

Protest, Patriarchal Bargains, and the Politics of Reproduction: Women's Collective Action Against Alcohol Abuse in Narok West, Kenya

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ABSTRACT: This study examined the dynamics of women's collective action against alcohol abuse in Narok West Sub-County, Kenya, situating the analysis within the theoretical frameworks of patriarchal bargain theory and the politics of reproduction. Drawing on a mixed-methods cross-sectional survey of 300 purposively and randomly selected women, the study investigated the sociodemographic determinants of protest participation, the mechanisms through which gendered grievances were mobilized into organized collective action, and the reproductive and domestic health consequences that precipitated women's activism. Univariate analysis revealed that the majority of respondents (65.3%) were married, 34.7% were aged 36–45 years, and 44.7% were subsistence farmers with household incomes below KES 10,000 per month, situating the protest constituency firmly among economically marginalized rural women. Bivariate chi-square analysis established statistically significant associations between protest participation and key variables including direct alcohol harm exposure ($\chi^2 = 29.18$, $p < 0.001$), membership in women's groups ($\chi^2 = 24.67$, $p < 0.001$), and domestic violence experience ($\chi^2 = 22.34$, $p < 0.001$). Exploratory factor analysis with principal component analysis (PCA) identified three latent dimensions underlying women's motivations for protest: collective grievance (37.0% variance, eigenvalue = 4.81), patriarchal bargaining (25.2% variance, eigenvalue = 3.27), and reproductive harm (22.6% variance, eigenvalue = 2.94), together accounting for 84.8% of total variance. Binary logistic regression confirmed that collective grievance scores (OR = 2.630, $p < 0.001$), membership in women's groups (OR = 3.284, $p < 0.001$), and reproductive harm scores (OR = 2.416, $p < 0.001$) were the strongest predictors of protest participation, with the model achieving a Nagelkerke R^2 of 0.558. The findings demonstrate that women's anti-alcohol protests in Narok West constituted a form of strategic agency operating within, rather than against, prevailing patriarchal structures — a negotiated form of resistance that prioritized household stability, child welfare, and reproductive health outcomes. The study recommends integrating gender-responsive alcohol policy with community-based women's empowerment programmes, institutionalizing women's reproductive health grievances within county governance frameworks, and leveraging existing women's group networks as entry points for sustained collective action.

Key Words: Protest, Patriarchal Bargains, and Politics of Reproduction

INTRODUCTION

The intersection of gender, alcohol abuse, and collective action represents one of the most politically charged and theoretically productive terrains in contemporary African feminist scholarship. In sub-Saharan Africa, alcohol abuse by men has long been recognized as a significant driver of household poverty, domestic violence, and reproductive health deterioration — yet women's organized responses to these harms have received comparatively limited systematic scholarly attention, particularly within the Kenyan context (M.H. et al., 2017; Otim et al., 2019; K. Rebecca & Kirisa, 2023). Narok West Sub-County, situated in the Maasai-dominated Narok County of the Rift Valley region, provides a particularly instructive case for examining these intersections. The sub-county is characterized by a predominantly pastoralist and agro-pastoralist economy, deeply patriarchal social organization governed by customary Maasai law, a rapidly expanding informal alcohol market fueled by urbanization and economic marginalization, and a history of vibrant women's collective organization through merry-go-round savings groups, church women's networks, and community self-help associations (Doreen et al., 2020; Emyedu Andrew et al., 2017; Swahn et al., 2018). Against this backdrop, women in Narok West have increasingly organized public demonstrations, petitioned local government, and engaged in direct action against illicit liquor establishments (chang'aa dens) in a form of protest that defies simple categorization as either radical resistance or conservative compliance. To understand these protests requires engaging simultaneously with theories of patriarchal bargain — which explain how women navigate systems of domination to maximize security within rather than beyond patriarchal arrangements — and with feminist political economy perspectives on the gendered politics of reproduction, which position women's bodies, children's welfare, and household survival as central arenas of political contestation (Asiimwe et al., 2017; Matagi et al., 2022). This study therefore examined women's collective action against alcohol abuse in Narok West, interrogating the sociodemographic profiles of protest participants, the latent motivational structures that drove mobilization, and the predictors of sustained collective engagement, in order to contribute both theoretically and empirically to the growing literature on African women's subaltern politics (Fred et al., 2025; Julius, 2025; Julius & Twinomujuni, 2025).

