

**FACTORS INFLUENCING WOMEN'S ENTRY INTO
POLITICAL LEADERSHIP - THE CASE OF WOMEN
(PARLIAMENTARY & CIVIC ASPIRANTS AND
LEADERS) IN CHONYI DIVISION OF KILIFI DISTRICT**

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BY

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NAIROBI**

DECLARATION

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

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my sons Ian, Eric and Alvin for their patience, love and words of encouragement during the study.

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ABSTRACT

This study sought to assess the "Factors influencing women's entry into politics and decision making" a case of Chonyi Division of Kilifi District. 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 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 voters.

Even with the global effort in encouraging women to participate (millennium development goals-gender equality and women empowerment), and neighboring countries such as Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda taking the lead, the situation in Kenya and more specifically in Chonyi is far from being a reality.

A descriptive survey research design was used to collect primary data in an addition to the secondary data. Pre-tested questionnaires were administered to women to test the viability and reliability of the same. The sampling was conducted using systematic sampling technique for the women and purposive sampling conducted for the key informants, who were mainly from the organizations that deal with women issues. Most of the information was descriptive and then presented in tables. Frequencies and percentages were used to determine the extent of factors influencing the entry of women into politics in Chonyi.

From the findings the entry of women into politics was still inadequate due to various factors among these were, education, social/cultural factors, economic and political factors and recommendations to address this situation include increased awareness to the community on negative social/cultural practices, and on the rights of women to increase women entry and participation, encourage girls to go to school in order to have an informed population of women that can confidently take up leadership positions. The government and NGOs should increase awareness on women participation in leadership through lobbying and advocacy and creating gender friendly policies.

Lessons learnt from other countries such as Rwanda, Sweden and the strategies they have successfully used can be borrowed and tried in the Kenyan case. Ratification of various treaties in support of women should be implemented and monitoring of the same done to make sure that women entered and actively participated in politics. More importantly, women should also aspire for political leadership and create a strong network among themselves that can be used to propel some of them into political leadership.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

j j Background of the study.

It is striking that the sharp increase in number of countries moving towards democracy and self governance has not been accompanied by more equal political representation of women. Despite the number of democratic governments having increased considerably from 26 in 1945 to 176 in 1996, the proportion of women in national legislators has only increased marginally from 3% to 12% in the same period (Inter-Parliamentary Union 1999). While the commitment to represent democratic governance has been growing quite rapidly across the world, equality and entry of women in positions of political authority remains a distant dream.

What is puzzling is the contrast in the share of women in positions of political authority observed across different countries, with developed countries such as United States, Japan, Great Britain having legislators below the world average and lesser developing countries such as Trinidad, Mozambique, Tanzania, Uganda having relatively larger proportion of women in political positions power (Inter-Parliamentary Union 1999)

One would ask why are there so few women entering the political sphere and why is there a variation across countries? The most common explanation is that patriarchal structures limit women participation in the public sphere, although this could be true it is notable to note that women in most countries have entered the labor force in increasing numbers but entering the political sphere the pace has been slow. Secondly one would expect countries such as India and African countries that have strong patriarchal structures to have the least number of women in political positions. However countries such India, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda. Mozambique have more women in political positions than some developed countries (IPU 2001) Thus more factors influence women's entry into the political sphere other than culture and patriarchy.

Most countries in the world provides legal right for women in politics, women can vote, support candidates and run for office. But lack of visible women in the political life of many nations shows the discrimination against women in politics still remains.

Countries such as Sweden, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda have made remarkable progress in the political representation. Unfortunately this is not the case for many countries where the pace has been very slow. And some populations, religions, governments remain openly hostile to the notion of women in political leadership.

This frustration and enlightenment of women served to promote the growth of women movement in the west as women questioned sexism in policies and practices that explicitly discriminated on the basis of sex such as less pay for equal work, participation in politics and limitation of professional education and advancement. By 18th century most western governments had started to respond to the issue of inequality by allowing women to have quality social services. (Allen & Thomas 2000)

Sweden is one of the countries that had a big percentage of women in politics for a long time though this was overtaken by Rwanda in 2003. Sweden is a developed country; however the representation of women in parliament has been quite slow unlike Rwanda's case. Sweden had the first woman prime minister as early as 1958. In the 2002 election 43.5% of the elected politicians were women, (www.ipu.org). The turning point of women politics in Sweden was in 1972 when the political parties recognized the importance of women in politics and how women votes can play in politics. The Swedish labour party was the first to set the minimum level of women representation and the other parties followed suit. All parties have quotas to ensure the representation of women in parliament. This quota system is not in the Swedish constitution but the quotas are regulated by the parties. Thus the parties have the minimum or maximum number of women candidates in the party list. (<http://www.idea.int/gender>). The combination of Swedish electoral system of proportional representation and voluntary party quotas has been successful in increasing the number of women in politics both within the political parties and in national assemblies and local councils. (<http://quotaproject.org>)

Rwanda on the other hand has the highest representation of women in political leadership. After the massacre ended, the Rwandan population was 70% female. While women were targets of

torture, rape, and other forms of gender-based violence, the majority of those murdered were men. As such, it became incumbent upon these female survivors to pick up the pieces of their shattered society, both figuratively and literally. Rwanda had traditionally been a patriarchal society, resulting in low literacy rates among women and consequently, minimal female representation in government. The seeds of women's empowerment in Rwanda had been planted prior to the horrific events of 1994. However, the tragedy that transpired fast-tracked the tentative women's movement there out of necessity. Since the Rwandan genocide; the populations has normalized, and the role of women is still one of prominence, as a result of a new constitution, quota systems, ideological shifts, and the challenging and changing of social norms and gender roles. The third Global Conference of Women, held in Nairobi in 1985, encouraged Rwandese women to establish the first non-governmental women's organization, *Reseau des Femmes* (RDF). Identifying rural women as a priority, its 29 founders mobilized 330 women across the country. Over the course of time, the RDF gave rise to other groups seeking to address gender imbalances, including voluntary groups that specialized in legal, in politics, business, health issues, and co-operatives. As a result, the political party then in power, the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND) set up the Union of Rwandese Women for Development (URAMA) in 1988. Pressure from URAMA gained women the right to participate in co-operatives, profit-making businesses and politics. (El-Bushra and Cecile Mukarubuga 1995)

The Rwandan women's movement initially sought to narrow the gaps between men and women across all sectors of society, ideally and eventually culminating in gender equality. However, in the aftermath of the genocide, necessity dictated a shift in both the means and the ends, as women were then entrusted with rebuilding their society, structurally and socially. With females comprising 70% of the population at the conclusion of the genocide, women immediately assumed multiple roles as heads of household, community leaders, and financial providers, meeting the needs of devastated families and communities, hi the years to follow, the aim of the women's movement in Rwanda would evolve from desiring a greater voice in politics and Presence in decision-making, within families and the political arena, to legally codifying the achievement of these goals. (De Groot 2008)

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 positions 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 Enda, 2007)

Rwanda's new constitution, adopted in May 2003, references 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 2007)

In neighboring Uganda just like many African countries women shoulder most of the problems, access to water, farming, education, health services affect women more. Women have no control of the resources and thus cannot access credit since they lack security. In education, though the enrollment rates are high, the drop out rates are also very high mainly due to poverty, early pregnancy, early marriages to name a few, these make the women unaware of issues that affect them for them to participate in areas such as politics. The gender roles also contribute negatively on the women's entry into politics as most of the responsibilities such as farming, cooking, fetching water take most of the time leaving very limited time in the public sphere (Victoria Mwaka 1996)

However when the National Resistance Army came to power, the government has come out in support of women. There is a lot of political good will by the government. For example, Uganda^w as one of the first African countries to have a woman vice president. There are also ministers^a and other women heading different departments in the system. The constitution supports women^{ln} in Politics. 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 constitution, Uganda government printer 1993)

In Kenya the poor performance of women entering in political leadership is very pronounced compared to the neighboring countries. 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)

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. (Wanjiku Kabira 2007)

Some MPs as well as activists 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 host of obstacles, not least lack of campaign resources, educational levels and traditional views of women that make little allowance for activities outside of the domestic arena.

Chonyi Division is located in Kilifi district of coast province; the area is about 64 Kilometers from the city of Mombasa with a population of about 280000 people, and 52% being women (Kilifi district development plan 2008). The area is predominantly inhabited by the Chonyi tribe which is one of the nine indigenous tribes of the coast referred to as "Mijikenda".

Chonyi Division has three wards namely, Ziani, Mwarakaya and Chasimba locations and forms part of Bahari constituency, which covers Chonyi, Kikambala and Bahari Divisions,

A survey conducted by Community Aid International a Kenyan NGO (C.A.1.2008) based in Nairobi but working in Kilifi and chonyi in particular, observed that women are very active in attending meetings but shy away in taking up political leadership positions, this is mainly

attributed to the culture where the man has the final say in any decision making within the household and outside and further woman feel inferior, lacks self confidence, to enter into politics. The survey observed that Land and all the produce is owned by the men and women do not have the right to own any property, though women perform practically most of the work- which includes planting, weeding, keeping watch on the crops, harvesting, and marketing the produce, and domestic chores, this work load makes them have very little time to enter into politics. Women lack resources and are generally poor as every property including themselves, are owned by the man; they lack finance to support themselves in politics.

