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*Full Length Research Paper*

# **Factors influencing women participation in political leadership- the case of kimilili constituency of bungoma county, Kenya**

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Politics is almost everywhere a male-oriented, male-dominated enterprise. Even though women in most countries have been in all legal respects politically equal to men for over forty years, sex differences in political participation are enormous. This study therefore sort to assess the “factors influencing women participation in political leadership” a case of Kimilili Constituency of Bungoma County. This study highlights the deep-seated culture that define women primarily as wives and mothers, with electoral politics seen as an appropriate activity for men, but less so for women. The project has explored the ways in which gender roles hindered the supply of, and demand for, women in the politics of Kenya moreover Kimilili constituency. It has also discussed how lack of finances, low women educational level and political factors influenced women's political participation in Kenya and moreover Kimilili. The study found out that women in Kimilili constituency are ignorant of their rights and moreover patriarchal system is still a hindrance of women participation in political leadership. Due to social-cultural, economic, education and political factors, found to influence women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency the researcher recommended that changing culture to suit the political needs of women would be a very challenging option to carry forward in Kimilili. It is not an issue which is solvable overnight; hence women's participation in politics should be actively pursued by women. The Kenyan system has provided opportunities for women to show their capabilities. It is not the changing of culture; however, it is how one uses the available opportunities to be visible in eyes and ears of the chiefs, elders and heads of families. One has to use the opportunities given by culture to have an effect and inform changes to culture. The interest to carry out this research was prompted by the fact that participation in politics is a way of life for all human beings regardless of their gender, religion, class or ethnic background, however politics has predominantly been dominated by the male, despite the fact that women form a big percentage of the population and are the majority of voters in Kimilili Constituency. It's so amazing that Kenya moreover Kimilili has potential women who can be leaders or even presidents of this country Kenya, but they aren't, the question is why? Therefore, this formed the need for this research. The research was conducted using a descriptive survey research design and the data was collected using interview guide where five women aspirants and six key informants were interviewed, questionnaires were also employed on men and women in eight wards of Kimilili constituency selected through purposive sampling and proportionate stratified sampling technique from the accessible population. It was analyzed using SPSS and presented in tables. The hypothesis was tested using Pearson Chi-square at 95% level of confidence. Pilot study was conducted using test re-test method to test the viability and reliability of the questionnaire administered.

**Keywords:** women participating in political leadership, kimilili constituency of bungoma county, Kenya.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### Background of the study

Despite the remarkable progress of women in many professions, politics is not one of them. Indeed, around the world, women have been conspicuous by their absence in decision and policy making in government. When the United Nations First Conference on women was held in Mexico City in 1975, the international community was reminded that discrimination against women remained a persistent problem in many countries; and even though governments were called upon to develop strategies to promote the equal participation of women, political participation was not identified as a priority. Since then, though there has been an increasing focus on women's representation and their impact on decision-making structures, the increased attention did not reflect in immediate results. For example, in 1975 women accounted for 10.9 per cent of parliamentarians worldwide; ten years later it increased by one mere percentage point to 11.9 per cent. (By Theo-Ben Gurirab, Pia Cayetano 25.02.2010). What is puzzling is that the women entering into political sphere is still slow as per June 2008 report women only occupy 18% of parliamentary seats around the world, with regional averages of the percentage of women in parliament vary greatly: Nordic countries - 41.4%; Americas - 21.8%; Europe (excluding Nordic countries) - 19.1%; Asia - 17.4%; Sub-Saharan Africa - 17.2%; Pacific - 13.4% and Arab states - 9.6%; (Inter-parliamentary Union 2008; Global Database of Quotas for women).

One may ask why is there few women entering the political sphere and why is there variation across the countries in the world? The common explanation is that culture, religion and patriarchal structures limit the women participation into political leadership.

Countries such as Sweden, Argentina, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda have made remarkable progress in the political representation (Paxton, 1997). Unfortunately this is not the case for many countries where the pace has been very slow, And some population, Religions, government remain openly hostile to the notion of women in political leadership.

Women in India constitute nearly half the population of the country, but they are poorly represented in the various governance and decision making bodies. The position depicted through the 14 general elections so far reflects a low representation of women in Parliament, State legislatures, in political parties and other decision-making bodies. Less than 8% of Parliamentary seats, less than 6% Cabinet positions, less than 4% of seats in High Courts and the Supreme Court, have been occupied by women. Less than 3% of the administrators and managers are

women. The average percentage of women's representation in the Parliament, Assemblies and Council of Ministers taken together has been around 10%. (UNIFEM: 2000). Women in India raised the issue of representation in politics first in 1917. At that time it was basically a demand for universal adult franchise and political participation. By 1930 women had gained the Right to vote, which initially benefited women from elite families.

Women's involvement in struggles for political and civil rights in India were however sought to be linked to nationalist movements in alliance with males against the common foreign enemy. In any case women's involvement in nationalist struggles changed their lives in that even though they were denied equal opportunities to shape the new state, they gained constitutional and legal rights. But even after the right to vote became a reality for all women, their representation in the parliament, political parties and other decision making bodies remained low even after independence, and after the Indian Constitution came into force in 1950. (Susheela Kaushik: 1993:1996, Veena Mazumdar: 1993). A few women no doubt attained positions as members of parliament and state legislatures and as leaders of opposition, etc. mostly through family dynasties or through male political patronage. However, the percentage of women in legislatures and decision making positions always remained low. Women do not share the power of decision-making and are not involved in policy making in Indian democracy in proportion to their numerical strength. Thus there is a gap between the formal idea of women's participation and their meaningful use of power. (SusheelaKaushik: 1993).

The quest for greater political representation of women is, therefore, still relevant. (Asha Kapur Mehta et al: 2001) Women in India have lesser opportunities of public influence or for entering politics. Women also lack opportunities to move within the hierarchies without patronage of male leaders or mentors. The women's wings of political parties may have given visibility to women in the form of a platform for participation rather than integrating them into central power structures. Women do not have necessary resources to enter and compete in contemporary political arena. Thus improved social indicators in development graphs may not automatically ease women's access to political power or improve political participation and representation. They do not necessarily translate into collective gains nor sustained political power. Of course the scope for women's public activism varies across class, caste and region in India. The effectiveness of women's participation also depends on the local configuration of power and cultural environment apart from

problems of poverty, illiteracy, lack of economic resources, negative social and legal environments, family and household pressures, male dominated bureaucracy and politicians that the women face (Basu Amrita, 1992).

The government of Rwanda has demonstrated political commitment at the highest level of leadership in pursuit of its goal of promoting gender equality in democratic governance and political decision-making. This commitment by the RPA government, which came to power in the elections following the 1994 genocide, is to transform Rwanda into a peaceful and prosperous country where the rule of law and human rights are respected. Rwanda's new constitution, adopted in May 2003, reference CEDAW and commits to representation of women at least 30%. This quota has been met and surpassed, as women now hold nearly 49% of parliamentary seats, a greater proportion than in any other parliament worldwide. This could at least partially be attributed to the fact that women in government are now perceived by Rwandans as more approachable and trustworthy politicians than their male counterparts. They are also perceived as being better at forgiveness, reconciliation and post-conflict peace building (Jodi Enda, 2003).

In 1995, Uganda took a bold step to protect and enforce the rights of groups of people who had been marginalized in previous government systems. It put affirmative action for women, youth, and people with disabilities, within the Local Government Act of 1997, and subsequent bills and laws, has rapidly changed the decision-making environment, opening up opportunities for women in particular to enter into political leadership (UWONET, 1998). For example Uganda was one of the African countries to have a woman vice president. There are also ministers and other women heading departments in the system. The government has initiated policies that encourage women to actively enter and participate in politics; it has established institutions that directly affect the political life of women and also allows them to access those structures where political power is concentrated. Positions are reserved for women in the councils and at the national level, while other women compete with men and win on their own merit (Uganda government printer 1993). But however Uganda just like many other countries, women are faced by many challenges such as; limited command of language, cultural factors that instill fear in them, illiteracy, men's fears over power gender relations and women's domestic and reproductive activities that limit their mobility and take most of their time leaving very limited time in the public sphere (Mwaka, 1996)

In Kenya women, who form a majority of the population (52%), play an active and significant part in the development of the Kenyan society. Kenya is a patriarchal society and the status of women is relatively low with gender inequality/inequity prevailing in many aspects of the Kenyan society. Yet they remain marginalized and

discriminated upon, a situation that is reinforced by existing laws and policies as well as prevailing social-cultural factors. In 2007, a constitutional amendment that would have created 50 special seats for women in parliament was thrown out due to lack of quorum to vote on it. (Parliament Hansard, 2007)

Some members of parliament have stated that creating special seats for women in parliament does not comprehensively ensure political equality between genders, arguing that women must strive to win more elective positions (Hansard 2007). But female candidates who have attempted this in Kenya face a lot of obstacles, lack of resources to campaign, inadequate information about electorate, lack of support from the political parties and even they are rejected by the community because of cultural factors that depict women to be subordinates.

Kimilili constituency has a total population of 320,300 inhabitants. It consists of thirteen wards and these are; Mbakalo, Maeni, Naitiri, Tongaren, Kibengei, Kimilili north, Kimilili south, Kamukuywa, Kabuyefwe, Soysambu, Kiminini, Milima and Ndalu ward of Bungoma County (statoids of Kenya). With the high population of women in Kimilili with 51.4% and being the majority members, women have not successfully been participating in political leadership, which raises a lot of concern. Since the formation of Kimilili constituency in 1988 no woman has tried to contest for the parliamentary position until 2007, when one woman tried to contest as a member of parliament in Kimilili constituency and was not successful. The situation in the civic leadership is not any different with one woman from Kabuyefwe ward who contested for the post and she was successful although with a lot of criticisms and struggle.

### Statement of the problem

In a continent full of patriarchal societies, Kenya is no exception: Even though the country – having East Africa's strongest economy – likes to view itself as the leading power of the region and has modern, internationally networked institutions, Kenya's politics remains dominated by men – and old men (Kamau, 2003). Kenya remains greatly challenged with regard to women's ascendancy into public political leadership positions. Currently, the Kenyan parliament has only about 10 percent women representation, trailing far behind the global average of 18.8 per cent women representation in parliaments (Nzomo, 2003). Some African countries have already attained the critical mass threshold of 33 per cent women's representation in decision making, current statistics in Kenya and Kimilili constituency affirm this situation. Over the past decade, all the countries in the East African region have overtaken Kenya on all measures of gender equality indices. In particular, Rwanda has rapidly recovered from genocide to become the leading country in the region and

the world on its gender parity index, currently standing at 56 per cent women parliamentary representation (Nzomo, 2003).

The dismal performance of Kenya in regard to women's participation in political leadership, despite having pioneered and provided leadership to the post-1990 multi-party women empowerment programmes in the East African region, continues to raise concern both at the level of theory and praxis. Globally, the basic constraints women face as they attempt to participate in politics, though occurring in varying magnitudes in different countries, tend to be broadly similar. It has been argued that Kenya has some unique aspects that continue to keep the numbers of women in politics low, such as lack of an affirmative action law, and the gender insensitive male political culture, which continues to dominate key social and political institutions. This issue requires further interrogation.

Research done by the researcher has shown that no woman has taken part in political leadership especially in parliamentary position in Kimilili constituency since the formation of Kimilili constituency in 1988. In 2007, only one woman from Milima ward attempted to vie for parliamentary seat in Kimilili constituency but was not successful, while in civic seat only one woman managed to be nominated by the political party and lucky enough she was elected at the end. The common factors that limit women participation in political leadership are culture, poverty and patriarchal structures although they are other moderating factors that the researcher did not have control on such as lobbying, ideologies, place of residence, partnership and networking that also limit women participation in the public sphere.

This research study strives to address the factors influencing women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency and provides women with helpful references which can be used to empower women to participate in political leadership.

### **Purpose of the study**

The purpose of the study was to establish the factors influencing women participation in political leadership the case of Kimilili constituency of Bungoma County.

### **Objectives of the study**

The broad objective of this study was to determine the factors influencing women participation in political leadership in Kimilili constituency of Bungoma County, Kenya.

