EFFECTS OF CIVIC EDUCATION ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN GATANGA WARD IN GATANGA CONSTITUENCY, MURANG'A COUNTY

BY

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DECLARATION

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

Signature: ……..…….. Date: …….

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This research project report has been presented for examination with my approval as university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my wife Faith, my mum Ruth and my three daughters Wanjiku, Kabura and Wahu.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CBO	Community Based Organization
CE	Civic Education
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
HBF	Heinrich Böll Foundation's
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MPs	Members of Parliaments
NCEP	National Civic Education program
NAEP	National Assessment of Educational Progress
NFE	Non formal Education
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UK	United Kingdom
U.S	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

ABSTRACT

This study examined the effects of civic education (CE) on women's political participation in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency namely: political knowledge, political trust, political interests and political efficacy. The literature reviewed was in line with women political participation, political knowledge, political trust, political interests and political efficacy all of which were geared towards achieving enhanced women political participation. The main objective of this research was to evaluate the effects of civic education (CE) on women's political participation. To achieve these objectives, Primary data was collected through use of close ended questionnaires from a random sample of 246 Gatanga Ward women from different social classes, age and levels of education. The researcher consulted the supervisor and other experts from the University of Nairobi to ascertain that the questionnaire was valid and measured the variables in the study. The study was prompted from issues raised by the community on women political participation in Gatanga Constituency. The target population was 3527 women who were registered as voters in year 2010.The study was a descriptive survey research that investigated the extent to which civic education affects women's political participation in Gatanga ward. The populations were all the women who were registered voters in Gatanga ward. Systematic random sampling was used to sample 246 women from different social classes, age and levels of education in this study. The Morgan and Krejcie table was used to arrive at the sample size. The data collected was edited, coded and analyzed using statistical package for social sciences. Data was analyzed using frequency counts and percentages. Results of the study revealed that the majority of respondents support women's political participation in public life in the society. Also, women's supported the right of women to have equal educational opportunities, as well as equal participation in civil societies, volunteer societies, and political participation. Finally, empirical results were that civic education was associated with women's political participation. The study recommended that civic education should be carried out to sensitize women on their role in politics and participation in other leadership positions. It further recommended that women should be considered for political appointment at the County and National level to facilitate gender balance.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Women constitute slightly more than half of the world population. Their 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 15 percent. 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 (UNDP Report, 2005).

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. 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. The elements of enabling environment for women's participation in politics and development cannot be discussed and identified without putting the current development and political paradigms under scrutiny. Development today as Rounaq Jahan (1999) maintains has brought tremendous benefits to people all around the world who have gained in terms of education, health and income. But at the same time development leaves behind 2.5 billion people who live on less than $2 dollars a day. There are glaring disparities among and within countries. Forty percent of world population accounts for 5% of global income while 10% richest account for 54 percent (UNDP, 2005). Presently, the mainstream development paradigms based on capitalist relations of production thrive on opportunities created by gender relations for power and profit (Connell, 1987). There is an intrinsic link between women's domestic labor with capital accumulation. Leacock further

elaborates the same point as "…the inequalities between men and women could not be understood in isolation from polarizing tendencies of the capitalist mode of production which places the 'peripheral' countries of the Third World in a relationship of dependency with the metropolitan centers of the First World. Within an egalitarian world order, so called development could not release women from oppressive social, economic and political institutions; it merely defines 'new conditions of constraints'" (Leacock, 1977). 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. Another contextual issue in women's political participation relates to the nature of politics in general and the liberal democracy in particular. Democracy has historically served men better than women. As a political system from the ancient Greece to the modern times of the 21st century, it has built on the public-private dichotomy and excluded women from citizenship. Women have been kept outside the public domain of politics as most of the political thinkers and philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, John Lock, Thomas Hobbes and Hegel considered women fit only for domestic roles in the private sphere and maintained that there was no place for women in politics because of their suitability in caring roles as mothers and wives. The public private divide remains as the foundation of the various forms of world democracies (Phillips, 1998, Rai, 2000).

This is one of the reasons that the normative political theory considered private sphere as non-political and did not make any effort to explore the political nature of the private life. The ancient and modern democracies failed to recognize women as citizens. Therefore, they sidelined them and their concerns in its theory and practice (Bathla, 1998). It was only the liberal political philosophy of the 19th century that promoted the idea of 'free and rational' individual which was used by suffragists to demand for the right for vote. However, as Rai maintains the conceptual basis of liberal theory is inherently gendered in ways, which perpetuates patterns of patriarchy and ignores gender subordination in both polity and society (Rai 2000:2). Feminist theorists also challenged the notion of abstract individual in liberal theory and argued it is not a gender-neutral

category. This is why despite women had the right to vote they were not able to impact public policy and could not bring private sphere in the preview of the public. Even western democracies left them dislocated on many fronts. When women enter politics within this patriarchal context of modern democracies, they are unable to play a role to radically change the sexual politics rather they largely play political roles on male's terms. The fundamental assumption in liberal democracies needs to be changed in order to create genuine political space for women. Considerable cultural and social barriers impede Kenyan women's participation in the political process. The political climate has added to these barriers, fostering suspicion and distrust between organizations, including women's organizations, and discouraging open discussion and coordination. As a result, many women leaders have been forced to stand alone on the political front, without the support of their parties or of one another.

Kenyan women comprise 52 percent of the population (according to 2009 national census) and 60 percent of the country's registered voters but are represented in very limited numbers as elected officials. The dominance of patriarchic structures in Kenyan politics and society is well illustrated by the low number of women among the members of parliament. From the time of independence in 1963 to 1969, no women were elected to parliament. Between 1969 and 1974, women constituted less than 1 percent of the elected members of parliament. In 1979, there were five elected and one appointed female Member of Parliament. In 2002, there were only eight women among the 210 elected MPs forming a paltry 3.8%. Overall, however, Kenya remain far behind the standards of its neighbours that have a female representation in parliament of about 30 per cent – not to talk of Rwanda where women even form a majority in parliament today."The small number of women in Kenya's parliament – even and especially if compared to the situation in other countries of the region – shows the continued existence of patriarchic power relationships in the most direct manner", says Dr. Axel Harneit-Sievers, director of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's (HBF) Regional Office for East and Horn of Africa, located in Nairobi. In the elections of December 2007, only 15 women were elected as Members of Parliament (MPs), out of a total number of 210 MPs and only six women were nominated as MPs by the political parties. As a result, the women's share of Kenya's parliament now is about 9.5 per cent.

To-date, Kenya still has a substantial proportion passive and less-informed electorate exhibiting little claim-making capacity despite the ills perpetrated against them by the present

and past leaderships and a corresponding lack of accountability or transparency of leaders. This unaccountability and in-transparency in Kenya is reinforced by a political situation where multiparty democracy is practiced in a semi-single party institutional framework. In the implementation of the National Civic Education Programme (NCEP) shows generally low level of human rights and basic civic awareness in Kenya due to low literacy and high poverty levels and an oppressive regime. This socio-economic and political environment has diminished societal quest for civic knowledge to subsistence needs and undermined democracy and good governance. This necessitates continued civic awareness and economic empowerment at the community level to educate Kenyans on their role in governance and the democratic space, while simultaneously addressing their socio-economic predicament.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Kenyan women comprise 52 percent of the population (according to 2009 national census) and 60 percent of the country's registered voters. Kenyan women have been at the forefront in championing the discourse and strategies that support women's rights and gender equality, politically, economically and socially-reinforced ostensibly by the hosting of the 3rd world Conference of Women in Nairobi in 1985; this pioneer spirit has not only failed in achieving effective political participation or the taking up of leadership positions in Kenya. From the background to the study of this research study, it is clearly indicated that Kenya's female representation in Parliament has consistently fallen below the global average of 16.4 percent and the sub-Saharan average of 16.512. At 33.5 percent representation in decision-making positions in the judiciary, Kenya has barely passed the 30 percent minimum representation set forth in its policy frameworks. Reports have indicated that there has never been an elected or nominated woman MP in Gatanga Constituency and in the entire Murang'a County. This showed that there was an information gap especially in the rural areas. This was mainly created by lack of sufficient information on the effects of civic education in enhancing women's political participation particularly in rural areas. The reports also indicated very high Percentage of illiteracy in rural areas. Therefore the research study aimed at collecting data within Gatanga ward in Gatanga Constituency which is basically a rural area with a view to establish the effects of civic education in enhancing women's political participation particularly in the area.

This study is designed to investigate the effects of civic education on political participation among the women, a population which most existing studies have neglected.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of civic education on women's political participation in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency.

1.4 Objectives of the study

The objective of this research was to evaluate the effects of civic education on women's political participation in Gatanga Ward. While the specific objectives seek:

1. To determine the extent to which political knowledge affects women's political participation in Gatanga Ward.
2. To evaluate the effects of political efficacy on women's political participation in Gatanga Ward.
3. To establish the extent to which political trust affects women's political participation in Gatanga Ward.
4. To investigate the effect of political interest on women's political participation in Gatanga Ward.

1.5 Research questions

In order to accomplish the aims of this study, the following questions guided the study:-

1. To what extent does political knowledge affect women's political participation in Gatanga Ward?
2. How does political efficacy affects women's political participation in Gatanga Ward?
3. To what extent does political trust affects women's political participation in Gatanga Ward?
4. How does political interest affects women's political participation in Gatanga Ward?

1.6 Significance of the study

This study will contribute to the "emerging literature on the effects of civic education in new democracies" like Kenya in the implementation of the 2030 Vision Flagship Projects Programmes and Projects on MDGs such as Poverty Reduction from the current 46% to 28%., hunger and universal primary education, Employment Creation through increased investment and through special youth employment programmes such as construction of labour intensive roads and afforestation projects ,Equitable Development in all regions of the Country, Addressing the Issue of Gender Balance in all national initiatives and programmes, Public Sector and Legal Reforms, Implementation of Infrastructure projects and other key projects through Public Private Partnerships Sustainable Development taking into account safe guarding the environment.

1.7 Limitations of the study

The limitations of this study were limited time to carry out the research by the researcher, the language barrier and resistance by women to give out the required information. To counter these limitations, the researcher looked for research assistants who could translate the questions to Kiswahili or respondents' own language in order to collect data within the limited time. The researcher assured respondent confidentiality and explained the value of the study. This was important since the respondents gave out the required information.

1.8 Delimitations of the study

This study was confined to all the women in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency who are registered as voters.

1.9 Assumptions of the study

This study assumed that:-

i. The respondents will co-operate in answering the questions in the questionnaires.

ii. The respondents will be truthful in answering the questions.

1.10 Definition of significant terms

Woman:

A woman is a female adult who is aged 18 years and above and is a registered voter in Gatanga ward.

Civic Education:

In this topic civic education refers to a form of non-formal, formal and informal education which facilitates the acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes and general awareness for citizens to participate effectively in the community, government, and in politics.

Political Participation

Political participation refers to an open, democratic, and accountable process through which women can exchange ideas and influence decision making that affects the community either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies.

Political efficacy

Political efficacy was defined as a women's self-belief in their own ability to understand politics, be heard, and make a difference politically.

In this study **internal efficacy** referred to beliefs about one's own ability to understand and participate effectively in politics while **external efficacy** will refer to beliefs about responsiveness of government to citizen demands.

Political Knowledge

Political Knowledge refers woman's' knowledge of politics, specific institutions, and the perceived ability to affect governmental and political outcomes.

Political trust

In this study political trust refers to the level of faith that people have in their leaders, government and other institutions.

Political interest

Political interest was defined as the woman's motivation to engage, learn and participate in politics.

1.11 Organisation of the study

This chapter has mainly highlighted the background of the effects of civic education on political participation among the women in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency. It also looks at the purpose of the study, objectives of the study, the research questions which guided the study, significance of the study, literature review, research methodology, research findings, answers to the research questions as well as recommendations for further studies.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter contains related literature to the present study. It focuses on brief overview of the effects of civic education (CE) on political participation among the women in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency

2.2 Evolution in the Study of Civic Education

The study of civic education has evolved in both scope and the value that scholars place on civic education. An important part of this scholarship was adult education or adult learning. Field writes, “The relationship between active citizenship and adult learning has been a common theme in the scholarly literature” (2005). Analyzing the early 20th century, “European historians have been particularly interested in the role of popular social movements in providing and demanding adult education” .These movements included the free churches, and temperance and labour movements, among other ones. Bron (1995) “describes these movements as ‘schools for democracy’, training their members in the principles of civic association while offering a more general education to underpin their claim for citizenship” (cited in Field 2005).

Over time, however, the focus of social movements expanded to involve things other than education for democracy. For example: In Western Europe and Australia, adult education movements developed from the 1920s onwards that were less concerned with democratic citizenship and collective advance than with leisure and sociability. Inevitably, this also affected those adult education movements that had been established to promote political and social change. If anything, it was accelerated following the creation of a growing welfare state – and something that many of the major social movements had worked towards, and whose achievement they hailed as a landmark in the twin processes of modernisation and democratisation (Field 2005).

If one then turns to the modern study of civic education, (s) he notices that this scholarship experienced its first boom from the late 1950s through the 1970s, generating “considerable research” on political socialization “and on the related topic of civic or citizenship

education" (Torney-Purta 2000). During this time studies focused on the global North and the United States in particular. As Torney-Purta writes, "Much of this research was conducted by political scientists who were concerned about tracing partisanship from generation to generation, or about assessing the sources of diffuse support for the national political system, or about understanding the roots of student protest". Also, "The faded question that guided so much of the early work was: 'which agent was most important – the family, the school or the media?'.