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Alcohol abuse in Kenya constitutes a significant public health, economic, and social policy crisis with deeply gendered dimensions. The Kenya National Bureau of Statistics estimated that approximately 13.3% of Kenyan adults engage in harmful or hazardous alcohol use, with consumption rates in rural and semi-urban areas of the Rift Valley disproportionately elevated relative to the

national average. In counties like Narok, where household economies remain precarious and formal employment opportunities are scarce, a substantial proportion of male household income is diverted to alcohol purchase, creating compounding cycles of poverty, food insecurity, school dropout, and domestic conflict (Cabrera & García-Pérez, 2023; Faridah et al., 2023; Sugiharti et al., 2022). The proliferation of informal and illicit alcohol outlets — particularly chang'aa brewing and busaa production — in peri-urban and rural communities has further intensified these dynamics, as the low cost and high availability of informal spirits has expanded consumption well beyond what formal market regulation would otherwise permit. Historically, Kenyan women have not been passive observers of these dynamics; the 1980s saw notable women-led anti-alcohol protests in Murang'a, Muranga, and parts of Western Kenya, demonstrating the deep historical roots of women's anti-alcohol activism. More recent scholarship, however, has documented a complex reorientation in how such activism is theorized and practiced. Feminist scholars drawing on Deniz Kandiyoti's concept of the patriarchal bargain have argued that women's organized action against alcohol should be understood not merely as moral conservatism or domestic protectionism, but as a calculated negotiation of the terms of patriarchal contracts — women leveraging the moral authority accorded to mothers and wives within conservative social structures to achieve redistributive outcomes for households (Brisset-Foucault, 2022; Juma et al., 2014; Martin & Matovu, 2023; Ojok et al., 2024; Rodríguez-Rodríguez & Heras-González, 2020). In Narok West specifically, the Maasai customary framework assigns women clear custodial responsibilities for children's nutrition, health, and education, while simultaneously circumscribing women's autonomy in economic and political spheres; this creates a structural dynamic in which women's protest against alcohol abuse represents a simultaneous affirmation of prescribed gender roles and a strategic exercise of collective power that those roles legitimate (Derick & Benard, 2025; Djono et al., 2022; Julius & Gracious Kazaara, 2025). The politics of reproduction further compounds this picture: reproductive health outcomes — including rates of maternal mortality, infant malnutrition, prenatal care access, and gender-based violence during pregnancy — are systematically worsened by male alcohol abuse, creating embodied motivations for political action that link women's personal health experiences to collective public demands. Despite the richness of this context, empirical studies examining the sociodemographic determinants and motivational structures of women's anti-alcohol collective action in Narok West remain absent from the published literature, a gap this study sought to address.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Despite the growing visibility of women's collective action against alcohol abuse in rural Kenya, systematic empirical evidence examining the specific sociodemographic determinants, motivational structures, and reproductive health consequences driving women's protest participation in Narok West Sub-County remains conspicuously absent. Existing studies have tended to treat women's anti-alcohol activism either as an expression of cultural conservatism disconnected from feminist political analysis, or have drawn exclusively on qualitative case studies that, while rich in texture, lack the statistical rigor necessary to identify population-level patterns and predictors (Atuyambe et al., 2015; Kebirungi, 2021; N. Rebecca et al., 2024; Victo et al., 2023). The result is a significant knowledge gap: policymakers, civil society organizations, and gender advocates working in Narok West lack evidence-based profiles of protest participants, quantified measures of the relationship between reproductive harm and collective mobilization, or statistically validated models explaining why some women join anti-alcohol protests while others — facing ostensibly similar circumstances — do not (Ariho & Kabagenyi, 2020; Gonzalez et al., 2020; Nsanya et al., 2019). This gap has practical consequences: alcohol-reduction interventions in the sub-county have largely been designed without incorporating the agency, motivations, and structural positions of the women most directly harmed by male drinking, rendering such interventions less effective than they might otherwise be. This study therefore sought to address these gaps by providing a statistically rigorous, theoretically grounded analysis of women's collective action against alcohol abuse in Narok West, generating findings that are both academically significant and practically actionable.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Main Objective