With the high population of women in the Chonyi and being the majority members, women have not been successful in entering into political leadership since independence, which raises a lot of concern. Since independence no woman has tried to contest for the parliamentary positions until 2007, when one woman tried to contest and was not successful. The situation in the civic leadership is not any different with very few women trying to contest in 2007. (C.A.I 2008)

The survey further observed that most NGOs working in the area do not directly support women enter into politics. Most NGOs shy away because they believe that Chonyi is a difficult area to work in, in terms of the negative attitude towards development, making it more difficult to involve/support women enter politics.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Despite Kenya's ratification of the international human rights convention which seeks to expand women's participation in leadership and governance positions, and enacting policies that support women enter into politics, very little significant progress has been made and women are largely invisible in political leadership at all levels compared to men. Current statistics in Kenya and coast province affirm this situation. The current parliament has only 22 women, which is only 10% of the total number of members of parliament (222). Coast has only one elected and one nominated Member of Parliament (Hansard 2007). Studies carried out by Community Aid international, have shown that no women have taken part in political leadership especially in parliamentary positions in Chonyi division; the situation is no different in the civic leadership where none has tried to enter into political leadership until 2007. In 2007, five candidates contested for civic seats and none was successful, while in parliamentary positions, only one

attempted and was not successful either. The most common explanation is that patriarchal structures and culture, limit women participation in the public sphere, although this could be true. It is notable to note that women in most countries have entered the labor force in increasing numbers but entering the political sphere the pace has been slow.

Studies conducted to investigate factors influencing women's entry into political leadership are very few in the coastal region, especially in Chonyi division. (CAI Survey 2007). This study attempted to fill this gap by carrying out an investigation into those factors that have influenced the entry of women into political leadership.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was to determine the factors influencing entry of women into political leadership, especially the case of women parliamentary and civic aspirants in Chonyi Division of Kilifi District. Whereas it is the right of all to participate in politics, the performance of women entering politics in Kenya and in Chonyi has been minimal. The study therefore sought to assess the factors influencing this situation and what can be done to encourage women enter into politics basing this on among other factors, lessons learnt from countries that have been successful.

1.4 Objectives of the study

The broad objective of this study was to determine the factors influencing the entry of women into political leadership, especially the women parliamentary and civic aspirants in Chonyi division of Kilifi District.

The specific objectives were threefold:

1. To examine how education has influenced the entry of women into political leadership.
2. To investigate how culture has affected women's entry into political leadership
3. To determine how politics has contributed to the entry of women in political leadership.

1.5 Research questions

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

1. To what extent did education influence entry of women into political leadership?
2. Did culture affect women entry into political leadership?
3. To what extent did politics influence entry of women in political leadership?

1.6 Basic Assumptions of the study.

This study based on three basic assumptions:

1. Women who desire to enter into political leadership are well trained and educated
2. Culture is a major influence in the entry of women into political leadership
3. Political support would influence entry of women into political leadership

1.7 Significance of the study

From the literature review the general entry of women into political leadership has been slow in many countries, and further minimal studies have been done on factors influencing entry of women into political leadership this situation in Kenya. Various factors have been identified such as culture, education, patriarchal structure; however these factors are not the same everywhere in the world. The findings of this study will try to seek clarity on the factors that have influenced entry of women in political leadership. It will in the end be useful to women intending to vie for political leadership and be an eye opener to stakeholders and the government in the area on what has caused this situation and what can be done to improve it. The results would assist the government and stakeholders to advocate and implement policies that would influence women's entry into politics, resulting in gender balance in politics, which can be beneficial to the whole community. The study further, intends to serve as a future reference not only for beneficiaries in Chonyi, but to other areas where entry has been poor and for other researchers who would like to know more about factors influencing women's entry into political leadership. The results will also help the aspirants and the communities reflect on their achievements or on their obstacles and try to find solutions to the same.

1.8 Scope of study

This study focused in Chonyi division of Bahari constituency. Chonyi is one of the three divisions in Bahari constituency with a population of 135700. The reason for selecting Chonyi is, despite women being the majority and the division having the highest population and having majority active women groups in the constituency (Kilifi District Development plan 2008); women have not entered into politics since independence, compared to Bahari and Kikambala divisions of Bahari constituency, where women have been very active in entering in politics. It was not until 2007 elections that one woman tried to vie for the parliamentary against 11 male and was not successful. The situation in the civic seats is no different with 3 women against 12 male contestants. (Electoral commission of Kenya 2007).

Culture is very entrenched in all spheres of the Chonyi people including politics, unlike the other divisions of Bahari constituency. This study thus tries to find out if culture together with other factors influence entry of women into politics

1.9 Delimitations of the study

Previous work experience in the area was advantageous to the researcher in that she was able to know who and where to get the respondents, Further knowledge of the local language by the interviewer was advantageous especially when relating with the illiterate respondents. Lastly the questions asked were as friendly as possible, in order to encourage the participants, to actively participate.

1.10 Limitations of the study

The key informants mostly being outsiders (from outside Chonyi) were not able to reveal some of the information asked especially cultural factors. It was further important to say that, it was not easy to separate social, and cultural aspects from politics since they are closely interrelated, one cause the other and also one is a consequence of the other.

The key informants were not readily available as some government officers are in charge of two districts this was after the formation of new districts e.g. Kaloleni and Kilifi

Due to limited funds the study did not focus on the whole constituency but concentrated on Chonyi Division which was a representative of the other divisions.

Availability of funds limited the number of people to be interviewed and distances to each interviewer. Thus those interviewed were representative.

j II Definitions of Significant terms

The following terms are the meanings of the terms that will be used in this study

Aspirant:	A person who intends to vie for a political seat (Civic/Parliamentary)
Constituency:	The geographical area represented by a Member of Parliament in Kenya.
Civic Aspirant	Person who tried to contest for county or municipal elections
Decision Makers:	Persons who influence policies and that affect society
Division:	An administrative area headed by a divisional head
Leaders:	A person who leads others in politics.
Member of Parliament:	A person elected or nominated to represent his/her Constituents in the Kenyan Parliament.
Millennium Development Goals:	These are eight goals that the UN set to be achieved by Nations by 2015. They mainly respond to worlds main Development challenges and MDG No. 3 on women and empowerment ensures that women rights are respected.
Patriarchy	A deeply entrenched ideology that is integral to men's control over women and women's subordination to men
Participation	Entering into politics
Public life	Political life
Stakeholders	Government/NGOs/Political parties/Community



- Successful Leaders:** Leaders who have been elected by their constituents to join Parliament or Minicipal, Town/Urban councils.
- Women Empowerment:** Building the capacities of women both soft and hardware to be able to influence issues that affect them (social, political economic.)
- Women Movement** Organizations of women such as Maendeleo ya Wanawake that mobilize and support women in the political, social and economic advancement

1.12 Organization of the report

This chapter presents the background to the study where the researcher outlined the study objectives, the problem and the significance of the study. The chapter has stated the significance of factors influencing women's entry to political leadership and why Chonyi was selected and not any other area in Bahari constituency. The limitations and delimitations were also addressed. Chapter two of this report gives an outline of the literature review in relation to factors influencing women's entry into political leadership. These included educational, cultural and political factors with other moderating factors such as the role of political parties, stakeholders and men also influencing women entry into politics. Chapter three explained the research design employed, which was descriptive survey research design, which allowed for an in-depth investigation on the factors influencing entry of women into political leadership. The methods of data collection were also explained, which were mainly interviews and questionnaires and the data analyzed using qualitative and statistical methods of analysis. Chapter four presented the data, analysis and interpretation. Chapter five presented the findings, discussions, conclusions and recommendations of the study in relation the objectives

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Existing studies show a number of factors influencing women's entry into political leadership, this study thus discusses some of the factors influencing entry of women into political leadership; **Focus** will be on research from other countries and relate their arguments to the Kenyan context. The discussions will mainly be on factors influencing women entry into political leadership namely education, culture and political aspects. Other factors include ineffective support, both technical and financial by government, NGOs (lack of lobbying and advocacy strategies in support of women), lack of partnership and networking among the groups, and minimal support in bringing men on board to support women as moderating factors.

2.2 Educational Factors

Education 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 for the girl child. The girls who got the opportunity to join 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 good housewives and mothers. The education system failed to empower women as equal to men in the public and development arena. (Synder and Tadesse 1995). Unfortunately very little improvement has been made to encourage girls take up subjects that will empower them to fight for the same positions as men. During the 2010 announcement of the Kenya Certificate of Primary school results, the Minister for Education still raised the concern of girls taking up arts subjects and not science or technical subjects like their male counterparts. (Ministry of Education Report. 2010).

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 lives and gain access to knowledge, information and new ideas that will help them do so. (Jejeebhoy 1995). Education increases the likelihood that women will look after their own well-being including that of their family. There are also other effects associated with

education that suggest 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 the outside world including governments officials and service providers of all kinds. (Nailer Kabeer 2005)

In a study done 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 the middle-east, and this also applies to the sub-Saharan Africa, Kenya and Chonyi being part of the same. In the same study it was observed that the career expectations of parents/guardians for their daughters and the daughters own aspiration were much narrower in range than those cited by the sons. The choice of careers for girls was limited to nursing, teaching, secretarial and clerical; this situation influences women from participating for the same positions as men and weakens their confidence in entering into public life.

Naomi Ngwira (1998) observes that "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". 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 is more exposed to the public and participates better in politics than the girl (Ciarunji Chasaina 1994)

Illiteracy influences participation in politics and development. Many present illiterate women were once enrolled in schools but were not able to complete the primary level. The rural areas of sub-Saharan Africa are characterized by greater primary repetition, attrition and overage especially among the girls, who end up dropping out before completing primary level (Nagat El-Sunbary 1989). On the other hand adult women must take care of children, and cook while their daughters further bear the burden of helping the family with kitchen chores, which increases the illiteracy levels. Most women lack the motivation to learn due to the many responsibilities they have of fending for the family. The government on the other hand lacks the motivation to tackle

illiteracy because increased illiteracy can create a larger population of people who are potentially critical of their surroundings (Agneta Lind 1988). This situation puts the women at a disadvantage position in all development aspects including politics.