It was evident from the literature that much of the early, and current, research on civic education has focused on effects on (civic) knowledge, values, and attitudes (e.g., Dudley and Gitelson 2002; Finkel and Ernst 2005; Torney-Purta 2002). Also, most of the early studies were quite unanimous in arguing that civic education has at most minimal overall effects. Dudley and Gitelson summarize the early scholarship:

The common wisdom for some time now has been that civic courses make no difference. This unanticipated finding first surfaced in 1968 when Langton and Jennings (1968) used self-reports of the number of civics-related courses that the students had taken to explain political knowledge. Their unequivocal conclusion was that there was no evidence that civics instruction was "even a minor source of political socialization" (1968) (Dudley and Gitelson 2002).

But the early pessimism about the effects of civic education has recently given way to some positive findings. After a dearth of studies during 1977-82 there has been a renewed interest in "roots of civic engagement" (Dudley and Gitelson 2002). This has been so especially since the 1990s, and following Niemi and Junn's (1998) study of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in which they found recent civics course work alone to increase political knowledge by four percent. "Contrary to over 30 years of research on these questions, Niemi and Junn concluded that 'the civics curriculum has an impact of a size and resilience that makes it a significant part of political learning" (Dudley and Gitelson 2002). The four-percent effect that the authors detected constitutes an important finding in contrast to those who have found absolutely no connection between civic education was and civic outcomes. Finkel and Ernst stress the importance of this finding by stating that the "significant revision" since the 1990s to the pessimism of the early studies was "owing largely to the reassessment of previous literature and the novel empirical findings reported by Niemi and Junn (1998)".

Along with this evolution in the understanding about the value of civic education, the recent studies have brought about a widened scope of studies, including, importantly, those on developing and transitional countries. These countries include Zambia (Bratton et al. 1999; Carothers 1999), Guatemala (Carothers 1999), Kyrgyzstan (Kanaev 2000), Bosnia-Herzegovina (Soule 2000), Dominican Republic (Finkel 2002, 2003; USAID 2002; Blair 2003), South Africa (USAID 2002; Finkel 2002, 2003; Blair 2003; Finkel and Ernst 2005), Poland (USAID 2002; Blair 2003; Finkel 2003), Mexico (Levinson 2004), and Senegal (Kuenzi 2005). The expansion of studies beyond the United States was largely due, undoubtedly, to the global and national changes that have occurred since the late 1980s, including the collapse of Communism and the changes it caused for new and transitional countries; European unification, including questions of identity and the problem of democratic deficit; globalization; and the "third wave" democratization (Huntington 1991) and the consequent rise in democracy aid, of which civic education programs are a part. Indeed Kanaev stresses that "civic education was closely linked to the developments of the society in general and therefore subject to constant changes" (2000). Therefore it was "more visible in periods of drastic economic and political transformations". Referring to Janowitz's book, The Reconstruction of Patriotism Education for Civic Consciousness (1983), Kanaev gives an example from the United States where the civics course content has shifted following, for example, the Great Depression and the Vietnam War.

2.2.1 The effect of civic knowledge on political participation

As regards the impact of civic education on civic knowledge, there was some variance in scholars' findings. In their study on Zambia, Bratton et al. found that civic education has "consistently greater impact" on knowledge and values than on political behavior (1999, abstract). This also seems to be the conclusion of Finkel and Ernst (2005) who utilize 1998 data on students in South Africa. Comparing effects on knowledge to that on attitudes, they say: "Exposure to civic training has weaker attitudinal than pure knowledge effects and . . . it was more difficult to impart values and political orientations in the classroom than simple factual information (Langton and Jennings, 1968; Ehman, 1980(35); Niemi and Junn, 1998)" (351). They state that this confirms previous research. In fact they found civic education to have twice as large an effect on political knowledge than what Niemi and Junn (1998) found: That was, civic education matters in predicting students' level of political knowledge as much as their

exposure to the mass media, their age and grade level, whether they come from a family that discusses politics often, and whether other members of their family are politically active. These other factors are important determinants of knowledge, but civic education exposure was at least their rival in magnitude (Finkel and Ernst 2005).

Yet in another study Finkel (2002) had come to a different conclusion, arguing that civic education does not have much impact on knowledge, at least when compared to local-level political participation.

2.2.2. The effects of Political Interest on political participation

Political interest was defined as the individual's motivation to engage in politics, which consists of two dimensions: the motivation to learn about politics and the motivation to participate in politics. Despite the vast amount of references to political interest in political science research, scholars have seldom defined this concept. Often they have used political interest to describe psychological involvement in politics (Lazarsfeld et al., 1948), or an aspect of it (Campbell et al., 1960), but this merely begs the question, what was the meaning of political interest? In my reading of the literature, three sources of confusion lurk in the discussions about this concept, and as will become evident subsequently, all of them are reinforced by the measures of political interest in the American National Election Study (ANES).

The failure to recognize that political interest contains both the desire to learn about politics and the desire to participate in politics blurs our understanding of this disposition. Miller and Rahn, for instance, define political interest as the "want to participate" (2002yet one could easily express an interest in politics and disinterest in taking part in politics, precisely because political interest includes another dimension, the wish to gain knowledge. Van Deth acknowledges that political interest includes both "the 'attentiveness to politics' and the potential readiness to participate" (2000), yet curiously employs a single measure to capture both, thus making the conceptual distinction futile.

There was ambiguity about whether and when political interest refers to a general motivation and when it denotes a specific kind of motivation, usually, one's enjoyment of politics. For example, Lazarsfeld et al. seem to overlook the possibility that one can have an interest in the elections but not necessarily because the campaign was "interesting," as if it were

a good drama (1948). Think of a new tax policy: I might be interested in learning about it because it can affect me, because I care about inequality, or for some other reason, but still find it fairly boring.

Although many scholars are careful to conceptualize political interest as motivational, it has also been treated as a mode of political behavior, which makes it very difficult to distinguish between the explanatory variable and the phenomenon to be explained. As Verba et al. write, asking whether someone "was interested in politics was sufficiently proximate to that which was to be explained, activity, that any relationship becomes less interesting theoretically" (1995). Yet if interest was understood – and measured - in strictly motivational terms, we gain more leverage, since then "interest and psychological involvement in politics may exist without producing any of the particular outward manifestations" (Campbell et al., 1954).

2.2.3 The effect of Political Efficacy on political participation

One of the most significant contributions from the psychological school of thought has been the theory of political efficacy. Efficacy was first identified as an influence on voting behaviour by Campbell, Gurin and Miller (1954) in 'The Voter Decides'. Political efficacy, as they defined it, was the feeling that political and social change was possible, and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change (Campbell, Gurin and Miller, 1954). Modern definitions of efficacy remain remarkably close to Campbell et al.'s, including the definition which this thesis adopts – a person's self-belief in their own ability to understand politics, be heard, and make a difference politically (Catt, 2005).

Empirical research has consistently linked political efficacy with propensity to vote, and a large number of studies since the 1950's provide evidence of this: Campbell et al. (1954), Campbell (1960), Almond and Verba (1963), Craig (1979), Craig and Maggiotto (1982), Abramson and Aldrich (1982), Niemi, Craig and Mattei (1991), Verba et al.(1995), Southwell and Everest (1998), Miller and Rahn, (2002), Russell et al. (2002), Kenski and Jomini (2004), Print, Saha and Edwards (2004, 2005), UK Electoral Commission (2006. Indeed, as Ho et al. have described, 'of all the attitudinal conditioners of political participation, efficacious belief of individual voters was probably the most salient and most studied variable of political actions' (Ho et al., 2001: 1).Political efficacy was currently experiencing renewed popularity as an explanation for voter participation both internationally and within New Zealand, evidenced by

the marked increase in studies considering efficacy over the past few years (Ho et al., 2001; Miller and Rahn, 2002; Russell et al., 2002; Kenski and Jomini, 2004; Print, Saha and Edwards, 2004, 2005; Catt, 2005; UK Electoral Commission, 2006).

Political efficacy comprises two different components – internal efficacy and external efficacy. The distinction between internal and external efficacy has been maintained in the theoretical literature, although political efficacy has nevertheless often been treated as a one-dimensional explanation for political participation in practical research. Some studies have gauged internal and external efficacy separately, and then combined the two dimensions to gain a single measure for the purpose of analysis (Campbell et al., 1954; Almond and Verba, 1963; Craig, 1979; Craig and Maggiotto, 1982; UK Electoral Commission, 2006).

2.2.4 The effect of Political trust on political participation

Political trust was the level of faith that people have in their government (Citrin and Muste 1999). Political trust became a focus of political science scholars in the 1950s and since then, scholars have noted a decline in the trust levels both in the United States and Europe (Dalton 1999). In theory, the higher the level of political trust, the more stable a democracy was. If the public feels that the political process was fair, the willingness of citizens to follow the laws and policies voluntarily will increase (Citrin and Muste 1999). Lower levels of trust can lead to destabilization and economic insecurity (Atkeson and Saunders 2007).

Political trust can be divided into different components. Easton makes a distinction between diffuse trust, which he defines as trust for the system or regime and specific trust for the current political leaders (Levi and Stoker 2000). Another distinction that was sometimes made was the difference between trust in the regime and trust in specific political institutions (Norris 1999). A person does not necessarily have to have the same level of trust in each of these components of political trust because they tap into different attitudes. Trust in current leaders depends heavily on the political standpoint of the voter compared to that of the current leaders while trust in the democratic regime was usually seen as a more constant attitude (Newton 1999 and Levi and Stoker 2000). It was therefore useful to examine whether the different components of political trust have the same or different relationship to trust in the election process. However,

trust in the current political leaders was not often measured. What was measured however was political cynicism towards politicians (Meijerink 2007).

2.2.5 Political Participation

The rather unanimous finding that civic education increases a person's knowledge level was also contrasted with competing findings on whether civic education promotes political participation, or more fundamentally, whether knowledge promotes (or was necessary for) political participation. If we start with this fundamental question, there are many that would answer it in the affirmative, extending the implications even onto the macro level. For example, in their seminal study explaining democracy by individual dispositions, Almond and Verba (1963) linked active participation with political awareness. Also, Bratton and Liatto-Katundu point out, "Democratic theorists have long argued that accountable governance requires an educated and well-informed citizenry" (1994). This could be through the fact that well-informed citizens "take the trouble to express their views so that government was directed to do what the well-informed citizenry want" (Halpern 2005). Being well informed was also what Delli Caprini and Keeter (1996) emphasize.

Studying the American context, they "have demonstrated that it was not just years of education but the amount of political knowledge possessed that predicts political participation. Those most knowledgeable are most likely to participate in politics" (cited by Dudley and Gitelson 2002). Referring to the quality of the knowledge possessed, Bratton and Liatto-Katundu stress, "In order to participate intelligently in discourse over public policy, citizens require a thorough understanding of their national political system and of their own civil rights and responsibilities" (1994; emphases added).

Besides participating in governance, civic awareness can be needed for (intelligent) voting, too. Explaining local-level turnout in industrialized countries, Milner (2002) argues that it was rather civic literacy, not associational membership, interpersonal trust, or anything else that "makes democracy work" (enables and inspires citizens to participate). He draws an example from Popkin and Dimock (1999) who argue that in America nonvoting—one type of participation--was due largely to "'lack of knowledge of what government . . . . was doing and where parties and candidates stand'" But as suggested above, awareness or knowledge may not

be sufficient for, or even always correlated with, all types of participation, as Torney-Purta reports from a cross-national study among students:

Some countries whose students do very well on the measure of civic knowledge have students who seem relatively disengaged from civic participation.

Conversely, students from some of the poorly performing countries (according to their civic knowledge scores) say they are willing to become engaged in political activities as adults. Although knowledge was important, other factors can also motivate participation (2002,).

In turn, the arguments made specifically about the effects of civic education on political participation include both "pro" and "con," with more mentions in favor of such effects.

In an example from a developed country, Field cites a 1958 dataset of 33-42 year-olds in Britain, which suggests that adult learning was connected to participation:

Overall, the analysis found that the apparent effects of taking one or two courses at this stage of life included significant growth in levels of racial tolerance and in memberships of civic associations, as well as smaller but marked growth in levels of political interest and electoral participation, and some decline in political cynicism and authoritarianism (Bynner and Hammond, 2004) (Field 2005).

Thus according to this finding, the types of participation affected by adult learning include memberships in associations and voting behavior. Field adds, "Learning appears to affect not simply someone's decision whether or not to participate, it also gives them access to information concerning the opportunities and likely results of participation, and equips them with specific sets of skills and understanding associated with citizenship" This again refers to the fact that understanding, beyond mere knowledge, was an important part of how exposure to education can result in participation. Like analysts of the British dataset, Kuenzi finds in Senegal that those exposed to NFE "also usually began to join village associations and are recruited into other development projects" (2005).

