including political party structures and other organs of decision making. It entrenches the two thirds principles for either gender in all appointive and elective positions, thus ensuring that women are no longer marginalized in the public arena. In practice, experts concurred that the critical mass of 30 percent is often used as a ceiling rather than a minimum. Kenya New Constitution, 2010emphasized the need to provide space for women to reveal their experiences as fighters, organizers for peace, caretakers of rehabilitation centres, mothers of the deceased, and partners beginning to rebuild their lives.

Women's testimonies are very powerful and varied, and that women's experiences are not uniform, hence the need to bring out more visible individual settings. She observed that while women play a key role women. Effectiveness: skills and knowledge, capacity to deal with power, strategic positioning in political position, women are sent back to the kitchen after peace has been achieved because peace is believed to be for leaders. She stated that the UN Resolution 1325 (2000) holds out a promise to women across the globe that their rights will be protected and that barriers to their equal participation and full involvement in the maintenance and promotion of sustainable peace will be removed. She urged the women to uphold the promise their Effective skills and knowledge in handling and understanding society social issues women, skills and knowledge of campaigning in a male dominated society, the women capacity to deal with power strategic positioning in political parties is a big challenge that is facing women in the political career, capacity to deal with power, strategic positioning in political position. There is greater participation of women although they are still struggling for positions of high responsibility. It has proved difficult for women to achieve these positions without

compromising their solidarity for women's issues and concerns. Participants highlighted the need for capacity-building of women politicians to increase their empowerment. The issue of the number of women in political institutions was raised and linked to the issue of solidarity between women (Hein and Cassirer, 2009).

It is imperative for gender equality advocates to focus on the gendered nature of development and challenge the capitalist paradigm of international development that creates and recreates gender disparities, while at the same time working towards creating an enabling environment for women's participation in development. Women's mere participation in mainstream development cannot automatically lead to their advancement and gender equality unless the contradiction in the development claim for equality and justice and the practice is eliminated. The level and nature of participation is equally important to determine whether women are able to share development gains. Women's historic exclusion from political structures and processes is the result of multiple structural, functional and personal factors that vary in different social contexts across countries. However, beyond these specificities of national and local contexts, there is a generic issue in women's political participation that relates to the wider context of national and international politics, liberal democracy and development (Panahi, Yazdanpanah, 2007).

A major challenge for many women is lack of capacity and confidence to operate within a male dominated political environment, often in the face of discrimination or exclusion by male colleagues. While all the female councillors and MPs interviewed reported receiving training on campaigning skills before elections, very few had received any training after they were elected. Most felt that they needed training in order to be able to operate effectively, in particular on their

own role and responsibilities, on public speaking and on budgets – a number said that their lack of basic financial skills meant they were unable to play any oversight role (Charles, 2008) b.)

Women identified weaknesses and shortcomings within their own ranks. In the DRC, they mentioned their lack of clear strategies, of expertise, professionalism and self-confidence. They found that the authoritarian environment within which they have to operate is not conducive to the emergence of a strong and independent women's leadership and is preventing solidarity amongst women. They told us, 'The word democracy is not easy for us to use'. There is thus no visible effort currently by the governments in the region to link women's political participation and the peace processes, or for women to play a more long-term role in the peace processes in the Great Lakes Region (Charles, 2008).

Fanthorpe, (2011), Major challenge for many women is lack of capacity and confidence to operate within a male dominated political environment, often in the face of discrimination or exclusion by male colleagues. While all the female councillors and MPs interviewed reported receiving training on campaigning skills before elections, very few had received any training after they were elected. Most felt that they needed training in order to be able to operate effectively, in particular on their own role and responsibilities, on public speaking and on budgets – a number said that their lack of basic financial skills meant they were unable to play any oversight role. Female Ward Committee members appeared to have had the least training and in some cases to be unaware of their basic responsibilities. Women's ability to operate effectively within formal politics depends in part on their ability to build political alliances through which they can lobby and advocate. The extent to which women politicians in Sierra Leone are able to do this varies between political institutions, and appears to be largely determined by the numbers of women within the institution and their capacity. In all three district councils councillors reported

that they work together to raise gender equality issues and that they build alliances with male councillors to generate support for these issues. However, where women politicians are in a very small minority, including in Moyamba Council where there are just two women out of 24 councillors and Kambiah Council where there are three women out of 22 councillors, they reported that female councillors have not been able to have any real influence on policy. Likewise, women's civil society activists suggested that the small number of women MPs in the national parliament was preventing them from having any significant policy impact.

2.7 Political Policies influence on Women Participation in Political Process

Men largely dominate the political arena; largely formulate the rules of the political game; and often define the standards for evaluation. Furthermore, political life is organized according to male norms and values, and in some cases even male lifestyles. For instance, politics is often based on the idea of 'winners and losers', competition and confrontation, rather than on systematic collaboration and consensus, especially across party lines. It may often result in women either rejecting politics altogether or rejecting male-style politics. At the beginning of the 21st century, over 95 percent of all countries in the world have granted women the two most fundamental democratic rights: the right to vote and the right to stand for election. New Zealand was the first country to give women the right to vote, in 1893; and Finland was the first to adopt both fundamental democratic rights in 1906. There are still a few countries that deny women both the right to vote and the right to stand for elections (Olufemi, 2006).

In most countries de jure difficulties exist, either by virtue of laws being enacted and not followed or by virtue of laws not even existing in the first place. To achieve gender balance in political life, it is necessary to ensure that commitment to equality is reflected in laws and national policies. 'The rising force of women organized at all levels of society throughout the

world has given greater impetus to the 30 percent target for women in political positions originally promoted in 1995. Introducing quotas for electoral seats is considered an important strategy.’ Indeed, positive action is a necessary tool to maintain at least 30 percent of women at all levels of decision making (Randall, 2012)

The most common route to elected office is through political parties. Most candidates depend on parties for their nomination, their base of electoral support, help during the election campaign, financial resources, and continued assistance after their election. While some candidates run for office independently of political parties, it is far more difficult to win election without the backing of a political organization, especially at the national level. Hence, women seeking an entrée into politics must usually turn to political parties. Political parties vary greatly in the extent to which they seek to promote women into leadership positions and to recruit women as party candidates, as well as in the extent to which they address political, economic and social issues of special concern to women. Since political parties often tend to be more open to nominating women as candidates for local elections, women may find it easier to start at this level and use it as a stepping stone to national office(Cassirer and Addati, 2007).

Most countries have a law regulating how political parties must be organized and registered and dictating how they must operate. The operational provisions of the political party law can be extremely important in establishing the framework for women’s political participation. For example, if parties are required to practise internal democracy and employ transparent nomination procedures through primary elections, all-party caucuses, locally based candidate selection or similar options, women will generally have a better chance of emerging as candidates(Hein and Cassirer, 2009). In contrast, highly centralized parties that are tightly controlled by a few leaders or organized around well-known personalities usually men may be

much less receptive to selecting substantial numbers of women as candidates. This may be particularly true in post-conflict countries, in which political parties are frequently associated with male-dominated military groups.