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 2987). This resistance to women literacy has been found in several African settings. (Lind & Johnstone 1986), worsening the likelihood of women being able to enter into politics. Greater physical mobility by men, promotes greater social contact 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 women are disadvantaged. (Lind & Johnstone 1986)

The Kilifi District Adult Education statistics report 2007, indicate a majority of the population and especially women in Chonyi are illiterate, which becomes difficult for them to be informed of issues that affect them and also make them have the confidence to voice on issues that affect them thus limit their participation in politics. For a woman to enter into politics she must be well informed on the issues that affect her, her household and the community and voice these issues to the authorities to be able to influence decisions and policies that affect them. It is through education that a woman gets the confidence to talk on various issues, which lacks and hence influences them from taking part in political leadership. When the population is illiterate, the belief that women cannot lead grows with them, unlike the literate population that believes that a political leader can be any one regardless of gender #Ist a Au CAN A°c o u E C T ^

Unlike Uganda that has department of women studies in their various universities to address women issues, (Mwaka 1995), in Kenya universities do not have specific women's department. What is available are gender departments that promote both men and women, while historically women have suffered a lot of injustices and it is only fair that departments should be created in all universities to address women issues. Inadequate training on mobilization and leadership skills for women has also been an influencing factor, as women are not able to participate confidently in the public life.

people^e High levels of education and professional backgrounds, form the bulk of political actors. Successful entry into politics seems to be largely confined to a narrow pool of potential applicants comprising of people who are well educated in professional occupations such as well law and teaching and are integrated in a network of civic associations (Schlesinger 1991). Politicians are in a sense, leaders of the community and as such must be those who have exhibited managerial qualities and leadership skills, they must be "someone of enough standing to command the respect of as large a group of voters as possible" (Dahl 1962) Well educated people of high socio-economic status arguably, also have a greater interest in politics. Working people, on the other hand may generally have less of the skills and interest to pursue a political career. A number of studies in the United States of America and some cross-national analysis support this and have found out that well educated people with white collar jobs are more likely to enter into politics while the wage earner votes often less and is likely to participate in campaigns (Dahl 1962)

2.3 Cultural Factors

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 2000). Given that few women are in the workforce, their participation in the political life is limited. Despite a large number of women turning out to vote, the proportion of women represented in the political life is still low, and thus it is important for them to be active in the public life- such as being members of parliament, councilors and participate in institutional leadership.

Women in general work between fifteen and eighteen hours a day. The domestic division of labour allocates the most tedious and heavy work to women. Their routine includes childrearing, preparation of food, fanning, harvesting, fetching water, and marketing their produce which in the 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 woman. (Mughenyi and Banya 1994)

ⁿ Uganda just like many African countries women shoulder most of the problems, access to water, education, health, and fanning. For example many rural folk fetch water from unhygienic

ources such as unprotected rivers, wells, springs which is contaminated and this affects the family' Women walk long distances in search of water which increases their work load and working hours. Food security is threatened by unreliable rainfall since the country depends on agriculture that depends on rainfall (UNICEF 1989). Regarding energy, the main source of energy is firewood which is used by the woman who walks long distances in search of the same to be able to provide meals for their families, these activities consume a lot of time that could have been used for other development activities such as participating in politics and decision making.

In Rwanda, according to a 1995 government report prepared for the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, before the outbreak of genocide in 1994, the patriarchal structure of Rwandan society denied women access to opportunities outside the home, and historically women were discriminated against, both formally and informally, in education, health, agriculture, politics and employment. The traditional and legal constraints placed on women by society have been compounded by a lack of knowledge on the part of women themselves about their rights and a lack of power to enforce them. High levels of poverty generally contributed further to the secondary status of women. As politicians, women's participation was extremely low prior to the genocide. In parliament, women's participation never rose above 17 percent. Within the executive branch of government, there were no women appointees until 1990, when women constituted a mere 5.26 percent. 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 discriminatory laws which denied them land ownership and informal discrimination which limited their ability to obtain credit and further support them enter into politics.

In India the Indian government amended its constitution by bringing women into the local bodies (Ghopalan and Shiva 2000). But which women have been able to take advantage of the new entitlement? Are the women even aware of the changes that have been introduced in the central government? Further are there significant intercommunity differences on whether the women are aware of these developments and how they respond to them? The answers to these questions are interesting. Prominent arguments both in India and sub-Saharan Africa have been suggested that women's participation is generally inadequate either because they have been socialized differently (especially as far as marriage, motherhood, employment, and property

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ownership are concerned) or because they have fewer resources or that they are not aware of their right (Burns 1994). An implicit assumption in these arguments is that the lower participation of women is mostly as a result of socialization that leads them to think of political activity in a different way than men. In other words women don't take active part in political activity because they don't think that political participation is important or if some are aware of the advantages that politics brings they are still not active participants of the political life.

According to Basu (1992) a woman who can negotiate independent space for themselves within the household are more likely to participate in political life. And even after an amendment of including women in politics, their participation was still minimal compared to that of men, some were not even aware of their new entitlement. Whether women knew of the entitlement or not was largely determined by their levels of education, family income and whether they belonged to a "political family" someone in their family had taken part in electoral politics. Further whether a woman contests in the elections depends, in addition to the socio/economic status in her household. This situation is true in India, sub-Saharan Africa.

Political activity takes place in the public sphere, which in many parts of the world is inhabited by the men. For example political demonstrations in many parts of the world, majority of the participants are men. For women to be active they have to be in the political arena, this means "stepping out of the house hold". Women must have an existence autonomous of the household which Hartmann (1999) noted are still a sphere of male dominance. As long as women are confined to the home, they do not have an identity independent of the household; their level of political participation will be lower than that of men because they are hardly in the public sphere. Are there factors that prevent women from participating in public life? One explanation suggests women participate at lower levels than men because they have more demands; in a woman work schedule including housework and childrearing (South and Spitze 1994). Another reason why women are not politically active is because they are discriminated against-legally/culturally or otherwise and further lack the resources to participate.

The Rural woman has accepted her position and does not question some facets of her life especially their relationship to men. Most women agree that men are responsible for their lack of social mobility (Chibber 1990). The responsibilities between men and women is as another

variable where the woman is occupied with her gender responsibilities which include housework, childcare and farming meaning they have no time to enter into politics.

According to Burns (1994) the few women who enter into politics are those, someone in their family had participated in politics, as they were more aware of 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 is considered the foremost entry path for women politicians. In a study of women national leaders by Michael Genovese (1993) he states in examination of the career patterns of the women who have become national leaders one characteristic stands out above all other, very few of the women rose to power "on their own" most of the women "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 the women who have entered politics such as Beth Mugo-Dagoreti, Nyiva Mwendwa-Kitui Central, Cecily Mbarire-Runyenjes, Charity Ngilu- Kitui central all have either father or relative having been politicians

Child birth is another gender factor that influences entry of women into politics, where majority of the women give birth to as many as 9 or ten children, either in search of boys or due to lack of education on birth controls. This large number of children increases the workload on the woman within the household, leaving little room to enter into political leadership.

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. Quite frequently women lack security to access to credit. Generally women lack access to available technology, information, and extension services which are available to men whether or not they head households. This influences entry of women into Politics. (Mwaka 1994)

IDEA institute in Stockholm argues women politicians around the world are at a disadvantage in terms of financial resources, since women are a majority of the world's poor and in many patriarchal societies cannot own property and do not have money of their own.

In conclusion, women participation is affected by a number social/cultural factors, these include the gender roles, socialization of the women, lack of resources, lack of awareness on what affects them- family background and the attitude of men towards women in politics, however for women to be equal to men they have to move out of the household and negotiate for their democratic space.

2.4 Political Factors

The political advancement of women depends on expanding the legal, institutional and socio-space that they are able to command. The family is obviously the starting point for progress into the wider society. Women have to be involved in family decisions that affect their lives, those of their children and manage the family income (UNICEF 1993) The African traditional setup does not support making of joint decisions concerning the family within the households. Decisions on acquisition of property, children education, and healthcare are done in most cases entirely by the husband. While women, to a small extent, sometimes participate, their impact will be more significant if it is sustained and extended to other sectors of the society. Unfortunately the political sphere where the core of empowerment lies is still a male dominated monopoly. Women are under represented in parliament, councils, cabinet and ambassadorial positions in many African countries (Lotsman Fonjong 2001).

In Kenya women comprise more than 51% of the country's total population but in 1985 they made up only 1.16% of the total membership in parliament. There were only 2 women cabinet ministers and 2 female judges of the high court (Audrey wiper 1984). Even despite the encouragement of various organizations to Kenyan women to run for political office during the 1992 elections, they fell short of their original goal to achieve 30.35% female representation in Parliament. Further more only 45 women were elected to civic posts and none appointed to cabinet positions (Nzomo 1996) Before the declaration of the women decade, Kenya's development policies and programmes were gender blind, the basic philosophy underlying development planning was that gender distinctions in programming was unnecessary as all

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development projects were assumed to benefit both men and women equally. The only women organization that existed was Maendeleo Ya Wanawake (MYWO) and National council of women of Kenya (NCWK). Only after the declaration of the women's decade did the Kenyan government begin to demonstrate an active interest in women organization in addition to creating a women's bureau. The Declaration of the United Nations Women in 1975 demanded that member countries make changes and introduce policies and programmes geared towards accelerated advancement of women. The Kenya government responded by giving support as well as exercising greater control over existing women national NGOs-MYWO and NCWK, and further created the national government machinery for women - Women's Bureau. However it turned out that the women bureau was a powerless institution for empowering Kenyan women as it still holds the status of a department within the gender ministry, is under funded and as a government organ it cannot afford to criticize government policies or push for radical changes in favor of women. Though it has been successful in registering women organizations its impact is yet to be felt. Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization on the hand is one of the oldest women organizations, and the largest in terms of membership and the number of women affiliated to it. However its role dwindled to the point where its position as women's mobilizing agent in rural areas had become quite insignificant, later with further support of the government it became the largest organization with over 300,000 membership and over 8000 groups in 1985.(Wamalwa 1987) MYWO rose to prominence during the 1985 women's decade where it took a leading role over the women of Kenya, with time, the trend changed when the organization merged with KANU - Kenya National Party, and since then it has never been clear whether it lost its NGO status and became a government organ like the women's bureau. (Nzomo 1996)

Women structures from the national level to the grass root level are weak. The women bureau and later the gender ministry is not supported both financial and technically, in terms of trainings especially at the grass root level. The Maendeleo Ya Wanawake organization that is supposed to champion women issues is more aligned to the government and hardly voice issues concerning women. At the grass root level the structures are weak in that they lack resources to support them 'n having women issues addressed (Kilifi District Development plan 2008)

The Ministry of Gender and Social Services is also weak in supporting women to take up leadership positions. The staffs at the grass root are not supported financially, nor are they skilled

to train women on mobilization or leadership skills; this makes it difficult to have women take up leadership positions.