Those that explicitly compare whether the effects of civic education are larger on behavior than on knowledge/attitudes, or vice versa, have come up with slightly different findings. As mentioned above, Finkel (2002) and USAID (2002), dealing with largely the same

data, find effects on political participation to be higher than those on knowledge/attitudes, a finding that some might find surprising. After having stated that civic education has "little effect" on values, the USAID report notes, "Civic education appears to contribute to significantly greater rates of political participation among program participants. Finkel (who analyzed the Dominican Republic and South Africa) found the same thing, stressing that when compared to "local-level participation," the effects of civic education on all other domains including tolerance, trust, knowledge, efficacy, and support for the law are meager (2002). But, as suggested in the section on knowledge, Bratton et al. had diametrically opposite findings that "civic education has consistently greater impact on citizens' knowledge and values than on their political behavior". Yet in another study on Zambia, Bratton concluded the opposite: "Although the present data cannot conclusively establish a direct link from civic education to political participation, they strongly imply such a connection" (1999). These kinds of results thus suggest that there was an ongoing debate as to whether civic education affects citizen participation, and if so, how, to what extent, and in which conditions. That findings are this inconclusive, again, was a function undoubtedly in part of the fact that existing studies analyzed different kinds of civic education programs among different groups of participants in different countries.

Nevertheless, such an unresolved debate demonstrates that there was need for further study and to understand whether or what kind of civic education programs are worth investing in as tools for promoting democratic participation.

There are many ways a citizen can participate politically in established democracies. For example, they can contact their Member of Parliament, express their views in a letter to a newspaper, sign petitions, take part in protests, or boycott products for political reasons.

Contrary to the literature on civic education in developing countries, there exists an extensive literature on political participation. It seeks to explain variations in different modes of citizen participation both cross-nationally (e.g., Verba et al. 1978) and within nations (e.g., Bratton 1999). For example, within Africa scholars have paid attention to variation in voter turnout in founding elections in the early 1990s, despite similar pre election developments and socio-economic conditions. Also, as Milbrath and Goel (1977) report, there was quite a lot of variation in levels of active membership in community organizations between countries like Austria, India,

and Japan on the one hand (low participation), and Nigeria and the United States on the other (higher participation).

This section draws the main conclusions from this literature for this study. The section was organized by the three main explanatory factors for political participation: socio-economic, institutional, and cultural (Bratton 1999). Though most authors generally acknowledge the explanatory power of each of these, different authors give different weight to each explanation. For example, whereas Verba et al. (1978) focus on the interplay of socio-economic and institutional factors, Bratton's (1999) analysis suggests the main debate in explaining participation was between institutions and culture. He finds that though institutions (i.e., individuals' linkages to "organized bodies of formal rules") "are more important than cultural values in explaining participation," the two groups of factors work in tandem, and thus, democratic consolidation "was best conceived as a process of reciprocal codetermination between institution building and cultural change" (1999). "Therefore," Bratton stresses that defending this dualistic explanation for political participation "we must recognize the false dichotomy posed by theorists who would have us choose between institutional and cultural modes of analysis".

2.2.6 Civic Education and the Mobilization of Political Participation

According to traditional views that root participation in the individual's social-structural location, or in basic attitudinal orientations acquired from a country's political culture, the answer would appear to be very little. On these views, change in democratic political culture should occur very slowly, primarily in response to structural factors such as economic modernization (e.g. Lipset 1959), generational replacement (Dalton 1994; Inglehart 1990; Jennings, van Deth et al. 1990), or the long-term experience of citizens with rotations of power and a responsible opposition structure among the country's political parties (Weil 1989; 1993). The view of slow change in cultural values and participatory orientations was echoed in much of the early literature in political socialization, which argued that orientations learned early in life structured later adult attitudes and limited the extent to which basic values and preferences would change in response to short-term stimuli (Hess and Torney 1967; Sears 1975).

Recent developments in the literature, however, suggest that aspects of democratic culture may be more flexible than previously thought. A steady stream of findings over the past several decades has shown that more immediate variables such as the individual's perceptions of current economic conditions, assessments of governmental competence, and experiences with governmental authority can affect orientations such as the individual's normative commitment to democracy, and the internalization of democratic values, social and institutional trust, and political efficacy (e.g. Mishler and Rose 1997; Rose and Mishler 1994; Dalton 1994; Brehm and Rahn 1997; Evans and Whitefield 1995; Mattes and Theil 1998). Similarly, Gibson (1998), Sniderman et al. (1996) and others have shown that individual's judgments about extending procedural democratic liberties towards one's opponents can change substantially in response to shifting political arguments, rhetoric, and attempts at political persuasion.

The widespread demonstration of such effects has led many to conclude that, although early socialization and social-structural factors play a role in determining democratic orientations, these factors must be augmented by variables related to adult political experiences. Mishler and Rose (1997), for example, explicitly posit what they call a lifetime learning model, where attitudes learned early in life are continuously updated as these early attitudes and beliefs are reinforced or challenged by subsequent experiences. Clearly, such a view allows a greater potential influence of civic education as another short-term experiential effect on the individual's overall orientation to democratic politics.

More recent political participation research provides even more optimism that civic education may have a significant impact on the individual's level of engagement with the political system. Following Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) and Verba, Scholzman and Brady (1995), recent scholarship in both advanced and developing democracies has emphasized clearly the role of active mobilization efforts in stimulating individual political behavior. That was, individuals participate not only because they possess the requisite socio-economic resources or favorable attitudinal dispositions, but also because they are asked to participate, either by political parties, groups with which they are affiliated, family, friends, or others in their social networks (e.g., Brady et al. 1999; Bratton 1999; Booth and Richard 1998; Huckfeldt and Sprague (1992); Leighley 1996; Knoke 1990).Such an emphasis was echoed in the literature on social movement participation, as a critical predictor in virtually all empirical analyses of participation

in movements concerning civil rights, nuclear energy, and the like was whether individuals are recruited or are asked to participate or encouraged by others in the movement network (Eckberg 1988; Snow et al. 1986; McAdam 1982, 1993; Walsh and Warland 1983).

The recent emphasis on recruitment and mobilization in the participation literature has clear implications for the analysis of the effects of civic education. The importance of such mobilization processes in stimulating participation in developing democracies was perhaps even greater than in the U.S. and other advanced democracies. Bratton (1999) shows, for example, that memberships in parties and voluntary associations are far stronger predictors of participation in Zambia than socio based or more formal forms of civic instruction contain appeals to take part in politics, we may conceive of any type of civic education that contains appeals to participate as one characterized by political mobilization. But there was an even deeper relationship between adult civic education and political mobilization in developing democracies. Civic education in these contexts was conducted overwhelmingly through secondary groups and associations, sometimes by labor, church, or trade associations, but more frequently by what Carothers (1999) refers to as advocacy NGOs.These groups, with names such as Grupo Accion por la Democracia in the Dominican Republic, Lawyers for Human Rights in South Africa, and Constitutional and Reform Education Consortium in Kenya, are public interest or reformist groups that are funded by the U.S. and European donors in the hopes that they can become part of a .diverse, active, and independent civil society that articulates the interests of citizens and holds government accountable.. (Carothers 1999). Funding civic education in these settings was thus part of a general strategy of strengthening democracy by strengthening the associations that mediate between citizens and the state.

2.3 Conceptual framework

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) defines conceptual framework as a hypothesized model identifying the concepts under study and their relationship. It presents in a diagrammatic form the way the researcher has conceptualized the relationship between the independent and the dependent variables. This section provides a structural description of the relationship between the variables forming the concepts of the study on the effects of civic education on women's political participation The framework below is an illustration of the effects of civic education on women's political participation matrix showing various variables that are indicative effect of women's political participation in any given area. The independent variables are grouped together on the left but not in any order of importance. The dependent variable is placed on the right connected with an arrow as a sign of direct relationship.

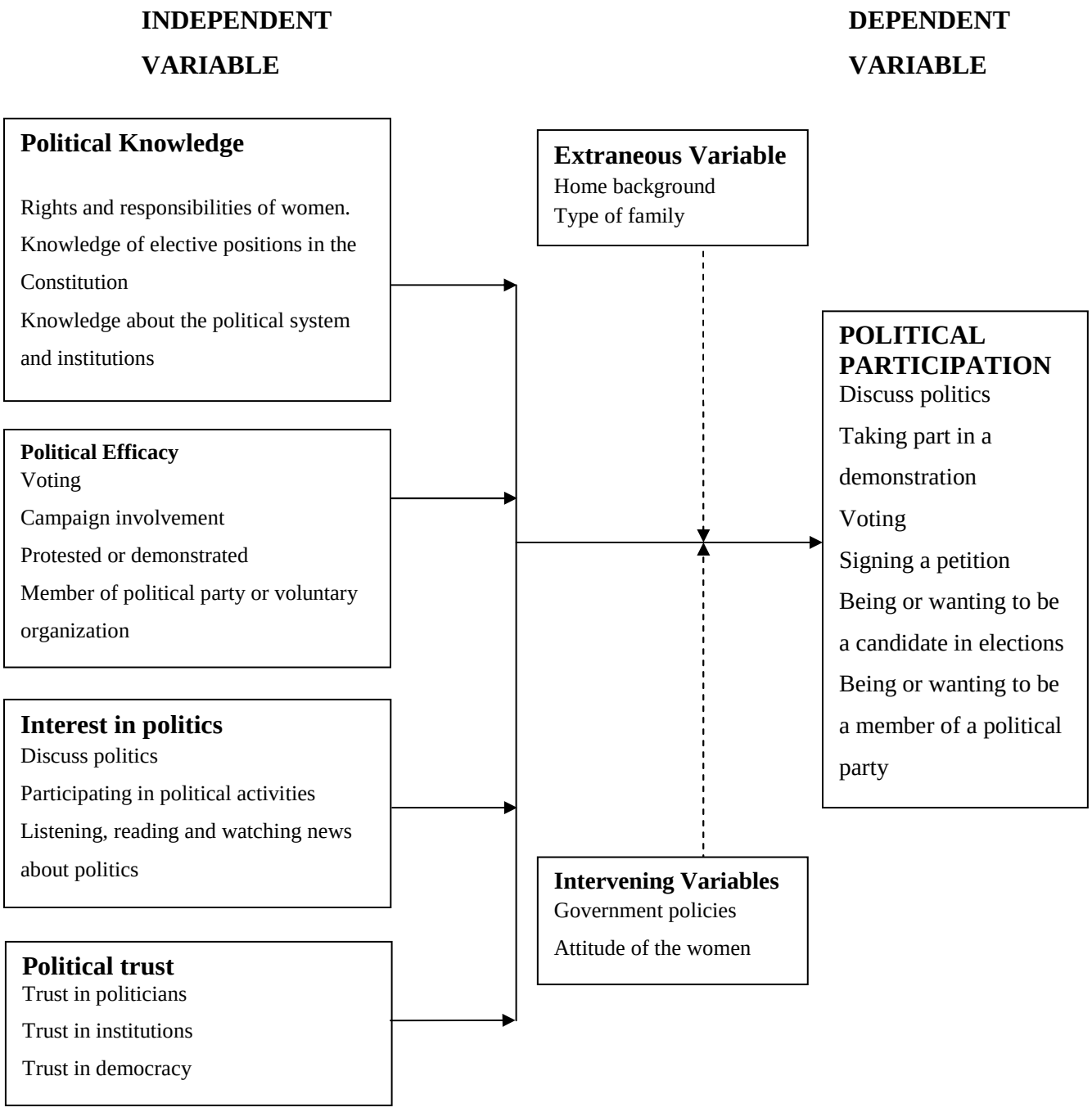

Fig.1: Conceptual frame work

From the conceptual framework, the effects of civic education on women's political participation in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency (Dependent variables) was affected by independent variables namely political knowledge, political efficacy, interest in politics and trust in politicians. The control variables were; age,gender,income ,education, type of dwelling, rural residence, church or religious attendance and number of voluntary organizations to which the woman belongs while the intervening variables are Government policies, attitude of the women.

2.4. Summary of Literature Reviewed

The main purpose of reviewing related literature was to examine the effects of civic education on women's political participation. The literature reviewed was intended to help the researcher identify gaps in knowledge in order to create a framework and a direction for other new research studies. In the literature reviewed the researcher looks at case studies, papers and journals that relate to civic education and women political participation.

Despite the civic education programs carried out, the literature reviewed still show there are problems in women political participation in the World and more specifically the developing countries. The discussion then moved on to the literature relating to civic education. Finally, the literature speaking to why civic education was important in political engagement and was worthy of study was presented. The relationship of these factors was shown in the conceptual frame work.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the specific methodologies and procedures used in this study including research design, target population, sample and sampling procedures to be used, research instruments to be applied, data collection procedures and methods of data analysis for this research.

3.2 Research design

The research design which was used to conduct the study was descriptive survey method. According to (Kombo et al, 2006) the descriptive survey method is used to collect information by interviewing or administering questionnaires to a sample of respondents with an intention of describing the nature of existing situations. It is considered most appropriate design in behavioral sciences as it seeks to find out factors associated with certain occurrences, outcomes and condition of behavior (Bell, 1987). The research design was found to be appropriate for gathering information, summarizing, presenting and interpreting it for the purpose of clarification based on (Orodho and Njeru, 2004). According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), the method has the following advantages; subjects are observed in their natural set up without manipulating the environment, it deals with clearly defined problem and desired objectives. It collects data from relatively large numbers of cases making it more representatives and it is essentially a cross-section. This design answers the question why, how what to provide the researcher with specific details both qualitative and quantitatively. This design was one of the most commonly used methods in studying continuous civic education. The method was appropriate for the study because it assisted the researcher to produce statistical information to investigate the effects of civic education (CE) on political participation among the women in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency.

To accomplish the purpose of this study, the researcher administered the questionnaires with assistant from two female research assistants from Gatanga ward.