Political party laws may include provisions aimed specifically at enhancing women's political participation. For example, they may require parties to affirm their position on gender equality in the party constitution. They may mandate that party management and party policy committees be gender balanced. Political party laws, or in some cases election laws, may require a gender balance in candidate lists as well. Alternatively, laws may offer parties incentives such as more free broadcast time or additional public funding if they include certain numbers of women among their candidates(Cassirer and Addati, 2007). New laws are often introduced in post-conflict countries, providing an ideal opportunity to incorporate these and other provisions aimed at ensuring equal political participation for women.

One of the most effective ways to ensure women are elected to office is to require that party candidate lists be gender balanced or include a certain proportion of women. This is a legal obligation in many countries. The effectiveness of such systems, however, depends very much on the details of their implementation(Randall, 2012). For example, a requirement that candidate lists include 50 per cent women will not be effective if the women are all placed at the bottom of the lists. Women can have no realistic expectation of success in proportional systems unless they are placed high enough on the candidate lists to be elected if the party wins seats in the legislature. A “zippered” list, in which every other candidate is a woman, may provide the best prospects for women seeking election. Some countries have adopted variations of this system, requiring that women hold designated places on the lists.

Even a perfectly zippered list may not achieve the desired results if the country uses an “open list” voting system, which allows voters to change the order of the candidates on the list. Parties may even try to circumvent the purpose of a zippered list by encouraging voters to reorder the candidates when they cast their votes(Hein and Cassirer, 2009). Experience in many countries has shown that open list voting often works to the disadvantage of women candidates unless women in the country are exceptionally well organized politically. In the worst cases, parties in some countries require women to submit pre-signed letters of resignation when they are nominated so that they can be replaced with men if they are elected. This type of situation can be averted if the law specifies that any woman removed from a candidate list or resigning from office must be replaced by another woman(Randall, 2012). This illustrates the importance of clarity and close attention to detail in the drafting of legislation.

In countries in which there is no legislation requiring that women be included on party lists, political parties may adopt voluntary targets or quotas for women candidates. This strategy has been implemented successfully in many areas(Roc, 2007). Such measures are most effective when linked to a specific time frame and accompanied by training and resources for women party members and candidates. Parties may also adopt a code of conduct that includes requirements regarding participation by women and gender equality. These approaches require a serious commitment; voluntary actions that are half-hearted or insincere may lead to gender “tokenism” that can actually undermine prospects for women’s empowerment.

In majority systems, the options for advancing women’s participation as candidates may be more limited, but there are still a number of useful steps that might be taken. For example, political party laws could stipulate that a certain number or proportion of party candidates in elections at various levels must be women, though this would be harder to implement fairly in

majority systems than in proportional systems(Hein and Cassirer, 2009). Political party constitutions could require that a specific number or proportion of women be put forward as candidates, or parties could set voluntary targets to this end. Governments could also adopt measures to encourage parties to field more women as candidates in majority systems, perhaps by offering benefits such as additional campaign financing to parties nominating greater numbers of women(Rai, 2010).

2.8 Theoretical Framework

The study was guided by three theories, namely; theory of patriarchy by Beauvoir of 1953, Psychological Approaches to Political Participation theory and Structural functionalist theory. These theories recognize the pervasive influence of gender divisions on social life and try to understand women's oppression and the structures in society that espouse this oppression and subordination. Differences in the realization of that potential, therefore, must result from externally imposed constraints and from the influence of social institutions and values (Nzomo 1995). This theories directly relates to the Kenyan case thus, appreciated in this research paper.

2.8.1 Patriarchy Theory by Beauvoir (1953)

The theory of patriarchy was advocated by scholars such as Millet(1969) and Beauvoir(1953), etc. The theorists of patriarchy laid emphasis on male dominant of the female folks. Males are seen as controlling access to institutional power and it is argued that they mould ideology, philosophy, art and religion to suit their needs.

The theory relates to the study, in that it shows that the power of the male permeates everything, it is diffuse and concrete, symbolic and literal, universal and expressed with local variations which obscure its universality. Women are thought of as a sub-

group in a man's world. Relating the theory to the issue under investigation, Nigerian society is a patriarchy one where men dominate everything, including the political arena. Women are marginalized in national and local politics and more generally in the public and private life of our nation despite their numerical strength (over 50%) in terms of population (NPC, 2006). Women were conferred with subordinate positions relative to men's and are such that they are expected to play second fiddle roles in the society (Anifowose, 2004; Agbalajobi, 2010; Arowolo and Aluko, 2010; Uhumwuango, 2011). The theory is relevant to the study since women certainly ranks as one of the most interesting and exciting phenomena of recent American scholarship. The great debates about the changing Kenyan character, or about economic and political liberty, usually centered on the male half of the population. Theorists and critics sometimes incorporated women into male categories, and sometimes vaguely thought of them as representing a more communal perspective or as standing for traditional values in a rapidly industrializing country. Mostly, though, women were invisible.

2.8.2 Structural Functionalist Theory

Functionalist's analysis has a long history in sociology. It is prominent in the study of August Comte 1798-1857 and Herbert Spencer 1820-1903. It was developed by Emile Durkheim 1858-1917 and refined by Talcott Parsons 1902-1979 (Rizer, 1992). This study utilized Talcott Parsons structural functionalism. Talcott Parsons used his AGIL (A-Adaptation, G-Goal attainment, I-Integration, L-Latency/pattern maintenance) scheme to relate to how the society functions together. It was these functional imperatives that promoted interdependence of various parts working harmoniously together to promote order and balance in the system. To this end, therefore, political participation should be everybody's business irrespective of gender and not an exclusive function of men. Currently in Ofu Local

Government Area, women have largely been left out of the political system. This marginalization contradicted the position of Talcott Parsons structural functionalism which welcomed everybody on board to ensure social order. The theory relates to the study regarding social-cultural factors on women. The subordinate status of women vis-à-vis men is a universal phenomenon, though with a difference in the nature and extent of subordination across countries. Gender role ideology does not only create duality of femininity and masculinity, it also places them in hierarchical fashion in which female sex is generally valued less than male sex because of their socially ascribed roles in reproductive sphere. The gender status quo is maintained through low resource allocation to women's human development by the state, society and the family (Rizer, 1992). In theory, the right to stand for election, to become a candidate and to get elected is based on the right to vote. The reality is, however, that women's right to vote remains restricted, principally because the candidates are mostly male. This is true not only for partial and developing democracies, but for established democracies as well. The low level of women's representation in some European parliaments should be considered a violation of women's fundamental democratic right and, as such, a violation of their basic human rights. This unequal rate of representation in legislative bodies signifies that women's representation, rather than being a consequence of democratization, is more a reflection of a status quo.