The specific objectives were fourfold:

1. To examine how economic factor influence women participation in political leadership.

2. To establish the influence of education on women participation in political leadership.

3. To examine how cultural factors influence women participation in political leadership.

4. To identify how political factors influence women participation in political leadership.

### **Research questions**

The study attempted to address the following research questions which correspond to the research objective of the study:

1. To what extent does the economical factor influence women participation in political leadership?

2. To what degree did education influence women participation in political leadership?

3. How did culture influence women participation in political leadership?

4. To what extent did politics influence women participation in political leadership?

### **Research Hypothesis**

The research tested the following hypothesis:

H1: There is no relationship between education and women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency of Bungoma County, Kenya.

H2: There is relationship between education and women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency of Bungoma County, Kenya

### **Basic Assumptions of the study**

This study was based on two basic assumptions:

1. The respondents will be willing to spare time to respond to the items in the questionnaire in order to provide vital information for the research.

2. All respondents were able to understand either Kiswahili or English language.

### **Significance of the study**

From the literature review, the role of women in Kenyan electoral politics remains dimly low even by regional standards, and further minimal studies have been done on factors influencing participation in political leadership this situation in Kenya. Various factors were identified such as culture, education, religion; however these factors are not the same everywhere in the world.

The findings of the study sort clarity on factors that had influenced women participation in political leadership. The study intends to be useful to the government and an eye opener to the major stakeholders on factors that has

influenced women participation in political leadership and what should be done to solve it.

The study also intended to serve as a future reference not only for beneficiaries in Kimilili constituency, but to other areas where the study has been poor and for other researchers who like to know about factors influencing women participation in political leadership.

### Delimitations of the study

The study was limited to the neighboring eight wards of Kimilili Constituency. The reasons for this are:

1. The larger Kimilili constituency was too large for the researcher to travel all over the Constituency.
2. The chosen eight wards of Kimilili Constituency are the largest wards in Kimilili Constituency and have a heterogeneous population which ensures a wide spread of potential respondents to the study.
3. The cost and time required to conduct the study was lower because the study was limited to a restricted geographic area.

### Limitation of the study

Kimilili being cosmopolitan, the settlers were not from one tribe and therefore key informants mostly being outsiders (come from outside) Kimilili and were not able to reveal some of the important information asked, especially cultural factors.

Due to limited funds the researcher and research assistant were not able to distribute the questionnaires to all the corners of Kimilili Constituency. Thus the reached respondents were the representation of the target population. Most participants demanded for money before responding to the questionnaires. Means of transport was also poor and difficult since the roads were all muddy and impassible due to heavy rains. Within the context and in spite of these constraints, considerable efforts were made not to allow these challenges to compromise the quality of the report produced and also to ensure that the overall objectives and intended purposes were achieved.

### Definition of significant terms

In this chapter, the researcher has defined key terms/concepts that have been used in this study.

**Aspirant:** A person who intends to vie for a political seat either a County representative, Member of parliament, Governor, Senate or President.

**Civic Aspirant:** A person who tried to contest for county, ward or municipality

**Constituency:** The geographical area represented by a member of parliament in Kenya

**Culture:** Is the complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs and all other capabilities

and habits acquired by men and women as a member of society

**Leadership:** The capacity of an individual to influence, motivate, and makes others capable of contributing to the efficiency and success of Constitution they belong to.

**Member of Parliament:** A person elected or nominated to represent his/her constituency in parliament.

**Participation:** Participation to this research is representation of women in political leadership such as in the Wards, County and Constituency.

**Patriarchy:** Is men domination and men orientation system, in all aspects of life being it cultural, political or economic.

**Poverty:** Going short materially, socially and emotionally. Lack of basic needs

### Organization of the report

The chapter one presents the background of the study where the researcher outlined the study objectives, the problem, purpose of the study and objectives of the study. It has also stated the research questions, research hypotheses, basic assumptions and the significance of the study. The limitation and delimitation are also addressed and lastly it gives definitions of significant terms. Chapter two of this report gives an outline of the literature review in relation to factors influencing women participation in political leadership. These include economic, educational, cultural and political factors. Chapter three explains the research design which was employed, which was descriptive survey research design; this allowed in-depth investigation on the factors influencing women participation in political leadership. The methods of data collection are also explained, which are mainly questionnaire and interview schedule and data analysis. Chapter four presents data analysis and finally chapter five presents the summary of the research findings, discussion of the findings, conclusion, recommendation and finally suggestions for further studies.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### INTRODUCTION

Women's participation in politics cannot be isolated from their overall socio-economic status, the following factors in particular: Women usually do not have equal access with men to the means for participation, such as the enabling skills acquired through education and training or controlling the means of production or access to the information media, including the new communications technologies. They often do not have decision-making power within the household to translate into the public sphere; in many

developing countries, their possessions, including land and other collateral, are legally the property of their husbands, fathers or sons. For this very reason, they have not been able to overcome gender biases and other barriers that obstruct their access to political decision-making. And in that case women who want to enter into politics find that the political, public, cultural, economic and social environment are often unfriendly or even hostile to them. This review thus presented an overview of research on factors influencing women participation in political leadership. Focus was on research from other countries and relate their argument to the Kenyan context. This discussion has mainly revolved around the major independent variables namely educational, economic, political and social aspects. At the end of this chapter the researcher was able to give a conceptual frame work.

### **Economic factors influencing women participation in political leadership**

Due to lack of resources, many women aspirations are disadvantaged to run for political office. For women to participate effectively in the political process, substantial amounts of resources are required. These include finances, time, infrastructure and people (Women Direct Service Centre, 2006). Of the resources required, finances are the most difficult to access.

In order to understand how economic factors affect Kenyan women especially in Kimilili constituency in the modern political dispensation, it is necessary to make clear the structure they operated in before the colonial period, during the colonial era and after the colonial period. House-Midamba (1990) argues that the status of Kenyan women deteriorated during colonial rule. According to Midamba this deterioration was particularly noticeable because in the pre – colonial era, 'although women were to some extent subordinated to men under the African Customary law, in many respects the role of men and women were complementary in nature' (House-Midamba 1990).

Even though Kenyan women had certain powers in the pre-colonial times, Kenyan traditional culture was predominantly patrilineal and patriarchal. In this environment, men were the predominant force (Odinga, 1967). When the colonialists took over control of the country, they also emphasized male dominance by transferring men's supervisory rights over land to individual legal ownership (Elkins, 2005). As a result of this individual land ownership, women would be denied access to land, something that was new and foreign (Lovett, 1989). This situation exerted a negative impact on the status of women in property ownership. Besides women losing land ownership and control to men (initially to colonial settlers and later to African men), the status of Kenya women was significantly affected by the coming of colonialists.

According to Onsongo (2005), colonial laws disrupted and displaced women's gender roles. This was done through introduction of cash crops, formal education and the monetary economy. While some men secured employment either in large cash crop farms or as clerks in government offices, many women remained in rural areas producing subsistence food. Formal education was also mostly available to men, which meant that the majority of women remained illiterate and, therefore, could not participate in modern economic transactions (Odinga, 1967).

Women's work (which was mainly domestic) was classified as non-work since it did not fit into the colonial system's economic criteria (Onsongo, 2005). Moreover, due to migrant labor that led to movement of men to urban areas, rural families became increasingly female-headed, driving many of them to serious poverty levels they had not experienced before. It is also documented that colonial state policies limited and controlled women's ability to migrate and work in urban areas (House-Midamba, 1990). Although writing almost twenty years after independence, Obbo (1980) notes that females who migrated to urban areas alone, that is, not as wives, were always viewed as problematic by both urban authorities and migrant men.

In the early stages of colonial rule, the government worked to restrict the movement of women, especially unmarried ones. The aim was to keep women in the villages so that men could be encouraged to return to the rural home. This arrangement would guarantee a regular supply of labor both in rural and urban areas. This new division of labor seems to have created male breadwinners with women dependent on them, a situation that created a sense of powerlessness among women, which continues to affect their participation in public decision making (Onsongo, 2005; Kamau, 2007).

Despite the fact that the first ten years of Kenya's post-independence under Jomo Kenyatta was characterized by economic growth and diversification the period was also marked by disputes among ethnic groups, and huge gaps between the rich and the poor. Even though the promise given to Kenyans by the new leaders was to eradicate poverty, ignorance and disease, this has not yet been realized to date, and women and children have suffered the brunt of the problems that are associated with these three evils. (Nzomo, 2010) actually it's this three evils (poverty, ignorance and diseases) as mentioned by Nzomo and more specifically poverty that has been an uphill task for most aspiring women politicians.

Following Rema Hammami's study "Labor and Economy: Gender Segmentation in Palestinian economic Life" (1997) argues that women are often forced to work outside of the wage-labor market in part because they lack access to this sector and in part because of the male-dominated nature of the labor market. This study found that "significant pay differentials exist between males and females doing similar

work at all status levels and sectors of employment” (Hammami 1997: 41). Women as a result are forced to choose the other sectors, particularly the agricultural sector. However, official statistics treat women’s labor as “help,” as “unpaid family labor” while men’s labor, including similar agricultural tasks otherwise performed by women, is often included in employment and unemployment statistics.

Am sure if Hammami did the same study in Kenya and moreover in Kimilili the findings would be much alike, and if so I wonder how many women from “unpaid family labor” can afford millions of money for campaigns. Women’s (non-) participation in the labor force influence their participation in public sphere (Yoon, 2004). According to Kenworthy and Malami women who find themselves in the formal wage labor force are more likely to enjoy political representation. They have greater financial independence as well as higher levels of self-esteem (Kenworthy and Malawi, 1999). According to them women who are not found in labor force have no financial independence and thus makes it particularly difficult for women to participate in political life. Although Kenworthy and Malami argument can be true to a certain extent but we have women who are financially stable, they own big firms and others have well-paying jobs what prevents them from entering into political leadership?

According to Mitullah (2003) report, two of the women elected in Kenya’s 9<sup>th</sup> Parliament indicated that they had spent Ksh 800,000 and Ksh 1.3 million, respectively, for the campaigns. These figures may have been low for the hotly contested 2007 elections. Campaign expenditures which, as noted by Mitullah (2003), include nomination expenses, printing of fliers and hand bills, hiring of public address systems, mobile phones, agents’ fees, campaigners’ expenses, hospitality, transportation, accommodation and subsistence for candidate’s team must be met.

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, economic and political developments do not go hand in hand for women. The situation of a number of the oil-producing states is only the most glaring case in point (UNDP. Human Development Report 1995). Even in Kenya moreover in Kimilili, many women in politics suffer from entrenched, often subtle discriminatory attitudes. Nonetheless, poverty remains a major impediment largely because the daily struggle for survival precludes time for women’s engaging in political activity. Worse still, poverty-stricken women do not yet seem to have benefited from women’s entry into politics. A number of women who might otherwise embark on political lives are discouraged by the lack of funds not only for financing electoral campaigns, but access to resources adequate to undertaking significant initiatives. These may entail extensive (and expensive) research, as well as outreach and public information efforts. Finance has been one of the sources of constraint that prevent women from participating in the government

process especially at the local level (Nzomo, 1994: Ofei-Aboagye, 2000).

Finances have come out as a challenge that women face in Kimilili constituency, even though men also face this challenge. However, given the gender dimensions of wealth distribution in Kenya and moreover in Kimilili constituency, this problem definitely affects women more than men.

### **Educational Factors influencing women participation in political leadership**

Education is the process through which individuals are made functional members of their society (Ocho, 2005). It is a process through which the young acquires knowledge and realizes her potentialities and uses them for self-actualization, to be useful to others and herself. It is a means of preserving, transmitting and improving the culture of the society. In every society education connotes acquisition of something good, something worthwhile (Ministry of Education Report, 2010).

According to American sociologists Burns, Schlozman and Verba (2001) assert, that education is an ‘especially powerful predictor of political participation.’ Education instills interest in political matters and educated women would be more adept to seek elective office (Yoon, 2004). Education therefore plays an important part in shaping one’s life. In the colonial time only those parents converted to Christianity tended to appreciate the importance of formal education were usually taught welfare and domestic subjects such as cookery, tailoring, home science, and such like subjects, meant to prepare them to be house wives and mothers. The education system failed to empower women as equal to men in public and development arena (Synder and Tadesse 1995).