The main objective of this study was to examine the sociodemographic determinants and motivational structures underlying women's collective action against alcohol abuse in Narok West Sub-County, Kenya, within the theoretical frameworks of patriarchal bargain and the politics of reproduction.

Specific Objectives

1. To determine the sociodemographic characteristics of women who participated in collective action against alcohol abuse in Narok West Sub-County.
2. To analyze the association between women's exposure to alcohol-related harms (including domestic violence and reproductive health consequences) and their participation in anti-alcohol protest activities.
3. To identify the latent motivational dimensions and key predictors of women's collective action against alcohol abuse in Narok West Sub-County.

Research Questions

4. What are the sociodemographic profiles of women who engaged in collective action against alcohol abuse in Narok West Sub-County, Kenya?

5. What is the association between women's exposure to alcohol-related domestic violence and reproductive health harms and their participation in anti-alcohol protest activities?
6. What latent motivational dimensions and individual-level predictors best explain women's engagement in collective action against alcohol abuse in Narok West Sub-County?

METHODOLOGY

This study adopted a cross-sectional survey design embedded within a mixed-methods research framework, combining quantitative statistical analysis with theoretically informed conceptual interpretation. The study population comprised women aged 18 years and above residing in Narok West Sub-County who had either participated in anti-alcohol protest activities or lived in communities directly affected by alcohol-related harm during the preceding 24 months. A sample size of 300 respondents was determined using Yamane's (1967) formula at a 95% confidence level and a $\pm 5\%$ margin of error, and respondents were recruited through a combination of purposive and stratified random sampling across six administrative wards of the sub-county, ensuring representation across rural, peri-urban, and market-centre settings. A structured, pre-tested questionnaire with Likert-scale, dichotomous, and categorical items was administered by trained enumerators between October and December 2024. Data were entered and cleaned in SPSS Version 27.0 and analyzed at four statistical levels. First, univariate analysis was conducted through frequency distributions, percentages, measures of central tendency (mean, median), and measures of dispersion (standard deviation, range) to generate sociodemographic profiles of the respondents, with results presented in frequency tables and descriptive statistics. Second, bivariate analysis was performed using Pearson's chi-square (χ^2) tests of independence to assess statistically significant associations between categorical predictor variables — including age group, marital status, education level, occupation, income bracket, alcohol harm exposure, women's group membership, and domestic violence experience — and the binary outcome variable (participation in anti-alcohol protest: yes/no); a significance threshold of $p < 0.05$ was applied, with phi and Cramér's V coefficients computed as measures of effect size to contextualize the magnitude of observed associations. Third, exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with principal component analysis (PCA) was conducted on a battery of 13 theoretically derived items measuring collective grievance, patriarchal bargaining, and reproductive harm, following Bartlett's test of sphericity ($\chi^2 = 1,847.32$, $p < 0.001$) and Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) sampling adequacy verification (KMO = 0.871), which confirmed the factorability of the correlation matrix; factors were extracted using eigenvalue-greater-than-one criterion and rotated using Varimax rotation to achieve simple structure, with factor loadings ≥ 0.40 considered substantively meaningful, and communalities inspected to assess item-level variance explained by the retained components. Fourth, binary logistic regression analysis was employed to model the probability of protest participation as a function of significant predictors from the bivariate stage and the three PCA-derived component scores, with model fit assessed through the Hosmer-Lemeshow goodness-of-fit test, Cox and Snell R^2 , Nagelkerke R^2 , and the $-2 \log$ -likelihood statistic; odds ratios (OR) with 95% confidence intervals (CI) were reported for each predictor to quantify the relative contribution of each variable to the likelihood of collective action participation, and multicollinearity was evaluated through variance inflation factors (VIF) to ensure the stability of regression coefficients. Ethical approval was obtained from the relevant institutional review board, informed consent was secured from all participants, and anonymity was maintained throughout data collection and reporting (Nelson et al., 2022, 2023).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Respondents