3.3 Target population

This study was carried out in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency. This study targeted all women who were registered as voters in Gatanga Ward. The target population was 3527 women registered voters in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency.

3.4 Sampling size and sampling procedure

A sample size is a sub-set of the total population that is used to give the general views of the target population (Kothari, 2003).The sample size must be a representative of the population in which the researcher would wish to generalize the research findings. Using Morgan and Krejcie Table (Appendix 5), the sample size of this study was obtained as two hundred and fourty six (246) respondents based on the target population of Three thousand five hundred and twenty seven (3527) registered women voters in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency.

The researcher used systematic random sampling. This was achieved through obtaining a list of all the women registered as voters in Gatanga ward. A systematic random sampling method was used to identify the respondents. In addition to the above criterion, respondents were aged 18 years and above, representing various age groups and registered as voters in Gatanga Constituency. A sampling frame obtained from the 3527 women registered as voters in Gatanga ward was used. The register of voters had their registration numbers which were subjected to excel random sampling. A list of all the three thousand five hundred and twenty seven registered voters were exported to an excel sheet and subjected to random sampling. Each number got either a TRUE or FALSE value. All those voter registration numbers which got the value' TRUE' were selected and their households identified by the researcher with the help of a Commission Staff from Gatanga ward.

3.5 Research instruments

Robert (2003) indicates that research instruments are the tools used in the collection of data on the phenomenon of the study. This study used a closed ended questionnaire as its main research instrument. Research assistants assisted the respondents to translate the questions to Kiswahili or in their own language. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) a questionnaire is a list of standard questions prepared to fit a certain inquiry. The questionnaire consisted of five sections. The first section was on the general data of the respondents while the other four

sections addressed the four research variables. Structured questions provided predetermined alternatives.

3.5.1 Pilot Testing

Orodho, (2003) describes pilot testing as a smaller version of a larger study that was conducted to prepare for the study or to field test the survey to provide a rationale for the design. The researcher pilot-tested the instruments by using a different but a similar group from the neighbouring Mugumo-ini Ward and made the necessary adjustments.

3.5.2 Validity of the research instruments

Validity is defined as the appropriateness, correctness, and meaningfulness of the specific inferences which are selected on research results (Wallen 2008). Validity is a crucial issue in qualitative research design and needs to be addressed explicitly (Maxwell, 2003). The meaning of all terms must be clearly defined so that they have the same meaning to all respondents (Best, 1981). When a measure provides adequate coverage of the concept, it is considered to have content validity. The researcher consulted the supervisor and other experts from the University of Nairobi to ascertain that the instrument measured the variables in the study.

3.5.3 Reliability of the research instruments

Reliability of measurement concerns the degree to which a particular measuring procedure gives similar results over a number of repeated trials (Orodho, 2004). Reliability in a statistical sense refers to the extent to which a scale that contains multiple questions related to a single topic can be viewed as an accurate measure of the underlying concept. The standard statistical measure for assessing the degree of reliability in a scale was Cronbach's alpha, which provides a sense of how well the individual items are correlated with each other and the entire scale. To ensure stability and consistency with which the data collection instruments measure political interest, political knowledge, political trust, political efficacy and political participation, the research conducted a pilot test in two (2) Sub locations in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency which had the same characteristics to those which were actually sampled.

To test for reliability of the instruments in this research the researcher used the split half method in which the two halves were as similar as possible both in terms of their content and in terms of the probable state of the respondent. . The study adopted an odd-even split, in which the

odd-numbered items formed one half of the test and the even-numbered items formed the other half. This arrangement guaranteed that each half contained an equal number of items from the beginning, middle, and end of the original test. This involved administering only one session of questionnaire during pilot testing. The questionnaires were based on 10% (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999) of the total number of questionnaires used for the study The results of the two (2) tests were compared using the Statistical measure known as SPSS, and the coefficient of reliability obtained by the researcher was +0.7 which indicated the degree to which the two halves provide the same results and thus describing the internal consistency of the test. This figure of +0.7 was high enough to judge the instrument as reliable for this study according to Mbwesa (2006).

3.6 Data collection technique

In order to evaluate the effects of civic education (CE) on political participation among the women in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency, the researcher with the help of research assistants randomly selected the respondents and explained the purpose of the research. The respondents were given questionnaires designed to measure their level of political participation, political knowledge, political efficacy, interest in politics and political trust in governmental institutions.

3.7 Data analysis techniques

Data analysis followed three steps once the data was gathered. There was data reduction (selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, transforming) data display (organized, compressed), and conclusion drawing/verification (noting irregularities, patterns, explanations, possible configurations, propositions) (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Hindle (2004) identifies data analysis techniques as “methods for analyzing data irrespective of either the methodical cluster within which the technique was applied or the methods used to collect the data”. With this in mind, data followed a process of transcription, coding, analysis and presentation of results. The process included collecting data by use of questionnaires which was coded (reduced) and then presented as an integrative diagram (organized), drawing out themes and concepts (patterns). The relationship between the themes was identified and collated into a thematic conceptual matrix (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

In conducting the data analysis the study used a variety of measures to test the effects and the interaction of the dependent variables with civic education. Data collected was coded, scored and then entered in a statistical package for social sciences version 11.5 (a full-featured statistical software program that has analytical and data management capabilities) for analysis. For each of the variables described (political knowledge, political efficacy, political trust, political interest and political participation.). Data was analyzed in frequencies and percentages.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Social research always involves ethical issues, because it was concerned with collecting data from people, about people (Punch, 2005). Ethical issues arise in social research when conflict occurs between societal values such as freedom and privacy and scientific methods aimed at obtaining the highest quality of data (Singleton and Straits, 1999). For this study the data collection forms did not bear the name or ethnicity of the respondent but the respondent was identified by a study code instead. An informed consent was obtained from the respondents as the researcher gave a full detailed explanation of the study. The respondents were made aware of their voluntary participation and information collected from them treated with confidentiality at all times and used only for the purpose of the study.

3.9 Operational definition of variables

The operational definition of a variable describes the variable. There are two ways by which we can operationally define a variable; by how it was measured and by how it was used to classify subjects. In this section, the researcher identified behavioural dimensions, indicators or properties by the main variables under the study in order to make them measurable. The measurements were both objective and subjective Later we used specialized terms for how variables are defined (continuous or categorical) and the nature of the data obtained (nominal, ordinal, or interval).

The Table showed the operational indicators which were used during the investigation of the effects of civic education (CE) on political participation among the women in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency.

Table 3.1: Operational Definition of Variables

Objectives	Variable	Indicators	Measurement Level	Tools of Data Collection	Tools of Analysis
To evaluate the extent to which political knowledge affects political participation in Gatanga Ward.	Political knowledge	Rights and responsibilities of women. Knowledge of elective positions in the Constitution Knowledge about the political system and institutions	Ordinal Ordinal Ordinal	Questionnaire	Frequency count, percentages
To determine the extent to which political efficacy affects political participation in Gatanga Ward.	Political efficacy	Voting Campaign involvement Protested or demonstrated Member of political party or voluntary organization	Nominal Nominal Nominal Nominal	Questionnaire	Frequency count, percentages

To evaluate the extent to which political trust affects political participation in Gatanga Ward.	Political trust	Trust in politicians Trust in institutions Trust in democracy	Ordinal Ordinal Ordinal	Questionnaire	Frequency count, percentages
To determine the extent to which political interest affects political participation in Gatanga Ward.	Political interest	Discuss politics Belong to a voluntary organization Participating in political activities Listening, reading and watching news about politics	Ordinal Ordinal Nominal Ordinal	Questionnaire	Frequency count, percentages

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter covers analysis of data, presentation and interpretation of the findings on the effect of civic education on women political participation; a case of Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency. The focus was on the general distribution of the data for the main variables (political knowledge, political interest, political efficacy and political trust) in this study and the effect of socio-demographic variables (marital status, age, income level of education,).Quantitative data analysis results are presented as descriptive statistics, frequencies and Percentages.

4.2 Response Rate

In order to answer the research questions, the researcher and his research assistants administered 246 questionnaires to the study respondents who were women registered as voters in Gatanga Ward. All the questionnaires were returned since the researcher and his assistants administered the questionnaires due to the inadequate literacy levels which required them to interpret the questionnaire in the local language.

4.3 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The demographic characteristics of respondents included their gender, age, education level and annual household incomes. These characteristics have a bearing in women political participation.

4.3.1 Marital status of the respondents

Marital status is one of the demographic characteristics which show the distribution of respondents by their marital status. The following results represent marital status distribution of the respondents as tabulated in Table 4.1

Table 4.1: Marital status

Are You Married	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	180	73.2
No	66	26.8
Total	**246**	**100.0**

From Table 4.1 the marital status distribution of the respondents indicates that 180(73.2%) of those interviewed were married while 66(26.8%) were not married.

4.3.2: Age Distribution of the Respondents

Age is a demographic characteristic which shows the distribution of respondents by their age. The following results represent age distribution of the respondents as tabulated in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Age Distribution of the Respondents

Age in Years	Frequency	Percentage
18-27	74	30.1
28-37	60	24.4
38-47	64	26.0
OVER 58	48	19.5
TOTAL	**246**	**100.0**

From Table 4.2 the age distribution of the respondents indicates that 172 (69.9%) of those interviewed were from twenty eight years and above which could imply that they had lived in Gatanga most of their lives giving them a long experience of women political participation in Gatanga Ward and were able to articulate the effects of civic education on women political participation.

4.3.3 Education Level of the respondents

Education level is one of the demographic characteristic of the respondents and its distribution is as indicated in Table 4.3

Table 4.3: Education Level Distribution of the Respondents

Education Level	Frequency	Percent
None	33	13.4
Primary	66	26.8
Secondary	79	32.1
College and above	68	27.6
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Level of education was measured according to the Kenyan education system. The women had to indicate their highest level of education; we distinguished between Primary school; secondary, college and any other higher level. As shown in Table 4.3, 99 (40.2%) had education level of primary school and below while only 34 (58.8%) had attained secondary school level and above.

Therefore it was necessary to interpret the tool in the local language. Even those who indicated they had secondary level education requested for assistance when it came to interpreting the questionnaire. Adequate literacy level is an important indicator in political participation because only those who are educated and have certain skills could represent the community politically as per the new constitution.

4.3.4 Occupation of the respondents

Occupation is another demographic characteristic which shows the distribution of respondents by their occupation. The following results represent the occupation distribution of the respondents as tabulated in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Occupation of the respondents

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Unemployed	71	28.9
Wage employed	44	17.9
Farmer	78	31.7
Business	53	21.5
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.4 indicates that 175(71.1%) of the respondents were wage employed or engaged in economic activities like farming and business. This indicates that the women in Gatanga ward are economically empowered and this could lead to low interest in political participation.

4.3.5 Household Monthly Income Distribution for the Respondents

Table 4.5 shows the distribution of monthly household income among the respondents. Income levels are indicative social economic status of the community which could translate to their political participation in the society.

Table 4.5: Household Income Distribution for the Respondents

Monthly Income(KSHs)	Frequency	Percent
Less than 10000	120	48.9
10000-20000	96	39.0
20001-30000	23	9.3
Over 30000	7	2.8
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.5 indicates that 239(97.2%) of the respondents reported a monthly household income levels ranging from Ksh 0- 30000. With such low household income levels, high poverty levels are evident which could be an impediment to access to civic education and result in low political participation

4.4. Women's political participation

Popular political values alone do not make a democracy. Conventionally defined, political participation consists of .legal activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of government personnel and the actions they take. (Verba, Nie and Kim, 1978, 46). This project took a broader view of political participation: it includes showing an interest in politics, discussing politics with others, and joining protest demonstrations; and it centers on conventional core activities like voting, joining voluntary organizations, and political parties.

Political participation was measured by 14 questions about the participant's participation in different aspects of politics (discussing political issues, attending demonstrations, voting, signing a petition, being or wanting to be a candidate in elections, being or wanting to be a member of a political party). Women were asked about their past political participation and their intention to participate in the future. Some questions were answered by indicating 'yes' or 'no', others had to be answered on a five-point scale.

4.4.1 Protested or demonstrated

The founding human rights charters embody a citizen's right to peacefully rebel against unjust government. Popular protest therefore plays a defining role in attaining and sustaining democracy. The researcher sought to know women's political participation Table 4.6 shows the responses from the respondents when they were asked whether they had demonstrated or protested.

Table 4.6: Protested or demonstrated

Protested or Demonstrated	Frequency	Percent
Yes	72	29.3
No	174	70.7
Total	**246**	**100.0**

The founding human rights charters embody a citizen's right to peacefully rebel against unjust government. Popular protest therefore plays a defining role in attaining and sustaining democracy. Analysis from the Table 4.6 and figures indicates that 174(70.7%) of the respondents agreed that they had never protested or demonstrated. Moreover, 72 (29.3%) had protested or demonstrated. This can be interpreted that there is low participation in protesting or demonstration which results to low level of political participation of the respondents.

4.4.2 Voted in general election

Even though voting lies at the heart of political participation in a democracy, different approaches to measuring voter turnout yield divergent results The researcher sought to know women's political participation Table 4.7 shows the responses from the respondents when they were asked whether they had voted in general election.