2.9 Conceptual Framework

This section presents conceptual framework that was used to guide the study. The dependent variable is the factors influencing women participation in political process in Kenya; a case study of Orange Democratic Movement.

Independent Variables

Moderating Variable

Dependent Variable

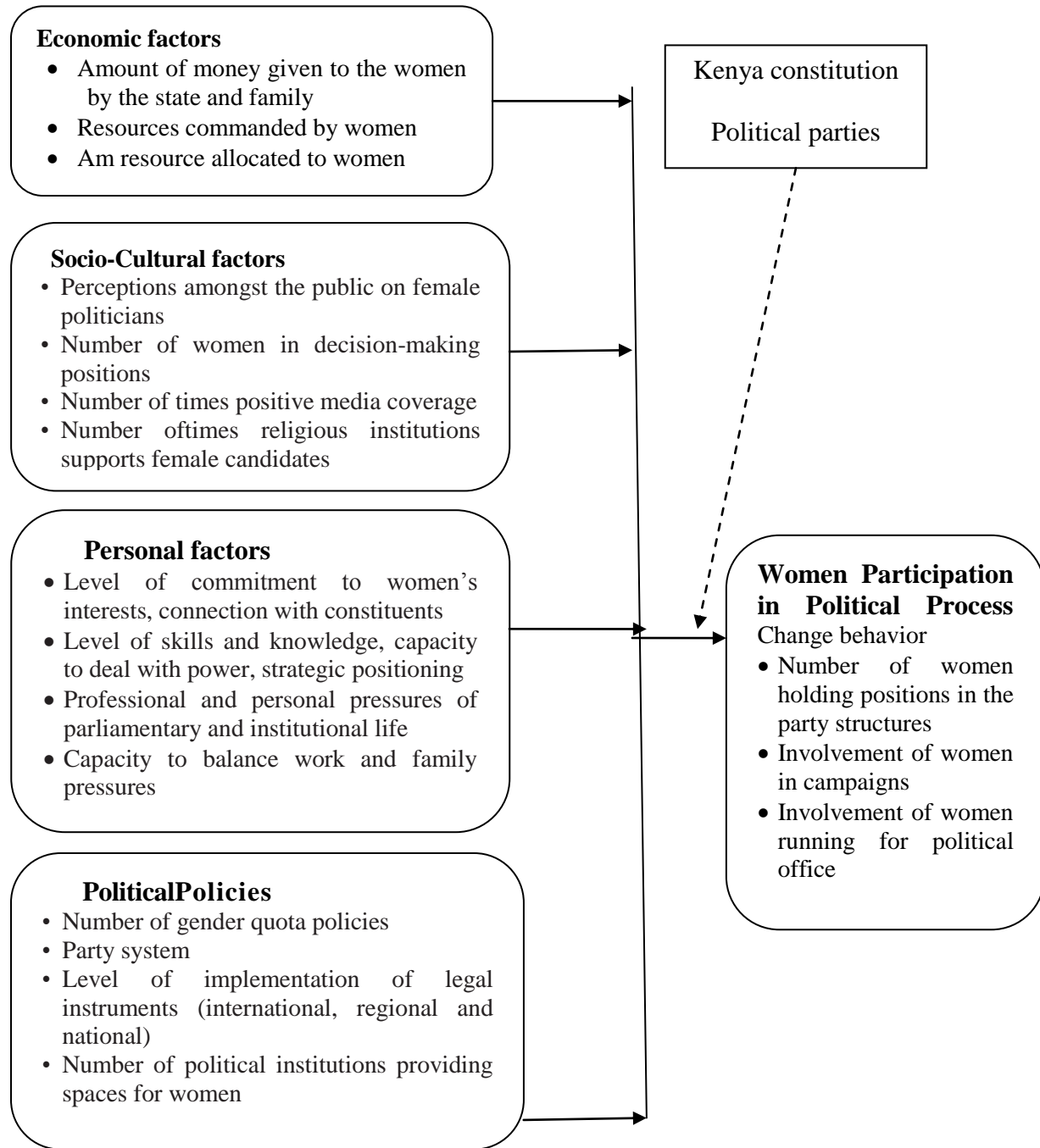


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

2.10 Knowledge Gap

There is very little evidence-based research or scholarly work on women's participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), Kenya at present. Much the same way that Acs and Szerb (2007) propose that promoting enterprise development in middle-income countries should follow different strategies than in developed economies, the results of the present study show that a similar approach is true for promoting women in business leadership. Karuru (2001) on factors influencing women's political participation in Kibera Division, Nairobi found out that although women have made great some areas such as education (where they have achieved 60 per cent literacy) and in development activities, they still lag behind in terms of political participation.

Apart from the fact that the level of women's participation in political process, not much is known about their experiences of entering into political life at the local level, their experiences as elected leaders, the decision making processes at the local level that influence their leadership roles, and the perceptions about factors that would inhibit or enable their participation in the political process in the future. In the absence of published knowledge, not much can be said about the general issues of gender disparity or opportunities that exist in relation to women and political participation in Kenya. In the absence of empirical studies, it is often difficult to evaluate the real impact of factors affecting women political participation for then to be potential or elected women leaders by different political parties in the country. There was a need to fill this knowledge gap.

These were movements built around labor unions, co-operatives, church and professional associations whose major objective was to advance the material wellbeing and improve the socio-economic status of their members. Before and immediately after independence women's

participation in politics was through singing and dancing for the political leaders and other visitors during special occasions. The study therefore explored the women's participation in political process in Kenya the journeys of those who contested the elections, including pre-election, election as local leaders, their experiences of becoming a leader, and being a leader to some extent. It was hoped that the knowledge that emerged from this study would fill this knowledge gap and point out possible strategies for improving the level of women's participation in political process.

2.11 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has demonstrated that the form of government and the nature of the state can either alienate women from politics or make them visible by embracing their ideals. In the pre and post-independence Kenya, before 1992, the state virtually controlled all aspects and operations of political parties making them ineffective.