Table 1: Sociodemographic Characteristics of Study Respondents (n = 300)

Variable	Category	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Age Group	18–25 years	42	14.0
	26–35 years	89	29.7
	36–45 years	104	34.7
	46–55 years	45	15.0
	56+ years	20	6.7
Marital Status	Married	196	65.3
	Single/Never married	54	18.0
	Widowed	32	10.7
	Divorced/Separated	18	6.0
Education Level	No formal education	38	12.7
	Primary education	112	37.3
	Secondary education	98	32.7
	Tertiary/Higher	52	17.3
Occupation	Subsistence farmer	134	44.7
	Petty trader/market vendor	72	24.0
	Employed (formal)	44	14.7
	Unemployed/Housewife	50	16.7

Household Income (KES/month)	Below 5,000	88	29.3
	5,001–10,000	117	39.0
	10,001–20,000	64	21.3
	Above 20,000	31	10.3
Total		300	100.0

The univariate analysis of sociodemographic characteristics presented in Table 1 revealed that the study sample was predominantly constituted by women in the middle-adult age cohort, with 34.7% of respondents falling within the 36–45 years age bracket, followed by 29.7% in the 26–35 years category, indicating a concentration of participation among women who were likely to have established households and dependent children. The dominance of married women (65.3%) in the sample is statistically noteworthy, as it positions marital status not merely as a demographic descriptor but as a structural condition that shaped women's exposure to alcohol-related household harm; married women in patriarchal settings like Narok West frequently bear primary responsibility for household provisioning and child welfare, making them disproportionately vulnerable to the economic and relational disruptions caused by male alcohol abuse. Education levels were skewed toward lower attainment, with 37.3% holding only primary education and 12.7% reporting no formal schooling, suggesting that the women most active in anti-alcohol protest were drawn from populations with limited access to formal political and economic participation channels, for whom collective street-level action may represent one of the few available modalities of civic engagement. The occupational distribution further reinforced the economic vulnerability of the study population: 44.7% were subsistence farmers and 16.7% were unemployed or categorized as housewives, with only 14.7% in formal employment. Income data confirmed this precarity, with 39.0% earning between KES 5,001–10,000 monthly and 29.3% earning below KES 5,000, placing the substantial majority of respondents below Kenya's informal-sector poverty threshold.

These descriptive findings carry important theoretical implications when situated within the framework of the patriarchal bargain. The fact that protest participants were disproportionately married, middle-aged, economically marginalized women with limited formal education coheres with Kandiyoti's (1988) theorization of the conditions under which women are most likely to engage in bargaining strategies rather than direct challenges to patriarchal systems: these are women whose material security is most directly tied to the integrity of the household unit and who therefore have the strongest structural incentives to mobilize against threats — such as male alcohol abuse — that undermine that security. The data also speak to what feminist political economists have theorized as the feminization of responsibility: as male incomes are increasingly absorbed by alcohol expenditure, women's already unpaid reproductive labor intensifies, creating a cumulative burden that eventually crosses the threshold of collective political response. The relatively high proportion of subsistence farmers (44.7%) in the protest constituency is particularly significant, as farming women in agro-pastoral economies like Narok West are uniquely exposed to the dual burden of productive and reproductive labor disruption caused by alcohol abuse — a dynamic that may explain the strong occupational patterning of protest participation observed in subsequent bivariate analysis.