There is considerable evidence for the claim that access to education can bring about changes in cognitive ability, which is important in a woman’s capacity to question, to reflect on and act on the conditions of their and gain access to knowledge, information and new ideas that will help them to do so (Jejeebhoy, 1995).

Education increases the likelihood that women will look after their own wellbeing including that of their family. There are also other effects associated with education that suggests a change in power relations within and outside the household, educated women participate more in decision making issues than those who are not, education increases the capacity of women to be able to deal with outside world including government officials and service providers of all kinds (Kabeer, 2005).

Since women are excluded from leadership roles, they are deprived of opportunities for leadership skills training. Girls have less chance for schooling and opportunities are drastically limited for them to develop skills and talents in

the public sphere. They are praised for obedience and subservience, implicitly dissuading them from aspirations to leadership. Higher education is a privilege many women do not enjoy. They are passed up for training opportunities at work because it is not cost efficient to invest in women who may give up work anytime for the sake of family. Domestic responsibilities make it difficult for women to go for training or further studies because they simply do not have the requisite hours for study (IPU, 1997).

Illiteracy therefore has deterred women from full participation, prompting the adoption of certain measures in electoral systems to ameliorate its impact (Sabbagh, 2005). Illiteracy with regard to the law is still one factor to be contended with (Hammad, 2000).

According to Nadowli Assembly member (2005) "English language which is the mod of communication at the Assembly level serves as a barrier to women who had low level or no education to participate in the Assembly election and also its deliberation." This comes to confirm the assertion made by the Northern Easter School (2006) that due to low level of education or complete lack of it, women cannot read and understand a lot of things that enlighten them, and to have enough knowledge about the local level governance hence their inability to participate in the decentralization process.

In a study done in by Damson and Kanyuka (1992) in Malawi, the behavioral norms and expectations that result from gender structuring begin in the home and community and are subsequently taught and reinforced in the school setting. Too often girls learn at an early age that they are expected to limit themselves to activities at home and are tracked to courses at school that reinforce their roles as domestic producers and reproducers and that may exclude them from other productive careers or public life What Nagat El-Sunbary refers to as the "cult of domesticity" in middle-east, and this also applies to sub-Saharan Africa, Kenya and Kimilili being part of the same. In the same study it was observed that career expectations of parents for their daughters and the daughters own aspiration were much narrower in range than those cited by sons. The choice of careers for girls was limited to nursing, teaching, secretarial, and clerical; this situation influences women from participating for the same position as men and weakens in entering into public life.

A related study was done in Chonyi district by Mnyazi (2010) and she found out that only 7% of women have gone through university while 7% have gone through tertiary education. Majority of respondents Mnyazi interviewed were women and 52% were illiterate, this clearly means that most of the women do not qualify nor informed of issues affecting them to be able to enter and actively participate in politics or even understand and criticize issues that affect such women entering politics. In her study Mnyazi also found out that boys who receive both primary and secondary education total to 63% compared to girls 37%. This contributes negatively in the

women's participation in development and more specifically entry into politics (Mnyazi, 2010).

If literacy gives some form of power, the literate spouse (man) in the household declines in his position. Rockhill study of Hispanic women illiterate in English in the U.S found a strong reluctance on the part of the husband to allow their wives to become literate (Kathleen, 1987). This resistance to women literacy has been found in several African settings (Lind and Johnston, 1986), worsening the likelihood of women being able to enter into politics. Greater physical mobility by men, promotes greater social contacts with other groups and thus greater participation in public life compared to their women counterparts. Language promotes interaction and exposure with others, thus one becomes informed on issues and is able to influence issues that affect the community, which are disadvantaged (Lind and Johnston, 1986).

Girls are traditionally socialized to play their allocated roles in life, that of wife and mother which is understood to be inferior to that of her husband or father (Ngwira, 1998). Having acquired education in preference to the girl, male children have access to better salaried employment opportunities, in turn making parents prefer future investment on education on the boy child over the girl. The boy due to the educational advantage he is more exposed to the public and participates better in politics than the girl (Chasaina, 1994).

Uganda has made impressive progress in education. As a result of universal primary education, primary enrollment rose from 3.0 million in 1997 to 7.6 million in 2003, with the percentage of girls rising steadily to 49.3 percent in 2003. Despite these significant achievements, however, the lowest income quintiles are less likely to attend primary school than higher income quintiles or to do so consistently. At the secondary level, the majority of the population has limited access, and gender inequalities remain large, with 20–35 percent more boys in senior one to senior four and more than 60 percent more boys in senior five to senior six. (Dollar, D. G. 1999). This inequality of access to education and training of women hinders their entry into political leadership.

It has been said of women in Kenya that not only are societal customs and attitudes to blame for their small part in politics, but their education and training tend to make women accept their secondary status as the natural order of things (Duverger, 1975 as cited in Nzomo, 1997). It would seem there are other barriers that make it difficult to attain equity even after policy and legal interventions.

According to 2011 KCSE results there is a clear gap between boys and girls performance and this explains why women are more illiterate and the reason why they cannot challenge their image posed to them by the society to enter into public sphere. Out of 411,783 candidates who sat for 2011 KCSE examinations, the number of girls who sat for the examination was 182,612 while that of boys was 229,171. The number of boys was more than that of girls in

all counties except in Kirinyaga ([www.knec.ac.ke](http://www.knec.ac.ke)). Looking at the variation it is most likely that boys always pursue courses that place them at the leadership position unlike women who in most cases take courses that prepare them for private life.

### **Cultural factors influencing women participation in political leadership**

According to Mutongu Cultural influences are very strong tools of group control to all people in a place, because they share cultural aspect which comprises of norms and values, relationship networks and interactions. These norms and values although humanly designed capture the mindsets of people and become the determining factor in the behavior of the society (Mutongu, 2005). Therefore to transcend our limitations, we must acknowledge that our perceptions are related to our location and interests.

Culturally, leadership has carried the notion of masculinity and the belief that men make better leaders than women is still common today. Although the number of female leaders has increased, they are often named as an afterthought. According to Højgaard (2002), the societal conventions regarding gender and leadership traditionally exclude women, and top leadership is viewed as a masculine domain. The same author further argues that the cultural construction of leadership in itself instigates difference and this is only now being transformed or contested as women gain access to leadership positions. In African societies, it is believed that men lead and women follow (Ngcongong, 1993, in Grant, 2005). It is not uncommon in rural villages in Africa to find the man literally walking ahead of the woman. Different reasons may be advanced for this but ultimately it illustrates the deeply held notion of leadership as masculine.

As in most other parts of Africa, women are a massively disadvantaged group in Burundi. Women's social status and role are to a large extent shaped by a patriarchal set of norms, which subordinates them to their fathers or husbands, and relegates their role to the domestic sphere despite a reformation of laws, practices and institutions to guarantee gender equality in recent years, women continue to be a socially, economically and politically marginalized group in Burundi (Kiambi, 2008). While having enjoyed the right to vote and to stand for election since the country's first democratic elections in 1961, Burundian women have traditionally been excluded from political life. Despite Sylvie Kinigi, who served as prime minister of Burundi from 1993 to 1994, women's political representation in national and local decision-making institutions has until recently been negligible (Kiambi, 2008).

Cultural beliefs about the roles of men and women inhibit women's advancement to top leadership as much as it does in politics (Pandor, 2006). Some Africanists argue

that patriarchal culture, which relegates women to subordinate roles, has been a major barrier to female political representation in Africa because it not only discourages women from becoming candidates but also lowers their probability of winning elections (Geisler, 1995; Gordon, 1996).

Like Burundi, Nepal is a society characterized by a strong patriarchal culture, where women traditionally have been marginalized from participating in public life. Women's social status and relative equality with men varies among Nepal's various ethnic groups, regions and castes. Yet, their position is normally determined by patriarchal traditions, in which the predominant view is that women are subordinate to men and their role should be confined to the domestic sphere, where their main duties involve child-raising and household chores (UNESCO, 2006). In combination, discriminatory cultural practices and laws pose major hurdles for achieving gender equality in Nepal, and women are falling behind men in areas such as education, economic empowerment and political participation (Meena, 2003). Although women have had the right to vote and to stand for election since 1951 and the government in 1991 ratified the CEDAW without any reservations, women's voices have long been silenced in Nepal.

Women have traditionally had little opportunity to participate actively in political life, with few or no women represented in the legislative, judiciary and executive bodies (Kabir, Farah, 2003). Some concrete efforts to ensure women's representation in local and national politics were made prior to the peace process? (Nepali and Shrestha 2007: UNFPA 2007). However, women had never comprised more than 6% of Nepal's parliamentarians before 2007 (IPU 2010), and the few women in political positions were mostly limited to the upper caste or were close relatives of male politicians, and largely subordinate to male members and leaders (IDEA, 2008). Basing on Burundi and Nepal, their cultural context is heavily patriarchal. The common perception is that the political arena is for men, and that it is less preferable for women to become legislators.

The socialization of the girl child in many societies is also to blame for perceived inabilities on the part of women. To quote Melody Emmett (2001), "The life passages of women are not sacramentalised, celebrated or even acknowledged". This is illustrative of the position ascribed to women, right from the birth of the girl child, in comparison to the boy child and the subsequent position of men in society. In many African cultures, the rituals and rites of passage pertaining to the boy child nurture them for leadership positions, whether at local or national levels of governance, in business, politics or public administration. Religion tends to cement these cultural norms. As observed by Emmet, all mainstream religions have stereotypical roles for men and women where women are perceived as less equal than men, often being kept

separate in the way roles are assigned. In her discussion of women's experience of religion, Emmet (2001) analyzed the rituals performed for and by men in various religions (including Hinduism, Islam and Christianity), finding that men are generally valued and empowered by religion in many ways. Women do not enjoy such privilege, being disempowered by religious structures and practices.

Emmet argument actually corresponds with theories of socialization which have long emphasized the enduring division of sex roles within a society especially the existence of egalitarian or traditional attitudes towards women in the private and public spheres (Duverger, 1955). Socialization theories emphasize that these attitudes are acquired early in life through formative agencies, including the existence of traditional sex role learnt in the home and family, local community, and in schools and the workplace. (Duverger, 1955)

According to Lubega (2000) traditional concept of women in Uganda places them in an inferior position in relation to men. The assumption that a woman cannot do what a man can do is entrenched by traditional customs and norms in Uganda. Just like a proverb used in Uganda says "The woman grinds the flour but doesn't decide which ox shall be slaughtered." (Runyankole/ Rukiga) this explains why women in Uganda often lack a voice in decision making in the household as well as in the public sphere and they also often lack control over income, even when they provided the labor for it. Women also lack incentives to raise cash crops, because men tend to control the resulting income (World Bank 2005b).

Women in Uganda lack control or ownership of the resources of production, although they may have access to it, culture dictates that land inheritance is through the male lineage, which deprives women the right to control land on which they produce and this implies that, the produce belongs to the male land owner (Mwaka 1994) this actually influence women participation or entry into politics, in that women would not be financially empowered to successfully compete with men in politics since Ugandan women remain total dependent on men and therefore they cannot challenge their position and this greatly influence their participation in public sphere.

According to World Bank report number 29913 prepared for Rwanda institutional reform credit project, before the outbreak of genocide in 1994, Rwandan society was historically been essentially patriarchal, women faced official legal discrimination. Women's property and inheritance rights were governed by customary law. Women had only usage rights over property, be it household goods or land, while the actual ownership remained in the hands of her husband or father. In addition, women could not inherit property or land. Women played a predominantly domestic role while men monopolized the political arena. Political decision-making at the community and national levels was almost exclusively the province of men (World Bank report, 2004)

although women constituted over half the economically active population in the years leading up to the genocide, they rarely benefited from their labor because of the discriminatory laws which denied them land ownership and informal discrimination which limited their ability to obtain credit and further support them enter into politics (Groot, 2008).