Table 4.7: Voted in general election

Voted in general Election	Frequency	Percent
Yes	18	73.6
No	65	26.4
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Analysis from the Table 4.7 and figures indicates that that 73.6% of the women indicated that they voted during the general elections of 2007. This average lies far above the national 37% voter turnout. Considering the high percentage of women that voted during the last elections, it is surprising that only 28.8% said they certainly would vote during the upcoming general elections of 2013. Moreover, 28.8% of the women have attended a demonstration in the past, and if they did so they have done it on average 2.2 times. Additionally, 17.8% of the women stated they have ever signed a petition, and they indicated that on average they have done it 2.1 times.

4.4.3 Voted in Referendum

Table 4.8: Voted in Referendum

Voted in Referendum	Frequency	Percent
Yes	193	78.5
No	53	21.5
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Analysis from the Table 4.8 and figures shows that women's political participation is remarkable at 78.5% of the women indicated that they voted during the referendum of 2005.This is a clear indication of political participation in civic activities.

4.4.4 Political Party Membership

The following are the results obtained after the respondents were asked whether they were members of any political party. Table 4.9 shows responses from respondents when they were asked whether they were members of any political party.

Table 4.9: Political Party Membership

Political Party Membership	Frequency	Percent
Yes	57	23.2
No	189	76.8
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Analysis from the Table 4.9 and figures indicates that 189(76.8%) women in Gatanga Ward are not members of any political party.

4.4.5 Candidate in general Election

The researcher wanted to know whether the respondents they will be Candidates in general Election. The responses were as shown in Table 4.10

Table 4.10 Candidate in general Election

Candidate in general Election	Frequency	Percent
Yes	40	16.3
No	206	83.7
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Analysis from the Table 4.10 and figures indicates that in the coming elections 206(83.7%) women will not be candidates while only 40(16.3%) will be candidates. This shows lack of interest in political participation which could be attributed to in adequate civic education.

4.4.6 Member of association or NGO

Civil society is a common portal into public activism. Voluntary organizations not only serve as venues of political discussion but, as interest groups, they project popular preferences, often in aggregate form, into the political process. The researcher wanted to know whether the respondents were members of any NGO or association. The responses were as shown in Table 4.11

Table 4.11: Member of association or NGO

Member of association Or NGO	Frequency	Percent
Yes	89	36.2
No	157	63.8
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.11 shows that 157(63.8%) women in Gatanga Ward are not members of any NGO or association. This can be attributed to low levels of civic education to the women living in Gatanga.

4.4.7 Discuss politics with family

The researcher wanted to know whether the respondents discussed politics with family. The responses were as shown in Table 4.12

Table 4.12: Discuss politics with family

Discuss politics with family	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	95	38.6
Agree	98	39.8
Don't Know	18	7.3
Disagree	33	13.4
Strongly Disagree	2	.8
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.12 shows that 193(78.4%) of women discuss politics with other family members. On matters related to discussing politics with family 18(7.3%) did not know whether they discussed politics while 35(14.2%) disagreed with this statement.

4.4.8 Attend protest meeting or demonstration

The founding human rights charters embody a citizen's right to peacefully rebel against unjust government. Popular protest therefore plays a defining role in attaining and sustaining democracy. The researcher wanted to know whether the respondents had attended a protest meeting or demonstration. The responses were as shown in Table 4.13

Table 4.13: Attend protest meeting or demonstration

Attend protest or Demonstration	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	35	14.2
Agree	22	8.9
Don't Know	46	18.7
Disagree	100	40.7
Strongly Disagree	43	17.5
Total	**246**	**100.0**

On attendance of protest meeting or demonstration 143(58.2%) disagreed to attend any of these protest or demonstration meetings. Only 57(23.1%) had participated in a protest or demonstration before while 46(18.7%) were not sure or did not know whether they had participated.

4.4.9 Intention to vote in 2013 general election

The researcher wanted to know whether the respondents have intention to vote in 2013 general election. The responses were as shown in Table 4.14

Table 4.14: Intention to vote in 2013 general election

Intention to vote in 2013 general election	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	129	52.4
Agree	62	25.2
Don't Know	23	9.3
Disagree	24	9.8
Strongly Disagree	8	3.3
Total	**246**	**100.0**

In Table 4.14 191(77.6%) indicated that they will vote in 2013 general election. About 23(9.3%) were not sure or did not know whether they will vote while 32(12.1) disagreed with voting in 2013 general elections. This is a big percentage which could be attributed to lack of adequate civic education among the respondents.

4.4.10 Sign a petition in future

The researcher wanted to know whether the respondents will sign a petition in future. The responses were as shown in Table 4.15

Table 4.15: Sign a petition in future

Sign a petition In future	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	17	6.9
Agree	13	5.3
Don't Know	107	43.5
Disagree	87	35.4
Strongly Disagree	22	8.9
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.15 shows that only 30(12.2%) of the women stated they will sign a petition in future. 107 (43.5%) of them don't see the need for a petition while 109 (35.4%) of them won't sign for a petition in the future.

4.4.11 Member of political Party in future

The researcher wanted to know whether the respondents will be a member of any political Party in future. The responses were as shown in Table 4.16

Table 4.16: Member of political Party in future

Member of political Party in future	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	52	21.1
Agree	31	12.6
Don't Know	34	13.8
Disagree	78	31.7
Strongly Disagree	51	20.7
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.16 shows that only 83(33.7%) of the women stated they will become members of a political party in future. 129 (52.4%) women don't want to be politicians in the future whereas 34 (13.8%) are not sure whether they will be politicians.

4.4.12 Candidate in 2013 Election

The researcher wanted to know whether the respondent have an ambition to be a candidate in the coming 2013 election. The responses were as shown in Table 4.17

Table 4.17: Candidate in 2013 Election

Candidate in 2013 Election	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	25	10.2
Agree	14	5.7
Don't know	29	11.8
Disagree	93	37.8
Strongly Disagree	85	34.6
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.17 shows that 207(84.2%) have no ambition of being candidates in the coming general elections. 29 (11.8%) don't know whether they will participate as only 15.9%) are sure of participating in the coming general elections.

4.5. Women's political knowledge

Women's political knowledge was measured by four questions about the participant's political knowledge in different aspects of politics (right to hold public office, right to participate in civil society as a man, Right to work in government and whether women had same rights to working conditions as men). Women were asked about their past political knowledge and questions to be answered on a five-point scale.

4.5.1 Right to hold public office

The responses on whether a woman has a right to hold public office were as shown in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18: Right to hold public office

Right to hold public office	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	179	72.8
Agree	60	24.4
Don't Know	2	.8
Disagree	3	1.2
Strongly Disagree	2	.8
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.18 shows that 239(97.2%) believes that women have the right to hold public office. Only five women (2.0%) disagree that women have a right to hold public office. 2 (0.8%) however, don't know whether women have a right to hold public office.

4.5.2 Women right to participate in civil society as a man

The following are the results obtained after the respondents were asked whether women had a right to participate in civil society as a man. Table 4.18 shows responses from respondents when they were asked whether women had a right to participate in civil society as a man.

Table 4.19: Women right to participate in civil society as a man

Women right to participate in civil society as a man	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	187	76.0
Agree	55	22.4
Don't know	1	.4
Disagree	2	.8
Strongly disagree	1	.4
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.18 shows that 242 (96.4%) agree that women have the right to participate in civil society as men, 1 (0.4%) don't know and 3 (1.2%) disagree.

4.5.3 Right to work in government

The researcher wanted to know whether the respondent were aware of their right to work in government. The responses were as shown in Table 4.19

Table 4.20: Right to work in government

Right to work in government	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	189	76.8
Agree	54	22.0
Don't know	3	1.2
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.19 shows that 243 (96.8%) agree that women have the right to work in government, 3 (1.2%) don't know.

4.5.4 Same rights to working conditions as men

The researcher wanted to know whether the respondent were aware of same rights to working conditions as men. The responses were as shown in Table 4.20

Table 4.21: Same rights to working conditions as men

Same rights to working conditions as men	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	190	77.3
Agree	48	19.5
Don't know	2	.8
Disagree	2	.8
Strongly Disagree	4	1.6
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.20 shows that 138 (96.8%) agree that women should have the same working conditions as men. Of the remaining sample 2 (0.8%) don't know whether women should have the same working rights as men, while 6 (2.4%) don't agree.

4.6. Women's political efficacy

Women's political efficacy was measured by nine questions about the respondent's political efficacy in different aspects of politics Women were asked about their past political knowledge and questions to be answered on a five-point scale.

4.6.1: Politics and government complicated to understand

The following are the results obtained after the respondents were asked whether Politics and government was complicated to understand. Table 4.21 shows responses from respondents when they were asked whether Politics and government was complicated to understand.

Table 4.22: Politics and government complicated to understand

Politics and government complicated to understand	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Strongly Agree	72	29.3
Agree	82	33.3
Don't know	17	6.9
Disagree	61	24.8
Strongly Disagree	14	5.7
	246	**100.0**

Table 4.21 shows that 154(62.6%) agrees that politics and government is complicated that a woman like her cannot understand, 17 (6.9%) don’t know whether politics and government is so complicated to a woman like to understand while 75(30.5%) disagree.

Table 4.23: Well prepared for participating in political life

Well prepared for participating in political life	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	56	22.8
Agree	56	22.8
Don't know	32	13.0
Disagree	70	28.5
Strongly Disagree	32	13.0
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.22 shows that 112(45.6%) agrees they are well prepared to participate in political life in Gatanga, 32(13.0%) don't know if they are well prepared to participate in political life in Gatanga and 102(41.5%) disagrees

Table 4.24: Public officials don't care much about what i think regarding politics

Public officials don't care much about what i think regarding politics	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	82	33.3
Agree	73	29.7
Don't know	18	7.3
Disagree	59	24.0
Strongly Disagree	14	5.7
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.23 shows that 155(63.0%) agree that public official don't care much about what they think regarding politics in Gatanga, 18 (7.3%) don't know and 73(31.7%) disagree.

Table 4.25: Women have a say in what the government does

Women have a say in what the government does	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Strongly Agree	107	43.5
Agree	53	21.5
Don't know	20	8.1
Disagree	37	15.0
Strongly Disagree	29	11.8
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.24 shows that 160(65.0%) agrees that women have plenty of ways to have a say in what our government does, 20(8.15) don't know, 66(26.8%) disagree there are no plenty of ways for women to have a say in what the government does in Gatanga.

Table 4.26: It makes no difference to whom i vote for

It makes no difference to who i vote for	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	103	41.9
Agree	64	26.0
Don't know	19	7.7
Don't know	43	17.5
Strongly Disagree	17	6.9
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.25 shows that 167(67.9%) agrees it makes no difference to whom they vote for, 62(25.2) don’t know if it makes a difference to whom they vote for while 17(6.9%) disagrees.

Table 4.27: Few people have all the political power, we have nothing to say

Few people have all the political power, we have nothing to say	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	142	57.7
Agree	67	27.2
Don't know	10	4.1
Disagree	20	8.1
Strongly Disagree	7	2.8
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.26 shows that 209(84.9%) agree that few people have all political power they have nothing to say, 10(4.1%) don't know, 27(10.9%) disagrees.

Table 4.28: Politicians will listen only when they want to

Politicians will listen only when they want to	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	100	40.7
Agree	71	28.9
Don't know	25	10.2
Disagree	41	16.7
Strongly Disagree	9	3.7
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.27 shows that 171(69.65) agrees that politicians will only listen when they want to, 25(10.2%) don't know while 50(20.4%) disagree that politicians will listen only when they want to.

Table 4.29: Most public officials will not listen to a woman no matter what

Most public officials will not listen to a woman no matter what	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Strongly Agree	94	38.2
Agree	59	24.0
Don't know	21	8.5
Disagree	60	24.4
Strongly Disagree	12	4.9
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.28 shows that 153(62.25) agree that most public official will not listen to a woman no matter what and 21(8.55) don't know while 72(29.3%) disagree that most public official will not listen to a woman no matter what.

Table 4.30: Women cannot influence developments

Women cannot influence developments	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	42	17.1
Agree	27	11.0
Don't know	14	5.7
Disagree	114	46.3
Strongly Disagree	49	19.9
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.29 shows that 69(28.1%) agrees women cannot influence developments in Gatanga, 14(5.7%) don't know and 163(66.2%) disagree that women cannot influence developments in Gatanga.

4.7. Women's interest in politics

Interest in politics usually prompts people to engage in political discourse As a prerequisite for autonomous participation in the political process, an individual must first evince an interest in politics. The researcher sought to know women's interest in politics which was measured by fifteen questions about women's interest in politics in different aspects of politics. Women were asked about their past political interest and questions were answered on a five-point scale.

4.7.1 Women and men have equal interest in seeking elective office

Table 4.30 shows the responses from the respondents when they were asked whether women and men have equal interest in seeking elective office.

Table 4.31: Women and men have equal interest in seeking elective office

Women and men have equal interest in seeking elective office	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	116	47.2
Agree	64	26.0
Don't know	29	11.8
Disagree	19	7.7
Strongly Disagree	18	7.3
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.30 shows that 180(73.2%) agrees that women and men have equal interest in seeking elective post while 29(11.8%) don't know, 37(15.0%) disagrees women and men have equal interest in seeking elective post.

Table 4.32: Be more involved in some political activity

Be more involved in some political activity	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	51	20.7
Agree	51	20.7
Don't know	31	12.6
Disagree	72	29.3
Strongly Disagree	41	16.7
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.31 shows that 102(41.45) agree if they had more free time, they would have been more involved in some political activity, 31(12.6%) don't know while 113(46.0%) disagree.