Bivariate Analysis: Association Between Sociodemographic Variables and Protest Participation

Table 2: Chi-Square Analysis of Association Between Key Variables and Protest Participation

Variable	Participated in Protest Yes (%)	Participated in Protest No (%)	Chi-Square (χ^2)	df	p-value
Age Group (36–45 years)	71.2	28.8	14.37	4	0.006**
Marital Status (Married)	68.4	31.6	11.82	3	0.008**
Education (Primary & below)	73.1	26.9	9.54	3	0.023*
Occupation (Subsistence farmer)	77.6	22.4	18.91	3	0.000***
Income (Below KES 10,000)	74.3	25.7	16.44	3	0.001***
Directly affected by alcohol harm	84.7	15.3	29.18	1	0.000***
Member of women's group	81.3	18.7	24.67	1	0.000***
Experienced domestic violence	79.2	20.8	22.34	1	0.000***

The bivariate chi-square analysis presented in Table 2 identified statistically significant associations between protest participation and all eight predictor variables examined, though the magnitude and substantive significance of these associations varied considerably across categories. The strongest associations were observed for direct alcohol harm exposure ($\chi^2 = 29.18$, $df = 1$, $p <$

0.001), membership in women's groups ($\chi^2 = 24.67$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$), and experience of domestic violence ($\chi^2 = 22.34$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$), all of which attained p-values well below the 0.001 threshold, indicating highly robust statistical relationships that are extremely unlikely to be attributable to sampling error. Among women who directly experienced alcohol-related harm, 84.7% reported participation in anti-alcohol protest compared to only 15.3% who did not protest — a differential of nearly 70 percentage points that underscores the centrality of personal harm experience as a driver of political mobilization. Similarly striking was the association between women's group membership and protest, with 81.3% of group members participating compared to only 18.7% of non-members, a finding consistent with resource mobilization theory's emphasis on organizational infrastructure as a prerequisite for sustained collective action. Occupational status also yielded a highly significant association ($\chi^2 = 18.91$, $p < 0.001$), with 77.6% of subsistence farmers having participated in protest, reinforcing the descriptive finding of an economically vulnerable protest constituency. Income level and marital status produced significant but slightly less powerful associations ($p = 0.001$ and $p = 0.008$, respectively), while educational attainment generated the weakest significant association among the variables examined ($\chi^2 = 9.54$, $p = 0.023$), suggesting that formal education is a less powerful predictor of protest participation in this context than structural economic vulnerability.

These bivariate findings offer important insights into the mobilization dynamics of women's collective action in Narok West and resonate strongly with theoretical frameworks drawn from both social movement studies and feminist political analysis. The primacy of direct harm exposure as a predictor of protest participation aligns with relative deprivation theory's proposition that individuals are most likely to engage in collective political action when they experience a gap between expected and actual conditions — in this case, between the normative expectations of household security and the lived reality of alcohol-induced impoverishment and violence. The powerful predictive role of women's group membership is equally theoretically significant: it suggests that existing social capital and organizational networks — the merry-go-round associations, church groups, and cooperative societies that densely populate the social landscape of rural Narok — function as critical mobilization infrastructure, lowering the costs of collective action and providing the solidarity resources necessary for sustained engagement. This finding also has important implications for the patriarchal bargain framework: women's groups in this context appeared to operate not as spaces of radical feminist consciousness-raising but as platforms through which women with shared grievances could coordinate pragmatic responses to threats to household welfare, thereby operating within the moral legitimacy afforded by their domestic roles even as they exercised significant collective political power. The association between domestic violence experience and protest participation (79.2% vs. 20.8%) further links the bivariate results to the politics of reproduction framework, positioning the body as a site of both vulnerability and political resistance.

Factor Analysis and Principal Component Analysis: Motivational Dimensions of Protest

Table 3: Rotated Component Matrix — Principal Component Analysis of Protest Motivation Items (n = 300)

Item / Indicator	Component 1 Collective Grievance	Component 2 Patriarchal Bargain	Component 3 Reproductive Harm	Communality (h ²)
Loss of family income to alcohol	0.847	0.123	0.145	0.754
Domestic violence by intoxicated partner	0.821	0.198	0.201	0.748
Inability to meet children's school fees	0.809	0.091	0.188	0.703
Food insecurity linked to alcohol spending	0.796	0.107	0.214	0.699
Social humiliation in public spaces	0.744	0.234	0.098	0.622
Tolerance of male drinking as norm	0.112	0.874	0.133	0.790
Fear of being labelled 'disobedient wife'	0.197	0.841	0.156	0.762
Using protest to secure household security	0.231	0.812	0.098	0.726
Negotiating within traditional gender roles	0.098	0.798	0.102	0.651
Miscarriage attributed to partner's violence	0.189	0.143	0.887	0.831
Children with poor birth outcomes	0.201	0.117	0.862	0.791
Disrupted prenatal care access	0.215	0.098	0.834	0.749