Like many African countries, a majority of women in India do not work (employed) and by implication spend most of their time at home performing their gender roles. In organized sectors where there is job security the percentage of women employed compared to the total workforce is still low (Ghopalan and Shiva 2008). Given that few women are in the workforce, their participation in political life is limited. Despite a large number of turning out to vote, the proportion of women represented in the political life is still low. one may wonder why the low turn up of women representation in the public sphere and yet the Constitution of India is based on the principles of equality and guarantees equality before law and equal protection to all its citizens. It not only guarantees fundamental rights and freedoms, but also prohibits discrimination on the basis of religion, race, caste, sex, and place of birth.

Women in general work between fifteen and eighteen hours a day. The domestic division of labor allocates the most tedious and heavy work to women. Their routine includes childrearing, preparation of food, farming, harvesting, fetching water, and marketing their produce which in end is owned by the man. This workload prevents women from actively entering into politics and has further a negative effect on the health of the women (Mughenyi and Banya 1994)

Many analysts (Sawer, 2000; Yoon, 2005) state that women's household responsibilities negate women's political ambition and are a barrier to their representation in politics. Their family obligations and 'the difficulties involved in reconciling a career and a family' make them reluctant to take elective office, which demands time (Fox and Lawless, 2005). Women generally have limited time 'at their disposal to cross the boundary of their private lives into the public sphere' (Rai, 1994). Crossing the boundary of the private sphere into the public sphere is more difficult in developing countries, where childcare facilities are not readily available.

By tradition the public sphere is male domain. Men venture into the world as workers and traders, academics and artists, inventors and scientists, legislators and enforcers of law and order, as well as spiritual and secular leaders. Women, on the other hand, have been confined to their homes and relegated to the background (Rounaq, 1998). Traditional gender roles make women primarily responsible for children's upbringing and home maintenance tasks. Women are expected to focus their lives on taking care of their families to the detriment, or exclusion, of other concerns. Boys are given priority for schooling over girls whom, it is assumed, will later be

provided for by husbands. As adults, women are expected to care for children, spouses, parents and relatives. They are responsible for keeping the family together. Their involvement in community, a church, social and political organization is deemed secondary to obligations at home and the demands of earning a living (Centre for Social Research, 1999)

Many women do make sacrifices in the effort to succeed, whether professionally or personally. For example, women still expect and are expected to take responsibility for bringing up their children, but less parental responsibility is expected of men. As observed by Polly (1988), "If women don't care enough for their children, they know their children risk neglect. If men don't care enough, they know their wives will" (Washington Monthly, May 5, 1988). This observation is true for many working African women today. The issue of children, or family for that matter, is one that disturbs many women as they make the decision to take up a leadership position. Therefore, it is not surprising that some women are perceived as avoiding success in order to care for their families.

On the other hand it has been argued that women themselves are often reluctant to run for public positions and this is partly attributed to cultural prohibitions on women speaking in public or going to public places. Political campaigning requires that one travel extensively, spend nights away from home, go into bars, and for women it means meeting men. All of these things are not easily accepted for women in many African societies (Tripp, 2001). Women who vie for public office have to consider the risk of being labeled 'loose' or 'unfit' as mothers and wives, and being socially stigmatized. Such considerations make many women shy away from politics, and positions that put them in the public eye.

According to Burns (1994) the few women who enter into politics are those, someone in their family had participated in politics, as were more political issues and aware of any political changes that would affect their chances to win or gain resources. Unlike the case of men, the main route to political prominence for women is perceived to be through marriage and kinship ties. A father or spouse in politics considered the foremost entry path for women politicians. In a study of women national leaders by Genovse (1993) he states in examination of the career patterns of women who have become national leaders one trait stands out above all other, very few of women rose to power "on their own." Most of the women "inherited" inherited power from the family, father or husband. For example international women who have entered politics such as Indira Gandhi, - India, Benazir Bhutto-Pakistan, and Margaret Thatcher-England all had fathers who were politicians. The situation is no different in Kenya majority of women who have entered politics such as Beth ugo-Dagoreti, Nyiva Mwendwa-Kitui central, Cecily Mbarire-Runyenjes, Charity Ngilu-Kitui central all have either father or relative having been politicians.

### **Political factors influencing women participation in political leadership**

The nature of politics is an important factor for the inclusion or exclusion of women in politics. In politics, women have been marginalized because men monopolize the decision making structures and are in the majority. One underlying problem for women has been the difficulty in dealing with the inherent patriarchal structures that pervade the lives of people, the processes of state and the party (Nzomo, 1997). Despite efforts made to ensure that female representation is achieved at all levels of governance, women are still underrepresented in many government and non-government organizations particularly in positions of power and leadership (de la Rey, 2005).

The major parties are the main barrier to women's parliamentary representation in the older democracies, ahead even of the electoral system or the nature of parliamentary institutions (Lovenduski and Norris, 1993). It is they who are responsible for what has been termed the "gender gerrymander," the fact that women are far less likely than men to be preselected for the safe seats controlled by such parties. Male domination of politics, political parties and culture of formal political structures is another factor that hinders women's political participation. Often male dominated political parties have a male perspective on issues of national importance that disillusion women as their perspective is often ignored and not reflected in the politics of their parties (Bari, 2005). Also women are usually not elected at the position of power within party structures because of gender biases of male leadership. Meetings of councils or parliamentary sessions are held in odd timings conflicting with women's domestic responsibilities (Randall, 1987).

In Kenya, the progress towards women's involvement in politics was initially very slow and noticeable changes have only been observed within the last 10 years. According to Nzomo (1997), although the post-independence government brought new possibilities for political involvement, Kenyan women were not granted the same political access as men. For this reason, equitable democratic participation at the level of gender has yet to be attained.

In 2007, a constitutional amendment that would have created 50 special seats for women in parliament in Kenya was thrown out due to lack of quorum to vote on it. The country came close to passing a law reserving positions for women at all levels of decision-making when such measures were included in a draft constitution drawn up by a National Constitutional Conference in 2003 and 2004. But the draft document was rejected in a 2005 referendum due to widespread dissatisfaction with the Kibaki government of the time rather than specific opposition to the clauses on women (Hansard, 2007). The Kenyan government has an affirmative action, where during the elections of committee members, 30% must be women;

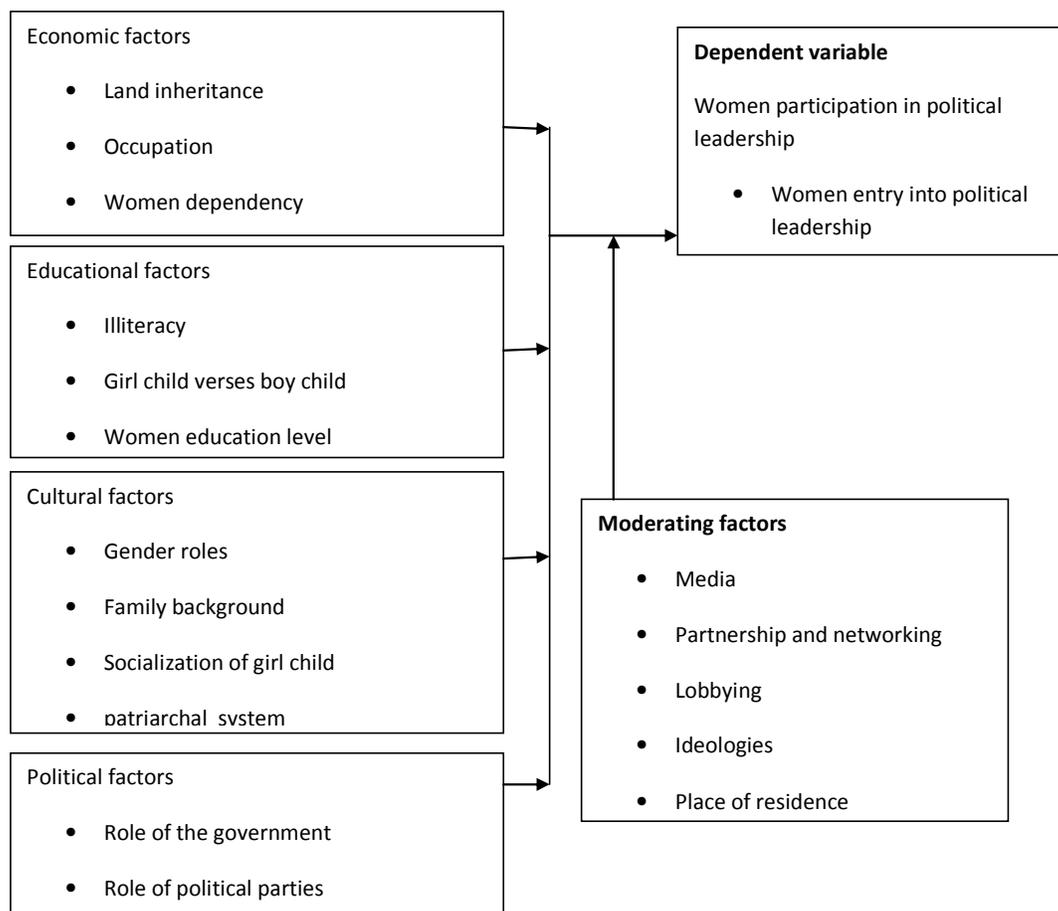


Figure1. A conceptual framework- on assessing, factors influencing women participation in political leadership.

however most women prefer taking positions that are not demanding due to responsibilities at home and fear of their husbands. Those that take active positions are questioned by their husbands as involving themselves in activities that will not directly benefit the family and in most cases end up stepping down. Further the affirmative actions is not followed to the letter by the government both at national and grass root level, in that few women are elected to decision making positions. According to the Nation, 2005 the government should “walk the talk”. Kenya continues to fight for quotas for women in parliament, which is one of the contentious issues being discussed in the ongoing constitution.

The role of the government and other stakeholders is influencing factor. Ugandan government has come out clearly supporting women in politics who had previously been discriminated, due to socio-cultural, economic and illiteracy factors. A lot been done in empowering them and involving them in management, decisions, and political

participation (Mwaka and Banya 1994). The president of Uganda has personally supported women. Through his government various policies have been initiated. For example institutions have been established; those that directly affect the political life of women and also that allow them access to those structures where political power is concentrated. The affirmative action is in operation where council’s one position is reserved for a woman. While at the National level a part from those who go through the normal process of elections, one women representative must be elected in each of the thirty five districts to the parliament. This has resulted in women accounting for 16% of the parliamentarians (Mariam, 1996).

Rwanda’s case has been the best example in the world, which now has the largest number of women in the parliament- 56%. The country’s constitution provides for quota system that reserves 24 out of 80 seats in the Lower House and six out of 20 in the Upper House for women.

The constitution also requires that women fill 30% of policy-making posts in the public service (Mulama, 2005).

Presently, Rwanda is governed by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), an opposition movement-turned-Tutsi political party. The RPF has made a public commitment to unity and reconciliation within their country. Acknowledging the presence, needs, and potential role of the predominantly female population, the government determined that women must be central to the process of governing, reconciling, and rebuilding the country. Women who held critical position within the ranks of the RPF have been appointed to strategic political and social posts in the transitional government. Their participation and presence has contributed to progressive gender policies within the administration and the political area (Jodi, 2007).

Sadly, in a situation where accepting women as leaders is problematic, it is possible to overlook their positive leadership traits and view them as weaknesses. In fact, stereotypes of how women lead have made it difficult for women to access or even stay in leadership positions. Tedrow (1999) argued that women who display more relational styles of leading are likely to be marginalized within their organizations and viewed as 'outsiders'. Even more disconcerting is the fact that women who seem to 'make it' as leaders often end up conforming to the strong male culture in the work place, and adopt male leadership styles. As indicated by Growe and Montgomery (2000), since female leaders see gender as a hindrance, they are compelled to lead the way men do as it is considered the norm. In their view, utilizing men's methods of leadership is not only the easiest way for a woman to be hired for any position of leadership, but is the most successful method of attracting promotion and recognition.