It is evident from this chapter that the main task of the women's organizations is always to mobilize women as a group to do something for themselves. Formation of women's organizations is the first strategy employed by women to cope collectively with the problems and opportunities of social, economic and political change. However, as they make inroads in to the political sphere, their objectives get compromised by established forces within the political arena. These include the dominant political parties, the institution of the presidency and ethnic interests. It was only in the beginning of the 1990s that the organizations seriously began to expand and demand to participate in the political sphere. This is the time that the women's organizations began making demands on public decision making institutions and influencing the state and political parties for improved service provision and delivery. Various factors can be attributed to this agitation among them, exposure of women to international politics on the

importance of inclusion of women in politics. A good example is a case of resolutions and declaration of Women' decade in 1975, the world conference of the UN Decade for women in 1980 and in 1985 Kenya hosted the end of UN Decade for women conference in Nairobi.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology to be used in the research study. It describes the type of research design that was used, target population, sample design, data collection, validity and reliability of data collection instruments, data analysis techniques, and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Design

The research design was a descriptive survey method aimed at establishing factors influencing women participation in political process in Kenya at Orange Democratic Movement. Phil (1996) says that descriptive research studies are designed to obtain information concerning the current situation and other phenomena and wherever possible to draw valid conclusion from the facts discussed. According to Zinkmund (2000), “descriptive research studies are based on some previous understating of the nature of the research problem”. This is a survey research to explore the existing status of two or more variables at a given point in time. These methods were preferred because it allows for prudent comparison of the research findings. Descriptive survey attempts to describe or define a subject often by creating a profile of a group of problems, people or events through the collection of data and tabulation of the frequencies on research variables or their interaction as indicated.

3.3 Target Population

According to Trochim (2006), Target population refers to the entire group of individuals or objects to which researchers are interested in generalizing the conclusions. The target population

of this study consisted of the 222 Orange Democratic Movement Women League, National office secretariat and Party county Women representative.

3.4 Sample size and Sampling procedure

This section provides the sample size and sampling procedure.

3.4.1 Sample size

Sampling technique provides a range of methods which enables reduction of data to be collected, by focusing on data from a sub-group rather than all cases of elements. A sample of 143 respondents was picked using simple stratified random sampling techniques from 222 respondents based on the Orange Democratic Movement women representatives. This was necessary because the technique gives all strata a chance of being selected into the sample.

The sample is obtained by calculating the sample size from the target population by applying Cooper and Schindler, (2003).

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

Where: n= Sample size, N= Population size e= Level of Precision.

At 95% level of confidence and P=5

$$n = 222 / 1 + 222(0.05)^2$$

$$n = 143$$

Table 3.1: Sample size

Stata	Population size	Sample	Size
Women League	68	58	
National office secretariat	10	10	
Party county Women representative	144	75	
Total	222	143	

3.4.2 Sampling procedure

Sampling means selecting a given number of subjects from a defined population as representative of that population. Any statements made about the sample should also be true of the population (Orodho, 2002).

The researcher randomly sampled an appropriate number of divisions within each category of members on Orange Democratic Movement. The probability of selection of each division was proportional to their population, so that divisions with larger populations had a proportionally greater chance of being included in the sample. Simple random sampling was used to select the 143 members Women League, National office secretariat and Party county Women representative of ODM.

3.5 Research Instruments

The questionnaire contained questions which comprises of linkert scale, closed-ended question and also a few open ended questions. These types of questions were accompanied by a list of possible alternatives from which respondents are required to select the answer that best describes their situation. According to Sproul (1998), a self-administered questionnaire is the only way to elicit self-report on people's opinion, attitudes, beliefs and values.

The researcher developed questionnaires that were used to obtain important information about the population. The questionnaires were distributed by the enumerators to respondents to solicit the relevant information.

The questionnaire for comprised of part A and part B. Part A collects the background information of respondents. While Part B comprises of factors influencing women participation in political process in Kenya. The questionnaire comprised of both close-ended and open-ended items.

3.5.1 Pilot testing

According to Trochim (2006), Pilot testing is a small-scale trial, where a few examinees take the test and comment on the mechanics of the test. In test development projects of all kinds, the trialing of new items is typically taken into Pilot Testing. According to Mugenda and Mugenda, (2003) pre-testing allows errors to be discovered before the actual collection of data begins and 10% of the sample size is considered adequate pilot study that is one university equating to ten purposively selected respondent perceived to be knowledgeable in party affairs.

Researcher conducted a pilot test to ensure that there is validity and reliability of instrument using split test technique while conducting the research in order to obtain data that is consistent with the main objective. An alpha score of 0.70 or more indicated the instrument is reliable. Besides this, pre-testing aided the researcher in clearing any ambiguities and ensuring that the questions posed measure what it is intended.

3.5.2 Validity of Instruments

Joppe (2000) provides the following explanation of what validity is in quantitative research where Validity determines whether the research truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are. In other words, does the research instrument allow you to hit "the bull's eye" of your research object? Researchers generally determine validity by asking a series of questions, and often looked for the answers in the research of others.

Wainer and Braun (1998) describe the validity in quantitative research as "construct validity". The construct is the initial concept, notion, question or hypothesis that determines which data is to be gathered and how it is to be gathered. They also assert that quantitative researchers actively cause or affect the interplay between construct and data in order to validate their investigation, usually by the application of a test or other process. In this sense, the involvement of the researchers in the research process would greatly reduce the validity of a test. Data quality was incorporated in the entire study process especially at the data collection point to include completeness of questionnaires, legibility of records and validity of responses. At the data processing point, quality control included; data cleaning, validation and confidentiality. There are three types of validity which were addressed and stated; Face validity with pre-testing of survey instruments was a good way used to increase the likelihood of face validity. Content validity the use of expert opinions, literature searches, and pretest open-ended questions helped to establish content validity.

3.5.3 Reliability of Instruments

Joppe (2000) defines reliability as the extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study is referred to as reliability and if the results of a study can be reproduced under a similar methodology, then the research instrument is considered to be reliable.

The most popular methods which was used in estimating reliability is the use of measures of internal consistency. The ten questionnaires were pre-tested through a pilot test with individuals from the same organizations previously involved in women participation in political process in Kenya in the study to avoid double inclusion of pre-test participants in the main study. Reliability was tested by splitting the pilot test into two and having the same participant do the two parts, the more the consistency in results justifies that the tool was reliable. The reliability had a coefficient of 0.8 which is generally considered to be good (Kothari, 2009). Their feedback helped in making vital adjustments to enhance reliability and validity of the study findings. To ascertain the reliability of the data collection instrument were examined by professionals who include researchers, supervisor and Orange Democratic Movement.

Reliability is influenced by random error. As random error increases, reliability decreases. Random error is the deviation from a true measurement due to factors that have not effectively been addressed by the researcher (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). The researcher attempted to minimize random error and hence increase the reliability of the data collected by administering the same instrument twice to the same group of subjects.

3.6 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher obtained a permit from National council for Science and Technology based on authorization letter from The University of Nairobi. Consequently, she wrote a letter to the secretary general of Orange Democratic Movement requesting permission to conduct the research in their party. It is worth noting here that the replies from the secretary general may took a long time, and therefore required her to follow up with telephone calls and by visiting party office.