Mental health burden on pregnant women	0.253	0.201	0.811	0.736
Eigenvalue	4.81	3.27	2.94	—
% Variance Explained	37.0%	25.2%	22.6%	84.8%

The principal component analysis presented in Table 3 yielded a clean three-component solution that collectively explained 84.8% of the total variance in the 13-item motivation battery, a proportion that substantially exceeds the conventional 60–70% adequacy threshold and indicates a highly parsimonious and well-fitting factor structure. The first component, labeled Collective Grievance, was defined by five items with factor loadings ranging from 0.744 to 0.847, all of which captured the material and social harms inflicted on households by male alcohol abuse: loss of family income ($\lambda = 0.847$), domestic violence by intoxicated partners ($\lambda = 0.821$), children's school fee deficits ($\lambda = 0.809$), food insecurity ($\lambda = 0.796$), and social humiliation ($\lambda = 0.744$). With an eigenvalue of 4.81 and 37.0% of total variance, this component emerged as the dominant motivational structure underlying protest participation, suggesting that the immediate, tangible, material consequences of alcohol abuse — rather than abstract gender ideological commitments — constituted the primary engine of collective mobilization. The second component, Patriarchal Bargain, captured four items (eigenvalue = 3.27, 25.2% variance) related to women's strategic navigation of gender norms: tolerance of male drinking as a cultural norm ($\lambda = 0.874$), fear of being labelled a disobedient wife ($\lambda = 0.841$), using protest to secure household security ($\lambda = 0.812$), and negotiating within traditional gender roles ($\lambda = 0.798$). The high loadings on this component confirm the theoretical utility of the patriarchal bargain concept for this context: women's protest was motivated partly by a calculated effort to achieve household security outcomes through means that were legitimated by — rather than in opposition to — prevailing gender norms. The third component, Reproductive Harm (eigenvalue = 2.94, 22.6% variance), was defined by four items capturing the bodily and reproductive consequences of alcohol-related violence: miscarriage attributed to partner violence ($\lambda = 0.887$), children's poor birth outcomes ($\lambda = 0.862$), disrupted prenatal care access ($\lambda = 0.834$), and mental health burden during pregnancy ($\lambda = 0.811$).

The three-component structure produced by PCA has substantial theoretical and empirical significance beyond its statistical properties. The emergence of a distinct Reproductive Harm factor as a third independent motivational dimension — rather than merely a subset of the broader collective grievance structure — validates the analytical utility of the politics of reproduction framework as a theoretically autonomous lens for understanding women's anti-alcohol activism. That women's bodily reproductive experiences (miscarriage, disrupted prenatal care, perinatal mental health) cluster separately from general household economic grievances suggests that reproductive harm constitutes a distinctive mobilizing force with its own phenomenological and political logic: women's experiences of pregnancy loss and obstetric harm in contexts of domestic violence represent a form of intimate injury that generates a qualitatively different kind of political urgency than the loss of household income, even though both are proximately caused by male alcohol abuse. The communality statistics further support the adequacy of the three-component solution, with all 13 items achieving communality values above 0.62, indicating that the retained components accounted for a substantial proportion of each item's variance and that no item was underrepresented in the extracted solution. The Varimax rotation successfully achieved simple structure, with all items loading cleanly on a single primary component and cross-loadings remaining below 0.26 — a result that enhances the interpretive distinctiveness of the three factors and supports their use as independent predictors in subsequent logistic regression modeling.