## Conceptual framework

### Independent variable

The Figure1 above was assessing, the factors influencing women participation in political leadership the case of Kimilili constituency of Bungoma County. It shows the independent variables influencing women participation in political leadership as economic, educational, cultural and political factors. The moderating variables would not be tacked in this research however they have been identified as Media, Lobbying, Ideologies and Place of residence, Partnership and networking

### Summary of the Literature

This chapter explains the literature review in relation to the factors influencing women participation in political leadership. It explains how economic factors in other countries have influenced women participation in political

leadership; these factors are similar in many parts of the African continent. In most cases women are dependent to their husbands, brothers or fathers and those do not have a right to own or inherit wealth. The chapter also explains how educational factors in other countries have influenced entry of women into politics. In most cases the boy child is more favored than the girl child as far as education is concerned in Africa and this works unfavorably in a women quest in entering into political leadership. However other countries have encouraged women education and this has worked positively in women participation in politics. The chapter further explains how cultural factors such as gender roles, patriarchal systems, child socialization and family background affect a women's participation in political leadership. The workload that a woman has is too much; this leaves her with no time to participate in politics. Politics is another factor where the government and political parties have created structures that have supported women entering into politics. A good example is in Rwanda and Uganda that have introduced the quota system, electoral system and amended the constitution to accommodate women participation in politics.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### INTRODUCTION

The study presents details of research design, methods of data collection and methods of data analysis that were used to gather information. It describes target population, sample size, sampling procedure and data collection instruments that were utilized in answering the research questions and to achieve the objectives.

#### Research Design

This study was conducted through a descriptive survey research design to study factors influencing women participation in political leadership the case of Kimilili constituency of Bungoma County. A descriptive research design is that study which is concerned with describing the characteristic of a particular individual, or of a group. Primary data was collected from women and men, aspirants and key informants in order to analyze the factors influencing women participation in political leadership, with respect to the variables in the study. The research therefore utilized mixed method research that entails both quantitative and qualitative methodologies.

#### Target population

The target populations for the study were mainly women in

## 3.10 Operationalization of Variable Table:

Research objectives	Variable	Indicator	Measurement	scale	Data collection	Tool of analysis
To determine the factors influencing women participation in political leadership, the case of Kimillili constituency of Bungoma County, Kenya	<b>Dependent variable:</b> Women participation in political leadership	Women participation in political leadership	Number of women who have entered political leadership	Ordinal	Questionnaire /Interview	Qualitative and quantitative method
To examine how economical factor influences women participation in political leadership	<b>Independent variable</b> <b>Economic</b> Land inheritance	Women who have inherited land	Number of girls who have inherited land	Nominal	Questionnaire / Interview	Qualitative and quantitative
	Division of labor	Kind of work women do compared to men and the range of salary they get	Number of women who are in public sector	nominal	Questionnaire / Interview	Qualitative and quantitative
	Women dependency on men	Women who are house wives only	Number of women who are fully house wives	nominal	questionnaire	Qualitative and quantitative
To establish how education influences women participation in political leadership	<b>Education</b> Girl verses boy child	KCSE performance	Number of girls verses boys who got B≥	ordinal	Interview	Qualitative and quantitative
	illiteracy	Ability of women/men to read, & understand the rights of women in the	Number of women/men who can read/understand the constitution	ordinal	Questionnaire /Interview	Qualitative and quantitative
	Women education level	Highest educational level of	Number of women who reached tertiary	ordinal	Questionnaire /Interview	Qualitative and quantitative
To determine how culture influences women participation in political leadership	<b>Cultural</b> Gender roles	Who does domestic chores	Number of women compared to men who do domestic chores	nominal	Questionnaire / Interview	Qualitative and quantitative
	Family background	Women politicians from politicians families	Number of aspirants from political families.	nominal	questionnaire	Qualitative and quantitative

Table 3.10. Continue

	Socialization of girl child	Roles and duties performed by girls/boys	Number of girls who do domestic chores	nominal	Questionnaire	Qualitative and quantitative
	Patriarchal system	Men leading and making decisions in the family	The number of men who head and make decisions in the family	nominal	Questionnaire	Qualitative and quantitative
To identify how politics influences women participation in political leadership.	<b>Political factors</b> Role of Government	Government offering financial support	Number of activities	nominal	Interview	Qualitative
	Role of political parties	Political parties supporting women aspirant	Number of activities	nominal	Interview	Qualitative

Kimilili constituency of Bungoma County. The target population, amounts to 320,300 (KNBS, 2009). The target people who were issued with the questionnaires were mainly women and men in the eight wards; Milima, Mbakalo, Naitiri, Kabuyefwe, Soysambu, Kiminini, Ndalul and Tongaren of Kimilili constituency of Kimilili constituency. Men were chosen for the purpose of collecting in-depth factors influencing women participation in political leadership while women aspirants and key informants were interviewed. The respondents were people mainly affected by the cultural, economic, educational or political factors that influenced women participation in political leadership.

### Sample size and sampling procedure

Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) defines sample as small group obtained from the accessible population. While sampling is a process of selecting a number of individuals for a study in such, away that the individuals selected represent the large group from which they were selected. The total sample size of women aspirants' was 4 and key informants were 6 and a sample size of men and women were 196 according to the formula below:

Population is infinite

$$n = \frac{Z^2 \cdot P(1-P)}{e^2}$$

Where:

p= estimated value for the proportion of a sample that will respond a given way to a survey( .5 for 50%)

z=standard variant at a given confidence level (95% is 1.96)

m= the margin of the error ( ±7% is .07) ( Moore,D and McCabe, G.(1999).)

$$n = \frac{(1.96/.07)^2 \cdot .5(1-.5)}{.25} = 784 \cdot (.25) = 196$$

The study employed Purposive sampling, Stratified sampling and random sampling techniques. Purposive sampling was used to purposively choose eight wards out-off thirteen wards this is because of various reasons such as; the large Kimilili constituency was too large for the researcher to travel all over the Constituency and the chosen eight wards of Kimilili Constituency are the largest wards in Kimilili Constituency and have a heterogeneous population which ensures a wide spread of potential respondents to the study. And therefore the wards are as follows; Milima, Mbakalo, Naitiri, Kabuyefwe, Ndalul, Soysambu, Kiminini and Tongaren ward. Stratified technique was used to select wards this was choose because it is a technique that identifies subgroups in the population and the proportions and select from each subgroup to form a sample (Sekaran, 2003; Gay, 1987). It groups a population into separate homogenous subsets that share similar characteristics and select from each subgroup so as to ensure equitable representation in the population in the sample (Gay, 1987). After the researcher had determined the required sample size and the appropriate representation in each stratum, (which was done proportionally that equated to 25), she used random sampling method to select an appropriate numbers of subjects from each stratum using random numbers.in each stratum the ratio of women to men who were interrogated in percentage were 52%:48% respectively.

### Data collection instruments

Data was collected through the use of questionnaires, administered via interviews. Interviews were used for the

following reasons: The interviewer could explain any questions that the interviewee did not understand and it enabled the interviewer to have a visual check as to whether the interviewee fitted the sample population.

According to Nkapa (1997), a questionnaire is carefully designed instrument for collecting data in accordance with the specification of the research questions. The questionnaire had both open and closed ended questions. The use of questionnaires was justified because they are an effective way of collecting information from a large literate sample in a short span of time and at a reduced cost than other methods. Further, questionnaires will facilitate easier coding and analysis of data collected.

The questionnaire had the background of respondents and items that sort to determine the factors that influenced women participation in political leadership in Kimilili constituency. Questionnaires were issued to women and men in Kimilili Constituency while key informant and women aspirants' were interviewed since they were more knowledgeable on factors influencing women participation in political leadership.

#### **Validity of the Research instrument**

According to Coolican (1994) validity refers to whether a measure is really measuring what it intends to measure. Validity therefore has to do with how accurately the data obtained in the study represents the variables used in the study. Validity of instruments was established through consultations with my supervisor. Since the determination of content is judgmental, my supervisor helped to refine the definition of the topic concern, the items to be scaled and the scales to be used. Secondly, content of the instrument was determined through piloting, where, responses of the subjects were checked against the research objectives.

#### **Reliability of the Research instrument.**

According to Cooper and Schindler (1998), reliability refers to being able to secure consistent results with repeated measures of the same person with the same instrument. The items in the questionnaire were discussed with supervisor then subjected to a pilot study to ensure reliability. The pilot study involved repeated measurement using the test retest method whereby eight people included in the study, each from eight wards were engaged in an exercise to answer the same questionnaire twice in the span of one week. The results of that pilot study informed any amendments or corrections necessary to ensure the reliability of the instruments.

#### **Ethical Considerations**

The research was properly planned from the beginning to minimize chances of getting misleading results. During the

issuing of the questionnaire and carrying out interviews, steps were taken ensure dignity and welfare of the respondents as well as those who may be affected by the results of the research. This was ensured by the researcher and research assistant introducing themselves and asking the permission of the respondents to carry out research before the excise, and information was collected only from those who were willing to participate in the study.

Before administering questionnaires, and conducting interviews, the researcher and the research assistant provided information on the purpose of the research. The participants were granted protection by not allowing them to give any of their identity, and therefore confidentiality and privacy as ethical issues were highly employed. The respondents were told in the beginning of research their right to privacy and their right to remain anonymous. The researcher and the research assistant also conducted themselves in an ethical manner throughout the research. The researcher sorts the relevant approval from the University and Local administration to conduct the study.

#### **Data Analysis Techniques**

Kerlinger (1986) defines data analysis as categorizing, manipulating and summarizing of data in order to obtain answers to research questions. A computerized statistical analysis of the data was necessary to describe and interpret the data that was obtained from the questionnaires. The qualitative data collected was coded by assigning numerical values to qualitative responses. A conversion was made through a computer package (SPSS version 20) in order to analyze the information. An analysis of the data made it possible to accept or reject the stated hypotheses and to make inferences from the data.

The stages in the statistical analysis were data preparation, tabulation of data, and then various tests were conducted to analyze relationships. Based on the questionnaire, frequencies and percentages were used for all variables of this study. A chi-square test at 95% level was used to test for significant differences between the observed distribution of data among categories and the expected distribution based on the hypotheses.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Data Analysis, Presentation And Interpretation**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The study focused on the factors that influence women participation in political leadership the case of Kimilili Constituency of Bungoma County, Kenya. The data was collected through questionnaires and interviews that were formulated and guided by the objectives and the operational variables found in chapter one and three

**Table 4.1 Demographic characteristic of respondents**

Socio-demographic information	Categories	Frequency	Percent
Age of respondent	18-25	33	16.8
	26-35	52	26.5
	36-49	69	35.2
	50 and above	42	21.4
	Total	196	100.0
Gender of respondent	Male	102	52.0
	Female	94	48.0
	Total	196	100.0
Education	Not Educated	22	11.2
	Primary	37	18.9
	Secondary	52	26.5
	Middle level colleges	59	30.1
	University	26	13.3
	Total	196	100.0
Occupation	Domestic Farmer	51	26.0
	Small Business Person	50	25.5
	Large Business Person	2	1.0
	Teacher	69	35.2
	Cheap Labor	1	.5
	Others	23	11.7
	Total	196	100.0

respectively. The analysis begun with a description of the socio-demographic profile of the respondents, which gives the reader an insight into bio-graphic trends typical of any representative sampling of women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency. The hypothesis of this research was tested with a chi-square. A chi-square test was used to test the relationship between women's level of education and women participation in political leadership.

### Response Rate

The study targeted 196 women and men, 5 women aspirants and 6 key informants selected from (8) wards in Kimilili Constituency. These wards were: Milima, Mbakalo, Naitiri, Kabuyefwe, Soysambu, Kiminini, Ndalua and Tongaren. The of 196 questionnaires were administered to different classes of women and men respondents while 6 key informants who were mainly government officials and 5 women aspirants were interviewed. The parameters covered in this study included the respondents' age, sex and level of education to determine the characteristics of

the respondents. Economic, Education, Culture and political factors were also considered to determine whether they contribute to or hindered women participation in political leadership. The questionnaires administered to women and men were all answered resulting to a 100% response rate as they were administered by the researcher. The validity and reliability tests of the research variables were carried out before statistical techniques were employed to analyze data.