Regarding the quota system, between 2000 and 2002, elections were held in 23 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, with increased in women parliamentarians in 14 of them. Most of the countries that have achieved significant increases in women's participation have done so through the use of quotas - which is a form of affirmative action in favor of women. Worldwide, about 30 of the world's more than 190 countries apply some form of female quotas in politics.

In Uganda, Ms. Beatrice Kiraso, who was elected to parliament in 1996, argues that quotas kick-started the process of improving women's participation in national politics. A cycle began in which "women gained confidence in women, opening up even more avenues." Uganda's quota system evolved from the current government's origins in a guerrilla war during the 1980s, when women fought alongside men in the National Resistance Army (NRA). In each of the zones the rebels won, local councils were set up, with each including a secretary for women's affairs. Eventually when the NRA came to power in 1986, it introduced the system into national politics. By 1994, the government of President Yoweri Museveni appointed Dr. Wandira Kazibwe as vice president, making her one of the highest ranking women in politics on the continent. In South Africa too, women played a key role in the national liberation struggle and today are benefiting from a quota system adopted by the ruling party- African National Congress (ANC).

According to the IDEA institute, Africa has three main quota systems: Constitutional quotas, where the constitution reserves seats in the national assembly for women. Countries that have been successful in this approach include Burkina Faso and Uganda, the second system is the, Election law quota system, which provides that laws on quotas are written into national legislation, a good example is Sudan. Thirdly is the Political party quota system, where parties adopt internal rules to include a certain percentage of women as candidates for office. This is the case with the governing parties in South Africa and Mozambique. However, while introducing quotas provides a means of addressing the gender imbalance in decision-making, the practice often lacks support from important political actors or meets opposition in societies that have strong patriarchal traditions. Much like the debate around affirmative action, those opposed to quota systems say they discriminate against men.

The Zambian government ratified a number of international instruments to promote women in politics, however, the Zambian National Women's Lobby group reports, none "have been domesticated." Cultural and traditional practices subjecting women to male dominance have hindered women's progress in achieving gender equality in politics. Women face barriers such as "conflict, intimidation, negative attitudes, stereotypes by society and lack of support from the electorate," notes the group. The Stockholm-based Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) reports that women politicians across the globe confront a "masculine model" of politics. In many cases they lack political party support and have no access to quality education and training to enter politics. Political life is organized for male norms and values and in many cases even for male life-styles, notes Ms. Margaret Dongo, a Zimbabwean politician.

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; 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 political/decision making positions. (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 still being discussed in the on going constitution..

While Kenya continues to perform dismally where increasing the number of women in key Positions of leadership is concerned, neighboring Uganda and Tanzania have made giant steps in this area. Uganda's constitution has enshrined an affirmative action measure to boost female representation in government and public service. Through the system established in 1995, special

seats for women were created in parliament, increasing the percentage of women lawmakers to about 25 percent, according to government figures. The same system specifies 30 percent representation of women in the public service. Similar initiative has been shown in Tanzania where parliament in 2000 passed a bill to increase seats for women in parliament and public service to at least 30 percent. Rwanda's case has been the most spectacular, which now has the largest number of women in parliament - 56 percent - in the world. The country's constitution provides for a 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 percent of policy-making posts in the public service (Mulama 2005)

The role of the government and other stakeholders is another 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 has been done in empowering them and involving them in management, decisions, and political participation. (Mwaka and Banyana 1994.8) 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 in councils one position is reserved for a woman. While at the National level apart from those who go through the normal process of elections, one woman 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 (V.Mariam 1996)

The Ugandan constitution further supports women in their different articles by providing facilities and opportunities necessary to enhance the welfare of women and enable them realize their full potential. It protects women and their rights, taking into account their unique status and natural maternal functions in society. Women have rights to equal treatment with men which includes equal opportunities in politics, economic and social activities. It further states that women shall have the right to affirmative action for the purpose of redressing the imbalances Seated by history, tradition or customs. Culture, customs or tradition that harm the dignity, welfare or interest of women will be prohibited (Ugandan constitution article 33 section 4, 5, 6).

Rwanda's case has been the best example in the world, which now has the largest number of women in parliament - 56 percent. The country's constitution provides for a 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 percent of policy-making posts in the public service (Mulama 2005)

Lack of cohesiveness among the Kenyan women as a group is especially evident at the legislative and political levels. Kenyan women have failed to act a pressure group to lobby for change in the policies and structures that perpetuate their subordinate status. Politically despite the fact that women constitute the majority of voters during elections, they have been unable to constitute themselves into an interest or pressure group, capable of promoting progressive women candidates into the corridors of power and decision making. It is significant to note that the few women who have attained important political positions have done so in spite of or without the support of other women. More often than not these women are either presidential appointees or have struggled single handedly to those positions. Consequently women who find their way to the top in this manner cannot be expected to promote the feminist policies as their loyalty is to themselves and to those who put them in those positions. (Asiyo 1987)

Despite this lesson, Kenyan authorities have reneged on their pledge to reserve quotas for women in the public service as well as parliament. A presidential declaration in 2006 that women would be allocated 30 percent of appointments in the public service has not materialized. Three years later, women leaders are accusing authorities of lacking commitment to achieving this figure. Their displeasure intensified following the appointment of a 12-member team to help resolve disputes that had engulfed the ruling coalition government. An all-male team was appointed by the president Jan. 15 to the chagrin of women leaders who complained of being marginalized. Two women were then added to the list following public outcry. (Mulama 2005)

Political qualifications is another influencing factor whereby concerns of the electorate, such as the competence of the candidate and the appeal of their political platform may weigh heavily in the minds of the voters. Turning first to the issues of competency regardless of sex, the electorate could be quite concerned about the qualifications of the candidate. If on average women candidates are less competent than the male contestants, they would face a lower probability of being elected. Some scholars speculate that women candidates are relatively less qualified and

that this presumably translates into fewer women elected into political office (Noris 1996) Women are then caught in a vicious cycle - they cannot gain the relevant political expertise not having been elected into office and face a lower chance of getting elected because they lack the experience, which could be the bottleneck of women's entry into politics. Further women generally are not aware of the qualifications to enter into politics. A research conducted by community aid international realized that women do not know the requirements to enter into politics and this affects their entry into political leadership.

Role of the political party is another influencing factor, a study by National Democratic Institute for internationally affairs singled in out that Kenyan political parties do not support women especially in terms of financial support and access to political networks. Most parties have male-oriented norms and structures that mitigate against women public participation, including political party schedules that are difficult to reconcile with parental and family responsibilities. These parties do not support women with leadership-oriented trainings and education for women to influence their entry, they have male dominated influential decision-making structures in which women's concerns are not adequately addressed and they further short-change women during political party nominations and end up nominating very few women who present themselves for party nominations. All these factors influence entry of women into politics.

2.5. Other key factors affecting entry of women into political leadership

2.5.1 Lobbying and advocacy.

Africa has achieved greater success than other regions in increasing representation of women in parliament and other decision making positions. The adoption and implementation of the quota system in many African countries has been integral in this development. The success in quota system is attributed to strong active women movements which lobbied for quotas and greater participation in politics; regional bodies such as South African Development Community (SADC) adopted gender balanced representation within organization; set quotas targets for member countries and actively monitored their progress in each of the countries. The opportunities in post election-conflict allowed for advances in representation of women. Women Movements have been pushing for more balanced representation in regional bodies and lobbied for countries to adopt the quota policies. Rwanda is now the world leader with the largest

proportion of women in parliament, while Mozambique and South Africa are ranked among the top 15 (Tripp 2008)

2.5.2 The role of men in supporting women in political leadership

Though this could be a tall order, a few men believe that women can be leaders having seen how women leaders are transparent, trustworthy, friendly and able to lead. Countries that have encouraged men to work together with women to influence the society to support women as leaders have achieved great success for example Uganda, Rwanda and Tanzania..

2.5.3 Partnership and Networking

partnership and networking has worked very well in Rwanda, where immediately after the genocide, while the government and society were in disarray, women NGOs stepped in to fill the vacuum by providing a variety of much needed services to the traumatized population. Women came together on a multi-ethnic basis to reconstitute the umbrella organization pro-femmes which had been established in 1992. Pro femmes coordinated the activities of thirteen women NGOs, and continue to coordinate more. This organization had been effective in organizing partnership and networking of women groups and advising government on issues of women participation in politics. Women in Rwanda have developed a three-pronged mechanism of coordinating their advocacy among civil society organizations (pro femmes), the executive branch of ministry of gender and women development and the legislative branch (Forum of women parliamentarians) Hannah Baldwin (2009). A report done by USAID in 2002 commended the significant role done by pro femmes in influencing public policy and concluded that women NGOs are the most vibrant sector of civil society and one of the few organizations in Rwanda civil society that have an effective partnership and networking strategy that had favored women entering into politics.