Table 4.33: Rather do something that is detached from politics

Rather do something that is detached from politics	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	105	42.7
Agree	81	32.9
Don't know	11	4.5
Disagree	35	14.2
Strongly Disagree	14	5.7
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.32 shows that 186(75.6%) agrees that would rather do something that is not detached from politics than engage in it, 11(4,5%)don't know while 49(19.9%) disagree that they would rather do something that is detached from politics than engage in them.

Table 4.34: Details about current political events

Details about current political events	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	93	37.8
Agree	92	37.4
Don't know	16	6.5
Disagree	33	13.4
Strongly Disagree	12	4.9
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.33 shows that 185(75.2%) agree that they want details about current political event, 16(13.4%) don't know while 45(18.3%) disagrees that they want details about current political events.

Table 4.35: No wish to be part of government and public affairs

No wish to be part of government and public affairs	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	64	26.0
Agree	38	15.4
Don't know	17	6.9
Disagree	95	38.6
Strongly Disagree	32	13.0
Total	**246**	**100.0**

The difference between the women who like to work for the government and those that wouldn't is almost equal. Table 4.34 shows that 102 (41.4%) of women wish to work with the government, 17(6.9%) haven't made up their minds, while 121 (51.4%) wouldn't like to work with the government.

Table 4.36: Politics is interesting

Politics is interesting	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Strongly Agree	53	21.5
Agree	54	22.0
Don't know	28	11.4
Disagree	68	27.6
Strongly Disagree	43	17.5
Total	**246**	**100.0**

107 (42.5%) of women in Gatanga find politics to be interesting, while 111 (45.1%) don't. Table 4.35 goes on to show that 28 (11.4%) of women in the area cannot differentiate whether politics is interesting or not.

Table 4.37: Politics is relevant to my life

Politics is relevant to my life	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	56	22.8
Agree	45	18.3
Don't know	22	8.9
Disagree	79	32.1
Strongly Disagree	44	17.9
Total	**246**	**100.0**

As depicted in Table 4.36 women are impartial on the relevance of politics in their lives. While 101 (41.1%) agree to the statement, 123 (50%) don't. moreover 22 (8.9%) are not sure.

Table 4.38: Politics is easy to understand

Politics is easy to understand	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	41	16.7
Agree	33	13.4
Don't know	29	11.8
Disagree	89	36.2
Strongly Disagree	54	22.0
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.37 depicts that more women don't find politics easy to understand. Of the 246 sample population only 74 (30.1%) find it interesting, while 29 (11.8%) aren't sure. The rest, 143 (58.2%) disagree with the statement.

Table 4.39: There is enough civic education

There is enough civic education	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	28	11.4
Agree	29	11.8
Don't know	26	10.6
Disagree	101	41.1
Strongly Disagree	62	25.2
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Regarding politics, civic education is unavailable for the women in Gatanga constituency as depicted in Table 4.38. it is clear that a vast majority,173 (66.3%), of the women don't have education to influence their involvement in government and political activities. 26 (10.6%) don't what civic education is while 57 (23.2%) have had some sort of civic education.

Table 4.40: Women want to know what is happening in politics

Women want to know what is happening in politics	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	89	36.2
Agree	82	33.3
Don't know	16	6.5
Disagree	38	15.4
Strongly Disagree	21	8.5
Total	246	100.0

Table 4.39 shows that 59 (23.4%) women are not interested in political events, 16 (6.5%) are not sure, while 171 (39.5%) are conscious of political events.

Table 4.41: Interest in politics in local community affairs

Interest in politics in local community affairs	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	67	27.2
Agree	54	22.0
Don't know	23	9.3
Disagree	51	20.7
Strongly Disagree	51	20.7
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.40 shows that 121 (49.2%) of women are involved in community politics. 102 (41.4%) of women are not involved in community political affairs while the rest, 23 (9.3%) aren't sure.

Table 4.42: Interest in local and national politics

Interest in local and national politics	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	78	31.7
Agree	54	22.0
Don't know	16	6.5
Disagree	51	20.7
Strongly Disagree	47	19.1
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.41 shows that Gatanga women have interest in both the national and local politics. 132 (53.7%) of them agree that they would be involved in politics in both levels, 16 (6.5%) don't know and 98 (39.8%) don't agree with the statement.

Table 4.43: Participating in some political activity appeals to me

Participating in some political activity appeals to me	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	56	22.8
Agree	66	26.8
Don't know	21	8.5
Disagree	65	26.4
Strongly Disagree	38	15.4
Total	**246**	**100.0**

122 (49.6%) women find politics appealing to them, 21 (8.5%) don't know and 103 (41.8%) don't find it appealing at all according to Table 4.42.

Table 4.44: Reading about political stories in the news or watching them is a waste of time

Reading about political stories in the news or watching them is a waste of time	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	40	16.3
Agree	39	15.9
Don't know	13	5.3
Disagree	94	38.2
Strongly Disagree	60	24.4
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Though 79 (32.2%) women find reading about politics or watching political activities in the news a waste of time, 154 (62.6%) like it. Only 13 (5.3%) don’t have a stand.

Table 4.45: No wish to be part of the government and public affairs

No wish to be part of the government and public affairs	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	55	22.4
Agree	40	16.3
Don't know	11	4.5
Disagree	92	37.4
Strongly Disagree	48	19.5
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.44 shows that 95 (38.7%) women would like to be involved in public affairs and government matters. 40 (16.3%) are fifty-fifty about getting involved in public and government affairs while 140 (56.9%) wouldn't like to get involved in such matters.

4.8. Women's political trust

The researcher sought to know women's political trust which was measured by seventeen questions about women's political trust in different aspects of politics. Women were asked about their past political trust and questions were answered on a five-point scale.

Table 4.46: Politicians can be trusted with CDF

Politicians can be trusted with CDF	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	57	23.2
Agree	63	25.6
Don't know	10	4.1
Disagree	89	36.2
Strongly Disagree	27	11.0
Total	**246**	**100.0**

The women in Gatanga ward have mixed feeling as whether or not to trust politician with their CDF money. 120 (48.8%) women trust their politicians with CDF money, 10 (4.1%) are not sure and 116 (47.2%) do not trust politicians in running the CDF money.

Table 4.47: Politicians are honest with their promises during campaigns

Politicians are honest with their promises during campaigns	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	39	15.9
Agree	53	21.5
Don't know	18	7.3
Disagree	99	40.2
Strongly Disagree	37	15.0
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Politicians are not honest with their campaign promises. Table 4.46 shows that 136 (55.2%) women in the ward find politicians dishonest in their promises, while 92 (37.4%) believe politicians give honest statements in their campaigns. 18 (7.3%) don't know whether the statement are true or not.

Table 4.48: Politicians keep their promises after elected to parliament

Politicians keep their promises after elected to parliament	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Strongly Agree	39	15.9
Agree	35	14.2
Don't know	17	6.9
Disagree	115	46.7
Strongly Disagree	40	16.3
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.47 shows that 155(63%) women disagree that politician keep their promises after being elected. Only 74 (30.1%) agree that they do keep their promises while 17 (6.9%) are not sure.

Table 4.49: The government can be trusted in the implementation of the new constitution

The government can be trusted in the implementation of the new constitution	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	42	17.1
Agree	76	30.9
Don't know	49	19.9
Disagree	61	24.8
Strongly Disagree	18	7.3
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.48 shows that 118 (48%) women think that they can trust the government to implement the new constitution. 79 (32.1%) don't trust it and 49 (19.9) are not sure whether the ne w constitution will be implemented.

Table 4.50: Kenyan parliament can be trusted in amending the constitution

Kenyan parliament can be trusted in amending the constitution	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	37	15.0
Agree	68	27.6
Don't know	49	19.9
Disagree	59	24.0
Strongly Disagree	33	13.4
Total	246	100.0

From Table 4.49, parliament can be trusted to implement the new constitution. 92 (37.4%) women don't trust parliament to implement the new constitution, 49 (19.9) don't know if they can trust parliament and 105 (42.6%) trust the chamber.

Table 4.51: Church can be trusted in educating women on political issues

Church can be trusted in educating women on political issues	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	99	40.2
Agree	92	37.4
Don't know	19	7.7
Disagree	31	12.6
Strongly Disagree	5	2.0
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.50 shows that Gatanga women trust the church in educating them on political issues. Whereas 36 (14.6%) don't agree and 19 (7.7%) don't know, 191 (77.6%) agree with the statement.

Table 4.52: Political parties will be fair during nominations

Political parties will be fair during nominations	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	34	13.8
Agree	61	24.8
Don't know	70	28.5
Disagree	67	27.2
Strongly Disagree	14	5.7
Total	**246**	**100.0**

From Table 4.51, 95 (38.6%) women think that party nominations will be done in a transparent and fair manner. 81 (32.9%), however don't think party nominations will be conducted in fair manner. This feeling of unfairness or biasness in nomination affects women political participation.

Table 4.53: Democracy in Kenya is satisfactory

Democracy in Kenya is satisfactory	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	77	31.3
Agree	46	18.7
Don't know	74	30.1
Disagree	35	14.2
Strongly Disagree	14	5.7
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.52 shows that a large number, 74 (30.1%) of Gatanga women don't know whether democracy in the ward is satisfactory. 123 (50%) find democracy satisfactory while 49 (19.9) don't.

Table 4.54: Democracy is the best form of government

Democracy is the best form of government	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	86	35.0
Agree	65	26.4
Don't know	55	22.4
Disagree	31	12.6
Strongly Disagree	9	3.7
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.53 shows 151 (61.4%) prefer a democratic government to other forms of government. While 55 (22.4%) don't know the advantages of a democracy 40 (16.3%) don't think that a democratic government caters for women's rights.

Table 4.55: Women can do a good job in politics as most of the politicians

Women can do a good job in politics as most of the politicians	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	108	43.9
Agree	41	16.7
Don't know	23	9.3
Disagree	54	22.0
Strongly Disagree	20	8.1
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.54 shows that Gatanga women, 149 (60.6%) believe they can do better in politics like most politicians while 74 (30.1) don't think so. 23 (9.3%) don't know whether they can do well in politics.

Table 4.56: Right to participate in voluntary organizations

Right to participate in voluntary organizations	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	192	78.0
Agree	50	20.3
Don't know	2	.8
Disagree	1	.4
Strongly Disagree	1	.4
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.55 shows that 192 women agree that they should participate in voluntary activities, while only 2 (0.8%) should disagree. 2 (0.8%) don't know of their rights to participate in voluntary activities.

Table 4.57: Right to assume the position of judge

Right to assume the position of judge	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	158	64.2
Agree	53	21.5
Don't know	5	2.0
Disagree	8	3.3
Strongly Disagree	22	8.9
Total	**246**	**100.0**

In Table 4.56 211(85.7%) agree and believe that women have the right to assume the position of a Judge in Kenya.

Table 4.58: Right to serve in the military

Right to serve in the military	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	176	71.5
Agree	56	22.8
Don't know	4	1.6
Disagree	7	2.8
Strongly Disagree	3	1.2
Total	**246**	**100.0**

In Table 4.57 232(94.3%) believe that women have the right to serve in the military. 4 (1.6%) don't whether they should serve in the military while 10 (4.0%) don't want to serve in the military.

Table 4.59: Right to vote (Suffrage)

Right to vote (Suffrage)	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	185	75.2
Agree	55	22.4
Don't know	6	2.4
Total	**246**	**100.0**

In Table 4.58 240(97.6%) believe that women have the right to vote. 55 (22.4%) agree and 6 (2.4%) don't know whether they have the right to vote or not.

Table 4.60: The Kenya democracy is working well for women

The Kenya democracy is working well for women	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	68	27.6
Agree	39	15.9
Don't know	77	31.3
Disagree	43	17.5
Strongly Disagree	19	7.7
Total	**246**	**100.0**

On whether the Kenya democracy works for women, 107 (43.5%) agree, 77 (31.3%) don't know while 62 (25.2%) disagree according to Table 4.86.

Table 4.61: Member of association or NGO in future

Member of association or NGO in future	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	56	22.8
Agree	46	18.7
Don't Know	52	21.1
Disagree	63	25.6
Strongly Disagree	29	11.8
Total	**246**	**100.0**

Table 4.61 shows that 102 (41.5%) of women believe they will be members of an association or NGO in future while 92 (37.4%) disagree. 52 (21.1%) don't know whether they will be in a association or NGO in future.

Table 4.62: Right to participate in political activities like men

Right to participate in political activities like men	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	181	73.6
Agree	62	25.2
Disagree	1	.4
Strongly Disagree	2	.8
Total	**246**	**100.0**

According to Table 4.62 women should participate in political activities as men do, 243(98.8%) agree that women have the potential to perform just like the men. Only 3 (1.2%) disagree with that notion. This clearly indicates willingness of many women to participate in political activities if the ground is level.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of findings, discussions, conclusions and recommendations of the study which sought to evaluate the effects of civic education on women political participation in Gatanga Ward within Gatanga Constituency. The project assessed the effectiveness of the civic education activities in promoting political knowledge, political efficacy, political trust, political trust, and political participation among the women in Gatanga Ward.

5.2 Summary of findings

Below are summary of findings on effects of civic education on women political participation in Gatanga Ward. We begin by presenting the basic findings from the study, that is, the effects of civic education on women's political participation in Gatanga ward
The results of these analyses can be summarized as follows.