6.5 Binary Logistic Regression: Predictors of Collective Action Participation

Table 4: Binary Logistic Regression — Predictors of Women's Participation in Anti-Alcohol Protest (n = 300)

Predictor Variable	B (Coeff.)	S.E.	Wald χ^2	OR (Exp B)	95% CI	p-value
Age (36–45 years) [ref: 18–25]	0.712	0.231	9.50	2.038	1.29–3.21	0.002**
Married [ref: single]	0.634	0.244	6.74	1.885	1.17–3.04	0.009**
Primary education [ref: none]	0.421	0.198	4.52	1.524	1.03–2.25	0.033*
Subsistence farmer [ref: employed]	0.923	0.267	11.96	2.517	1.49–4.25	0.001***
Income below KES 10,000 [ref: above]	0.814	0.239	11.61	2.257	1.41–3.61	0.001***
Direct alcohol harm exposure	1.247	0.312	15.97	3.480	1.89–6.41	0.000***
Member of women's group	1.189	0.298	15.93	3.284	1.83–5.90	0.000***
Collective grievance score (Comp. 1)	0.967	0.214	20.43	2.630	1.73–3.99	0.000***
Patriarchal bargain score (Comp. 2)	0.741	0.221	11.24	2.098	1.36–3.23	0.001***
Reproductive harm score (Comp. 3)	0.882	0.227	15.10	2.416	1.55–3.77	0.000***

Constant	-3.412	0.521	42.89	0.033	—	0.000***
<i>Model Fit: Cox & Snell R² = 0.412; Nagelkerke R² = 0.558; -2LL = 231.47; $\chi^2(11) = 148.32, p < 0.001$</i>						

The binary logistic regression model presented in Table 4 achieved a highly satisfactory fit, as evidenced by the Nagelkerke R² of 0.558, indicating that the model explained approximately 55.8% of the variance in protest participation, and the overall model chi-square ($\chi^2(11) = 148.32, p < 0.001$), which confirmed that the predictor set significantly improved upon the null model's predictive capacity. The Hosmer-Lemeshow test (not shown in table) yielded a non-significant result ($p = 0.427$), confirming adequate model fit to the observed data. Among the predictor variables, the three PCA-derived component scores emerged as particularly powerful predictors of protest participation. The Collective Grievance score registered the highest OR among the component-level predictors (OR = 2.630, 95% CI: 1.73–3.99, $p < 0.001$), indicating that a one-unit increase in the collective grievance composite score more than doubled the odds of protest participation while holding all other variables constant. The Reproductive Harm score produced an OR of 2.416 (95% CI: 1.55–3.77, $p < 0.001$), confirming that experiences of reproductive harm — miscarriage, disrupted prenatal care, perinatal mental health burden — represented a powerful independent predictor of collective mobilization beyond the explanatory reach of general household grievance. The Patriarchal Bargain score (OR = 2.098, 95% CI: 1.36–3.23, $p = 0.001$) also significantly predicted participation, validating the theoretical proposition that women who more strongly navigated gender norms instrumentally — using protest as a legitimated tool for securing household welfare rather than as an ideological challenge to patriarchy — were substantially more likely to participate in collective action. Among individual sociodemographic predictors, membership in women's groups generated the highest odds ratio in the model (OR = 3.284, 95% CI: 1.83–5.90, $p < 0.001$), while direct alcohol harm exposure produced an OR of 3.480 (95% CI: 1.89–6.41, $p < 0.001$) — the single strongest predictor in the entire model — underscoring the role of personal victimization as a catalyst for political action.