2.6. Conceptual framework

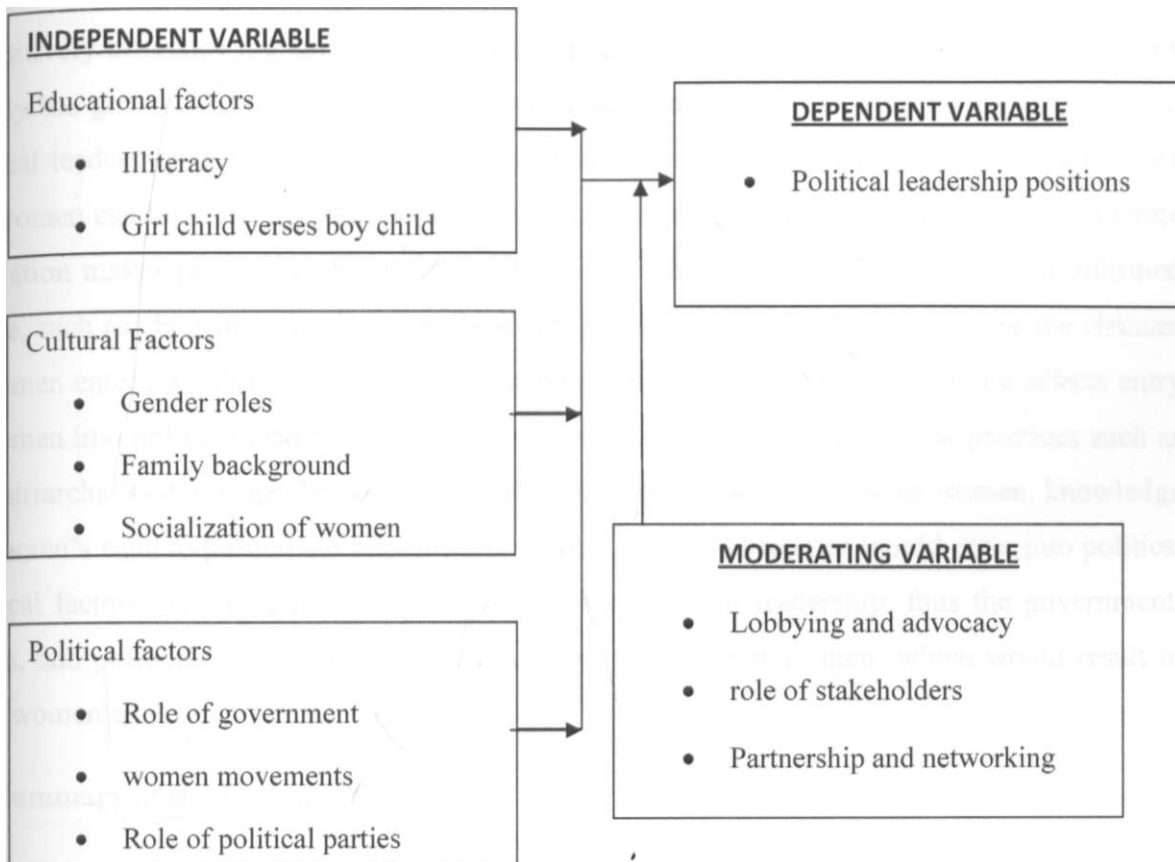


Fig 1. A conceptual framework - on assessing the factors influencing women's entry into political leadership and decision making.

The figure **assesses** the factors influencing entry of women's into political leadership in Chonyi division of Kilifi District. It shows some of the variables (independent, dependent and moderating) that come into play in influencing entry of women in politics. Education is expected to positively influence the entry of women into political leadership. If the community supports equally the girl and boy child, then we expect equal participation of both men and women in political leadership. Further if the adults are educated, they will be enlightened and appreciate that women can lead. An illiterate population in most cases does not question, however a literate population makes people be able to criticize the surroundings and be able to make an informed choice, such as choosing a leader regardless of their gender and this would increase the chances of women entering politics as they are transparent, honest and trustworthy. Culture affects entry of women into political leadership. If increased awareness on negative cultural practices such as the patriarchal systems, gender roles, ownership of property, socialization of women, knowledge on women's right to participate in politics to name a few, more women would enter into politics. Political factors also influence entry of women into political leadership, thus the government, NGOs, and political parties should have structures that support women, which would result in more women entering politics.

2.7. Summary of the Literature

This chapter explains the literature review in relation to the factors influencing entry of women into political leadership. It explains how educational factors in other countries have influenced entry of women into politics; these factors are similar in many parts of the African continent. In most cases the girl child is favored compared to the boy child, this works unfavorably in a woman quest in entering into political leadership. However other countries have encouraged women in education and this has worked positively in women entering into politics. The chapter farther explains how cultural factors such as gender roles, patriarchal systems, and family background affect a woman's entry into politics. The work load that a woman has is too much; this leaves her with time to enter into 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 Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda that have introduced the quota system, electoral systems and amended the constitution to accommodate women entering into politics. Other factors such Lobbying and advocacy, the role of men and partnership and networking in

supporting women in politics have played a big role. The adoption and implementation of the quota system in many African countries has been integral in women politics. The success of the quota systems attributed to strong active women movements which lobbied for quotas and greater participation in politics, regional bodies such as South African Development Community **(SADC)** adopted gender balanced representation within organization, set quota targets for member countries and monitored the process, this increased women in political leadership.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

11 Introduction

This study presents details of the research design and methodology that was used to gather information. It describes location of the study, target population, sampling procedure, sample size, data collection instruments and analysis procedures that were utilized to answer the research questions and achieve the objectives.

3.2 Research Design

The study employed a descriptive survey research design, and a case study of Chonyi division of Bahari constituency, the case study was used to allow an in-depth investigation of the factors influencing entry of women into politics. Primary data was collected from women, aspirants and key informants in order to analyze the factors influencing women entering into politics, with respect to the variables in the study, and further combine this information with the secondary data that was available. This research therefore utilized both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Administration of questionnaires and interviews were used to a sample of women, aspirants and key informants in order to determine the opinions, attitudes and perceptions of persons of interest to the research and thus appropriate for the study. The study used the information collected from the field based on what the interviewees said.

3.3 Target population and Sample Size

The target population for the study was women from Chonyi division of Bahari Constituency. Those interviewed were mainly women in Chonyi division, women aspirants and persons who influenced the participation of women in politics in the District. The women that were interviewed were systematically selected from the electoral commission voter register. The register had a total of number of 17,340 women voters; this formed the sampling frame upon which the sample was picked. Systematically sampling method was used to select a sampling interval of the 400th person to reduce a bias in the selection and have a manageable size and hitherto every member has an equal chance of inclusion. A total number of total of 43 respondents were selected, with additional 6 women aspirants purposively selected as women who had

participated in entering into politics thus reliable for the study. The key informants were purposely selected as persons that work in the district and from organizations that deal directly with women in politics, a total of 6 persons were questioned , this sampling method, is relevant as it involves selecting persons with information that would give an in-depth analysis related to the issues of the study. The total number of respondents was 55.

3.4. Sampling technique

The sampling design that was applied was the non-probability sampling technique, specifically purposive sampling procedure for 6 key informants who included District Development Officer, District Social Services Development officer, Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization, Moving the Goal Posts, Kilifi Residents Forum and District Officer Bahari and 6 women aspirants. The other 47 women were systematically sampled using the voter register.

3.5 Data collection Instruments

The study employed both interviews and questionnaires to collect primary data from respondents. The questionnaires had both open and closed ended questions. The questionnaires were administered by research assistants and the researcher. Three questionnaires were designed;

- a) for women
- b) women aspirants Jl-i-Ecrion
- c) Key informants.

The main reason for administering the questionnaire was because it is reliable information, and gave the respondent the courage and confidentiality that she needed, the method encouraged interaction and collaboration between the interviewer and the respondent, and finally captures the feelings and expressions with which various issues were raised. Key informant interviews, were done to people who were knowledgeable on women issues and more on politics.

Secondary data was collected from research reports, journals and previous thesis, which provided a wider understanding of the issues influencing entry of women in politics.

. 6 Validity and Reliability

A pilot study was conducted by randomly selecting 5 women; Questionnaires were formulated to produce accurate responses and administered, this helped establish the validity and reliability of the questionnaire. The findings from the study were used to measure the reliability of the data collection instruments. No major changes were made to the questionnaires.

3,7 Ethical Considerations

The research was properly planned from the beginning to minimize chances of getting misleading results. During the interviews, steps were taken to protect and ensure dignity and welfare of the respondents as well as those who may be affected by the results of the research. Any physical discomfort during the research was carefully considered and respondents were made to feel as comfortable as possible. The interviewees also conducted themselves in an ethical manner through out the research. The lead researcher sought the relevant approval from the university, local administration and from the independent electoral commission to conduct the study.

3.8. Methods of Data presentation and analysis

The data collected from the interviews and questionnaires was analyzed by both qualitative and statistical methods for data analysis. The data was keyed into frequencies distribution tables as per identified themes. Frequency distribution table gave a record of the number of times a score or response occurs. The score was presented using percentages. All quantitative data was presented using table. Qualitative data was derived from reading responses of the open questions and past studies/journals.

8. Operational definition of variables:

^Variable	Indicator	Data collection method	Scale	Tool of analysis
rpendent variable: Entry of women into political leadership	Number of women who have entered political leadership	questionnaire	Percentage	Qualitative and statistical methods
Education -girl verses boy child - illiteracy	Number of girls educated verses boys Number of women/men	questionnaire questionnaires	Percentage Percentage	Qualitative and statistical methods
social/cultural -gender roles	Number of women	questionnaires	Percentage	Qualitative and statistical methods

backgr ^{oimd} financial (sources socialization of women	Number of women from political families Number of women affected Number of women with resources	questionnaires questionnaires questionnaires	Percentage Percentage Percentage	
"political factor role of governments women movements role of political parties	Number of activities Number of activities Number of activities	questionnaires questionnaires questionnaires	Percentage percentage	Qualitative and statistical methods

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

focus of this study was to analyse and interpret factors influencing entry of women in politics in Chonyi Division of Kilifi District. 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 respectively. The parameters covered in this study included the respondents age and level of education to determine the characteristics of the respondents. Cultural and political factors were also considered to determine whether they contributed to or hindered the entry of women into politics.