5.2.1 Demographic Characteristics of the respondents.

Questionnaires were administered to two hundred and fourty six (246) respondents, all of them females. The study established that 172 (69.9%) of those interviewed were from twenty eight years and above which could mean that they had lived long in Gatanga Ward. 99 (40.2%) had education level of primary school and below while only 34 (58.8%) had attained secondary school level and above which meant that literacy levels were inadequate. Majority of the respondents a total of 239 (97.2%) had low monthly incomes ranging from Ksh. (0-30,000). This is a negative trend because even if they would be willing to participate in politics they cannot manage to finance their campaigns.

5.2.2. Women's political participation

Political participation was measured by 14 questions about the participant's participation in different aspects of politics (discussing political issues, attending demonstrations, voting,

signing a petition, being or wanting to be a candidate in elections, being or wanting to be a member of a political party). Women were asked about their past political participation and their intention to participate in the future. Some questions were answered by indicating 'yes' or 'no', others had to be answered on a five-point scale.

The study found that 174(70.7%) of the respondents agreed that they had never protested or demonstrated. Moreover, 72 (29.3%) had protested or demonstrated. This can be interpreted that there is low participation in protesting or demonstration which results to low level of political participation of the respondents. 73.6% of the women indicated that they voted during the general elections of 2007. This average lies far above the national 37% voter turnout. Considering the high percentage of women that voted during the last elections, it is surprising that only 28.8% said they certainly would vote during the upcoming general elections of 2013. Moreover, 28.8% of the women have attended a demonstration in the past, and if they did so they have done it on average 2.2 times. Additionally, 17.8% of the women stated they have ever signed a petition, and they indicated that on average they have done it 2.1 times.

The study also found that women's political participation is remarkable at 78.5% of the women indicated that they voted during the referendum of 2005.This are a clear indication of political participation in civic activities. On Political Party Membership 189(76.8%) women in Gatanga Ward are not members of any political party.

The study found that in the coming elections 206(83.7%) women will not be candidates while only 40(16.3%) will be candidates. This shows lack of interest in political participation which could be attributed to in adequate civic education. On Membership of association or NGO the study found that 157(63.8%) women in Gatanga Ward are not members of any NGO or association. This can be attributed to low levels of civic education to the women living in Gatanga.

The study also found that 193(78.4%) of women discuss politics with other family members. On matters related to discussing politics with family 18(7.3%) did not know whether what they discuss is politics. On attendance of protest meeting or demonstration 143(58.2%) disagreed to attend any of these protest or demonstration meetings. Only 57(23.1%) had participated in a protest or demonstration before while 46(18.7%) were not sure or did not know whether they had participated. On intention to vote in 2013 general election the study found that

191(77.6%) indicated that they will vote in 2013 general election. About 23(9.3%) were not sure or did not know whether they will vote while 32(12.1) disagreed with voting in 2013 general elections. This is a big percentage which could be attributed to lack of adequate civic education among the respondents. Only 30(12.2%) of the women stated they will sign a petition in future. 107 (43.5%) of them don't see the need for a petition while 109 (35.4%) of them won't sign for a petition in the future.

The study found that only 83(33.7%) of the women stated they will become members of a political party in future. 129 (52.4%) women don't want to be politicians in the future whereas 34 (13.8%) are not sure whether they will be politicians..207(84.2%) have no ambition of being candidates in the coming general elections. 29 (11.8%) don't know whether they will participate as only 15.9%) are sure of participating in the coming general elections.

Primarily, the negative idea Gatanga Ward women have about how men view women with respect to political participation should change. Because the way you perceive yourself has a great effect in the way you believe how others perceive you (Albright, Forest, and Reiseter, 2001; Frey and Tropp, 2006; Holland et al., 1998; Mendez et al., 2007; Vorauer, Hunter, Main, and Roy, 2000), the way in which Gatanga Ward women view the political participation of women in general should change in order to reduce the effect of a negative perception on political participation. Although research has shown that self-regulation processes can suppress stereotypical thoughts effectively, the capacity of people to suppress these thought depends on limited resources and becomes depleted when it is used (Muraven and Baumeister, 2000). However, it could be that promoting education of women can cause women to believe that women in general are suitable to participate in politics, since level of education was significantly positive.

5.2.3 Women's political knowledge

The study carried out in Gatanga within Gatanga Constituency found that 239(97.2%) believes that women have the right to hold public office. Only five women (2.0%) disagree that women have a right to hold public office. 2 (0.8%) however, don't know whether women have a right to hold public office.242 (96.4%) agree that women have the right to participate in civil society as men, 1 (0.4%) don't know and 3 (1.2%) disagree.243 (96.8%) agree that women have

the right to work in government, 3 (1.2%) don't know.138 (96.8%) agree that women should have the same working conditions as men. Of the remaining sample 2 (0.8%) don't know whether women should have the same working rights as men, while 6 (2.4%) don't agree.

5.2.4. Women's political efficacy

The study found that 154(62.6%) agrees that politics and government is complicated that a woman like her cannot understand, 17 (6.9%) don't know whether politics and government is so complicated to a woman like to understand while 75(30.5%) disagree.112(45.6%) agrees they are well prepared to participate in political life in Gatanga, 32(13.0%) don't know if they are well prepared to participate in political life in Gatanga and 102(41.5%) disagrees,155(63.0%) agree that public official don't care much about what they think regarding politics in Gatanga, 18 (7.3%) don't know and 73(31.7%) disagree. The study established that 60(65.0%) agrees that women have plenty of ways to have a say in what our government does, 20(8.15) don't know, 66(26.8%) disagree there are no plenty of ways for women to have a say in what the government does in Gatanga. 167(67.9%) agrees it makes no difference to whom they vote for, 62(25.2) don't know if it makes a difference to whom they vote for while 17(6.9%) disagrees.209(84.9%) agree that few people have all political power they have nothing to say, 10(4.1%) don't know, 27(10.9%) disagrees.171(69.65) agrees that politicians will only listen when they want to, 25(10.2%) don't know while 50(20.4%) disagree that politicians will listen only when they want to.153(62.25) agree that most public official will not listen to a woman no matter what and 21(8.55) don't know while 72(29.3%) disagree that most public official will not listen to a woman no matter what.69(28.1%) agrees women cannot influence developments in Gatanga, 14(5.7%) don't know and 163(66.2%) disagree that women cannot influence developments in Gatanga.

5.2.5. Women's interest in politics

The study found that 180(73.2%) agrees that women and men have equal interest in seeking elective post while 29(11.8%) don't know, 37(15.0%) disagrees women and men have equal interest in seeking elective post.102(41.45) agree if they had more free time, they would have been more involved in some political activity, 31(12.6%) don't know while 113(46.0%) disagree.186(75.6%) agrees that would rather do something that is not detached from politics

than engage in it, 11(4,5%)don't know while 49(19.9%) disagree that they would rather do something that is detached from politics than engage in them.185(75.2%) agree that they want details about current political event, 16(13.4%) don't know while 45(18.3%) disagrees that they want details about current political events.

The difference between the women who like to work for the government and those that wouldn't is almost equal. Table 4.51 shows that 102 (41.4%) of women wish to work with the government, 17(6.9%) haven't made up their minds, while 121 (51.4%) wouldn't like to work with the government. 107 (42.5%) of women in Gatanga find politics to be interesting, while 111 (45.1%) don't. Table 4.52 goes on to show that 28 (11.4%) of women in the area cannot differentiate whether politics is interesting or not.

The study found that women are impartial on the relevance of politics in their lives. While 101 (41.1%) agree to the statement, 123 (50%) don't. moreover 22 (8.9%) are not sure.

The study established that more women don't find politics easy to understand. Of the 246 sample population only 74 (30.1%) find it interesting, while 29 (11.8%) aren't sure. The rest, 143 (58.2%) disagree with the statement.

Regarding politics, civic education is unavailable for the women in Gatanga constituency as it was clear that a vast majority, 173 (66.3%), of the women don't have education to influence their involvement in government and political activities. 26 (10.6%) don't what civic education is while 57 (23.2%) have had some sort of civic education.59 (23.4%) women are not interested in political events, 16 (6.5%) are not sure, while 171 (39.5%) are conscious of political events.121 (49.2%) of women are involved in community politics. 102 (41.4%) of women are not involved in community political affairs while the rest, 23 (9.3%) aren't sure.

The study established that Women in Gatanga ward have interest in both the national and local politics. 132 (53.7%) of them agree that they would be involved in politics in both levels, 16 (6.5%) don't know and 98 (39.8%) don't agree with the statement.122 (49.6%) women found politics appealing to them, 21 (8.5%) don't know and 103 (41.8%) don't find it appealing at all.

Though 79 (32.2%) women find reading about politics or watching political activities in the news a waste of time, 154 (62.6%) like it. Only 13 (5.3%) don't have a stand..95 (38.7%) women would like to be involved in public affairs and government matters. 40 (16.3%) are fifty-

fifty about getting involved in public and government affairs while 140 (56.9%) wouldn't like to get involved in such matters.

5.2.6. Women's political trust

The study found that women in Gatanga ward have mixed feeling as whether or not to trust politician with their CDF money. 120 (48.8%) women trust their politicians with CDF money, 10 (4.1%) are not sure and 116 (47.2%) do not trust politicians in running the CDF money.

The study also established that Politicians are not honest with their campaign promises. Table 4.63 shows that 136 (55.2%) women in the ward find politicians dishonest in their promises, while 92 (37.4%) believe politicians give honest statements in their campaigns. 18 (7.3%) don't know whether the statement are true or not.155(63%) women disagree that politician keep their promises after being elected. Only 74 (30.1%) agree that they do keep their promises while 17 (6.9%) are not sure.118 (48%) women think that they can trust the government to implement the new constitution. 79 (32.1%) don't trust it and 49 (19.9) are not sure whether the ne w constitution will be implemented.

The study also found that parliament can be trusted to implement the new constitution. 92 (37.4%) women don't trust parliament to implement the new constitution, 49 (19.9) don't know if they can trust parliament and 105 (42.6%) trust the chamber. Also it was found that Gatanga women trust the church in educating them on political issues. Whereas 36 (14.6%) don't agree and 19 (7.7%) don't know, 191 (77.6%) agree with the statement.95 (38.6%) women think that party nominations will be done in a transparent and fair manner. 81 (32.9%), however don't think party nominations will be conducted in fair manner. This feeling of unfairness or biasness in nomination affects women political participation.74 (30.1%) of Gatanga women don't know whether democracy in the ward is satisfactory. 123 (50%) find democracy satisfactory while 49 (19.9) don't.151 (61.4%) prefer a democratic government to other forms of government. While 55 (22.4%) don't know the advantages of a democracy 40 (16.3%) don't think that a democratic government caters for women's rights.149 (60.6%) believe they can do better in politics like most politicians while 74 (30.1) don't think so. 23 (9.3%) don't know whether they can do good

in politics.192 women agree that they should participate in voluntary activities, while only 2 (0.8%) should disagree. 2 (0.8%) don't know of their rights to participate in voluntary activities.

The study established that 211(85.7%) agree and believe that women have the right to assume the position of a Judge in Kenya..232(94.3%) believe that women have the right to serve in the military. 4 (1.6%) don't whether they should serve in the military while 10 (4.0%) don't want to serve in the military.240 (97.6%) believe that women have the right to vote. 55 (22.4%) agree and 6 (2.4%) don't know whether they have the right to vote or not. 107 (43.5%) agree, 77 (31.3%) don't know while 62 (25.2%) disagreed.102 (41.5%) of women believe they will be members of an association or NGO in future while 92 (37.4%) disagree. 52 (21.1%) don't know whether they will be in a association or NGO in future.

The study found that women should participate in political activities as men do, 243(98.8%) agree that women have the potential to perform just like the men. Only 3 (1.2%) disagree with that notion. This clearly indicates willingness of many women to participate in political activities if the ground is level.

5.3 Conclusion of the study

One of the research objectives was to determine the extent to which political knowledge affects women's political participation. Civic education activities were highly successful in promoting women's political knowledge and actual political participation. These effects were the largest seen in the entire study.

The study was to investigate the effects of civic education on women's political participation. From the findings it can be concluded that by carrying out civic education at the community level on women could significantly increase the percentage of political participation amongst the women.

To evaluate the effects of political efficacy on women's political participation the researcher found that Civic education activities were consistently effective in altering the women's political efficacy and actual political participation.

Furthermore, external political efficacy played an important role in the promotion of women's political participation. The Kenyan government should restore the trust of women in

the responsiveness of the Kenyan government towards its citizens, since the external political efficacy of women was low. If women do not perceive that the government will listen to them and does something about the problems they experience, women have less the intention to participate in politics.

It can be concluded that the study established that there was in adequate civic education at the ward level and therefore there was noticeable low political participation amongst the women.

Civic education were generally more effective in altering women's political interest and actual political participation than other kinds of civic education activities

Civic education had a moderate effect on women's political trust and actual political participation. It appears that Gatanga Ward women have little trust in the Kenyan government in that they perceive that the government does not (sufficiently) respond to the concerns of their citizens. Through civic education, women will have a more positive image about how men view women with respect to political participation. Therefore, they will participate more in politics.

Finally, the basis of the results of this present research that stimulating political interest of Gatanga Ward women, changing Gatanga Ward women's political efficacy, raising their trust in the political system and political knowledge acquisition could improve the political participation of Gatanga Ward women more than a quota system, which only allows certain well educated women to have some more influence in politics. The average Gatanga Ward woman, especially considering the high proportion of Gatanga Ward women that is illiterate or has little education, is more benefitted from such interventions than of a quota system. Moreover, these implications might also apply to all the other women in Kenya.