The design has also been used to formulate the objectives and research questions. Primary data was collected using semi-structured questionnaires. The questionnaires were administered by the help research assistance in each and very constituency. The questionnaires were used because they allow the respondents to give their responses in a free environment and help the researcher get information that would not have been given out had interviewers been used. The questionnaire were self-administered to all the respondents.

The data was collected using a self-administered questionnaire and through email. Nevertheless, where it proves difficult for the respondents to complete the questionnaire immediately, the researcher left them with the research assistance to pick on a later date. In the course of piloting, the researcher visited the area of the study and administer the instruments.

3.7 Data Analysis Techniques

According to Zinkmund (2000), the process of data analysis involves several stages: the completed questionnaires were edited for completeness and consistency, checked for errors and omissions and then coded to SPSS. Data was then be analysed using descriptive analysis such as

descriptive statistics mean scores and standard deviations frequencies distributions and percentages. The results was presented in table.

3.8 Ethical consideration

The study was conducted in an ethical manner. The respondents were explained the purpose of the study and they were assured that the information given was treated as confidential and their names will never be divulged. Informed consent was sought from all the participants that agree to participate (Zinkmund, 2000). A research approval was also sought. The researcher personally administered the questionnaire to the respondents.

Their confidential information was only accessed by the researcher and the supervisor. They are not required to provide any identifying details and as such, transcripts and the final report will not reflect the subjects identifying information such as their names, in the case they are not comfortable with it. After the study has been completed and a final report written, the tools used to collect data was destroyed.

3.9 Operationalization of variables

This section analyses the operational definition of variables on the factors influencing women participation in political process in Kenya. Variable are given in Table 1.

Table 3.1: Operationalization of variables

Objectives	Variable	Indicators	Measurement	Scale	Data collection methods	Tool of Analysis
To establish how Economic factors influence on Women Participation in Political in Orange Democratic Movement	Economic	Amount of money given to the women by the state and family Resources commanded by women Am resource allocated to women	Frequency Percentage Mean Standard deviation	Ordinal Nominal	Questioners Observation	Quantitative
To determine the effect of Socio-Cultural factors influence on Women Participation in Political Process at Orange Democratic Movement	Socio-Cultural	Perceptions amongst the public on female politicians Number of women in decision-making positions Number of times positive media coverage Number of times religious institutions supports female candidates	Frequency Percentage Mean Standard deviation	Ordinal Nominal	Questioners Observation	Quantitative
To examine the Influence of Personal factors on Women Participation in Political Process at Orange Democratic Movement	Personal factors	Level of commitment to women's interests, connection with constituents Level of skills and knowledge, capacity to deal with power, strategic positioning Professional and personal pressures of parliamentary and institutional life Capacity to balance work and family pressures	Frequency Percentage Mean Standard deviation	Ordinal Nominal	Questioners Observation	Quantitative
To assess the Political policies influence on Women Participation in Political Process at Orange Democratic Movement	Political	Number of gender quota policies Nature party system Level of implementation of legal instruments (international, regional and national) Number of political institutions providing spaces for women	Frequency Percentage Mean Standard deviation	Ordinal Nominal	Questioners Observation	Quantitative

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of data collected from the field. The results are presented in tables to highlight the major findings. The research was conducted on a sample of 143 respondents from which the questionnaires were administered. The study targeted on Women League, National office secretariat and Party county Women representative. However, 126 questionnaires were returned duly filled in making a response rate of 88%, which is an adequate response rate for statistical reporting. Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) stated that a response rate of 80% and above is a good response rate. This study made use of frequencies on single response questions. On multiple response questions, the study used Likert scale in collecting and analysing the data whereby a scale of 5 points were used in computing the means and standard deviations. These were then presented in tables with explanations being given in prose.

4.2 Demographic Information

The study sought to establish the information on the respondents employed in the study with regards to the gender of respondents, age, level of education and the period they have been members of the party. These bio data points at the respondents' appropriateness in responding to the study questions required for the study to be complete.

4.2.1 Distribution of Age Group

In this section the researcher sought to establish the age of the Orange Democratic Movement Party women members. Their responses are highlighted in the Table 4.2

Table 4.2: Distribution of Age Group

Age Group	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
40 and above	54	42.8%	42.8%
31- 40	67	53.2%	96%
21 -30	4	3.1%	99.1%
20 years and below	1	0.9%	
Total	126	100.0	100.0

The results presented in Table 4.2 show that a significant of 54 respondents with a percentage of 53.2% had attained ages from 31 to 40 years, and 40 years and above consisting of 67 women with a percentage of 42.8% respectively while four of them with a percentage of 3.1% are between 21 to 30 years, this was followed by a small proportion of one respondent with a percentage of 0.9% who was 20 years and below; The age composition shows that most of the respondents were of the 31 to 40 years and therefore had rich experiences, could also appreciate the importance of the study, while those below the age of 30 were not conversant enough with factors influencing women participation in political process in Kenya due to lack of experience.

4.2.2 Level of Education

The respondents were asked to indicate their academic background. Table 4.3 shows the study findings on the respondents academic background.

Table 4.3: Level of Education of the Respondents

Level of Education	Frequency	Percent
Basic Education	68	53.9%
Undergraduate Degree	38	30%
Postgraduate Degree	20	16.1%
Total	126	100

From the Table, 68 respondents with a percentage of 53.9% said they had basic education, 30% of consisting of 38 women are degree holders while 20 of the population consisting of 16.1% had postgraduate degree. These findings indicate that majority of the women within Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), are literate.

4.2.3 Period they have been members of the Party

Respondents of the study were asked to indicate the duration they have been members of Orange Democratic Movement. The Table below shows the research findings.

Table 4.4: Period they have been members of the Party

Duration	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 3 years	15	12%
3 to 5 years	45	35.7%
5 to 7 years	30	23.8%
Over 7 years	36	28.5%

From the study, 35.7% of the respondents have been in the party for the last 3 to 5 years, 28.5% have been in the party for over 7 years, 23.8% have been in the party for the last 5 to 7 years and 12% of the women in Orange Democratic Movement have been in the party for less than 3 years. These findings indicated that majority of the respondents understood how ODM works and have participated in an electoral process.

4.3 Factors Influencing Women Participation in Political Process

Respondents of the study were asked to indicate the role played by their party with regards to political participation.

Table 4.5: Role played in the Party with regards to Political participation

Role played in the Party	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
sponsor your campaign	12	9.7%	9.7%
Give you technical assistance	98	77.7%	87.4%
Provided you with Security	6	4.9%	92.3%
Gave you a direct nominations	10	7.7%	100.0%
Total	126	100.0	

Table 4.5 presents the findings on the role played in the party with regards to political participation. From the Table, 77.7% of the respondents said that they give you technical assistance to the party, 9.7% said that they sponsor their own campaigns, 7.7%, of the respondents were given you a direct nominations by the party and a percentage of 4.9% also said that the party provided them with Security.