The objectives of the research were to:

1. To examine how education influences entry of women's into political leadership.
2. To investigate how culture affects women's entry into political leadership
3. To determine how politics contributes to the entry of women in political leadership

After validation, questionnaires were used to collect the data. Percentages as well as and summated ratings were used for data analysis. The results were shown in tabulations showing the varying percentages.

4.2 Profile of the respondents

A total of 55 questionnaires were administered to different classes of respondents. 6 questionnaires were administered to key informants who were mainly persons who deal directly with women in leadership. Their qualification was determined by the fact that they have been involved with women in leadership in the area; they were mainly NGO workers, and Government officials. Another 6 were administered to women who have vied for political Positions. The questionnaires administered to the key informants and the aspirants were all answered resulting to a 100% response rate as they were administered by the researcher. Out of women voters 38 were administered resulting in a 80% response rate.

Assessing the factors influencing entry of women into political leadership

This study centred in Chonyi Division and investigated factors influencing entry of women into political leadership. The various variables identified included education, socio/cultural, and political factors.

4 3.1. History of women in political leadership-Parliamentary representation in Kenya

Table 4.1: Representation of women/men members of parliament.

Item	Area	Elected	Percentage
n	Members of Parliament	22	9%
	Women		
2.	Coast members of Parliament	2	1%
3.	Members of Parliament	200	90%
Total		222	100%

The table 4.1 shows the intensity of gender imbalance in the representation of women in parliament at the national level. Although the government advocates for gender mainstreaming in all areas, there is very little commitment in implementing the same as shown above. This contradicts with the millennium goal of achieving gender equality and women empowerment by 2015. There is therefore need for increased advocacy and lobbying, to increase the representation of women in parliament and in the process areas like Chonyi can also have women representation.

4-3.2. Distribution of Respondents by level of education.

The study was interested in finding out whether any relationship existed between education of the respondents and their entry into political leadership.

Table 4.2: Distribution of respondents by level of education

Level of Education	Frequency	Percentage
Not Educated	29	52%
primary	13	24%
Secondary	5	10%
University	4	7%
Tertiary	4	7%
Total	55	100%

Table 4.2 shows the 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 the level of education. Entering into political leadership has a minimum requirement; Parliamentary entry, one has to have minimum of secondary level of education, while civic one had to have reached at least form 2. From the table 4.2 only 10% had finished secondary level of education, this reduces the chances of women entering into political leadership. Further the few members with university education forming 7% were key informants who are mainly from outside the area, with one local parliamentary aspirant. Majority of those interviewed were illiterate (52%) meaning they do not qualify nor are they informed of issues affecting them to be able to enter and actively participate in politics or even understand and criticise issues that affect them such women entering politics. An illiterate population will blindly follow what they were told. 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 lives and gain access to knowledge, information and new ideas that will help them do so. (Jejeebhoy 1995). Education increases the likelihood that women will look after their own well-being including that of their family. There are also other effects associated with education that suggest 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

the outside world including governments officials and service providers of all kinds. (Nailer Kabeer 2005)

4.3. Distribution of the respondent's preference of boy verses girls in education

parents who have taken their Children to primary/secondary Level	Frequency	Percentage
"Have you taken all your girls to school?	20	37%
Have you taken all your boys to school	35	63%
Total	55	100%

Table 4.2 and 4.3 above show the disparities in education between the boy child verses the girl child. The right to education is a universal right for all children regardless of their gender. One of the millennium development goals is to achieve universal primary education for all by 2015. It is in this connection that the government and many other wrld governments introduced the free primary education for all children regardless of their gender.

The above results shows that, boys still receive both primary/secondary educations (63%) compared to the girl child (37%). This contributes negatively in the girl's participation in development and more specifically entry into politics. In order to increase representation of women, more girls should be educated, informed and be confident to represent women in leadership positions. According to Rohima (1996) when women are educated they inform themselves about the world and increasingly take charge of decisions affecting their own lives, and as the bargaining position in the family improves their views are more likely to be heard at higher level (public), through entry and active participation in politics

4. Distribution of Respondents involvement in gender roles

IjJ^i^enient in gender roles (housework/farming/childrearing/business	Frequency	Percentage
•j^Tinvolved in gender roles	5	9%
Women involved in gender roles	50	91%
^fotai	55	100%

From the table 4,4 indicates all women (91%) agreed to performing activities in the home, which included childrearing, cooking, household chores, farming, and small business, with only 9% of men helping in these roles. These gender roles contribute negatively on the women, who are left with most of the responsibilities such as fanning, cooking, fetching water to name a few which influences their entry into politics (Victoria Mwaka 1996). Ways should be looked into on how to divide the roles so that women can have time to participate just like the male counterparts.

For women to be active they have to be in the political arena, this means "stepping out of the house hold". Women must have an existence autonomous of the household which Hartmann (1999) noted are still a sphere of male dominance. As long as women are confined to the home, they do not have an identity independent of the household; their level of political participation will be lower than that of men because they are hardly in the public sphere

Relation of the cultural beliefs/practices and women's participation in leadership

Tural/traditional into practices	Extent to which cultural practices influences entry of women politics			
	High	Average	Low	Total
Harassment on women (physical/psychological)	45(81%)	8(15%)	2(4%)	55(100%)
Religious beliefs	42(76%)	18(18%)	3(6%)	55(100%)
Traditional (patriarchal System)	53(96%)	2(4%)	0	55(100%)

From the table 4.5 cultural practices still have a strong bearing in influencing entry of women in politics. 81% of the respondents agreed that men had a negative attitude towards women being leaders; one of the respondents answered "*that a woman's role is to listen and not lead or be heard*". Further women too did not believe that fellow women can lead, despite them being the majority voters they still preferred male candidates. Others openly preferred a male candidate than a woman out of jealousy. One respondent said

"kwanini nimchague mke mwenzangu? Ili aje aniringie? Wacha akae"

Meaning why I should elect a fellow woman so that she can be proud toward, let her stay.

On harassment which included both physical and psychological (hate speech) women were affected negatively (72%), the few women who vied for political position faced abuse especially from their male counterparts. This in the process discouraged many from trying to vie. According to Bandura (1973) in other cases, men in leadership positions talk ill of women challengers and use whatever means to suppress them and discourage them from taking on leadership positions thus succeeding in influencing women from taking up political leadership.

Religious beliefs which are influenced by the Muslim culture and traditional religion (76%) in
 ^gst, believe that a woman should not lead but listen to what the man says, all these factors
influence entry of women in political leadership. The traditional systems especially the
 patriarchal family system that enhances male dominance is very strong (96%). This system
 enhances men's control of everything including the woman, leaving very little room for their
 entry into political leadership.

yyhen asked on how the Chonyi council of elders would support women. Majority of the
 respondents said it favoured men and will almost be impossible for them to support a woman,
 since the composition is male dominated who advocate for men.

More awareness should be done to rid off these negative socio/cultural practices that influence
 women from entering into political leadership.

4.6. Family background of the woman aspirants

Has there been any member of Your family participated in politics?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	4	66%
No	2	34%
Total	6	100%

As indicated in the table 4.6 above 66% of those who participated in politics had a member of
 the family having been involved in politics, and that is why they participated. Respondents
 argued that women who came from political and educated families were more aware of any
 policy changes in the political life and better placed in vying for political leadership and other
 forms of leadership. According to Burns (1994) the few women who participated in politics are
 those, someone in their family had participated in politics, as they were more aware of political
 •ssues and aware of any political changes that would affect their chances of wining or gain
 resources.

7, Distribution of respondents by marital status (parliamentary/civic aspirants)

^ i t a i status	Frequency	Percentage
Married	2	34%
pivorced/separated/single	4	66%
Total	6	100%

Table 4.7 represents those who entered into leadership in relation to their marital status. 66% of those who vied were either widowed or single. Being involved in politics or any form of leadership is quite demanding and needs a very understanding husband, most men preferred their women not being involved in any form of leadership.

4.8. Distribution of women in terms of awareness of their rights.

Whether women are aware of their	Frequency	Percentage
Right to enter in politics/right to Education, health, security.		
Yes	15	27%
No	40	73%
Total	55	100%

The results from table 4.8 shows that 73% of the women interviewed did not know that they had various rights, which included the right to education, property, health, security to name a few.