### Demographic Characteristics of Respondents.

The establishment of demographic data of respondents was guided by the following items; age bracket, gender, education level and the occupation of the respondents in Kimilili Constituency. The study wanted to capture the average education level of respondents as well as their occupation as presented in Table 4.1.

A total of 196 questionnaires were administered to different classes of respondents in 8 wards in Kimilili Constituency. Out of 196 questionnaires given out

**Table 4.2: Whether the girl child inherits Land**

Item	Frequency	Percent
Yes	11	5.6
No	185	94.4
Total	196	100.0

**Table 4.3: Occupation status of men and women in Kimilili Constituency**

Occupations	N	Percentage	Percent of Cases
Women in Domestic Chores	166	24.8%	84.7%
Men in Domestic Chores	7	1.0%	3.6%
Women in Farming	127	19.0%	64.8%
Men in Farming	156	23.3%	79.6%
Women in Business	49	7.3%	25.0%
Men in Business	83	12.4%	42.3%
Women in Public service	4	0.6%	2.0%
Men in Public Servants	77	11.5%	39.3%
Total	669	100.0%	341.3%

102(52%) were administered to women and 94(48%) were administered to men, the high percentage of female respondents was encouraged since the researcher wanted to get the in-depth information about women's level of participation, and what influence their participation in political leadership. Age plays an important role in decision making. One age in Kenya and in that matter in Kimilili Constituency determines whether the person is matured to participate in decision making therefore respondents age ranged from age group 18 -25 to 50 and above, as per the Table 4.1 above the dominant age group was 36-49 with a 35.2%. The study also uncovered that majority all the respondents had gone through Tertiary level education with a numerical of 59 representing 30.1%. This is because most of them were easily available and able to answer the questionnaires without any difficulties as compared to not educated ones who were illiterate and thus needed assistance. Following Table 4.1 above most respondents were teachers by profession 69(35.2%) followed by Domestic farmers 51(26.0%) then Small scale business persons 50(25.5%), others 23(11.7%) and lastly cheap laborers 1(0.5%). The high response rate could be attributed to the way the questionnaires were laid out (structured) and the willingness of the staff to contribute on the subject matter.

**Relation between Economic status of women and women's participation in political leadership**

The first objective of this study was to examine how economical factor influenced women participation in

political leadership in Kimilili Constituency, Bungoma County. To achieve this objective the women and men respondents were asked to respond to two questions analyzed in Table 4.2 and Table 4.3 above.

Table 4.2 above reveals that the girl child in Kimilili Constituency does not inherit land. Out of 196 respondents only 5.6% said that they do, while (94.4%) said that they don't. A clear title to land gives the security of use rights, under current private property regimes it also permits owners to speculate and profit from land as a market commodity. Girl children in Kimilili due to lack having the opportunity to inherit land makes them lack security to use either their father's land or husband's land in securing micro finance or banks loans when they need funds to register, campaign and participate as an aspiring political member in the region.

According to Table 4.3 above, most of respondents acknowledged that most women in Kimilili community actively involve themselves in Domestic chores (84.7%) as compared to men (3.6%) or engaged in farming (79.6%) as opposed to other occupations as Public service (2.0%). This situation serves as an impediment in their endeavor to marshal the needed resources to participate in political leadership process.

From the interview conducted on women aspirants in Kimilili Constituency 3(60.0%) out of 5(100.0%) were domestic farmers who farm for domestic consumption only. 1(20.0%) was a small scale business and 1(20.0%) was a lecturer. This finding clearly informs us that these aspirants are experiencing financial constraints, which is a big challenge to them as they all admitted.

**Table 4.4: KCSE Performance in Kimilili Constituency**

Grades	Boys (2010)	Girls (2010)	Boys (2011)	Girls (2011)
A	0	0	2	0
A-	9	1	10	0
B+	24	2	33	6
B	27	12	48	20
Total	60	15	93	26
Totals	1769		2180	

**Table 4.5: Highest Educational Level of Women in Kimilili Constituency**

Highest Educational Level of Women	Frequency	Percent
Not Educated	1	.5
Primary	108	55.1
Secondary	78	39.8
Middle level colleges	6	3.1
University	3	1.5
Total	196	100.0

### **Relation between Education and women participation in political leadership**

The second objective of this study intended to establish how education influenced women participation in political leadership. To achieve this objective the respondents were asked to respond to a set of questions. Some of these questions are; the difference between boys and girls in KCSE performance in the constituency, the highest education level of women in Kimilili Constituency, Courses mostly done by women in Kimilili Constituency and women aspirants who have been trained in leadership, law, Public relations and mobilization. Findings of educational variable are summarized in Table 4.4, Table 4.5, Table 4.6 and Table 4.7.

Table 4.4 above indicates that the number of students who merit to join university on Joint Admission Board is very low with a total of 75 students out-off 1769 who sat for KCSE in the year 2010 and 119 out-off 2180 students who sat for KCSE in the year 2011, this indicates the high illiteracy level in Kimilili Constituency. The Table 4.4 also shows that boys in Kimilili Constituency in the years 2010 (60) and 2011(93) highly merit entering university on Joint Admission Board than girls-2010(15)-2011(26). This difference is too wide and therefore women are not able to challenge the male domination as far as education is

concerned and thus have a competitive political disadvantage.

Level of education has a strong bearing on entry of women into political leadership. Research has revealed that women will participate in leadership depending on education. Table 4.5 above shows that the highest educational level of women in Kimilili Constituency is primary 108(55.1%) followed by secondary 78(39.8%). The results of the study also revealed that only a few women in Kimilili Constituency have higher education even to the level of University education 3(1.5%).

The interview conducted on 5 women aspirants clearly revealed 3(60.0%) of the aspirants had reached secondary level, 1(20.0%) had gone to middle level colleges and 1(20.0%) was a university graduate. Four aspirants were aspiring for the position of county representative while one who happens to be the only university graduate happened to be aspiring for the position of women representative in Bungoma County. From the study women who were interested in the position of county representative said that they choose that position because there was less competition since their academic level correlated with other interest County Representative Aspirants. This low level of education of women serves as a barrier for women to participate in the political leadership and especially at a higher level.

**Table 4.6: Courses mostly done by women**

Courses	Frequency	Percent
Management	2	1.0
Law	1	.5
Nursing	25	12.8
Education	167	85.2
Others	1	.5
Total	196	100.0

**Table 4.7: Women Aspirants who have been trained (leadership/ public relations /law)**

Aspirants who have been trained	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	1	20.0
No	4	80.0
Total	5	100.0

**Table 4.8: Distribution of Respondents involvement in gender roles (Housework/Childrearing/Farming)**

Women in Gender Roles			Men in Gender Roles	
Item	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	166	84.7	7	3.6
No	30	15.3	189	96.4
Total	196	100.0	196	100.0

The study revealed that most women in Kimilili Constituency are trained as early childhood teachers, primary or secondary teachers. From Table 4.6 above, it was identified that out-off 196 (100.0%) respondents 167(85.2%) respondent that most women who make to post-secondary education pursue Education as a course. This type of training has no much impact in nurturing a woman to successively compete with their male counterparts in political leadership.

An interview with 6 key informants brought to the fore an elaborate explanation as to why most women do not participate in politic. According to them the courses women do, do not have sufficient training for one to confidently enter into political leadership and this is has been further emphasized with the Table 4.7 below which show the percentage of women aspirants who had needed training as far as politics is concerned.

From the Table 4.7 only 20% had received most important training as far as politics is concerned. The remaining 80% had not received the required training for one to confidently participate in political leadership, it is therefore critical for them to have some sort of training to act as a guide.4.6 Relation of cultural beliefs/practices and women's participation in political leadership

The third objective of this study was to assess the extent to which culture influenced women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency. Therefore the researcher examined; the number of women involved in specific gender roles like housework, childrearing and farming summarized in Table 4.8, the socialization of the boy and girl child summarized in Table 4.9, perception of men on women ability to lead summarized in Table 4.10 and the decision maker summarized in Table 4.11.

The Table 4.8 above indicates that respondents (84.7%)

**Table 4.9: How boys and girls are socialized**

The duties boys/girls do at home	Frequency	Percent	Percent of Cases
Domestic Chores as girls duties at home	178	28.6%	90.8%
Domestic Chores as boys duties at home	36	5.8%	18.4%
Farming as girls duties at home	67	10.8%	34.2%
Farming as boys duties at home	131	21.0%	66.8%
Girls Feeding animals/used as messengers at home	17	2.7%	8.7%
Boys Feeding animals/used as messengers at home	147	23.6%	75.0%
Girls help their parents in Business	8	1.3%	4.1%
Boys help their parents in Business	39	6.3%	19.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>317.9%</b>

**Table 4.10: Perception of Men on Women Ability to Lead**

Grade	Frequency	Percent
Excellent	4	2.0
Good	16	8.2
Average	61	31.1
Fair	50	25.5
Poor	65	33.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 4.11: Decision Maker**

Sex	Frequency	Percent
Wife	9	4.6
Husband	187	95.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>100.0</b>

agreed to women performing activities at home, which include; domestic chores, farming and childrearing, with only 7% of respondents who agreed to men helping in these roles.

From the interview the interviewee pointed out that domestic division of labor allocated the most tedious and heavy work to women and thus contributes negatively to the women, who are left with most of the responsibility such as childrearing, preparation of food, farming, harvesting, fetching water, marketing their produce which in the end is owned by men. This observation comes to support Mughenyi and Banya (1994) assertion that

Domestic workload prevents women from actively entering into politics and further has a negative effect on the health of the women. Therefore to enable women in Kimilili to have adequate time and strength in entering into politics, men need to share equally with them in doing domestic chores.

From Table 4.9 above it could be deduced that girls are still traditionally socialized to play their allocated roles in life, that of wife and mother which is understood to be inferior to that of her husband or father (Ngwira, 1998). 178(90.8%) of the respondents agreed that girls as opposed to boys 36 (18.4%) are familiarized from their

**Table 4.12: The Entry of women into political leadership**

Grade	Frequency	Percent
Average	17	8.7
Low	179	91.3
Total	196	100.0

**Table 4.13: Distribution of respondents in terms of awareness of the qualification of women's entry into politics**

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	77	39.3
No	119	60.7
Total	196	100.0

childhood to perform domestic duties such as cooking, childrearing, washing, fetching water and firewood to name a few which denies them a chance to interact with the public and to acquire leadership skills that will enable them to enter into politics. On the other hand boys are allocated duties such as farming 131(66.8%) and feeding animals/used as messengers 147(75.0%) as opposed to girls with 67(34.2%):17(8.7) respectively, this actively nurture them to be leaders as one learns to be responsible and also acquires leadership skills from handling the livestock each and every day this gives him an advantage over a girl child in confidently entering into decision making bodies. This assertion confirms the observation made by Nzomo (1994) when she cited Dorsey et.al. (1989) that the socialization process affects women coming out since they were not brought out in the public domain as their male counterparts and this kept them away from participating in public life and in this case political leadership.

From Table 4.10 above cultural practices still have a bearing in influencing entry of women in politics. 65(33.2%) of the respondents agree that men had a poor perception towards women being leaders this takes the highest percentage as far as Table 4.10 is concerned. In general men's perception towards women ability to lead is still very low as even those respondents who settled on fair with a numerical of 50 representing 25.5% are not so much far from those who said poor.

During the interview session with the 5 women aspirants, they unveiled that culturally, leadership in Kimilili Constituency has still carried the notion of masculinity and the belief that men make better leaders than women and that was way men still did not excellently support women into political leadership.

Clearly Table 4.11 showed that husband is the decision maker in private and public domains. Out-of 196(100.0%)

respondents 187(95.4%) said that the final decision maker in family matters and outside is the husband as compared to wife with a numerical standing of 9 representing 4.6%. This negatively influence women participation in political leadership since women would not pursue any project without the approval of the husband and as seen in Table 4.11 above men's perception which is influenced by culture towards women leadership is low or poor (33.2%) therefore it will be hard of them to give their wives a go ahead to enter politics as most the respondent publically admitted.