4.4 Socio-Cultural Factors

Respondents of the study were asked to rate the extent at which the following factors conform to socio-cultural factors on women participation in political process. The table below shows the research findings.

Table 4.6: Socio-Cultural Factors

Factors Under Consideration	Mean	Std. Dvn
Culture and tradition were noted to have great impact on women's political participation	4.1100	0.6875
the prevalence of the 'masculine model' of political life and of elected government bodies	3.7650	0.63722
Patriarchy nature of the society affects women political participation	3.5708	0.62081
Women's active participation in civil societies propels them politically	3.4786	0.33903
Attitudes to women in decision-making	3.2667	0.88581
Role of religious institutions	3.2100	0.84462
Poverty, poor levels of health and education	3.1708	0.63722
Role of media towards positive campaigning of women political engagement	3.1100	0.6875

From the descriptive statistics presented in table above show that the statement of culture and tradition were noted to have great impact on women's political participation, this was found to be the most significant factor with a mean score of 4.11. The least significant factor on socio-cultural factor was the role of media towards positive campaigning of women political engagement with a mean of 3.11. Generally from the analysis socio-cultural factors do affect women participation in political process.

4.5 Economic Factors

Respondents were asked their views on how economic factors influence women participation in political process. They were requested to rate with a degree of agreement/ disagreement using a scale of 1-5, by ticking their appropriate choice. The table below shows the research findings.

Table 4.7: Economic Factors

Economic Factors	Mean	Std. Dvn
The gender status quo is maintained through low resource allocation to women's human development by the state, society and the family	3.8500	0.51966
While it is important for women to compete with men for political positions, lack of financial capability is a big hindrance in many countries	3.8000	0.63972
The socio-cultural dependence of women is one of the key detrimental factors to their political participation in public political domain	3.6750	0.97178
Poverty and lack of economic security are often regarded as some of the major barriers to women's political participation	3.3000	0.65974
Gender role ideology does not only create duality of femininity and masculinity, it also places them in hierarchal fashion in which female sex is generally valued less than male sex because of their socially ascribed roles in reproductive sphere	3.1000	0.41147

From the findings, the statement on gender status quo is maintained through low resource allocation to women's human development by the state, society and the family was rated the most significant factor with a mean of 3.85, while the least significant factor was gender role ideology does not only create duality of femininity and masculinity, it also places them in

hierarchical fashion in which female sex is generally valued less than male sex because of their socially ascribed roles in reproductive sphere with a mean of 3.1000. Therefore, the study revealed that political participation of male dominated status quo might be the reason for low resource allocation to women's human development by the state and society in Kenya. Standard deviation measures the spread of a set of observations and it is the square root of the variance. The larger the standard deviation is, the more spread out the observations are, the statement on socio-cultural dependence of women is one of the key detrimental factors to their political participation which had the highest standard deviation of 0.97178, meaning that most of the respondent didn't agree to one notion there.

4.6 Personal Factors

Respondents were asked their views on how personal factors influence women participation in political process. They were requested to rate with a degree of agreement/ disagreement using a scale of 1-5, by ticking their appropriate choice. The table below shows the research findings.

Table 4.8: Personal Factors

Personal Factors	Mean	Std. Dvn
Lack of access to well-developed education and training systems for women's political leadership in general, and for orienting young women towards political life	3.4898	0.37796
Negative perception and lack of good understanding of the political dynamics	3.3905	0.99611
Religion contributed to discrediting and marginalising women's participation in politics	3.2245	0.37796
Individual motivational levels	3.1952	0.99611
Individual levels of education	3.0357	0.03126
Lack of confidence among voters that women can actually deliver on their election promises	2.9652	0.54388

On the descriptive statistics on table above shows that 126 respondent were interviewed on how personal factors influence women participation in political process. From the table, the respondents strongly agreed that lack of access to well-developed education and training systems for women's political leadership in general, and for orienting young women towards political life, this was agreed with a mean 3.48. Respondents however, disputed that lack of confidence among voters that women can actually deliver on their election promises with a mean score of 2.9652.

4.7 Political Policies

The study in this part aimed at identifying the extent at which the following political policies factors influence women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement. Data was collected using linkert scale of No extent(1), Little extent, (2), Moderate extent(3), Large extent(4) and Very large extent(5). The table below shows the research findings.

Table 4.9: Factors Influencing Women Participation in Political Process

Factors Influencing Women Participation in Political Process	Mean	Std. Dvn
In most countries, parties determine which candidates are nominated and elected and which issues achieve national prominence	3.9750	0.67178
Participation in electoral processes involves much more than just voting	3.7500	0.41966
Political parties are among the most important institutions affecting women's political participation	3.900	0.53972
In Kenya the rights of women are enshrined in law, and there are no formal legal barriers to women's political participation in election processes	3.3000	0.65974
Party policy documents provide platforms for women to participate in political processes	3.4000	0.61147
Women are well represented in governance structures of the party (NEC and NGC)	3.3250	0.52819
Lack of adoption of legal instruments particularly international, regional and national	3.2000	0.56194
Party nomination rules promote women participation in party primaries	3.0	0.785

The results of descriptive statistical analysis for the following factors that influence women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement are presented in Table 4.9. From the study, in most countries, parties determine which candidates are nominated and elected and which issues achieve national prominence has the (mean=3.75 and standard deviation= 0.42), this means that it's the most significant factor, while the least indicated was party nomination rules promote women participation in party primaries has the (mean=3.0 and standard deviation= 0.79). This reveals that for women to participate in political processes, they have to associate or belong to a political party.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS, DISCUSSION CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents summary of findings as discussed in chapter four and interpretations of the data analysis, conclusions and recommendations based on the findings. The main aim of the study was to identify on factors influencing women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) in Kenya; to establish how social status influence women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement; to determine how economic factors influence women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement; to examine how personal factors influence women participation in political Process in Orange Democratic Movement and to assess how political policies influence women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The first objective of the study was to investigate on the socio-cultural factors influence women participation in political process. Findings of the study indicates culture and tradition were noted to have great impact on women's political participation, this was supported with a mean of 4.11 and a standard deviation of 0.68. Although women in political process are in the process of attaining financial, social and political equality; to be well informed; to have access to basic services and achieve maximum representation at all decision making levels as a channel to the advancement of the social status of women, enhancement of dignity and quality of life'...they

have not yet attained significant levels to make fundamental achievement in the political process in Kenya.