Regarding the right to entering and participating in politics when asked most of the women, saw ¹¹ as a process by the government that should be followed and not as their right.

article 17 of the universal human rights states that,

"Every one has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. "

Most respondents even the educated did not know this right. Property in the Chonyi culture like in other African cultures took the patriarchal lineage, where male had control of everything, thus women had no right to any property including themselves. One aspirant said when she went to complain to the chief about a property she bought that had been taken by the husband. The chief told her

"A woman does not have any property of her own. Whatever she buys when she is with her husband, belongs to her husband after all, even her, she belongs to her husband. "

Another woman who was employed was told by the husband that

"she belongs to the husband including her salary which he should give it all to him ",

This is quite disturbing and shows the extent of ownership towards women in a patriarchal society. When a woman does not own property, she has no resources and in politics one needs resources to campaign. More sensitisation campaigns should be done to enlighten women on their rights

4.9. Women leaders who have been trained (leadership/advocacy/public speaking/mobilisation etc)

Leader who have been trained	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	10	19%
No	45	81%
Total	55	100%

From table 4.9 only 19% had received some form of training. The remaining 81% had not received any form of training. For one to confidently enter into political leadership, it is critical for them to have some sort of training to act as a guide. This helps build confidence, gain skills, be informed of various issues and have positive attitude towards leadership. However the results

from the table show there has been hardly any training received influencing their entry into politics

4.10. Challenges faced by women in entering into political leadership

Challenges in entering politics	Frequency	Percentage
Very challenging	49	89%
Fair	5	9%
No challenges	1	2%
Total	55	100%

Clearly table 4.10 showed that majority of women saw leadership as a challenge. Those who have directly or indirectly participated or entered into political leadership, found it very challenging (89%), due the various factors, such as low educational levels, inadequate awareness on their rights, negative social/cultural practices, harassment, financial incapacity to name a few, all these factor influenced entry of women politics

4.11. Support from government and other stakeholders including political parties

For women to participate effectively the government and other stakeholders especially NGOs have the responsibility to ensure that the community is sensitised and women trained on their rights, leadership and other forms of training relevant to women enter in political leadership. Most of the support given by NGOs was not relevant, one aspirant said

"NGOs should support us with at least t-t-shirts, posters, lesos (campaign materials) if they cannot give the cash. There is no point in supporting us by asking us to sign some document, while I don 't know where I will get posters to campaign "

These institutions should be easily accessible to the women. Majority of women did not know of any support given to women entering politics by NGOs. Notable was the minimal support given to aspirants by their respective political parties. Majority of the respondents said they hardly received any support and that most political parties preferred male candidates. Women said they had not seen any support given to fellow women trying to enter politics by their respective

gjties. Those who received support from parties had connections with the top leadership either through sexual relations or other forms of relations. One aspirant said

..i/kiona mwanamke asaidiwa na wakubwa wa chama basijua yua lala nao "

Meaning when a woman is being supported by the party she is having sexual relations with the top leadership. Parties should support women because they believe they can make a good leaders and not attache strings to the support.

When asked the qualifications or requirements for women entering into politics, majority did not lxxjw those who knew and not all were those who had participated in politics.

On the role of the media in supporting women all women agreed that fin stations and community **radios** would positively assist in supporting women in leadership.

The role of Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organisation was not known from most respondents. Most agreed that it was inactive and majority did not know who even headed the organisation at the divisional level, what the organisation does and its benefits to the women. Even the officials interviewed, who were elected five years ago agreed that it was dormant. What has made Rwanda successful is the mobilisation of women from the top level to the grassroot level and follow-ups to make sure that women are assisted.

4.12 Awareness on benefits of the new constitution on women

Are you aware of how the new constitution will benefit women	Frequency	Percentage
---	------------------	-------------------

	7	13%
	48	87%
	55	100%

^le 4.11 above shows that a majority of the respondents were not aware whether the institution will favour women; majority had not received any education on the same. The few who knew the contents and understood were the women aspirants and the key informants. ~

4 j3. Role of men in supporting women enter politics

When asked whether men would support women enter into politics majority of them said that men would not support women. This was mainly attributed to the culture, where the women are opposed to be inferior to the men. Women voter said that they were told who to vote for by their husbands and failure to vote would result in misunderstanding within the household. However the few whose relatives entered politics supported women.

4.13 Respondents knowledge on level of partnership and networking among women organisations

Do you partner/network with	Frequency	Percentage
Other women groups on advocating		
For women		
Yes	10	19%
No	45	81%
Total	55	100%

Table 4.13 indicates the level of partnership and networking especially among the women groups, 45% confirmed that they work on their own. Most of the women confirmed having no links with other organisations such as Maendeleo Ya Wanawake, and thus concentrated on their own activities. Those that agreed to partnering about 10% were headed by women who were in Maendeleo Ya Wanawake and thus involved them to work with other groups especially during the International Women's day. After that function each group went back to performing its activities individually.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1, introduction

The study had set out to assess the factors inhibiting participation of women in politics and decision making positions in Chonyi;

The objectives of the research were to:

- (i) To examine how education influences entry of women's into political leadership.
- (ii) To investigate how culture affects women's entry into political leadership
- (i) To determine how politics contributes to the entry of women in political leadership.

5.2 Summary of the findings

The study sort to asses the factors influencing women's entry into politics, education was found **to be** a major factor in that, women had to be educated to a certain level to qualify to enter into **politics**. The study indicated that a majority of voters were illiterate which negatively affected **their** choice of a candidate, majority of the illiterate members viewed women as inferior to men **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 found out that the community is still socialised to believe that the male are more superior to the female and prefer educating the boys compared to the girls, resulting in few educated women being able to qualify for political positions. Girls believe they should be better house wives and mothers compared to being political leaders.

The study found out that social/cultural practises contribute a lot to influencing women entering Political leadership. Traditionally women still see themselves inferior to men and have accepted situation, which is to listen to what they are told and not enter in leadership, women ^ntinue to view men as superior and follow instructions given by men. One respondent said

»she husbands instruct their women who to go and vote for and when they do not, this brings understanding in the homey

The gender roles that women have were said to be too much, for the woman, leaving very little time to actively enter into leadership, this resulted in them preferring to participate than enter into politics. Financial resources was singled out as a major factor. Women do not own property meaning they lack finance to for example to enter into politics. A majority of the women did not know their rights and have accepted their inferior position. It was surprising that even the educated believe that property belongs to the man. Lack of awareness on various rights such as right to owning property, right to participate in politics, lack of training, and right to education were said to be important for all members of the community to benefit and so that in the end society will view women as able leaders.

Other findings include the minimal support given to women by the government, political parties and NGOs in supporting women. The political parties and government had inadequate structures that supported women entering into politics. NGOs that have been funded to support women in entering political leadership do not come to the ground to find out the real issues affecting women. One respondent (aspirant) said,

"Mashirika merigi yanayo ambiwa yasaidia akina mama katika kuingia uongozi yako Nairobi, yaonekana wakati wa uchaguzi, kazi ni kuweka mawasha mengi mengi kwa mahoteli makubwa makubwa, mafundisho yasioeleweka badili ya kuhusisha akina mama Hi wajui usaidizi mtakikana wapi"

Meaning majority of NGOs that are supposed to support women in entering into political leadership are based in Nairobi and are only seen during elections, conducting trainings in big hotels, trainings that are not very relevant to the participants. These organisations should come to the ground and involve women on what they can support them in.

Discussions of the findings

Education was seen as a major factor in influencing women entering political leadership. The study found out that the reason why many women in Chonyi did not enter into politics was because they do not meet the minimum entry qualifications, just like in many countries in Africa

the boy child is favoured compared to the girl child, majority of the girls who got the opportunity to join formal education were usually taught welfare and domestic subjects such as cookery, tailoring to name a few, these subjects instead prepared to be good housewives and mothers, and limited their chances of entering into politics. Education increases the chances of a woman entering politics and increases their capacity to question, reflect on and act on the conditions of their lives.

Majority of the women voters are illiterate and thus can be easily be manipulated by their husbands or sons to vote for a male candidate. The study found out that for one to qualify, they had to attain the minimum qualification, and the community needed to be educated on the minimum qualifications and further elect a leader based on leadership qualities and not favour the male candidate. Illiteracy influences participation in politics and development. Majority of many parts of Africa are characterised by greater primary repetition, attrition and overage especially among the girls who end up dropping out before completing primary level. With the majority of women being illiterate this aspect works negatively for them, in entering politics or even being able to question or make decisions on who to elect as a leader, which influences their entry into politics.

The study findings on cultural factors affecting women entering political leadership was an important factor to be considered. Despite the negative cultural practises within the Chonyi community, other factors such as family background encouraged women enter into political leadership. However cultural factors contributed negatively in women entering in political leadership. Women generally work between fifteen and eighteen hours a day. The domestic division of labour allocates the most tedious and heavy work to women. The routine of childrearing, household chores, farming, marketing to name a few. This work load prevents women from actively entering into politics and has a further negative effect on the health of the woman

The role of politics in influencing women's entry into political leadership was singled out, the government and political parties lacked women friendly structures in support of women entering Politics resulting in fewer women entering into politics. Women friendly structures such as the *Ujamaa* system, constitutional amendments to accommodate women, has improved representation Women in other countries. The government and other stakeholders have to come out clearly

^porting women entering politics. The President should take the lead in supporting women join politics and through the government various policies can be initiated in support of women, however the support of the government and stakeholders is minimal compared to support given in neighbouring countries such as Uganda, Rwanda and Tanzania.

5.4 Conclusion

This study shows that there are various factors influencing entry of women in politics. Factors such as education, culture, financial ability, minimum qualification, support from the **government**/NGOs/political parties influence entry of women into political leadership. These factors are interlinked some depend on the others to bring a change in women entering politics. Other factors such role of men in supporting women, and partnership and advocacy contribute significantly to the entry of women in political leadership

5.5 Recommendations

Based on the results findings, this study recommends for the government NGOs, religious organization and the community as follows

Government: education/awareness

The government and NGOs that deal with advocating for women participation in leadership should create more public awareness on rights, negative socio/cultural practises and increase girl child education. Further sensitize opinion leaders on women issues and support women in leadership. Both women and men should be empowered to socially, economically and psychologically appreciate each other and understand that women can also be able leaders.

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 can accept that a woman can also lead just like men. The government should create laws/policies that support women and make sure that they are implemented in all spheres. Gender mainstreaming efforts or integrate gender perspectives and the goal of gender Quality in government policy-making, planning, implementation, and evaluation. This makes government more efficient in serving the needs of its citizens by ensuring that even seemingly

entral policies and programs take into account the women's concerns and needs right at the onset-

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 budgets 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, politics and other family and community services.

Political parties should have policies that support women entering into politics, without any strings attached and make sure that there are monitoring and evaluation mechanism to follow up on the implementation. Quota systems have significantly increased women's participation and representation in both elective and appointive political positions. Quotas have been viewed as one of the most effective affirmative actions in increasing women's political participation. Quotas for women in politics make possible changes in attitudes about women's roles and abilities such that they open up more education, work and other opportunities for women.

Exposure visits by the women to areas where women have successfully contested for various political positions should be encouraged and role models should be invited to come and motivate women participate in leadership. Religious organisations should support women and create awareness to their congregants that women can also lead.