The logistic regression findings collectively advance the theoretical contributions of this study in important ways. First, the model's high explanatory power (Nagelkerke R² = 0.558) with a combination of sociodemographic variables and theoretically derived factor scores demonstrates the analytical value of integrating structural and motivational predictors within a single parsimonious model, rather than treating social position and political motivation as analytically separate. Second, the fact that direct alcohol harm exposure (OR = 3.480) emerged as the strongest individual predictor in the model — exceeding even women's group membership (OR = 3.284) — challenges purely structural mobilization theories that would predict organizational resources to be the primary driver of participation; in Narok West, lived experience of harm appears to constitute a more powerful motivational force than organizational infrastructure, suggesting that grievance-based mobilization operates through a logic of moral injury as much as through rational calculation of collective benefits. Third, the sustained significance of the Patriarchal Bargain component score (OR = 2.098, $p = 0.001$) after controlling for all other predictors provides the clearest statistical evidence to date that the patriarchal bargain framework has genuine predictive validity in this African rural context — women who exhibited stronger instrumental orientation toward gender norms were meaningfully more likely to participate in protest, a finding that aligns with and empirically validates the theoretical tradition extending from Kandiyoti (1988) through more recent African feminist scholarship. The 95% confidence intervals for all significant predictors excluded 1.0, and VIF diagnostics (all < 2.4) confirmed the absence of problematic multicollinearity, lending additional confidence to the stability and reliability of the reported odds ratios.

CONCLUSION

This study has demonstrated, through a rigorous multi-level statistical analysis of 300 women in Narok West Sub-County, that women's collective action against alcohol abuse in this context constitutes a theoretically complex, empirically distinguishable, and politically significant form of gendered subaltern politics. The univariate findings established that the protest constituency was disproportionately composed of married, middle-aged, economically marginalized women from subsistence farming households — a social profile that reflects the structural conditions of vulnerability that alcohol abuse most acutely exacerbates. Bivariate chi-square analysis confirmed robust associations between protest participation and key predictors including direct alcohol harm exposure, women's group membership, and domestic violence experience, while principal component analysis identified three discrete motivational dimensions — collective grievance, patriarchal bargaining, and reproductive harm — that together accounted for 84.8% of the total variance in women's protest motivation and validated the concurrent explanatory utility of both the patriarchal bargain and politics of reproduction frameworks. The binary logistic regression model, which explained 55.8% of the variance in protest participation, revealed that direct alcohol harm exposure and women's group membership were the strongest individual predictors of collective action, while all three PCA component scores independently and significantly predicted participation after controlling for sociodemographic confounders. Taken together, these findings confirm that women's anti-alcohol protests in Narok West were neither simple moral conservatism nor straightforward feminist resistance, but rather a strategic, harm-driven, structurally embedded form of collective agency in which women leveraged the moral authority of their domestic roles to achieve redistributive household outcomes — a form of political action whose significance demands recognition within both academic frameworks of African social movements and practical frameworks of gender-responsive public health and alcohol policy in Kenya.

RECOMMENDATIONS

County and national alcohol-reduction policies in Narok County should be redesigned using a gender-responsive framework that formally incorporates women's collective action organizations as co-designers and implementing partners, recognizing that women's lived experience of alcohol-related harm constitutes a critical evidence base currently absent from top-down regulatory approaches; specifically, the Narok County Government should establish a Women's Alcohol Harm Advisory Committee drawing from existing women's group networks to ensure that the perspectives of the most affected constituencies directly inform licensing regulations, enforcement priorities, and community rehabilitation programmes.

Given the study's finding that reproductive harm constitutes a statistically independent and powerful driver of collective mobilization (OR = 2.416, $p < 0.001$), reproductive and maternal health service providers operating in Narok West — including county health facilities, community health volunteers, and NGO partners — should systematically integrate alcohol-related domestic violence screening into antenatal care protocols, ensuring that pregnant women experiencing alcohol-induced violence are connected to both health services and women's collective support networks, and that aggregated data on alcohol-attributable reproductive harm are reported to county policy forums as advocacy evidence.

Development organizations and government agencies investing in women's empowerment in Narok West should prioritize the strengthening of existing women's group infrastructure — through capacity building, legal registration support, small grants, and leadership training — recognizing, as the regression findings demonstrated (OR = 3.284, $p < 0.001$), that women's group membership is the single most powerful organizational predictor of collective action participation; strengthening these networks will not only enhance women's capacity for sustained anti-alcohol activism but will simultaneously advance the broader goals of economic empowerment, social protection, and civic participation for which women's organizations in peri-rural Kenya are already proven delivery mechanisms.

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