The second objective of the study was to investigate on the economic factors influence women participation in political process. The study found out that, gender status quo is maintained through low resource allocation to women's human development by the state, society and the family was rated the most significant factor, this was supported with a mean score of 3.85 and a standard deviation of 0.51. It is clear that resources play a crucial role in determining the kind of people who get elected in Kenya. Although the women who managed to get elected were economically endowed, just like the men. Generally, very few women are able to raise enough money needed to run a successful campaign. Although there has been a lot of civic education so that people can select quality leaders without looking at handouts, it will take some time before the impact is seen in the whole country. Fund raising for campaigns has not yet picked well in Kenya. The person aspiring is usually expected to have money, and very few people are willing to support them financially.

The third objective of the study was to investigate on the personal factors influence women participation in political process. From the research findings, the respondents strongly agreed that lack of access to well-developed education and training systems for women's political leadership in general, and for orienting young women towards political life, this was agreed with a mean 3.48 and a standard deviation of 0.37. Kenyan society is sometimes unfair in judging women achievements. Women politicians often become the target of ridicule, exclusion, and psychological punishment directed not so much at her behaviour and education level.

Backgrounds of an individual may have been academic or personality-based, but they nevertheless point at each of the interviewed candidate's preparation and capacity for leadership.

Lastly, the fourth objective of the study was to investigate on the political policies influence women participation in political process. From the study, in most countries, parties determine which candidates are nominated and elected and which issues achieve national prominence with a mean score of 3.75 and standard deviation 0.42. The study realized that though party policies and laws have progressive requirements and play a critical role in guiding how to mainstream women in politics, an assessment of the laws used or governed issues around gender mainstreaming needs to be carried out by parties that they are not gender-blind in Kenya. An assessment should look at the successes, failures and opportunities of party policies and laws

5.3 Discussion

Findings of the study indicate culture and tradition were noted to have great impact on women's political participation. Social and political equality; to be well informed; to have access to basic services and achieve maximum representation at all decision making levels as a channel to the advancement of the social status of women, enhancement of dignity and quality of life. Panahi, (2007) posits that women's historic exclusion from political structures and processes is the result of multiple structural, functional and personal factors that vary in different social contexts across countries. However, beyond these specificities of national and local contexts, there is a generic issue in women's political participation that relates to the wider context of national and international politics, liberal democracy and development

Findings of the study indicate, gender status quo is maintained through low resource allocation to women's human development by the state, society and the family was rated the most significant factor. Resources play a crucial role in determining the kind of people who get elected in Kenya. Although there has been a lot of civic education so that people can select quality leaders without looking at handouts, it will take some time before the impact is seen in

the whole country. According to Fraser, Arvonne and Irene(2004),economic conditions play a significant role in the recruitment of women to legislatures in both long-standing and new democracies. The social and economic status of women in society has a direct influence on their participation in political institutions and elected bodies. For example, researchers point to the correlation between women's legislative recruitment and the proportion of women working outside the home, as well as the percentage of women college graduates.

From the research findings, the respondents strongly agreed that lack of access to well-developed education and training systems for women's political leadership in general, and for orienting young women towards political life.A research by Hein and Cassirer, (2009) found out that, it has proved difficult for women to achieve these positions without compromising their solidarity for women's issues and concerns. Participants highlighted the need for capacity-building of women politicians to increase their empowerment. The issue of the number of women in political institutions was raised and linked to the issue of solidarity between women.

From the study, in most countries, parties determine which candidates are nominated and elected and which issues achieve national prominence. The study realized that though policies and laws were very crucial in guiding sectoral concerns, assessment of the laws used or governed issues around gender-based violence appeared gender-blind in Kenya. This strategy has been implemented successfully in many areas (Roc, 2007). Such measures are most effective when linked to a specific time frame and accompanied by training and resources for women party members and candidates.

5.4 Conclusions

Much of the good work done by women political leaders does not get to the public domain. Therefore, having a mentor in the political arena is crucial for new comers, especially women who clearly find themselves as a minority, a situation that can be intimidating even to the most courageous of women. Women's political leadership tends to focus on the needs of the vulnerable and the disadvantaged. This is an area that seems to be neglected by the male-dominated political leadership in Kenya where the needs of the weak and vulnerable are rarely given priority. The advantage, however, was that the women were keen to see people developed in an all-round manner; a manner that would make them better people than they were before the initiative.

From the research findings, it can be concluded that when women stay in politics for long, and especially if they continue to be a minority in a very masculine political climate, they may undergo a process of 'masculinization', where they tend to do things in the traditional, masculine and patriarchal ways. Women may find it very difficult to challenge the 'menstream' issues, and may find it easier to 'join them if you can't beat them'. Due to the small representation of women in predominantly male organizations, they may be subjected to treatment that compromises the contributions they could make as politicians.

However, looking at the issues almost all the women interviewed said they had passion for and had focused on, there is an indication that if there was a critical mass of women in political leadership and women who support the cause of gender equity, equality and justice, then much more can be achieved towards development that takes on board gender issues.

In order to assist more women to succeed in elective politics, it is apparent that a combination of issues needs to be addressed, and there is no one size that fits all. The recommendations drawn from this study try to look at the various areas that require emphasis to facilitate election of more women, and to assist those already elected to have a more positive and visible impact as leaders.

5.5 Recommendations

These recommendations are made under the backdrop of many other conflicting realities with regard to women's successful participation in politics. In almost all the recommendations, there will be some exceptions to the rule.

I. Cultural Factor

Cultural practices, which seem to work against women's empowerment, may be blamed for lack of support for women politicians. The study recommends the society, voters, NGOs and CSOs to conduct a conscious enlightenment exercise geared towards women get elected and other people involved in shaping future women leaders.

II. Economic Factor

Since the findings of the study shows that resources are a key factor in helping women succeed in politics, to circumvent maintaining gender status quo through low allocation of resource to women's human development by the state and society the study recommends develop mechanisms to reduce capital required in election campaigns, and give more money to parties that supports women candidacy through the political parties fund

III. Personal Factors

Women need to be more purposeful about working on the personal factors that hinder them from taking their rightful place in society. There is need for women to work on issues of self-esteem and confidence in relation to politics. There is therefore need to recognize that even though academic achievement is extremely important for leaders to be effective, of equal importance is a better understanding of politics and issues of legislation.

IV. Political Policies

Therecommendations is that the Kenyan government has an obligation to legislate for quotas for women in national and local legislative bodies. The quota system that is developed should not marginalized women further but instead helpmainstream women into leadership. Allowing such quotas would be recognition of the historical injustices that women face, and which have made it more difficult for them to compete equally with men. This kind of affirmative action would help more women to get into political leadership, therefore allowing for the critical mass needed to have more women friendly laws and provide young women and girls with a large pool of role models and mentors.