#### **Relation of political factors and women participation in political leadership**

The fourth objective of this study was to establish the extent to which politics influenced women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency. To achieve this objective the respondents were asked to react to four statements meant to describe the political related factors in women political leadership. Political related factors were defined in terms of entry of women into political leadership, Respondents who are aware of the qualification of women's entry into politics, respondents who had read and understood the rights of women in the constitution and finally the family background of the women aspirants. The results are summarized in Table; 4.12, 4.13, 4.14 and 4.15.

Table 4.12 above shows that the entry of women into political leadership in Kimilili Constituency was very low. Out-of 196(100.0%) respondents 179(91.3%) agreed that women in Kimilili Constituency do not actively enter into politics who are more in number than 17(8.7%) respondents who said that the entry of women into political leadership was average. This clearly shows why from

**Table 4.14: Read and understood the rights of women in the constitution**

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	65	33.2
No	131	66.8
Total	196	100.0

**Table 4.15: Family background of the women aspirants**

Has there been any member of your family participated in politics	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	4	80.0
No	1	20.0
Total	5	100.0

1988, there has never been a woman member of parliament in Kimilili Constituency.

The results from Table 4.13 shows that 60.7% of the respondents were not aware of the qualification of women's entry into politics and this is the reason why women do not come out courageously to vie for political positions and men would not fully support women into politics.

The research findings as illustrated in Table 4.14 above shows that majority of the respondents had not read and understood the rights of women in the constitution. It reveals that 65(33.2%) had read and understood the rights of women in the constitution while 131 respondents representing 66.8% were ignorant. The few who knew the contents and understood were respondents who majority had gone through university and some middle level colleges.

As indicated in the Table 4.15 above 80.0% of those who participated in politics had a member of the family having been involved in politics, and that is why they participated. This contribution also confirmed the assertion made by Burns (1994) that the few women who enter into politics are those, someone in their family had participated in politics, as were more political issues and aware of any political changes that would affect their chances to win or gain resources.

### The relationship among the variables

There was one type of test used to determine the relationship between education and women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency of Bungoma County, Kenya. The test conducted was chi-square test. The reason for using chi-square was that it helps to determine the significance of the relationship between

nominal variables. Chi-square becomes statistical significant when  $p\text{-value} \leq \alpha\text{-value}=0.05$  and fails to be statistical significant when  $p\text{-value} > \alpha\text{-value}=0.05$ . Chi-square becomes unreliable when Chi-square table has cells with expected frequencies below 5. The expected frequency of each cell must be at least five in order to rely on the Chi-Square test. If it is not five, a different statistical test must be completed.

### Hypothesis testing

**H<sub>0</sub>:** There is no significant relationship between education and women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency of Bungoma County, Kenya.

**H<sub>1</sub>:** There is a significant relationship between education and women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency of Bungoma County, Kenya.

### Significance Level

$$\alpha = 0.05$$

### Rejection Region

Reject the null hypothesis if  $p\text{-value} \geq 0.05 = \alpha$ .

#### a) Education Level

**H<sub>0</sub>:** There is no significant relationship between women education level and women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency of Bungoma County, Kenya.

**H<sub>1</sub>:** There is a significant relationship between women education level and women participation in political

**Table 4.16: Chi-Square Test – relationship between education level and women’s participation in political leadership.**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.212 <sup>a</sup>	4	.876
Likelihood Ratio	2.065	4	.724
Linear-by-Linear Association	.078	1	.780
N of Valid Cases	196		

a. 0 cells (0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.12

According to footnote *a* (below Table 4.16), all expected frequencies are  $\geq 5$  (smallest value is 5) therefore chi square test is reliable.

**Table 4.17: Chi-square Test-relationship between Constitutional awareness on fundamental human rights and women participation in political leadership.**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-Exact sided)	Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.779 <sup>a</sup>	1	.377	
Continuity Correction	.376	1	.540	
Likelihood Ratio	.823	1	.364	
Fisher's Exact Test				.434
Linear-by-Linear Association	.775	1	.379	
N of Valid Cases	196			

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.64.

leadership in Kimilili Constituency of Bungoma County, Kenya.

The second objective of this study was to examine the degree in which education influence women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency, Bungoma County. To achieve this objective the respondents were asked to respond to questions relating to education level of women in Kimilili Constituency. The chi-square test was performed to determine if educational level of women influenced women Participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency. The result of chi-square is summarized in Table 4.16.

A Pearson chi-square test was conducted to examine whether there was a relationship between women education level and women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency. The results revealed that there is significant relationship between the two variables (Chi square value = 1.212,  $df = 4$ ,  $p = .876$ ) since the  $p$  value  $> \alpha = 0.05$  (Table 4.16), we reject  $H_0$  and accept the  $H_1$ . This means the education level of women in Kimilili Constituency hinders from participation in political leadership.

#### **b) New constitutional awareness of fundamental human rights and freedom.**

**$H_0$ :** There is no significant relationship between Constitutional awareness on fundamental human rights and women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency of Bungoma County, Kenya.

**$H_1$ :** There is a significant relationship between Constitutional awareness on fundamental human rights and women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency of Bungoma County, Kenya.

The chi-square test was performed to determine the relationship between respondents who were Knowledgeable and aware of their fundamental rights and freedom, and women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency. The result of chi-square is summarized in Table 4.17.

According to footnote *a* (below Table 4.17), all expected frequencies are  $\geq 5$  (smallest value is 6) therefore chi square test is reliable.

The P of 0.377, which is greater than 0.05 at 1 degree of freedom (Table 4.17), this leads to rejection of the  $H_0$  and acceptance of  $H_1$ . Therefore the chi-square is not statistically significant. There is therefore enough evidence to conclude that, there is a significant relationship between Constitutional awareness on fundamental human rights and women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency of Bungoma County, Kenya.

To sum up, the data analysis suggests that there is a significant relationship between education and women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency of Bungoma County, Kenya. The women education level and their ability to be aware of their fundamental rights have contributed to their absentee in decision making bodies and particular in public political leadership.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### INTRODUCTION

The study had set out to assess the factors influencing women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency. This chapter therefore outlines the findings of the study and their relationship with the relevant literature and determines how the factors identified had an influence on women participation in political leadership. Based on the results obtained from the study, a discussion of the theoretical and practical implications is presented. The conclusion and recommendations are given and finally the contributions that study can make to determine future research directions are highlighted.

#### Summary of the findings

The study sort to assess the factors influencing women's participation in political leadership, women economic statues was found to be one of the factors that influenced women participation in political leadership. The study clearly indicated that girl child in Kimilili Constituency did not inherit his father's land because of cultural belief that; she will be married to a man who had inherited his father's land. The study also indicated that majority of women are highly involved in domestic roles unlike public service which deny them time and sufficient resources to enter into politics.

The studies found out that majority of women in Kimilili Constituency were illiterate in that most of them were primary drop-outs which negatively affected their entry into political leadership. Majority of the illiterate members did not see the reason of supporting and electing a female

candidate, since to them a woman is supposed to take care of the family and be concerned with the well-being of the household matters and thus preferred electing a male candidate, while the few educated members based their choice on the ability of the person to lead not based on gender. The study also indicated that the common course done by women in Kimilili is education. Many women are trained as nursery, primary or secondary teachers. This kind of course does not fully place one in a position of acquiring political skills and financial strength to courageously enter in politics.

The study also found out that cultural practice contributes a lot in hindering women participation in political leadership. Domestic responsibilities which include children rearing, fetching water and firewood, cooking, washing and farming among others are traditional gender roles which make women primarily responsible for children's upbringing and home maintenance tasks and thus hinder women in acquiring leadership skills, exposure and further political positions in the community. Traditionally men still dominate in decision making and thus maintain the status of women as subordinates which make them inferior to men, and therefore they have to accept their situation, which is to listen to what they are commanded to. From the study a girl child is socialized from childhood to be a wife and a mother by being much trained to perform domestic duties while the boy child is socialized to be a farmer and a leader by being given duties of looking after animals and farming, this gives him and added advantage on acquiring leadership skills. Paying of dowry was also pointed out as cultural factor that influenced women participation in political leadership, this practice automatically made a woman submissive to her husband.

The study also pointed out that majority of Kimilili residence moreover women did not know their rights and have accepted their inferior position. It was surprising that even the educated believed that property belonged to men. Lacks of constitutional awareness on various rights of women also came out as a reason to why women did not come out in public and vie for political positions in the constituency. The study indicated that women entry into political leadership was very low and was also attributed to lack of support from men. The study found out that, men have a very bad perception on women ability to lead and thus women fear male discouragements and criticisms.

Other findings included the minimum support given to women by the government, political parties and social institutions such as churches in supporting women. The political parties and government had inadequate structures that support women entering politics. Churches basing on Christianity doctrines they did not encourage women leadership as they base their argument on creation of man where a woman was created after a man and made submissive and helper to man. Women's low self-confidence came out as one factor that hinders women

from entering into political leadership. From research it was founded that women fear being criticized, speaking before man and taking risk. This can be attributed to low educational level of women and exposure.

### **Discussion of the findings**

Despite the constitutional rights of women and the emphasis of at least a third of either gender representation in decision making bodies, several factors impinged on women level of participation. Analysis of field data unveiled the following as the factors that impinged on women's participation in political leadership at the studied community.

#### **Economic factors influencing women participation in political leadership**

It was identified that majority of female respondents and especially the aspirants were engaged in the informal activities such as small scale business, Domestic Chores, vocational (tailoring), and domestic farming. The study also revealed that women engaged in these activities in the participating communities did not earn much as compared to their counterparts who own farms and get higher incomes. The interview held with the Key informants indicated that most women in the Constituency are (non-) participation in the labor force unlike the men therefore they lack financial independence and confidence to compete with their male counterparts. This comes to support Kenworthy, L. & Malami, M. (1999) who asserted that women who find themselves in the formal wage labor force are more likely to enjoy political representation since they have greater financial independence as well as higher levels of self-esteem. Technical presentation and supervisory skills are skills that women in the formal economy bring to the political realm. Jobs in such fields as law, management and journalism commonly provide the flexibility, financial resources, experience, and social networks that facilitate running for elected office, which lacks in women in Kimilili Constituency since the study reveals that common women's profession in Kimilili is teaching. This issue of inadequate financial resources and skills has prevented women in Kimilili Constituency from taking active part in household as well as community and public decision making processes.

The outcome of women aspirants and key informants interview sessions identified that, money serves as a constraint to women's effort in participating in political leadership. Thus, before one is voted for as a county representative/ women representative/ member of parliament, that person has to embark on a vigorous electioneering campaign which involves cost of transportation, logistics and buying of drinks (chan'ga) for

men and Sugar or kanga( a piece of cloth that women rap themselves) for women to influence voters. The issue of spending huge sums of money to influence voters has therefore contributed to the low level of women participation in political leadership this has further been perpetuated by women being involved in unpaid domestic chores and therefore they have no enough resources to compete with their male counterparts. To add on that the findings also revealed that, the girl child do not inherit land in Kimilili Constituency due to cultural belief, that she will be married and be taken care of by her husband and also culture dictates that land inheritance is through the male lineage, which deprives a girl child the right to control land and inherit her father's property (land) and thus makes her financially dependent on her husband this actually influence a woman participation in political leadership. 80% of women aspirants interviewed mentioned funds to be a major constraint of women to enter into public politic. This finding supports Nzomo (1994) and Ofei-Aboagye's (2000) assertion that finance has been one of the sources of constraint that prevent women from participating in the government process especially at the local level.

#### **Education factors influencing women participation in political leadership**

The interview held with the key informant in the study area (District Officers, Education Officers, Catholic Priest, Community Development Officer, Assistant Director-Quality Assurance in the Ministry of Education and District Social Officer) and the women aspirants indicated that low level of education was one of the major factors impinging on women's participation in political leadership process at the national and local level. According to the Key informants and the women aspirants English language which is the mode of communication at most official meetings or training serves as a barrier to women who had low level or no education to participate in the decision making bodies and moreover in political leadership. From the study as the researcher had mention earlier due to low level of education women in particular, can only fluently communicate in their mother tongue unlike English and Kiswahili Language this negatively influences their interaction and communication with the government agents, and therefore forces them to allow men to act as mediators between them and the government or donor agents who in return take that opportunity to grab resources or benefits meant for women. This confirms the assertion made by Linda and Johnston (1986) that language promotes interaction and exposure with others, thus one informed on issues and is able to influence issues that affect the community, which are disadvantaged.