International instruments that are in place, particularly the opportunities provided by the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of discrimination against Women (CEDAW) should be maximized; strategies to implement them such as advocacy, policy reforms, special measures and affirmative actions, accountability and Valuations systems, and other means should be explored. Women in government should continue to invest on sharing of strategies and information resources, as well as forming networks and strengthening linkages with other women in government and non-government women's groups and experts. They should continue to study the increasing complexities in Pontics and economies brought about by globalization.(IPU 1995)

To vie and participate in the political processes, women need to enjoy the full exercise of their civil political rights. Democratic freedoms such as expression, media, opinion, peaceful assembly* association, and others are necessary vehicles for women's full political participation.

5.6 Suggestions for further studies

This study covered the factors inhibiting participation of women in politics and decision making. It would be interesting to research further on;

1. The strategies that can be put in place to increase women taking a leading role in political participation
2. How gender inequalities influence participation women in leadership

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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE 1: FOR WOMEN VOTERS

date of interview

Time

Start

Stop

INTRODUCTION

Good day,

My name is Maureen Mwangovya from the University of Nairobi, Department of Extra Mural Studies. I am currently conducting a research on assessing the factors inhibiting participation of women in politics and decision making in Chonyi Division. I am interviewing women who have participated in politics and try to establish what has led to low participation in this region.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation

Signature

section a	
[Name]	
2. Age: Code	
•THTyears	1
i s ^ r	2
3 o ^	3
"4049^	4
"50and above	5
3. Sex of the respondent	
Sex	Tick
Female	1
Male	2

Ttot

4. What is your educational background?

Level of Education	Code
Not educated	1
Primary	2
Secondary	3
Tertiary	4
University	5

i in your Opinion what is the general level of community members in this region?

Level of Education Code

[Not Educated

[primary

Secondary

University

[Other

[Other(specify)

6. Do your children go to school? Yes or No

7. How many girls are educated? Tick where applicable

None	
Some	
All	

8. How many boys are educated? Tick where applicable

None	
Some	
All	

Section 2. Cultural Background

a What activities are women involved in?

Gender Roles	Code (Tick)
Child Rearing	
household Chores	
Farming	
Business	
Other (specify)	

10. What activities are men involved in?

Gender Roles Tick

Child Rearing

Household Chores

Farming

Business

Other (specify)

11. What is your family background?

Occupation Tick

12. How are women socialized in this area?

Role Tick

Housewives

Mothers

Business

fanners

Other (specify)

13. Do men harass women? Yes / No

14. Do men believe women can lead? Yes or No

15. Do women have a say in decision making in the household and outside? Yes or No

16. Does religion (Islam/ Traditional/ Christianity) encourage women to be leaders? Yes or No

17. Do women own property in this community? Yes or No

18. Who would you say has final say in the household and outside?

Person	Tick
Wife	<input type="checkbox"/>
Husband	<input type="checkbox"/>
Close relative	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>

Are you aware of your right to participate in politics? Yes or No

Section 3: Political

20. Training

type of training	Tick
Leadership	
Advocacy	
farming	
proposal writing	
Mobilization	
Other (specify)	

21. Do majority of women enter politics? Yes or No

22. In your opinion, what factor influence entry of women into politics

Factors	Tick
Financial	
Level of education	
Experience in politics	
Support of a political party/government	
Culture	
Other (specify)	

23. Do you know of the qualifications of a woman's entry into politics?

Qualification Tick

Yes

14 Have you heard of Maendeleo Ya Wanawake?

MYWO "	Tick
"Yes	
"No	

a) Do women organizations work together to support women enter politics?

25. In your opinion do women movements support women in entering politics? Yes or No

26. In your opinion do men support women enter into politics? Yes or No

27. In your opinion do organizations support women entering politics? Yes or No

28. Have read heard of the contents of the current constitution? Yes or No

Thank you so much for you time.

APPENDIX 2: FOR KEY INFORMANTS IN THE STUDY

(District Development officer, District Social Development Officer, NGOs dealing with women issues, Local Administration)

My name is Maureen Mwangovya from the University of Nairobi, Department of Extra Mural Studies. I am currently conducting a research on assessing factors inhibiting participation of women in politics and decision making in Chonyi Division. I am interviewing professionals who deal with women issues (politics & decision making) to try and establish factors that have led to this scenario in Chonyi division. I trust that you will assist me.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation

Signature

Part A: Information regarding the key informant.

Name: (Optional)..... Date:

Job title:

Organization

If trained please specify:

a) Kind of training:

b) Level of training

c) Educational Level..... Age:

1. How would you describe the performance of women entering politics in Chonyi.

Performance	Tick
High	
Average	
low	

^ s s s t .

2. What in your opinion are the challenges facing women entering politics?

Factor	Tick
Educational	
Training	
finance	
family background	
Political support	
Other (specify)	

What support does your organization provide to women entering politics?

Support	Tick
<i>Wiring</i>	
'financial	
"Material"	
"Mobilization	
'Lobbying and Advocacy	
"Other (specify)	

4. Do you know the qualification of women entering politics? Yes or No

5. In your opinion what is the general level of education of this community?

Level of Education	Tick
Illiterate	
literate	

6. Does culture affect entry of women into politics? Yes or No

7. What is the role of the media in promoting women in politics?

g In your opinion what is the role of MY WO in the division.

Role Tick

Mobilization

Training

Financial support

Advocacy and lobbying

Material support

b) Do women organizations partner and network to support women entering into politics? Yes or No

9. Do women aspirants come for assistance from your organization, Yes, or No

10. What would motivate most voters to vote a female candidate and not a male?

11. Does a woman family background contribute to her being elected as a leader? Yes or No

7. What communication strategies can be effective in sensitization, advocacy and lobbying for **women** participation in politics & decision-making in this area?

Communication strategies	Tick
Barazas	
Radio	
Mobile	
News papers	

Diversity ⁿ * *
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rm r

jj a) What challenges do women face in their seeking of political positions?

factor Tick

"Culture

"political

'Educational

9 What can the government and other stakeholders do to increase women entry into politics?

Activity Tick

Training

Mobilization

Financial

Material support

10. What are some of the best practices that have been used before or can be used in advocacy on women empowerment in this area?.....-

12. Can men be included in the advocacy of women in participation in leadership in this area?
Yes or No

14. What recommendations can you give in support of women in participating in political leadership?.

15) Have you read the current proposed constitution? Yes or No. If yes are aware of the rights to women

1^) In your opinion do political parties support women aspirants? Yes or No

Thank you for giving me your time and taking part in this exercise

jj>PENDIX 3. WOMEN ASPIRANTS OUESTIONAIRES

uy name is Maureen Mwangovya from the University of Nairobi, Department of Extra Mural **Studies**. I am currently conducting a research on Factors inhibiting participation of women in politics in Chonyi Division. I am interviewing women groups to try and establish factors that have inhibited participation of women in politics in Chonyi division. I trust that you will assist me.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation

Signature

SECTION A

1. Name

2. Age: Code

T18~years	1
	2
	3
r4(>49^	4
"50lmd above	5
3. Sex of the applicant	
Sex	Tick
Female	1
Male	2

4. What is your educational background?

Level of Education	Code
Not educated	1
Primary	2
Secondary	3
Tertiary	4
University	5

L in your Opinion what is the general level of community members in this region?

Level of Education Code

Not Educated

primary

Secondary

University

Tertiary

Other (specify)

6. Do your children go to school? Yes or No

7. How many girls are educated? Tick where applicable

None	
Some	
All	

*o*_h*
l:OTlnr

8. How many boys are educated? Tick where applicable

None	
Some	
All	

Section 2. Cultural Background

9 What activities are women involved in?

'Gender Roles	Code (Tick)
"GhikfRearing	
"Household Chores	
Farming	
Business	
Other (specify)	

10. What activities are men involved in?

Gender Roles	Tick
Child Rearing	
Household Chores	
Farming	
Business	
Other (specify)	

11. What is your family background?

Occupation Tick

"Politician

^asaiufarmers

Business

Other(specify)

12. How are women socialized in this area?

Role	Tick
Housewives	
Mothers	
Business	
farmers	
Other (specify)	

13. Do men harass women? Yes / No

14. Do men believe women can lead? Yes or No

15. Do women have a say in decision making in the household and outside? Yes or No

16. Does religion (Islam/ Traditional/ Christianity) encourage women to be leaders? Yes or No

17. Do women own property in this community? Yes or No

18. Who would you say has final say in the household and outside?

Person Tick

Wife

0 1*
' -OTin..

Husband

Close relative

Other (specify)

Are you aware of your right to participate in politics? Yes or No

3) Are you abused(Physical/ Psychological) by other politician during campaigns? Yes or No

b) Would your husband and family support you in entering politics? Yes or No

e) Do you get support from the political parties? Yes or No

j) Does the media support you in entering into politics? Yes or No

e) Do women organizations partner and network in support of women entering into politics? Yes or No

Section 3: Political

20. Training

What type of training Tick

Have you received?

leadership

Advocacy

fanning

Proposal writing

Mobilization

Other (specify)

21. Do majority of women enter politics? Yes or No

122. In your opinion, what factors influence entry of women into politics?

Factors	Tick
Financial	
[Level of education	
Experience in politics	
Import of a political Nty/government	

Culture	
Other (specify)	

23. Do you know of the qualifications of a woman's entering into politics?

Qualification Tick

Yes

No

24. Have you heard of Maendeleo Ya Wanawake?

MYWO	Tick
Yes	
No	

25. In your opinion do women movements support women in entering politics? Yes or No

26. In your opinion do men support women enter into politics? Yes or No

27. In your opinion do organizations (NGOs) support women entering politics? Yes or No

28. Have read heard of the contents of the current constitution? Yes or No

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thank you so much for you time.