5.6Suggestion for Further Research

- i. There is still need for more research of this nature to help make known what women are capable of doing and their approach to development. Some of this research, for example, could take the form of long term studies on the use of Constituency Development Funds by elected women MPs to establish what forms their priorities in human development, after basics such as water, health and schools have been taken care of for the better part. This might help delineate more clearly their priorities from those of their male counterparts. Once the basic necessities are no longer a big issue, an MP might feel freer to allocate more funds to projects involving their 'pet' issues.

- ii. Research in constituencies that have continuously elected women may help to establish the factors that work in favour of women, and if these can be replicated elsewhere. It would also be useful to study those constituencies that have never elected women to establish what works against women and, therefore, get an understanding on what could be done to help women be accepted as able leaders in such constituencies.

- iii. A study looking into how the 'good girl' concept can be transformed into a strategy for effecting or sustaining women's public or political aspirations may be useful in helping understand ways in which women can increase their participation in politics. This may be worthwhile given the trend established, which indicates that women who go against the expected norms and behaviour associated with the 'good girl' may be viewed as threatening to the patriarchal state.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Letter of Introduction

Phoebe Wanjiku Mungai

P.o. Box 30344-00100,

Nairobi.

14th October, 2014.

Dear Respondent,

REF: TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I am a master's student at the University of Nairobi pursuing a Master of Arts in Project Planning and Management. I am expected to undertake a research on the factors influencing women participation in political process the case of the Orange Democratic Movement Party, Kenya. Your cooperation and assistance are required to enable me complete the exercise. This information will be strictly used for the intended academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thanking you in advance.

Yours faithfully,

Phoebe Wanjiku Mungai

Appendix I1: Research Questionnaire for ODM Women Members

Instructions

Please tick (✓) the box that matches your answer or fill the space provided

PART A: General Information

Date

1) What is your gender? (tick one)

Male Female

2) What is your age bracket?(tick one)

20 -30 () 21 -30 () 31- 40 () 40 and above ()

3) State your highest level of education?

Certificate [] diploma [] undergraduate [] postgraduate []

Basic Education (past form four) []

4) How long have you been a member of Orange Democratic Movement?

Less than 3 years () 3 to 5 years () 5 to 7 years () Over 7 years ()

PART B: FACTORS INFLUENCING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL PROCESS IN ORANGE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, KENYA

1. What role did you play in the party with regards to Political participation?

a. sponsor your campaign []

- b. Give you technical assistance []
- c. Provided you with Security []
- d. Gave you a direct nominations []
- e. Using a Likert 1-5 scale, with 1 being ‘to no extent at all’, 2 being ‘to a small extent’ 3 being ‘to some extent’, 4 being ‘to a high extent’ and 5 being ‘to a very high extent’, to what extent were the following political factors influences on women participation in political process at Orange Democratic Movement? Please tick (✓) all as appropriate

Factors Under Consideration	1	2	3	4	5
Participation in electoral processes involves much more than just voting					
Political parties are among the most important institutions affecting women’s political participation					
In most countries, parties determine which candidates are nominated and elected and which issues achieve national prominence					
The role of women in political parties is therefore a key determinant of their prospects for political empowerment, particularly at the national level.					
In many countries the rights of women are enshrined in law, and there are no formal legal barriers to women’s political participation in election processes					
The role of women in political parties is therefore a key determinant of their prospects for political empowerment, particularly at the national level.					
The negative attitudes towards women’s involvement in politics were noted to be deeply entrenched, leading to problems of marginalisation and isolation					

SECTION I: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Using a Likert 1-5 scale, with 1 being ‘to no extent at all’, 2 being ‘to a small extent’ 3 being ‘to some extent’, 4 being ‘to a high extent’ and 5 being ‘to a very high extent’, to what extent were the following factors considered important in women political participation? Please tick (✓) all as appropriate

Factors Under Consideration	1	2	3	4	5
Participation in electoral processes involves much more than just voting					
Political parties are among the most important institutions affecting women’s political participation					
In most countries, parties determine which candidates are nominated and elected and which issues achieve national prominence					
The role of women in political parties is therefore a key determinant of their prospects for political empowerment, particularly at the national level.					
In many countries the rights of women are enshrined in law, and there are no formal legal barriers to women’s political participation in election processes					
Party policy documents provide platforms for women to participate in political processes					
Women are well represented in governance structures of the party (NEC and NGC)					
Lack of adoption of legal instruments particularly international, regional and national					
Party nomination rules promote women participation in party primaries					

SECTION II: ECONOMIC FACTORS

Using a Likert 1-5 scale, with 1 being ‘to no extent at all’, 2 being ‘to a small extent’ 3 being ‘to some extent’, 4 being ‘to a high extent’ and 5 being ‘to a very high extent’, to what extent were the following economic factors influence women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement? Please tick (✓) all as appropriate

Factors Under Consideration	1	2	3	4	5
social-economic class status and their political participation					
women’s political efficacy (political confidence) and their political participation					
Positive and negative political experiences of women					
lack of party support, for example, limited financial support for women candidates, limited access to political networks, and the more stringent standards and qualifications applied to women					
lack of sustained contact and cooperation with other public organizations such as trade (labour) unions and women’s groups					

SECTION III: SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

Using a Likert 1-5 scale, with 1 being ‘to no extent at all’, 2 being ‘to a small extent’ 3 being ‘to some extent’, 4 being ‘to a high extent’ and 5 being ‘to a very high extent’, to what extent were

the following socio-cultural factors influence women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement? Please tick (✓) all as appropriate

Factors Under Consideration	1	2	3	4	5
Culture and tradition were noted to have great impact on women's political participation					
the prevalence of the 'masculine model' of political life and of elected government bodies					
Patriarchy nature of the society affects women political participation					
Women's active participation in civil societies propels them politically					
Attitudes to women in decision-making					
Role of religious institutions					
Poverty, poor levels of health and education					
Role of media towards positive campaigning of women political engagement					

SECTION IV: PERSONAL FACTORS

Using a Likert 1-5 scale, with 1 being 'to no extent at all', 2 being 'to a small extent' 3 being 'to some extent', 4 being 'to a high extent' and 5 being 'to a very high extent', to what extent were

the following personal factors influence on women participation in political process in Orange Democratic Movement? Please tick (✓) all as appropriate

Factors Under Consideration	1	2	3	4	5
The Catholic Church contributed to discrediting and marginalising women’s participation in politics					
Negative perception and lack of good understanding of the political dynamics					
lack of access to well-developed education and training systems for women’s political leadership in general, and for orienting young women towards political life;					
Individual motivational levels					
Individual levels of education					
Lack of confidence among voters that women can actually deliver on their election promises					

Based on your experience and to the best of your knowledge, which additional Factors influencing Women Participation in Political Process in Kenya, and yet not covering in this questionnaire? Please list twofactors below:

.....

Thank you for your time and cooperation