5.4 Recommendations of the Study

Based on these findings, we propose the following recommendations for the design and implementation of future civic education in Gatanga Ward, and by extension, in Kenya and other developing democracies:

1. Civic education programs should focus on the specific democratic orientations where civic education is both needed and can realistically be expected to achieve significant effect.
2. Civic education programs must be implemented in ways that ensure sustained, multiple exposures to civic education messages.
3. Civic education training must make frequent use of active, participatory teaching methods.
4. Training of civic education trainers is also important, as trainers may sometimes produce positive or negative changes in democratic orientations;
5. Greater efforts should be made to target women in lower socio-economic strata, while maintaining the generally group-based focus of Kenyan civic education.

5.5 Suggestions for further Studies

The researcher recommends the following areas for future studies.

1. Since the research focused on a small area within Gatanga ward in Gatanga constituency, the researcher recommends that a similar research be carried out in the whole of Gatanga constituency.

2. The researcher further suggests that future researches should investigate the influence of gender roles and stereotype endorsement on women's political participation.

3. Another area that is the researcher recommends is to find out the effects of gender roles, religious beliefs, meta-stereotype and internal political efficacy on political participation.

4. The researcher suggests that future research on women's political participation should use other methods, such as qualitative methods like interviewing, to make sure that illiterate women can participate.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Letter of Introduction

Wainaina Anthony. K

P.O. Box 6435-01000,

THIKA.

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: Collection of data on effects of Civic Education on Women's Political Participation in Gatanga Ward

I am a student of Master of Arts in Project Planning and Management at the University of Nairobi – Thika Extra- Mural Centre. My registration Number is L50/65167/2010. I am conducting a study titled 'Effects of civic education on women's political participation in Gatanga Ward' within Gatanga Constituency.

To facilitate this study, you have been randomly selected as a participant in answering the questionnaire. You are requested to respond to all the questions as your response will be very useful to this study.

Please be assured that any personal information will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you for your participation.

Yours faithfully,

WAINAINA ANTHONY KAMAU

REG. NO. L50/65167/2010

Appendix2: Letter of Authority to Collect Data

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Telephone: 254-020-2213471, 2241349
254-020-310571, 2213123, 2219420
Fax: 254-020-318245, 318249
When replying please quote
secretary@ncst.go.ke

P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA
Website: www.ncst.go.ke

Our Ref: NCST/RCD/14/012/1155

Date: 21st August 2012

Anthony Kamau Wainaina
University of Nairobi
P.O.Box 30197
Nairobi

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "***Effects of civic education on women's political participation in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency, Murang'a County,***" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Murang'a County** for a period ending **31st December, *2012*.**

You are advised to report to **the District Commissioners and the District Education Officers, Murang'a County** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

DR. M. K. RUGUTT, PHD, HSC.
DEPUTY COUNCIL SECRETARY

Copy to:

The District Commissioners
The District Education Officers
Murang'a County.

"The National Council for Science and Technology is Committed to the Promotion of Science and Technology for National Development."

PAGE 2

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
Prof./Dr./Mr./Mrs./Miss/Institution
Anthony Kamau Wainaina
of (Address) University of Nairobi
P.O.Box 30197-00100, Nairobi
has been permitted to conduct research in

Location	District	County
Muranga		

on the topic: Effects of civic education on women's political participation in Gatanga Ward in Gatanga Constituency, Muranga County.

for a period ending: 31st December, 2012.

PAGE 3

Research Permit No. *NCST/RCD/14/012/115*
Date of issue *21st August, 2012*
Fee received *KSH. 1,000*

Applicant's Signature

Secretary
National Council for Science &Technology

Appendix 3: Consent Form

University of Nairobi

Department of Extra Mural Studies

Research student: Kamau Wainaina

0721 605 704

kamauwainaina@yahoo.com

Supervisor: Dr Guantai Mboroki

0722 700 239

Consent Form

'Effects of civic education on women's political participation in Gatanga Ward'

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis, I agree to participate by filling a questionnaire, with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved. I consent to the findings being used in Wainaina's Masters Project, and understand that the results of the project may be published. I am aware that I am at liberty to discuss any concerns about the project with Wainaina, the research supervisor, Dr Guantai Mboroki or Lydia Wambugu the resident lecturer. I also understand that I may withdraw from the project at any time, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

Name: ……..

Signed: …….

Date: ……....

Appendix 4: A Questionnaire For Women In Gatanga Ward

Instructions to respondents

- Please tick the appropriate box
- Make sure you fill in every question;
- Do not discuss your answers with others while filling in the questionnaire;
- The answers you give will be completely anonymous.
- Give the answer which first cross your mind
- There is no right or wrong answers.

Section I:Back ground information

1. Are you married?

Yes ☐ No ☐

2. What is your age?

18-27 years ☐ 28-37 years ☐ 38-47 years ☐ 48-57 years ☐ 58-67years ☐

68 years And Above ☐

3. What is your level of education?

Primary ☐

Secondary ☐

Tertiary college ☐

University ☐

Other (please specify) ……

4. What is your occupation?

Wage-employed ☐ Farmer ☐ Business ☐ Student ☐ Unemployed ☐

5. Can you give an indication of the monthly income in Kenya shillings of your household?

Less than 10000 ☐ 10000 – 20000 ☐ 20000 – 30000 ☐

30000 – 40000 ☐ 40000 – 50000 ☐ More than 50000 ☐

Section2: Women's political participation

What would you say about the following statements? *Please tick the appropriate box*

Q. No	Question	YES	NO
6	Did you ever attend a protest meeting or demonstration?		
7	Did you vote in the general elections of 2007?		
8	Did you vote in the referendum of 2010?		
9	Are you a member or have you been a member of a political party?		
10	Have you been or are you a candidate in the general elections?		
11	Have you been or are you a member of an association/NGO?		

For each of the statements below, please indicate by a tick whether you strongly agree, agree, don't know, disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement:

Q. No	Question	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
12	I normally discuss political issues with my friends					
13	I normally discuss political issues with members of my family (husband, siblings (grand-) parents, partner)					
14	In the future, I will consider attending a protest meeting or demonstration					
15	I have the intention to vote in the coming general elections of 2013					
16	I will sign a petition in future					
17	I will be a member of a political party in future					
18	I will be a member of a women group, an association, CBO/NGO in future					

19	I have the ambition to be a candidate in the coming general elections					

Section3: Women's political knowledge

For each of the statements below, please indicate by a tick whether you strongly agree, agree, don't know, disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement:

Q. No	Question	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
20	Women have the right to participate in political activities just as men do.					
21	A woman has the right to hold public office					
22	A woman has the right to vote (suffrage)					
23	A woman has the right to bodily integrity and autonomy					
24	A woman has the right to serve in the military or be conscripted					
25	A woman has the right to enter into legal contracts					
26	A woman has the right to have marital, parental, and religious rights.					
27	A woman has the right to own property.					

28	A woman has the right to assume the position of Judge.					
29	A woman has the right to fair wages or equal pay					
30	Women and men should both be allowed to inherit land					
31	Women have the right to all phases of education, including university					
32	A woman has the right to participate in civil society (NGOs and the media) as a man does.					
33	A woman has the right to participate in women's voluntary organizations.					
34	A woman has the right to work in Government.					
34	A woman has the right to work in the private sector.					
36	Women have the right to employment benefits (income and other advantages) just as					

	men do.					
37	Women have the same rights to working conditions (working hours, transport, and travel) as men.					
38	Women have the right to economic assets (including land and building) just as men do.					
39	Women have the right to own private business just as men do.					
40	Women have the right to manage private business as men do.					
41	Women have the right to have work equal to men's.					

Section4: Women's political efficacy

For each of the statements below, please indicate by a tick whether you strongly agree, agree, don't know, disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement:

Q. No	Question	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
42	**Internal efficacy** Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated					

	that a woman like me can't really understand what's going on.					
43	I feel well prepared for participating in political life in Gatanga.					
44	Today's problems are so difficult I feel I could not know enough to come up with any ideas that might solve community related problems in Gatanga Ward.					
45	I feel like I can do a good job in politics as most of the politicians we elected no matter what I do.					
46	**External efficacy** A woman like me have no say in what the Government does in Gatanga					
47	I don't think public officials care much about what a woman like me think about politics in Gatanga.					
48	Generally speaking, those we elect to public office in Gatanga loose touch very quickly with the women who elected them.					
49	Candidates for political positions in Gatanga are interested in women's votes, but not in their opinions.					
50	There are plenty of ways for					

	women like me to have a say in what our government does in Gatanga.					
51	Politicians are supposed to be servants of the people, but too many of them try to be our masters especially in Gatanga.					
52	It hardly makes any difference who I vote for, because whoever gets elected does whatever he or she wants to do without considering voters.					
53	In this country, a few people have all the political power and the rest of us have nothing to say.					
54	It doesn't matter what a woman does: if the politicians want to listen they will, and if they don't want to listen they won't.					
55	Most public officials won't listen to a woman like me no matter what I say.					
56	A woman like me cannot influence developments in Gatanga.					

Section 5: Women's interest in politics

For each of the statements below, please indicate by a tick whether you strongly agree, agree, don't know, disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement:

Q. No	Question	Strongly	Agree	Don't	Disagree	Strongly

		Agree		**know**		**Disagree**
57	Women and men have equal interest in seeking elective office					
58	If I had more free time, getting involved in some political activity would be high on my list					
59	It's fine with me if I am not aware of the political developments in the country					
60	I would rather do something that is detached from politics than something that requires me to engage in politics					
61	I want to know the details about current political events					
62	It's enough for me that others take care of government and public affairs; I have no wish to be part of it					
63	I believe Politics is interesting					
64	I believe Politics is relevant to my life.					
65	I find politics easy to understand					

66	There is enough civic education about politics in the Gatanga Ward.					
67	When something happens in politics, I want to know why or how it happened					
68	I believe i have of interest in politics in local community affairs					
69	I believe i have interest in local politics and national politics					
70	The idea of participating in some political activity appeals to me					
71	I think reading about political stories in the news or watching them is a waste of time					
72	It's enough for me that others take care of government and public affairs; I have no wish to be part of it					

Section 6: Women's political trust

For each of the statements below, please indicate by a tick whether you strongly agree, agree, don't know, disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement:

Q. No	Question	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree

73	Politicians can be trusted with the constituency development funds in Gatanga Ward.					
74	Politicians are honest with their promises during campaigns in Gatanga Ward. .					
75	Politicians are profiteers in Gatanga Ward.					
76	Politicians keep their promises after they are elected to Parliament.					
77	Politicians are corrupt during the implementation of community development projects in Gatanga Ward.					
78	Politicians are reliable during fund raising for the community in Gatanga Ward.					
79	Politicians only have fine talk in Gatanga Ward.					
80	The Government of Kenya can be trusted in the implementation of the New constitution.					

81	The Kenyan Parliament can be trusted in amending the Constitution.					
82	I believe the church can be trusted in educating the women on political issues in Gatanga Ward.					
83	I believe the judiciary is fair in their judgments					
84	I believe the president is never influenced in decision making					
85	I believe the police are corrupt when doing their duties in Gatanga Ward.					
86	I believe the local council has improved the infrastructure in Gatanga Ward.					
87	I believe political parties will be fair during nominations of candidates in Gatanga Ward.					
88	The democracy in Kenya is satisfying to women in Gatanga Ward.					
89	Democracy is the best form of government since women's political rights are taken care of.					
90	The Kenyan democracy is working well for women in Gatanga Ward.					

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING

Appendix 5: Morgan and Krejcie Table for Determining Sample Size from a Given Population.

N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S
10	10	100	80	280	162	800	260	2800	338
15	14	110	86	290	165	850	265	3000	341
20	19	120	92	300	169	900	269	3500	246
25	24	130	97	320	175	950	274	4000	351
30	28	140	103	340	181	1000	278	4500	351
35	32	150	108	360	186	1100	285	5000	357
40	36	160	113	380	181	1200	291	6000	361
45	40	180	118	400	196	1300	297	7000	364
50	44	190	123	420	201	1400	302	8000	367
55	48	200	127	440	205	1500	306	9000	368
60	52	210	132	460	210	1600	310	10000	373
65	56	220	136	480	214	1700	313	15000	375
70	59	230	140	500	217	1800	317	20000	377
75	63	240	144	550	225	1900	320	30000	379
80	66	250	148	600	234	2000	322	40000	380
85	70	260	152	650	242	2200	327	50000	381
90	73	270	155	700	248	2400	331	75000	382
95	76	270	159	750	256	2600	335	100000	384

Source: Robert V. Krejcie (1970) *Determining Sample Size for Research Activities.* University of Minnesota, Duluth. N- Population Size; S- Sample Size

Appendix 6:Women Registered Voters In Gatanga Ward

Ward name	Constituency polling Station code	Constituency polling station name	Gender
			Female
Gatanga	30	Chomo primary school	578
	31	Kirwara primary school	633
	32	Rwegetha primary school	606
	74	Gichumbu primary school	460
	75	Ngungugu primary school	252
	76	Gatanga primary school	395
	94	Umbui primary school	223
	95	Mabae primary school	380
Total			**3527**

Source: Gatanga voters register 2010