The result of the interview also revealed that only 4.6% of women in the constituency have higher education even to the level post-graduate education and because of that

women are not interested to seek political seat since they do not see importance to do so in that case the researcher agrees with Yoon (2004) assertion that education instills interest in political matters and educated women would be more adept to seek elective office. It is unfortunate that even those who make it to colleges end up taking education as a course which has no outstanding additional value in political life. Illiteracy was identified as one of the women's hindrances to political leadership, the study revealed that most of women reached primary level of education and even those who joined secondary only a few managed to sit for form four national exams, this findings correlates with the study done in Chonyi District by Mnyazi (2010) as she found out that only 7% of women had gone through university while 7% have gone through tertiary education while majority of her respondents were women and 52% were illiterate.

It is clear that most of the women do not qualify nor informed of issues affecting them to be able to enter and actively participate in politics, and therefore they cannot criticize issues that affect them in entering into politics. This is because of ignorance of new constitutional rights such as; right to own or inherit land without discrimination based on sex or any other, a 1/3 either gender representation in the decision making bodies, freedom of choice, equality and freedom from discrimination or right to education among others. This has been perpetuated by their failure to know how to read and write and thus unable to successfully participate in political leadership especially at Constituency, County or National level. This comes to confirm the assertion made by the Northern Easter School (2006) that due to low level of education or complete lack of it, women cannot read and understand a lot of things that enlighten them, and to have enough knowledge about the local level governance hence inability to participate in the decentralization process.

From the hypothesis testing, the chi-square results showed that they existed a significant relationship between education and women participation in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency. Basing on the relationship, the researcher joins Duverger (1975) (as cited in Nzomo, 1997) in asserting that women in Kenya and moreover in Kimilili Constituency not only have societal customs and attitudes to blame for their small part in politics, but their education and training tend to make women accept their secondary status as the natural order of things.

### **Social-Cultural factors influencing women participation in political leadership**

An interview with women aspirants and key informants in Kimilili Constituency brought to the fore an elaboration explanation as to why most women do not participate in political leadership. According to them, "women are

considered not to be part of the community and are owned by their husbands." They further emphasized that this belief of the people affects the society and the social-cultural orientation females go through from their childhood to adulthood, and in their views it has consequently affected their participation in political leadership. It is also considered as a sign of disrespect on the part of women to express their opinions in the midst of men as men consider women's ideas as inferior. This is the reason why most women were not willing to contest for public positions and those who even avail themselves were often not voted and were highly insulted by the community due to their cultural indoctrination. Due to this social-cultural belief, females were not often trained to be leaders with the view that women are the property of their husbands. This assertion confirms the observation made by Nzomo (1994) when she cited Dorsey et. Al. (1989) that the socialization process affects women coming out since they were not brought out in the public domain as their male counterparts and this kept them away from participating in public life.

The study also revealed that they existed male-dominated leadership structure which developed a culture that excludes women. The "all boys network" (occasionally "old boys network" combining the worst features of seniority and machismo) is an informal clique of men in positions of power and those close to them. They bond by engaging in activities such as after-work adventures or sports which women have no time for given their multiple burdens. During these activities, work-related matters are discussed and even decided on. Women's absence at these occasions works against their effective participation in decision-making and that is why the researcher agrees with Reynolds (1999) who asserted that cultures socialize women from birth into strict roles that preclude them from public decision-making, it is much more difficult for them to obtain political office.

In African societies, it is believed that men lead and women follow (Ngongo, 1993, in Grant, 2005). This assertion is proven true by the study done in Kimilili Constituency. It was evident that men were the major and final decision makers in all matters related to private or public life. This was well brought out with one of the respondent who said that since he paid dowry his wife has no option but to comply with his decisions and rules as she is part of his property. That means women ought to obey their husbands decisions no matter how oppressive they might be. An interview session with one of the aspirant revealed that her husband was not supportive of her interest in political leadership and the husband had demanded her to drop out from politics, her husband's decision had affected her active participation in entering politics.

From the interview sessions and the data collected from the questionnaires, gender roles emerged as a major cultural factor, where women are made primarily responsible for children's upbringing and home

maintenance tasks. According to the study women were expected to focus their lives on taking care of their families to the detriment, or exclusion, of other concerns. Boys were given priority for schooling over girls whom, it is assumed, will later be provided for by husbands. As adults, women were also expected to care for children, spouses, parents and relatives. Women in Kimilili were responsible for keeping the family together. Their involvement in community, church, social and political organizations were deemed secondary to obligations at home and the demands of earning a living. These gender divisions of work as unveiled by the respondents consumed all the time of women and energy and therefore ended up having no time to involve themselves in public life. This observation comes to support Mughenyi and Banya (1994) assertion that Domestic workload prevents women from actively entering into politics and further has a negative effect on the health of the women.

The results of the interview with women aspirants and key informants also revealed that rites of passage pertaining to the boy child nurtured them for leadership positions, whether at local or national levels of governance, in business, politics or public administration. The study revealed that during initiation of the boy children in the study area, the community celebrated the change of stage of those boys from boyhood to manhood, and at those periods, it was the role of uncles and grandfathers to teach the initiated boys the leadership skills and also to give them advice on being courageous to take their leadership roles at home in their fathers absence and how to be responsible men, which was not passed to girls this influence women participation in political leadership since women lack skills and experience to be leaders.

To quote Melody Emmett (2001:67). "The life passages of women are not sacramentalised, celebrated or even acknowledged" in Kimilili Constituency. This is illustrative of the position ascribed to women, right from the birth of the girl child, in comparison to the boy child and the subsequent position of men in society. That greatly revealed why women in Kimilili though they are many compared to men their entry into political leadership is very low.

### **Political factors influencing women participation in political leadership**

All the women aspirants interviewed unveil that they had not received any support from their political parties; be it financial or moral. They all admitted that, that was a very big obstacle to their success to governance. Party nomination of female candidates, Norris (1993: 328) states, is influenced by both supply-side and demand-side factors: the supply side deals with whether women come forward to pursue a parliamentary seat and the demand side deals with whether women are selected by parties. From the

study findings, party nomination of female candidates in Kimilili Constituency was significantly influenced by the demand side. The aspirants also revealed that so far they had not received any support from the government which had made their entry into politics challenging.

The study also revealed that 80.0% of women aspirants had come from political families where in their lineage or families they had member(s) who were actively involved in politics in the past and even present, and this has equipped them with mobilization skills and public relation skills. This contribution confirmed the assertion made by Burns (1994) that the few women who enter into politics are those, someone in their family had participated in politics, as were more political issues and aware of any political changes that would affect their chances to win or gain resources. It also supports Genovse (1993) who stated that very few of women rose to power "on their own." Most of the women "inherited" power from the family, father or husband.

Another interested issue raised by women aspirants was insecurity. Women aspirants say that they are away and far from their homes during campaigns bused, intimidated and even stoned during campaigns. They also say that most of the times when found late hours away from their homes they were often threatened by group of unknown people who always wanted to rob them.

### **CONCLUSION**

The objectives of this study were achieved with respect to the findings. This study showed that there are various factors influencing women participation in political leadership such as; economic, education, cultural and political not failing to mention security and women's low self-confidence. These factors are interlinked; some depend on the others to bring a change in women participation in political leadership. Other factors such as role of men in supporting women contribute significantly to women participation in political leadership.

Thus, the variables hindering women's political leadership in political leadership in Kimilili Constituency, discussed in the extant literature help our understanding of women's participation in political leadership to a great extent. Specifically, women's household responsibilities and lack of financial strength hinder women's entry into political leadership.

### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

Based on the analysis of responses gathered from the different consultations that were held, the following measures were identified (as those commonly raised by the respondents) as means to facilitating a conducive environment to increasing women's participation and

representation at all levels of decision making and in politics in Kimilili:

1. Gender budgets should be encouraged. A gender budget is not a separate budget for women, but rather a tool that analyses budget allocations. Public spending and taxation from a gender lens and can be subsequently used to advocate for reallocation of budgets to better respond to women's priorities. Gender budget have been instrumental in increasing government expenditures in social services that benefit mostly women and children, and in steering government priorities towards the 'care' economy such as health and nutrition, education, entrepreneurship, politics and other family and community services. The study results established that there is a linkage between education and participation of women in political leadership. Hence, there is the need to intensify and sustain education of females in all forms and levels in the Constituency. This can be done by the promotion and sustenance of massive girl-child education in the Constituency or in the communities through collaboration with the District Education officer, NGOs and other charitable organizations or individuals. This collaboration should lead to the establishment of an educational fund which will collaboration should lead to the establishment of an educational fund which will provide the needed assistance to enter girl-child to stay in class room at all levels of education.

2. The government through the relevant ministries should develop a curriculum that will teach women to be able leaders right from nursery and by the time they are adults the situation will have been solved. Adult education classes should be increased with a component of leadership so that the older women and men can accept that a woman can also lead just like men. Our institutions such as mass media and the formal education system should be mobilized both for our tasks, through continuing gender sensitization for teachers, school staff, school administrators, media, advertising and public relations practitioners, actors, directors, writers and other artists. Their personal biases influence the way they teach, conceptualize, prepare and execute materials as well as programs and activities. It is critical that these individuals support women's rights to equal participation in decision-making and leadership.

3. Changing culture to suit the political needs of women would be a very challenging option to carry forward in Kimilili. It is not an issue which is solvable overnight; hence women's participation in politics should be actively pursued by women. The Kenyan system has provided opportunities for women to show their capabilities. It is not the changing of culture; however, it is how one uses the available opportunities to be visible in eyes and ears of the chiefs, elders and heads of families. One has to use the opportunities given by culture to have an effect and inform changes to culture. There is need for intensive sensitization of both males and females to begin to re-think

and redirect their negative perception to see women as equal partners in the development process of their communities and the nation large. This can be done through the formation of male advocacy groups comprising chiefs, opinion leaders such as District Social officers, District Officers, and other knowledgeable men to educate their male counterparts in the Constituency about the need to involve women in all levels of central and local governance. The equal right of women and men to assume leadership positions must be instilled among children. Both girls and boys need to have equal opportunities to develop their leadership as well as "citizenship" skills. Leadership does not exist in a vacuum. The role of the constituency is just as important. Political empowerment demands that both leaders and citizens come to an understanding of their responsibilities and help each other in creating the society they desire.

4. To the government in order to build more space for women to participate in and influence political decision-making, it is essential that the Kenyan government should promote women's participation in political decision-making. Beyond the adoption of quotas, the government should work proactively and undertake public campaigns to emphasize the importance of women's participation in political leadership. The government should introduce complementary activities to increase the public's understanding of the quotas as an integral part of efforts to achieve gender equality and democratic governance, and provide resources to all parties for the training of women in the skills required to become political candidates and leaders.

5. To the political parties since they are the main gatekeepers for women's political participation. Political parties decide who will be listed on the ballot and in what place, and are the arena where policies are debated and decided upon. In order to advance women's effective participation within this realm, political parties should thus implement measures to enhance gender equality. In order to change male-dominated political cultures, all political parties should adopt appropriate measures and policies, such as party quotas, transparent criteria and party-list placement designed to promote the election of women (e.g. 'zebra' lists alternating men and women), along with funding for women candidates and women party members. They should adopt party rules mandating gender balance in their party management and policy committees, and train all political candidates in gender-related issues, including gender awareness. Political parties should also address how they might create a more enabling environment for women to engage in politics – for instance, by introducing measures and working hours that allow women and men to contribute equally to decision-making processes, and organizing capacity-building and leadership training for female leaders.

It is the view of the researchers that the recommended strategies would promote active and sustain women participation in political leadership. However the desire for equal participation for males and females in the governance process would not come easily or be gotten on a silver platter since change is a continuum process and a team work between both genders in the society. Hence it is imperative to note that real and meaningful democracy will not be attained until women and men have equal political decision-making power in which every ones interest is equally and fairly represented Gender lens.

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